

Except in New York, and perhaps in Chicago, which is more and more coming to reproduce and surpass the characteristics of New York, Americans bet less upon horse-races than the English do. Horse-races are, indeed, far less common, though there is a good deal of fuss made about trotting-matches. However, much money changes hands, especially in Eastern cities, over yacht-races, and plenty everywhere over elections.¹ The purchase and sale of "produce futures," *i.e.* of cotton, wheat, maize, bacon, lard, and other staples not yet in existence but to be delivered at some distant day, has reached an enormous development.² There is, even in the Eastern cities, where the value of land might be thought to have become stable, a real estate market in which land and houses are dealt in as matter for pure speculation, with no intention of holding except for a rise within the next few hours or days; while in the new West the price of lands, especially near cities, undergoes fluctuations greater than those of the most unstable stocks in the London market. It can hardly be doubted that the pre-existing tendency to encounter risks and "back one's opinion," inborn in the Americans, and fostered by the circumstances of their country, is further stimulated by the existence of so vast a number of joint-stock enterprises, and by the facilities they offer to the smallest capitalists. Similar facilities exist in the Old World; but few of the inhabitants of the Old World have yet learned how to use and abuse them. The Americans, quick at everything, have learned long ago. The habit of speculation is now a part of their character, and it increases that constitutional excitability and high nervous tension of which they are proud.

Some may think that when the country fills up and settles down, and finds itself altogether under conditions more nearly resembling those of the Old World, these peculiarities will fade away. I doubt it. They seem to have already passed into the national fibre.

¹The mischief has been thought sufficient to be specially checked by the constitutions or statutes of some States.

²It is stated that the Cotton Exchange sells in each year five times the value of the cotton crop, and that in 1887 the Petroleum Exchange sold fifty times the amount of that year's yield.

I have referred in a note to a preceding chapter to some recent attempts to check by legislation this form of speculation (p. 542, *ante*).

CHAPTER CV

THE UNIVERSITIES

AMONG the universities of America there is none which has sprung up of itself like Bologna or Paris or El Azhar or Oxford, none founded by an Emperor like Prague, or by a Pope like Glasgow. All have been the creatures of private munificence or denominational zeal or State action. Their history is short indeed compared with that of the universities of Europe. Yet it is full of interest, for it shows a steady growth, it records many experiments, it gives valuable data for comparing the educational results of diverse systems.

When the first English colonists went to America, the large and liberal mediæval conception of a university, as a place where graduates might teach freely and students live freely, was waxing feeble in Oxford and Cambridge. The instruction was given chiefly by the colleges, which had already become, what they long continued, organisms so strong as collectively to eclipse the university they had been meant to aid. Accordingly when places of superior instruction began to grow up in the colonies, it was on the model not of an English university but of an English college that they were created. The glory of founding the first place of learning in the English parts of America belongs to a Puritan minister and graduate of Cambridge, John Harvard of Emmanuel College,¹ who, dying in 1638, eighteen years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, gave half his property for the establishment of a college in the town of Cambridge, three miles from Boston, which, originally organized on the plan of Emmanuel College, and at once

¹Emmanuel was a college then much frequented by the Puritans. Of the English graduates who emigrated to New England between 1620 and 1647, nearly one hundred in number, three-fourths came from the University of Cambridge.

taken under the protection of the infant commonwealth of Massachusetts, has now grown into the most famous university on the North American continent.¹

The second foundation was due to the Colonial Assembly of Virginia. So early as 1619, twelve years after the first settlement at Jamestown, the Virginia Company in England voted ten thousand acres of land in the colony for the establishment of a seminary of learning, and a site was in 1624 actually set apart, on an island in the Susquehanna River, for the "Foundinge and Maintenance of a University and such schools in Virginia as shall there be erected, and shall be called Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis." This scheme was never carried out. But in 1693 the Virginians obtained a grant of land and money from the home government for the erection of a college, which received the name of the College of William and Mary.² The third foundation was Yale College, established in Connecticut (first at Saybrook, then at New Haven) in 1700; the fourth Princeton, in New Jersey, in 1746. None of these received the title of university: Harvard is called a "school or colledge": Yale used the name "collegiate school" for seventeen years. "We on purpose gave your academy as low a name as we could that it might the better stand the wind and weather" was the reason assigned. Other academies or col-

¹ In 1636 the General Court of the colony of Massachusetts Bay agreed "to give Four Hundred Pounds towards a school or college, whereof Two Hundred Pounds shall be paid the next year, and Two Hundred Pounds when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building." In 1637 the General Court appointed a Commission of twelve "to take order for a college at Newtown." The name Newtown was presently changed to Cambridge. John Harvard's bequest being worth more than twice the £400 voted, the name of Harvard College was given to the institution; and in 1642 a statute was passed for the ordering of the same.

