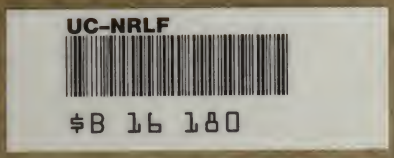

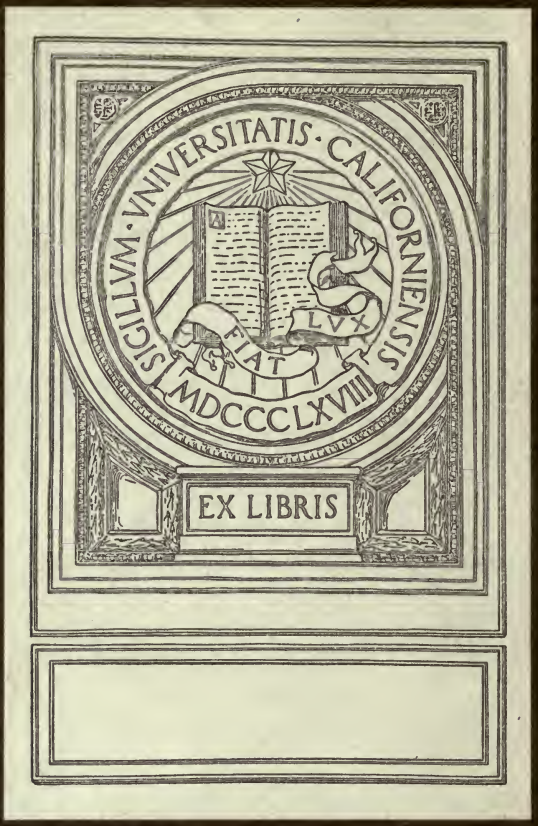
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DR. TAPPAN'S DISCOURSE

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THE PROGRESS

OF

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE LITERARY SOCIETIES

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,

ON

MONDAY EVENING, JUNE 25, 1855,

BY

HENRY P. TAPPAN, D.D., LL.D.,

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

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1855.

A DISCOURSE.

Gentlemen—Members of the Literary Societies of the University of Michigan:

Society! What meaning in that one word! Society—does it not speak of everything dear and valuable to man!

The garden of Eden was planted by the hand of God—the flowers sprang up at the divine touch—the streams flowed along in melody—the heavens poured down their light—the earth was glad in beauty and abundance—and man stood there, their sole possessor. Heaven and earth were his, and yet his existence was not complete. There was stirring within him an indefinable longing—a mysterious expectation of another gift. Nature spoke within him—a true, a holy nature—spoke in a feeling, in a sentiment, for which he had not yet framed the words. The divine voice gave the utterance, "It is not good for man to be alone;"—and when man was no longer alone, then in realizing the idea of society, he found the want of his being supplied. In sweet, domestic charities society began: and here is the foundation of all society: father, mother, sister, brother,—here was woven the first circle of human sympathy;—and this primal necessity has led on the development of humanity into communities and nations, and every form of association which appears in the history, and marks the progress of the race.

Isolated being is isolated ideas, and isolated ideas must prove unproductive. Mind no less than matter finds increase in reciprocal duality. The solitary being may commune with

the heavens and the earth, and ideas within find their embodyment without; but when it is found, it must be spoken out in a description—a science—or an emotion. But it cannot be uttered to the empty air—there must be a hearing ear—an understanding mind—a living heart, to which to communicate, and from which to gain a response.

To think without speaking, would seem an impossibility; to speak to ourself alone, an absurdity. To gain knowledge to rest forever with ourself, would be like making one's bed forever on a golden rock. To plan and propose any improvement by art and industry to be shared by no one, would be action without an end—the building of ships without commerce, and cities without inhabitants, the sowing of fields never to be reaped, the moulding of beautiful forms with none to admire them, the singing of epics and no hearts to be moved upon. And thought itself would claim the critical judgment, the aid, and inspiration of other thought; and the hand of industry seek to link itself with the strength and skill of some other hand.

Is not society then all and in all to us? Do we not live by society—think, labor, improve and enjoy by society? To be alone is next to negation of being: to be associated is the life, power and completeness of being.

Inanimate matter congregates by resistless affinities; organic forms grow in companies—the trees, the flowers, the herbage; all animals are in families, and flocks, and pairs; the stars of heaven are sown in clusters; and emotion, passion and thought run into fellowship from man to man, from men to angels, and from all created intelligences to God, the creator and centre of all. Thus science, the useful arts, the beautiful arts, language, poetry, eloquence, legislation, ethics, and religion, all imply society, and grow in society.

The laws of society are necessary and eternal. The passive, unthinking forms of being—organic and inorganic—cannot but obey these laws. But man, the thinker and self-determiner, contemplates them, reasons about them, measures their relative importance, adjusts their relations by degrees, se-

lects his spheres of action amid a wide diversity, conforms to these laws, or violates them. Hence while the other forms of being are determined into society in necessary spheres, man may be truly said to create society according to his own thought and purpose, wisely or unwisely—for good or for evil. The history of man is a history of the principles on which he has created society, and of the corresponding developments.

But I come now to speak of only one form of association—association for science, literature and art; or, simply, association for human culture.

With some solitary thinker, most probably, the circle of human thought began. The mystery and the beauty of the world led to philosophic enquiry, and creative art. The conceptions and theories started, the truths gained, the work of useful improvement, or, of beautiful art attempted, attracted others as if a new oracle had become vocal. Institutions there were not to make scholars and artists; but scholars and artists had first to grow from the individual teacher; and then as they multiplied they became associated in schools and institutions. These, by a concentration of mind and means, multiplied scholars and artists more rapidly, gave them greater perfection by methodical culture and the influence of example, and spread wide the scholarly and artistic spirit.

There are three stages of learned and artistic association to be noticed: The primal or ancient; the middle, or ecclesiastical and scholastic; and the modern. The first embraces a period reaching down to the time of the establishment of the religious houses of Christianity; the second embraces the middle ages down to the reformation; and the third begins with the reformation. Each stage prepared the way for the succeeding; and each has its marked and peculiar characteristics.

The primal stage is that where the individual thinker or artist becomes the centre of a school. Thoughts of God—the great first cause—of the constitution of the universe, of human duty and destiny stir in some great original mind, and he speaks out his thoughts wherever he can gain a hearing—in the pub-

lic walks and groves, in the market place, in the houses of friends, in familiar intercourse, or on festal occasions. Thus Socrates and the Stagyrite taught. Those who habitually consorted with them became disciples, in turn to become teachers, or to carry out the great principles with which they became imbued, into public life. School, which now generally means an institution of learning, derived from the Greek *Scholee*, that is leisure or time removed from public or private business, was applied to designate the teacher and his disciples, and finally his peculiar doctrines. The bustle, interests, and employments of ordinary life were laid aside for a simple and pure devotion to thought, for enquiries after the True, the Good, and the Beautiful. Thus sprung up all the great schools of ancient philosophy; thus were men taught wisdom; thus was human culture carried on; thus were laid the foundations of all knowledge and all education. It was a spontaneous association of great minds aspiring after the highest objects that can be proposed to man. The same individuality marks the poets, the artists, the historians, and the orators of antiquity. Each formed himself by individual effort, under the inspirations of his own genius, availing himself of the knowledges which were accessible, studying the examples which were presented, seizing the occasions which were offered, moulding language, and developing forms of beauty with an originality which could belong only to a period when the human mind, awakening to a consciousness of its powers under the great eye of nature, instead of finding authorities in the past, was driven in upon itself and created authorities for the future, and like a discoverer in regions untrodden before, wandered freely abroad in joyful expectation of wonders of truth and beauty.

It is true indeed that in pure science, principles became fixed, that language attained to an acknowledged perfection, that art gained a standard of taste and rules of execution, and that the doctrines of the older schools of philosophy exerted an influence upon those which came after them. But, nevertheless, in the Grecian mind, at least, the possibility of originality

was never doubted, nor fresh thought, nor fresh efforts at creative art oppressed by venerable and unquestionable authorities. There were then no Doctors of the Sorbonne.

In the latter period of Greece, and during the classic age of Rome, the Schools of Philosophy, and particularly the Schools of the Rhetoricians exhibit some approximation to the form of institutions of learning, with a formula of education; but still the individual teacher created his own school and formed its centre. Cicero studied Plato and Demosthenes, but he resorted to no university; he was taught by Roscius, but in no public gymnasium. Virgil imitated the Iliad, but he caught the epic fire, and gained the majesty and grace of the hexameter from the discipline of no Homeric Institute. In forming an estimate of the learned men and artists of antiquity, we must think of original genius, self-made men, individual efforts, independent thoughts and aims, and the voluntary association of men naturally influencing each other by conversation, correspondence, daily example, and the courtesies of social life. We must forget our modern ideas of educational institutions established by the State, or sustained by patronage and power. In that primal stage, education could appear in no other form, for the idea of education was then in process of development, and the materials of education were accumulating.

And as there were not, properly speaking, institutions of learning, so there was not any system of public and general education. The people heard poems recited by strolling rhapsodists, and by actors in the theatre; they heard histories read at the public games; they heard the orators in the public assemblies; they might listen to the discourse of philosophers in the public places; and they every where contemplated proportion, majesty, and beauty, in the temples and statues which adorned their cities and the seats of religious worship. It was an education through the ear and the eye; through national customs, and religious ceremonies; through legend and story; through monuments of national glory, and the proud associations of places connected with heroic deeds. It was a moulding of the character through sentiments, emotions, and passion, infused and quickened by the objects and

incidents of their daily life, where the objects and incidents were created and ordered by the genius, taste, and activity of the presiding minds which dwelt in a higher sphere. Wisdom, beauty, poetry, and music dwelt first of all upon Olympus, thence they descended to dwell at Delphi, and upon the Acropolis: their priests and representatives were a god-like order of men; and through them the whole people felt the influence of the heavenly visitation. Such was the beauty, poetry, and heroism of the life of the Greeks, that their mythology seems almost to be established by the facts of their history, so naturally consequential was the one upon the other.

The cultivated class among the Romans assimilated to the cultivated class among the Greeks, and their education proceeded by the same means; but the Roman people never imbibed the Athenian spirit of letters and art, and never reached the Athenian polish and grace. The shadow of Olympus did not stretch itself to the banks of the Tiber. But the Roman, no less than the Athenian, formed a strong national character through legend and story, through the associations of places and proud historical recollections, and through the influence of political institutions.

Education, among the ancients, viewed as a process, was varied, undetermined, independent, often accidental, and strongly individual; and in its diffusion took the ease and freedom of social life instead of that cloistered seclusion and disciplinary movement which are so familiar to us. As a result, it presents us men of the highest powers under a noble culture; a civilized people wonderful for thought, imagination, and taste, or a people of stern and lofty nationalism; works in literature and art, which, unsurpassed if not unequalled, have long since been acknowledged by mankind as models which can never lose their authority, and can never cease to instruct; many important truths in pure science, and valuable researches in physics; and speculations in philosophy, immortal as thought itself.

In this early association of thought and of artistic labor, we find the fountains of our own cultivation and civilization.

