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UNIVERSITIES PAST AND PRESENT.

A LECTURE

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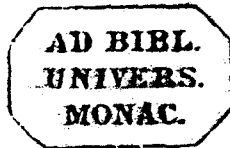
AT HIS INSTALLATION AS RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY.

TRANSLATED, WITH PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

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THE object of the present Address is, first, to take a wide survey of University institutions, as they have been exhibited in a variety of different countries and periods; and then, to come down to the present time and its requirements, and to place clearly before the mind those conditions upon which the success of such institutions depends, those laws of development which have regulated them in the past, and which therefore may be expected to regulate them in the future.

Universities originated as free associations of teachers of reputation and students who desired instruction, without as yet being Universities in the modern sense of the word. The oldest of them was the Medical School at Salerno, which enjoyed some consideration as early as the eleventh century. Next arose, after the middle of the twelfth century, the thriving Law School at Bologna; later again, in the thirteenth, as a colony from Bologna, the School of Padua. It was not till 1224 that a regular University was founded by royal bounty at Naples; having, moreover, a monopoly of instruction, as the inhabitants of the kingdom of the Sicilies were forbidden to attend foreign schools. Thus the Italian Law Schools, especially Bologna, consisted of a series of "Universities," i. e. of corporations, formed in independence of one another, and distinguished from one another partly by difference of nationality, partly by difference of Faculty, whether of Law or of Arts.

With the exception of Salerno, the exclusive, or at least vastly preponderating study in the Italian Universities, was that of Roman and Canon Law. And this study was carried

on, not upon a scientific method and with a scientific object; but solely for the practical end of success in life, to make a fortune, or to obtain a benefice, or an office in the State. By means of its jurisprudence, ecclesiastical and civil, as Bologna had developed it, Italy had become at this time the mistress of the world, making all the kingdoms of Europe pay her tribute and service. With such a rival it was impossible, either at this time or later, for the study of Theology, or Philosophy, or General Science to flourish in the Italian schools. So Dante complains that none could be induced to study anything but the Decretals. What sadness and despair, again, are there in those descriptions of Roger Bacon, the man who alone of his time possessed a more universal culture. "The jurisprudence of the Italians," he exclaims, "has been destroying for the last forty years the study of Wisdom (i.e. Philosophy, Natural Science, and Theology), nay the Church itself, and all the kingdoms of the world^a." His ideal was a comprehensive science, embracing things spiritual and temporal, seen and unseen, conducted and superintended by the Church, and cultivated by the clergy. But he found no response to such a notion in his age, for the clergy only cared to study jurisprudence, as a ladder on which to mount to high preferment. If it were not for the two new monastic orders (the Franciscans and Dominicans), who were almost the only votaries of true science, all, thinks he, would be lost. And yet, in Bacon's time, in 1262, Bologna numbered 20,000 students, among them thousands of men in mature life, all exclusively devoted to the study of Law,—a host which, fighting under one banner, might well subdue and rule the world.

On this side of the Alps the case was far otherwise. Since the beginning of the thirteenth century the "High School" of Paris had been growing up, first as a "Studium Generale," then as a University, under the protection and favour successively of popes and kings, until it had become the most powerful and renowned of all the corporations. Resting on the durable basis of numerous colleges, it was poor notwith-

^a *Rogeri Bacon Opera quedam hactenus inedita*, ed. Brewer (London, 1859), p. 418.

standing, possessing not a single house of its own; indeed scarcely needing one, since the colleges, which were the common dwellings of the students and teachers, extended so widely as at last to absorb the whole University. There, where philosophical and theological studies distanced or overshadowed all the rest,—for a long time the teaching of Law was forbidden in Paris by Papal edict,—men would study Theology for fifteen or sixteen years, at the ages of thirty or forty they would still be students. However remote from the spot they might live, the greatest scholars of the age made a point of belonging, even in middle life, for a short time at least, to the Parisian University. Wellnigh the half of a large city was converted into schools; and modern Oxford, locally and architecturally, though in nothing else, may convey an approximate notion of the old "High School" at Paris. The statement of a Venetian ambassador at the end of the sixteenth century, consequently after the devastations of the religious wars, that the Paris University contained nearly 30,000 students, i.e. more than all the Italian schools put together, seems scarcely credible. Arnauld, the Procureur Générale, however, also speaks of between 20,000 and 30,000, so that we may form some notion of what this corporation must have been in its palmy days.

And yet even Paris was not a University in the full, modern, German sense. At least it never had, throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, any Faculty of Law which deserved the name. But notwithstanding this defect, none of the other High Schools of France could approach by a long distance the rank of the Parisian. None of them rose above the subordinate dignity and character of special schools, such as Orleans, Bourges, Cahors, and Angers for Law, Montpellier for Medicine.

For two centuries the idea does not once arise that Germany might put an end to the relation of intellectual nonage in which, as a nation, she stood to Italy and France, by the foundation of a University of her own. Every German who was ambitious of the higher culture had to seek it in Paris, in Bologna, or in Padua. The English had made better provision for their intellectual wants. As

early as the middle of the thirteenth century, Oxford and Cambridge, still the two intellectual centres of the British nation, were held in high repute. But in Germany, no prince nor emperor could be found to take in hand so obvious a work. The popular voice expressed no desire for it. The century after the death of Frederick II, with its convulsions, its disputed successions, its civil wars, was certainly not favourable to such peaceful undertakings. And, besides that, the separatist spirit, the tendency to disintegration, had become too powerful in Germany. As united action had long been out of the question in the German Church, so the nation was indifferent to the establishment of any one centre for the cultivation of science. Men found a consolation or an excuse in the fine theory that the principal nations of Europe had each their different "talents;" and as Empire had fallen to the lot of Germany, so France had received a monopoly of Instruction. "As the Priesthood" (continued the theory) "had its seat in Rome, so Instruction had its providential seat in Paris, and Christendom had no need of more than one such centre^b." It does not appear to have occurred to any one, that, in order to maintain its Empire, and the national unity on which it was based, Germany ought also to have its own educational establishment.

At length, in the year 1348, the Emperor Charles IV founded the University at Prague, on the model of that at Paris. Even now it was no widespread movement, no expression of a want in the mind of the nation, which called into being this firstborn of German Academies, but merely the accidental circumstance that the Emperor Charles had himself studied in Paris, and now, in memory of the days he had once spent as a scholar in the Rue de Fouarre, wished to possess a copy of the great School of the time in his

^b So the *Chronica M. Jordanis de Imperio*, p. 306 (in the Syntagma of Schardius): "Studio unus locus, videlicet Parisius sufficit." The author was Canon at Osnabrück in the time of Rudolf of Hapsburg. It is curious to observe how the theory had to accommodate itself to prevailing fashions and circumstances, however bad they might be. Oxford, whither the Germans were not accustomed to go, is ignored; and it is assumed, in order to put a gloss upon the persistent neglect of the Germans in establishing a University, that only one educational centre was in the nature of things possible, and that this belonged to the French.

Bohemian patrimony. The University of Prague was too far removed from the heart of Germany, and being from the first divided between Slavonians and Germans, was soon drawn into the vortex of the Hussite struggle and its vicissitudes, losing thereby the whole of the German element which it had once possessed. The University of Vienna, founded in 1365, might have been a more important benefit for Germany, had not the period of scholastic decline already set in, leaving the faculty of Arts without adequate material; whilst that of Law developed so meagrely, that for some time Civil Law was not taught in Vienna at all, and even the Medical faculty dragged on a miserable existence: the interest taken in the University by the rest of Germany, outside the Austrian dukedom, being of the most limited character.

Upon the whole, the formation of Law Schools through the medium of the Universities, towards the end of the fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth centuries, was productive of important and extensive results for Germany—results which are still appreciable. The law was foreign, it is true; an importation of the Roman jurisprudence from Bologna and Padua. For the German law had not yet become consolidated into a national code, and was neither represented nor held in consideration in the new Universities. We may imagine how different the history and circumstances of Germany would have been, had it possessed even one or two Universities in the thirteenth century; at the time when the *Speculum Suevorum* and *Speculum Saxonicum* arose, and the effort was made to give a more complete and orderly exposition to the Law, though in method and logical sequence of ideas it still remained very imperfect. In that case a science of German Law, or at least the rudiments of one, might have been attained; and the Roman Law,—a merely repulsive chaos of glossation on the Pandects and Institutions,—would not have gained nor have kept so long its monopoly over the Universities. What a difference, again, would have been wrought in Public Law, in Criminal Procedure, in Politics, in the condition of the Church. I will mention cursorily a few points. The universal employment

of torture founded on an appeal to the Roman Law and the Italian jurists; the Roman theory of the absolute freedom of the Monarch in legislation; the principle of the jurists that every landlord on his own estate is to be held as supreme as the Roman Emperor himself; the privileges of the Roman Fiscus; the horrible doctrine of high treason, and the Draconian laws against it; and lastly, the legal axiom that the Sovereign is not amenable to the laws.

Of all this the German Law knew nothing, nay, it presupposed in its every part the very opposite. These were the fruits of Roman jurisprudence filtered through Italian brains of the later Middle Ages—I say later Middle Ages, for it was not till after the good old school of Italian civilians had passed away, and a decline had set in with the school of Bartolus and Baldus—it was not till this time, that the study of Roman Law was transported across the Alps into the schools of Germany.

Long after this, Universities still continued an exotic in Germany; as yet they took no part in educating and influencing the national mind. In the great Reformation Councils of the fifteenth century it was the theologians and canonical lawyers alone who found any opportunity of asserting themselves or their views. It is true that the Universities must have been already awakened and stimulated by the intercourse, lasting as it did over a number of years, of the most learned men from the principal countries of Europe, which the Councils brought about, and through the consequent interchange of ideas and knowledge. But yet, owing to the preponderance of the theological faculties on this side of the Alps, the prosperity of the academies depended upon the condition of the Church; and as this was in a state of dreary confusion, the depression which the energy of the Councils suffered, after the Crowned Heads had left them to themselves, produced a corresponding depression in the Universities, and was experienced as such by their members. But apart from this, the names of the German professors of the fifteenth century (with a few exceptions) have died out of remembrance; there is no tradition identifying any scientific contribution of permanent value, or

book attracting general attention, with any of them. The solitary German philosopher, Nicholas of Cusa, the single publicist, Peter of Andlau, all the historians of that time, stood aloof from the Universities. Geiler of Kaisersberg and Sebastian Brand alone belonged for a time to one of them.

