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Publisher: Routledge
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The Pedagogical Seminary

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/vzps20>

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Published online: 30 Aug 2012.

To cite this article: G. Stanley Hall (1915) The Mediaeval Universities and Some of Their Lessons for Us, The Pedagogical Seminary, 22:2, 275-289, DOI: [10.1080/08919402.1915.10533961](http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08919402.1915.10533961)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08919402.1915.10533961>

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THE MEDIAEVAL UNIVERSITIES AND SOME OF THEIR LESSONS FOR US¹

By G. STANLEY HALL

Your Eminences, Most Reverend and Right Reverend Bishops, Reverend Fathers, Delegates from Other Universities, Ladies and Gentlemen:

As a fellow-member with you of the Association of American Universities, permit me first of all to express the most hearty "*vivat, crescat, floreat*," which I know all of them feel to the Catholic University of America on this most auspicious completion of the first quarter centenary of its existence, to congratulate you all on its signal achievements in the past, and to express the most earnest hope and prayer that each future generation in *saecula saeculorum* may be marked by a progress of which both you and our country will be no less proud than to-day. As we see war deepening old and arousing new antagonisms in Europe, should we not solemnly resolve that no divergencies of race, belief or interest, however great, shall ever have the power to rupture the bonds of mutual toleration and amity in our own land, and that the eternal peace of God shall be henceforth ever more firmly established among us all?

My theme is "Some Lessons which the Mediaeval Universities Have for Our Own." Only since the epoch-making publication of the Vatican archivist, Denifle, thirty years ago, has it been possible to realize the magnitude of our indebtedness to these institutions which began so humbly and obscurely in the twelfth century, but which grew and multiplied so fast that no less than fifty-five of them were established, thirty-one by popes and twenty-three by Christian princes, more than a century before the discovery of America. In 1553, sixty-one years after the first landfall of Columbus on the shores of the new continent, the University of Mexico was founded with three faculties, eighty-three years before Harvard, so that this, which has been called the last of mediaeval, is also the first of American universities. For decades the best of them had smaller funds and a poorer

¹ An address delivered at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Catholic University of America, April 15, 1915.

independent housing of their own than the weakest of the five hundred and thirteen accredited universities and colleges in this country to-day. But such was the ardor and enthusiasm of teachers and taught, that if ever there was a university invisible, not made with hands, it was found in each of the three type universities, Bologna, Paris and Oxford, for these were most widely copied.

I. *In general* they were in no sense fiat institutions, made by bulls, edicts or millionaires, but grew inevitably out of the inmost needs of the times. The middle ages had a veritable genius for organizing life and for creating institutions, and it would be hard indeed to name a single general feature of student life, good or bad, a method of teaching or learning, wise or otherwise, an item of organization or control, a theme of rule or statute, or even a form of conferring degrees, of academic festivity or costume, anywhere in the world to-day that did not originate before the close of the fourteenth century. Fondly fostered as they were, first by the church and then by the state, richly endowed as they were with privileges and immunities, so lush was their growth, that all the specifications of their charters and constitutions usually only confirmed an already developed status. The term university, then applied to all corporations, had for a long time no relation to the universality of knowledge, and the aggregations of students in these *studia generalia* were essentially guilds. Altogether they were as characteristic creations of their day as were feudalism, trial by jury, parliament, or a constitutional king. These universities and the immediate products of their work constitute, in the language of Rashdall, "the great achievement of the middle ages."

Their effect upon the progress of Europe, too, was without precedent and probably can never be paralleled again. Theology, scholastic philosophy, law, civil and canon, the dawn of modern science, and the renaissance of the twelfth century, and to some extent that of the fifteenth, are essentially their work. Although the number of students that flocked to the largest of them has been exaggerated, nowhere probably exceeding eight or nine thousand, and although there always were dreamers, dawdlers and sometimes roughs among them, the outburst of intellectual ardor which they represent was on the whole also without precedent. Their vital relations with the church gave to learning an element of consecration it had never known before or since, so that their lessons should be known and laid to heart by all concerned with either the technique or the philosophy of higher education to-day. They are full of all the charm and freshness of the *juventus mundi academici*, they were an academic paradise.

