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STUDENT CUSTOMS.

BY

G. STANLEY HALL.

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STUDENT CUSTOMS.

THE very word leisure with the halo of conceptions about it has a unique charm in this world of toil, moil and drudgery. It is the literal meaning of the Greek word school. It suggests the eternal paradise of childhood. There might be a vigorous plea for a kind of biological aristocracy whose wealth freed them from the need of refraining from what they want to do and doing what they do not wish to do. Such a class, left to the utter freedom of their own inclinations and isolated from all perturbations, might serve as an ethnic compass to point out the direction of human destiny. We could thus cast the human horoscope from what those best by birth and heredity most strongly preferred to do, think and feel. This condition would, however, for the most part be only a prolongation through life of the conditions which actually do prevail in school and college, where picked youth and maidens are protected from the necessities of self-support, exempted from competition, business and to some extent from social restraint, and within the largest practicable limits left free to follow their own will. A strange, fascinating polymorphic human seminarium it is. A chapter might be written upon the effects of the new freedom as seen in the choice of subjects under the elective system alone, and the complex reciprocities and compromises between studies that are supposed to fit for something later and those which have immediate interest. The best of all fields, however, for studying the spontaneous expressions of humanity at its period of greatest vigor during

the entire adolescent period is the history of student life, which has never been considered from this standpoint. Here we have groups of picked young men so associated as to develop every tendency and instinct of their stage of life on Le Bon's principles of the psychology of crowds and isolated from the great world with no other vocation than to develop themselves. Association with their peers gives them a new standard of measuring themselves. The sudden rupture of home ties makes the intense gregarious spirit of our race seek still more intense expression in friendships, club life and perhaps conviviality. Each taste and trait can find congenial companionship in others, and thus be stimulated to more intensity and self-consciousness. Very much that has been hitherto repressed in the adolescent soul is now reinforced by self-confidence, sometimes over-assertive to the point of arrogance. I believe there is no psychic field wherein all the many comparisons now looming up or awaiting definition between the growth of the human individual and the development of the race can be better studied than here, first because these groups are so numerous and second because not only the ontogenetic but also the phylogenetic side is accessible in living examples.

The race factor in tracing this comparison is largely lost for early childhood, because the stages of man's development that correlate with it are just those missing links, which perhaps we can never restore. Whether we agree with Munro, who urges that the transition from the simian to the human stage took place in a rather limited geographical area and in a relatively small time, so that the chance of ever finding intermediate links is very small, or incline to the view of a few of our contemporaries who think the present lower human races are survivals of these intermediate links which threw off shoots all the way from some simian or subsimian form up; or incline, on the other hand, to hold with the polygenists to some proto-human

"urtypus" or prefer the monophiletic theory, psychogenetic work in this field, which may eventually contribute toward the bridging of this chasm, is so far unable to construct iso-cultural lines for a very important period of early childhood. But for the method of parallelism and recapitulation in all cultural matters, the material is nowhere so rich as in student life. On the one hand anthropologists are now giving us more and more exhaustive accounts of all phases and stages of savage and barbarous life almost from the cave dwellers up, while its counterpart makes a large part of all we know of the spontaneous unforced life of our academic youth.

The varying conditions of this life, from those of early asceticism, when students had no fire, went out to walk only under special restrictions, were poor and had to work for self-support as up to recent times in the Scotch universities, rose to early prayers before light, had hard beds, found no vent for their superabounding animal spirits in athleticism, conformed to the rigors of monastic life with its fasts and penalties, or were exposed by overwork and restraint to the reactions of excessive license, rioting, dissipation, theft, pillage, vandalism, and even assaults, rapes, burglaries and murders, such as often occurred in the universities of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, illustrate almost every phase of the secret associations so characteristic of savagery with elaborate initiations, abuses perpetrated on new students, the great religious and sceptical movements, athleticism, self-government, ideals of honor, personal encounters, warfare with faculty and town, amusements and all phases of subcivilized human life.

Unique among the forms of overflowing animal spirits among students, we must place what I may call psychic infantilism or downright babyism. Our returns, rather copious upon this subject though by no means extensive enough to be final, indicate that modes of treating an

imaginary infant lead to other factors in this kind of fun making. Often, perhaps, with the aid of a dummy, which in some college theatricals is a rather elaborate manikin with various mechanical devices, the child is dandled, trotted, chirped and babbled at, bibbed, kissed, spanked, nursed, rocked, hugged, pounded, and perhaps torn to pieces. Next comes putting the child to sleep with elaborate pantomime nocturne songs with characteristic serio-comic expressions. Baby talk of the most extravagant types comes next with the curiously intermingled factor of play upon the sillinesses of lovers' expressions. Our record shows that some students have become real virtuosos in imitating various types and forms of crying in a way that has strange power over the risibilities of their mates, when duly accompanied with antics, attitudes, acts and facial expressions. In much of this, reversionary tendencies are mingled with extravagant parodies of the effusions of feminine tenderness to babies.