A passion for founding Universities arose, however, in Germany after the end of the fourteenth century. Between the beginning of the fifteenth century and the year 1500 nine Universities were added to the five already existing in Germany; most of them, it must be confessed, with very limited endowments, and the slenderest supply of teachers. Single towns, like Erfurt, insisted on having a school of their own. Not one of the fourteen came up to the most moderate requirements of science, even according to the measure of that age. Tübingen and Leipsic, for instance, had, to start with, no more than a couple of Professors of Medicine, of whom, in Tübingen, one had an income of 100, the other of 60 florins. A great assistance, however, to the endowment of a University at that time was found in the facility of promoting Professors to prebendal stalls, which were everywhere to be had, and were for the most part well endowed. Almost all these educational establishments were formed on the model of that at Prague, as this last had been on that of Paris; and hence the faculty of Arts, being still in bondage to scholastic forms, was generally in a position of tutelage to that of Theology. At all events, the Chancellor at the head of them was, as a general rule, an ecclesiastical dignitary. On the other hand, the Universities were never regarded as purely ecclesiastical institutions; indeed, a graduated tutor could lecture at his own discretion without even the permission of the State. These communities were thus a kind of free states within the State. Libraries and museums there were none as yet, or at least only the germs of such; and hence the emigration of a whole University in consequence of war, or an epidemic, or internal troubles, was as easy as it was of frequent occurrence.

Here I may remark how completely the character of the three principal European nations, and the course of their development, growing out of it, are mirrored in the history

of Universities. France, whose progress for centuries has been persistently and irresistibly towards a closer and compacter centralization, the nation which, numbering 36,000,000 souls, has but one city in which a cultivated person cares to live, a city which centres and absorbs into itself the whole of the national life—France has always possessed but a single University, and that one in Paris. The rest are merely schools for special subjects. Revolutionary France, again, which can permit no independent corporations, whether municipal or scientific, to exist, has been led by a natural impulse to break up its old University; and to set up in its place a complicated system of administrative officialism, embracing under its direction the whole educational machinery of the country; itself a merely passive instrument in the grasp of the Government. Thus the French University has no point in common with the German or English Universities but the name.

England, on the contrary, whose history is one steady pursuit of the twofold aim, of practical efficiency on the one hand, and political freedom on the other, England which is averse from all centralization, has from the first established two learned corporations; and, owing to its republican constitution and independent position, has preserved their integrity up to the present time. One such institution would have degenerated into the exclusiveness which is bred of monopoly: cushioned on privilege and the memories of past honour, it would ultimately have dozed off to sleep. But the two together keep each other awake and stimulate to fresh exertion. Each takes under its special protection one of the two main tendencies of the English mind; Oxford, the ecclesiastical tendency, and the studies which are appropriate to it; Cambridge, the practical tendency, and the study of mathematics.

Lastly, in Germany, where, since the close of the Middle Ages, the tendency to separation has overpowered and subordinated to itself every other; where it has gradually dissolved the great unifying institutions of Empire and Church; it has likewise been the parent of a numerous, often weakly, sickly, and pigmy offspring in the Universities.

There, every town of the second or third degree, every strip of territory, smaller perhaps than an English county, must have its own petty University, a kind of 12mo pocket edition of a University for private use: the consequence of which was that in 1805 the two Universities of Erfurt and Duisburg numbered, each, about twenty-one students, Erfurt having twice as many professors as students. The fact is, that establishments on a more magnificent scale were only possible in later times, when larger states had been formed.

With the sixteenth century a new order of things arose, and the Universities of Germany attained a degree of power and importance, of which they had shewn no symptoms hitherto. Students of the Humanities, Philologists, and Professors of Classical Antiquities began to find their way into the Universities; and in those cases in which they survived the conflict which immediately arose with the representatives of Scholasticism, they tore down, with irresistible force, the fences and bulwarks behind which the faculties of Arts, i.e. Grammar and Philosophy, had sheltered their scholastic vacuity and incompetence. And whilst single Universities were being stirred by the vicissitudes of these smaller conflicts, the greatest religious struggle in history broke out. Taking its rise in the youngest of the Universities, it gathered strength by degrees, till it became a violent tempest sweeping everything before it. The German nation was convulsed to its centre, as it had never been before, nor has been since; and finally split up, for centuries to come, into two nearly equal parts. The German Universities could not but be affected, shaken, and ultimately transformed by this movement. They were the arsenals in which the weapons of the conflict were forged; they were often the battle-fields on which the victory or defeat of the contending doctrines was decided. As it had been theological questions and ecclesiastical interests which for a long time had depressed and subordinated everything else throughout Germany, so now it was, more than ever, the theological faculties upon whose reputation the prosperity or decline of the Universities depended. This consideration and pre-eminence, however, necessarily cost them dearly. For the

result was that the academies became for the first time in Germany "*instrumenta dominationis*:" princes immediately obtained the right of nominating and removing the professors at pleasure, the theological professors to begin with, and afterwards the others. And the ease with which, by means of the appointment or removal of three or four professors, the religious condition of a whole province might be changed, gave rise to the State Church system, with its axiom that the Sovereign had to decide what the religion of a country should be. Reformations followed, and were succeeded by counter-reformations. The effect produced by the combined operation of these two novel and gigantic forces which had sprung up, (the Roman Law and the power of the Sovereign in religious matters,) upon the empire, upon national liberty, upon the rights of the old orders, Catholic and Protestant alike—to fill in this outline were too sad a task, and is happily not required by my subject.

In those places where the Reformation had carried the day, new Universities rapidly arose, as Marburg, Königsberg, Jena, Helmstädt, Altdorf. These were founded as nursery-grounds for the Protestant theology; and at the same time for the propagation of the Roman legal theory favouring the religious supremacy of the Sovereign. Thus we hear of Helmstädt, that the Estates of the Province regarded the Duke's University as a corporation of paid supporters of his claim to supremacy, and hated it accordingly^c. Just as State and Church were identified in the person of the Prince, so was the political and legal character assumed by the University without prejudice to its ecclesiastical. In the statutes of Wittenberg of the year 1595 the philosophical faculty itself is declared to be a part of the Church. As late as the eighteenth century the exercises for degrees were held, the degrees themselves were conferred, in the churches; and, as a general rule, all professors and doctors had to make oath that they believed the Confessions of Faith.

That the Universities did not perish in the seventeenth century, the darkest age of German history, that they survived the Thirty Years' War, Germany must, no doubt,

^c Hencke, *Georg Calixtus und seine Zeit*. i. 48.

regard as a most fortunate circumstance. But their condition was so unsatisfactory, morally as well as in respect of science, that the Germans, especially during the first decades of the century, preferred going abroad, in search at once of better intellectual sustenance, as well as to escape the intolerable tyranny and barbarism of student life (*Pennalismus*). The Law students turned to the schools of France, the Medical students to Italy. For Italy had again become, through its schools at Padua and Pisa, through men like Telesio, Baglivi, Fabrizio, Cardano, Galileo, though but for a brief period, the instructor of the rest of Europe, even in Philosophy and Natural Science.

At the close of the great war, in the same year as the Peace of Westphalia, Valentine Andreae wrote that desponding sentence, which reads like the epitaph of departed German intellectual life: "By long and personal experience I have learned, that our religion is of all things the most irreligious, our medicine the most noxious, our justice the most unjust^d."

The picture which the later years of this century exhibit is no brighter. Germany deeply humbled, politically powerless, nay, covered with ignominy, whilst foreign insolence and ambition were tearing one limb after another off the maimed and enfeebled body of the empire, the Palatinate devastated, Heidelberg a heap of ashes. Meanwhile the Universities lay motionless and apathetic. No symptom of discontent, no sign of patriotism, appeared in any of them; no word was uttered by any to inflame the nation, or awaken it out of its lethargy: professors and students alike seemed completely resigned, and prepared with dull indifference to let things take their course. The Catholic establishments, many of which could lay no claim to the name of University, possessing as they did but a couple of Faculties, were vegetating, rather than living, on their scanty diet and in their narrow and confined atmosphere. The Protestant bodies stagnated under the overwhelming influence of theological interests and controversy; and their history is almost exclusively a history of

^d See a letter in Moser's *Patriotisches Archiv*. vi. 348.

the conflict between Lutheran orthodoxy on the one hand, and Calvinism, Syncretism, Pietism, on the other. Helmstädt is the single exception. There "the Humanities" continued to be cultivated; there H. Conring laboured, a man of versatility, unexampled at that time. He was Professor of Medicine, and at the same time eminent as a jurist, historian, and theologian; whilst, for his application of the "historical method" to German law and politics he deserves to be reckoned the prophet and forerunner of the scientific movement, to which the German Universities in later times owe such brilliant results.

Up to the end of the seventeenth century all lectures, in every Faculty alike, had been delivered in Latin. The German language was, so to speak, tabooed in the lecture-rooms, in spite of the express declaration of Leibnitz that it was better adapted than any other for the technical purposes of philosophy and science, on the ground that it had "only names for what is true and right, and none for what is idle and fanciful." The cause of this preference for the Latin lay in the fact that when, after centuries of consideration, we Germans had at last brought to the birth a University of our own, we continued to import from Italy our Jurisprudence, our Philosophy, and our Natural Science. Latin was the language in which the student was taught in Italy; Latin was the language in which alone he could and would communicate what he had learnt, in Germany. At length Thomasius and Buddeus began, about the same time, a course of lectures in German, the former in Halle, the latter in Jena. But it is surprising what a length of time it required for the German language to win its way into general acceptance, and with what tenacity professors stuck to their Latin lectures; for the very good reason that nothing is more delightful and convenient for a second-rate and ill-informed teacher, who has nothing but stock-information to impart, than the use of a foreign language like the Latin. In the familiar phrases of the Latin idiom, albeit somewhat attenuated in its modern form, may lurk any amount of obscurity of thought or poverty of knowledge. Commonplaces which would be intolerable if expressed in

German, sound rather imposing than otherwise in their Latin disguise.