As imperial Rome tottered and fell, Saint Augustine, whom Harnack calls the greatest personal influence between Saint Paul and the sixteenth century, supplied a surrogate to it in his splendid vision of a new spiritual kingdom of God or a theocratic state. So when the four great schools of classical antiquity, that had lasted a thousand years, dwindled and were closed by the edict of Justinian (529 A. D.), the stupendous problem of reorganizing and reconstructing Europe, submerged by wave after wave of barbarian invasion (340-450 A. D. being the century of migration *par excellence*), devolved upon the new religion working through the church and state. Its silent work of organization never ceased, and universities perhaps deserve to be called its chief instrument to that end.

(a) One of its original creations, unknown in antiquity, was a curriculum or a more or less standardized course of study, by which knowledge was both systematized and graded, and thus the seven liberal arts of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, which held sway for a millennium, were evolved. To create a good course of study requires the very acme of pedagogic sagacity and statesmanship and makes for enormous economies of effort. A curriculum is a *vade mecum* with which to thrid the mazes of knowledges and skills. It seeks to designate in natural sequence the essentials and it saves from by-ways, from wastage of time and effort, and from second-rate sources. It is a trunk line carefully surveyed and facilitated to a maximum of efficiency in attaining a goal. The university only developed higher courses with new material on the basis of the seven muses of Capella.

(b) Again, the very idea of examination was new in the world, and the right to examine and pronounce results was never abandoned, even in those periods and institutions where the professorate was stripped of nearly all its other prerogatives. To measure up the knowledge attained at each stage of progress toward a goal, and also, if more incidentally, to calibrate ability, was not only a new but a splendid stimulus. Although standards changed and there were occasionally traces of venality, on the whole the examination was an ordeal so serious that at certain times and places relatively few attempted it.

(c) The degree was a third new creation. It was like a patent of academic nobility, accessible to all of whatever rank or station who could meet its requirements. It brought distinction, privileges and immunities, and master, and later bachelor, were common name prefixes, like doctor with us. As it was a trait of the Roman law to formally inaugurate into every office, so the conferring of degrees became not only a

very festive but also to the candidate a very expensive as well as elaborate ceremony, in which he was given an open book, a ring, and a hood, while he knelt, and then an embrace, a kiss and a benediction in the name of the Holy Trinity. Only after this was the scholar a full member of the academic guild, and feasting and jubilation followed.

(d) Again, the organization of teachers and learners of different departments into a single institution was another new thing in the world. This made for breadth of view, gave wholesome emulation and interaction, made for comparison and correlation of different branches of knowledge, and brought the organic unity which helps men to feel that the world is not a chaos but a cosmos with a spiritual unity behind it.

Universal and matter-of-course as this quaternian of agencies now is, it first came into existence in the Occident only five or six centuries ago, and constitutes the first specific bequest of mediaeval universities to us. If the institution of this new machinery involved any loss of the spontaneity which marked the culture of classical antiquity, if it has sometimes brought over-conservatism and even retardation, it has more than made up for all this by increasing historic continuity, by diffusing knowledge, by preventing a decline from culture once acquired, by keeping experts together, which latter is one of the best conditions of research, and by invitations to them to make new original additions to the sum of human knowledge.

II. *As to students*, they might enter, as many did, in the early teens, with small attainments save Latin, which was indispensable, and this was tested informally only by the oral questions and answers involved in matriculation. Very few could obtain any degree in less than seven years, and for this the tests were, with occasional exceptions, so severe that many never attempted them, a condition happily reversing our present methods of hard entrance and easy graduation.

At Paris in the fourteenth century most of the daylight hours were occupied by lectures, often two hours long, no small part of which was dictation for all instruction was oral, for students had little access to books but had to make them. There were other stated exercises, including those attending the two stated meals at ten and six, while early evening was a time of freedom and often of trouble. At first students often sat in the straw on the floor, for some thought this made for the humility and docility proper to the *status pupil-aris*, although benches and still later desks came into general use.

As to comforts and hardships, candles and fires were too costly for individual rooms, and there was no glass for windows. From two to four pounds of meat could be bought at Oxford for a penny, and it was possible for a student to live on from seven pence to two shillings per week. Amusements were few, and the statutes called play with bat and ball "insolent" and tennis was "indecent." Chess was forbidden on legible days, and the only athletics were scuffling with each other and perhaps fighting with the people of the town. There were occasional riots and some vice such as Birdseye has shown on the dark side of student life to-day. Penalism or fagging of younger to older students was rife. Discipline, authority, control, which were notably lacking at first, developed apace, so that the occasional floggings of the youthful university students which we read of in the beginning, were soon superseded by fines, but only as the halls developed were students really subjected.