It was the fresh morning of human development, when method and system were not yet attained, when knowledge remained unripe and gave promises to the future; but it left truths, examples, and memorials which have ever controlled human progress, and can never be forgotten.

These solitary thinkers with their few disciples—these poets, historians, and orators in the simple strength of their genius—these artists, working out the ideal conceptions of their own minds, were the only educators of the day in which they lived, and they have ever remained the educators of mankind. What would antiquity be without these but a barren waste? We would have a spectacle of the rise and fall of dynasties, the march of armies, the tumult of battle, and the glory of conquest: we might have also useful arts, and commerce, and wealth, leading on a barbaric magnificence. But now that they have passed away, what would they be to us but a story or a dream—a Babylon, a Tyre, a Carthage, to fill a page of history, but leaving nothing behind to inspire, to elevate, to improve mankind? The very wars of the classic nations have an interest beyond all others, because they exhibit the struggles of civilization against barbarism:—They are the heroic defending the true, the good, and the beautiful. The labors of Genius have given immortality to these nations. The poetry, the philosophy, the eloquence, the histories, the splendid works of art still survive. The memory and influence of these nations are imperishable, because they continue to teach us great truths, to hold up before us the most perfect models of literary production and of the beautiful arts, and to inspire us with enthusiasm for intellectual culture and refinement.

Of what peculiar interest or value to us are the stories of the Heraclidæ, of the kings and chieftains who went to the sack of Troy, of gods, demigods, and kings, and of all the various characters, mythological or historical, asssociated with the little country of Greece? Or of what peculiar interest and value is Greece itself? There are other countries whose natural features and productions might interest us equally or even more: Other nations too, have their mythologies and heroic legends, and stories. See you not that it is the genius

of Homer and the dramatic poets, and of artists like Phidias and Praxitiles, calling into life from these crude and rough materials forms of matchless beauty; weaving into matchless verse, or expressing in marble, incidents and events tender and heroic, and connected with all the deep principles and passions of human nature, illustrating government legislation social life and divine providence and justice—see you not that it is this that has given interest and value to what otherwise could, at most, only amuse a vacant hour—working out from ordinary materials, ideal beauty, grandeur and truth, to charm and instruct the human mind forever? And when we add to these the unsurpassed works of philosophers, orators, and historians, we comprehend why men of every form of culture should look to Greece as the fatherland of civilization and education.

The Roman Empire with its majesty and power was an impressive spectacle—so was the the Persian—so is the Chinese and the Russian. But the Dictators, Triumvirs, and Cæsars of the Ancient Empire, viewed alone, have for us little more interest than the Emperors and Czars of the modern dynasties. Greece perpetuated in Rome—Roman legislation, literature, art, and eloquence—Roman civilization and culture draw forever the heart of humanity towards the city of the seven hills.

And thus in contemplating this primal period, we are taught at once the great truth, that the life of nations no less than the life of individuals, is important to the world, and survives in the memory and veneration of after times, only as connected with the progress of knowledge, the development of thought, the cultivation of taste, improvement in arts, and, in general, with the advancement of the spiritual interests of man.

In proceeding to the second stage of learned association and educational development, it is necessary to remark that in a general and rapid review, like the present, it is not possible to mark with exactness the transition from one stage to the other. Indeed, in the nature of the case, it must have been gradual, extending through centuries, appearing under different phases, and with more or less distinctness.

First of all, let the distinctive characteristics of the two stages be clearly borne in mind:—the first presents the independent teacher going forth to utter what he conceived to be truths, as he best could, under no legal authority, and connected with no incorporated society or institution. The philosopher and the poet were equally free, and impelled alike by the simple power of original thought and the inspiration of genius. The Greek, particularly, had every thing within himself. His own language, the most perfect, perhaps, ever used by man, was sufficient for him, and he cultivated no other: and whatever hints he may have received from other nations, through some travelling philosopher, he passed so far beyond them, and exhibited such independence in his thinking, that they are scarcely to be regarded as elements of his system. Such hints have little more relation to Grecian philosophy than the letters of Cadmus to the dramas of Æschylus.

In the second stage, there appears the necessity of referring to the past, and becoming acquainted with what the human mind had already successfully achieved. There were cultivated languages to be learned, master works in literature and art to be studied, systems of philosophy to be examined, and scientific truths to be acquired. The Roman could not be as original as the Greek, and had first to become a scholar ere he could be a philosopher, poet, or orator.

The classic period of Rome added still more to the mass of philosophical and literary material, and imposed upon subsequent ages the necessity of a still wider erudition. And when the Latin itself ceased to be a living tongue, or existed only in a degenerated and corrupted form, two classical languages instead of one had to be acquired as the necessary portals to those treasures of thought and beauty which the genius of the ancients had created, and which were henceforth to lead the way of profound and elegant culture.

New and powerful elements of intellectual development had also been introduced with the Christian religion. The great author of this religion taught after the manner of the

ancient philosophers, but with a perfection and power which surpassed them all. He taught every where—in the temple and in the synagogue, in the highways and in the open fields, or in private dwellings amid the informality of social converse. He taught with the freest method, and used the most familiar illustrations, and yet he taught such doctrines as had never been heard before. He organized no schools; he simply taught. Mightier than the Sibyls, while, like them, he seemed to scatter his truths to the winds, he securely planted them in human hearts, and nursed a power destined to overthrow the old religions, revolutionize social organization, and regenerate the world. With his Apostles, organization began, and the Church was instituted. At first, simple associations, scattered, and more or less independent, appeared. The organization itself seemed a spontaneous growth from the sacred affinities created by a common faith and hope, common dangers and exigencies, and common duties. From this unostentatious beginning arose a vast ecclesiastical system, with a mighty hierarchy, which spread itself over the Roman Empire, and finally took possession of the throne of the Cæsars.

With Christianity there grew up a new, peculiar, and extensive literature. There were first the sacred writings; then the epistles, homilies, polemics, and theologies of the fathers. Theology took a two-fold form—the orthodox and the heretical. Both allied themselves to philosophy; the first basing itself upon the sacred writings, called in philosophy as an adjunct authority, and to aid in interpretation and exposition: the second, basing itself upon some favorite philosophy, sought to mould the sacred writings to its dogmas. Christianity, a doctrine of God, of duty, and of immortality, swept over the whole field of philosophy, and connected itself with the profoundest and most momentous questions that can agitate the human soul.

The study of languages, antiquities, philosophy, and rhetoric, seemed involved in the inculcation and progress of this religion. It was, in truth, a great system of teaching, where each society or church became a school, and the priest or min-

ister a public instructor. And as copies of the sacred writings were multiplied, readers would naturally increase, and the value of the art of reading be correspondingly enhanced. That education, therefore, should under Christianity be diffused among the people, and take the form of institutions, and adopt a determined method, was an inevitable result. Could this religion have preserved its original simplicity and purity, and remained disconnected with pride, ambition, and power, it might, perhaps, in its natural quiet movement, have given birth to a system of universal education, and advanced all sciences and arts, at the same time that it was accomplishing the spiritual regeneration of society. But even as actually developed, we shall see how close and important was its connection with the advancement of knowledge and the rise of institutions of learning.

For centuries before the fall of the Roman Empire, luxury had produced effemiancy with all its attendant vices. The decay of national spirit, of virtue and manliness has ever marked the deterioration of letters and the arts; and thus the fall of the empire was preceded by the disappearance of all that had signalized and graced the Augustan age. But this was the very period during which the patristic literature had been accumulating. And when the barbarians had finally completed their conquest followed by the almost total loss of classical learning, although the church was not exempt from the prevailing ignorance, still the Latin language was preserved in her canons and liturgies, and in the Vulgate, so that whatever of learning remained was found for the most part in the Church.

The leading Ecclesiastics, indeed, cherished the strongest prejudices against secular learning. Gregory I., the founder of papal supremacy, directed all his authority against it, and is even reported to have committed to the flames a library of heathen authors. In some monastic foundations, the perusal of the works of heathen authors was forbidden. Nevertheless, the tenacious adherence of the clergy to the Latin liturgy, and to the Vulgate translation of the Scriptures, and their implicit

submission to the Fathers, in preserving the Latin language, preserved the very records of that literature which they neglected and contemned. Another circumstance, too, and that perhaps purely accidental, contributed still more to the preservation of classical literature. The order of St. Benedict, so widely diffused through the Church, were enjoined by their founder to read, copy, and collect books, without any specification as to their character, probably presuming that they would be religious books. They obeyed the injunction literally, and classical manuscripts were collected, and copies multiplied.

It thus came to pass that monastic institutions became the great conservatories of books, and the means of multiplying them. It must not be forgotten too, however we may be opposed to the institution of monasticism, that during centuries of intellectual darkness and barbarism, when war formed the chief employment of men who sought for distinction, the monasteries became the quiet retreats of the gentler and more elevated spirits who wished to escape from the violence of the world, and to engage in the genial pursuits of literature and philosophy. The scholar became of necessity an ecclesiastic. We cannot be surprised, therefore, that schools of learning sprung up under the shadow of convents and cathedrals. One feature distinguished the Church even in the dark ages—let it be remembered to its honor—which peculiarly adapted it to foster the interests of learning, and to raise up learned men; in awarding its benefits, in bestowing its honors, it paid no respect to rank: to it, the noble and the peasant were undistinguished; and from the lowest grades of society might arise the successor of St. Peter, to set his foot upon the neck of Kings and Emperors. Here then was opened to the people the possibility of social elevation and power, and here simple genius and learning might hope to escape frem obscurity and gain the loftiest stations.

There is but one parallel case. In the Italian cities the municipal judges were chosen from among the body of the citizens; and so rapid was the rotation of office, that every citizen

might hope in his turn to participate in the government. Now it is remarkable that the study of Roman Jurisprudence was revived to such a degree at Bologna that a famous University sprang up, and the only one that can dispute with the Universities of Oxford and Paris the claim to the earliest antiquity. In both instances, it was the removal of the interdicts which every where else debarred the people from all hope of advancement, that quickened the ambition of learning. Nature hath ever her own noblemen whom she will set forward, unless arbitrary institutions prevent.

The first schools, after the barbarians had completed the overthrow of the Empire and of all imperial institutions, were merely of an elementary character, and were established by certain Bishops and Abbots, in the sixth century. These conventual and cathedral schools were probably at first designed for neophytes, to fit them for engaging with propriety in the church service. Their benefits however were not confined to these. To what extent these schools were multiplied, it is impossible to determine with exactness. They assumed a higher character under the direction of eminent men such as Theodore, Bede, and Alcuin. Charlemagne invited the latter from England, in connection with Clement of Ireland, and Theodolf of Germany, to establish or restore the cathedral and conventual schools in France. The division of sciences which obtained in them is remarkable. The first was the *Trivium*, comprising grammar, logic, and rhetoric: The second was the *Quadrivium*, comprising music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. Few studied the Quadrivium at all; and the instances were rare where the *Trivium* was mastered. The theological aspect which was given even to these studies, is evident from the fact that the study of music was confined to chanting the church service, and astronomy to the calculation of Easter.

Jurisprudence and theology were the two governing powers of educational development, which gave rise to Universities. The latter, however, was the chief, and is mainly to be considered.

