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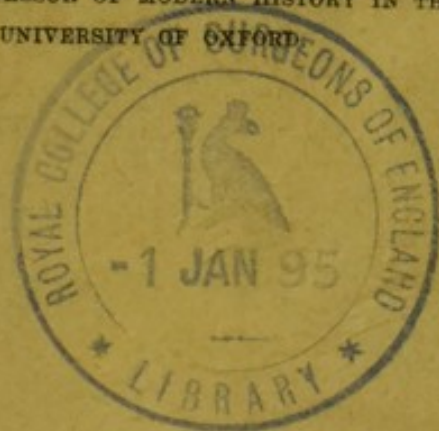
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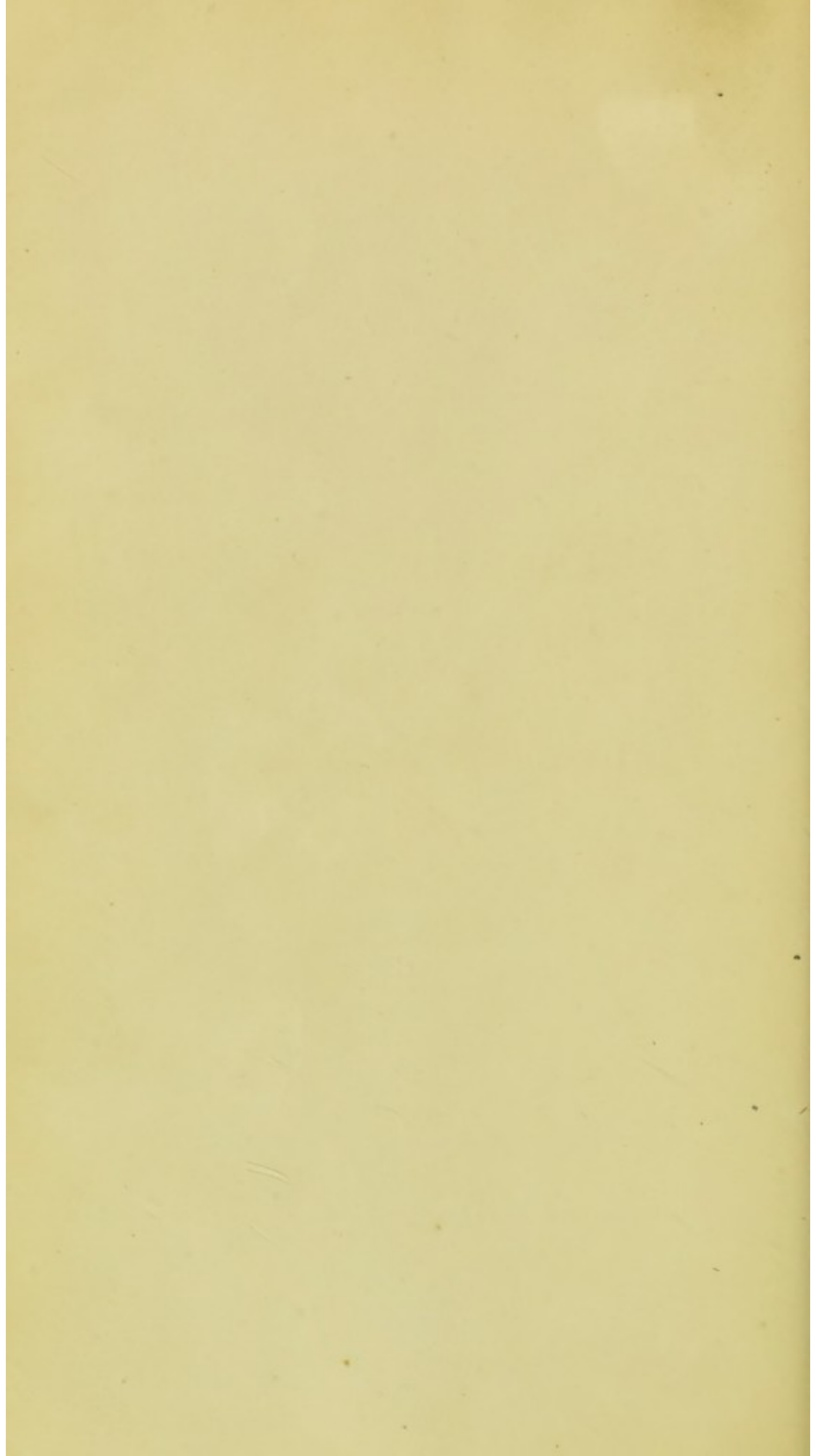
OXFORD PROFESSORS.

BY

HENRY HALFORD VAUGHAN, M.A.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD






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AND

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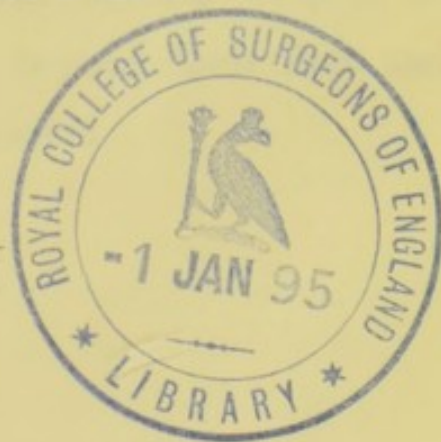
TO

CERTAIN OBJECTIONS URGED AGAINST THE REPORT
OF THE QUEEN'S COMMISSIONERS.

BY

HENRY HALFORD VAUGHAN, M.A.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.



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PREFACE.

IT is with many feelings of regret for loss of irretrievable time, and with some feelings of dissatisfaction at the engagement of thoughts on a controverted topic, that I have penned the following pages. But, considering that my duties are, by so momentous a crisis in the history of Oxford, enlarged beyond the common sphere of Professorial labours, I have not shrunk from the task. I am hopeful, too, that even Literary Students may find some observations in the following arguments which will be not without an use and general applicability beyond their first and immediate purpose on this occasion.

1st February, 1854.

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It is with many feelings of regret for loss of his
services, and with some feelings of dissatisfaction
that the management of this office has considered
the fact that it has found the following state of
affairs, and that it has no alternative
course in the history of this office, beyond the
common course of dismissal. It has not
been from the fact that it has not
been possible to find some observation in the
following arguments which will be set forth in
the next general application, beyond that the
immediate purpose of this course

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OXFORD REFORM

AND

OXFORD PROFESSORS.

THE Report of her Majesty's Commissioners, on the University of Oxford, has been followed by two documents, bearing the similar title of 'Reports,' upon the same subject. One of these is the Report of a Committee appointed by the Heads of Houses; the other is a Report of certain Tutors in the University, bearing the title of 'A Report of the Tutors' Association.' It has resulted from the season, the form, and the authorship of these documents,—first, that they are, in fact, severally the productions of two peculiar and distinct classes and interests in the University; and, secondly, that they are, in effect, replies to and criticisms on the Report of the Commissioners. And these facts suggest themselves most forcibly to the observation, when we find that one main topic of their strictures—as, indeed, one cardinal point of University reform—is the constitutional establishment and endowment of Professors.

It is not unnatural that Heads of Houses should view with some jealousy the development of power, hitherto little honoured, though intrinsically more important, perhaps, even than themselves. It is not unnatural that Tutors should regard, without extraor-

dinary favour, a class which would represent the University as distinct from the Colleges, and seems, at first sight, to embody a new and superior influence at Oxford. The words, therefore, and sentiments, whether of 'Heads' or 'Tutors,' when uttered in abatement of Professorial functions, can deserve deference only so far as they are supported by explicit and good reasons. On the other hand, the Queen's Commission still occupies a position in this respect, which no other reporting body has yet intitled itself to claim. Officially, it stands indifferent between all orders and classes of the University; historically, its bias must have lain towards the tutorial and collegiate system. In that Commission of seven persons, no fewer than five, beside the secretary, are to be found, who have served for some years, with distinction, as College Tutors; and one, when he studied the evidence and signed the Report, was the Head of an important College in the University. Only one member of the Commission had filled the office of Professor sufficiently long to imbibe the ideas of the professorial class, or to regard, from habit, University arrangements from the professorial side. Yet, there is no point of their recommendations which has occupied so much attention, or occasioned so much hostile remark, as the decided and emphatic opinion by which they have urged the immediate encouragement of the Professorial system.

I propose, in the following remarks, not to enter upon any new topics in connexion with this subject, nor to notice any statements, of whatever nature, which are made to the Commission in the form of evidence; but simply to notice those reflexions and criticisms, by which some members of the University,

lying by, and refusing, from whatever motive, to contribute materials to the formation of a complete judgment, have since sought to reverse it, when made, and to damage or invalidate the testimony on which it was founded.

It must be observed at the outset, that, as to the point in question, the attitude taken up by the Hebdomadal Board's Report is by no means identical with that assumed by the Tutors' Association. For this reason they claim separate notice. The Report of the Tutors seems to accept the general plan of developing the professorial system. They are, however, not satisfied with any vague expressions, and they enter into details which furnish grounds of disagreement with the Commissioners, on every point of the subject.

The plan proposed of giving some power to the Professors in the public Examinations in Arts, they entirely repudiate. Their remarks ostensibly, and in the first instance, object to a Proposal for placing *all* power and control in the hands of the Professors; but their closing observations and final scheme carefully and expressly exclude the Professors from *any* power whatsoever. The actual recommendation of the Commissioners could not perhaps be considered 'far too revolutionary'* in a University, which, from olden

* 'As a whole the scheme of the Commissioners appears to us far too revolutionary. A body of men raised from a comparatively unimportant position, &c.' *Recommendations respecting the relation, &c., as adopted by the Tutors' Association*, p. 66. Would a visitor in the University of Oxford, who should read the Report of the Commissioners in the Sheldonian Theatre, with the chairs of three Regius Professors there placed in the most conspicuous and commanding position before his eyes, echo this observation? Would a visitor of the Divinity School do so? It sometimes happens that the

time, has entrusted the examination of candidates for Degrees in Divinity, to the Regius Professor of Divinity; the examination of candidates for Degrees in Law, to the Regius Professor of Law; and the examination of candidates for the Degrees in Medicine, to the Regius Professor of Medicine. They therefore express their reasons against 'a plausible proposal,' through the language of an authoritative statement, made against such a system, 'in cases where it has been actually tried.'* And they accordingly quote 'as very decisive on this point,' a passage from the Report 'of Commission of Visitation, appointed to inquire into the universities of Scotland.'† This passage does indeed suggest that Professors in Scotland should not examine, and in the same page, and as it were, in the same breath, it appends the reasons for such an opinion, which reasons are as follow:—

1. The qualifications of some of the candidates will be known to the Professors beforehand.

2. The Professors will be disposed to be easily satisfied, in regard to the qualifications of those who have already acquitted themselves to their satisfaction as students.

3. Each will be examining his own pupils.‡

Such reasons are indeed cogent where they apply; and

very architecture of ancient buildings supplies conclusive indications as to the former spirit of ancient institutions.

* *Recommendations respecting the Relation, &c., as adopted by the Tutors' Association*, p. 70.

† *Ibid.* p. 71.

‡ Extract from the Commission of Visitation quoted in Report of Tutors' Association, p. 71.

they applied truly to the Universities in Scotland, where the Professors were the only public organs of instruction, where they were presupposed to have been constantly catechising their classes, and to have already awarded certificates of proficiency to the pupils who composed them. But in the case of Oxford the objections are altogether wide of the facts. It is a constant part of the very criticism so abundantly made on professorial lecturing, that the Professor cannot catechise his audience, nor acquaint himself with the students' knowledge; and that the class does not stand in any direct intellectual or moral relation to the Professor who addresses it. If therefore the grounds alleged in the quotation are reasonable in themselves, they not only do not show that the Oxford Professor is disqualified from some control over the examinations, but they indirectly indicate that his personal relations are above all others such as will qualify him for the discharge of such duties with impartiality. He stands in no such relation either to persons or colleges by virtue of his office as will be likely to give a bias to his judgment. He is, so to speak, the point of indifference in the university system.

The use made of this important passage is very far from justified by the essential conditions of the case. But, as I do not conceive that this quotation was adduced at all in order to throw any suspicion upon the character of Professors in particular, so, on the other hand, it must not be complained of, if its real bearing is scrutinized, and is found to point to a different class in the university system. And of a truth, the more it is pressed into the service on the present occasion, the more disastrous does it prove both to the logic and to

the circumspection of those who have used it; for while its range does not affect the case of the Professors at Oxford, it does meet that of Tutors and College officers who at present nominate examiners themselves, and have the sole management and influence in this department. Tutors of Colleges have pupils in whom they are personally interested, and with whose attainments they are already acquainted, and they belong to Colleges in the success of which they have a personal stake, and a deep social interest: and these motives (however latent in operation) were long ago met and counterwrought by special enactments of the University, of which recent changes have converted the better part into a dead letter.

After honours had for some years been awarded by public examination, it was found advisable to pass a Statute, by which, amongst other arrangements, it was practically provided that no College Tutor should either examine a candidate from his own college, or decide upon his merits.* At that period this provision could be carried out, because the examination of each candidate was separate, and was conducted almost entirely through oral question and answer. Since the date of

* The first Statute for the awarding of Honours by Public Examiners was passed in 1800. In this, only one provision against College influence appeared, viz., that there should 'never be two Examiners at once from the same College or Hall.'

In 1807, this statute was abrogated on the ground that it needed improvement in several points. Two stringent clauses were now introduced into the new Statute, to exclude the partiality of fellow-collegians from vitiating the system. A clause was also added to the Examiners' Oath, binding them to pay regard to merit only in the distribution of Honours. The two limiting Clauses were these:

'Proviso semper, quod non licebit cuivis Examinatori Candi-

the statute, however, a revolution has taken place in the conduct of examinations. All the candidates answer the same list of questions, which are submitted to them upon paper. One essential portion of the provision, therefore, is unavoidably abrogated. Each examiner furnishes questions which are addressed necessarily to his own pupils or fellow collegians, as well as to the other candidates.

Now, although no advantage be sought or desired by the Tutor-examiner for the man of his own college, an advantage is still secured to him. The same intellect and information which questioned at the college lecture, or college examination, questions again at the public examination; and it is not probable, that the examiner, in spite of all natural bias, will painfully search to elicit information which has never been the topic of his teaching or examinations. It is manifest, therefore, that a candidate who, out of one hundred questions, will find from twenty to thirty framed and penned by the person who has already conducted the college lecture or examination, will derive a most considerable advantage over his fellow candidates, to whom the same instruction has not been open.

Nor does it materially abate such advantage, that the candidate's answers are not judged of by the Tutor who proposed them. They are answers to favourable

datum aliquem ex eâdem domo ex quâ sit ipse examinare.'—*Statut. Oxon.* Tit. ix. § 1. c. 3. *Addend.* p. 165.

'Sin autem Examinatores . . . in diversas sententias abierint, ea demum sententia rata esto, pro quâ steterit Senior in utrâque Scholâ, modo ne sit ex eâdem domo unde Candidatus ipse de quo agitur.'—*Ibid.*

These clauses have been retained in all subsequent revisions of the Examination Statute.

questions, and *therefore*, are likely to be correct or meritorious answers, and will be deemed such, even by the most indifferent judge.

In fact, however, even the final adjudication upon the merits of the several candidates is very naturally affected by the presence of a College Tutor thus interested in the general result. The practical working of the arrangement is as follows:—

The Tutor of College A does not vote upon the merits of his pupil or fellow-collegian B; but he votes upon all the other candidates. Now he naturally watches the examination of his pupil B. If he finds him somewhat below the usual standard of a first class or second class, or at least learns from his brother examiner that such is the case, either he thinks that the candidate has not done himself justice, or his wishes, affecting his judgment, induce him to lower his views as to the attainments requisite for the honour of a first class. He cannot vote for his pupil directly, as has been seen; but he *can*, and does, vote for the first class of D, E, and F, whose position, thus assigned above their merits, will compel the other examiners to give as high a place to B. Thus D, E, and F are all raised to meet the case of B,—an effect which is produced all the more easily if the tutor or fellow-collegian of either D, E, or F happen also to be an examiner at the same time. Perhaps, on the other hand, the examiner conceives that his pupil B really, by his examination, deserves a higher position than his fellow-examiners have assigned to him. He thinks him equal, perhaps, to C, to whom his brother examiners postpone him. In justice to his pupil, therefore, he votes C down to the second class with B. A

struggle ensues; a compromise follows perhaps; and B and C both appear in the first class. Therefore, in spite of the letter of statutes, the tutor-examiner has a double influence on the chances of his pupil's success: first and directly, through the questions put; secondly and indirectly, through the judgment passed upon the answers.

The present system, therefore, is not so perfect as to be capable of deterioration only by the admission of a new influence and power into the nomination of examiners; and the present moment particularly invites such a change. For the number of examiners appointed has increased in proportion to the number of new studies introduced and of new examinations in the second year and scholarships instituted. The whole selection, however, still rests, as formerly, with the Vice-chancellor and Proctors, who are taken by rotation, without the slightest reference to peculiar knowledge, ability, or judgment of any kind, and are all—more especially the Proctors—animated by the *esprit de corps* of the college. Thus the undistinguished tutor of a single college has it cast upon him to select some six examiners, perhaps, in the course of the year, before each of whom his own pupils or fellow-collegians of all ages and degrees will appear. If a competent examiner can be found in his own college, he selects him. It sometimes happens that, circuitously and by agreement with his brother-proctor, he selects himself; in any event, he selects a competent friend: and the advantage to his pupils or fellow-collegians is, for the reasons which I have given—however it may be denied, ignored, or disguised—great and unquestionable.

A few years back the Heads of Houses themselves seem to have been sensible of this. They brought forward a measure purporting to give the nomination of examiners to the several Professors immediately connected with these several schools.* But in the present crisis it is otherwise. The Hebdomadal Report, coinciding with the Tutors in this respect, rejects or ignores any such proposition. I conceive, however, for the reasons thus stated, that the recommendation of the Commissioners in regard to the superintendence of examinations, in some degree and in some manner, by the Professors, is a most sound and valuable, and even needful recommendation, not impugned by the arguments of the Tutors' Report, but, on the contrary, tested and sanctioned by those very arguments, if reasonably applied to the circumstances of Oxford. In lieu of such functions, indeed, the Tutors propose for the Professors 'a moral influence' rather than a legal power. Moral influence is, indeed, a great and natural strength when countenanced by legal power, or when it is exercised over those who have neither passions nor interests prompting them to resist or to thwart it. But, in constitutional arrangements and amid rival and contending elements, such moral influences cannot

* This statute was proposed to Convocation on the seventh of December, 1849. The following is one clause for the appointment of examiners in one school, brought forward by the Hebdomadal Board. There were three clauses framed upon the same principle for the three other schools.

'Let the school have three examiners, to be named by the Vice-chancellor, the Proctors, the Regius Professor of Modern History, the Camden Prælector of History, the Regius Professor of Civil Law, the Vinerian Professor of Law, and the Professor of Moral Philosophy.'—p. 16.

assert themselves where they are not backed by actual authority. Amidst such it is often the case even that the personal eminence of the individual tends rather to array against its possessor jealousies and fears; while independence of mind, disdaining small acts of conciliation and courtship, remove him still further from the possession of such a power. Devotion to his regular duties, too, cuts him off from that cultivation of indirect relations which astute and busy men, while truants from their appointed tasks, can find time to establish.

If the Professors, therefore, are to have authority, let it be open, constitutional, and unquestionable. It is desirable, not for the sake of themselves, but for the sake of the University. Let, therefore, the University have the guarantee of law for its reality and permanence. It will thus involve the least waste of time, be best compatible with the performance of duty, and be exercised in the most open and responsible manner.