Now, as none of us ever thinks in any but our mother tongue, and a dead language can never come quite home to our most characteristic ideas and feelings, it follows that this system imposed the double labour upon the student, first of translating the Latin sentence into German, and then, when so transformed, of trying to understand it. This last operation must needs miscarry the oftener, inasmuch as the more abstract are the conceptions employed, the less do German and Latin expressions coincide; and it often happens that the most important German words can only be rendered approximately, or by means of a circumlocution, in Latin. It thus becomes easy to account for the stagnation which ensued in University education, so long as the use of the Latin language, and the favourite practice of dictation, which went hand in hand with it, continued in the schools—a stagnation which, as the academical studies had fallen out of gear with the national life, and had ceased to be quickened by it from without, was not slow to lapse into a retrogression.

In general we may say that towards the end of the seventeenth and during a great part of the following century, the Universities of Germany enjoyed little consideration; the princes themselves too often setting the example of depreciating them. A more striking exhibition of disregard and contempt could not be shewn than that which Frederick William I. shewed to Frankfort on the Oder, and his son to Halle^e. Universities were regarded and treated as obsolete institutions of a bygone age, which, nevertheless, could not as yet be dispensed with; as nests of intolerance, of dry and pedantic routine, and of an erudite literalism which was powerless to sanctify ordinary life. At a time when the higher classes were inclining more and more to French manners and the use of the French language; when a prince like the Landgrave Ernest of Hessen-Rheinfels, and a scholar like Leibnitz, were carrying on a French correspondence for

^e Vide Stenzel's *Gesch. von Preussen*, iii. 504, and Tholuck's *Vermischte Schriften*, ii. 36.

years together; Thomasius, whose dearest wish was the restoration of the vernacular to its rightful position, found it necessary, in his class at Halle, to give precedence to German composition over all other studies. Most of his pupils, he tells us, could not compose correctly the smallest sentence, or write a letter, in German. "A man is looked upon as insane who thinks of bringing back the vernacular," writes Gabriel Wagner some years earlier. Wagner thought the exclusive use of foreign languages, especially for philosophical purposes, an intolerable evil. It is a remarkable evidence of the low state of the Universities that Leibnitz, the greatest man in Germany, amid all his plans and projects for the advancement of learning, took no heed whatever of the Universities: he seems to have thought that they were sunk too low for their reform to be otherwise than hopeless.

From 1690 to about 1730 Halle held the foremost place amongst the "High Schools" of Germany. It possessed a series of professors in all the faculties, whose names are associated with a real advance in their several departments. New ideas, new tendencies, theological, philosophical, legal, which were suppressed or persecuted at other Universities, took refuge in Halle, where they enjoyed perfect liberty of development. So that the "Franconian Schools" attracted the attention and sympathy of the whole of Germany.

So soon as this liberty came to an end in the extrusion of the philosopher Wolf, and the banishment of Spangenberg, Halle sank in reputation and influence. In 1734, fostered by British protection, and under the auspices of an enlightened statesman, the richly endowed University of Göttingen came into being. This was the first "High School" which had been founded with the express object of originating a reform in German higher education. The names of Mosheim, Böhmer, Gessner, Haller, and later, of Pütter, Schlözer, Michaelis, Heyne, Lichtenberg, the steady maintenance of freedom in teaching and writing, the numerous Manuals edited by Göttingen professors—all these causes conspired to place Göttingen, for the space of a half a century, in the first rank of German Universities.

In one department especially, the influence of Göttingen

upon the German intellect was of great importance, viz. in that of History. True, lectures had been given on History in the German Universities, at least in the north, since the middle of the sixteenth century; but yet these lectures consisted of a series of select passages of History, illustrative of particular points of doctrine rather than History proper, and hence the teacher was called, not inaptly, *professor historiarum*. Profane History was made to do duty as the background and illustration of Church History, which again was pressed into the service of, what at that time was of first importance in the eyes of Germans, the controversy respecting the formularies of faith. The jurists used, no doubt, the history of Germany, and (to a certain extent) that of Italy also, as a kind of magazine of facts relating to public and constitutional law. But before the beginning of the nineteenth century Germany possessed not a single Manual of Universal History (that of Cellarius of Halle was the first) of even tolerable merit; and before the works of Köhler and Struve, no history of Germany which was readable. Pütter, Gatterer, Schlözer, Spittler, who combined with Mascov in Leipsic to bring in a new era of historical research, were all Göttingen scholars. If we compare a book like Spittler's *History of the States of Europe*, which appeared in 1794, with the treatises previous to 1750, we cannot but see that the progress which had been made within the forty years was simply enormous. And it raises our hopes for the future of German Universities to reflect that it was in them, both at this time and subsequently, that the best fruits of German industry and German acuteness have come to maturity.

Suddenly, and quite without warning, in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, the attention of all Germany was attracted to the most remote of its Universities. Königsberg, through its possession of one man, Kant, the great philosophical reformer, supplied almost every University in Germany either with pupils of her sage, or with disciples of his doctrine. Scarcely had Kant disappeared, when Jena, known hitherto for years merely as the school of redoubtable and strictly orthodox divines, became, through the activity of Fichte and Schelling, the seat of

a philosophical movement which absorbed, for a considerable time, so much of the intellectual force of Germany as to throw all other studies into the shade. The offspring of Schelling's earlier system, the "Philosophy of Nature," was an attempt to construct a theory of the process of nature out of existing physical knowledge, aided by the employment of the Categories of Logic in a new physical sense. It was like Fichte's "construction" of History. The attempt was premature. Physical science was as yet extremely inadequate to such a purpose, and was continually changing. But the theory gained a footing in many of the Universities, and threatened to supersede the sober interrogation of experience. Within a few years, however, the system was shewn to be untenable. The unlooked-for discoveries of foreign naturalists in the regions of Physics and Chemistry rendered it impossible to acknowledge the limitations of such a hastily constructed and fragile edifice; and the attempt to "construct" nature *a priori* has had to be given up. Here science shewed that, if sufficient time were allowed her, she carried within herself the remedy for her own disease.

The eighteenth century ended, and the nineteenth opened, with political troubles, revolutions, and territorial changes, one of the consequences of which was that a considerable number of Universities disappeared from German soil. Helmstädt, Rinteln, Frankfort on the Oder, Duisburg, Wittenberg, Erfurt, Mayence, Bamberg, Cologne, Paderborn, Münster, Dillingen, Salzburg—all died, either a natural death as the result of chronic debility, or else came to a violent end through summary suppression, palliated in some instances by amalgamation with other Universities. The truth is, that none of these institutions were missed nor their loss regretted. Most of them had dragged on, for a long time past, a spectral and miserable existence, with only two or three Faculties, and without possessing a single scholar of universal reputation. Many of them had been so unobtrusive, that their existence was positively unknown outside the walls of the towns in which they were located. The only case of suppression which was regarded as a calamity was that of the University of Mayence, which had been restored and well

appointed by the Elector but a few years before, and which in 1787 numbered 600 students.

At this epoch, however, an institution was about to arise, which was destined at once, and, so to speak, while still a babe in the cradle, to eclipse all others and to realize the highest point in University education which Germany has yet attained. Immediately after the Peace of Tilsit, at a time when Prussia had lost half its inhabitants and half its revenue, and had fallen into the position of a third-rate power, the king and his advisers decided upon the foundation of a new University in the metropolis. It was to be united with the Academy of Sciences already existing. The idea which its founders had in view was, that the first step in the regeneration of Prussia ought to be an educational and scientific establishment on a great scale. At first the projectors were disposed to break completely with past University traditions, even to the abolition of the existing distinction into Faculties, and were for founding a scientific institute for the higher education upon a totally new plan. It is remarkable that such a thoroughly German spirit as Fichte should be seized as it were by the prevailing French revolutionary epidemic, and be induced to give his voice in favour of a complete *bouleversement* of the existing order. His notion—derived from the Platonic idea of a polity governed by philosophers—was to found an institute, which would have had the effect of suppressing the individuality of the teachers and students whom it was to train, of annihilating their freedom, and of bringing about a kind of literary monachism under a perfectly despotic government^f.

At this point, however, Wilhelm von Humboldt, at once a statesman and a scholar, took the matter in hand, and stamped upon the nascent institution the impress of his rich and many-sided mind. The temptation of making it a purely Prussian institution was avoided from the first. Not less than two-thirds of the educational staff would have been foreigners, had all the invitations sent to other countries been accepted. This was the first time since the Reformation

^f See the particulars in Köpke, *Die Gründung der Universität zu Berlin*, 1860, p. 47 follg.

that a "High School" had been founded in Germany without a programme, i. e. solely in the interest of education and the promotion of science, independent of any creed or school of thought. Each of the eminent persons with whom the University began its life, F. A. Wolf, Fichte, Savigny, Schleiermacher, Reil, represented solely himself, his own point of view, and his own system. The University increased with surprising rapidity. In 1815, the fifth year after its foundation, Berlin had only 56 teachers altogether; in 1860 there were 173 in all—97 professors, 66 prelectors[§], and 7 lecturers. Thus within 45 years the educational staff had been tripled. In 1835 the number of the students amounted to 2000; at the present time there are 2180.

Thus was accomplished in Prussia a task which, in any other country but Germany, would have been wellnigh impossible. The great superiority of the metropolitan University, and the preference shewn to it by the Government, far from stunting the growth of the other Universities in the country, far from absorbing their vital force, exercised a most beneficial and stimulating influence upon them. Halle sprang once more to life, and became the favourite resort for students of theology, whose number rose at one time as high as 800. Indeed the theological faculty of Halle has ever since continued to possess greater attractions than any other in Germany, as the most accurate representative of the prevailing phase of Protestant theology. Breslau has maintained itself, since its amalgamation with Frankfort on the Oder, as one of the better class of educational establishments. And although scarcely possessing any stars of the first magnitude amongst its professors, it has been the parent of a number of solid and thorough scholars. In 1818 Bonn was founded on the Rhine, and, owing partly to its geographical position, partly to its excellent philological school, partly again to the influence of such a genius as Niebuhr's, rose to a degree of eminence from which it has not yet declined.