Hitherto, two methods of theological discussion had obtained. During the first six centuries, we have the method of the fathers—that of interpreting the Scriptures by their own ability and skill, and by the decisions and traditions of the Church, as these accumulated from century to century. In the eighth century, or perhaps earlier, the Fathers were themselves received as authority conjointly with the Scriptures and the decisions of the Church.

But the establishment of cathedral and conventual schools could not but advance human thought. Scholars of more or less eminence were found scattered through the middle ages. Scholars were engaged in founding and perfecting these schools, and gave in them an impulse to study. A taste for philosophical speculation would naturally spring up, and the very study of the Fathers would tend to foster it. The logic of Augustine was in use; this was followed by the logic and metaphysics of Aristotle, although at first opposed by Popes and Councils.

Questions in theology naturally ally themselves to metaphyisics; and polemics as naturally call in the aid of dialectics. Lanfranc and Anselm, successively Archbishops of Canterbury, made use of metaphysical ideas as well as of the Aristotelian dialectics, in their controversy with Berenger respecting transubstantiation. Now arose a new method of theological discussion; it was no longer a simple appeal to the Scriptures, nor an appeal to the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the decisions and traditions of the Church conjointly. It became now an appeal to Reason also. And yet it was not an independent appeal; but the received dogmas remaining unquestioned, Reason was bent to expound and fortify them. "The principle of the Schoolmen, in their investigations was the expanding, developing, and if possible, illustrating and clearing from objection the doctrines of natural and revealed religion, in a dialectical method and by dint of the subtlest reason. The questions which we deem altogether metaphysical, such as that concerning universal ideas, became theological in their hands."

The founder of the Schoolmen and of the scholastic system, so called from *Scholæ*—the schools which Charlemagne opened, is generally received to be Roscelin, who flourished at the close of the 11th century. He revived the question respecting universal ideas, and with him commenced the celebrated controversy between the Nominalists and Realists. Three names figure at the beginning of this controversy—Roscelin, the Nominalist, William of Champeaux, the Realist, and Abelard, who endeavored to occupy a middle ground. The intense interest awakened by this controversy, and the multitudes who waited upon the discussions, can be explained only by the fact that a new field was opened to the human intellect and the authority of human reason brought in. It was assumed, indeed, that reason should not transcend the dogmas of faith, and there was always professedly a submission of the former to the latter: but the charge brought against the nominalists of subverting the doctrine of the Trinity by reducing it to a mere nominal unity of persons; and the counter-charge brought against the realists, of a tendency to Atheism, prove that there was a freedom of thought and language indulged in by both parties which could not be restrained within the limits of theological precision. The controversy was carried on until the fifteenth century, when, at the Revival of Letters, it gave place to objects and themes more closely connected with the progress of knowledge, and the improvement of the world. Two things were gained, however, of the utmost importance, and which co-worked to the same end: First, the human intellect was awakened, and a taste for scholarship widely diffused. Secondly, Universities were established.

William of Champeaux opened a School of Logic, in Paris, in 1109. The dialectic skill and the graceful eloquence of Abelard, drew together thousands of eager disciples. In the School of William of Champeaux, was the germ of the University of Paris, for with it commenced a regular succession of teachers. The lectures of Abelard, both when delivered in Paris and at the Paraclete, from the enthusiasm they awakened, and the numbers they collected, were a dazzling exhibition

of the power of oral teaching in even the most abstruse subjects. In both there was something like a return to the method of the old Grecian Schools. There was this difference, however: The ancient philosophers belonged to no order, and taught with the utmost freedom. Champeaux and Abelard belonged to the Church, and were presumed never to transcend its dogmas. Indeed, it would not have been lawful for them to teach a pure science, that is, a science uncontrolled by theological ends and aims.

From the time of Champeaux and Abelard, schools multiplied in Paris. The scholastic discussions seemed to have created a sort of dialectic phrenzy. About the middle of the twelfth century, the influx of scholars into Paris was so great that they were, somewhat extravagantly, indeed, said to outnumber the citizens. Philip Augustus was led, sometime after this, to enlarge the boundaries of the city to afford them accommodations. Students flocked from foreign countries. The Faculty of Arts in Paris was divided into four nations: France, Picardy, Normandy, and England. In 1453, there were twenty-five thousand students in Paris. Universities multiplied also in other countries. Paris was distinguished for Scholastic Theology; Bologna for Jurisprudence; Salerno for Medicine. Ten thousand students resorted to Bologna. At Oxford, in the time of Henry III., the number of students was reckoned also by thousands.

Universities became distinct corporations by Royal Charters, and the Holy See threw its protection around them.

But what was the peculiar organization of these institutions? They differed from the Greek Schools in that they were a collection of teachers forming one incorporated society. They differed from the Cathedral and Conventual Schools, in that these were elementary and isolated, while the Universities aimed at the highest developments of knowledge, and were associations for the purposes of learning, embracing multitudes.

The Teachers were indifferently called Masters, Doctors, and Regents. The first name indicated that they had com-

passed the arts, and thence become Masters of Arts; the second, that they were qualified to teach Philosophy; the third, that they had authority to direct Education.

The arts comprised the Trivium and Quadrivium, which included together seven branches—Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy. Philosophy was divided into three branches, and thence called the three philosophies, namely, Theology, Law, and Medicine. A particular university, however, as we have seen, cultivated frequently, in an especial degree, only one of these philosophies.

According to the statutes of Oxford, ratified by Archbishop Laud, there were four faculties in which the University furnished education and granted degrees—Arts, Theology, Civil Law, and Medicine.

Four years attendance on the lectures of the first faculty was required to qualify for the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and seven years for the degree of Master of Arts.

To commence the course in the faculty of Theology, a mastership in Arts was a pre-requisite. Seven years attendance on the lectures qualified for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and four more years for the degree of Doctor. In the faculty of Civil Law, a mastership in Arts was not a pre-requisite: but the Master obtained the Bachelor's degree in Law in three years, and the Doctor's in seven; while the simple student was required to attend five years for the first, and ten for the second.

In Medicine, a mastership in Arts was a pre-requisite; and three years attendance on the lectures qualified for a Bachelor's degree in Medicine, and seven for a Doctor's.

Degrees were also granted in particular branches, as in Logic and Rhetoric. In Music, a separate degree is given even at the present day.

The branches embraced by the Arts were multiplied as knowledge advanced. Hence, in the time of Laud, Greek, Natural Philosophy, Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, History, and Hebrew are specified in addition to the seven arts before mentioned.

In the original constitution of Paris and Oxford, the University was taught and governed by the graduates at large —all the graduates were teachers. Graduation was nothing

more nor less than a formal reception into the body of Teachers comprising the University Faculties.

The Bachelor was an imperfect graduate admitted to exercise the vocation of Teacher partially for the sake of improvement. Hence, he was said *incipere*, to commence the vocation; and the commencement ceremony was his induction into office.

The Master, or perfect graduate, alone could *regere*—govern or be a Regent. At first the Teachers, or Masters, received fees from their pupils. Afterwards, to certain Masters, salaries were appointed, and these gave lectures gratuitously. All graduates were obligated to teach during a certain term, and privileged to teach perpetually, also; but their number became so great that accommodations could not be provided for all: nor were the services of all necessary. The term of Regency was therefore often abbreviated, and even dispensed with altogether: but the University could compel the services of the graduates, whenever it became necessary to increase the number of Teachers. The salaried Teachers, too, would naturally take precedence; and these, together with others whom natural inclination and peculiar circumstances led to select the vocation of a Teacher, formed a permanent body, who in time were called *Professors*, simply from the fact that they professed, or addicted themselves to certain branches of instruction. Thus Professor, again, became identical with Master, Doctor, and Regent, in designating a certain office. In time the number of Professors was limited by statute, and when others besides the regular Professors were allowed to teach, their powers and privileges were of a secondary grade.

The Cathedral and Conventual Schools still remained, and other schools of a similar grade came to be established privately, or by endowment. All these were preparatory to the University. The University, we perceive, was from the very beginning an association of learned men, whose great object was the advancement of all knowledge, and of the highest forms of education. Like the schools of the ancients, they came up spontaneously, and were the work of individuals, and not of the State. Like them, too, they gave instruction orally; and

the living teacher communicated to his pupils his own original researches and conceptions expressed with the force and freedom of his own style and manner. They were therefore the legitimate successors of the former, and afford a remarkable proof how the laws which govern the development of the human mind and of society preserve their identity through the sweep of ages. The respects in which they differed from the ancient schools were equally legitimate. They became a compact association of schools, because, science and literature, now developed into branches, existing in multiform works, assuming fixed principles, and represented by acknowledged standards, constituted a defined basis, on which association was possible. The same causes, also, led them to common methods and processes, as educational institutions.

After Universities had come into existence, they received charters from the State, and were placed under the protection of both State and Church ; but they ever maintained and exercised, like other corporations, their own rights and powers. They elected their own officers, and adopted their own regulations, as institutions in themselves competent to discharge the great duties they had undertaken. They were not the work of sciolists and empirics. Created by great men, they have ever multiplied scholars, and been the fountains of letters and science, and of modern civilization.

Popular education could not be the starting point of education, for the ignorant masses are of necessity incompetent to plan and adopt measures for their own improvement. Individuals elevated above their age and the people around them, by superior genius, and a peculiar inspiration of thought, called out by circumstances sometimes extraordinary, and often accidental, took the lead. Homer will always remain a mystery ; and yet Greek art, letters and civilization must be referred back to his immortal work as their inception. Socrates is a miracle of humanity, and stands alone ; but he is the acknowledged father of an undying philosophy. Bacon was the only man to write the Instauration of the Sciences, and the

Novum Organum. Christianity itself—the divine religion, made its advent in the solitary Jesus of Nazareth.

From the solitary poet, philosopher and reformer, proceeds the quickening and regenerating truth, first of all, to be received by the few. Then by association the truth gains power, is widely disseminated, and, finally, permeates the masses of society. Such is the progress of knowledge and education. The first period shows us the solitary gaining the few. The second period shows us the beginning of association preparatory to the universal diffusion of knowledge. The third period is that in which association will be perfected, and the universal diffusion of knowledge take place. In Universities we have the association which in the end creates common schools, or schools for the people.

In our country, when attention is directed to the higher institutions of learning, the idea and title of a college always come before us. The title *university* is sometimes used, and not unfrequently is applied where there is not even a fully developed college; but a University, properly speaking, as it does not exist among us, so generally no adequate conception is ormed of it; and we are prone to speak of colleges as if all our wants of high and perfect education are met by them alone.

It would probably surprise many to hear it affirmed that colleges originally were not institutions of learning at all, and are wholly unessential to a university. Their origin was simply as follows: The thousands of students who flocked to the great universities of Europe were accommodated with board and lodging in the halls, inns, and chambers; while the public lectures were delivered at first at the private rooms of the professors, and afterwards in buildings appropriated to that purpose. Certain streets contained these buildings: Thus, in Oxford, in School street, there were forty buildings, containing each from four to sixteen class rooms: In Paris the four nations of the Faculty of Arts resorted to the Rue de la Fuoarre. A scarcity of lodgings arising from the great influx of students, the exorbitant demands for rent consequent upon this, as well as the vices to which students were exposed in large

cities, led benevolent and pious individuals to establish colleges where board and lodging were furnished to poor students, and a religious supervision and discipline instituted for the preservation of their morals. Colleges were therefore merely accessories to the universities.