The Report of the Tutors' Association, while it thus objected to what the Commissioners have defined, finds reasons also to censure them for the omission of details which they have not filled up. They describe the Commissioners as countenancing and endorsing a passage in their Evidence* which would exempt Professors 'from all rules to lecture, require from them no residence, and leave them at liberty to work or not, as they please.' Upon examination, however, of the passage referred to, I find exemption from all rules to lecture *not* recommended; permission for non-residence *not* advocated; and liberty to work or not as the Pro-

* *Report of the Tutors' Association*, p. 78.

fessors please, *not* suggested. It is shown indeed, at length, that Professorships are concerned with different kinds of learning, and in different states of advancement, and must of necessity be committed to Professors with different degrees of ability; that Professors are not, and should not be in all branches, the main and daily instructors of students; and that they have, besides, other functions in so great an University as Oxford; and that the number of lectures given can never be made to secure a proportionate amount of work actually bestowed. On these grounds, all established calmly, formally, and at length, was founded a recommendation, that the prescribed and necessary amount of lectures should be a minimum rather than a maximum quantity. Such a recommendation is fully borne out by experience. Dr. Arnold, imagining for a season that he was bound to twenty lectures annually, proclaimed his intention to approach the Crown with a petition that it would rescind such rules, and give permission to deliver eight lectures, inasmuch as with every hour and day in the year at his disposal he could not do more. The Regius Professor of Hebrew, in his Evidence, asserts that lectures most gravely interfere with the prosecution of original research, and that Professor Lloyd's powerful mind was rather prevented from writing by the pains which he bestowed on his pupils;—'that the office of teaching is one thing, and 'the office of advancing a study is another.'

The views, therefore, of the Commissioners in quoting this passage, seem consistent with an approved conception of the Professorial office:—that not being intended to supersede the Catechetical and Tutorial systems, it should answer other purposes beside direct instruction, and should have scope and liberty for their

performance. Had they desired to substitute Professors for Catechists, they would have been perhaps inconsistent, in not laying down rules for the constant teaching by University Professors. Desiring not to supplant Catechetical Lecturers and Tutors by the Professors in every branch of learning, they would have certainly been inconsistent in enforcing the same rigid rules for the constant task of instruction by all Professors alike.

But what is the course of criticism and enactment held by the Tutors' Association? First, they define their ideas of the University Professor, as 'a man 'capable of prosecuting his subject to its utmost limits'* (a very large capacity, such as the highest gifts and the most constant investigation only could satisfy), reminding us 'that of literature as truly as of any 'other occupation, it may be said, *not only that it can 'not be exercised as a casual and secondary pursuit, but 'that it jealously precludes all other casual and accessory 'occupations.'*† Consistently with this general conception, they protest against the subversion of the Tutorial system—a method of mental discipline, so far as the pupil is concerned, held superior to the delivery of public lectures, and regard with disapproval and distrust the suspected intention of the Commission to diminish it, or make it subordinate.‡

* *Tutors' Association*, p. 62.

† *Ibid.*, p. 63. I have ventured to translate into English the condensed and powerful passage of Thucydides, which the Tutors' Association quotes in the original Greek.

‡ 'It is impossible to read this part of the Commissioners'

Having laid this clear foundation,—first by defining what the Professor himself should be, and secondly, by showing what his function should not be,—they proceed, with many rebukes to the Commission for its neglect or laxity, to impose upon all the Professors (save only the theological) the duty of delivering seventy-two lectures in each academical year. No difference is recognised between the lecturer who lectures by experiments or demonstration, and the lecturer by mere verbal statements, which admit not such illustration. No distinction is acknowledged between the Professor who teaches a positive *science*, and the Professor who deals with some other different branch of learning. It is not said whether the lectures may be repeated once every term, once every year, or once every seven years.

It is clear that a Professor of History, capable of the highest things in his department, would thus write, or be expected to write, six octavo volumes in each year. ‘The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,’ which occupied its able, secluded, and indefatigable and fluent author during twenty years, assisted as he was by very many grand works of research recently prepared to his hand, would at this rate of work have flowed from his pen in the course of twenty months: and left him at leisure to write with similar speed on the same scale the history of every modern nation in the world during a short academical career. It may

Report without feeling that its general tendency is to an unjust depreciation of the tutorial teaching as it at present exists, and an impolitic subversion of it for the future.’—*Tutors’ Association*, p. 67.

be asked, too, with four such Professors of History, and with no less than four such Professors of Philosophy, what remains to be done by a Tutorial system, as the main and normal instructor of the University. Five hundred and seventy-six such lectures written by such men, to be listened to, remembered, and digested in the year, upon morals and history alone, would, it seems, leave very subordinate and ministerial duties to those Tutors in history and moral science, who are still, by the same scheme, to be retained as the acknowledged and chief teachers in the place. The stipend of the Professor is to be 500*l.* per annum, and he is to be excluded from the benefit and duties of any other appointment.

Niebuhr, when he accepted the Professorship of History at Bonn, after filling the high duties of a Secretary of State, had not to experience any diminution of income by such a change. Savigny, the Professor of Law, would suffer a loss in a pecuniary point of view, if he again became a chief minister of the crown.

The scheme of the Tutors' Association, viewed as a whole, is as follows:—‘Men are to be found and retained within the walls of the University, in the character of Professors, capable of prosecuting the several branches of study to their utmost limits;* bearing perpetual witness, by their example, that there are worthy employments for the highest faculties of the human mind, which cannot be tested by mere price;—men furnishing to a commercial country the necessary antidote to an exclusively commercial spirit;—men

* *Tutors' Association*, p. 62.

‘making the University a centre and source of unproductive thinking;—a means of reform to society in general.’* These men are to be bound by rules prescribing definite duties—to write six volumes octavo in form of seventy-two lectures addressed to the students every year. Yet all this instruction is to be subordinate, so far as the student is concerned, to the tutorial teaching, which must not lose rank and importance; they are to find no fixed place in the constitution; they are to have no control whatsoever over the examinations, or the studies; and they are to be attracted, retained, and rewarded for the devotion, during a whole life, of great faculties to gigantic works, by the stipend of 500*l.* per annum.

The eight Tutors who composed this scheme are, it will be readily comprehended, not yet Professors, and have not yet devoted their whole lives and faculties to one object, whether gigantic or moderate. Is this a sufficient explanation of such a proposal? or is it to be conjectured that while one section of the committee, aspiring and favourable to Professors, sketched their character and powers: a second, mistrustful or of uncertain views, prescribed their duties and position: while a third, earnest and adroit to damage and destroy the whole proposal, apportioned the emoluments?

It would be out of the scope of the present observations to enter at length into the constitutional functions of the Professors, as a part of the legislative or administrative power in the University. But I do not forbear from considering, for a few moments, the general position and rank in relation to the Tutors which

* *Tutors' Association*, p. 64.

a scheme of reform has assigned, or should assign, to them.

It is impossible not to observe, that the importance proposed for the professorial office has awakened for a moment the sensitiveness of other classes in the University. To see an order arise into greater influence under the hand of the legislature—an order which, however useful and necessary, cannot serve directly to increase the rank and weight of those already existing,—naturally tells for a season on their feelings. In proportion as such a state of mind is natural, does it claim to be calmed by any observations which a more broad and deep consideration of the circumstances can justly suggest to the thoughts. The Tutors have a full *right* to ask themselves and other reformers these questions:—What is the social position and academical rank which a body like our own may justly pretend to? and how far does the scheme of reformers assign to us a place inferior to our reasonable pretensions? And to answer this inquiry, they must look into the great world, and see whether the compeers and contemporaries of the men who are, and ought to be, Tutors, stand in a higher or lower position than that which will be preserved for, and assigned to them, under the new arrangements of the University, if they be carried out. No other standard than this can be appealed to, in justice and common sense, or with warrantable effect. To desire a higher place would be anomalous; to appoint them a lower would be ill-advised, if not contumelious, in any project of reform at present.

The Tutors, upon the whole, and as a class, consist of men between twenty-five and thirty-five years of age,

who have distinguished themselves in the university arena, and have adopted the service of the Church as a profession, and become, for a season, fellows and tutors at Oxford.

What, then, is the position of their equals in distinction, their peers in rank and property, and their contemporaries in age, who are scattered through the social world of England? Such men have gone to the bar, or have melted into the mass of pastoral clergy, or have adopted the profession of medicine. What is their position as barristers? They are travelling the circuit, perhaps, spending some hundreds a year upon their profession, without return; and have little influence which can be named in the habits, regulations, and government of the professional world in which they move. They are working hard, rather to learn, than to exercise and exhibit their learning. They are, in fact, struggling still, and hoping, if looked at from within; if looked at from without, they are what is called 'promising men.' In no other honoured profession, whether medical or clerical, is their position better, or other, than this. Now in some respects, the place of Tutors offers advantages which belong to neither of the two other classes. First, they are gaining money, not spending it; secondly, they are drawing upon acquirements made before their academical career terminated, and not upon learning painfully, and slowly, and expensively obtained since that time. They are, in fact, trading upon a much smaller outlay of capital in all senses, and yet they are already drawing from that capital much larger returns than many obtain from large and prolonged expenditure. Can it be said, however, that if their present is

more easy and affluent, their future is less rich and brilliant, than that of rising barristers and physicians? Surely not. It is shown, by unquestionable statistics, that five hundred thousand per annum is expended on the lucrative, and easy, and dignified stations in the Church alone. No profession, then, can (I conceive) command a prospect of more wealth and honour than falls to the hopes of the young and distinguished scholars of the English Church.

On all accounts, therefore,—on account of their past, on account of their present, and on account of their future,—they will not rationally desire a higher degree of social eminence than falls to the lot of their distinguished compeers drawn off already into the learned professions. How great or little that is we have seen and all may see.

On the other side, what is the Professoriate, if established on the scale, and for the purpose, which the Commissioners project? They will be commonly men between thirty-five and sixty; men selected both from the tutors, and from all the masters of the University, for ability and attainments acquired during the labours of a life, and enjoying a decent competency, not superior, certainly, to that possessed by deans and canons, but held under condition of constant toil.

It is irrational to suppose that these offices, filled as the Tutors' Association supposes them to be filled, and as all men should desire them to be filled, can fall to the lot of men who have not age and ability and eminence to justify and guide the use of practical power, and to warrant a high social position. The competition for such offices must bring with it ripe years and great attainments and superior abilities. It must, of course,

happen occasionally that between two candidates for such posts, the one chosen is little to be preferred to the one unsuccessful, and that the one who holds is not superior to the one who expects. But this applies to all offices, even those of the very highest distinction and power. The man who wrangles at the bar is sometimes superior to the judge who overrules him in his calm and secure dignity of the bench. But as a whole, the Professorial class, unless the institution completely fails, will be thoroughly superior as men of age, intellect, and knowledge; and I cannot imagine the circumstances which should make the power or pre-eminence of such men in the political and social relations of Oxford, a cause of discontent and disgust to any one in the place.* The sober and just point of view under which such offices are likely in the end to be regarded by those conscious of merit and ability, and disposed to labour, is that of new rewards, and new sources of encouragement to their exertions. They will be to the Tutors, not the possessions of rivals, but new and most honourable fields of work, distinction, and comfort open to themselves.

This question, I well know, is not the question at issue when men adjudicate upon a plan of University reform. Such a scheme is properly to be considered only so far as its parts and its whole tend to the public and national benefit, not as its realization may affect the interests of individuals or any classes in the University itself. But this latter point is one which naturally occurs, and has probably often

* See *Tutors' Association Report*, p. 77. I am certainly of opinion that the Tutors should remain independent of the Professors altogether as to their subjects and manner of instruction.

occurred to many (unavoidably), to make it more or less acceptable; and therefore a few sincere, and, I trust, rational words may not have been misspent upon such a topic: the more so as they will tend to enforce the conclusion, that while no class is really hurt, either in feeling or interest, by the power of Professors, the whole University will receive from it signal benefit.*

I have thus alluded both to the special criticisms (so far as I dissent from them), and to the general plan contained in the Association Report, because it minutely and, as it would appear from many of its expressions, seriously entertains the thought of encouraging a professorial system.

The Report of the Committee of Heads of Houses more directly and openly rejects all idea of such a general purpose. It recounts the number of Professorships, and shows truly that, so far as the multitude of such institutions is concerned, recent times have not

* As the Constitution is now arranged, and however it may be altered, so long as the Heads are the patrons and irresponsible appointers of the Tutors, the latter cannot be independent of them. So long as the Heads are supreme in superintending the discipline and organizing the instruction of the Colleges, they cannot be independent of them. The power of the Professors will not increase this dependence—rather will it diminish it indirectly; while besides, the existence of the Professorships, as a new object of ambition and a new source of hope, will considerably better the prospects incident to the tutorial office of those who excel, toil, and aspire. It is doubtful whether any great accession made directly to the dignity or power of the Tutors would not really in great part fall into the hands of the Heads of Colleges, who appoint and practically remove them, and overrule their acts in the Colleges, and establish rules for their guidance when they think fit. I cannot undertake to say that such a calculation of consequences influenced the decision of the hebdomadal committee to admit masters into the legislative and administrative board.

been inactive or niggardly in calling them into existence. But the foundation of Professorships without adequate endowments and powers, with such stipends as that of three hundred per annum proposed for the Professorship of Latin during last year, is in effect to discourage and to destroy, not to encourage and create, a professorial system. For a system which can attract no acquirements, can retain no talents, and can reward no industry, is destructive of its own efficiency. Pauperism and disrespect attend it; and it is made only, and can by far-sighted or even near-sighted men be meant only, for subserviency and light esteem. Now, at the same time that the Hebdomadal Board boasts of and adds to the number of Professors, it concedes to the Professors no more important place in the Constitution than that which they now possess—which is no place at all. It objects to their bearing a part in the nomination of examiners, or in the direction of studies;* and it seems on the whole to be well satisfied with the salaries which the great majority of Professors at present enjoy.† On all points save the very last, it

* The *Report of the Heads of Houses* favours the idea of the Hebdomadal Board appointing ‘Committees, including Professors and others, specially conversant with particular studies, whose duty it should be to make reports to the Vice-chancellor upon the existing state of such studies, and to suggest improvements.’ This is nugatory so far as the Constitution of the University will be affected, or a place given in it to Professors. It is not said how many Professors are to be included in such committees. The Hebdomadal Board is to select the Professors so included, and the power even of committees so appointed by the Hebdomadal Board is simply one of giving advice to the Vice-chancellor, a privilege which now belongs not only to any professor, master, or bachelor, but also to any undergraduate who will throw his thoughts into shape.

† No very distinct expressions are hazarded by the Hebdomadal Report; but that my inference is legitimate, appears, first, from the observation, ‘that the University will find resources *as the occasions*

does so happen that denial of power and rank to the Professors is *directly* identical with assertion and maintenance of academical power for themselves; and even on the very last, it certainly does also happen that the refusal of further endowments to Professors is *indirectly* identical with the preservation of exclusive social ascendancy to themselves; and it must be left to just and sagacious men to consider how far such coincidences are likely or are not likely to be accidental. It was indeed a pleasing feature of the Evidence offered to the Commission, that not a word was breathed by any Professor concerning the salaries of Heads of Houses. No one was tempted to urge, that as 'their incomes varied 'from six hundred to three thousand pounds per annum, 'and probably averaged about eleven hundred,'* for duties which could involve no arduous labour whatever, and demanded only that amount of good sense and good feeling which most educated gentlemen might be supposed to possess, it was anomalous to leave the Professors with the wretched stipend of two or three hundred pounds. This natural argument was, universally, delicately and well forborne, lest attention might be invidiously called to wealth not grudged, and lest,

shall arise,' (implying clearly that the occasion has not yet arisen;) and, secondly, from the fact that the Hebdomadal Board, eight months ago, proposed in distinct terms to Convocation to found a Professorship of the Latin language, and to endow it with 300*l.* per annum. The endowment seemed so miserable in the eyes of some members of Corpus Christi College, that the liberal feeling of that body was easily induced to add 300*l.* more, and the statute proposed by the Hebdomadal Board was in consequence withdrawn. But such addition was not for a moment contemplated by the Hebdomadal Board itself; and the statute of foundation had to be remodelled to admit the new endowment. 'Well endowed Professorships' are mentioned by the Hebdomadal Report, as one of the causes contributing to 'substitute Sciolism for Religion.'

* *Report of H. M. Commissioners*, p. 182.

by chance, a question which often proves one of no favourable issue to the possessors, might be opened—whether it corresponded with their duties, services, and qualifications.

But the Committee of Heads of Houses was by no means called upon by the same spirit of delicacy to the same silence on the same grounds in respect to the Professors. They were even solemnly invited to consider the recommendation of the Commissioners on this point. They, it appears, disapprove of a general increase of Professors' salaries; though they allow the poorest of all, and therefore perhaps the most sanguine, to hope somewhat at an undefined future time, and under undefined future contingencies, from the revenues of a Press pledged already to other purposes; and somewhat also from the mortality of Bedels who have now lived for centuries.*

An apology, however, for all this discouragement is in part supplied by the Evidence which they quote—Evidence on its face disclosing that the aid of a Regius†

* 'The University will find other resources less open to question, as the occasions shall arise, as, e. g., from the profits, perhaps, of the university press, and by dispensing with the offices of two of the six existing bedels, and appropriating to a new purpose the fees at present applicable to them.'—*Hebdomadal Report*, p. 68.

† It is mentioned in the Evidence to the Hebdomadal Report as a matter for disapproval, that the Prime Minister should be considered responsible to Parliament for the Crown appointments. Yet surely this is the real principle of our present constitution. I am reminded that Dr. Pusey is mistaken in attributing to the recommendations of the Commissioners that they would have the effect of adding sixteen Professorships (see p. 253) to the appointments now made by the Crown. If carried out they would create three (or contingently four) in addition to the present Royal appointments. The fear of Mr. Freeman, that such a nomination in the case of modern history represents 'the caprice of some ephemeral Political leader' is not warranted by the history of the

Professor is needful against Professors, and that lips silenced without a hearing by Oxford for unsound doctrine, are still at Oxford welcome monitors against dangerous instruction.*

As the Treatise (for such is the Evidence alluded to) against Professors embraces several distinct propositions, all tending to show that their influence and their existence in the University are to be deprecated, it is advisable that such objections should be calmly and specifically considered. To avoid lengthiness and confusion, therefore, I will attempt to collect and to arrange into something like order, the scattered objections comprised in long, elaborate, but somewhat diffuse observations.

With regard to Professors in general, as an intellectual element in the University and nation, the following propositions seem to be laid down.

The endowment of Professors and their erection into importance is unadvisable, because,

- 1st. Professorial lectures do not communicate knowledge well.
- 2ndly. Professorial lectures do not give a discipline to the faculties.
- 3rdly. Professors do not aid the advancement of truth.
- 4thly. Theological Professors are the causes of heresy and scepticism.
- 5thly. Professors are the causes of immorality in the Universities to which they are attached.

office—nor, I believe, by the wishes of our chief statesmen, nor by the pleasure of the Crown. See Appendix B.

* See *Hebdom. Report, Evid.* p. 159.

In thus arranging the matter of this Evidence, I am very hopeful that, far from doing it injustice, I am giving order, distinctness, and force to the objections. I shall endeavour in the details to represent it accurately and clearly, and in orderly manner; although I really believe that such arrangement and classification tends to aid rather than otherwise the effect of the statements.