² The Virginians had worked at this project for more than thirty years before they got their charter and grant. "When William and Mary had agreed to allow £2000 out of the quit rents of Virginia towards building the college, the Rev. Mr. Blair went to Seymour, the attorney-general, with the royal command to issue a charter. Seymour demurred. The country was then engaged in war, and could ill afford to plant a college in Virginia. Mr. Blair urged that the institution was to prepare young men to become ministers of the gospel. Virginians, he said, had souls to be saved as well as their English countrymen. 'Souls!' said Seymour. 'Damn your souls! Make tobacco!'" — *The College of William and Mary*, by Dr. H. B. Adams. This oldest of Southern colleges was destroyed in the Civil War [1862] (it has recently received a national grant of \$64,000 as compensation), but was restored, and has been re-endowed by the legislature of Virginia in 1888.

leges in New England and the Middle States followed: such as that which is now the University of Pennsylvania, in 1749; King's, now Columbia, College in New York, in 1754; and Rhode Island College (now Brown University), in 1764; and the habit of granting degrees grew up naturally and almost imperceptibly. A new departure is marked after the Revolution by the establishment, at the instance of Jefferson, of the University of Virginia, whose large and liberal lines gave it more resemblance to the universities of the European continent than to the then educationally narrow and socially domestic colleges of England.

At present most of the American universities are referable to one of two types, which may be described as the older and the newer, or the Private and the Public type. By the Old or Private type I denote a college on the model of a college in Oxford or Cambridge, with a head called the President, and a number of teachers, now generally called professors; a body of governors or trustees in whom the property and general control of the institution is vested; a prescribed course of instruction which all students are expected to follow; buildings, usually called dormitories, provided for the lodging of the students, and a more or less strict, but always pretty effective, discipline enforced by the teaching staff. Such a college is usually of private foundation, and is almost always connected with some religious denomination.

Under the term New or Public type I include universities established, endowed, and governed by a State, usually through a body of persons called Regents. In such a university there commonly exists considerable freedom of choice among various courses of study. The students, or at least the majority of them, reside where they please in the city, and are subject to very little discipline. There are seldom or never denominational affiliations, and the instruction is often gratuitous.

There are, however, institutions which it is hard to refer to one or other type. Some of these began as private foundations, with a collegiate and quasi-domestic character, but have now developed into true universities, generally resembling those of Germany or Scotland. Harvard in Massachusetts and Yale in Connecticut are instances. Others have been founded by private persons, but as fully equipped universities, and wholly

undenominational. Cornell at Ithaca in Western New York is an instance; Johns Hopkins in Baltimore is another of a different order. Some have been founded by public authority, yet have been practically left to be controlled by a body of self-renewing trustees. Columbia College in New York City is an instance. Still if we were to run through a list of the universities and colleges in the United States, we should find that the great majority were either strictly private foundations governed by trustees, or wholly public foundations governed by the State. That is to say, the two familiar English types, viz. the University, which though a public institution is yet little interfered with by the State, which is deemed to be composed of its graduates and students, and whose self-government consists in its being governed by the graduates, and the College, which is a private corporation, consisting of a head, fellows, and scholars, and governed by the head and fellows — neither of them appear in modern America. On the other hand, the American university of the Public type differs from the universities of Germany in being placed under a State Board, not under a Minister. Neither in Germany nor in Scotland do we find anything corresponding to the American university or college of the Private type, for in neither of these countries is a university governed by a body of self-renewing trustees.¹

It is impossible within the limits of a chapter to do more than state a few of the more salient characteristics of the American universities. I shall endeavour to present these characteristics in the fewest possible words, and for the sake of clearness shall group what I have to say under separate heads.