Perhaps I can scarcely be expected to mention the services

[§] *Privatdocenten*, a kind of deputy professors, dependent almost, if not entirely, upon the fees derived from their classes.—TR.

and advantages of our own University, now forty years old. Thanks to the enlightened care of the two kings whose names she bears, Louis and Maximilian II, she has grown within these forty years into a stately tree, spreading abroad its fruit-laden branches on all sides. May it have strength to weather the coming storm! Lastly we come to the venerable patriarch of all the German "High Schools," the University of Vienna. Its regeneration, long expected, has at length been accomplished. Its foundations have been widened and deepened, its fetters and burthens have been removed. About the middle of last century this University enjoyed a reputation unknown to it before, not only in Germany but in Europe, for its profound and thorough School of Medicine. Van Swieten, De Haen, Stoll, all of them foreigners, are names universally known. Unfortunately their successors were men of a different stamp; the other Faculties were feeble and incomplete,—the spiritual oppression, the censorship, the whole complication of mismanagement of restriction and constraint, under which she lived, brought Vienna into a hopeless condition. Along with her other Austrian sisters she lay, during the first half of the present century, in a state of lethargy, without a sign of returning life. "The Universities"—I quote the words of a Viennese scholar—"had sunk into the position of special schools for the Public service, for the Bar, or for the Medical profession: it was the exception for science to be cultivated for its own sake; such cultivation found no support among the professors." The work of regeneration, however, has at length been carried out under the enlightened auspices of Count Thun, and, upon the whole, successfully. The best material has been imported from abroad, Munich furnishing its quota amongst others; and, as the public schools (*Gymnasias*) throughout Austria have been raised out of their former degraded condition and very materially improved, there is some prospect that the University of Vienna may again rise to its old dignity as the centre and most prominent representative of learning in the empire. There is no doubt that its restoration would be attended with greater benefits, and its sphere of usefulness more extensive,

were it not that the desperate complications in the political world, combined with general discouragement and a painful feeling of insecurity, are pressing like a dead weight upon the national mind.

The comprehensive retrospect which we are now enabled to take will reveal to us the progress which has been made, the victories which Germany has won in the matter of University education. We have seen that during the seventeenth, and even at the beginning of the eighteenth century, our "High Schools" answered most imperfectly the requirements of the nation. Hence their reputation and influence were small; and there were not wanting those who regarded them as an evil, to be tolerated for a time because it seemed unavoidable. The different Faculties were too little brought to bear upon each other; they still retained too much of the traditionary scholastic forms, and contented themselves with imparting a mechanical training, or at best a mere preparation for the public service. The sciences themselves, again, were regarded as congeries of facts, amassed with mechanical and ant-like diligence through a life of labour, and these sciences formed the criterion by which the scholar was to be judged. Such works as looked beyond the narrow circle of special study, which appealed to and were valued by the nation, were sure not to come from the professors. We have seen, too, that almost every University was a battle-field on which conflicting parties of various kinds contended for the mastery, not always "with the sword of the Spirit," and it may be added, scarcely ever with any good result for science. The quarrels of professors had become proverbial. To mention but one Faculty out of many, it was a dictum of Niebuhr that the rise of Philology had emancipated the study of Law from two centuries of barbarism^h. And a closer examination might tempt us to say as much of Medicine, Philosophy, of Physics, and Chemistry.

Now if we contrast with all this the honourable position held by the German Universities at present, if we consider that they are the places in which all the higher movements in the

^h See his Letter to Schuckmann, apud Köpke, p. 229.

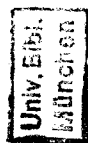
intellectual life of the country often originate, and are always fostered and promoted; and then remember how short the time has been—something like fifty years—in which this transformation has taken place, in which this wonderful fertility in all departments of learning has been developing; we must confess that there is scarcely a parallel to it to be found in the whole course of history.

All great and permanent contributions to science depend upon the combination in individual men of a variety of special departments of study and knowledge. I may mention three instances of this, in three men belonging to different periods—Scaliger, Leibnitz, and Haller. The last of the three was quite a second Aristotle in the complete grasp he took of all that was known in his age. Leibnitz, again, with that comprehensiveness which has never since been equalled, was the first scholar in whose mind the spirit and enlightenment of the ancient world blended perfectly with modern discovery and attainments; giving birth, as the fruit of their union, to a courage and genius in investigation which is quite unique in its way. Finally, that which makes Scaliger such a great and significant figure in history is the fact that his mind embraced and digested subjects so diverse as Theology and History, Grammar and the Practical Sciences, Biblical as well as Classical scholarship. In our own days the union of Theology and Jurisprudence with Philology and History has purified those sciences of much useless accretion, as well as broadened and deepened their foundations. So, too, the bringing other branches of physical knowledge to bear upon Medicine has had the effect of developing it into a science, embracing the whole of the human organism, as well as the organic and inorganic nature, by which man is surrounded. Not only have the materials of the sciences we have mentioned increased, but their method has been perfected. They have gained in accuracy. Their light has begun to burn not only with a stronger but a purer flame. It has become more easy to cut out decayed parts, more easy to discover and eliminate error. But since the progress of each science is connected by a thousand threads with the development and success of the rest, since all are

bound together into a living organic whole, it follows that if one member suffers, the whole body, and consequently every other member, suffers with it. Paradoxical as it may sound, it is yet true that any cause which produces a decline in Physics or Chemistry, induces also a morbid condition in Theology and Jurisprudence. And the same is true of national life: if but one branch of the scientific tree threatens to become withered, this cannot but have an injurious effect upon a whole nation.

This may help us to understand the true value of the German Universities and their peculiar function, which cannot be performed in any other way. In them every branch of knowledge, every doctrine, is elevated into the atmosphere of science, and as science is communicated to the pupil. And this elevation can only be accomplished by banishing all fragmentary knowledge, all which does not rest upon a principle, which does not embody an idea. Only thus can the necessary and causal connection between isolated facts and theories, their position as members of an organic whole, be brought to light.

It is thus that the faculties and sciences, as taught in a University, supplement and check each other. This takes place naturally, so long as the teacher keeps steadily in mind the "solidarity" of all knowledge. He will never forget that it is the imperative interest of every science to press every other into its service; and that, at the same time, it may not exclude the influence of these others upon itself. For everything which one science asserts, it is bound to give a hearing to the rejoinder of every other science, whatever that rejoinder may be. Each should feel that it is a member in the great body of culture and knowledge. And it is just this connection of different studies with learning as a whole,—and again, within each department, the connection of each portion with that department as a whole, the interdependence of every fact with that which precedes and follows it,—which the teacher must be careful to bring clearly before the pupil. At whatever point in the scientific field he may stand, the learner should be able to find his bearings in all directions. This end may be best



attained, if the teacher goes to work, not only logically, but also historically; if he brings vividly before his audience the whole process of growth which his science has gone through, before attaining its present state—the epochs in the history of its development.

Again, the "spirit-tie" which binds together the members of a University in the harmonious operation, the singleness of motive, which is characteristic of organic life, consists, not merely in community of interest and endeavour, but also in the reciprocity of giving and taking, the living stimulus, the incitement to ever-fresh activity, to ever-increasing investigation, which the individual receives from the whole body. And to this zeal, so kindled, not only the living, but the dead also, contribute, through the memory of their achievements, of their greatness, as well as through their writings. For a corporation, like a University, lives upon, feeds upon, its past. Happy is it, if the sins and follies of a former generation, not yet understood and abandoned, do not continue as a source of disturbance, of confusion, of bitterness in the present.

Undoubtedly, too, I should number amongst the advantages of such a literary corporation as we have in a University, that spirit of modesty which leads the scholar to estimate aright the amount and value of the work which he himself can accomplish, and to limit and concentrate his efforts accordingly. For the solitary enquirer, who pursues his researches according to his own bent and without communication with others, is sorely tempted to overrate the importance of his branch of study; to make it rule when it ought to serve, to plant it in the centre and heart of the world of knowledge, when it belongs more fitly to the circumference; the consequence of which is generally twofold. First, instead of constructing his scientific edifice with a view to the whole, of which it forms a part, he mistakes its proper position, he mistakes its limits, he over-estimates its efficiency. And then, secondly, he gets an erroneous notion of his own importance as the priest of his favourite goddess, he becomes more and more one-sided, and ends in the conviction that he is slighted and misunderstood by his

age. Against such an error our Universities afford an excellent protection. They put every one into his right place, they force him into it, they continually remind him that he is but one member of a vast organization; that what he has made out is, at best, but a fragment of the truth; and that the contribution which he can hope to make towards the solution of the great question of science, is comparatively small.

Perhaps this is the reason why Germany, though it adopted the institution of Universities later than any of the other chief civilized nations, and then for a long time without any tangible result, is at the present time the classical land of Universities,—has systematized them to such a pitch of scientific perfection and efficiency as incontestably to bear away the palm from all other peoples; indeed, we may almost say, to be sole possessor of Universities in any true sense of the word.

In *France*, which possessed the most perfect University of the Middle Ages, the pattern upon which others were founded, the institution has completely vanished. It has been well said, that if the first Napoleon had not conceived the idea of founding his imperial University,—his huge machine, we may more correctly call it, for the administration of the department of Public Instruction,—the very name of “University” would have fallen out of the French languageⁱ. At present there are merely special schools, eight for Law, five for Medicine, eight schools or Faculties for the Exact Sciences (Mathematics and Natural Science), and six *Facultés des Lettres* (Philosophy, Philology, History, and Literature). True, these Faculties are all assembled together in one or two places, either in Paris or in Strasbourg; but any bond of connection between them is entirely wanting. The first and most important of the French institutions for the higher education is the *Collège de France*, founded by Francis I, and which in 1789 possessed nineteen chairs for Languages, Literature, Mathematics, Natural Science, and Medicine; for Canon Law and Law in general;

ⁱ Cournot, *Des Institutions d'Instruction Publique en France*. Paris, 1864. p. 296.

and lastly, one chair for the united subjects of History and Moral Philosophy. Since the Revolution, this number has gradually increased to thirty; and it is remarkable, that among the new additions, is a chair for the Slavonic Languages and Literature—a subject which is generally neglected in a German University, but which certainly ought to be represented in a “High School” of the first rank. The chair of History and Moral Philosophy still exists, its department as vague and indeterminate as ever: while the *Collège de France* has but one Medical professorship, the independent School of Medicine in the immediate neighbourhood has twenty-six chairs. The *Sorbonne*, again, shews a similar congeries of professorships, without any leading idea to connect them; in short, we may say that throughout the Parisian “High Schools” the teaching body has been put together at hap-hazard, and with reference to the qualifications of particular teachers rather than upon a definite system.