Youth is always gregarious, from the age of the street gang, so like the savage tribe, up, and of this instinct in adolescent years mediaeval universities furnish the world its very best illustration. The students at once organized themselves into nations, under a rector chosen from their own number and given unlimited power, whom they characteristically obeyed as unresistingly as a modern athletic team does its captain or coach, deposing him as summarily if things went wrong. Sheldon has shown the genetic connection between these organizations and the later *Landsmannschaften* and corps, etc., of the German universities, and even fraternities and other student societies of to-day. At the law university of Bologna, where attendants were older, (from eighteen to forty), wealthier and often beneficed or titled, students came to employ their professors on annual tenures prescribing just what puncta of the Pandects they should cover each day, fining them if they shirked a knotty point, binding them by oath not to accept a call to teach elsewhere, forbidding them to leave town without their permission, compelling them to begin and stop on the stroke of the bell, and not to lecture unless there were at least five students, and robbing them of nearly every prerogative save the one to which they clung through many a struggle, that of testing by examinations, and determining whom and how to promote to degrees. This student republic in an age of authority in church and state was thus the diametrical opposite of the unprecedented concentration of power in the hands of the American university president, which reached its acme in the days following the foundations of Cornell, Hopkins, Stanford and Chicago in this democratic land, which was necessary

under such conditions which Cattell and others here now object to, but which is now happily on the wane, deans and head professors now exerting the arbitrary power that presidents did a decade or two ago. But at Bologna, on the whole, at its best, standards of both teaching and learning were probably kept on the highest mediaeval plane. Throughout the entire pre-Reformation period the church stood for academic freedom, and in many a contest, culminating in the long struggles between the University of Paris and the Chancellor of Notre Dame, Rome decided against its own local dignitaries in favor of university independence and autonomy, and in a great majority of the many appeals made to her she sided with the professorate, and even with the students, against counter-appeals from both spiritual and temporal authorities.

For centuries a favorite method of government was by exacting oaths. All were sworn to obey every old and every new statute, to attend lectures, be punctual, pay debts, not cheat or bribe at examinations, and instead of the roll-call at each lecture, students had to swear at the beginning that they would and at the end that they had attended. In some cases there were over forty distinct oaths. Such was the horror of perjury and its penalties that this was long effective, but as oaths continued to multiply it was impossible either to keep them or to learn by elaborate espionage whether they had been broken. If our honor system has historic roots they are here, and at any rate this historic chapter has both its lessons and its warnings for us. Slowly fines came to take the place of oaths as more effective.

We have the beginnings of university extension in the early and common difference between ordinary and extraordinary instructors, hours, topics and books. Doctors and masters taught in the morning hours, in academic rooms, where there were any, the standard topics, and used the most classic texts, while the probationary teaching of intending masters and bachelors and all the work of *repetiteurs*, drill-masters and cursory readings took the second place, and a system of assistants and apprentices, to whom the professors delegated more and more of their work, grew, and all such courses were often given outside academic walls. It was these men at the larger that constituted the waiting list for appointments in the smaller universities. Some of them taught on for many years with no higher degree, so that we have here also the beginning of the docent system, which has lately become such a burning problem in German institutions, in many of which they have outnumbered the full professors, sometimes almost

revolutionizing old statutes and precedents in quest of their rights.

Academic vestments, too, can be traced back with considerable continuity to the original cappa, toga and baretta, of the fourteenth century, where these were mentioned in many a regulation, and were absent at first but came to be required of all. They were of course of ecclesiastical origin. Students were commanded to avoid gaudy lay dress, such as pointed shoes, trunk hose, bright colors, ornaments, also daggers and firearms. The pleat down the back of the standard academic hood to-day was once a veritable hood to be drawn over the head, while the rudimentary pocket in it is what is left of the pouch in which the mediaeval student carried his breakfast or lunch. The costume meant both distinction and immunity.