Statistics. — The report for 1889–90 of the United States Education Bureau gives the total number of universities and colleges, *i.e.* institutions granting degrees and professing to give an instruction, higher than that of schools, in the liberal arts, at 415, with 7918 professors or instructors, of whom 1083 were women, and 118,581 students, of whom 39,415 are stated to be in the preparatory, 44,133 in the collegiate, 1998 in the

¹ The Scotch universities (since the Act of 1858), under their University Courts, and the Victoria University in the north of England present, however, a certain resemblance to the American system, inasmuch as the governing body is in these institutions not the teaching body.

graduate, and 15,611 in the professional department. Of the total, 86,066 are stated to be men, 25,489 women, the rest being apparently not distinguished in the returns.¹ Many of these institutions have professional departments for theology, law, or medicine. But these figures are, to some extent, imperfect, because a few institutions omit to send returns, and cannot be compelled to do so, the Federal government having no authority in the matter. The number of degree-giving bodies, teachers, and students is therefore somewhat larger than is here stated, but how much larger it is not easy to ascertain. Besides these there are returned —

Schools of science	63	with	1182	teachers	13,017	students.
“ theology	145	“	744	“	7,013	“
“ law	54	“	346	“	4,518	“
“ medicine ²	228	“	3987	“	24,242 ³	“

(including dentistry and pharmacy)

The number of degrees conferred is returned as being, in classical and scientific colleges, 9017, and in professional schools, 3296, besides 727 honorary degrees, 274 whereof are of the degree of D.D.

General Character of the Universities and Colleges. — Out of this enormous total of degree-granting bodies very few answer to the modern conception of a university. If we define a university as a place where teaching which puts a man abreast of the fullest and most exact knowledge of the time, is given in a range of subjects covering all the great departments of intellectual life, not more than twelve and possibly only eight or nine of the American institutions would fall within the definition. Of these nearly all are to be found in the Atlantic States. Next below them come some thirty or forty foundations which are scarcely entitled to the name of university, some because their range of instruction is still limited to the traditional literary and scientific course such as it stood thirty years ago, others because, while professing to teach a great variety of subjects, they teach them in an imperfect way, having neither

¹ Institutions for women only are not included in this list.

² Of these 228, 14 institutions (with 268 teachers and 1164 students) are homœopathic.

³ Of these students 2458 were women.

a sufficiently large staff of highly trained professors, nor an adequate provision of laboratories, libraries, and other external appliances. The older New England colleges are good types of the former group. Their instruction is sound and thorough as far as it goes, well calculated to fit a man for the professions of law or divinity, but it omits many branches of learning and science which have grown to importance within the last fifty years. There are also some Western colleges which deserve to be placed in the same category. Most of the Western State universities belong to the other group of this second class, that of institutions which aim at covering more ground than they are as yet able to cover. They have an ambitious programme; but neither the state of preparation of their students, nor the strength of the teaching staff, enables them to do justice to the promise which the programme holds out. They are true universities rather in aspiration than in fact.

Below these again there is a third and much larger class of colleges, let us say three hundred, which are for most intents and purposes schools. They differ from the *gymnasia* of Germany, the *lycées* of France, the grammar schools of England and high schools of Scotland not only in the fact that they give degrees to those who have satisfactorily passed through their prescribed course or courses, but in permitting greater personal freedom to the students than boys would be allowed in those countries. They are universities or colleges as respects some of their arrangements, but schools in respect of the educational results attained. These three hundred may be further divided into two sub-classes, distinguished from one another partly by their revenues, partly by the character of the population they serve, partly by the personal gifts of the president, as the head of the establishment is usually called, and of the teachers. Some seventy or eighty, though comparatively small, are strong by the zeal and capacity of their staff, and while not attempting to teach everything, teach the subjects which they do undertake with increasing thoroughness. The remainder would do better to renounce the privilege of granting degrees and be content to do school work according to school methods. The West and South are covered with these small colleges. In Illinois I find 28 named in the Report of the United States Education Bureau, in Missouri 27, in Tennessee 20. In Ohio 37 are re-

turned — and the number may possibly be larger — scarce any one of which deserves to be called a university. The most fully equipped would seem to be the State University at Columbus, with a faculty of 32 teachers; but of its students 165 are in the preparatory department, 221 in the collegiate department, only 13 in the graduate department. Oberlin and the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware (both denominational) have larger totals of students, and may be quite as efficient, but in these colleges also the majority of students are to be found in the preparatory department. On the other hand, Massachusetts with a wealth far exceeding that of Missouri, and a population not much less, has only nine universities or colleges.