In Italy colleges never advanced beyond this. In Germany they advanced very little, and never sufficiently to modify the system of education. Here, too, they have entirely disappeared, the name *Bursch*—given now in common to the students, from the title *Bursar* originally appropriated to those who inhabited collegiate houses—being the only memorial of them remaining.

In Paris, Regents taken from the University schools were occasionally appointed to lecture in the colleges. This practice in time became so general that the public rooms were deserted for the college halls. The Theological Faculty confined their lectures almost wholly to the College of the Sorbonne, so that the Sorbonne and the Theological Faculty became convertible titles. In the fifteenth century the faculty of arts was distributed through eighteen colleges. In the colleges of Paris, however, the faculties of the University always retained the ascendency, and the University, instead of being superseded, was only divided into parts. Napoleon really restored the integrity of the University. The Sorbonne still remains, but is occupied by the four faculties of Science, Letters, Law, and Medicine. The College of France still remains, but in its courses and appointments is absorbed in the great university system.

In England, the colleges are eleemosynary lay corporations, "wholly subject to the laws, statutes and ordinances which the founder makes, and to the visitors whom he appoints." The College "consists of a head, called by the various names of Provost, Master, Rector, Principal, or Warden, and of a body of Fellows, and generally of Scholars, also, besides various officers or servants, according to the peculiar nature of the foundation."

The Fellows are elected generally from the graduates of the

college. They are elected for life, if they remain unmarried, or until they accept some other appointment inconsistent with the terms of the foundation. Rooms are assigned them in the college, together with board at the commons. They receive also a stipend varying from thirty pounds or less, to two hundred and fifty pounds, and upwards. No duties appear to be positively assigned them, but as they generally belong to the church, it is presumed, if not intended, that they shall addict themselves to theology.

The colleges of England, like those of the continent, were originally "unessential accessories" of the Universities. The Universities existed before they were founded—the Universities must have continued to exist had the colleges afterwards been abolished.

In England, however, a portentous change came over the universities through the influence of the colleges. The result is, that at the present day the universities exist almost wholly in name, and scarcely exercise any function beyond that of conferring degrees. The instruction has gone into the hands of the colleges, and is conducted by the fellows, while the duties of the professors are nominal. The Universities have, therefore, really retrograded to the state from which they had centuries before emerged, and hence have become again a collection of Cathedral and Conventual Schools.

Formerly they were taught by eminent professors with the freedom and originality of public lectures. Now they are taught like grammar Schools, by tutors who are often juvenile, who have been elected by favoritism or by chance, and who have generally achieved no distinction and are unknown to the world of Science and Letters.

Hence the English Universities have remained stationary; while continental Universities have reached a higher development, and have entered upon a new and more glorious era of academical existence.

The continental Universities have identified their progress with the progress of Science. The English are not yet fully emancipated from the spirit of Scholasticism.

Universities, we have seen were an advance upon the ancient Schools, in that they were compact associations of the learned for the two great objects of promoting knowledge, and of determining the method and carrying on the work of Education. In form and aims they were complete. Hence, they can never be superseded. But we come now to a third period where begins what we may call the culminating stage of learned associaton and Educational development.

Universities, we say, as to their form and aims were complete; but they labored under manifold incumbrances. The spirit of the ancient Schools was more free, pure, elastic and productive than that of the Universities, although they had not reached the proper forms,nor arrived at the conception of universal Education. A union of the two was necessary to a new progress. It was necessary that philosophy should be disenthralled from Scholasticism; that thought and investigation should be disenthralled from ecclesiastical prescription; and that Scientific method should be disenthralled from the *dicta* of authority, and the true method determined in the spirit of independence.

Three centuries were appropriated to this work, the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth, which we call collectively, the period of the Reformation, although the Reformation, strictly speaking occurred in the sixteenth. But the fifteenth was preparatory to the sixteenth, and the seventeenth was the continuation of the preceding century—the carrying out of its spirit.

The taking of Constantinople was the great event of the fifteenth century. This drove the Greek Literati into Europe. They brought with them the Greek language, Greek art, literature and philosophy. The cloistered scholastics of Europe were surprised and fascinated by beauty of form, beauty of poetic conception, imagery and verse, and by the various free and brilliant philosophies of the classic land and the classic age. The dry subtleties of Scholasticism could not abide a comparison with the Socratic dialogues; and the Aristotle of the Schools,in his theological dress was put to shame and ban-

ished as an impostor by the Aristotle who came fresh from his native clime, and spoke his native tongue.

And thus Scholasticism disappeared never to return; and Greek philosophy, multifarious and confused indeed, became for a time, the universal enchantment.

No less signal in the sixteenth century was the destruction of ecclesiastical prescription by Luther, the man of the Reformation. The authority of truth and of God supplanted the authority of the Church.

In Bacon and DesCartes the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are united. Leibnitz and Locke belong to the seventeenth. Four illustrious names are these. With them was born the spirit of intellectual independence. They cover the whole field of philosophy. Bacon and Locke were of the sensualistic School; DesCartes of the Idealistic; and Leibnitz attempted to harmonize the two. But they all agreed in rebelling against authority, in proclaiming freedom of thought, and in seeking a basis for science in fact and demonstrated truth alone.

The Novum Organum of Bacon particularly is regarded as introducing that new era of scientific investigation whose splendid results we are daily witnessing.

It was inevitable that this threefold disenthrallment should exert an influence upon the Educational System. It was just what was required to perfect it. The progress of knowledge and education exert upon each other a reciprocal influence.—One cannot advance without the other.

There have been just three things accomplished in respect to Education. First, the erection of new associations as complements of the University. Secondly, the perfection of the University system of discipline. Thirdly, the development of a system of popular education.

The first we find in the special associations which have been framed for promoting the Arts and Sciences, such as the Royal Academy of London, the Royal Society of London, the Royal Academy of Berlin, and the Institute of France. Associations more or less approximating to European Academies

begin to appear in our own country. The Royal Society of London was established on the plan of Bacon, first at Oxford in 1645; eighteen years afterwards it was removed to London. The Royal Academy of Berlin, was planned and founded by Leibnitz. He was its first President, and edited the first volume of its transactions. We call these academies complements to the University, for this reason: Composed of the most eminent scholars, they devote themselves exclusively to one function of the University in relation to Science and Art, namely,—investigation and discovery; and add to this the publication of the latest results. This function is thus rendered more efficient; while the University, proper, devotes itself more particularly to the work of Education.

In proceeding to consider the modern development of the University system, we cannot fail to remark that the independent spirit and the freedom of the ancient schools have come to be united with the university organization of the model age, through the threefold disenthrallment already pointed out; and Education is now conducted in the light of that legitimate philsophy which has taken the place of scholasticism, is is no longer burthened by ecclesiastical prescription, and emancipated from mere authority, has attained the method and aims of a determinate science. We do not say that this revolution is complete and universal ; but it has advanced so far in the most illustrious and influential universities,that very perfect models already exist, and the ultimate and complete triumph cannot be far distant.

There are three things to be considered in an educational system : 1. The natural order of the development of the human faculties ; 2. The studies best adapted to this order in advancing from one stage to another ; 3. How far education should be prescribed as a discipline; and when it should be exchanged for free and independent study where knowledge is the object, and culture the necessary attendant.

The University relates to the last. The mind is presumed to have received a discipline, by which, having gained an

insight into method, it can now freely go out in search of knowledge, and with wise discrimination avail itself of the abundant means and appliances provided in the University, quickened and aided by the voice of the living teacher, leading the way in investigation and thought. Examination of books, original investigations, hearing the teacher and conducting disputations with him—these constitute the employments of the University. Disputation is essential, for it leads to a more perfect analysis, and clears away difficulties. Socrates' whole method was one of disputation. In some, at least, of the universities of the scholastic age, the Professor was bound to sit after he had delivered his lecture, and hear and answer objections. Abelard was at first a pupil of William of Champeaux; but the objections of the pupil seem to have confounded the master, until the former becoming, in turn, a lecturer, he outran his master in celebrity and popularity.

Both the ancient schools and the Universities of the middle age had the true method. Both, however, were defective in other respects. The ancients had not properly a preparatory discipline. That of the middle ages was imperfect as to the knowledges taught, and by the want of an orderly and philosophical progress—a progress graduated to the constitution of the mind. It is probable that the introduction of teaching into the colleges was at first induced by the want of a proper preparation for the university lectures on the part of the residents.

The ancients, again, were without organization. The middle age had organization, but was without true freedom of thought.

See now, what has been accomplished in the modern age! I cannot go to England for illustrations, for there has been retrogradation instead of progress. I must of necessity go to France and Germany. I will confine myself to the last, for Germany has taken the lead in modern university development. In Germany we find a science of Pedagogy, and institutions based upon it. Pedagogy is the combined result of a priori psychological determination, of observation and ex-

periment. Psychology gives the mental faculties, and the natural order of their development; observation confirms this; experiment tests studies and method. We do not affirm that pedagogical science is perfected; but we know that it is in progress and has already led to important results. We see these results in the schools preparatory to the university, and in the University itself. The limits of each have been determined, and their proper relation revealed; courses of study have been adjusted to the human faculties, and definite periods of time adjusted to the courses of study. Time and labor are both saved, and all labor is made productive. A boy having gained the usual and necessary rudiments of learning, at some seven or eight years of age, enters upon the preparatory discipline. The whole of this discipline is found in one institution—the Gymnasium. Here classes are graduated, extending through some ten years, embracing what is most needful to learn within that time, what experiment has determined it is possible to learn, and what philosophically considered must constitute the best discipline of the mind up to the period of nascent manhood. Here is no arbitrary four years course, for a degree of Bachelor of Arts, and no arbitrary seven years course for a degree of Master of Arts. These degrees are abolished. In England, the attainment of a degree is the object of the course. In Germany, the attainment of a certain discipline connected with a certain amount of learning is the object of the course. The degrees were instituted in the scholastic age. They had then a definite meaning—they were accredited diplomas of the public teacher. If the number of years was graduated to the existing state of knowledge, when philology was crude, when science was in its infancy, and when scholasticism reigned supreme, with what propriety can that number be retained now, when all is changed, and we have a new age of letters, science and philosophy? But the graduation had not even this merit; on the contrary it was purely mystical. Seven was the sacred number; hence, seven was made to embosom the arts, and to express the years for their acquisition. If the mystical number of arts be dis-

carded, why retain the mystical number of years? And we may ask, too, why retain the degrees which were the exponents of this mystical discipline?

Were not the Germans wise, therefore, when scholasticism was abolished, in abolishing its times and degrees?

Mark the difference! In the scholastic age, educational discipline was determined mystically: in the modern age, it is determined by the philosophy of mind, by observation and experiment.