In *England*, on the other hand, the two Universities have preserved their earlier character as great, influential, independent, and self-governing corporations; but they differ *toto cælo* from what we call Universities. They may best be described as a continuation of the public school in connection with a series of clerical colleges, and with the addition to the course of a modicum of Theology. Even the erection, some years ago, of a few new chairs, especially for the teaching of History, has not succeeded in changing their traditional character in any essential particular. The German method, whereby a whole region of knowledge is traversed from end to end in a series of daily lectures, delivered by the teacher and taken down by the pupil, has as yet gained no footing in them. Six or seven lectures in the course of a year, framed to produce a pleasing effect upon a mixed audience, are held to constitute a satisfactory performance of a professor's duty^j. Instead of placing himself, like a German teacher, in the centre of his subject, and then marking out its circumference

^j So the late lamented *Thomas Arnold* was accustomed to give a complete course of Modern History at Oxford in nine lectures during the year.

and mastering it as a system, the English professor contents himself with taking a bird's-eye view, and so gliding lightly over his theme, throwing a casual ray of light upon isolated parts of it^k.

The English Universities are not adapted for the training of public servants, nor are they intended to produce lawyers, or physicians, or men of science. Their office is first, by means of the study of Classics and Mathematics, combined with Logic and Moral Philosophy, and a college education, to breed, for the State and for Society, the cultivated and independent "gentleman;" and secondly, to supply the State Church with a clergy, whose cultivation is, in fact, rather classical and literary than theological.

In mentioning these points, I have no desire to find fault with the English Universities; on the contrary, I consider them excellent of their sort, and well adapted to supply what the nation demands from them. I would only point out that they are totally different from the German institutions of the same name; that, at any rate, they approach more nearly to the mediæval Universities, and have retained more mediæval characteristics than the German societies; and that these last correspond to the ideal of a "High School," as it may and ought to be realized in the nineteenth century, far better than the English Universities. At the same time I will not conceal the fact that those renovated and improved editions of the old, and now unfortunately extinct, German "Bursaries," the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, have many a time, as I observed their working on the spot, awakened in me feelings of envy, and led me to long for the time when we might again have something of the same kind; for I could plainly perceive that their effect was to make instruction take root in the mind and become a part of it, and that their influence extended beyond the mere communication of knowledge to the ennobling elevation of the life and character.

^k Higher than I have done in this passage I cannot place the Theology which is taught in the English Universities. I agree with Voigt that an English theologian who has regularly passed through his course at Oxford or Cambridge, is not really distinguishable from a Prussian graduate in Philosophy.—*Mittheilungen über das Unterrichtswesen Englands und Schottlands*, 1857, p. 55.

I have often asked myself, Why are we Germans so slow to adopt an institution recommended alike by reason and experience, an institution which saves thousands of fathers and mothers from sleepless nights of sorrow and anxiety, which rescues many a young man from ruin, or from life-long remorse? Thanks to our king Maximilian II, of imperishable memory, thanks to his comprehensive views and philanthropic spirit, the want of such institutions has been recognised, and a sample afforded of what ought to be accomplished in this direction.

The four Scotch Universities of Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, stand on a lower level than the English. Professor Blackie in describing their condition says that "at the present moment the state of learning in the Universities of this country has fallen to the lowest conceivable standard¹." Indeed, the case can scarcely be otherwise in a country in which, according to the confession of its own scholars, the study of science for its own sake, as opposed to its cultivation for the immediate advantages to be derived from it, is scouted as absurd. History, for example, is as good as unknown in the Scotch Universities. True, Edinburgh has a Medical School of some reputation in the English world; but as a rule, those among the Scotch who have won themselves a name in literature have almost always been independent of the Universities.

So, too, in *North America*, Universities in the true sense—Universities as they have been developed historically—are unknown. The institutions which are called so, and which have the right of conferring degrees in Law and Theology,

¹ Blackie (*On the Advancement of Learning in Scotland*, Edinburgh 1855, p. 10 follg.) makes the broad assertion that Scotland at the present moment is in no sense a learned country; and that in the Universities especially learning is at the lowest ebb. His whole comparison of the Scotch with the German Universities is to the disadvantage of the former. To which Kelland, the Professor of Mathematics, in a speech directed against Blackie, replies as follows. "The Scotch," he says, "adhere to those sciences which are 'immediately connected with actual life, whilst the Germans find a peculiar 'pleasure in diving down into the subterranean cavern of some extinct 'language, or in wandering amid the fountains and mossy avenues of controversial History,—studies which are often as unfruitful as the shadow of 'the upas tree.' Meanwhile, an 'Association for the Extension of Scottish Universities' has been formed. What it has as yet accomplished, we are not in a position to say.

hold an intermediate place between a German gymnasium and the philosophical faculty of a German University. A systematic science of Law exists, as is well known, neither in England nor America; and Theology has to conform to the different doctrines of the thirty or forty sects from which the support of the Universities is derived.

The one and twenty Universities of *Italy* resemble the German outwardly, except that, for the most part, they possess no theological faculties. In Italy the clergy are exclusively trained in the episcopal Seminaries, and hence the broad chasm which divides them and their modes of thought from the educated classes. Thus, if we compare the American and Italian Universities with one another, we shall discern a remarkable contrast between them. In the one country, which is historically the youngest in the world, and the institutions of which are, so to speak, but of yesterday,—in America, Theology enjoys such respect and consideration, that it was mainly for its cultivation, and for the training of the Christian clergyman, that the Universities were founded. Indeed, the foundations have for the most part proceeded not from cities and provinces, but from the great religious parties themselves. In the ancient home of civilization and of Universities, on the other hand,—in Italy, once the instructor of all civilized nations,—there is such a contempt for scientific Theology, that in the majority of the Universities it is not even nominally represented; whilst the clergy, more numerous in proportion to population than in any other European country, are quite content with the elementary instruction afforded by their 217 Seminaries, and, with few exceptions, are innocent of the want of a higher scientific education. And this has not been the case for merely ten or twenty years, but for ages; so much so, that were it not for Noris, who taught at the University of Pisa in the seventeenth century, one would find it difficult to name a single theologian of real distinction and extensive learning, who had belonged to an Italian University. Unless we know and take into account this fact, we shall find the latest events in Italy unintelligible. Their principal cause was the universal feeling of alienation, not unmixed with

contempt, which the laity of the middle and higher classes entertain for the clergy^m.

The Italian Universities are far too numerous for the requirements of the country. And, if we may credit the careful and candid report lately put forth by Signor Bonghi, one of their own professors, their condition is so low, that a thorough reorganization of them is considered of pressing importance. Meanwhile, any remedial measure will be all the more difficult to apply, as the root of the evil lies in the deplorable state of the *Gymnasia* or Public Schools.

In *Spain*, Universities, like many things besides, have long been in the lowest depths of degradation. A hundred years ago they were regarded by the statesmen and scholars of the time as the most efficient bulwarks of the rottenest abuses. Revolutions and civil wars have scattered their property to the winds; their buildings are in ruins; though the students, according to the testimony of a German eye-witness, still form a class out of which the public officers are elected. Old fashions, continues the same writerⁿ, have disappeared beneath the modern French polish; just as everything else in the country is under the domination of French ideas and French arrangements.

That the Slavonic nations can only found and maintain Universities with German help, is shewn by the history of the Czechs and the Poles. *Russia* has a "High School" at Dorpat, but it is a completely German institution. And the other six Universities of the empire, amongst their number that of Odessa founded in 1865, are arranged on a purely German model, and partly supplied with a German staff; for the simple reason that—as the Government organs complain—competent and available professors of Law are not

^m Cf. the substance of a late utterance of *Massimo d'Azelio*, a man who takes a more just, unbiassed, and comprehensive estimate of the present position of Italy than any of his countrymen. In his *Questioni Urgenti*, 1861, p. 53, he says: "Quell' intimo motore piantato in cuore della maggior parte degli Italiani, il gusto di far dispetto ai preti." France is the only other country in which similar causes have produced similar effects. With this difference, however, that in France the relation of the classes in the community to one another is different, and there is a more widespread feeling of deference towards the clergy prevalent among the higher classes than in Italy.

ⁿ Dr. Heine, *Janus*, 1846, ii. 513.

to be found in Russia. In *Switzerland* the characteristic difference of the Romance and Teutonic races is exhibited strikingly in their Universities. German Switzerland possesses no less than three Universities: even the petty town of Basle, since the division of the Canton, has maintained its High School; indeed it has succeeded in making it the centre of a circle of the most eminent *savants*. Whilst French Switzerland, on the other hand, though it is far from wanting in intellectual resources, has never made so much as an attempt to form a University.

Holland, our neighbour and nearest relation by blood, shews her German extraction by the possession of three "High Schools" on the German model, though, it must be confessed, they are very unsatisfactorily supplied with teaching power. In *Belgium*, on the other hand, the mixture of French and German elements in her race is manifested unmistakeably in her four Universities, which embody a mixture of French and German institutions. Scarcely one of them, however, will pass muster before the tribunal of German intelligence.

In the old undivided kingdom of *Denmark* the German University of Kiel became much more distinguished as a scientific centre than the purely Danish University of Copenhagen. The cause of this was no doubt, in great measure, the scantiness of the Danish population, and the consequent impediment to the rise of a national literature. Hence it is that this University, though in other respects constituted on the German model, has, if we except the philologists Rask and Madvig, no celebrities to point to, save a few eminent theologians, like Münter, Grundtwig, and Martensen. The Germans, as a rule, make a practice of translating every book of importance which comes out, but the Danish works which they have translated have been few and far between.