The induction of new students by older ones, by weird and often cruel rites, Specht traces back to student customs of classical antiquity, but they have perhaps never been so elaborate or rubricized as in the middle ages. The newcomer was bullied, hoaxed, badgered, hazed, robbed, mulcted, without stint. He was a tenderfoot, fledgling or beganus, a wild beast with horns that had to be sawed off, as his ears must be symbolically clipped. He was washed, barbered, fumigated, forced to confess preposterous crimes, and sometimes ceremonially buried and resurrected. In the Italian universities the freshman was more often a criminal, who was arrested, tried, condemned, sentenced, punished, and sometimes executed, while in the whole system of penalism he was subjected to all the whims and abuses of an older student. Always, however, having finished his purgation, his hardships and his servility end, and he is welcomed with great rejoicing into complete membership in the confraternity, and if the insults and outrages he has suffered rankle in his memory, he can find sweet recompense in inflicting all these indignities on younger men. If we compare all this with Sheldon's compilation of student customs in this day and land, we shall be struck with the ultra-conservatism and the utter lack of originality on the part of modern students in this field. These inductions into studentship show a very close parallel to the ceremonies with which nearly all savage tribes induct their pubescent youth into manhood and membership of the tribe. Indeed, these ceremonies touch one of the profoundest themes in psychology, which has countless outcrops in the ancient cults of Dionysius, Apollo, Attis, Osiris, and a score more. The modulus of every romance and drama is to subject the hero to a series of severe trials that tax his energy to the

utmost, almost to the breaking point, and then in the end to bring triumphant success, pleasure and relaxation of effort. By thus cadencing the soul and regulating alternations between pleasure and pain, the sovereign masters, we sanify, normalize, give elasticity, power of rebound, to life. The utmost strain, effort, danger, is succeeded by the greatest relief and perhaps ecstatic happiness. Now all this goes back to the death of nature in the fall and its resurrection in the spring. From these old winter-spring festivals up to the passion history, which is the world's masterpiece, man has been striving to safeguard his own nature, to spur the rising generation upward on the "excelsior" path of escape from the depressing sense of inferiority, and to make the very most and best of himself. These great rhythms give the soul an immunity-bath against the two chief dangers which modern psychiatry shows beset its sanity, viz.: being overwhelmed by pain or else inebriated with joy. These alternations not only give the soul unity against all forms of dual personality, but serve as the Aristotelian katharsis, for they make for elasticity, impel to both effort and control, and best of all, they sublimate and safeguard from passion and unfold the higher powers of man. Thus there is a sense in which the whole secret of education consists in administering aright these great rhythms, for education began with pubic rites, which always followed the formula pain-joy, and has spread up and down the age scale as civilization advanced. Thus we have a point of vital contact between religion and the higher culture.

The earliest form of spontaneous public benefaction to universities was not gifts to faculties or administration but to students. In the fourteenth, and occasionally in the thirteenth century, pious donors began to establish small funds for poor but deserving students. Some specified that the beneficiary should come from his own family, province, town, or have prepared at a specified school, or in some way give proof of ability, intend to enter clerical or some other profession. Some of these funds were very small and provided only lodgings, clothing, free beds in hospitals, books, firewood, and occasionally free meals, and along with these came the larger gifts for halls in which students first could, and then must, live. These foundations, *bursae*, stipends, are often pathetic illustrations of public sympathy with able young men who are indeed the light and hope of the world, most of all worthy of devotion and service by their elders. In this youth of our modern world, young men who sought the pearl of academic wisdom appealed profoundly to the instincts of the higher parenthood of their age. Baumgart fills a large volume with these ancient and often quaint provisions for facilitating stu-

dents in Germany. Leipzig, for instance, has to-day nearly 400 distinct funds, the oldest established in 1325, and all together providing for 729 students. The Oxford colleges have 367 of them, besides 480 scholarships, and 129 exhibitions. They abounded in France till the legislation of Turgot swept them all away in order that the state might appropriate special funds to such students and thus gather to itself their gratitude, while in Great Britain the principle of *cy-pres* has been so applied as to relieve many of these funds from the often absurd conditions of the dead hand. In this country I make 270 paying graduate fellowships, disregarding those purely collegiate.

Thus in Europe to-day many a student career is made possible by gifts of those who four or five centuries ago believed with the Parliamentary Commission who, at the close of their investigation of many thousand ancient bequests in Great Britain, declared in substance that charities devoted to this purpose probably had done church, state, and the world in general on the whole greater good than any other form of benefaction.