And this course in the German gymnasia has the merit, too, of being open to improvement, as the science of pedagogy advances—that science which determines the proper and adequate preparations for free and independent study, and manly self-discipline. For the increase in the number of sciences, for the wider and richer unfolding of the sciences, for the farther sweep of all human knowledge, provision is made in the University.

We perceive then, that the establishment of the gymnastic preparatory course has led to the proper development of the university. Or taking the actual historical order of development, instead of the logical, the efforts of great and enlightened scholars to perfect the university, forced the gymnasium into existence. See now, how natural and beautiful is the relation of the two! In the gymnasium the student serves his apprenticeship to the art of study. But the art of study is gained in the act of studying, that is as knowledge is gained. But, again, the branches, by the study of which, the art of study is gained, are those which are preparatory to the study of all science fully provided for in the university; that is of languages, the pure and mixed sciences in their fundamental principles, history, criticism, and of whatever may lie at the basis of a superstructure of knowledge in any field open to the human intellect.

Now entering the university not by presenting a diploma, but through the ordeal of an examination, the student finds himself qualified to read books, to investigate subjects, to list-

en to learned lectures, to engage in learned discussions, and to carry on wisely his education, whether he addict himself to a profession, to any particular science, or aim to become himself a professor in any of the faculties. In the university the opportunities of study are without limit, and the student may be a student all his life.

We have remarked that degrees do not wait upon the course of study pursued in the gymnasium, although, that course embraces all that English and American colleges can pretend to. Indeed, according to the most ancient academical laws and precedents, the university alone is competent to confer degrees. Even in England, where education is resigned into the hands of the College, the University alone confers degrees. In Germany the University confers degrees also, but sparingly, specially, and never upon whole classes. We have already stated that the two degrees of arts are abolished.—This may be considered as consequent upon a new division of the subjects of study. In the scholastic age, the studies belonging to the three learned professions were termed philosophies, and all other studies were termed arts. In Germany, the studies of the learned professions are designated by the titles of the three corresponding Faculties—theology, law, medicine; and all other studies are comprised under the general title of philosophy, with a corresponding Faculty.

In philosophy only one degree is conferred—that of Doctor of Philosophy. This is conferred upon application by the candidate, and after an examination. It has a meaning, since he who receives it, is deemed qualified to commence a course of lectures in the university. In medicine and law the degree of Doctor is conferred upon the same conditions and implies here likewise the qualifications and privileges of a public lecturer in the respective faculties. Doctor of Theology is purely honorary, and is conferred rarely, and only upon clergymen of very high distinction. The old academical law is thus preserved in the German universities, by which a master or Doctor is entitled, if not obligated to teach. We find in these Universities three classes of teachers: First, the or-

dinary and salaried professors; second, the professors extraordinary, or, as we would say, assistant professors, who receive no salary, and depend upon class fees alone; third, the mere Doctors in the different faculties who commence lecturing, and who, also, receive only class fees. These are called Docentes or Teachers.

A German University is, therefore, an association of scholars for scientific and educational purposes, as truly as the scholastic Universities; but as much in advance of the latter, as the modern world is in advance of the middle ages in general intelligence and useful improvements. We find here renewed, the freedom, the spirit, the ideal conceptions of the Greek schools; we find preserved in full energy the organization of the scholastic Universities; but, in addition to this, we find the modern University placed in its proper relation as the culmination of a grand system of Education. The good of the past is preserved, the evils are eliminated, the imperfections are supplied, and the unity of all true progress is demonstrated.

The third point to be noticed in modern educational development is popular Education. This is a necessary part of the educational movement, and must follow the proper university development. We have shown how the few great thinkers must first appear; how they naturally become the educators of their day, and permeate all following times with the quickening energy of their thoughts. We have shown how naturally and inevitably learned associations arise from these, and grow into educational organizations. It is all a work of genius and free thought. It is a light struck from the heart of humanity itself. It cannot be isolated, it cannot be confined; the very law of its existence is that it shall spread itself far and wide. Disciples gathered around the old philosophers to be taught; they in turn could not but teach others. Thousands crowded the halls of the scholastic universities, drawn by the charm of knowledge, themselves to be graduated as teachers; the very condition on which they were taught was that they should teach others. Education has

never been confined to rank. The call to thought was breathed by the winds, murmured by the streams, scattered abroad by the light, written in the beauty, harmony, and glory of creation, and spoken in the inward sense and longing of the human heart. Education could not begin, without, in the end, becoming universal.

The modern university exemplifies this principle of necessary diffusion. The university must be supplied from the gymnasium; the gymnasium must be supplied from the broad and deep reservoir of the people. But a rudimental training becomes necessary as a preparation for the gymnasium. Here then is the necessity of a general rudimental education. Then arises a supply of a different kind moving in the opposite direction—a supply of teachers. The taught must teach, or the whole system breaks to pieces. Hence, the university supplies teachers not only for itself, but for the gymnasium also; and the gymnasium must directly or indirectly supply teachers for the people. With the multiplication of educated men, entering into all the offices of society, the charm of education is felt, and its necessity perceived. The genial inspiration spreads, and a whole people is pervaded by the spirit of education. Popular education is the natural and necessary result.

Compare now the state of popular education in England with that in Germany. In England the university system has not reached a proper development. Here the teachers are only the fellows—an elect and exclusive class; while the graduates at large instead of feeling the obligation of becoming teachers in time, and finding a field open for the exercise of their vocation, go out into the world as men who are possessed of a privilege which belongs to rank and fortune. And hence, no system of popular education has, as yet, made its appearance here.

In Germany on the contrary, where the gymnasium is open to the poor as freely as to the rich, where all who honorably pass through the gymnasium cannot fail of finding access to the university, and where every educated man becoming a

member of the great educational system, incurs the obligation as well as meets the demand to contribute by his labors as a teacher to its sustentation—there we find a most perfect system of popular education. As every thing in education depends upon a proper supply of teachers, so there the primary or common school is provided for in a distinct institution—the Seminary or Normal School; while this again is supplied with instructors from the university and gymnasium.

The grand result may be stated in a few words—every individual of the people receives at least a rudimental education, and the highest forms of education are possible to all, without distinction of rank and fortune.

We have thus, in pursuing the course of educational development, been led to the German, or as it is more commonly called, the Prussian System, its highest, and most perfect representative in modern times. We have been led to this inevitably. It is not the opinion of an individual, or of a class; it is the conclusion of a demonstration; or rather, it is an obvious fact, which only the grossest ignorance or the most stupid prejudice could presume to deny. The wisest philosophers, and the greatest educators have united in commending this system. Were it necessary to appeal to authority, I might mention two names, than which none can be found more illustrious for intellect and learning, or more devoted to the great cause of education and civilization. I refer to Cousin of France, and Hamilton of Scotland. The first while minister of Public Instruction was sent on a special mission to Prussia to examine and report upon its system of education. That report was received with universal approbation in Europe and America. It held up the Prussian System as the most perfect in the world. Through its influence important changes were introduced into the system of public education in France. No part of it was more commended than that which relates to popular education. Hamilton reviewed this Report in the Edinburgh Review. "The institutions of Germany, for public instruction," he remarks, "we have long known and admired. We saw these institutions accomplish-

ing their end to an extent and in a degree elsewhere unexampled; and were convinced that if other nations attempted an improvement of their educational policy, this could only be accomplished rapidly, surely, and effectually, by adopting, as far as circumstances would permit, a system thus approved by an extensive experience, and the most memorable success." After commending Cousin as "a philosoper superior to all the prejudices of age or country, party or profession," and "from his universality, both of thought and acquirement, the man in France able adequately to determine what a scheme of national education ought in theory to accomplish; and from his familiarity with German literature and philosophy, prepared to appreciate in all its bearings, what the German national education actually performs," he adds, "from the first page of his Report to the last, there is not a statement nor opinion of any moment in which we do not fully and cordially agree." "The Report," he continues, "was published in defiance of national self-love, and the strongest national antipathies, it carried conviction throughout France; a bill framed by its author for primary education, and founded on its conclusions, was almost immediately passed into a law; and M. Cousin himself appointed to watch over and direct its execution. Nor could the philosopher have been entrusted with a more congenial office; for, in the language of his own Plato,—"Man cannot propose a higher and holier object for his study, than education, and all that pertains to education." The benefit of his legislation cannot indeed, be limited to France; a great example has there been set, which must be elsewhere followed; and other nations than his own will bless the philosopher for their intelligent existence. "*Juventutem recte formare*," says Melancthon, "*paulo plus est quam expugnare Trojam;*" and to carry back the education of Prussia into France,affords a nobler—if a bloodless triumph—there the trophies of Austerlitz and Jena."

It is now more than twenty years since Sir William Hamilton attacked the English universities, exposed their deterioration and defects,and called aloud or reform. His clear statement of

facts,his conclusive logic, his tremendous sarcasm, and his eloquent protests, could not wholly fail even with a people as immovable as the English; but still, it must be confessed of them, that they are prone in more senses than one to attempt to enter Russia by Constantinople rather than by Warsaw; and that when once they have adopted a plan they would rather make their graves at Sevastopol than change it.

Having traced the progress of educational development to modern Europe, we cannot, with propriety, omit to take a glance at our own country, in order to determine our place in the great movement.

I have heard the remark made that education in our country is quite peculiar, and is strictly an American system, and that all our efforts ought to be bent to develope and perfect it as an American system, independently of precedents. This all sounds very well, and will serve to point the harangue of a demagogue who has some end of his own to accomplish. But has it any rational and definite signification? One of our aborigines might talk quite consistently and intelligibly of an American system of education, and might point to a training in the use of the bow for war, and for hunting the deer and the buffalo, and to wigwam discipline. The Chinese, the Hindoo, and the Hottentot might also each claim a system peculiar to his country. But of the nations who lie within the stream of European and Christian civilization, how is it possible for any one to claim independence of the past, whether in science and letters, in arts, in religion, in government, or in education! Are not the roots of modern Europe spread through the past, and are not we an outgrowth of modern Europe? The men who first settled this country came from Europe, with thoughts which they had thought there, with principles which they had gained there, and to plant here institutions which had sprung up there: escaping, it may be, from impediments, persecution, and oppression, which at the time were in the ascendant there, to find here a fairer climate and a more genial soil, and to breathe a purer air of freedom; but, Europeans, nevertheless, with European ideas, and ideas

too running back twenty centuries, the golden and imperishable links of thought binding together the past, present, and future.

Our science, our arts, our literature, with one consent we give them a European origin. Our religion, the forms of our worship, the very denominations into which we are divided—these are European also. The spirit of our constitution is found in the English constitution. Our representative government, if more perfect, still symbolizes with that of England. Our common law is the common law of England. The very union of our States was preceded by the union of States in Holland.

Is it in education then that we are purely original? Is there nothing here of foreign origin? Let us see.

The first institution of learning in our country was founded at Cambridge in Massachusetts. It was founded by men who had been educated in the English universities. After this, other institutions were founded in different parts of our country, such as Yale College in New Haven, and Nassau Hall, or New Jersey College, in Princeton. Confessedly they are all after the same model. This is true in general of all the colleges which have at different times been established in our country. Who does not see that they are essentially a re-production of the English colleges? They have their head master, or President; originally they were taught chiefly by tutors, and some still retain this feature; they all have the four under graduate classes with the same names, the annual commencement ceremonies, and the academical degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts.