The two *Swedish* Universities, again, of Upsala and Lund, are organized on a totally different system from the German. Some of their characteristics have been retained from mediæval times, as for instance the rule that every student shall belong to one of the "Nations." Of these Nations, each of which has its own hall with a library attached, there are at present

in Upsala as many as thirteen. How different a scientific standard from the German, prevails in Sweden, is shewn in the fact that for Law two professors are considered sufficient, and for Medicine, five; though we must not forget that these Schools have been taught in former times by a Linnaeus, and later, by a Berzelius and a Geijer.

We are thus brought to the conclusion that, taking into consideration their advantages and also their partly remediable, partly irremediable, disadvantages; upon the whole, Universities are the most adequate form in which the German character can express itself and the requirements of the German intellect be satisfied. The charm of University life lies in this mixture of freedom and restraint, of corporative government and self-government in teacher and pupil; more than all in the reciprocity with which the professor gives with open hand the best that he knows, the most precious fruits he has been able to pluck from the tree of knowledge, and the student receives the gift with grateful acknowledgement. Or again, the stimulus which the teacher imparts to original thought and the weighing of evidence, and on the other hand the incitement, so beneficial, so indispensable to a teacher, which an audience may give, thereby keeping his productive power in continual activity—all these things constitute the benefit of a University course, and in them lies the reason why Universities in the true sense are peculiar to Germany. The German spirit is scientific, and as scientific takes form in the University. And wherever German life has developed, it is certain to give birth to something in the nature of our Universities.

The Germans are incontestably the most universal of all nations. The cosmopolitan, the purely human, as opposed to the merely national elements of life, are developed to greater perfection in Germany than in any other civilized people. Hence the German feels himself related to all the great nations on the side of their nobler qualities; and is less conscious than others of the tendency to mutual exclusion between different races. Many people carry the repulsive side of their nationality uppermost; it is like a snail's shell, it sticks to them all the world over, and they are fond of

exhibiting it. But the bark of the German tree is less stubborn and unyielding. The German shews himself amenable and impressible; even his language generally gives way before the encroachments of a foreign tongue. The German may be open to the charge of a certain amount of cosmopolitan distraction; he may be easily absorbed by a more stubborn nationality, as experience has shewn to be the case with our frontier-populations and our emigrants; but that which makes Germany the really central people of the world, is the wealth, the versatility, the many-sidedness of its national character; its genius for entering into, sympathizing with, even loving, any desirable foreign peculiarity; and lastly, its faculty of assimilation, and of raising to a higher perfection what it has assimilated. The rich store of remarkable traits and customs, of national and provincial peculiarities which are to be found in Germany, though they escape the observation of most people, has been well described by my colleague Professor Riehl in a series of works. It would require almost the exclusive devotion of a lifetime to paint adequately the nation as a whole, with its principal phases of life and activity. This is probably the reason why the task has never yet been undertaken. Every one is scared by its enormous magnitude. The English, for instance, have produced an extensive literature about France and Italy, and other nations; but no English writer has ventured to undertake a thorough book on Germany. And as to the French writings on this subject, they only shew that the French are shut out even more effectually than the English from anything like a real understanding, anything like a profound appreciation of the German character.

The German, on the contrary, possesses a special genius enabling him to understand the modes of thought and action of other nations, whether he observes them on the spot or meets them in a foreign Literature or History. His appreciation leads and enables him to pursue them down to the very roots from which they spring. We may call this faculty, this readiness to recognise every superiority in a foreign people, each national peculiarity, each contribution which another nation may make to the sum of human

activity—I say, we may describe it as an exalted sense of justice. But so far as this faculty is manifested in science and literature, I may call it the German *historical sense*; and I venture to assert that we possess it in a more eminent degree than any other nation. This power, this impulse to withdraw our minds from the dominion of habit, to break through the atmosphere which the present draws around us, to penetrate through clouds of prejudice to the knowledge of the spirit and hidden nature of remote times and foreign nations,—is doubtless one of the highest and noblest gifts which God can bestow upon man. And only to them is it given who are penetrated by a spirit of restless effort, of unwearied research in delving for truth; who have courage and persistency enough to buy the most precious of possessions at the highest price, no less than the surrender of all other pleasures and enjoyments of life; who are not content with surface views, or with the working up of what has already been discovered, but pierce down to the very core and bottom of things. If I might use an expression of Göthe's, I should say that the eye of the German intellect has a greater natural "affinity to light" than any other. The French say, "our country is destined to illuminate the world, either as a sun, by its light, or like a volcano, by its glare." And we have no wish to dispute the superiority, even pre-eminence of France, as the possessor and creator of a Universal Literature. Her influence upon the whole civilized, and even beyond the limits of the civilized world, is direct and immediate; ours, indirect and mediate. France, through the universality of her language, is, so to speak, ubiquitous; her office is, and is recognised by her to be, the minting of the gold which the Germans have brought above ground out of the mines of science, and, we may add, the conversion of it into small change, and the bringing of it into circulation. This kind of work is not adapted to our genius, and we must give up the thought of accomplishing it. For, in the first place, the German tongue is too difficult of acquisition for it ever to become an universal language, like French and English; and then, secondly, we have not yet arrived at that transparent clearness, that elegant and precise

adjustment of the form of expression to the thought, which renders the better works of our neighbours so welcome to the widest circle of readers, and to the taste of the most different nations.

It is, however, not only in the French that we recognise this perfection of form, this literary bloom, recalling the classical models of antiquity, and which is the delight of every cultivated mind. Macaulay in England, Geijer in Sweden, Colletta in Naples, Lelewel in Poland, Karamsin in Russia—different as they are in intellectual character, and in their conception and treatment of history, inferior as they all are to the best German historians, in the profundity and extent of their research, and in their criticism of materials—may yet serve as models of the perfection of form to our younger and less trained powers, as models, not, I should say, to be slavishly imitated, but to be thoroughly and profoundly studied.

At the same time, to shew that I am not overstating the case in claiming for Germany in a pre-eminent degree this gift of the historical sense (as already explained) and our vocation in the world which flows from it, I may adduce the following proof, which appeals to Germans and non-Germans with equal force. It is a fact that the books written by foreigners on the condition, history, and literature of other nations than their own, are generally ignored or put aside by the reading public of the nation about which they treat. It is assumed, and for the most part justly, that they can have nothing new to tell the “sons of the house,” nothing which these do not know themselves. De Tocqueville’s work on North America, Guizot’s exposition of the English Revolution, and the writings of the American historians Ticknor and Prescott, on Spain, are of course exceptions. But just compare with these exceptions the goodly array of works by German writers, in which the history, or literature or institutions of foreign nations have been placed in a new light, and expounded satisfactorily to the nations themselves who are concerned in them.

I remember seeing Huber’s *History of the English Universities* upon the table of Mr. Gladstone, at that time the

English Chancellor of the Exchequer, and being told by him that it was a book which he found indispensable, as it was better than anything which had been written on the same subject in England. The writings of Gneist, again, on English Law and Constitutional History, the great historical work of Lappenberg (continued by Pauli), and Ranke’s *History of England* which forms a kind of supplement to it, are all so solid, they contain so much that is new and remarkable, that the native student cannot do without them. The same is true of Ranke’s *History of France*. So, too, the one satisfactory history of Portugal is by Schäfer; and an adequate account of Russia during the last two centuries is nowhere to be found, save in Herrmann’s work. And there is no educated Dane who does not prefer Dahlmann’s *History of Denmark* to the works of Suhm and other native writers.

Hegel’s *History of the Constitution of the Italian Cities* is a book which still remains unsurpassed by any Italian work, although the Italians are extremely addicted to researches into the municipal history of their country. Savigny’s *History of the Italian Law Schools*, again, is recognised beyond the Alps as a work which could be matched by no Italian scholar, and has twice been translated. The *History of French Law* by Schäffner and Stein, and the *History of the Recent Social Movements in France* by the same Stein, are so profound that we should certainly prefer them to all French books on the same subject. In the same way every Russian will turn to Haxthausen’s *Studies* for particulars about the internal condition of that vast empire, more readily than to any Russian work, which is certain to be less complete.

Von Schack’s *History of Spanish Dramatic Literature* has supplied a want which was felt even beyond the Pyrennees. He who compares the German studies on Shakespeare with the English, will undoubtedly admit the superiority of the former both in penetration and in wealth of ideas. On the great poet who is the boast and the glory of Italy almost all civilized nations have for some time past been amassing a literature, with which it is scarcely possible any longer to keep pace. Yet if one compares the writings of Witte,

Wegele, and the King of Saxony, on Dante, with Italian works of the same kind, it is impossible to doubt that here too the palm belongs to the Germans. Before the king's work on Dante appeared, Count Cesare Balbo had already exhorted his countrymen to collect their energies and produce a commentary worthy of the great poem, "or else," he added, "it will be done for us by one of those marvellously conscientious Germans, who are gradually getting possession of all the departments of knowledge which are peculiarly ours".

These blossoms and fruits of science have been, in great measure, reared and matured in the nursery-grounds of our Universities; and it is clear that they, and they alone, are the proper work-shops for all branches of historical knowledge and investigation. There, and there alone, are to be found adequate resources, in the present day, for the scientific working up of the ever-increasing mass of materials. It is thus that the German Universities, as at present constituted, are the product of the "historical sense" of the nation; and again, it is by them that this historical sense is nurtured, kept pure, and directed to its proper objects. This historical sense is further seen in the fostering care which the nation, the Government, and society at large shew towards the Universities; and in the gradual development of their resources, without violence or breach of continuity, to their present stature. It shews itself in the demand and appreciation of historical continuity which, instead of levelling and sweeping away existing institutions in order to build a new edifice from the ground, maintains and improves them by cutting away from time to time what has become obsolete and injurious, and supplying its place. In this way much has been accomplished. The co-operation of Catholics and Protestants in the work of the Universities, which has been rendered necessary by the progress of events, and by the development of science and literature, was held in

o *Vita di Dante*, Napoli, 1840, p. 155: "Sarà fatto un di o l'altro da uno di quei meravigliosi e conscienciosi Tedeschi che poco à poco usurpano a sè tutte le erudizioni nostre." He goes on to give the very good advice that instead of rejecting or depreciating the German treatises, the Italians should accept them with gratitude and profit to themselves. The same advice has lately been given to the Italians by the historian Canth, respecting the German works on Italian History.

former times to be a difficulty bordering on the impossible. It was tried in Erfurt and, for a time also, in Heidelberg. In neither case did it succeed, and Erfurt was ruined by it. But now it is becoming more and more the rule. And in those instances in which even theological Faculties belonging to the two religions have been tried in juxtaposition, as in Tübingen and Bonn, the union has been productive of unmistakeable advantages. The old barbarism of student life, which for two centuries was the bane of the Universities, has vanished. And although perhaps the morality of the youths in the majority of the Universities leaves much still to be desired, it is impossible not to recognise the fact that a real improvement has taken place, that at least the number of earnest, moral, and hard-working students is larger than it was, according to all the accounts that we have, during the period between 1550 and 1750.