The emperors of ancient Rome gave special privileges to teachers and scholars, and in 1158 the first of those in the middle ages was granted by Frederick Barbarossa, exempting from attacks or extortion all students going to or returning home from the university, on pain of a brand of infamy and fourfold restitution. In 1200, as the result of a tavern brawl between town and gown, the Provost of Paris was commanded by the King to swear loyalty to students, and they were given a charter of exemption from civil court jurisdiction and supplied with a court of their own. In the same year all chattels of students were exempt from seizure by the civil power, for whatever cause. Students must not be interfered with on any pretext, and every plaintiff against them must appear before the university court, and even church courts could not try students save in the university town. Then came exemption from taxes, not only of all academic property but usually from all taxes whatever, either by masters or students or even subordinate officials. In 1231 Pope Gregory IX conferred one of the choicest of university privileges, viz., that of suspending lectures. This involved not only sealing up the fountains of wisdom but often a still more dreaded withdrawal of the university to another city, as indeed often occurred. The King of England in 1229 invited the University of Paris, when it happened to be in revolt, to migrate to his country, but the very threat of secession usually brought town authorities to terms and often to their knees. Another choice privilege granted to the masters and scholars was the *jus ubique legendi*

first granted by the papal bull in 1292, a privilege persistently sought by and often extended to other larger universities. This authorized the holder to teach without further tests in any university in the world. Cities also sometimes lavished universities within their bounds with privileges. They paid professors' salaries, exempted them from all kinds of rates and from all civic duties, appointed money lenders for students at about a fourth of the usual interest.

III. *As to work and studies* (a) the oldest mediaeval university, dating back to the tenth and possibly the ninth century, at the yet older health resort of Salerno, was devoted entirely to medicine, as Montpellier was in large part later. Here we find many of the germs of science, and its original ideal was expressed in the sentence of Hippocrates, "God-like is the physician who is also a natural philosopher." To a basis of ancient empirical tradition and practice, Hippocrates and Galen added their epitomes of the therapeutic experience of classical antiquity, and third and later there came from Saracen and Jewish sources the mystic elements of astrology, the parent of astronomy, and alchemy, the parent of chemistry, along with many new remedies, all of which Sprengel's monumental work has used to make the story of the dawn of medicine a fascinating chapter in culture history. Logic and mathematics were propaedeutics, and much dialectic energy was devoted to giving the medical canon systematic form. After a long struggle with the popular horror of mutilating the human cadaver, not unlike that now against controlled vivisection, the dissection of one male corpse, fresh from the hangman, often in the churchyard, was permitted once a year. As first-hand knowledge of the body increased with growing liberality in the anatomy acts, the old texts were found not infallible, and when in 1482 laymen and even women students could finish the six years' medical course and receive degrees, and a little later Vesalius and then Harvey made an end of the old methodism, humoralism, iatrisms, etc., the foundations of modern medicine were laid. Of course the texts and the knowledge of that day are long since transcended, but these pioneer medical schools were from the start far in advance of anything the Orient ever knew. At every period they represented the best medical thought and knowledge that then existed in the world, and what is better yet, they supplied the impulses that have issued in the best we have to-day. Their errors and even superstitions involved a profound and wholesome sense of man's inner union with nature. It was their work that made the great Vienna surgeon, Billroth, plead for a required course in the history of medicine in every institu-

tion for the training of the modern physician, and such a text Hesel sought to supply. Not only medicine but biological science owes to this type of mediaeval university a far greater debt than it has yet realized.

(b) The chief secular problem of the middle ages was to reorganize business, government and society. We seek only to improve to-day what they created almost *de novo*. Their chief instrument to this end, as Savigny has best shown us, was Roman law. Deeds and contracts, courts and judicial procedure, inheritance and succession, corporations and charters, the status and rights of the various social classes, the kinds and functions of officials, taxation, crime—all had to be provided for. Besides the codex of Justinian in twelve books, which was at first all that was known, there came a little later the fifty books of the Pandects, digesting the results of fourteen centuries of legal experience, unknown till Irnerius introduced them at Bologna in the twelfth century, and thus created anew for the modern world the profession of law, which henceforth was taught, not as a branch of rhetoric as before, but as a vocation requiring long and special study by itself. Henceforth we are told "law was the leading faculty in by far the greatest number of mediaeval universities for more than five centuries." The practical effect of this upon European history and the progress of civilization is incalculable. The law universities re-curriculized the law more efficiently than had been done in the *Institutes* or other ancient text-books, and nothing was more congenial to the unique instinct for organization of the mediaeval mind than this written reason or Organon of economic and sociological statecraft. More systematic and comprehensive than many codifications of modern laws, it is still taught beside them in most European countries. We even find here traces of the case system. Even the constitution and statutes of the mediaeval, and in many respects those of the modern, French and English university are based on Roman law.