I. First, then, it is said that Professorial lectures do not communicate knowledge well.

To this proposition Dr. Pusey seems to admit one exception in favour of the Physical Sciences, which require the aid of the eye. Now this in itself is a considerable admission. Chemistry, Geology, Mineralogy, Anatomy, Physiology, Botany, and some other branches of Natural Philosophy, all fall under this saving clause; and they compose a very considerable portion of an University Professoriate. These branches of learning, therefore, are at once committed to the organizing hand of a reforming Commission, and may indeed be safely left, without further remark, in the joint care of it and Dr. Pusey—but for one observation with which he qualifies such a concession. He insinuates or states of these subjects, that they only convey information of facts to the general student, and therefore that they have not been made a subject of general study. The main proposition and the historical inference drawn from it are both, I conceive, incorrect. The thoughtless and superficial learner will make any instruction whatsoever mere matter of information at the best; and certainly, for such as these, the Physical Sciences do

offer this peculiar advantage, that the information given is, in some sense, real; whereas, in more abstract sciences—Grammar and Logic, or History—the careless or dull receive little but words. When the eye dwells upon an object, it catches some of the properties of the object, at least; when, on the other hand, the word, which is the mere symbol of an object, falls upon the ear, the mind may be vacant of everything whatsoever, beyond the sounds of the syllables. True it is, therefore, that Physical Sciences give information more easily, naturally, and therefore more efficiently to the languid student than any other can. But not on that account does such knowledge impart nothing but information. The vital appropriation and application of it involve acts of memory, comprehension, comparison, imagination, deduction; they involve the use of many and admirable faculties, the exercise of which is a discipline truly noble.

The intelligent comprehension of a single compound substance, and the laws under which it is combined; the intelligent comprehension of the action of one compound on another, under the various given conditions of light, temperature, and electric force, are quite elementary acts of mind to the earnest student, but may enforce the use of many admirable and useful mental powers. I do not presume to measure how old or how general is the doctrine, that natural science is mere information. But such a view is in itself a proof that opinions may be both trite and incorrect; and it should appear nowhere any longer, save in some historical museum which shall preserve the history of prejudice or pretext. Nor do I believe that the absence

or neglect of Physical Science as a subject of general study is practically owing to this impression, so much as to the joint operation of two other causes. The first of these is, that our general education is traditional, and has been handed down (subject to some slight modification by new ideas and convictions) from times in which Physical Sciences had no definite and acknowledged existence. At such a period they could not possibly form a part of general education; and when we reflect that men commonly learn but what they have been taught, and teach what they have learned, we can fully understand how it is that changes have not been made in the common subjects or method of instruction, and how it is, therefore, that classical languages once established as the instruments and matter of education, have thus long remained so. A second reason is, perhaps, to be found in the fact, that the sciences spoken of are disliked by the jealous teachers of other branches of knowledge, and feared by many, either anxious to preserve the whole body of accepted traditions on all subjects, or fearful lest knowledge, unknown to ancient times, should shake the absolute authority or the traditional interpretation of ancient writings.

On the other hand, I cannot assign that very great practical effect to the actual study of Languages, as a means of giving a discipline to the mind, which many claim for them. I conceive that such advocates have before them some ideal, possible, and occasional method of study, not the actual and general cultivation of Language as it is realized. Most men begin to learn Grammar through the dead languages (and surely they are the finest instruments for the purpose), before the

powers of reflexion are nearly strong enough to master and appropriate its principles, which are of a nature highly abstract. Rules, therefore, are learned by the ear and by rote, without any digestion of the understanding; a habit is generated of accepting and using words without an insight into their meaning, and of applying principles in practice without a thought of their real nature. This applies to the industrious. Meanwhile, sixty out of a hundred boys learn carelessly or not at all; and I believe that there is no study which could prove more successful in producing often thorough idleness and vacancy of mind, parrot repetition, and sing-song knowledge,—to the abeyance and destruction of the intellectual powers,—as well as to the loss and paralysis of the outward senses,—than our traditional study and idolatry of language. Thinking as highly as a rational being can of the discipline which may be given to good natural faculties, well ripened, by linguistic studies, I protest against the one assumption—not uncommon—that no other studies could administer a discipline to the reason; or the other assumption, hardly less general, that all the mental gifts have, in most cases, been cultivated and fully developed through this.*

With the exception, then, of the Physical Sciences, it is maintained that Professorial lectures do not communicate knowledge well. There are several reasons alleged for this opinion.

* Dr. Pusey, writing in criticism upon a sentence of my own, quoted in the Report,—to the effect that ‘the *present* University ‘scheme is still deficient, in not having *emancipated the final examinations* more completely from classical and theological studies *as compulsory upon all*,’—regards the theological element in the exami-

The first of them is this:—What is good as a delivered lecture for this purpose is better as a printed book. And indeed, here, as elsewhere, there arise

nation as quite rudimentary, and defends it as such. How far this is so, comparatively and practically, I conceive will best appear from a distribution of the whole examination into theological and non-theological elements.

DEGREE EXAMINATION IN LITERÆ HUMANIORES.

Theological.

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| 1. Four Gospels. | } in Greek. |
| 2. Acts of the Apostles. | |
| 3. History of Old Testament. | |
| 4. History of New Testament. | |
| 5. Thirty-nine Articles, with the Scripture Proof. | |
| 6. Evidences of Christianity. | |

Non-Theological.

1. Cicero's Offices, or Six Books of Aristotle.
2. The whole or part of one ancient historian, *e. g.*, Five Books of Livy.

This is copied from the list published by the Commissioners.

It is suggested, certainly, by myself, that the student should be emancipated both from classical and theological studies *as compulsory*, at the end of the second year. And, I must add in stronger and more emphatic language, that the devotion, almost exclusive and compulsory, of the powers of the young intellect to the Latin and Greek languages, from the age of six to the age of twenty-two, would be a disgrace to our conduct and education of the human understanding. I venture also, humbly to suggest to the President of Her Majesty's Privy Council, to consider whether some rational experiment might not be made, upon a sufficiently large scale, to determine the number of years required by ordinary, sound, and healthy, and adult or adolescent minds, to learn thoroughly the two classical languages: and at the same time to receive all the benefits which such a mental discipline could afford. In the upper classes, such attempts are very rarely and imperfectly made, because no gentleman likes to hazard an experiment, and risk a failure in the person of his son, destined to move in the higher ranks of society, and educated at great personal expense. But in a lower sphere of life, and amongst those educated at public cost, the attempt might easily be made, without injury to the subjects of it, and with great benefit to all. I believe that it might possibly be found that we have hitherto learned the classical languages—painfully, imperfectly, and unseasonably—slowly imbibing rules by rote, and by the ear, because we learn them at an age too unripe

many considerations which should induce us to prefer the possession of the book, if the alternative lay

for a rational appreciation of such abstract propositions, and losing thereby great part of the discipline so much boasted in the course of acquisition. Experiment could but confirm our practice if correct.

I consider it strange that both Dr. Pusey and the Hebdomadal Committee should regard the studies of the modern history school and physical science, as *professional* studies. They were not introduced as such, advocated as such, established as such, nor defended as such; and a glance at the books recommended would show, by a comparison with the studies of a professional nature in law or medicine, the great incorrectness of such a construction. In practical refutation of this view, I think it enough to place side by side, the medical course at Edinburgh, and the physical course at Oxford; and also, side by side, the legal course in London, and the legal and historical course at Oxford.

Physical Course at Oxford.

1. Mechanics.
2. Chemistry.
3. Physiology, together with some branch of Physics dependent on any one of these three.

Historical and Legal Course at Oxford.

1. English History from the Conquest.
2. European History.
3. Blackstone.
4. Civil Law.
5. International Law.
6. Political Economy.

Professional Course at Edinburgh.

1. Anatomy and Surgery.
2. Chemistry.
3. Materia Medica and Pharmacy.
4. Theory of Medicine.
5. Practice of Medicine.
6. Midwifery and Diseases of Children.
7. Clinical Medicine.
8. Botany.

(See *Report on the Scottish Universities*, p. 58.)

Professional Course in London (as given by Prospectus of Lectures in Lincoln's Inn.)

1. Constitutional Law.
2. History of Law.
3. Equity.
4. Law of Real Property.
5. Common Law.
6. Jurisprudence and Civil Law.

(See *Times*, Jan. 1854.)

It is not to be maintained, therefore, for an instant, that

between the two. The book can be referred to at any time; the passage in the book can be perused again and again. The lecture is delivered, and such a means of communication is transitory; the substance of it is liable to be lost by inattention;—whereas the matter of the book is, in some sense, to the owner of it, a lasting instrument of communication. It must be observed, however, that this mode of comparing the merits of the book and the lecture as organs of communicating knowledge, is not quite just nor to the purpose. The truer and fairer judgment must pass upon the book read for an hour, and the lecture listened to for the same length of time. The book unread—the book possessed—does not instruct at all, nor communicate at all: on the other hand, the book read once, twice, or thrice, should be compared to the lecture heard once, twice, or thrice. The listening to the lecture, therefore, for a given space of time, and the reading of the book for the same time, are the two proper terms of comparison.

devotion for a year to one of those Oxford schools of study, is an adoption of professional at the expense of general education. Special branches of learning may confer general discipline, and bear a general utility: and nothing could be more special than our classical pursuits hitherto, defended, as they have been, on the ground of their merits as a general exercise.

All which has been recommended by the Commissioners, as urged by its quoted advisers, is freedom for devotion to one special school, not to one *professional* pursuit. What the Commissioners have so directly, explicitly, and repeatedly disavowed, both by statement and quotation, and have never adopted indirectly, should not have been imputed to them. See their *Report*, pp. 71, 72, 76—78, 80, 81. Even Professor Hussey's interpretation, that the only effect of the proposed liberty would be to drop the old study, seems a mistake. It would not, and should not, be granted to any, unless, by an honourable proficiency in the other schools, he could prove that he had transferred his industry from two schools to one.

Now, while the type is so admirable a contrivance for perpetuating knowledge, it is certainly more expensive, and in some points of view less effective as a means of communication than the lecture. The type is a poor substitute for the human voice. It has no means of arousing, moderating, and adjusting the attention. It has no emphasis except italics, and this meagre notation cannot finely graduate itself to the needs of the occasion. It cannot in this way mark the heed which should be specially and chiefly given to peculiar passages and words. It has no variety of manner and intonation, to show by their changes how the words are to be accepted, or what comparative importance is to be attached to them. It has no natural music to take the ear, like the human voice; it carries with it no human eye to range, and to rivet the student when on the verge of truancy, and to command his intellectual activity by an appeal to the common courtesies of life. Half the symbolism of a living language is thus lost when it is committed to paper; and that symbolism is the very means by which the forces of the hearer's mind can be best economised, or most pleasantly excited. The lecture, on the other hand, as delivered, possesses all these instruments to win, and hold, and harmonise attention; and above all, it imports into the whole teaching a human character, which the printed book can never supply. The Professor is the science or subject vitalised and humanised in the student's presence. He sees him kindle into his subject; he sees reflected and exhibited in him his manner and his earnestness—the general power of the science to engage, delight, and absorb a human intelligence. His natural sym-

pathy and admiration attract or impel his tastes and feelings and wishes for the moment into the same current of feeling, and his mind is naturally and rapidly and insensibly strung and attuned to the strain of truth which is offered to him.*

A second objection raised against Lectures is found in the fact, that Professorial lectures propose in their highest success to bring large classes round the Professor's Chair. 'In this case,' says Dr. Pusey, 'he has his choice, either to lecture popularly to the many, or to be understood by a few.' Certainly, a large class must, as Dr. Pusey observes, comprise persons of 'very various attainments;' and this circumstance does prevent a lecture from being equally useful to all. But does such an objection really apply to Professorial lectures only? It is admitted and avowed in respect to Tutorial lectures in many places. But what of the book—to which Dr. Pusey so constantly and naturally refers as a term of contrast and comparison? If the class of tens or even hundreds comprises such a variety of power and knowledge, what does the class 'of millions who read the English language?' Must not the author on a learned or abstruse subject be embarrassed by the same difficulty, in a form rather aggravated? Yet he does not sit mute on that account, nor does he write twenty books, as he might, for the five times twenty classes of intellect and knowledge amongst the readers of the world. He makes his choice—strikes his average—or, what is best perhaps, writes his best, and leaves it to his taste and judgment at each moment to guide his style. Niebuhr

* I am but assuming the Professor to be good and efficient as the book has been assumed to be excellent and instructive. See Appendix C.

composed his Roman History for the press, 'for the millions who read.' His book, however, has been considered obscure, and he is said to have replied, on hearing this, 'Yes; when I write, I write for Savigny.' Yet, in spite of this, the book has been read with profit and delight by hundreds not possessing a tenth of Savigny's knowledge or capacity. In fact, the same qualifying truth saves both the lecture and the book from inutility. In a thoroughly fine lecture, as in a thoroughly fine book, though all is only for the highest, there is much for the many, and somewhat for the least. The very best of all may appreciate all. Those will receive profit who are not sufficiently advanced to digest and value the whole. Those will be benefited in some way, and by some points, who miss the force and full advantage of others; and in the great compass of merit, many will be pleased and instructed who, with greater attainments, would have been delighted and informed more fully.

One peculiarity and advantage, too, in this mode of communication, attends a comprehensive lecture, which is not shared by a book. All who hear it must hear it at the same moment; it affects a large number of individuals at the same time; it therefore becomes straightway more or less a topic of conversation or conversational debate, in which the comparison and contribution of impressions tends to diffuse, and in some degree equalise, the benefit; especially in an academical city, where the dispersed audience quits the lecture-room to meet again in the halls and common rooms of the University within a few hours.*

* It is mentioned as a proof of Professorial Lectures being un-

We have been accused, indeed, of forgetting in our whole view of this subject, that the great Professor will be rare, that the ideal and perfect lecturer will be but an occasional occupant of our chairs. If so, however, no less rare will be the greatest books, for the same laws of human nature which produce the one rarity give existence also to the other. Now this very rarity of transcendent men and transcendent works will also confer on the able and learned average Professor his constant utility. Between the appearance of one great effort of human genius, and another, there must be some interval. Meanwhile observations are made; knowledge accumulates; theories are corrected by experience; small contributions often pour in; and to harmonise these together, to use them for illustration, modification or even correction of the latest work of stupendous genius, and to impart the whole result of all to the embarrassed student, is the fit and practicable task of the learned, able, and judicious Professor. Even each annual set of lectures, on many subjects, may take in and embody the new discoveries as they are made, giving them a place in pre-established theories, or pointing out their effect to invalidate what has been accepted for true, in a manner to which a

instructive, that a thoughtful Professor said, 'The best Student is 'he who attends fewest Lectures.' But have we not heard of the saying attributed to Hobbes,—'Of all the learned men of the day, 'I have read the fewest *books*; and that is the reason why I know 'the most'? To load the memory in any manner—whether by Lectures or Books,—without true comprehension or reflexion, of course defeats its own end; and such is the necessary position of those alluded to by Dr. Pusey as 'spending from five to seven 'hours every day in listening, and then writing down what they 'have heard, under a pressure of labour fatal to intellectual 'vigour.'—*Evid.* p. 10.

Tutor, not entirely devoted to, nor generally eminent in, a particular subject, never could attain.

II. In the second place, Professorial lectures, it is objected, do not give any discipline to the faculties.

We are told that in listening to a delivered lecture, the mind is 'simply a recipient.* The mind is mainly 'employed in grasping what is imparted to it; it is 'passive, not active. It is very inferior to the process 'of reading a book, which may be read and read again '—considered, surveyed as a whole, dwelt upon more 'minutely—all in a manner to give great intellectual 'benefit.'

Now, first of all, let me say a word or two against this use of the words *passive* and *recipient*. We must not speak of the mind as though it were a *quart pot*—as though things could be thrust into it without any action of its own. To understand is not to be passive, save in a metaphorical sense, and by a comparative use of terms. The mind cannot receive save by understanding; it is by an energetic action of the memory and imagination, and often too of the reason, that what is read or heard is received into the mind; and this is plain, from the very fact that the same words which are received and remembered by one mind, are not received nor remembered by another, which is unequal to the task of comprehension, with all its complex and subsidiary work of realisation, comparison, and arrangement. Even the argument so recently considered against lectures as delivered to

* 'The mind is simply a recipient.'—*Evid.* p. 6. 'The mind is passive, not active.'—*Ibid.*, and see the *Report of the Tutor's Association*.

mixed classes, implies the acknowledgment that active powers are engaged in receiving knowledge which is imparted. To understand and retain is therefore *a* discipline of the mind; it is one kind of action and one kind of discipline—one kind of exercise, and therefore one source of improvement—to the intellectual faculties; and it is not to be undervalued because it is not every source of improvement at the same time.

With this point clearly established, let us advance to a comparison of this discipline as imparted by lecture and the book. The lecture is delivered rapidly, without interruption, and it must therefore be comprehended and retained by one sustained action of the comprehensive faculties. The book, on the other hand, is ever near; it may be taken up, and put down, and continued, at will; it may be read carelessly, and then read again, and nothing be thus lost save the time. Now, doubtless the book has in this respect some advantage over the lecture; the advantage is that of giving information: for although the attention slackens or the thoughts wander, the effect of all this may be retrieved by a repeated effort, and the matter of the book at last, after all this capricious weather of the mind, be safely garnered. The lecture, on the other hand, if lost at the moment, is lost for ever; a serious truancy of mind forfeits what has been delivered; and the matter is lost, or can only be supplied by inquiry from others. But if the book has thus decided advantages for conveying information, for the very same reason is the lecture superior as a mental discipline. The mind must be held in command, the attention vigilantly pointed, the comprehensive faculties sustained in action, during the whole lecture, without

any grave 'fault' in the continuity of effort. The student will feel after this, if he have made the attempt, that his mind has been put to an athletic exercise. It is the accomplishment and art of the lecturer—that which makes his work in part like that of the orator—to aid his hearer through this task, to compose and fix the attention at first, to vary the interest or topic so soon as listening begins to be an effort, and at last positively to stimulate and sustain.

But if listening, attending, comprehending, and mastering be such an act as involves one kind of discipline and exercise, most assuredly there is also another, though it be not the only one,—that of reflecting and surveying. The reader of a thoughtful book, the listener to a thoughtful lecture—if the thoughts in both be equally profound,—can neither of them reflect and ponder *while* they receive and comprehend. It is impossible that the two acts of mind should, if the matter be profound, go on at the same moment, because the acts are quite distinct, and the reflexion on the matter presupposes the acquisition of it. The thoughts or facts in a book cannot be surveyed, examined, and compared, so long as they are merely in the book. They must have passed into the mind by an act of mind first. A student, therefore, if he have vigilantly attended, is obliged to defer the second act of mind, so far as it involves serious effort, until the lecture is entirely concluded. The earnest reader of the book has it therefore in his power to suspend more frequently the work of comprehension, in order that he may take up the task of reflexion; and he will often be tempted to do so. The listener to a lecture, on the other hand, is obliged to make one long effort of com-

prehension, before he can allow himself to survey and criticise. In both methods there is good and evil, but the lecture is, on the whole, the better. The earnest reader often interrupts the act of attention unduly. By early reflexion in detail, he has thus made more difficult a general survey of the whole. He has more accurately valued expressions, and weighed observations more readily, while they were perfectly fresh upon his mind. But he has dealt only with a part; his criticism, therefore, affects mainly the detail. Often, therefore, does he find in the end, that his judgment must be altered or revised after it is formed, owing to modifications, proofs, illustrations, or harmonies, which he had not anticipated. And if after these smaller grasps of thought, his mind remain fresh and vigorous for a general survey, yet his suspended and broken attention, the intrusive thoughts of his own mind mingling with the statements of his author, and the minute inspection of details, make his recollection feebler and confused, and take breadth and truth from his judgment. Where, on the other hand, all has been diligently appropriated by one long act of attention, without premature criticism or the intrusive reaction of thought, these statements, and illustrations, and proofs, and qualifications are caught at the same moment, so soon as the mental eye is turned upon its acquisition. Thus, then, the parts are seen not merely as independent announcements, but as portions of the whole; no associations of our personal thought or misapprehensions have blurred the first fresh impressions of memory, and a true survey may be made, and a judgment issue from all this, not to be cancelled or re-judged. Survey and reflexion have not been ex-

cluded, or discouraged, but only deferred till the materials were fully collected to receive its action. Such is the good realised by the engaged and attentive listener: good balanced by the impossibility of retrieving precise words, of reviving faded impressions, and of giving certainty to knowledge of details imperfectly caught. The result is likely to be, even with the earnest and diligent, a less minute and perfect possession of the information conveyed. But the discipline of mind is admirable and athletic, enforcing, in the first instance, continuance of energy in attending, rapidity of comprehension, and a vivacity and promptitude of many intellectual powers; and in the second instance, habituating a suspension of judgment, till the whole material is collected and matured for its action, and till such action must grasp the whole range, and order all the complexities of the statement. Books will, should, and must be studied. They are useful, precious, and necessary; and nothing that falls within human imagination now can extinguish or supersede them. But to suppose that their utility or value has so exhausted every kind of intellectual discipline, that the lecture as a means of exercising the mind has become thoroughly useless, is here shown, I trust, to be an error. It has its use in most branches of learning; I believe in all. But for an improving of the moral and intellectual powers, it administers a discipline quite peculiar to itself, and worthy of all encouragement as an element in academical instruction. It exacts a peculiar expenditure and economy of the mental resources, which books never can enforce, tending towards their large and harmonious development; and while possessing these gymnastic properties, it

developes and strengthens, and applies faculties often much needed in the great arena of life. The duties of the bar and the senate presuppose the same difficult achievement of collecting information and truth through the ear and from the lips, and of dwelling, without pause or intermission, on prolonged statements or demonstrations.*

III. The third ground elaborately maintained against a Professoriate is that Professors do not aid the advancement of truth.