To sum up: our Universities fulfil, and fulfil with success, a fourfold office at the present time, without curtailment or injury to any one of the four. First, they are institutions affording the higher education; secondly, they are schools for the preparation of young men for the public service; thirdly, they are training-schools for future teachers; and lastly, they are learned corporations devoted to the extension of science, by means of research and the writing of books. The German Universities have given positive proof that these four processes, which even professors themselves have declared to be incapable of amalgamation, not only can hold their ground side by side, but also that they exercise a most beneficial influence upon one another. The scholar, for instance, who is most eminent in research and the working out of new results, is found to be, as a general rule, the most successful teacher. For as it is impossible to maintain the existing just standard of science without raising that standard, so it is impossible for one to impart really scientific instruction without passing beyond the mere collection and working up of materials ready to hand, into the region of independent and original research.

"Only to him clear speech, high thoughts are given,
Who lives with heroes in the storied past,
And yet surveys his age and struggles in it."

May we not interpret this saying of Göthe thus: "It is the historical sense which consecrates a man to be the priest of science and the instructor of youth"? In order to give the proper breadth to my view, I will mention four Germans in whom I recognise the heroes and representatives of the historical sense: these are, *Niebuhr*, *Alexander von Humboldt*, *Jacob Grimm*, and *Carl Ritter*. In *Niebuhr* it was the brilliancy of his constructive power, the union of historical criticism and historical imagination, which enabled him to divine and elaborate a Roman History behind the veil thrown over it by Livy; and thus opened the way to that accurate and fertile school of criticism, which discriminates between the distorted picture of the historian and true history.

I mention *Humboldt*, again, as a model of the German historical sense, not only because he was eminently successful in the field of historical research, but also because he united the characters and methods of the historian and the naturalist in one. Acute observation of facts, the collection and grouping of all discoverable particulars, the concentration of them like rays of light upon a single focus, the investigation of their internal connection, moral as well as physical, the construction of a single principle out of an endless variety of detail, and lastly the deduction of details from a single principle—that was his method. And we may add that the steady combination of the observation of natural with that of historical phenomena, has had the effect of raising both the one and the other to a higher level.

By a similar combination *Ritter* became the creator of scientific Geography. Geography (in the narrower sense), Ethnography, and History, which had been hitherto pursued independently of one another, were brought by him to bear upon each other and consolidated into a single scientific whole. This he did by tracing the influence which surrounding nature has exercised on the history of men and nations.

In *Jacob Grimm*, finally, we admire the "historical sense" under the form of a faculty—cultivated by him till it became the highest order of artistic skill—of exploring the spirit, the profoundest and most secret being, of the German people, as embodied in its language, its customs, its proverbs, its

mythology, and its laws, and expounding it with the most disinterested exactness.

But there is another way in which we may appreciate the productive power of what I have called the German historical sense—that mighty impulse which appropriates every fact and reads it in the light of its own laws—still more clearly than by regarding its manifestation in a series of personal instances. And that is, by examining the present condition of the sciences, one by one, as they are taught in our Universities and developed in literature.

To begin with: the German historical sense finds rich nourishment in *Theology*, which, as Christianity is a fact, a history, possesses a pre-eminently historical character, and accordingly requires to be investigated and constructed. Hence, too, Germany has become the classical land of *Theology*, from whose treasures the efforts of other countries, like England and America, derive strength and sustenance.

In the *Science of Law* the same "sense" has given birth to the historical school whose foundation is identified with the names of Grotius and Savigny. It is through this school that the principle has been recognised that Law is not a product of legislative caprice, but is one side of the national life, a creation of the genius and past history of a people; and that it is impossible to understand Law without a knowledge of the conditions out of which it arose and to which it is relative. And just as the "Romanist" school, as opposed to the dogmatism which preceded it, insisted successfully that Roman Law should be treated as the result of a long previous historical development; so the "Germanist" school very justly applied the "historical sense" to combat the absolute and exclusive domination of Roman Law, and to raise the German Law—penetrated as it is with Christian ideas, and with the principle of true and personal freedom—out of three centuries of depression and neglect; and despite the heterogeneity which the union of different races has imparted to it, to establish it once more in deserved consideration. Meanwhile a reconciliation of the two schools has been found possible in the common admission that, on the one hand, in

many cases Roman Law has, through custom and reception, become German; and on the other, that the true Law of the German nation is only to be consolidated through the union and amalgamation of the Roman and the German elements into one. The offspring of this reconciliation is the science of Comparative "Nomology," which explains the Law of one country by that of other countries, and regards each as a member in a comprehensive organism. If legal science remain true to that fine majestic definition of the Romans—"Law is the science of the just and unjust, the knowledge of divine and human things,"—it will ever more clearly recognise the truth that all Law has its ultimate foundation in the Divine Justice, and that consequently legal science is the sister of Theology and Ethics, and cannot dispense with their assistance.

In *Political Science* our age has seen the creation of a complete Faculty side by side with that of Law, and claiming equality with it; although in certain particulars (Constitutional and International Law) it coincides with Law. This amalgamation of Politics (in the more restricted sense), Statistics, Constitutional Law, Police, and Political Economy, into a complex science, called by the more general term "Political Science," is considered by foreigners as a characteristic and rather repulsive instance of German eccentricity^p. But here, again, it is the historical sense which has taught us that the character of a state, instead of being capable of abstract construction *a priori*, is determined by the historical and economical condition peculiar to each people; and that hence, for the purposes of science, all these conditions and expressions of political life are to be taken into account. In our Universities, accordingly, "Political Science" is treated more and more as the philosophy of Political History, which generalizes the principle from the sum of historical events and phenomena, which obtains its rule through a mass of historical examples, and in all political questions keeps fairly in mind the differences of periods and nationalities. And in

^p Blanqui, in his *Histoire de l'Economie Politique*, characterizes this as a "tendance à envahir le domaine du publiciste;" but, at the same time, admits that this German view has become, through the medium of German political literature, almost universal in Europe.

the same way it is the application of an historical method to Political Economy by German professors, such as Roscher, Knies, Kautz, which has rescued that science from the dominion of one-sided systems, and from the misdirected but not uncommon endeavour to establish the validity of universal truths derived either from philosophical premisses or from an insufficient induction of particulars. That such a work especially as Roscher's—full of historical erudition, well-applied but never ostentatiously displayed—should proceed from a German University; that the production of a book of that character should be impossible in England and France, and only possible to us—is a fact which redounds to the credit of our Universities.

In *Medicine*, too, it is by German professors that the necessity for historical research has been most fully recognised. As a consequence thereof appeared some years ago the important work of Kurt Sprengel, explaining the sequence and connection of different surgical methods; and his results have lately been worked up into a host of treatises on the history of Surgery. These books have gained in completeness since it has been recognised that there is a history of Pathology, of Therapeutics, of Diseases and the modes of treatment; and that this history can only be explored and expounded in connection with the history of civilization at large. The valuable treatises of Leupoldt, Hecker, Häser, and others, are contributions in this direction.

If we turn now from those sciences relating to man's life, to the department of *Philology*,—without any desire to undervalue English and French works on the subject,—it cannot but be admitted that it is in a pre-eminent degree this German historical sense, of which we have spoken, which has given to Philology a comprehensiveness and significance, never dreamed of before; although, even in the worst days of German cultivation, the Universities have always possessed isolated philologists of eminence. But it is since the end of the last century, since Heyne, that Philology has risen to the stature of a science, penetrating, embracing, investigating at once the collective action and the several monuments of classical antiquity; a magnificent edifice whose plan and

circuit was first sketched by F. A. Wolf. In the great Encyclopedia commenced by Pauly we possess a monument of German philological industry such as no other country, no other science, can point to.

"The interest in *Philosophy* has been superseded by the interest in the history of Philosophy," is a recent dictum which we must recognise as correct. The systems which are the offspring of the *a priori* constructive method, and in which Germany has for thirty years past been so prolific, have been dissolved, and the different philosophical schools have fallen to pieces. The assertion preached, not so very long ago, by a very numerous and dominant philosophical party, that Philosophy had reached its final consummation in the Hegelian system, only serves now to raise a smile. And any system which pretends to exclusive value or truth will raise the same feelings or else drive the mind into scepticism and despair. This fact has had the effect of deterring many of our students from the study of Philosophy altogether. It ought, however, rather to encourage them to seek what they want in Philosophy as a whole, in the succession of systems from the Ionian right down to the Hegelian school; in a word, it should excite them to study Philosophy historically. It is the appreciation of this truth, viz. that where there is no history of Philosophy there can be no true Philosophy at all, which has been hitherto the great want. True, the *a priori* philosophers have seen the necessity of putting themselves right with History, but in doing so they have picked out what they wanted, and mystified or suppressed, frequently, too, misrepresented and disfigured, all that did not fit in with their views. Meanwhile, after many failures, a very decided change for the better is observable in the historical treatment of this fertile subject. In this way the history of Philosophy may be represented in all our Universities as it ought to be, and maintain a high position amongst those studies which modern scientific education demands.

In the department of *Universal History* it is our Universities again by which the twofold object has been carried out: first, of increasing the stock of materials by bringing to bear

all the sources of knowledge, by the discovery and application of new ones, by sifting, comparing, and criticising original authorities more closely; and secondly, after the facts have been so gathered and so ascertained, they perform the further function of illustrating, penetrating them with ideas, and uniting them into a perfectly transparent picture.