(c) The very year of Abelard's death, 1142, Gratian, inspired by the impulse of the Roman civil law jurisprudence, published another of the great text-books which "took the world by storm," and which became the solid basis of the great superstructure of canon law. The church had already a vast body of decrees, edicts, statutes, decisions of councils and officials, modes of ecclesiastical government, internal and external, laying down the relations between spiritual and temporal authority, comparing Christian and classical culture, specifying the requirements and training for different officials. As Augustine's lofty vision of the city of God had become ever more concrete and real, its administration became no

less intricate than that of the state, and hence before this time there had been various unsuccessful efforts to correlate the rules and precedents of religious institutions into a systematic whole. But the *Decretum* at once made canon law also a department by itself, more or less independent of theology, of which it had before been a part, and also distinct from civil law. Thus a new class of students and a new doctorate came into existence. The scope of this new course of study was extremely comprehensive and the method, borrowed from Abelard, was to present both sides in turn of all questions. It is no wonder therefore that this new department shaped and is the key for the understanding of church history, not only in those centuries, when it was no less normative of the destinies of Europe than was civil polity, but in our own age.

(d) Finally, how can a veteran, though humble, teacher of philosophy with this theme avoid even in this imposing and competent presence a word touching the most original of all the intellectual creations of the mediaeval world, the scholastic philosophy, the product of four centuries of earnest, acute thinking, by as pure, devout and learned men as have ever striven to explain the universe, a system so praised on the one hand and so disparaged on the other, that the attitude of every historian of philosophy toward it has long been almost a shibboleth of his creed? Happily of late there is here some *rapprochement* on both sides of the great divide. On the one hand it is seen that scholasticism is not a saurian of an extinct species, but a masterly solution of many of those supreme problems of life and mind that always have and always will both challenge and baffle the great intellects which struggle to know what God and man and nature really are, while on the other side it is seen that later thinkers and their systems are given abundant recognition. No philosophy ever undertook so earnestly the stupendous work of harmonizing faith and reason, of unifying the classic culture with the Christian consciousness.

To this end the happiest possible method had been given by Abelard half a century before the first university was founded, in the fifty-eight theses and antitheses of his "*Sic et Non*," in which each of the opposite views, often in extreme form, with a place for even an *advocatus diaboli*, and with copious citations, is alternately presented. By this contraposition of authorities the student is stimulated to his uttermost to find out the way of truth. This became a method of such pedagogic effectiveness that it was followed in Gratian's *Decretum*, and in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and became *the* method of orientation in civil law and for sometime even in medicine and science. Thus came in the fashion of debate, controversy,

discussion, and it is the precise method of Abelard which the University of Wisconsin has lately followed in its half dozen extension leaflets on as many themes, outlining both sides of each question, with authorities, for the guidance of the debates it has instigated all over the state. Thus disputations became almost universal. Every student must propound a thesis as a kind of knightly challenge and be ready to maintain it against all objectors. We still find rudiments of this method in almost every European thesis and promotion, while in this country debate, since it spread so rapidly through most of our colleges about 1850 and has now taken on intercollegiate features, is again finding just recognition. In this way humble third member of the *trivium*, logic, came to a commanding position, and this intellectual ju-jutsu method of attack and defence brought the youthful mind to its very best edge and temper. In its higher aspect it was this method by which the ship of thought was steered between dangerous extremes, trimmed and kept on its true course. Controversy (to change the figure) was the pioneer that opened up the highway of truth.