* As delivered lectures in a University like that of Oxford, may be presumed to be the usual and proper work of Professors, I have not protested against the identification of 'professorial lectures' with 'delivered lectures.' But I do protest against the most unreasonable assumption, that the delivery of professorial lectures must exclude and put an end to catechetical lectures throughout the University. Both books and catechetical lectures may, nay I would say must, coexist side by side with professorial lectures. The question really at issue is, whether the latter are on the one side so mischievous or useless, as not to deserve *true* encouragement: or on the other side are so valuable, salutary, and useful, as to call for the introduction of a sufficient mental power in the University to produce them. It is not easy to see how any answer but one could be rationally given to such a question. I would add that the Commissioners, at least, have not proposed any arrangement which will debar Professors from giving catechetical lectures, if they wish it. Upon the merits of catechetical lectures, as they have been hitherto given, I do not speak merely because the most highly-drawn picture of their excellence and utility, comes from the hands of one who described it in his evidence before the Queen's Commissioners; and I am scrupulous not to reply on any who have not made their own evidence a means of replying on the Commission Reports. Many public men, educated at Oxford, know practically what the Oxford catechetical instruction has been, and by an effort of memory and judgment not very laborious, they may in some degree correct any ingenious or partial exaggerations of its character and merits. And it is quite clear that whatever be its benefits, they are increased or lowered in proportion to the attainments, skill, and abilities of him who administers it. The Professor would make his superiority felt even in this department.

The first reason for this assertion seems to lie in the observation, that the task of lecturing will so occupy the leisure and energy of the Professor, that he can have little time for original research and composition. It is said, too, that 'the true workshop of the Professor should lie in his study and not in his lecture-room.'

This last position, indeed, involves a truth, of which the Commission has not entirely lost sight; and most assailants, and some defenders, of the Commission, have attacked the Commissioners for giving too much prominence to such a view. A single passage of my own evidence, brought forward by the Commission in vindication of it, has been quoted, with the requisite amount of suppression, or misconstruction, by four or five witnesses, in the Hebdomadal Report, as well as by the Tutors' Association, for reproof and repudiation. I am glad, therefore, that some additional testimony now more than defends the Commission, and more than coincides with my evidence. According to Dr. Pusey's principles, a Professoriate (unless the possibility of their being laymen is held fatal to their character) would answer a noble purpose, even if it did not lecture at all. It would, at least, compose a great lay chapter of secular learning, each man being selected for his knowledge, and his power in the treatment of a particular branch of study, and bound thereafter by duty, as theretofore by predilections, to devote his life and faculties to the earnest prosecution of it. There is none such elsewhere in England, and, therefore, it might here be established. To this extent, I claim Dr. Pusey's testimony against those who generally concur with him. But I think that his assertion of the principle runs to an extreme, and that his application

of it proves too much. If some freedom be given, so that the manner and number of lectures may vary with the nature of the subject, or the power of the Professor, I do not think that professorial lectures need exclude learned or profound investigations. The Professors who teach physical and other sciences, the principles of which are generally acknowledged, and are sufficiently numerous and distinct, can give courses of lectures with little expense of time or thought. They arrange the subject once, and write or compose a comprehensive course which can be added to and altered as science advances, and which need not be written afresh with each delivery. A large surplus of time still belongs to them, and the interest of their science. Faraday lectured for a great part of his life in this way, at the Academy at Woolwich: yet, all his life has he devoted, in the noblest and purest manner, to the advance of truth; and our knowledge of the laws of electricity and magnetism has been largely and for ever extended by his labours. And, certainly, it is highly advantageous to the student, in some points of view, that he should catch the general principles of the science from one who has the powers and habits of advancing it. There is a freshness in his view of facts, however long known; there is an insight, an accuracy, and a caution in his statement of principles already established, and a general appreciation of their value and groundwork, which an inferior man can never possess, and which give a reality, a truthfulness, and a hopefulness of still higher laws or more correct expressions, to his teaching of even elementary propositions. It is often, therefore, of importance that the services of the investigator and creating mind should be given to the

class-room,—the more so as, by such employment, the Professor does not lose all time and opportunity for the advancement of truth. Those, on the other hand, who are engaged with moral sciences, are not by any necessity debarred from the same course. In such cases, instructive teaching in lecture-rooms might be added to original inquiry in the closet, even although the fruits of the latter be often and, for a due season, kept apart from the work of the former. The principles of philology, or political economy, might form the general matter of professorial teaching, while the Professor still pursued his own examination of uncertain points, or broke new ground in the silence of his study.

It may be granted indeed, that the rigid exaction of numerous lectures from all the Professors alike, without regard to the nature of the subject, or the habits and capacities of the Professor, must be an obstacle to the performance of those still higher functions, which the Commissioners often contemplate, and which their critical rivals aspire often to encourage, and which their adversaries consider impossible. But this is not needful in Oxford; the actual existence of the catechetical system here places a most important power in the hands of those who would re-organise the University, for calling out this kind of professorial work; a power peculiar to Oxford. In Germany and in Scotland, the only public teachers seem to have been Professors; the predominant system has been the lecturing system. But in Oxford, the habits and organs, and remuneration for catechetical instruction exist already; and I conceive that they might easily be modified, so as to meet even the increasing needs of

the University; but at any rate they exist. In developing the Professoriate therefore, we may reasonably hope for freer and more abundant performance of the higher class of duties, by men who are relieved already in some parts from the lower. The lectures themselves might be made a means for throwing into the intellectual circulation of the University, or the world, results produced by the sagacity, or research of the investigator in his study, duly tested by silent reflexion. But here we are met by more deep and more fatal objections.

We are told, that in all old studies, knowledge can be advanced mainly 'upon lesser and finer points, 'by which the mind of the student is not improved,' and that to address the student upon such must ever be unseasonable, and will be 'but sticking up lights 'in some corner of the subject.' *

Now first of all, it may be observed that our academical cultivation of Latin and Greek Dr. Pusey and others are not slow to defend:—yet is not the university study of these languages (almost the oldest topics of instruction of the place) all based upon the investigations of the last sixty years? Do our students *at Oxford* learn from the grammars of the time of Edward VI., or from Matthiä and Kühner? and are not

* 'The great principles of any subject which has been long studied 'have been known long ago. They are these, and not the lesser or 'finer questions, by which the mind of a student has to be improved. A professor should not go off to those lesser points in 'which, mainly, knowledge has to be enlarged. It would be, as has 'been said, like sticking a number of lights in corners of a room in 'lieu of one great central light,' &c., &c.—*Evid. to Hebdom. Com.*, p. 15. Bacon's phrase is not conclusive.

'A student would, on such points, gain superficial knowledge 'of some results, which would elate most young minds.' *Ibid.*

these grammars a long text composed from the collective results of Porson, Hermann, Elmsley, Buttmann, Lobeck, and other recent philologists. When it is the object of men to defend the minuteness of the philological teaching in the University, we hear much of the discipline afforded by accurate knowledge, by appreciation of subtle distinctions, and the possession of unmarketable facts. But when inquiry is to be discouraged, and Professors to be shown useless, then are we told of 'the great principles of the subject known 'long ago;' we are warned against 'lesser points in 'which knowledge mainly is to be enlarged, and against 'a superficial and elating knowledge of new results 'really injurious to the mind of the student, and made 'at the cost of more solid knowledge.'

But the principle itself that investigations and discoveries in old studies are generally uninformative because they are of a special nature, or that they are of a special nature because they grow out of special inquiries, are both unsound. The falsity of both might be illustrated from every department of knowledge. The cardinal facts of history lie buried often in brief or neglected documents which supply lamentable omissions, or give the lie to accounts composed by interested men or on hearsay evidence. Even the general truths of history are often betrayed in casual expressions, or by petty incidents which, for various reasons, important and serious narrative has never disclosed to present times. Often too, in lectures, the historian may do more to communicate the spirit and life of whole centuries by minute narrative, running through a few important or active years, than by a general review of all the historical facts of a long era; though of course

it must require not only research and imagination, but high critical power also, to do this with effect. Original views too, on what is called the philosophy of history, are in fact discoveries, and shed a broad and important light upon the main features of the subject.

And in more scientific studies—even old ones—even the most old—it is far from true, it is the reverse of true, that the discoveries which advance them are really but ‘lights stuck in a corner.’

No science is older than that of Astronomy. At the opening of the seventeenth century it had been studied for ages, and in every quarter of the globe, and that not casually, not by small intellects and negligent observers, but by the marvellous Aristotle; and yet what was done for this sublime, universal, time-honoured knowledge in the century of Kepler and Newton! Did *they* inform the world ‘upon the lesser and finer ‘questions by which the mind of the student is not improved?’ or did they open up truths revolutionary in their conception, stupendous in their breadth, and ‘solid’ as this universal frame—laws that since that time have sustained all astronomical thought like a foundation, even as before that time and since that time and through all time (for aught which we are yet permitted to see), they underlay and sustained all matter and penetrated all space?

The Magnet was known to the Greek philosophers. Electricity too was spoken of cursorily by the Ionic school. A word was then enough for such phenomena, for they were then, and long after, the ‘corners of a subject:’—but what have those Danish and English Professors done for us who ‘stuck lights’ into these corners? have they not revealed powers, facts, and laws

which are the very principles of principles known long ago, which give a strange unity of life to the dull iron in the bowels of the earth, and the magical sun-beam which paints the forest leaves.

Adam Smith, a Scottish Professor of Morals, in the middle of the last century, as he ranged through the great topics of moral and social life, wandered into one of these corners, and the *Wealth of Nations* was the first result. Of this 'corner-struck light' gradually, slowly, and inevitably, millions have felt the genial warmth and brightness, not indeed within the brain as yet, but tingling in the shape of comfort and nutrition through every artery of their frame; and, what is more to the present purpose, in the year 1825 the University formally acknowledged the rank and functions of this science by accepting the foundation of a Professorship. Anarchical fanaticism suppressed this science by force in the University of Paris, in the year 1848, as religious enthusiasm might perhaps suppress it now, because it does not base itself upon principles (Christian or social), which approve themselves 'to many who think alike;'^{*} but, notwithstanding all discouragement, in the year 1849 it was formally embodied at Oxford in the very curriculum of University studies, by the sober and general judgment of men not over hasty in improvement.

In these, as in many other branches of knowledge, some bold bright man has visited the corner and put up his light, and soon a strange humour has seized the whole chamber and all the palace of knowledge. The

^{*} Dr. Pusey, apologizing for the conduct of his friends in refusing support to a candidate for the Political Economy Chair, says that many 'who thought alike' had it for 'their object to elect 'one who would have taught that science on Christian principles.' —*Evid.* p. 117.

light set up has burnt on and brightened, and the corner, and the walls which made it, have been seen to be no corner nor walls at all, but the creatures of darkness, ignorance, and fancy; and as these partitions have dissolved away, 'the corner light of the little room' has become the central light of a great palace; and round it all the more ancient lamps stand ranged with paler effect, and in a subsidiary position.

From this point, I pass to the third ground alleged in support of the main proposition,—that Professors do not and will not aid the advancement of truth:—namely, That the establishment of Professorships and lectures cannot produce minds capable of advancing knowledge.

As to lectures, indeed, it is said, that the outward occasion of lecturing cannot create such an interest, as to stimulate great minds into action. 'It is wholly ' a mistake, I believe, to think that superior books will ' be the result of Professorial lectures.' This indeed, I am willing to admit, as I concur in its general truth, though I believe it would be but just and fair to qualify and limit it. But another statement is also necessarily involved in the general objection, and that is, that the outward institution and establishment of Professorships themselves cannot produce minds capable of advancing knowledge.*

* 'The outward occasion does not produce or form the mind, ' but only gives it its particular direction.'—*Evid.* p. 14. 'The ' great books of the time are those which are called forth by the ' consciousness that there is some great work to be done.'—*Ibid.* I concur.

'Many superior men will not ordinarily be found at once; and ' those very men would find scope for themselves, whether engaged ' in Professorships or not.'—*Ibid.* I cannot concur.

The establishment of Professorships cannot indeed produce, in the strict sense of the term, superior minds. It cannot create them, no, nor can any thing human or any thing conceivable create any thing conceivable. All the chemistry of the past, the present, and the future cannot create a bubble full of oxygen gas. But knowledge, sagacity, and resolution, can in many practical senses produce natural things; it produces the tea in the Chinese garden, and the wheat in the English field. It can so dispose the existing powers and objects of nature, that the result of the spontaneous action of each on the other can bring these fruits into existence where they are needed. In the same way, a proper organization of institutions and arrangements for education, of attractions to great powers—of aids to great necessities—of inducements to great exertions—of liberty and freedom to great energies, may in some way evoke from the social resources of the country, men, often of genius, and men, more often, of eminent ability and attainments, to adorn the University of Oxford. Truly the hope of this effect will be rationally great or little, according to the natural powers within our command, and the general means which we possess for disposing such natural powers towards the end which we have in view. Now our natural powers surely are great; our disposable means are also singularly great. Our natural powers, as available for Oxford alone, may be reckoned as some millions of masculine human souls—the fellow race-men, and the fellow countrymen of Shakespeare, Newton, Milton, and Bacon. These are the very weeds and wild flowers of the natural soil. This is the mere material—the mind-element at our hand for

the production of the result. And what are the means by which they can be fruitfully disposed? The private opulence which industry has accumulated, and daily applies to education,—the educational charities already existing to carry on instruction during childhood, the yearly additional gifts of Government, and the magnificent resources of our Colleges and University. When we speak, therefore, of producing great men by the Professorial chairs of the University, and by the proper endowment of such chairs, we mean that these will form a powerful and main force, and a final attraction, to fix great men in the Universities. There must be made to our hand, indeed, English, Irish, and Scottish God-endowed, human souls, in which matter (for the result cannot be artificially ensured) we have full reason to be hopeful. There should be means to educate poverty, and to indicate the existence of great faculties in the lower classes,—to aid struggles of such in early life, and launch them into a career at Oxford. Much may be done—nay, most may be done towards the desired end, by widening, as we have attempted to do, our range of studies, and by rewarding all kinds of knowledge: by giving due destination to our Fellowships,* by awarding

* Dr. Pusey argues against my proposal approved by the Queen's Commissioners, that some of the Fellowships in the several Colleges should be assigned to certain branches of science and learning. His objections are, first—that no good can be produced by this forcing system, which simply encourages 'for some degree of proficiency.' The successful candidates 'will simply accept the reward, and then neglect the study' (*i. e.* in future). But this objection holds against all rewards whatsoever; since all rewards are in their nature retrospective and not prospective,—for what has been done, and not for what will or may be done. The Fellowships now open to all encourage classical proficiency, and they do much to stimulate classical studies. The same advantage is desired for at-

them to the greatest excellence in each department, and by crowning these arrangements with a Professoriate, decently maintained in the social scale, and duly honoured by academical position. It will be true, hereafter as now, that learning will not be the highest spirit of learning,—that abilities will not be genius,—and that the greatest efforts of the human mind cannot be expected of every Professor on the list. But the genius which exists will be saved, not wasted, as it may and often must be now.

As things stand, it is a mockery to say to the highest gifts,—if you are that which you pretend to be, you will feel your calling, deliver yourself to the cultivation of

tainments in mathematics, physical science, history, &c. The future cannot be *secured* by rewarding the past; but the success of past habits and industry is, perhaps, the best and safest guarantee of future exertions, which it is proposed further to encourage by Professorships.

The second objection is this—That the vacancies in Fellowships so destined, would not always occur in the year when there was the best candidate, and the vacancy would therefore often be filled by an inferior person. But with a sufficient number of Fellowships specially assigned, there would be an average rate of vacancies, occurring sufficiently often to admit the best candidate—not from any particular year, but from many years; for the Fellowship of the year would never be confined to men of any one year, but would be open, as now, to men of several years; which would not be objectionable, but beneficial, as it would secure prolonged study after the degree.

The last objection urged is this—That on this principle there should be Fellowships for every language, every science, and the history of every nation, every law, &c. This does not follow. The Fellowship should be assigned to the whole school of physics, or mathematics, or history, &c.; as now, all open Fellowships are practically assigned to the *Literæ Humaniores* School. If it be impossible to award Fellowships hereafter to proficiency in these schools generally, as distinct from the particular languages, or the particular branches of mathematics, &c., which compose the school, it is for the same reason impossible now to give honours in such schools, or to give fellowships to classical proficiency,—*quod est absurdum*.

knowledge and laborious pursuits under God, and for his sake communicate in due season the result to man. Bread is needful. Respect is all but needful; and, in a people where the social ambition is so rife, and pecuniary considerations so important, respect consorts not with penury. So long as these things are, and posts of honour and common comfort for learning and genius are not, so long will both faculties and aspirations go elsewhere. But, inasmuch as Professorships may encourage, cultivate, direct, and sustain both, so they will in a true practical sense produce both; and that superiority of mind, given inscrutably, perfected by education, and stimulated by hope, find a home in which it may labour to the honour of the nation, and the true benefit of mankind. Then, indeed, will the powers be sufficiently disengaged, and the outward means sufficiently large to set free those purer desires for truth, and that higher wish to do good, not unreasonably assumed to be the potent and immediate motives by which vast abilities are called to great works.

IV. Fourthly, it has been urged,—That this very view of advancing knowledge, through a Professoriate, will in all subjects produce errors; and, on moral subjects, dangerous errors.

It is assumed by those who urge this point, that the Professor elected into such a body of men, will set himself to advance knowledge; and this condition of setting himself to advance knowledge, is taken to be identical with an effort to discover something new, without due regard to the truth of such a novelty. Even were such imputation correct, either generally, or in particular instances, it is extremely doubtful

whether the state of mind and motive of labour would be highly dangerous. Errors resulting from such a state of feeling are suicidal; they carry with them the certainty of their own nullity or speedy annihilation. We must suppose such an erroneous theory, thus brought forward, either to come into vogue and general acceptance, or to lie neglected. If the latter is its lot, it is still-born—there is no life nor danger in it—it can do no mischief. It has done no mischief save waste the pains and shame the efforts of its author, who is thus baulked and discouraged by his failure. On the other hand, if it have enough of plausibility to succeed, by this growth, prosperity, and encouragement, it merely qualifies itself for a speedy destruction. The same spirit which has produced it—the pride of spurious originality, and love of what is new—now must find in destroying it the readiest, most natural and easy way of gratifying its love of destruction. The succeeding author is furnished by it with material for displaying his ingenuity and powers of original inquiry, by exposing the error of that now generally accepted for truth. If the ‘solid’ and established doctrine fall before the new and hollow, much more does the hollow established doctrine rush down before the new and solid truth.