The investigation of the reciprocity of relation existing between a country and its inhabitants, of the influence of geographical conditions upon the life and destinies of peoples, in short, the science of Geography as reconstructed by Humboldt and Ritter, has already proved a welcome assistance to historical research. Comparative Philology, which treats languages as the earliest records of nations, has already arrived at important results respecting the family relationship of races to one another, and promises to do still more. That which is important, nay, indispensable, in History is not merely a knowledge of facts and events, but also of the conditions which rendered them possible—what is called the History of Civilization. This science, again the creation of German diligence, has opened up a vast field of enquiry; an enquiry which, considering its great difficulty, the almost illimitable amount of material to be sifted and arranged, we can scarcely be said at present to have done more than commenced.

One branch, however, of the history of civilization—I mean the history of Literature—has already been raised by German zeal to such an elevation, that it is no longer the mere history of books, but of the ideas which produced the books, and of the forms in which those ideas were embodied.

By building on such foundations as these we may hope some day to attain a genuine Philosophy of History; a task at which Germans have continually laboured, since the time of Frederick Schlegel, of Görres and Steffens; and which, when complete, will be one of the noblest fruits which the academical "tree of knowledge" has yet borne. We have already got beyond and given up that illusion, originated by Fichte and developed by Hegel, which forces the infinite wealth of History into the narrow limits of an unyielding schematism; which introduces into History the mechanical

formulae of Logic, thereby substituting a hard necessity for the action of that personal will to which all History bears witness; which evaporates the living contents of History into a barren system of abstract categories. In future, the Philosophy of History, as the most difficult, but at the same time most precious result of academical learning, will be the witness to the fact that the world is governed by spiritual forces, by ideas; it will trace these ideas, will follow their different embodiments and effects through all periods and changes, and bring to light that which alone makes History intelligible, the plan of the Divine government running, like a thread, through them all.

I must not forget to mention in this connection, that in the present day the Universities have a new function to perform, the need of which did not exist formerly. In this century we have witnessed the advent of a new power in the world, a power which has grown with remarkable rapidity to gigantic size and strength, I mean the Periodical Press. The effect of periodical literature is twofold: the momentary and immediate effect, and the permanent and gradual effect, like a drop of water hollowing out a stone. Newspapers have become a necessity which demands satisfaction as imperiously as our physical wants. Every passion, every new fancy of the hour, every political or religious crotchet, finds daily, in and through these organs, a thousand echoes. At the same time the superficial education which newspapers tend to promote has swollen to a mighty stream, against whose inroads genuine science requires stronger barriers and more satisfactory organs. In other countries, in England, France, Italy, the power of journalism is almost entirely unrestrained, and has gradually become irresistible. In Germany it is modified in all scientific and quasi-scientific questions, by the high character and influence of the Universities, which are still accounted by public opinion itself the highest tribunals in intellectual matters. As conservators of the traditions of science, as seats of sober and systematic enquiry, the Universities have the effect of bridling and correcting the tendency of public opinion to extravagance and self-interested views and—it may be,

after a long and laborious conflict—of bringing it back into the right path. To the Universities we owe the large number of scientific and critical journals, written for the most part by professors, which tend to form a counter-acting power to the periodical press—a power which works less rapidly and widely, but more permanently, because its effect is to throw into the scale against the small coin of newspaper articles, the weighty and deliberate verdict of the scientific scholar.

The Universities, upon the whole, still retain the confidence of the nation. It was a most signal and convincing proof of this confidence, that to the Parliament of 1848—the first sovereign deliberative assembly in the history of Germany which really represented and was chosen by the people—no less than 118 professors were elected. It is true that the confidence was not rewarded. Valuable time was spent in enunciating and demonstrating fundamental principles, which might have been employed in placing the constitution of Germany on such a satisfactory footing as to have averted the late war. The truth is that neither Universities nor professors are called upon, indeed they are in no way adapted, to mix in the dust and confusion of political strife; and where they happen to be so mixed up, or are compelled against their will to take part in politics, they invariably appear to disadvantage.

After all, the force which moves the world, that which brings on the important crises in the history of mankind, is not to be found in material interests and passions, but in the great ideas which it is the business of Universities to work out; and the confidence which they enjoy depends now as ever on their performing this function aright. Now as ever they form a link between the past and present of Germany, of a nation which is always living and growing; they explain the present, they solve the problems incident to every new period of development, they prepare the way for the future.

In conclusion, the lesson I would draw from our survey of the history of Universities is this: whatever department of study you may have selected, the principal advantage

of a University training consists in the acquisition and cultivation of this "historical sense" of which I have spoken, and the heroes of which I have brought before your notice. Professors in relation to students have not only much to give, but also much to receive. They receive that invigorating, that regenerative force, which spurs them on and enables them to go over the same ground year after year without weariness; nay rather, by taking every improvement, every advance of knowledge, into account, to impart an ever-increasing life and thoroughness to their subject. And although a Professor addresses himself to his audience with the authority of a teacher, yet it is his wish and constant endeavour to render the student competent to dispense with authority, to stand on his own feet, to examine, to sift, and only so to accept, what he at first received on the faith of another. You will find that there is much that you will hear in lectures which is far from being the pure gold of perfect truth. It is inevitable that some elements of error, some half-truths at least, should creep in. We who have devoted our lives to the priesthood of science, are all willing to confess that those lives are a continual struggle, not only against the mistakes of others, but against our own habitual and besetting errors. It is impossible to discover a new truth, be it new absolutely or only new to us, without at the same time displacing some old error; it is impossible to conceive any real progress, any real scientific activity, which does not bring with it the correction of imperfect, and the exclusion of incorrect generalizations. If we were to give up for a moment the daily labour of sifting and correcting our conclusions, if we were to repose upon the laurels of science which we have already won, fresh illusions—whether bred of some motive of self-interest so occult that we may ourselves be unconscious of it, or of mental indolence, or of uncritical acceptance of conclusions at second hand—would immediately begin to steal over and mislead the mind. *Nullius jurare in verba magistri* is the motto of the true student; but this does not prevent him from following without misgiving the guidance of his instructor.

He remembers that the chief prize of a University education is not the acquisition of a certain mass of knowledge, is not the impression upon the mind of a certain quantity of facts and ideas; but the awakening and cultivation of those intellectual powers which enable him to overcome error, whether from without or from within, and discover new truth for himself. To those who have made this precious treasure their own, the very errors they may have imbibed will be a source of advantage. In every battle fought with them, in every victory won over them, the mind will have undergone a most valuable gymnastic, and the scholar will emerge from the conflict with richer experience and invigorated powers.

One word to the students of Theology. You have chosen a science which claims and cannot but claim to be the goal, the foundation, the key-stone of all others. But this queenly dignity belongs to Theology only upon the condition that she makes use of the sister sciences; only upon the condition that she has opportunity, has liberality, has self-confidence enough to appropriate the good sound material worked up by other sciences, to pluck the best fruits from all branches of the tree of knowledge, to trade with such "talents" and "make them five talents more." Alas for theologians, for teacher and pupil alike, if Theology is to play the part of a valetudinarian lady and close the windows of the mind against the fresh air of enquiry; if she is to dismiss every inconvenient fact of history (inconvenient for theologians, not for Theology itself) as a tough morsel, too solid for her weakly constitution to assimilate. Her very existence depends on the steady maintenance, by teacher and pupil alike, of the "historical sense" in its greatest purity; it depends upon their recognition of the goodness and the ability of others; it depends upon the estimation of new truths in other fields of knowledge at their just value. The question is one of life and death. *Γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι*, "Strive to become good bankers," said Christ, according to an old tradition, to His disciples. Let us also practise the art of distinguishing good money from counterfeit, whole truths from half-truths, whole

errors from half-errors, in the world of mind; of detecting and excising with exactness the kernel of truth in a distorted or a false proposition. Let us not condemn without a hearing, on the strength of a merely superficial glance, or because the ring of the words is displeasing; neither let us turn away with a cold gesture of superiority from whole departments of knowledge, as if they were possessed by the devil and his angels.

From such an extension of your horizon I expect no danger. Any doctrine which would dethrone the living, personal God of conscience and religion, in order to set up the abstractions of Pantheism in His place, you will dismiss as self-contradictory. Any system which either openly or by implication denies the freedom of the human Will, will gain no influence over your mind; because this freedom is too deeply rooted in the depths of your consciousness; because, however sophistry may avail for the moment to shake your innate certainty of this freedom, it is sure to return victorious in the next moment, and rise in rebellion against the feeling of any contrariety between the Understanding and the Will. Least of all will you be tempted to admit the claims of a materialism, which would persuade you, that man is only a more finely organized ape, or that thoughts are merely secretions of the brain.

Let this be your motto, *Theologus sum, nihil divini a me alienum puto*. "Nothing divine"—and therefore nothing that is true—for all Truth comes ultimately from God—"ought to be strange to us." Only let us be sure that we have the right magnet which may serve to attract the truth to itself out of the heap of rubbish which surrounds and often conceals it. This is the sense in which of old the great men of the Alexandrian school understood their duty to Greek Philosophy and Science. Ours is a more difficult task; because the material with which we deal is immeasurable, and is daily increasing. The whole history of mankind in all its departments—Philology, Antiquities, Anthropology, the comparative History of Religion, the Science of Law, Philosophy and the History of Philosophy—all these come before us with the demand that we should subdue

them with the power of thought. It is as in Mahomet's Paradise, where the first tree calls to the beatified soul, "Taste my fruit, it is sweet," and immediately another tree cries out, "Pluck mine, it is sweeter." Under the burthen of such a gigantic work, the individual, with all his thirst for knowledge, must succumb. But that which is impossible to the individual, may at least be approximately possible to associated labour, to the efforts of many men with a single purpose.

A celebrated Italian some two centuries ago closed his life with the wish for the republic to which he belonged, *Esto perpetua*. With the same wish for this republic of letters, to which I have now belonged for forty years, I will also conclude, *Esto perpetua*.

THIS Translation does not pretend to challenge criticism upon its literary merits. It has been executed rapidly, in order that it might appear before the several Bills relating to the University of Oxford come again under the consideration of Parliament. It is hoped, however, that the rendering will be found, at least, tolerably correct.