Again, the English colleges are connected with the university which confers the degrees upon their graduates. So all the American colleges have at least, one of the university faculties—that of arts; and some, like Yale and Harvard, have even four faculties; and they all exercise the university function of conferring degrees. Those with four faculties ought to be regarded as universities, after the English or scholastic model. Those with one faculty are partial universities. Here,

however, we present an anomaly, inasmuch as institutions which have only the Faculty of Arts, confer degrees in all the other faculties. Our colleges are therefore English colleges modified to suit peculiar circumstances. Indeed they may be regarded as a return to the scholastic colleges of France, where the university became distributed into colleges, as we have already pointed out. In this respect they are improvements upon the English colleges, and have really advanced one step from the retrogradation of the latter. Where they have substituted, entirely, instruction by university faculties for instruction by tutors, they have advanced well nigh to a strict conformity to the old French colleges.

Our collegiate system, therefore, where it is not strictly English is still strictly European; and it must be confessed copies closely the degenerate period of the scholastic age.

Closely allied to the college in our country is the academy, which is preparatory to it, and indeed, may even be considered a part of it, since one or more years of the college course may be pursued at the academy. The idea of our academies is borrowed from English schools like those of Eton and Winchester.

The superior intelligence of the men who laid the foundation of our institutions, the early establishment of seminaries of learning, the active intelligence of a free people, the necessity of education felt by all where the responsibility of political power is shared by all, have together led to a system of popular education which is both the safeguard of our liberties, and our glory as a nation. In popular education we symbolize most closely with Germany.

In perfecting this system, as well as in efforts to arrive at a more rational development of our higher institutions, we are beginning to feel the influence of a people who beyond all others have reduced education to a science, and to whom we must yield the honor of being the proper representatives of modern educational development. From them we have already borrowed the Normal school—the only effectual means of perfecting the primary school. But the Normal school itself

cannot be perfected without the gymnasium and university. Their entire system is one compact organism, where each part can do well its proper work, only, by a union and co-working of all the parts. The logical order of educational development is, of course, from the lower schools to the higher—the lower expanding, flowing into the higher. But the historical order ever has been, ever must be from the higher to the lower—the higher calling the lower into existence, or where other causes as in our own country have contributed to produce them, the higher perfecting the lower. This has been abundantly illustrated from the ancient schools to the present time. A whole people in a state of ignorance never spontaneously move upward to the level of rudimental education. Spontaneous movement is in individual minds; and small associations in the higher spheres of thought are first formed. From them education spreads, and flows downward, until a universal rudimental education is attained, which then becomes the logical basis of the whole educational system.

And if we were to suppose a whole people in a state of ignorance, by a spontaneous movement, to make a demand for education, it would be necessary, first of all, to seek for teachers to impart the rudiments of learning. But these teachers would imply a still higher order of teachers; and so on, until we should arrive at the few only who by extraordinary genius and energy had attained to self-culture, and by discoveries in science logically reduced, and literary productions, had prepared the materials and instruments of education.

Progress in knowledge and progress in education must ever run parallel to each other. And as a proper arrangement and presentation of the elements of any science presumes its higher development, so the proper constitution of schools for elementary education presumes the existence of institutions where education culminates.

In order, therefore, to perfect all degrees of knowledge, we must aim at the completest unfolding of every branch of knowledge; for example, to perfect agricultural science, we must perfect chemical science, and to perfect nautical science,

we must perfect astronomical science, and to perfect this, we need the highest mathematical science.

Things with which we are quite familiar, and which we are accustomed to call very simple, have their explanation in the profoundest depths of science, and arise from the subtlest causes: like the water which we dip up from the spring, which was collected from the ocean, dropped from the clouds, percolated through the bosom of the mountain, and wound its course through many a hidden channel. And, so also, the lowest degrees of education require somewhere the highest forms of culture. Our spelling-book contains the words of a cultivated language—the language in which Shakspeare and Milton wrote. Our simplest arithmetic is founded upon ratio, proportion, and equation. The common knowledge of the earth and skies, now taught to children, required the genius of a Newton, a La Place, a Davy, a Liebig. There is no vulgar and puerile truth, for all truth has a divine source. The angels who look upon the face of God are the guardians of infants; and the knowledge of the Infinite is necessary to guide us in our simplest duties.

The great principle of all knowledge lies in the possibility of the highest knowledge: The great principle of all education lies in the possibility of the highest education.

Any people or state, therefore, who would have a perfect system of education, must bend their endeavors to the development of the highest institutions of learning.

We have seen how the colleges and universities of our country have grown from European institutions. But it must be acknowledged, that we have not squared ourselves yet to the highest forms and degrees of European development. Our system belongs to the scholastic age, rather than to the modern.

We have, indeed, received ideas belonging to the modern age, and we are making attempts to apply them in the improvement of our institutions. But these attempts have not yet brought about one harmonious system, but rather a mixture of opposite systems.

In the New England States we find a number of colleges all independent of each other; with one or two exceptions, disconnected with the State; with one or more faculties; and all following the English model or the French scholastic colleges in their general organization. Brown University is an exception in part.

In the State of New York all the colleges are embraced by a central organization, called the University of the State of New York, consisting of a Board of Regents presided over by a Chancellor. The control which this board exercises however, is very slight, and the several colleges appear to enjoy equal independence with the colleges of other States. They make annual reports, which are embodied in the Report of the Regents. Then in the city of New York there is a university, so called, with two faculties organized, and the power of organizing another, subject also to the Regents of the State, and constituted under a board of Councillors with a Chancellor. The State organization is copied after the English, at Cambridge and Oxford, although varying from it in several respects; while the organization of the city university is copied after that of London.

In Rochester there is a university of two faculties, with both a President and a Chancellor. In Wisconsin there is a university with one faculty, organized under a Board of Regents and a Chancellor. The other colleges and universities of the country copy generally the New England colleges, with the exception of the University of Virginia, and Brown University. Of our own university I shall speak separately. The degrees are granted in the last two after a certain amount of study, but the students are allowed to select their courses with great freedom. These institutions, in this respect, conform to the University of Edinburgh.

But while the English models are in general followed in our country, the indications are very decisive that the influence of the German universities has not been unfelt. This appears in the additional schools which have been introduced, such as the Lawrence Scientific School in Harvard, and the Philosoph-

ical department, and the schools of Civil Engineering and Agriculture in Yale College, and in the university course lately established in Union College, on the fund created and donated by President Nott.

We perceive in all this, attempts to advance beyond the English colleges, and to bring in something of the German amplitude and freedom.

In proceeding to consider the system of public instruction in our own State, we must admit at once that we have here also a mixture of systems. I have on a former occasion spoken on this subject so fully, that a brief view will here suffice.

The Board of Regents, the different faculties, the four years course, the annual commencement, the two degrees in arts—all belong to the English and scholastic institutions. The presiding officer of the Board of Regents is also the chief executive officer of the institution, and the president of all the faculties. This is according to the English university, or scholastic system, also.

On the Continent the title of this officer is Rector: In England it is Chancellor; but the executive functions are discharged by a Vice-Chancellor. In our country wherever a board of Regents has been constituted, the English precedent has been followed, unless our own State be an exception.

So far, then we have embraced in our system, in common with the institutions of our country, English and scholastic elements. But there are others of a different character.

Throughout the legislation of our State on the subject of education, in the plans of education drawn up by our wisest and best men, in our constitutional provisions, and in the forms of institutions which have been attempted, or which have attained a permanent existence, we find the Prussian system announced as a model, and more or less developed. Our primary schools, our Normal school, our superintendent of public instruction are directly copied from Prussia. Again, when the university was first established, there were established along with it certain schools which were called

branches of the university. These were preparatory to the university, and were evidently copied from the German gymnasium.

Their title was a misnomer. A university can have no branches, unless we so designate its faculties. A university is a compact association of learned men incorporated and existing in one place. To distribute it into branches planted in different places, would prove as incompatible with its offices as to scatter abroad a legislative assembly, and would, in fact, destroy it.

A university may attempt to distribute itself into colleges, but then the colleges must be collected in one place, where all the materials of learning may be concentrated, and where the faculties may have convenient access to them. Any other arrangement would beget the necessity of multiplying faculties with libraries and apparatus, and would really issue in the creation of many distinct institutions of the same kind. Besides, we have proved that colleges do not legitimately compose a university, that they destroyed the integrity of the French universities, and superseded the English with institutions of a very inferior grade.

But laying aside the title of branches, we see in these institutions a worthy attempt to create that system of gymnasia essential to a well ordered system of education, and without which universities cannot reach their full proportions and efficiency.

It was unfortunate that the plan could not have been properly digested and carried out. To place them upon the university fund was suicidal of the whole undertaking: for they only diminished a nutriment which can never be sufficient for both, without deriving an adequate supply for their own existence.

The Union schools which have since arisen are but another expression of the same idea—the idea of taking pupils who have received the first rudiments of learning at the primary school, and inducting them into a system of regular training, based on the constitution of the human mind, and the natural

order of the growth and unfolding of its faculties; and on the nature of different studies as ministering to this growth, and forming a philosophical discipline of the faculties graduated to this order; so that, from childhood to adolescence, and from adolescence to budding manhood, the mind shall be led along genially and cheerfully, to any point of education less than the full course, or, by completing the course, to a preparation for the university. This is the true gymnastic course—the course which Michigan has been aiming at in her intermediate schools, and which it may be her high destiny finally to mature and bring into full operation. Whatever these schools may cost, the State has no higher interest than their perfect constitution and development. They will afford the possibility of education as widely and freely as the common schools, but it will be the possibility of a higher education, consistently and harmoniously ordered. Now, a vast amount of time is lost in childhood and youth for the want of early opportunities of educational training; and young men who propose to enter the higher institutions of learning, have either to suffer the loss of knowledge which ought to have been acquired long before, or are compelled by spasmodic efforts, often ruinous to the health, and injurious to the mind itself, to make up, and that in an imperfect manner, the deficiencies of early life. Conceive of a gymnasium open to you from childhood. At twelve years of age you have acquired French, have overcome the difficulties of the Latin, and begin to feel the charms of its literature, and are grounded in arithmetic, geography, drawing, and music: At fifteen you are reading Greek and German with pleasure, and have acquired the elements of mathematics, and a general knowledge of history: And at eighteen or nineteen—instead of beginning to prepare for college, as many now do, tortured by the Latin and Greek grammars, and in the haste inspired by the consciousness that you are almost men—you find yourselves in the easy and almost natural command of languages and the principles of science, with the habits of a scholar thoroughly matured, and the art of study mastered, and ready to step into the university as an

inviting field of knowledge, where every thing is prepared to your hand, and where you feel prepared to put your hand to every thing, with the skill of one who having thoroughly learned his trade is never embarrassed in handling his tools.

Ye who know by hard experience the want of all this, sympathize with those who are to come after you, and in the true spirit of literary association, determine unitedly to labor for the elevation and perfection of the institutions of your country!

The proper constitution of these schools, by whatever name they are designated, will require great wisdom, great care, great energy, and a supply of teachers who know how to do their work.