Such an extreme case of morbid love of invention, it may be urged, is not intended: errors more dangerous as more plausible, and brought into being with greater mixture of truth in their constitution, bid fair for longer life. It is not mere passion for ‘novelty’ which is pointed at, but a great desire to find out truth ‘where it does not really exist, and to establish points ‘which are not *strictly* tenable.’ But are such efforts

really dangerous, or even wholly useless? Owing to the same reasons which I have already stated in the foregoing sentences, sooner or later, and within no long time, the ingredient of falsity in the prevailing system, long overlooked, is detected. Thus, after a brief usurpation, the exposed delusion is dethroned by the verdict of Professors—or, in the first popular revolt against its rule, the keen eye and strong arm of some militia colonel, if Professors have been his instructors, strikes off its head at a blow.* But the very delay and difficulty of detecting error in the new, or re-establishing truth in the old, often involves and implies one of two things:—either the old was not entirely true, or the new is not mainly and grossly false.

If the old was not entirely true, although partially restored, it is not reinstated and re-established in its ancient form. The expression of it was too broad—the deductions from it were hasty and mischievous—or the acceptance of it was thoughtless and irrational, and full of misunderstanding; or it was supported and surrounded by a body-guard of subsidiary error. In this case it is eventually modified, and explained, and re-created. Such is the case where the old was not absolutely true. The usurpation of the new here is but a circuitous and natural process by which the old has been purified from its dross and impurities, or from the accretions of time.

* Colonel Mure, to whom Dr. Pusey proudly refers, as an instance of the manner in which the homebred Briton can resist or dethrone the theories of Professors, who have been able to blind or mislead all their own pupils, was, I understand, educated by the Professors of the University of Göttingen.

If, on the other hand, the new is not wholly nor grossly false, it is only chastised by exposure and reduction to its legitimate place in the world of knowledge; but it still ever maintains its hold so far as it can prove its justification. In this last case, the usurpation of the new is but the first movement of that truth which has been neglected or forgotten or wrongfully depressed, up to its due rank and level in the world of knowledge. A second movement of descent must often follow the first aspiring and overwrought effort of ascent, to complete the process; but that effort has not been therefore useless to the world—rather therefore useful and needful. We might indeed wish that all good results were effected in the shortest and most direct manner conceivable, and that truth could always establish itself without any mixture of useless errors, or one step of unjustifiable pretension, or one moment of intervening confusion. But there are laws of the human mind and human society which stand in the way: there is often a necessity that it should be otherwise, such as neither wishing nor railing will remove. As things are, we profit; and truth is generally and constantly, though not without minutes and hours of ebb, flowing by such channels into all the schools. The historical theories of Niebuhr may not settle down into final acceptation, but he will still have conferred an imperishable benefit on historical investigation. The doctrine of expediency in morals may be disapproved of, but bold is the man who shall say it will not have imported considerations of greatest value into moral judgment. The doctrine of the pure ideas of the human reason may be incorrect, but they have drawn attention to facts and phenomena which henceforth

will never be neglected. The view that Homer is a contribution, and not the work of a single mind, may be untrue, but the labours which accompanied, and, as it were, threw out the theory, have been full of serviceable fruit; and not only the Iliad, in its plan and its episodes, and the perfection and anomalies of its structure, will be for ever appreciated as they could not be before, but the character of all national poetry has received from it useful illustration.* It required even some admixture of error to eliminate the unquestionable truth that fossil shells were originally parts of organized life, and not bivalve and turbinated stones. The discovery of oxygen gas was awhile attended by numberless theories and incorrect conceptions, which, after vanishing away from the context of truth only after fluctuations and struggles, left it in its purity. Such errors and extravagancies, such actions and reactions and obliquities of progress, are often the birth-pangs of science and true knowledge. And if this probable and general evil may be sometimes aggravated by a morbid love of notoriety, by private jealousies, and the rivalry of Professors, these causes may be themselves in part remedied by wise organization; in part they may be fairly accepted as incidental evils. But even frequent abuses and extravagancies will not destroy, as they have not destroyed, the general effect of active, earnest, able, and constant inquiry.

After pausing, however, thus to apologize and justify an imaginary state of things, I have not

* The marvellous fertility of Professorial Universities in learning and talent, has enabled Dr. Pusey erroneously to attribute the theory of so great a man as Wolfe to another professorial scholar of the same age and nation (Heyne), without absurdity.

accepted them as the general condition of facts to which we must look forward, if the views of the Commissioners are really carried out, or if their wishes and thoughts are to be gathered from their own expressions, rather than from the translations and inferences of opponents. It is an illegitimate inference, that Professors are 'to set themselves to advance sciences;' the more especially is it so, if 'setting themselves to advance 'science and knowledge' be explained as it has been explained, by a desire to say something new, without due regard to the truth of such novelty. The actual and the just view entertained is this. It will be a *result* of establishing men of profound knowledge, generally of great ability, and sometimes of real genius, in the chairs of Professorships at Oxford, that there will ever be some who are doing public service to the national literature in one or other branches of learning, and often some who shall positively extend the bounds of knowledge, and discover new truths.

Now the conditions required by a sound judgment, as the foundations for such a hope and prospect, are two:—First, That the Professors should have the power, and, Secondly, That the actual state of knowledge should give the opportunity, for such advancement.

The existence of the first of these two conditions has been, I conceive, distinctly established in a foregoing part of these remarks—tending to show that adequate salaries, a high academical position, and duties not servilely prescribed, and selections impartially made, must attract and retain such men. But if the first condition is or has thus been exhibited and secured, it is only necessary to cast a single glance

on some main departments of truth already cultivated and taught to be assured of the second—namely, that the existing state of human knowledge and science is such as may be advanced by well applied industry and superior talents.

Will any one say that nothing now remains to be done in Philology, both minute and comparative? Are all languages known—at all points—have the principles of the grammar of each been ascertained? and the history of those principles discovered? Has the Greek language ever been investigated through all stages of its progress? Have the affinities and relations of all languages been based and established? Have the laws of universal grammar been collected from an exhaustive number of instances and specimens?

Shall we say again that Political Economy—that moral science which in the year 1834 was being taught throughout the world, on principles so unsatisfactory to many who ‘thought alike’ at Oxford—has reached its final form, and received its last accessions of truth as applicable to all conditions of society and states of property, and that these have been legitimately and fully applied in legislation?

What is the actual condition of Jurisprudence in this country? Shall we say that we have made an end? Shall we not say, rather, that scarcely have we made a beginning in such a spirit, and with such a scope, as is worthy of the science?

Is all Historical, ascertainable truth, yet in our possession? I pass on.

Let us close with the favourite pursuit of Oxford—Moral Science, in its narrowest and strictest sense.

Locke, it appears, is a 'shallow Rationalist' in philosophy—for so the Germans hold of him. Hegel, Schelling, Fichte, and Kant,—whose judgments, when they pronounce upon Locke, are not to be appealed from—have (we are led to think by Dr. Pusey's recital)—when they pronounce upon the truths which Locke so simply and sublimely *aspired* after—successively bubbled, babbled, and passed away. Are we to take Aristotle and Plato for absolute and perfect where the whole spirit of one contradicts the Sermon on the Mount, and the parts of both refute each other? and is Butler to close for ever the field of inquiry, because he had the sterling good sense and sagacity to stop, where it needed a greater genius to go forward?*

Is it not true that the fields of discovery ray out and lengthen out on every side of us as we stand in this very moment of time? Move on as time must, and as civilization may, as genius or industry can, the mind will still for ever continue to look on the same scene, of a world unknown yet inviting knowledge to the utmost horizon of its vision.

* I merely speak of Locke as he spoke of himself, when he wrote his own epitaph, a part of which I quote from memory. 'Qui philosophiæ deditus eo usque profecit ut veritati unicè studeret;' modest and glorious boast! Dr. Pusey says of him, 'Locke, whom the Commissioners so strangely set side by side with Butler, is *now acknowledged in Germany* to be one of the shallowest writers who ever treated on the human mind.'—*Dr. Pusey, Evid.* p. 111. I beg to refer to his former judgment of such Germans: 'The independence of the English mind, and the absence of schools among us, stand remarkably contrasted with the succession of schools in Germany. There is no people, probably, among whom the *great* names of the past generation are so soon forgotten or those of the present day so unduly exalted, as in Germany; none, probably, among whom *the crude or faulty notions of individuals* obtain for a time so pernicious and extensive a sway.'—*Evid.* p. 30.

Under the actual condition of knowledge, therefore, and with such men attracted to the University, and placed under the congenial obligation to cultivate further what they have already prosecuted with conspicuous effect, it must be rationally hoped that truth and science will be advanced. It will need no morbid love of novelty, but a simple and pure love of knowledge and inquiry, to extend the present boundary at such points as from time to time will show the possibility of rewarding investigation by interesting disclosures. New truths may be expected, not because the newness is desired, but because the truth not yet in our possession will be longed for, and earnestly sought. All Professors will not, and need not, discover. Of those who really extend the limits, or purify the truthfulness of present knowledge, few indeed will have to boast grand and astonishing disclosures. Still less is the ultimate result to be measured by the immediate effects of such a system. The Professoriate must have been in action sufficiently long to have moulded the characters and stimulated the attainments of a generation; and although it will be necessary perhaps to create Professors very soon, they cannot be such as the practical working of the plan will create after a few years. All great organic legislation is for the future. It will one day be the present; if not for us, yet for those who follow us; and it is not a figment, merely because it is not now a fact.

As a further proof of these objections urged in the evidence, it has been contended that where the professorial system has been long in action, good books are not actually brought by it into existence.

A natural and legitimate test of such a proposition

might be secured by an appeal to the reputation, use, and extension of works now or lately produced by Professors in Europe. It would be seen from this, that although Oxford has eagerly asserted her office as a teacher of the Moral Sciences, and stakes her character upon this, yet, while her Tutors and Heads of Houses have scarcely produced a work of—I do not say European, I do not say national—but even of academical and Oxonian reputation, the Professors of the Scottish and French and German Universities have filled the world with their fame. The works of Smith, Reid, Stewart, and Brown (for I will say nothing of Kant, Hegel, Schelling and Cousin) have been in the hands of all who take an interest in such subjects. Even those who have received moral truth from heathen writers have ever referred to some German or Professorial work for a connected account of the doctrine and progress of the ancient philosophers of Greece. Ten-neman, and Ritter—generally known in Oxford as the authorities on the history of philosophy—were, or are, German professors.

Again, Ancient History owes little or nothing to Oxford, and much to Professors. Thirty years ago, students owed their connected knowledge of the only period studied of Roman history to a Scottish professor—Ferguson; and have since received, in many forms, and under the patronage of different names, the theories of Niebuhr, who, like Guizot, united the two characters of professor and statesman. Our native historians of ancient states—save one, and he a Professor—have been either aliens or outcasts from the University system. Gibbon is known, by his religious changes at Oxford, and by his invectives

against the idleness, port and prejudice of the University, to have interrupted—not carried on—his studies by a residence in that place. Mitford, though at Christ Church, ‘was generally engaged in that dissipation ‘which lax discipline allowed,’ and attributed all his knowledge of the Greek language ‘to the vacations ‘which he passed at a distance from college without ‘any instructor,’ and all his historical enthusiasm ‘to ‘the celebrated lectures on the law of England by the ‘Professor Blackstone.’* Thirlwall, when banished from his office in Trinity College, solaced his retirement, like Thucydides, by composing his ‘History of Greece.’ Grote, whose pages attest his profound knowledge of German literature, commenced his connexion with us, when his celebrated work was reaching its close; and Mure, who received his instruction at Göttingen under German Professors, was in the same way adopted by us, after and on account of his general reputation, together with statesmen and warriors.

In studies purely Classical, with one or two recent exceptions, nearly everything has been done by Professors. Porson was a Professor; Elmsley a Professor, and Gaisford a Professor; and German names printed and ticketed on the backs of useful and valuable books cover, it might be said, the very interior walls of our colleges. Ruhnken, Valcknaer, Ernesti, Heyne, Hermann, Lachmann, Bekker, Dindorf, Doering, Orelli, Bähr, Goeller, Poppo, and scores more might be noted, but it is enough to say, that not only the familiar but

* *Life of Mitford*, by Lord Redesdale.

almost the only books known to classical literature, are those furnished by a Professoriate.*

This natural test of the value and excellence of professorial works in general might have been appealed to. But we are again carried into theology, and another element is introduced into the essential idea of a good book. It must be one which has lasted, or will last, for centuries. The theological books of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries could with difficulty be found in the nineteenth. The German students of the nineteenth century 'were surprised to hear of standard solid writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—as Hooker or Bull;' yet the system of professorial lectures had gone on since the Reformation. . . . 'All had disappeared.' . . . 'No books had survived.' †

The fact as here stated must surely be qualified. Accounts do not speak so broadly as this; and one English author of value, in estimating the theological writers in Germany of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, appeals in proof of their excellence to the well-known fact that the writings of Calov, Schmidt, Hackspann, Walther, and others, *are and ever will be in the hands* of the theological student. But in whatever breadth the fact is to be accepted, to the same degree is neglect and oblivion amply accounted for, quite apart from professorial influences. ‡

* The condition and value of classical literature in Germany is fully given in a learned Appendix to these pages by Mr. John Conington, Fellow of University College, Oxford, which will furnish a fair indication also of the results that might be exhibited in other special branches of learning.

† *Evid.*, p. 10.

‡ H. J. Rose. *Protestantism in Germany described*, p. 38.

The theology which followed the Reformation, we are told by an historian well known to Dr. Pusey, was destitute of any sound basis of philology, history, or religious feeling; and not only were there no just instruments employed for biblical studies, but those studies themselves hardly existed even in pretence. Down to the close of the seventeenth century, a theological student might run through a six years' course of theology, and not hear one book of Scripture explained: but that the professorial character was the cause of this has never been suggested or hinted till now. The barrenness has till now been attributed to the evil, dead, traditional and scholastic system which preceded the Reformation, and survived it—and into which the Lutheran church relapsed after the death of the first Reformers. Till now it has been imputed to the over-estimate by that church of minute doctrines, to the stringent articles imposed by princes, and to the severe penalties and inflictions which hung over the head of any teacher who should be guilty of declension from them in the minutest particulars.*

It was not, therefore, either the professorial system in those ages which gave an ephemeral character to theological works, nor is it the professorial system in the nineteenth century, or any century, which discards and neglects them. It was the age, the church, the scholasticism, the traditional, false, and dominant philosophy, the absence of freedom, the fear of persecution, banishment, and bonds, which made such works intrinsically fugitive: and it is the learning, biblical knowledge, historical spirit of investigation, and linguistic

* Pusey's *Historical Inquiry*, pp. 32, 33, &c.

proficiency of Professors, which now lays them aside. These evils are said to have subsisted long, very long. At last, a change came over the spirit of the church; and since that time, other changes have supervened, to follow which would demand a distinct treatise. But each great revolution developed a literature, peculiar in great measure to itself, and ill adapted to that which came after, and destined, therefore, in great measure to be forgotten. But for the cause of these changes in the church, it has not been told us till now, that we must look to the Professorial system of Germany. Causes far less minute—the general and natural reaction, one while on a dialectic slavery, another while on feelings overstrained or long excited, or methods exhausted—the influences of social habits, foreign literature, political power, and, of course, occasionally of some great thinker, who could affect his own or the next age—operated to produce new modes of feeling, discipline, and thought, and developed in their course new branches of learning, and modes of treatment. It was no peculiarity in professorial work which has ever been said to make the literature perishable; nor was it peculiarly a professorial feeling which obliterated and undervalued all which had gone before. These things are imputed to the Professoriate, at this particular crisis of Oxford, for the first time; the existence of active, learned men, whether Professors or others, must, of course, be one power of movement, of progress, or of change, and beneficially so often. But it is the spirit of learning and inquiry, rather than any peculiar Professorial spirit of innovation, which constitutes the main element in this particular influence.

Such considerations would in great part invalidate

the applicability to German theological literature of the principle, that all good works endure, and remain in vogue, however sound such principles in general might be. But, in fact, the principle itself, so far as regards learned and profound works, involving both the extensive knowledge of facts, and thoughtful use of them, is one of truth so questionable or so limited, that the reasoning from it in the present case entirely fails. An excellent book on such subjects, is one containing much which is both original and true. That such a work should deserve the name of excellent, and even admirable, cannot be denied. Yet, unless genius is stamped upon every expression of its language, the lot of such a book, as to permanent and popular use and endurance, depends entirely upon circumstances. If the branch of science or knowledge of which it treats is long, and eagerly, and ably prosecuted after its publication, new facts are discovered and established, which certainly add to the details, and almost certainly affect the truth and expression of its general principles. In the course of a few years, such additions accumulate, and such modifications become important; a new treatise is composed, probably on the basis of the first; a new book is brought into existence, and a new author is a candidate for fame and service. In this case, the original work does not, in fact and in truth, pass out of existence, for it furnishes matter and thought, perhaps the most important, for the succeeding work; but it passes out of recognition, and the original book and author pass out of sight and use. In fact, the toil, the ability, the thought, and the truths become a part of the capital of mankind. This process is one which must mortify a vulgar ambition,

and should chasten it into a nobler one. It should lead all great workers and thinkers, not only to anticipate with contentment this abdication of vogue and reputation, but to look forward to it even with joy. For it is the proof, often the very proof, that their labours have not only been great and successful, but prolific also; that they have not only been powers in the world, but have called and impelled other powers into action. Such a fate naturally attends the compositions of men who are succeeded by observers, thinkers, and writers working onward in the same spirit. Let us, on the other hand, for the moment, consider the lot of another production, equally good or inferior, written upon a subject interesting to many, yet not in such a manner as to provoke many to active intelligent labour upon it. *It* remains; it is the latest effort of human toil, ingenuity, and thought; it is the high-water mark of knowledge and ability in that department; it is a monument certainly to the author's industry, merit, and powers, and also in such case to the indolence or apathy, or, at least, inactivity of the generations after it.

The use, therefore, of books written centuries ago, is often merely a proof that we have not had better books since. The disuse of books written two centuries ago merely supplies the same kind of inference, that useful—probably more useful—books have since been composed. The more just and probable argument to be raised upon the fact that the German books do not last for many years, is, that the German Professoriate has constantly and frequently and systematically produced works of merit and value upon the same subject; for the merit and value of the succeeding work natu-

rally absorbs into itself, and transfers to itself and increases by its own excellence, the merit, excellence, and utility of what has gone before it. Rather is it true, then, that the great and systematic activity of the professorial system proves itself by the obsolescence of ancient and valuable works. The subsequent energy and merit supersedes by addition, correction, and often by the chastisement of a maturer appreciation, the ability and merit which has preceded it. How many Histories of Greece have held sway during the last twenty-five years in England, and in how different a spirit written—yet all were rightly valued and highly valued. On the other hand, books of inferior merit in other branches of history have preserved their place, because the subject has been less actively and earnestly and successfully prosecuted. The Chinese authors would probably be the greatest in the world, and the Chinese system best calculated to produce great books, if the permanency of books themselves were in all departments of truth the test of excellence.

True it is that on certain subjects, singular and extraordinary genius will assert its power to give life and permanence to the very form and language in which its truths were originally announced. For there are certain departments in which the facts lie almost as much within the reach of the first writer as of those who follow him. The analysis of human passions could, so far as materials for investigation were concerned, be effected as well by Aristotle as by Des Cartes. And in such a case, therefore, the work of transcendent genius could endure in its first form for centuries. On other subjects, from their peculiar nature, even the labours of inferior men may enjoy a long permanence;—subjects which are for-

bidden to advance, subjects already exhausted, and limited by the letter of laws and articles. In this case, to add to the evidence, to re-consider its effect, to view facts in a new light, or to combine them into different classifications, or connect them into a new argument, is bad law, or heterodoxy, or superfluous toil. A Council of Trent, or a Statute of Uses, may confer a seeming immortality upon the labours of inferior minds. For a certain measure of skill—a certain amount of learning—a certain management of materials—certain powers of illustration—often may carry to perfection the form and manner in which prescribed statements can be taught or defended. Meanwhile, that kind of thirst for truth, which is the characteristic of genius on other topics, finds nothing to slake it here, and turns aside from the subject.