The total number of students in Harvard is given as 2126, in Yale 1477, in the State University of Michigan 2158, in Columbia College, New York, 1671, in the University of Pennsylvania 1550, in Cornell 1329.

Revenues. — Nearly all, if not all, of the degree-granting bodies are endowed, the great majority by private founders, but a good many also by grants of land made by the State in which they stand, partly out of lands set apart for educational purposes by the Federal government. In most cases the lands have been sold and the proceeds invested. Many of the State universities of the West receive a grant from the State treasury, voted annually or biennially by the legislature, but a preferable plan, which several States have recently adopted, is to enact a permanent statute giving annually to the university some fraction of a mill ($\frac{1}{10000}$ of a dollar) out of every dollar of the total valuation of the State. This acts automatically, increasing the grant as the resources of the State increase. The greater universities are constantly being enriched by the gifts of private individuals, often their own graduates; but the complaint is heard that these gifts are too frequently appropriated to some specific purpose, instead of being added to the general funds of the university. Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Cornell, and Johns Hopkins are now all of them wealthy foundations, and the stream of munificence swells daily.¹ Before long

¹ Mr. Johns Hopkins gave £700,000 to the university he founded at Baltimore. Within the last few years a magnificent endowment has been given by Mr. Leland Stanford, Senator for California, to found a new university at Palo Alto in that State, and still more recently Mr. John D. Rockefeller has given a vast sum to the new university he has established in Chicago.

there will be universities in America with resources far surpassing those of any Scottish university, and approaching the collective income of the university and all the colleges in Oxford or in Cambridge. In some States the real property and funds of universities are exempt from taxation.

Government. — As already remarked, no American university or college is, so far as I know, governed either by its graduates alone, like Oxford and Cambridge, or by its teaching staff alone, like the Scotch universities before the Act of 1858. The State universities are usually controlled and managed by a board, generally called the Regents, sometimes elected by the people of the State, sometimes appointed by the Governor or the legislature. There are States with an enlightened population, or in which an able president has been able to guide and influence the Regents or the legislature, in which this plan has worked excellently, securing liberal appropriations, and interesting the commonwealth in the welfare of the highest organ of its intellectual life. Such a State is Michigan. There are also States, such as California, in which the haste or unwisdom of the legislature seems for a time to have cramped the growth of the university.

All other universities and colleges are governed by boards of governors or trustees, sometimes allowed to renew themselves by co-optation, sometimes nominated by a religious denomination or other external authority.¹ The president of the institution is often, but not always, an *ex officio* member of this board, to which the management of property and financial interests belongs, while internal discipline and educational arrangements are usually left to the academic staff. A visitor from Europe is struck by the prominence of the president in an American university or college, and the almost monarchical position which he sometimes occupies towards the professors as well as towards the students. Far more authority seems to be vested in him, far more to turn upon his individual talents and character, than in the universities

¹ In Harvard the government is vested in a self-renewing body of seven persons called the Corporation, or technically, the President and Fellows of Harvard College, who have the charge of the property; and in a Board of Overseers, appointed formerly by the legislature, now by the graduates, five each year to serve for six years, with a general supervision of the educational system, educational details and discipline being left to the Faculty.

of Europe. Neither the German Pro-Rector, nor the Vice-Chancellor in Oxford and Cambridge, nor the Principal in a Scottish university, nor the Provost of Trinity College in Dublin, nor the head in one of the colleges in Oxford or Cambridge, is anything like so important a personage in respect of his office, whatever influence his individual gifts may give him, as an American college president.¹ In this, as in not a few other respects, America is less republican than England.

Of late years there have been active movements to secure the representation of the graduates of each university or college upon its governing body; and it now frequently happens that some of the trustees are elected by the alumni. Good results follow, because the alumni are disposed to elect men younger and more abreast of the times, than most of the persons whom the existing trustees co-opt.