Where shall we find these teachers? The Normal schools cannot supply them, for they are designed to supply teachers for the primary schools—a great and important work, embracing what we have called the logical basis of the whole system of public instruction. Or they can supply them only to a limited extent, and in the more juvenile classes. The University alone can supply teachers for the gymnastic schools. In Germany you will find university-educated men giving instruction in arithmetic and geography; masters of their subjects, they instruct without text books, and fill their class-rooms with the vivacity and charm of oral communication, and keep the interest of their pupils alive by the necessity of prompt answers to unexpected questions.

And here rises up to view, again, the great principle I have expounded and illustrated throughout this discourse, that in the historical order of development the highest institutions come first. Without a perfected university, we can never have a perfected system of public education, even in the lowest degrees; and as it has been, so must it ever be, that popular education must flow out of the higher institutions, as the showers that water the valleys and plains fall from clouds which were gathered on the mountains.

The university, the gymnasium, the Normal schools, the primary schools, once started into existence, must move on

together. Each is necessary to the whole, and the prosperity of each contributes to the prosperity of the whole. Nothing but sheer sciolism or utter ignorance can conceive of any opposition between them; and none but an empiric in education, or a traitor to its cause, can aim to aid one by the sacrifice of any of the others. Education is like a garden of trees, where some are just springing from the earth, some have attained a young growth, some are beginning to tower aloft in nascent form, beauty and strength, while others have reached a mature and majestic growth, and are bearing seeds and scattering them far and wide. There can be no great trees, unless there are first the little sprouts shooting through the soil, but the great trees sow the seeds which perpetuate the kind.

The University of Michigan is not yet a proper university, even in form. Full grown it cannot be, but why not give it a proper form?

The history of this university is in every respect honorable to those who have created it, to those who have fostered and conducted it. I have no fault to find with Regents, faculties, patrons and friends. I shall not even find fault with enemies, for they too have helped it along. It is like a plant which the sun shone upon, and the dew and the rains watered, and it grew: and then there came an earthquake, and many feared that its stem was broken, or that the earth had swallowed it up: but when the convulsion had ceased, it was found there still, growing more luxuriantly, and becoming more beautiful than ever; the earthquake had only shattered some rocks about its roots which enabled them to spread wide and free, and opened a living spring by its side which ever afterwards kept it fresh and green.

No institution of learning in this country, in the same time, has grown so rapidly. Let any one look into the histories of our colleges and universities, and he will find this to be the fact.

Founded upon a fund created by the bounty of the General Government, it has cost the State nothing. Enlightened and good men were its founders, and the good and true hearts of

the State have ever gathered around it. Past legislation has not done much for it. There are facts which would indicate that past legislation has even impaired its fund.

But, more recently, legislation has been directed toward its interests. We may now begin to hope that the State will cherish its own institution, and be a sun and shield to it. In some quarters there is a disposition to build up separate sectarian colleges. Sects, undoubtedly, have a right to do this. But, it appears to me a subject of regret, whether it take place in our State, or in other States. There was a time when, perhaps, it was unavoidable; but where a great central State institution exists, or can be created, it is the true policy for all sects and parties to rally around it.

We can see no good reason why the State which creates and fosters a system of primary schools, should not also create and foster the higher institutions of learning, with the single exception of theological institutions. If the lower grade of education be taken under the patronage of the State, why should not the higher grades also? It is an abuse of language to apply the term *popular*, only, to the lower grade of education. Why not make the whole system of education, from the primary schools to the university, *popular*, in the sense of laying all open to the people, so that every man may, if he please, attain to the most perfect education? This accords with the true idea of democratical institutions; and this idea has already made its mark upon the educational system of Michigan.

There are, perhaps, no parts of our country better adapted to the creation of universities, according to the true idea, than the State of Michigan and the city of New York. I may, at least, be permitted to speak of these, more particularly, because I am better acquainted with them.

The State of Michigan has already an institution which is making some progress towards the realization of the true idea, and is capable of realizing it completely. What she now needs, most of all, is the establishment of intermediate institutions or gymnasia. If she takes the two extreme grades—

the primary schools together with the Normal school, and the university under her patronage and direction, why not take the intermediate grade also? Now, the university, of necessity, is, for the most part, a gymnasium. Were gymnasia established in all the principal places, then students would be prepared for the university course, and the university might be fully developed. Nothing is wanting for this but funds for the endowment of gymnasia, and to complete the endowment of the university. These funds might be provided from the Swamp Lands. Michigan has the advantage of having a system marked out, and, already, in part, developed. She is also in the freshness of her youth, and is less trammelled by precedents and usage than older States.

The city of New York has an admirable system of public schools, and is connecting with this Normal school instruction. It has also established one institution—the Free Academy—which symbolizes very much with the gymnasium. It requires, only, a greater term of years, embracing pupils younger than those now admitted, and an extension of its course of study upwards, in order to become a gymnasium complete. The city of New York might multiply these institutions. Berlin, a smaller city than New York, has seven gymnasia, containing over three thousand pupils. Why should New York have less? The two colleges at present existing in New York might also become gymnasia. Or dividing their organization, they might each have a gymnasium, and in their faculties become connected with a common university.

A university might be established in New York by the city itself. If the city establish the other grades of education, why not establsh the highest?

Or, a university might be established by private subscription.

In either case, there is one obstacle which New York can never experience, and that is the want of the requisite funds. A city of such enormous wealth and of such lavish expend-

iture in so many directions, can never plead the want of means for the great purpose of public education.

Science and letters have no natural alliance with sects in religion, or parties in politics, but offer a common ground where all elevated minds, and the true friends of human improvement may fraternize and pursue a common end. Sectarian colleges remind us of the Cathedral and Conventual schools. A great university, common to all, recalls the freedom and academic charm of the ancient classic schools, and advances our educational system to the dignity and efficiency claimed by the modern age of educational development. Instead of the numerous imperfect colleges scattered through the United States, how noble that organization would appear, which should give to each State a great central university with dependent gymnasia planted in, at least, all the principal places!

But to accomplish this, we must, first of all, imbibe the true idea of a university, and begin to adopt the proper form.

I have said that the University of Michigan has not reached the proper form. Indeed, where do we find the proper form in our country?

What means this four years course for the first degree, and then three years more for the second degree? Surely there is nothing American in this—there is nothing even modern in it. No one doubts that it is altogether scholastic—the mystic number of years retained which was once graduated to a mystic number of arts! How fond we are of this mystic number. We give it not merely to all our colleges; we are giving it to all our schools above the common school grade. We have every where our four classes, our commencements, and graduations. We are multiplying our Bachelors and Masters on all sides. Are we not even dreaming of re-building the Parthenon, and restoring the image made by the hand of Phidias? "The fond idolators of old" deified beauty and wisdom under different forms; but we will deify all our beauty under the form of wisdom, and we will place our new goddess in our new Parthenon under the august title of Mistress of Arts?

Is there any thing in the nature and compass of science and letters, which demands that in order to gain a sufficient knowledge of them to qualify us to begin to teach them, and to gain a very perfect knowledge of them so that we may teach them like masters, we must distribute them first under a four years course, and then under a three? And although we may have seventy arts where the scholastics had seven, is the mystic number like the fairy tent, usually folded up like a fan, but when the occasion required, capable of being expanded so as shelter a whole army?

This blind devotion to a mystic number, this implicit obedience to a rule derived from a period which we are accustomed, in other relations, to call the dark ages, is a most extraordinary fact in the history of education. Its influence has been disastrous. It is this which has led us, as the number of our sciences has still increased and each science expanded, as history has still grown, and literature multiplied, to crush them all within a Procrustean bed and reduce them to an invariable dimension. Thus has education become superficial in proportion as it has become pretentious; and the true idea of education as a discipline of the faculties has been lost sight of in the attainment of a degree, which means less in proportion as it attempts to represent more.

Why not, then, abolish this system and establish a real university? Will it be said that we cannot find a sufficient number of students prepared or willing to enter a proper university? The very objection implies the poverty of our discipline, and is an acknowledgment that we neither bestow a high culture, nor awaken an enthusiasm for learning. The greater the need, then, of attempting something better.

Do you ask what I propose? I reply:—Let the leading institutions of our country, and our own among the number, strike out boldly into the true university discipline. Let them each become a proper university, and each establish by its own side a proper gymnasium. Models would thus be created. Each would furnish a supply of students for itself in the first instance. Students too would spring up from other

sources, for such a movement would awaken an enthusiasm now undreamed of. Nor would the period of educational discipline be extended beyond its present limit: but appropriating the early years of life, and introducing a consecutive gradation, we should really gain education where we now gain a degree, and exchange the title of master for the deep consciousness of knowledge and culture.

Then would a new era of education and of institutions of learning in our country, be ushered in. With us, too, the spirit of the old Greek schools would be wedded to modern science, arts, and civilization, and they would represent the blushing morning, and we the meridian splendor of the same day.

All literary association, all educational development began with the ancient schools: all literary association, all educational development, in our day, flow from university organization. This is the great fact. The societies whose members I now address are another illustration of this fact.

Gentlemen! remember the high origin of your associations. Most noble and ancient is their ancestry: and in the long descent appear the names of the great and good, whose path through the ages is a path of light, and whose lives make up all that is most valuable in history, and most worthy to be remembered. Imitate those who have gone before you, by a noble and generous devotion to letters and arts. The very names you bear, you have borrowed from the old Greeks. Live up to the significancy of those names. Be inspired by the Attic spirit of philosophic truth and ideal beauty. Seize boldly also upon the modern idea of educational development. Be yourselves an illustration of the identity which reigns throughout; and one of the freshest and most unexceptionable examples of the True, the Good, and the Beautiful, perpetuated by the association of scholars.

BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS,

DELIVERED AT THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY,

JUNE 27, 1855.

BACCALAUREATE.

GENTLEMEN—GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN:

In the discourse which I had the honor to deliver before the Literary Societies, on Monday evening last, I attempted a sketch of the progress of Educational Development. I then pointed out the origin and the meaning of the degrees which have been conferred to-day.

In the ancient schools there were no academical degrees; they had their origin in the university organization which arose in the last centuries of the middle ages. The university was an association of learned men for the purposes of scientific advancement and of education. Graduation was intended both to mark the progress of the pupils, and to be a form of receiving them as members of the university association. For, you will recollect, that this association was composed altogether of graduates, and that the full graduate or master was then, also, a Doctor, a Regent, and a Professor. The graduate of the first degree or Bachelor of Arts, commenced his novitiate as a teacher—a novitiate which extended through three years, and until he took his second degree and became a member of the university association in full.

In England and America, and to some extent in France, the old forms and titles have been continued. In Germany, which we take as the true representative of the modern educational development, the forms and titles are changed while the thing remains, but more elevated and perfect. Here that portion of the discipline which was necessary to a Bachelor's

degree in the old universities, is consigned to a distinct institution—the gymnasium. The completion of this is marked by no degree, although those who have passed through the gymnasium sometimes begin immediately to teach, in the primary and Normal schools. In the university, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is conferred, and this denotes in the modern, what the degree of Master of Arts denoted in the old universities.