But in the great majority of sciences and branches of learning, it is not true that even genius of the highest order can give perpetuity or permanence to the book in which it is expressed. Does the general student of chemistry read Lavoisier? Is De Candolle the standard authority in botany? Adam Smith is not oracular in political economy. Will the *Règne Animal* of Cuvier in fifty years be the best and truest expression of natural history? Is Davy's *Agricultural Chemistry* the leading text?

If this be true, then, of the greatest, how much more so is it of the less great—of those which are good and admirable, but not transcendent. It would, therefore, lead us into a grand critical error, and would produce bad practical results, if we admitted that all good books are proportionately permanent, or that all permanent books are proportionately good. Excellent works will

be superseded by the constant researches and judgments even of authors less intrinsically excellent. Good authors will be left standing in the public niches of their first fame, merely because they have been the last of their kind or of their era. Genius of the highest kind tends to create an endurance for its labours; but nature, richer, wider, deeper than genius, dooms genius itself to oblivion, by the infinity of its phenomena, the infinite depth of its powers, and the infinite unity of its central, unattainable truth.

IV. The Fourth proposition—That Theological Professors are the causes of heresy and scepticism—is maintained through an elaborate argument, and many examples offered, to show that Theological Professors in Germany have taught and produced a rationalistic theology.

A moment's consideration hereafter will be sufficient to make it clear that this elaborate treatment of such a point is thoroughly beside the purpose. And for this reason it is needless to enter into the causes and history of the rationalistic theology. But I am tempted to say that the professorial system is here again introduced for the first time, by one who long ago entered with great earnestness into an account of the sources and progress of rationalism.

The first of these causes was *then* represented to be—that scholastic and traditional orthodoxy which, taking its origin from ancient times, lived on after the Reformation, without either history, or philology, or Scriptural knowledge to sustain it; and which, after a long and weary domination of more than a century, provoked pietism into existence, and sowed the seeds

of every evil which after-changes actually reared into the light.*

The second and not less capital enemy of Christianity in Germany, was *then* pictured to be deistic, and infidel, and collegiate England; where, although there were no Professors, 'yet the attack upon Christianity had been carried on more systematically than in 'any other country.'† Toland, Hobbes, Collins, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and Tindal and Morgan, writers, but not Professors—English, not German—translated into the German tongue,—were *then* supposed to have conspired as causes, with the defects in the Christian ministry of German pastors, with the moral and social wickedness of the age, and with the French levity of Frederick II., to convert an intellectual activity, which would have been beneficial under other circumstances, into a partial mischief;‡ to overwhelm or lower the truths of revelation; to make a sentimental benevolence the all in all of religion and morals.§ Professors *then* seemed to have done not so much evil as good. The Professors of Halle were depicted as rescuing the life of practical Christianity, and restoring for a brief season the blessings of a biblical knowledge.|| The Professors who drove Wolf into exile, did it for the sake of religion: the Professors who afterwards adopted and disseminated the Wolfian philosophy were *then* portrayed as intending to sustain Christian truth, when the old Aristotelic orthodoxy was at its last gasp, and pietism had become ignorance and offensive sing-

* Pusey's *Historical Inquiry*.

† *Ibid.* p. 124, &c.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 121—3.

§ *Ib.* p. 129.

|| *Ib.* p. 86;—he refers specially to Francke, Anton, Breithaupt, pp. 90, 92, 93.

song.* The transcendental Professors, by demolishing the low popular philosophy to which England had given birth in earnest error, and which France soon cultivated in a spirit of satire and corrupt mockery, were *then* thought to have at least shown, on its promulgation, the necessity of faith, and to have assisted directly to restore the sway of those fundamental truths of conscience which the mere understanding could never demonstrate.†

Even the activity of German theological professors was then hailed as a new era in theology.‡ But on this I forbear to dwell; for it is remarkable that the only part of the Professoriate which the Commission has not re-modelled, nor in any degree altered, is the Theological Professoriate: it remains, and is to remain in all important respects exactly what it has been. What has been its nature, its spirit, and its effects, that (so far as any university scheme of reform hitherto propounded can affect it) will be its nature, spirit, and effects. The only change proposed by the Commission is proposed also by the Hebdomadal Board. If good, it will be good still; if mischievous, it may be mis-

* Pusey's *Historical Inquiry*, pp. 114, 116, 118.

† Ibid. p. 164.

‡ Dr. Pusey thus closed his account of the system. 'Much that appears to be dangerous in a system which has not been in all its parts deeply examined, is found in a more advanced stage to be useful or necessary; the wind which might be fatal within a narrow channel, serves only to bear onward more prosperously on its way the vessel which has taken a freer and bolder course. Without venturing to define the causes, or name the instruments of this great renovation, the gains of this long and perilous career are in part obvious.'—Ibid. p. 175. 'There is a rich promise that the already commenced blending of belief and science will be perfected beyond even the degree to which it was realized in some of the noblest instruments of the earlier reformation.'—Ibid. p. 176.

chievous still. If Theological Professors are essentially mischievous by their rivalries, they have been rivals in Oxford as much as they will be hereafter. The Regius Professor of Hebrew may write as he hitherto may have written, to prove that his brother Regius Professor of Theology is deficient in learning, inferior in abilities, and unscientific in method.* The Regius Professor of Theology may, by the statutes of the University, aid to stamp the brand of heresy on the Regius Professor of Hebrew, and condemn his lips to silence, without any cause shown. If 'Orientalists are bad Christians,' † let the Laudian and Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, and the Regius Professor of Hebrew, meet and settle which has been the good Christian, and which the good Orientalist: and let them agree upon a reform in accordance with their decision;—for the Commission has not proposed any such, nor hinted any such. If, on the other hand, all has hitherto gone well, all may go well in future.

It is not projected by the Commissioners to create new Theological Professors, nor to assign to Theological Professors any influence hitherto belonging to Theolo-

* Dr. Pusey says in plain terms that 'convocation would have unquestionably chosen a man with higher talents and more scientific knowledge, as a professor of divinity, than the prime minister did, (in the case of Dr. Hampden,) *Evid.* p. 117. I am well aware that those who have been supposed to think like Dr. Pusey, have commonly professed to estimate at a very humble rate, the talents and knowledge of their adversary. But I was young in the University when Dr. Hampden was appointed; and whatever the appointment may have turned out in many points of view, I can venture to say that the common fame of the University would not then have spoken louder in praise of the talent of any man in Oxford, than of Dr. Hampden.

† Dr. Pusey's *Evidence*, p. 31.

gical Tutors. If, according to the statements of Dr. Pusey, the Crown of England appointed 'solid' Professors of Theology in England, at the very time when it was appointing shallow and dangerous Theological Professors in its German States, this of itself, perhaps, tends to show, that appointments by the Crown in England will not be perilous merely because they are perilous in Germany; nor the theological teaching of Professors be deemed shallow here, merely because it is supposed to have been so there. But if, on the other hand, the past offers no reasonable security for the future, such an objection tends only to counsel the suppression of the professorships of Theology, Exegesis, Hebrew, and possibly Arabic. If Professorships in Theology must produce 'sciolism, instead of religion,'* act upon the principle in good earnest. Destroy those six or seven institutions—most of them admirably endowed—and apply the proceeds to the support of those secular Professorships, which have not been shown by argument or example to have produced such dangerous consequences; and remember, that it was not any witness before Her Majesty's Commission, but the evidence given to, and adopted by, the Hebdomadal Board which did this thing. So far as the recommendations of the Commission are concerned, all that evidence, and all the history of the German Professoriate, from Herder to Ewald, should be rejected by any careful reader, although calculated to raise a prejudice and a fear in those unacquainted with, or inattentive to, the point at issue. Herder, indeed, was listened to in his lifetime, 'as though an angel were

* *Report of Hebdom. Committee*, p. 60.

speaking.' Over him, when dead, his countrymen engraved three words, as the true symbols of his character, 'Light, Life, and Love.' Dr. Pusey has added a fourth, 'Unbeliever,' or 'Misbeliever,'—if truly, it is a grave truth, full of materials for thought; but whether truth or error, it seems useless here.

For the same reason it would be needless to inquire whether the Theological Professoriate will 'aggravate'* theological controversy. But I cannot forbear from observing upon the imperfect manner in which history is made use of in order to convince us of the fact. It is true, indeed, that the German Universities were much absorbed into controversy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But Professors were not the cause of this. That lay in the combination of other general facts, the influence of which pervaded all Christian society before their time and after it. The first of these was that refusal or omission to distinguish duly between essential and non-essential points of belief, which characterized the Church before the Reformation, and both Romanists and Lutherans afterwards, and which now raised a legion of vital questions, all equal in imputed importance, and all therefore a ground of anxious and earnest debate.† The second fact was the traditional method of handling the whole subject of divinity, and the instrument by which it was treated: both older than Professors; both fraught with temptations for disputes in their very nature endless.‡ A candidate for theology studied

* *Evidence*, p. 38.

† Pusey's *Historical Inquiry*, p. 12.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 33, 34, 35, 36.

Aristotle two years; dogmatic theology one year; the schoolmen three years; polemics four years!—and this all at a time when the political, social, and religious world was torn with divisions!* Melancthon looked forward to death with joy—that he might escape the ‘rage of theologians.’† Theological education, which neglected history, grammar, language, and morals, consisted of positive theology—i.e. doctrines—and, next to this in importance, of polemics.‡ The pulpits were quite as full of this spirit as the professorial chairs. Homilies and sermons were mere dry, tasteless, and sometimes senseless, dialectic schemes.§ Dr. Pusey has himself formerly quoted a maxim of the age which he has been neither the first nor the last to bring to mind: *A contentioso Theologo (not Professore) libera nos, bone Deus.*|| The state of the German universities, in which controversy is said to have absorbed all professorial teaching, was not the effect of professorial tendencies but of the religious dialectics, the religious dogmatism, and the politico-religious excitement of the whole German empire. This extended itself, indeed, to the seats of learning, in which Articles were imposed upon the Professors, who were regarded as the champions of their political and religious party—Articles which were supposed by many to have so much hindered the advance of knowledge and the general interests of education, as to have prevented the ripening of those fruits which had been promised by the so-called revival of learning at the close of the fourteenth century. In such an age, when all things were made

* Pusey's *Historical Inquiry*, p. 47, 48.

† Ibid. p. 12.

‡ Ibid. p. 32, 39, and 47.

§ Ibid. p. 43—49.

|| Ibid. p. 12.

organs of controversy, the Professors must have been so too; but the spirit of our times is not controversial; and whatever Professors intrinsically are, the Commission has not proposed to add to the endowments of Theological Professorships in Oxford, or to give them additional importance.

The Professorship of Modern History, indeed, is placed in the same relation to controversial theology by Dr. Pusey—I think without reason. The past history of the Professorship does not warrant such a fear.* There are a hundred topics of interest in the history of modern nations, beside the progress of their theological and religious divisions. Even when he passes out of these into religious feuds, a mind habituated to embrace all, is not likely to carry into the recital, the criticisms, or the philosophy of history, that combative temper which engages long, eagerly, and partially in the disputes of theological disputants and religious factions. By a comprehensive sympathy with the good intentions and pure aims of all, where they exist, by a temperate estimate of actions and a cautious acceptance of pretended motives, he is likely to mediate between them as political agents, and reconcile rather than sever and exasperate. ‘Without ‘ignoring religion altogether,’† his treatment of purely theological questions is likely to be occasional and ancillary. But we need not promise that controversy shall cease. The hope—the rational hope—has been felt, that with able men in all departments, to awaken interest in all branches—with an intellectual career opened to every kind of intellectual habit and

* See Appendix D.

† Dr. Pusey's *Evid.*, p. 39.

faculty, and offering to employ all minds, the young will not be tempted to enter prematurely into religious disputes, nor the old be steeped in religious controversy, as the only vital occupation of the intellect at Oxford.* It has been thought, I believe temperately and with truth, that an expansion of the studies and a development of the professorial system will tend to prevent the University from being 'absorbed' in religious controversy. The 'absorption' was the evil for which such a remedy is suggested, and not merely the 'controversy.'

V. The last point made in the Evidence, and adopted by the Hebdomadal Report, is akin to this—namely, that Professors are the causes of immorality in the Universities to which they are attached. We have abundance of theories about the Professorial system, say both; we have no proof of its having produced any but evil fruits. After a full exhibition 'of the results in Germany (and not in Germany alone) of abandoning the discipline of Halls and Colleges, and substituting for it such discipline as the Commissioners propose,' the Hebdomadal Report concludes by expressing the wish 'that the system of the Commissioners may be one which the University will never know.' It is assumed here, as in the pages of the Evidence, that the relaxation of discipline, the corruption of morals, and the development of Professorial teaching, are necessary parts of the same system; that 'the want of discipline and religious training was a natural part

* *Report of Commission*, p. 94.

‘of the Professorial system.’ The writer has indeed devoted much historical learning to show it.*

In itself, indeed, it does appear a strange proposition to assert, that wherever Professors are well endowed, and constantly lecture and work, there must flourish also immorality and vice. The evidence of this singular statement we naturally look for with interest, and common sense would direct us to two kinds of proof in support of it.

The first of these, and the most trustworthy, is the reason of the thing, drawn from the peculiar and necessary circumstances of the case—as it must be realised at Oxford. Of such evidence we have none.

The second method of establishing the point, or of even raising a rational fear of it, would be that of appealing to the effects of Professorial teaching and lectures in other Universities of the land, such as Edinburgh and the High Schools of Scotland. Nor would it be entirely out of place to have referred to the state of morals in German Universities at the present time, although in adducing such examples it would still be necessary to discriminate between the necessary effects of Professorial lecturing in itself, and those which really owe their origin to other peculiar circumstances in the academical, social, political condition of the German people. Such examples, however, are entirely overlooked. Nothing is said of Scotland, though

* ‘The training of our youth to intellectual, moral, and religious formation of their minds—their future well-being in this world and the world to come, are not matters on which ‘to try experiments.’—*Hebdomadal Report*, p. 65, quoting Dr. Pusey :—‘The want of discipline and religious training was a natural part of the Professorial system.’—*Ibid.*, p. 63.

a vast mass of evidence is at hand for reference and proof.* Nothing is said of the present state of practical morality in the German Universities. These natural sources of information are passed by, and we are carried back into remote centuries of modern history, where the differences between our condition and the condition of the Universities referred to are multiplied a hundred-fold by distance of time and variety of civilisation.

Even a fallacious test, however, may be vitiated still more by omission or mistake; and it is not beside the purpose, therefore, calmly to look into that imposing mass of historical evidence by which the Professorial system has been made still more odious in the eyes of the Hebdomadal Committee.

We are told by Dr. Pusey:—that the Collegiate system was originally introduced to protect the morals and property of the student, and that it effected this purpose both in France and Germany till the sixteenth century:—that a new system was substituted for it in the latter country:—that the youth who had been well protected within the walls of Colleges or Collegiate institutions were placed under the care of Private Tutors and Professors:—that of these Professors and Private Tutors many in the seventeenth century spent their days and nights in taverns, and allowed the youth entrusted to them to live in the same way; while others, in their devotion to the quest of knowledge, forgot their general obligations of a moral kind to the young, and at the same time charged them so

* See the full and laborious *Reports of H. M. Commissioners on the Universities of Scotland.*

enormously for board and lodging, that the grievance was intolerable:—that, meanwhile, as the Colleges and Halls were by this revolution blotted out, the youth in coming to the University had no masters to guide them, and therefore their resort to their elder countrymen for guidance and protection produced tyranny, national leagues, and tumults down to a late period in the history of the land:—that thus, it was the Professors who destroyed the Colleges and Halls, and broke down all the salutary discipline which those institutions secured.*

Such is the historical narrative of Dr. Pusey, when it is thrown into connected order and briefly summed up.

But I must take leave to supply some particulars which are here omitted, and also to correct some statements which are here made. So early as the fourteenth century, *Colleges had been called into existence indirectly* by the great public lecturers of the middle age. The genius of men such as Irnerius and Abelard summoned all the youth of Europe to listen, in the great corrupt capitals of France and the South. This sudden influx of students by thousands, in such a condition of private property as then prevailed, raised the price of lodgings enormously, and the poorer students were driven to hard straits by the competition of the rich. To remedy this evil, and to preserve the simple and the young from the coarser temptations of the capitals, benevolent men built Colleges for the reception of the indigent students, where they might find lodgings without expense, and tutors who could

* *Evid.* pp. 42—61, 69—71.

overlook their moral condition. These institutions, for a short season, and with a circumscribed operation, answered their purpose. They were, however, very commonly corrupted by the Heads and Tutors within a few years from their first institution. Those who were appointed Tutors and Teachers purchased their posts, and received no salaries, but drew their profits out of the property of the Colleges and the slender means of students. Trades were set up and practised, within college walls, and by the Tutors themselves. The Heads of Houses conspired with each other against the student, by meeting together and fixing extravagant prices for the food, and lodging, and instruction which were given. Having done this, they counterplotted each other by going round through the streets, and haunting low inns and alehouses, in which they cajoled the strange, idle, and unwary students to take up their abodes within their College walls. With their chambers, and their tables, and their lecture-rooms thus filled, they feared to scare these Commoners away again by discipline of any kind. They charged enormously for foul, insufficient nourishment. The instruction was of the most perfunctory kind. It consisted merely in dictation of the text of authors; and the teachers often handed over their manuscripts to some student, who read them aloud to his fellows. The Tutors, being Masters in the University, conducted the examinations with scandalous partiality—plucking the men of other Colleges without reason, and grossly favouring their own men.* Their inmates carried arms about the town, slept out at night, and committed such atrocities,

* Meiners, vol. i. p. 135, 140.

that the University was compelled to interfere often with the interior discipline of the Houses, and passed laws forbidding the use of arms, and requiring the Heads to visit the chambers of the students every evening, and to flog the absentees. Throughout the fifteenth century, statutes were often made under the authority of the University, the Church, and the State against these abuses. Commonly they failed.*

* In the year 1421, the Colleges were visited and laws were made prohibiting the evil practices which prevailed in them. By one of them it was expressly enacted that all who pursued and practised trades in the Colleges, whether Tutors or Students, should be expelled. No less than six Colleges were then found to have been brought to the very verge of destruction, by dilapidation, or neglect of discipline.^a In 1451, new laws were given to the Faculties of Arts, many of which affected the internal discipline of the Colleges. The Ruler of the University and four Proctors were empowered to dismiss from the Colleges any Tutors whose character was notoriously bad; and lest the Houses should, in spite of these orders, retain them in their posts, it was provided that degrees should be refused by the University to any pupils remaining under their care after such act of expulsion. At the same time, a general power was conferred on the Rector of the University and the Faculties to visit the Colleges periodically, and inquire into the morals and industry both of the Tutors, teachers, and scholars. Fresh laws were enacted, specifically prohibiting most of the evil practices which I have mentioned above.^b In 1472, this legislation was found to have been insufficient, and severer orders and new regulations were made; and before the century ended, that is, in 1487, the attempt at reform was again renewed.^c Many of the Colleges thus gradually wrought their own destruction, others maintained their existence, to which the long wars of the fifteenth century in part contributed: for the College walls furnished shelter and security to the persons of students who at such a time would have been both annoyed and demoralised, and every way endangered, in the streets and houses of the citizens. In all cases, the Colleges were deemed fit receptacles for young

^a Meiners, i. p. 136. Statutes of Reformation were imposed by the French 'nations' on the Colleges.

^b Ibid. p. 138. By Cardinal de Touthville. All laws had proved useless, and been defeated by the Colleges.

^c Four out of six Colleges, which had been re-established in 1421, had disappeared in the seventeenth century. Ibid.