The Teaching Staff. — The Faculty, as it is usually called, varies in numbers and efficiency according to the popularity of the university or college and its financial resources. The largest staff mentioned in the tables of the Bureau of Education is that of Harvard, with 217 professors, instructors, and lecturers; while Yale has 143, Columbia and the University of Pennsylvania each 180, Princeton 45, the University of Michigan 96, Johns Hopkins 58. Cornell returns 104, but apparently not all of these are constantly occupied in teaching.

In the colleges of the West and North-west the average number of teachers is small, say twelve in the collegiate, five in the preparatory department. It is larger in the State universities, but in some few of the Southern and ruder Western States sinks to five or six in all, each of them taking two or three subjects. I remember to have met in the Far West a college president — I will call him Mr. Johnson — who gave me a long account of his young university, established by public

¹ The president of a college was formerly usually, and in denominational colleges almost invariably, a clergyman, and generally lectured on mental and moral philosophy. (When a layman was chosen at Harvard in 1828 the clergy thought it an encroachment.) He is to-day much less likely to be in orders even in a denominational college. However, of the 37 Ohio colleges about 20 seem to have clerical presidents. The greater universities of the East (except Yale and Princeton), and the Western State universities are now usually ruled by laymen. Even Amherst, an old and strictly denominational college, and two of the leading Methodist universities — De Pauw and the North-western — have no longer clerical heads.

authority, and receiving some small grant from the legislature. He was an active sanguine man, and in dilating on his plans frequently referred to "the Faculty" as doing this or contemplating that. At last I asked of how many professors the Faculty at present consisted. "Well," he answered, "just at present the Faculty is below its full strength, but it will soon be more numerous." "And at present?" I inquired. "At present it consists of Mrs. Johnson and myself."

The salaries paid to professors, although tending to rise, seem small compared with the general wealth of the country and the cost of living. The highest known to me are those in Columbia College, a few of which exceed \$5000 (£1000) a year, and in the new university at Chicago, which has offered some of \$7000. I doubt if any others reach these figures, except those in the Harvard Law School, which are \$5000. Even in Yale, Johns Hopkins, and Cornell, most fall below \$4000. Harvard now gives \$4500 to its full professors. A few presidents receive \$10,000, which is the salary of an associate justice of the Supreme court; but over the country generally I should guess that a president rarely receives \$4000, often only \$3000 or \$2000, and the professors less in proportion. Under these conditions it may be found surprising that so many able men are to be found on the teaching staff of not a few colleges as well as universities, and that in the greater universities there are also many who have trained themselves by a long and expensive education in Europe for their work. The reason is to be found partly in the fondness for science and learning which has lately shown itself in America, and which makes men of intellectual tastes prefer a life of letters with poverty to success in business or at the bar, partly, as regards the smaller Western colleges, to religious motives, these colleges being largely officered by the clergy of the denomination they belong to, especially by those who love study, or find their talents better suited to the class-room than to the pulpit.

The professors seem to be always among the social aristocracy of the city in which they live, though usually unable, from the smallness of their incomes, to enjoy social life as the corresponding class does in Scotland or even in England. The position of president is often one of honour and influence: no

university dignitaries in Great Britain are so well known to the public, or have their opinions quoted with so much respect, as the heads of the seven or eight leading universities of the United States.

The Students. — It is the glory of the American universities, as of those of Scotland and Germany, to be freely accessible to all classes of the people. In the Eastern States comparatively few are the sons of working men, because parents can rarely bear the expense of a university course, or dispense with a boy's earnings after he reaches thirteen. But even in the East a good many come from straitened homes, receiving assistance from some richer neighbour or from charitable funds belonging to the college at which they may present themselves, while some, in days when the standard of instruction was lower, and women were less generally employed as teachers, used to keep district schools for three months in winter. In the West, where there is little distinction of classes though great disparity of wealth, so many institutions exact a merely nominal fee, or are so ready to receive without charge a promising student, that the only difficulty in a young man's way is that of supporting himself during his college course: and this he frequently does by earning during one half the year what keeps him during the other half. Often he earns it by teaching school: — nearly all the eminent men of the last forty years, including several Presidents of the United States, have taught school in some part of their earlier careers. Sometimes he works at a trade, as many a student has done in Scotland; and, as in Scotland, he is all the more respected by his class-mates for it. The instruction which he gets in one of these Western colleges may not carry him very far, but it opens a door through which men of real power can pass into the professions, or even into the domain of learning and scientific research. In no country are the higher kinds of teaching more cheap or more accessible. There is a growing tendency for well-to-do parents to send their sons to one of the greater universities irrespective of the profession they contemplate for them, that is to say, purely for the sake of general culture, or of the social advantages which a university course is thought to confer. The usual age at which students enter one of the leading universities of the East is, as in England, from eighteen to nineteen, and the usual age