The German universities in spirit and in fact are the only modern institutions which closely conform to all that was truly excellent and significant in the institution of degrees; for in them the Doctors of Philosophy, Law, and Medicine receive with their diplomas the right to be admitted as lecturers in their several faculties. The distinction, too, between teachers of the first and second degree is virtually kept up: for, although none but a full graduate or Doctor is allowed to teach, at all, in the university; still, he *begins* to teach among the Docentes or unsalaried lecturers. He attains his highest degree as a teacher when he is received among the full and salaried professors. The extraordinary or assistant professor occupies an intermediate grade in the passage from the Docentes to the Professors. Hence, we find in the German universities a more numerous body of instructors than in any other modern institutions of learning. In this respect, also, they symbolize with the old universities. Thus, in Berlin, for example, in 1850, there were one hundred and sixty-five instructors; of whom, sixty two were full professors, forty-four professors extraordinary, and fifty-nine Docentes or Doctors simply.

Were we prepared, therefore, to carry out with respect to ourselves the modern university development, you perceive that graduation would not cease.

One thing however, cannot be denied;—that whether we regard ourselves as belonging to the form of organization which began in the middle ages, or feel inclined to take our place among modern institutions, we can consistently give but one interpretation to graduation:—to graduate is to take our place among teachers ; to graduate in the first degree is to enter

upon our novitiate as teachers;—to graduate in the second degree is to complete that novitiate and to become teachers in full—teachers under the university organization.

I am well aware that in entering the university association of teachers, it is neither possible in itself, nor expected of you on the part of the university, whether you are graduates of the first or second degree, that you shall all become professional teachers. This never has taken place, and never can take place; for your services are required, also, in other departments of life. But, nevertheless, let it not be forgotten that you are members of this association. As such, it is incumbent upon you to take a lively and peculiar interest in the great cause of education, and to promote it by every means in your power. And in connection with this general duty, I am sure you will not be disposed to deny, that a duty rests upon you, in particular, in reference to the university of which you now are members, and ever must be, while you retain your diplomas. You have here, too, the consolation of reflecting that no conflict of duties can possibly arise. Every great cause is best sustained by each one faithfully doing his duty in his place—in his own particular relation. Besides, their is no way in which education can be more effectually advanced than by carrying out our universities to the highest degree of perfection. These are the great lakes from whence the clouds are formed which fall in fertilizing showers;—the parents of streams which meander far and wide;—the fountains of rivers which flow through mighty regions bestowing beauty and richness along their banks, and uniting the interests of distant places. The manifold benefits—the proud distinction which great institutions of learning bestow upon the countries and States to which they belong, nay, the benefits which they bestow upon other countries and States, is a matter of ordinary history with which every one is familiar. The moment the idea is suggested, do not the universities of Paris, Berlin, Munich, Oxford, Edinburgh, and others like them, rise up before us—seats of the Muses, centres of learning redolent with glorious memories? And in our own country, do

we not think of Harvard and Yale and other institutions, as distinguishing not only the States to which they belong, but as an honor to the whole country?

Now, could we rear up in Michigan, another Harvard or Yale, or better still, another university of Paris, or Munich, or Berlin, would it not be a title of honor for the State to be proud of, a public good which would invigorate our whole system of education, and scatter its influence throughout the whole North-West, nay throughout our Country, and give our State a pre-eminence which it could gain from nothing else?

A hundred imperfect and feeble institutions would achieve comparatively little, and leave us as unnoticed as other States which possess them; while, one university of the true form, and fully appointed with professors and the material of learning would tell mightily upon our destiny, and fasten the eyes of the world upon us.

When I was last in New York, a Professor of Astronomy called my attention to a paper, he had just received, issued at the Observatory in Berlin, in which the old Astronomer Encke had published certain calculations made by the director of the Detroit Observatory at Ann Arbor. The New York Professor, at the same time, remarked, "Ann Arbor will soon become as well known, throughout the world, as Pulkova, Berlin, Greenwich, and the other great Observatories."

Indeed, such is the natural course of things. It is the truly good and perfect, which *grows* in the estimation of the world, attains a permanent existence, and proves an exhaustless benfit, an imperishable value. Other things may have their day, but sooner or later must die away, for mankind have no interest in preserving them. The vicar of Wakefield will survive when a thousand novels now eagerly read will be forgotten. One play of Shakspeare has more immortality in it than all the collected volumes of Penny-a-liners since the time of Cadmus. The Battle at Bunker Hill is worth more than the wars of Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon. The

death of Socrates was more heroic and contained a greater truth than the lives of a thousand Kings and Emperors.—One Railroad is worth more than all the roads that were ever made through bogs and over hills—yea, than the old Roman roads. James Watt is worth more than a whole generation of ordinary men. Whose name would you rather have in history, that of Prince Metternich or of Kossuth? Which would you rather have the merit of, the taking of Sevastopol, or the invention of the electric telegraph? Nay, to come nearer home, is it not more honorable to give that noble Transit Circle to our observatory, than like Rothschild to manage the loans of Europe? Let us strive then for the good and perfect in all things.

Graduates of the university of Michigan, and hence, members of the university itself! Let us try what we can do to perfect one institution. Wherever you can exert influence, whatever aid you can afford, whatever work you can do, shun it not;—we are laboring for humanity, and for the generations to come.

But, on the present occasion, I am called, not so much, to address the graduates at large, as the present graduating class.

Young Gentlemen! as we have said, you now commence your novitiate for admission into the university association of teachers. In this, it is implied that you enter upon a new course of study. Were we living in the scholastic age, and were I addressing you on a similar occasion, I would say according to the division of Arts, then obtaining, You have completed the *Trivium*, and are now about to enter upon the *Quadrivium*.

How different the course upon which you may enter! The Quadrivium! what did it comprise? Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy, or rather Astrology! The Trivium—what did it comprise? Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric.—Scholasticism was indeed connected with Logic—and a huge system it was. Seven Arts studied in seven years made the master of Arts. We have other work to do now. The mystic

number of years might be adequate to the mystic number of Arts. But we have no mystic number now by which to charm knowledge within our embrace.

What is the work before you young gentlemen? According to our multiplied sciences, and the vast enlargement of each one;—according to our multiplied literature; and according to the demands made upon learning by the beautiful arts, by the useful arts, by commerce, by legislation, by all the offices of life in an age of high civilization, in a free country, and a country of boundless resources and energies;—your work is to make ripe scholars of yourselves.

You will cordially acknowledge, I have no doubt, that hitherto your discipline has been elementary and preparatory. You do not claim to be finished scholars in the classics, or in the sciences. Is not this Commencement but a commencement of scholarship? The work of maturing yourselves in the branches you have attempted, and of enlarging the boundaries of your knowledge, is now before you. A great work it is, but a work most necessary. Stop where you are, and these imperfect acquisitions will slip away from you. Your crude knowledge of the Latin and Greek will grow more crude; you will speak worse French and German; the propositions of Euclid will grow more dim, so that you will scarcely be able to revive the lines of the diagrams, and you will never again arrive at the *quod erat demonstrandum;* Physics will be quite expurgated from your minds; Chemistry will vanish into thin air; Geology will become a fossil science; and Astronomy will go and dwell among the stars where your telescope will not find it.

Three things will be required of you to enable you to accomplish your work—method, earnestness, and perseverance.

Method, to lay out your work in due order, so that every day shall have its occupation, and every hour its task. Amid all the disturbances of other engagements, under all the burdens of life, method will still open a way before you, and supply you with strength to go on. The man of method has always something to do; he is shielded against the intrusions

of frivolous company, and is saved from idle reveries, from extravagant plans and delusive hopes. He cannot become the victim of his own dreams, or of the schemes of others.

We are ever prone to complain of the want of time, and the shortness of life. The man of method, by saving all his time, finds that he has time enough. Tasks accomplished give strength and hope for new tasks. Knowledge steadily gained is turned into a fixed capital of knowledge, by which more knowledge is gained. It is wonderful how much a little daily careful reading of the classics—a little daily study of science, will accomplish in the course of a year when it is carried on methodically. Thus the grain of mustard seed will grow until it becomes a tree filled with the singing birds of heaven. Thus the leaven will spread through the whole lump until the whole be leavened, and knowledge will irradiate the mind.

A methodical soul will be likely to be both earnest and persevering. But there are, sometimes, slow, driveling, stupid methodical men. We speak therefore of earnestness and perseverance also. The first is an inward fire that always burns. It belongs to him who appreciates his work, and loves it. The second is the indomitable will which no danger can intimidate, no temptation draw aside, and no disappointment depress. The earnest man hears the song of the lark in the morning—he is ready for his task. The persevering man is still at work when the night falls.

These three qualities in unison will make the scholar—will make anything that is great, good, and powerful.

Young Gentlemen, you have two possessions which are worth more than the might and treasures of kings. I mean youth and health. Rightly employ the one, and carefully preserve the other, and whatever is possible to man is possible to you.

Youth! glorious period! when life is fresh, when the eye is bright, when the heart beats free, when hope still beckons you on to beautiful possibilities; when there is time yet to correct mistakes, to amend habits, to redeem losses, and to

lay the everlasting foundations of knowledge, wisdom and virtue: when the seeds of life—nay, of eternity—may be sown: when you may yet say, With God's help I will be a true man!

Health! the conscious strength and elasticity of limb, the senses free and joyous in their play, the nerves strung like a musical instrument, and the very sense of existence an exquisite delight: when thought inflicts no pain, and labor can scarcely weary the powers which find their enjoyment in action: when appetite is unpampered, and sleep a dream of peace, or total forgetfulness: when the elements contain no disease, and all things around are friendly, and minister naught but good: when the soul and body are happy friends, and God's creation pleasant to live in.

Youth and Health! What more do you want than youth and health, to gain all knowledge, and to arrive at the highest and most beautiful culture? Determine then to be educated men, and be contented with no mean attainments. Youth and health can overcome all difficulties and accomplish all tasks. Why should not you take your place among the wisest and best of the race? What has been done can be done. Why should not *you* undertake to do what others before you have done. You have youth and health; what then can hinder you?

A glorious gift is life, with all the possibilities it opens to you. Life is all yours yet, and you are strong to run the race. Lose not life; and therefore lose not time, for time is the stuff which life is made of. Lose not time—lose any earthly possession or advantage, rather than time. Lose not time, and therefore save your youth. Save your health, and so preserve your time.

Young Gentlemen! Everything to you is full of hope and promise. See and value the advantages you possess. Believe that you can do much, and set out to do much. Remember, you have but one life to live, and therefore, now, at the beginning of life, determine to make the most of it.

What more can I say to you, except that best of all advice, to fear God, to trust in God, to love your fellow men, and always to do your duty.

Many pleasant hours have I spent with you, and I speak but the truth when I say, it is painful to part with you. But I will cherish the expectation of meeting with you sometimes, to renew the old fellowship of thought and spirit. We have lived together as friends—we part as friends—when we meet we shall meet as friends. May the good God bless you, and keep you in his holy and paternal keeping. May you live honorable, holy, and happy lives. May you find your happiness in making others happy. And when life closes, may you find that you have made the most of life, and gained a preparation for the life that never ends.