The College of Navarre itself, which furnished a bright exception in many ways, and stimulated or countenanced others to a similar condition by its example, tended apparently to the same corruptions, but was saved by the powers and activity of the Crown of France, which issued its first orders, checking malpractices and laying down fresh and needful laws for this College, within seventeen years after its first foundation.*

In Germany, the Collegiate institution took two separate forms—those of Colleges and Bursæ. The first were provided solely for poor scholars on the foundation. The second more nearly resembled modern Colleges, in so far as, from their first foundation, they consisted of Commoners, admitted into rooms, and provided in the course of time both with food and instruc-

students chiefly or solely—that is, the students in Arts, who were generally under sixteen years of age; and therefore the absorption of the University into Colleges was attended commonly by the departure of the older scholars in the sciences of Law and Medicine. Where, on the other hand, as in Italy, the College system failed early and altogether, these pursuits of more advanced years flourished effectually.

* The College of Navarre eventually flourished both in discipline and studies, and admitted and favoured the introduction of the classical literature on the so-called revival of learning, and was an example to other institutions. It had been founded in the year 1304 by Jeanne, Queen of France; and so early as 1321 Royal Orders were issued to check malpractices, and to prevent their recurrence by positive laws. These and the general reforms instituted throughout the University, to which I have already alluded, answered their purpose till the commencement of the fifteenth century, when they began to lose their effect; and the institution again declined in the observance of statutes and the maintenance of discipline till the year 1458, when it was again formally visited by the Crown, and new laws were introduced and old laws were enforced. An order was made by the Government, i. e., the Monarch, in the sixteenth century, that all students (*over whom the University Officers had no authority*) should go into Colleges.

tion within the establishments. These institutions proved very unfavourable to the morality of the young. They obtained privileges and advantage in the sale of foreign wines, which led them to become in some respects mere taverns. Their officers encouraged the students to overdrink themselves. They canvassed in a degrading manner for Commoners. They interfered, not only indirectly, but directly, with the discipline of the Universities; for whensoever an offence was committed by a student of their own, they interfered actively to shelter and conceal him from the authorities of the University. They did not venture to punish delinquents themselves, lest they should lose them. They either merely repeated the public lectures, or gave no instruction at all. The Heads of Houses not only neglected, but encouraged by their own example their pupils to all evil. Some few devoted themselves to their own private studies, that they might obtain higher degrees.* Those evils quoted by Dr. Pusey as incident to the sixteenth century and Professorial influence, were occasioned mainly by the Colleges and Halls. By the University Statutes† at Ingoldstadt, it was enacted that University officers should, either every half-year or every year, summon before them the Heads of Houses, and ascertain the condition as to morals and industry, both of the masters and pupils, and should warn, punish, or remove them accordingly. The Heads were by the same provisions commanded

* Meiners, vol. i. p. 151—163. The evils depicted here are proved by the laws which mention them, and provide against them; and such laws are needlessly corroborated by other evidence.

† A.D. 1562.

to repeat to their students regularly the lectures of the Professors.

Under such a state of things—when the degrees were becoming contemptible by the favour or the levity with which they were conferred—when the instruction had lost its vitality, and the Heads and Tutors had forfeited all respect—when most of the vices known to society were finding, or had found, their way within the walls of Collegiate Houses, and some deplorable enormities had taken their origin there—appeared the apostles of the new learning. Their effect was instantaneous. The students rushed to them. In vain did the Colleges disfavour these pursuits. The students, rather than abandon such teachers, abandoned the College walls, took no degrees in the old schools, but prosecuted their studies without graduation. The authorities were obliged now to offer salaries to the most celebrated Lecturers, who were found to be the real support of their seats of learning, and who, probably, could empty any University which they quitted. A great impulse was thus given to study, because not only were the Classics read in a spirit hitherto unknown, but the vigorous cultivation of them is said to have re-acted upon other branches of learning. As might have been expected under such circumstances, this revolution in Universities unprepared for it, and possessing no command over the police, effected no favourable change in the discipline which had existed. The students wandered about; the younger mixed with the elder, and the elder were often of a very bad description. Chief amongst the corruptors of youth were the beneficed and Cathedral Clergy, who now, at an advanced age, frequented the Universities for the sake,

or on the pretence, of instruction. They thronged the streets; they seduced and corrupted the young by their example, even to their perishing both in fortune, in body, and in soul.* In this condition of things, and chiefly, if not solely, on account of this class of dangerous profligates, the authorities attempted to remedy the evil by requiring all under a certain age (sixteen or seventeen years) to take some private Tutor; and as the inhabitants of the town already let lodgings, the Professors were also solicited by the University to do the same. The private Tutors, however, neglected their pupils, as inspectors of morals, and even set them a bad example; or devoted themselves to their studies, and forgot their pupils. The Professors, too, appointed to give board or lodging, were too much occupied with learned and intellectual pursuits to assume any character but that of mere hosts.† Their superior dignity only conferred upon their lodgers, probably of the higher rank, invidious privileges. These things went on, and the College system gradually died out. The religious troubles and disputes, meanwhile, forced upon the Professors, with great jealousy, Articles of Religion, and thus, in many ways, checked and hindered the progress of thought and knowledge.

The Thirty Years' War now soon commenced; the whole country was overrun with armies, and the towns were occupied or besieged. When they approached, the Students fled, the Professors fled; and those who remained were robbed, cowed, or corrupted by the

* Meiners, vol. iv., p. 85, quoting *Annal. Ingoldst.* iv., 296—309.

† Meiners, vol. i. p. 167—185.

soldiers who now filled the cities. The most illiterate men were forced into the vacant Professorships; men who, when they lectured, not only were obliged to borrow the substance and words of the lectures, but boggled and stammered in the very reading of them. No Professorial salaries were paid; and the degenerate and intruded Professors were obliged to eke out their livelihood entirely by the profits derived from their boarders.* This sad state of things was, however, anomalous and temporary. The Universities, when the occasion of evil was removed, are said to have recovered themselves wonderfully, although their discipline, from various and public causes, remained long afterwards liable to disturbances of a tumultuous or political kind.†

If distant times, therefore, and foreign countries, are to be appealed to for warning against the moral and social effect of Professorial lectures, they will teach another lesson at the same time, more severe, direct, and applicable, against Colleges, Heads, Tutors, and Clergy. If they are not to be admitted against the one, they should not be quoted against the other.

Neither do we live in danger of evils resulting from the gathering of foreign nations, not subjects of the English Crown, in the streets of Oxford.‡ National clubs, secret societies, and tumults are little to be feared

* Meiners, p. 244.

† Meiners expressly says, that in the eighteenth century the German Universities were *acknowledged* to be superior to any other in Europe, and the Protestant German to the Catholic German.

‡ Dr. Pusey's *Evid.* p. 41.

in a city, whose police is managed by the University, whose students are all the Queen's subjects, who live in the very midst of free and popular institutions,—in a land never visited by war, and a society not pestered by brawls, nor duels, nor disturbances. And if these things have been found in other Universities down to a late period, the very author, whose industry and judgment have collected and recorded them, has left us little reason to triumph in the contrast and advantages afforded by a Collegiate system. After a long and patient review of evils which it would be tedious to quote, he thus concludes: 'If the nature of the English
' was not endowed so richly, both in intellect and feeling,
' the two Universities would have shed over the noblest
' portion of the people disgraceful ignorance and pro-
' fligacy.*' 'What so many kings of England did, a
' monarch of Great Britain might do now. And the
' king under whose reign circumstances permit a
' thorough reform of the Universities to be undertaken
' and completed, will deserve more at the hands of
' the whole people, than he could by the extension of
' its empire through the most splendid victories.†

The Regius Professor of Hebrew may, indeed, have heard a pious man in a long prayer call the Professorial Universities 'murderers of souls.' But that Preacher is not the first pious man who has made

* It is remarkable that Meiners proposes to reform the English Universities by making the College estates a common fund for the handsome support of Professors, their widows, and orphans, and for the foundation of Scholarships. Vol. i. p. 282. For his long account of Oxford, see lib. i. p. 259. He claims to have made a careful and critical use of his materials. He could have no party objects in view.

† Ibid. p. 262.

long prayers, and used hard words in them. A famous predecessor of the Regius Professor of Hebrew, Benjamin Kennicot, has recorded that he heard a pious preacher, before the University of Oxford, liken Collegiate Oxford to the city of 'Sodom.'*

If the Germans have their accusing Krummacher, we have our accusing John Wesley.

Turning, therefore, from the testimonies of pious indignation to the more secular and less exacting, but not less impartial, judgment of Commissioners and Historians, how stands the balance between Professorial and Collegiate Universities. I do not observe throughout the thousand pages of the Report on Professorial Edinburgh, a word of complaint on the part of any Commissioner or witness. But the testimony given to the Oxford Commissioners is by no means so favourable. 'I have resided,' says one witness, and he a Tutor, 'long in Oxford—for the last twenty-two years—and I have some experience. I wish I could say the discipline of Oxford had much capacity for becoming worse.' 'Without exaggerating,' says another witness, also a Tutor, 'the turpitude of fornication, every one who is aware of the amount of moral and intellectual prostration traceable to it here must wish,' &c. &c.

Are these opinions to be attributed to the keen but disturbed vision of men anxious to remedy mischief, and therefore over-sensitive in the perception of it? The most recent Historian of the Universities, bringing very sober hopes, if not very moderate wishes, for a reformation, and well acquainted with

* In a letter still extant.

the habits of students in Germany, has thus expressed himself:—‘ Any comparison with other Universities, ‘ such as those of Germany, which are looked upon ‘ as scenes of the most unbridled folly and coarse ‘ licentiousness, would be regarded by persons of this ‘ opinion (in alluding to a particular school of opinion) ‘ as highly insulting to these sanctuaries of piety and ‘ morality. But unless we suppose that in this [view] ‘ much habitual self-deception, and much ignorance or ‘ forgetfulness, are mixed up, we cannot acquit them ‘ of what, in our language, could scarcely be called ‘ anything but the most disgusting hypocrisy. As it ‘ is, however, this mixture of hypocrisy and self- ‘ deception, of not seeing and not choosing to see, &c.

‘ In truth, the facts which concern the moral state ‘ of the English Universities are so notorious, that we ‘ cannot but fancy that these University panegyrists ‘ must meet each other in their confidential moments, ‘ with the like inability to preserve their gravity as ‘ the Roman Augurs of old.

‘ The real moral difference between the English ‘ and the German Universities is not worth talking of. ‘ The *kind* of excess is not the same; but the *real* ‘ system is in fact the same in both countries.’*

These words are penned by an author whom common reputation has characterized as leaning with a constant bias in general to the English institutions, and they have now been written for some years. But I learn, from the most recent and authentic information, that the morality of students in the German Universities, on those points particularly on which the

* Huber's *English Universities*, vol. ii. p. 313.

strongest fears are entertained, may be rated as considerably higher than that which prevails on the average in our own Colleges. Sexual immorality is not common amongst the students of any class—amongst the theological students almost unknown.* This advantage it would, indeed, be easy to overrate, if it were counterbalanced by any habits of gross selfishness, fraud, falsehood, prostrate indolence, or any other faults of an ungenerous nature. But in its freedom from these, the German character has become almost proverbial. And it is therefore doubly encouraging to observe, that as general morality is now often a fundamental condition of membership in many of the Burschenschaften and other student-clubs; so those very societies which in past and more troubled times encouraged the ruder virtues, together with the evils of a turbulent sociality, now take on the character of a better, more moral, and refined age, and so often become mild but potent obligations to the prudence, the principle, and the purity, which the social life of a country acknowledges for law.

The true moral to be gathered from the Past and the Present of all Universities, German and English, is this,—It is not easy, by mechanical artifices, by the rigour of statutes, exclusive studies, and a jealous and timid system of instruction, to raise the Students of

* My information is derived from two gentlemen unacquainted with each other, one English, the other German (but well connected in England), both of whom were educated in German Universities. Their statements are positive, and on the material point entirely coincide with each other. One-half of the students at Jena belong to clubs in which morality (*Sittlichkeit*) is a condition of membership—strictly required and effectually maintained.

Universities above the moral condition of the age or society in which they live; and it is not difficult, through causes incidental to these intended safeguards, to depress them below the general level of intellectual cultivation in Europe.

I have thus consented not only to regard the prospects of the Professoriate in a moral point of view from its mere historical side, but for the moment to admit a confusion of two very distinct provisions—the one affecting professorial endowments and lectures, and the other concerning University as distinct from Collegiate lodging-houses. Although it seems unreasonable to confound questions so distinct that our affirmation or approval of the one does not by a remote implication necessarily involve, favour, or encourage the other, yet I have practically forborne to object against this confusion, because the historical evidence, fairly reviewed as a whole, condemns neither, save in so far as it condemns Colleges, Halls, and Tutors in the same breath and by the same reasoning. But in point of fact, the actual circumstances of the case, as we can discern their bearing upon the Present, are better elements for a judgment than any review of the Past, however cautious and critical. Professorships are not advocated as *the* peculiar and special means for preserving innocence, integrity, and peace; but they contribute a power and tendency to such ends. If the professorial system, including the intellectual labours and the academical teaching of Professors, will be an incentive to industry—if it tend to the cultivation of great and noble sciences, to the knowledge of grand and wise authors, to the understanding of a marvellous and boundless world, and to the appreciation of all

social and moral laws,—it tends also to displace base sensual pleasures, frivolous, expensive occupations, false tastes, strenuous trifling, ignorant judgments, foolish words, and that mere idleness which is ever the prelude to active evil. If this, in its direction at least, be not a high moral tendency, my conception of morals and moral instruments must be moulded anew.

APPENDIX.

(A.)

ON THE SCHOLARSHIP OF GERMANY.

By JOHN CONINGTON, M.A., Fellow of University College, Oxford.

IT is not a little singular that a writer dealing elaborately with the intellectual results of Professorial education in Germany, should have said next to nothing on the subject of classical philology, more especially as it is one which has always entered largely into Oxford studies, and one, too, which is put forward with more or less prominence by the advocates of a revived Professoriate. Yet, with the exception of a paragraph (39) on Oxford Greek Professors, and another (46) on the Homeric controversy, it is difficult to find any recognition of this element of the question throughout the compass of Dr. Pusey's voluminous evidence. No one would suppose, from reading what he has said, that almost all the important contributions to the knowledge of classical literature which have been made of late years are due to those who have studied under a Professorial system at the German or other foreign Universities. Even the apparent exceptions mostly tend to prove the rule. Colonel Mure, to whom Dr. Pusey points as the 'English officer' who has 'dissipated the theories about the genuineness of Homer,' was himself a student at a German University, and was led by the advice of the Professors there to devote himself to the preparation of the work with which he has enriched English scholarship. Dr. Arnold, as every reader of his writings knows, was avowedly a follower of Niebuhr as a historian, his confidence in whom was only strengthened by the researches of years. The very great superiority of knowledge which distinguishes the works of Bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote from that of Mr.

‘ Mitford is attributed by Mr. Grote himself (Hist. vol. i. p. 6
 ‘ of Pref.) to the fact that, during the present generation,
 ‘ ‘ philological studies have been prosecuted in Germany with
 ‘ remarkable success.’ The Oxford Lexicon of Messrs. Liddell
 ‘ and Scott announces itself in its title to be ‘ based on the
 ‘ German work of Francis Passow:’ and the obligations
 ‘ acknowledged in the preface are principally to German
 ‘ scholars. This list, it must be remembered, comprises most
 ‘ if not all of the great classical works of which England has
 ‘ recently had to boast, and so furnishes a significant testimony
 ‘ to the value set on German scholarship by those to whom
 ‘ Englishmen would most readily appeal.

‘ It is worth while, however, to go a little more into detail,
 ‘ so as to exhibit more completely the extent to which classical
 ‘ philology is indebted to foreign critics. No more striking
 ‘ proof of this can be given than the Homeric controversy
 ‘ itself. Even if Colonel Mure is to be considered as having
 ‘ actually terminated it, which no one acquainted with the
 ‘ subject would deliberately pronounce, most important as his
 ‘ work is as a *contribution* towards such a settlement, the value
 ‘ of German investigation still remains. He himself acknow-
 ‘ ledges this explicitly, in words which deserve quoting:—‘ In
 ‘ spite of these aberrations of taste or judgment on the part of
 ‘ his disciples, it cannot be denied that Wolf conferred a real
 ‘ benefit on classical science by opening up the field of rational
 ‘ scepticism which has inherited his name. The popular view
 ‘ of the history of the poems demanded, no doubt, in the
 ‘ absence of all authentic notice of their author, a more search-
 ‘ ing scrutiny than it had yet undergone. The composition of
 ‘ two works of so elaborate a structure in the semi-barbarous
 ‘ period from which they were held to emanate, was in itself a
 ‘ striking phenomenon. While the mode or extent of their
 ‘ committal to writing at the same early period was involved in
 ‘ much obscurity, their preservation in so perfect a state, un-
 ‘ written, appeared little less than a miracle. Nor could it be
 ‘ overlooked that, amid a general unity, their text offered dis-
 ‘ crepancies of detail which, though certainly not greater than

'can be detected in similar works of civilized epochs, held out
'legitimate handle for speculation. The full discussion to
'which these various points have, during the last fifty years,
'been subjected, in themselves and in their bearings on others
'of collateral interest in Greek philology, if not productive of
'any conclusive settlement of the main question, has certainly
'proved of infinite benefit to the general cause of classical
'criticism.' (vol. i. p. 201.) Thus, according to one who, on
'Dr. Pusey's own showing, is most competent to judge, this
'controversy cannot be justly characterized as 'a waste of time
'and labour.' It is, indeed, a grave error to suppose that
'such criticism as Wolf's or Heyne's is purely destructive,
'however it may be represented in the 'playful' language of
'lay' periodical writers, who can hardly have expected that
'their pointed and summary judgments would be taken as
'materials for framing a serious charge against a whole system
'of education. The critic is led to his theory by certain indi-
'cations which have escaped ordinary observers; and in pre-
'senting it to the world he is sure to support it with new facts,
'which thenceforth take their rank among the recognised data
'for determining the question, so that solid knowledge has
'been really advanced, even if the theory itself should hereafter
'appear to be baseless. Those whom we have chiefly to thank
'for instances of this kind of research are professors and their
'pupils.

'If we turn to editions of classical authors, the result is the
'same. The books of most authority are those which have been
'produced, directly or indirectly, by professorial training. For
'Homer, besides Heyne, we have Spitzner on the *Iliad* and
'Nitzsch on the *Odyssey*, not to mention Buttmann's invaluable
'*Lexilogus*; the only English editor of repute being Payne
'Knight, a critic of the stamp which Dr. Pusey would most
'deprecate. For Hesiod, Götting is most esteemed; while
'the best collection of his fragments (to quote Colonel Mure)
'is that appended to the compilation by Marckscheffel—a
'work containing a large mass both of valuable information
'and of sound criticism on the various subjects of which it

‘treats.’ So ‘the most complete repertory of the fragmentary
‘remains of [Greek] epic literature is that of Düntzer;’ and
‘though other compilers are named as necessary to be con-
‘sulted on special departments, all are Germans with the ex-
‘ception of Mr. Clinton. The list of editions of the lyric
‘writers is equally significant. We are told that ‘the compila-
‘tions of Gaisford, Schneidewin, and Bergk, with the separate
‘publications of Welcker, Liebel, Kleine, Matthiæ, Neue, and
‘Bach, devoted to the remains of Aleman, Archilochus, Stesi-
‘chorus, Alcæus, Sappho, and other authors of this period,
‘leave probably little to desire or hope short of the discovery
‘of the entire compositions of these illustrious poets.’ For
‘Pindar, those that have done most are Boeckh, Dissen,
‘and Hermann, as is acknowledged by Dr. Donaldson, who
‘himself professes merely to supply a convenient and scholar-
‘like edition for the use of students. For the remains of the
‘early Greek philosophers, we have to trust to Schaubach,
‘Sturz, Bernays, and other continental scholars. On Hero-
‘dotus, Dr. Gaisford’s labours only extend to the text, which
‘is still rather unsettled, especially with respect to orthography:
‘for a commentary we must have recourse to Bähr. Arnold’s
‘Thucydides is one of the most enduring monuments of
‘English good sense, judgment, and historical and geographical
‘knowledge: but for philological exegesis of the text, it will not
‘enable us to dispense with Göller and Poppo. Bishop
‘Blomfield, the principal English editor of Æschylus, is far
‘less successful in penetrating the meaning of his author than
‘Klausen or Müller. For Sophocles, Hermann is still un-
‘rivalled, while Schneidewin’s is decidedly the best commentary
‘for students. English scholarship has as yet done but little
‘for Euripides since the days of Porson and Elmsley, with the
‘exception of two brilliant exercises by Dr. Badham; Germany
‘has had Hermann, Pflugk, Witzschel, Schöne, and Kirchhoff.
‘The standard modern editions of the whole or parts of Aris-
‘tophanes are those of Bekker, Dindorf, Fritzsche, and Enger.
‘The most complete collection of the fragments of Greek tragic
‘poets is by Wagner; of those of the comedians, by Meineke.