Since the hehemic art of Socrates brought forth concepts, which Plato developed into his ideas, and Aristotle made into categories, they have been the focal theme of all philosophy. Now they have been thought innate in the soul, now moduli in the divine mind after which the world was made, now obtained by induction like the various steps of Porphyry's ladder from the *infama species* the fixity of which Darwin opposed up to the *summa genera*. They even underlie our problems of "imageless thought" and "determining tendency." Kant assumed an even dozen of them, and Hegel sought to organize them into what he thought to be the ipsissimal nature of God. Thus they have been the key to most of the great problems of the ages. Now as Plato strove to make them a new and ineluctable basis of the state when convictions had crumbled under the disintegrating influence of the Sophists, so the scholastics had to turn to them for the basis of the new spiritual kingdom of man's soul. Thus whether universals were before, after or in things was vital to the very existence of higher ideal culture and of ecclesiastical organization and theological truth. If extreme nominalism be true, there is nothing in the world but isolated particulars, as unrelated to each other as the Lucretian atoms, mind plays little part in knowledge, and every type of idealism is a play of empty words. Empiricism is the only philosophy, and sensationalism all there is to psychology.

On the other hand, if extreme realism be true, ideas are all that is really real, the principle of individuation fades, and things if not persons tend to merge into an ever more generic,

if not pantheistic, background. Between these disastrous extremes a broad and safe middle highway must be opened, and justice done alike to the partial truth of both views. This was precisely the problem of Kant, as it also is of Bergson and Eucken and our contemporary realists, with only minor differences of terminology and connotation. It would be only too trite to show in detail how Occam anticipated Locke in his polemic against needless ideas, how Anselm in his famous argument for God was followed by Descartes, and in his *credo quia absurdum* by Jacobi, who found a light in his heart which went out when he tried to take it into his intellect, or how Albertus Magnus did much of the very work of Trendelenburg six centuries earlier than he, how Bonaventura anticipated Schelling's intellectual intuition, and Fichte's blessed life, etc. But such comparisons, which are endless, belong elsewhere.

The great point is that the scholastic thinkers were pragmatists. Their thinking for the most and best part at least was not aimless speculation or romancing with ideas, nor motivated by the lust of evolving individual systems, but it was practical and all to the end of conserving and advancing institutions and ideal worths which they felt to be so inestimably precious that they transcended every personal or merely cultural end. Theirs was far more the work of the practical than of the pure or theoretic reason. Scholasticism tested thus by a new pragmatic sanction meets it supremely well. It did conserve the countless idealisms of cult and faith, and it made the old and the new intussuscept. It also transmitted to later centuries most of the great problems that have never ceased to be the center of philosophical thought. When we have a real and truly genetic history of philosophy, which is still lacking, in which all the even subconscious reverberations of the great schism are transcended, only then shall we realize the inestimable debt that modern owes to mediaeval thinking in these fields. Shall we think the worse of Plato if we agree with Zeller that his thinking was motivated throughout by the desire of saving the state and all that it meant, or of Fichte if his supreme aim was the patriotic one of making his dear fatherland the ego of nations, or of Hegel if we agree with those who regard his system as primarily devised to give a deeper cultural basis to Prussian bureaucracy?

Thus, to conclude, while printing and the multiplication of books and the growth of modern literature and especially of science, have vastly changed the method and the subject matter of academic culture and have brought transforming new views of the universe, theology, classics and philosophy have changed far less in either method or subject matter. Here we still

have much of the same authority of great texts bespun and sometimes swamped with glosses and notes, of lecturing that approximates dictation, and grammar which still remains, though dictionaries have come. Even in the domain of science, the mediaeval Latin of the schools has given us an enormous wealth of technical nomenclature. On the side of organization, university statutes and their administration, especially in Europe, are still more on the basis of Roman than of modern law. Faculty experts in rules and precedents illustrated the "case system" long before its modern use. While appropriations and endowments have vastly increased and brought with them centralization of control, student life has, until the recent athletic movement, added almost nothing not found in the early days of reaction from the strictness of cloistral rule, if indeed it has not lost much of its pristine freshness and romance. As to the relation of studies to life and to the social, political and religious institutions of their time, no university of our own day has been more practical than their mediaeval forerunners. The ideals of academic youth are often said to be the best material for prophecy or the best embodiment of the *Zeitgeist*, and we are often told that as Oxford inclines so England will go a generation later; and so as these mediaeval universities led, Europe followed. There is always a sense in which a university does not consist of buildings, endowments or numbers of students, but is a state of mind. It is found wherever a great teacher and a few gifted pupils are gathered together. In all these respects the more we know of the mediaeval universities the more we shall see that we owe them.