of graduation twenty-two to twenty-three,¹ the regular course covering four years. In the West many students come at a more advanced age, twenty-four or twenty-five, their early education having been neglected, so the average in Western colleges is higher than in the East. In Scotland boys of fourteen and men of twenty-four used to sit side by side in university class-rooms, and compete on equal terms. The places of less note draw students from their immediate vicinity only; to those of importance boys are sent from all parts of the Union. The University of Michigan has been a sort of metropolitan university for the North-western States. Harvard and Yale, which used to draw only from the Atlantic States, now receive students from the West, and even from the shores of the Pacific. A student generally completes his four years' graduation course at the same institution, but there are some who leave a small college after one year to enter at a larger one. A man who has graduated in a college which has only an Arts or collegiate department, will often, in case he designs himself for law or medicine, resort to the law or medical school of a larger university, or even, if he means to devote himself to science or philology, will pursue what is called a "post-graduate course" at some one of the greatest seats of learning. Thus it may happen, as in Germany, that a man has studied at three or four universities in succession.

Buildings and External Aspect. — Few of the buildings in any college or university are more than a century old,² and among these there is none of an imposing character, or with marked architectural merit. Many of the newer ones are handsome and well arranged, but I have heard it remarked that too much money is now being spent, at least in the West, upon showy buildings, possibly with the view of commanding attention. The ground plan is rarely or never that of a quadrangle as in England and Scotland, not because it was desired to avoid monastic precedents, but because detached buildings are thought to be better adapted to the cold and snows of winter. At Harvard and Yale the brick dormitories (buildings in which the students live) and class-rooms are scattered over a large

¹ President Eliot gives it for Harvard at 22 years and 7 months.

² I remember one in Yale of A.D. 1753, called South Middle, which was venerated as the oldest building there.

space of grass planted with ancient elms, and have a very pleasing effect. Rochester, too, has a spacious and handsome *Campus*. But none of the universities frequented by men, unless it be the University of Wisconsin, has such an ample and agreeable pleasure-ground surrounding it as those possessed by the two oldest women's colleges, Vassar and Wellesley.

Time spent in Study. — Vacations are shorter than in England or Scotland. That of summer usually lasts from the middle of June to the middle of September, and there are generally ten days or more given at Christmas and at least a week in April. Work begins earlier in the morning than in England, but seldom so early as in Germany. Very few students seem to work as hard as the men reading for high honours do at Cambridge in England.

Local Distribution of Universities and Colleges. — The number of degree-granting bodies seems to be larger in the Middle and North-western States than either in New England or in the South. In the tables of the Bureau of Education I find New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, credited with 135, very nearly one-third of the total for the United States; but as many are small and indifferent, the mere number does not necessarily speak of an ample and solid provision of education. Indeed Ohio and Illinois, with a population of about seven millions, have only one institution (the new university at Chicago) eminent either by its wealth or the type of instruction it offers. The thirteen Southern States (excluding Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware) stand in the tables as possessing 114, but no one of these, except the University of Virginia, attains the first rank; and the great majority are undermanned and hampered by the imperfect preparation of the students whom they receive.¹ In this respect, and as regards education generally, the South, though advancing, is still far behind the other sections of the country. There are several colleges, all or nearly all of them denominational, established for coloured people only.

System and Methods of Instruction. — Thirty years ago it would have been comparatively easy to describe these, for

¹ It is hoped that the recently founded Tulane University in New Orleans will eventually make its way to the front rank. It has an endowment of about \$2,000,000 (£400,000).