‘The æsthetical reconstruction of Greek tragedy from its
‘remains, a subject wholly untouched in England, has in
‘Germany occupied the attention of many critics, of whom
‘Welcker is the most eminent. The best known edition of
‘Xenophon is by Schneider. Plato, who has found no
‘English annotator, must be studied by the help of Schleier-
‘macher, Ast, Heindorf, and Stallbaum. Oxford has produced
‘no commentary on any part of Aristotle, which, even in the
‘judgment of her own students, would be placed on a level
‘with the works of Michelet, Trendelenberg, Brandis, Biese,
‘Bonitz, Stahr, or Spengel. The most satisfactory aid to the
‘study of Demosthenes is to be found in Reiske and Schäfer’s
‘Apparatus Criticus. Hippocrates is to be read in the edition
‘by Foes; Lucian in that by Hemsterhuis and Reiz. Wues-
‘temann’s Theocritus, Wellauer’s Apollonius Rhodius, and
‘Dindorf’s Athenæus, may complete a catalogue which professes
‘not to range over the whole of Greek classical literature, but
‘merely to show what has been done for the best known
‘authors.

‘In Latin, the labours of foreign scholars, professors, or
‘alumni of professors, have been equally indefatigable, and
‘equally fruitful. The vestiges of the early languages of
‘Italy, the very existence of which has scarcely been noticed
‘by any English scholar but Dr. Donaldson, have been made
‘the subjects of elaborate research by an increasing number of
‘German savants, such as Mommsen, Aufrecht, and Kirchhoff.
‘The remains of the epic writers have been collected and
‘arranged by Spangenberg and Krause. The chief authorities
‘on the fragments of Latin tragedy are Welcker, Ladewig,
‘Müller, Schöll, Klussmann, and Ribbeck. Plautus, from
‘whose dramas only a slight selection has been published in
‘England, in Germany has been edited by Bothe, Weise, and
‘recently, on a most elaborate scale, by Ritschl. Terence,
‘scarcely more fortunate in this country, is associated on the
‘continent with the names of Reinhardt, Perlet, and Stall-
‘baum. Wakefield’s attempt to settle the text of Lucretius
‘will scarcely be put into competition with Lachmann’s.

‘ Sallust has of late years had the advantage of the labours of
 ‘ Gerlach, Herzog, Kritz, and Dietsch: the only English offset
 ‘ being Mr. Merivale’s small school edition. For Catullus,
 ‘ Sillig, Döring, and Lachmann, have done most: for Tibullus,
 ‘ Dissen; while Propertius, the only one of the three poets
 ‘ who has had an English editor, owes the purification of his
 ‘ text, as Mr. Paley himself informs us, to Lachmann and
 ‘ Jacob, the explanation of his meaning to Hertzberg. The
 ‘ various works of Cicero, who is only now beginning to be
 ‘ edited for Englishmen, have enjoyed, among others, Orelli,
 ‘ Wunder, Halm, Ellendt, Madvig, Klotz, Zumpt, Osann, and
 ‘ Billerbeck. Even Virgil must be studied in England by the
 ‘ help of Wagner and Forbiger. Till last year, the results of
 ‘ modern criticism on Horace were only to be obtained
 ‘ from Orelli, Dillenberger, Schmidt, and Obbar. Ovid has
 ‘ still to be read in foreign editions, such as those by Gierig
 ‘ and Krebs. Kreyssig and Alschefski are accepted by the best
 ‘ English scholars as authorities on Livy. For an edition of
 ‘ Varro de Linguâ Latinâ, we must go to Spengel; for editions
 ‘ of the *Scriptores de Re Rusticâ*, to Schneider. Modern
 ‘ readers of Tacitus have to trust Walther, Orelli, and
 ‘ Ritter. Mr. Long has attested the merits of Heinrich’s com-
 ‘ mentary on Juvenal; Mr. Mayor, whose school edition is
 ‘ only too good for the object it professes, defers almost entirely
 ‘ to Jahn, on matters connected with the text. Jahn and
 ‘ Dübner have produced works of authority on Persius, Hand
 ‘ on Statius, Schneidewin on Martial.

‘ The standard modern Latin lexicon is Freund’s. The best
 ‘ histories of Latin literature are by Bähr, Bernhardt, and
 ‘ Klotz. Professor Key’s Latin grammar is highly honourable
 ‘ to English scholarship; but it is impossible to dispense with
 ‘ Madvig, Zumpt, and Ramshorn. Our Greek grammars
 ‘ are either translations or adaptations of foreign works,
 ‘ Matthiæ’s, Kühner’s, and Madvig’s. Lobeck has treated
 ‘ what he aptly terms the pathology of the Greek language,
 ‘ with a labour and minuteness of research to which a parallel
 ‘ will not easily be found. Hand’s *Tursellinus* is well known

‘ as a vast storehouse of digested information on the Latin particles.

‘ Long as this enumeration has been, it does anything but justice to the fertility, vigour, and profundity of continental and chiefly German scholarship. Those who wish to form a conception of its amount should consult the Leipzig catalogue; those who desire to appreciate its value may be confidently referred to any English scholar who is engaged in the *systematic* study of any classical work. They will thus gain a mass of evidence to the progress attainable under the continental method of instruction, which it will not be easy to controvert: and they will probably pause before they conclude, with Dr. Pusey (§ 132), that in intellectual matters, at least, ‘ we have no facts of the system’s having produced any but evil fruits.’

(B)

Independence of Professors, p. 25.

IT might under a worse state of government, in some slight degree, tend to calm apprehensions concerning crown appointments, if we called to mind that seven Professors of Göttingen, nominated and removable by the Crown, rather than take an oath which in their opinion was unconstitutional, chose to quit their offices, homes, and incomes, at the notice of a few hours. Some time after, when the irritated monarch was dining at the table of the King of Prussia, one of the guests present condoled with him on the grave loss which the University had sustained. ‘ Pooh, pooh,’ said the monarch; ‘ there are two classes of persons who can always be had for payment,—Huren und Professoren.’ The courtly and famous Alexander von Humboldt was present. ‘ As to the first class,’ said he, ‘ I bow to your Majesty’s authority; as to the second, it is the glory of my life that I have been a half-Professor.’ This was said in allusion to his position as member of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, which gave him the right of delivering lectures in

the University. The Professors in Germany stand in the highest official and social position; and though appointed by the Crown, enjoy fame and respect for independence in a higher degree than any other official persons.

(C.)

Use of great Professors, p. 34.

As to the possible utility of Professors, apart from the mere information given, I am able to quote the language of one who constantly attended their Lectures. It is in conformity with what has been insisted on also by others speaking with less authority, as with less practical experience. 'It is not the 'knowledge communicated,' said he, 'which may be got by 'books, but it is the magical effect of a great Professor, the 'grandeur, the purity, and the freshness of his manner of deal- 'ing with a subject, and expressing himself upon it. I never 'can forget the effect of Schelling, still more of Steffens, upon 'myself. Such a man in lecturing on one subject, threw some 'rays of light into the mind of all students of all subjects.' This communication was quite spontaneous, but it gratified me as thoroughly answering my own idea of one effect of the greatest kind of Professors.

(D.)

Freedom of the writer from German Influences.

AFTER many words spoken to defend the modified adoption of a system existing both in Scotland and foreign countries, but which has been assailed chiefly through the history and imputed tendencies of the German Universities, I feel it desirable to anticipate the probability of observations akin to those which have already been officially expressed against the practical suggestions of the Commissioners. I deem it advisable to say,

that having given annual Lectures in Oxford now for four years, I have hardly found occasion to owe a thought or a fact to the writers or Professors of Germany. Many hundred men of the University of Oxford, of all ages and degrees, —masters, bachelors, and students, have done me the honour to attend my public Lectures; and I feel sure I can challenge the memory and discrimination of all or any, to trace the slightest connexion of this kind between my Lectures and the works of any German writer. It is not, therefore, either from habitual deference, familiar intercourse, or practical obligations to foreign Professorial writings, that I can be induced to defend any foreign form of the Professorial system.

While thus speaking of the Lectures on Modern History, I think it opportune to obviate the possibility of future mistake, which might otherwise attribute my habit of giving regular public Lectures to a suggestion contained in the Report of the Commissioners. That suggestion was thus expressed. ‘We cannot refrain from expressing regret that those distinguished Professors, (*i.e.*, the Professors of Sanscrit and of Modern History), have not been encouraged by their success to repeat the experiment.’ I believe that the Professor of Sanscrit had delivered not more than six public Lectures during the whole tenure of his office, now extending over twenty years, having adopted another method of instruction. But I have given an annual public course of eight Lectures on the average every year but one, in which, for the sake of encouraging and assisting the new school of Modern History on its first establishment, I delivered sixteen Lectures for the benefit of the students alone. But I announced that course as given in a peculiar manner for a specific purpose. I also resumed the practice of giving public Lectures *before* the Report was signed or I could be aware of the existence of the passage in question, and these were in part delivered before the Report was published.*

* I was appointed Regius Professor at the end of the year 1848, upon the sudden death of my predecessor while in the prime of life. I did not deliver lectures till towards the close of the first year after my appointment.

(E.)

Dr. Hawkins' Evidence to the Hebdomadal Committee.

IT is mentioned by some of those who have given evidence on the Hebdomadal Report, that the Professors would be less fitted to transact the business of the University than the Present Board. I think it likely that they would have less time and inclination to devote themselves to such an occupation. But their aptitude for the duties of administration within their own departments, is a distinct point. Certainly the present method of conducting business seems to be far from faultless, as will appear from the correspondence which took place on the very subject of the present Hebdomadal Report.

Thursday, November 11, 1852.

MR. VICE CHANCELLOR,—As one invited by the Committee for considering the recommendations of the Commissioners to send communications, I beg leave, on behalf of others and myself, to request information on the following points :—

1st. Whether the Committee intend *to accept any evidence which is not to be printed* and made public.

I feel it desirable to ascertain this point, as the non-publication of any portion of the evidence seems open to the same practical objections as the non-publication of all.

2ndly. *Whether the Committee have intended, by their Circular, to invite communications respecting the Colleges as well as the University.*

It seems very desirable that all persons should have *one correct* understanding as to the points on which their communications are required; the more so, as the separate consideration of one topic will very much narrow the inquiry, and as some important recommendations of the Commissioners as to the one seem to involve the carrying out of their proposals as to the other.

I have the honour to be,

Mr. Vice Chancellor,

Faithfully yours,

H. H. VAUGHAN.

*Worcester College, November 11, 1853,
(wrongly dated for 1852).*

DEAR SIR,—I laid your letter before the Committee sitting upon the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners this day.

In accordance with the desire of the Committee, I transmit to you the two notices which they have issued on the subject of your letter, observing that notice No. 1. does not presume to limit the discretion of Members of Convocation as to what evidence they may think fit to send to the Committee, but that notice No. 2. referring to the terms of the appointment of the Committee states *that they can print such evidence only as applies to the case of the University*, and this only with the consent of the writers.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

R. L. COTTON.

H. H. Vaughan, Esq.

Thus the Hebdomadal Committee in the most distinct manner refused to print any evidence with regard to Colleges—thereby acting so as probably to exclude the evidence of some in respect to the Colleges. Notwithstanding this public declaration, they have since printed the evidence of one of themselves (Dr. Hawkins) upon that very subject. It will suggest itself to any one that to commit any direct breach of faith was very far from their intention. So great and, as it seems to me, so clear a departure from their engagements, therefore, can only be regarded as an indication that the practical habits of business at Oxford are not perfect. Dr. Hawkins's testimony thus made public, not only contains many contradictions to the Commission concerning his own College, but even suggests personal motives as possibly influencing those who have contributed their opinions, regarding the University, to the Commissioners. His contradictions affect the statements of the Commissioners concerning Oriel College, about which, although I have refrained from tendering any information to the Commission, yet I cannot, now that the Commission is attacked, forbear from making a few observations.

The Provost of Oriel takes exception to two representations made by the Commissioners. The first is 'that the Fellows at Oriel, where orders are not required by statute, have imposed them by a bye-law of the College on the majority of the Fellows.' To this the Provost objects that the enactment enforcing the orders is not a bye-law, but a statute made under specific powers granted by the statutes of foundation. I think it right now to say that I believe this enactment *as practically interpreted and acted upon by the Provost*, whatever name it may be called by, to be one of very questionable legality, on the following grounds: By the statutes of the foundation it was enacted that as to the manner and form in which Fellows should be elected into the College, and live there (*ibidem conversari*) and be removed from thence, the following enactments should be *observed inviolably through all time*. Immediately after this strong and binding clause, followed the provision that ten Fellows on the original foundation should study Theology, *and five or six* (as the Provost might choose) *Canon Law*; but that such canon law students might study for a time Civil Law. Only ten Fellowships were then actually and immediately created. Within a very short time followed the usurpation of the Bishop of Lincoln, who assumed the visitorship by right belonging to the Crown, and also imposed on the College new statutes. *By his statutes three out of the ten* original Fellows were to be allowed to study Canon Law, or under temporary dispensation, Civil Law. And by the same statutes it was provided that in case the number of Fellowships should be increased, those elected to the newly-created Fellowships should, after a season, be obliged to transfer themselves from Arts or Philosophy *either to the study of Theology or of Canon Law*. The Fellowships *were* increased to the number of eight, and the Bishop of Lincoln, in the year 1610, issued injunctions to the College, by which it was provided that the *Theological students**

* It is impossible, therefore, to argue that all the non-theological Fellows were in the habit of taking orders. Even the Theological Fellows had not done so.

should take orders within a certain number of years after their degree. For a long time after these injunctions, it appears that there were often *more* than three Fellows with permission to study Law and Medicine.* And the Bishop of Lincoln appears positively to have told the College, on one occasion, that under the statute providing for the creation of more Fellows, the College had the right to appoint more than three non-Theological Fellows. About the year 1723 the case came solemnly before the College for decision. Disputes had arisen between the Provost and some of the Fellows, and an attempt was made to deprive one Mr. Dering of his Fellowship on the ground that he was a fourth non-Theological Fellow of nineteen years' standing. This attempt, made at such a moment of division in the College, was possibly a mere party movement. The College was, for a season, against the deprivation, on the ground which I have mentioned; but eventually the Visitor removed Mr. Dering, in 1723. In the year 1725, however, the Visitorship of the Bishop was overthrown in a court of law. The original statutes of the Founder were restored: the Lincoln statutes were cancelled by the same decision, *and in 1727*, that is, on the first vacancy, *Mr. Dering was re-elected, and died a Fellow*, being a fourth non-Theological Fellow in the College.

The ground of this strong mode of proceeding of course was that he had been illegally removed from his Fellowship, inasmuch as the original Statutes had provided for five or six non-Theological Fellows. Even had the Lincoln Statutes been held to be still in force, exactly the same argument would have also held true in consequence of the provision made concerning the destination of new Fellowships created after the original ten.

In 1805, an enactment was framed and passed which required all *Theological* Fellows to take orders within five

* In the year 1612 the College passed an enactment providing that two of the Fellows only should study Law, and the third should study Medicine instead of Law. This provision was based on the statutes of the Bishop of Lincoln, subsequently set aside by law.

years from the master's degree. In one clause the enactment *assumes*, but does not enact, that the number of the non-Theological Fellows is three.

The statute under which the College conceived itself empowered to frame the enactment is to this effect:—‘ Since all future cases cannot be embraced in any positive and certain law, we command that if the College shall make any statutes to preserve and benefit the present foundation, all Fellows shall obey them, &c.’ I conceive, however, that such a provision to meet undefined cases could never be held to confer a power to cancel the fundamental statutes *creating the institution, and declared to be inviolable*. If, therefore, the enactment of 1805 really proposed to limit the number of *non-Theological* Fellows to three, it was not, I conceive, a legal enactment. It does not *preserve* the Institution; it destroys and remodels it. If it did not, as possibly and probably even it did not, the following application of it was illegal.

I was elected Fellow of Oriel, and after five years from my Master's Degree was deprived of my Fellowship by the decision and act of the Provost alone, for not taking Orders. I protested, and gave reasons in a more elaborate manner than I am now doing. I now, upon the calm review of the facts and right of the case, believe the act of the Provost to have been contrary to the original statutes of the College, and therefore illegal. It is quite clear that thereby the non-Theological Fellowships are reduced below the numbers intended by the Founder, and the Theological Fellowships are proportionately increased. I may add, that of course it is convenient for the Provost of a College to provide as large a number of Candidates for Tutorships as possible, and therefore also convenient to have a large number of Clerical Fellows. But the benevolent and *comprehensive* views and purposes of Founders should not be set aside for the purpose even of educating independent members of the College,—a class lying quite distinct from the great objects of such foundations, and not even contemplated as inmates of the College walls on the oldest foundations in Europe. I have never communicated these events and views to any one

of the Commissioners, for I thought that far greater and better things were at stake than my own interests or history, or than the remedy of any private mischief, or, as I must in juristic language be permitted to express it, private wrongs. But the Provost of Oriel, in a document of which I cannot but say that it is printed against propriety, has, notwithstanding, stated that, 'possibly the loss of my Fellowship (a solitary instance in his whole experience) 'may have 'influenced my evidence in some places.' I can only conjecture that by 'some places,' he alludes to my recommendation on grounds explicitly given and concurred in by many others, that the Fellowships in Oxford should be freed from clerical restrictions. I am at a loss to understand how the general and temperate advocacy of non-clerical Fellowships, throughout the University, can have ever suggested the idea that it was prompted by my own loss. I surely should not and could not have been induced to forbear from advocating non-clerical Fellowships, simply by having succeeded in obtaining a non-clerical Fellowship myself; and yet this is the substance of his argument, if stated. Even had it not been so, one recommendation made by me concerning Fellowships, amongst many other recommendations affecting every institution in the University, one opinion given not by me alone, but by many disinterested persons as well as myself, and always in the most calm and temperate manner, should not have provoked the allusion to personal motives.

The second point on which the Provost of Oriel finds fault with the Commissioners' statement is that of the close Fellowships, which, the Commissioners say, have been practically converted, by an evasion, into open Fellowships. I cannot help observing on this point, that as no less than three out of four County Fellowships, which fell vacant in succession, to my own knowledge, were filled by men born *out of* the counties specified, it can hardly be conceived that the close system was not in some way, either by the high standard required, or by non-advertisement of the nature of the vacancy,

practically evaded, as it was clearly in practice thus set aside. At the same time, an opinion prevailed amongst many Fellows, that a laudable ingenuity had been sometimes exercised to make the close Fellowships as open as possible, by adopting a plan similar, as I am reminded, to that which, in the case of St. John's College, Cambridge, was formally 'sanctioned by Letters-Patent of King George the Fourth, and subsequently incorporated in the new Code of Statutes granted to that Society' by Her Majesty.* This impression was common in Oxford.

* *Report of Cambridge Commission*, p 165.

THE END.

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