Another feature is the tendency to lapse to interjectional, exclamatory and sometimes onomatopoeic forms of expression, speech music, the intonations of the a's and o's to which modern philologists ascribe such primitive and germinal power at a certain stage of speech development which is marked and distinct. Many shades of approval or dissent and reactions of sentiment are expressed by vocalizations that cannot be called verbal, which letters and musical notation cannot designate, and which in their variety and expressiveness may be compared to the very fecund baby talk I have elsewhere collected wherein the modern philologist may, if he will, now study one of the original and still flowing fountains from which human speech originated.¹ Vocal noise, that is not speech, gibberish, mimicry of imperfect articulation or defect, Choctaw, no word of which can be found in Mr. Trumbull's

¹ See my "Some Aspects of the Early Sense of Self." *Am. Jour. of Psy.*, April, 1898, Vol. IX., pp. 351-395.

dictionary of that tongue, and nowadays Chinese that has no Mongolian elements in it, the unctious of the college yells, a list of which furnishes data for a study by itself, to say nothing of the brogues, dialects, pigeon English, slang, gutteralism, animal noises, mimic instrumentation of many a college song, indicate the strength of this post-adolescent recreative reversion to the well marked gibberish and hog latin stage of childhood, which Chrisman and others have studied.

A marked form of academic relaxation may be designated as nonsense or rather anti-sense. Why the mind delights thus to make utter break with every normal association and every sane coherence and sequence of thought, as if there were really in the world a new "silly cure," it is hard to explain. Mr. Lear's idiotic doggerel, the entire vocabulary invented in "Alice in Wonderland," of which Kipling so fecund as a word creator is nowhere truer to life than in incorporating or adding to in Stalky and Co.'s conversations, Mother Goose and every form of arrant fluid fatuity, bathos and banality, that often challenge the disgust of adults—all these flourish like rank weeds in the mental acreage where professors of language seek to cultivate the prim proprieties of correct and elegant expression. Perhaps they loosen the mental soil; perhaps like slang they are a better vent than Addisonian English for the intense but unformed psychoses of this stage of life. At any rate the sensation of seeing young gentlemen with the first tender crop of beard, hair parted in the middle, with glasses suggesting an owlish Minerva wisdom, and perhaps in evening dress, giving vent at college concerts, class day, athletic or other festivities, to these juvenilities arouses, as near as I can analyze it, a strange *mélange* of a tendency to laugh at its humor, weep at or at least pity its folly, not without a spice of disgust at its wayward frivolity.

The so called orations of Bill Pratt enjoyed by many

a generation of Williams' students¹ illustrate the relaxation of disconnecting the normal associative links on which reason and common sense rest and allowing the intellectual elements of our personality to lapse into polymorphic elements such as we sometimes see in grave mental lesions. Is this after all a world of chance, essentially acosmic, save for the practical order in which man has arranged some of its elements for his own greater convenience and efficiency, and are its factors *per se* just as connectable in any one of thousands of other orders as in those which experience and science have so laboriously built up? If so, does the mind tend at certain times to thus revert to primitive chaos to find therein some intimations of a surcease of every kind of constraint, even that of sense and sanity?

College songs illustrate this. Some are characterized by animal noises,—bow wow, meow, ba, moo, cackle, quack. Familiar ditties and refrains like cocachelunk, polly-wolly-doodle, chickery-rye-co-rye-chin-chan, shool-i-rool, bingo, uralio, upidee, rum-sty-ho, rig-jag-jig, sweedle-la-we-tschu-hira-sa, tidium-bzt-bzt, rootle-tum, o-tsche-se-no-de-ki; alliterations like zizzy-ze-zum, the grip-car gripman's grip, kimo kemo, the chipper chappie, are in point here.

Banalities in song like, Saw the emerald freshman's leg off, the tinker and cobbler, ba-be-bi-bo-bu, balm of Gilead, Tobias, yah yah, the bull dog, yahe yaho, the endless variations on Mary's little lamb, the catchy babyism of the Sunday-school scholar, some of the love ditties with an intended saccharinity that is almost saponaceous, the recent and notable increase of the negro song contingent with its contagious rag time, some of the bibulous songs wherein the incoherence of intoxication is represented, and the growing number of songs parodying Bible tales and incidents, illustrate in song at once the spell of

¹ Bill Pratt, the Saw-Buck philosopher, Williamstown, 1895.

extreme fatuity upon the academic mind and also the passion for mediety which Lotze so deplored in modern life.

The mind of the modern collegian delights in few things more than in parody. Great ingenuity has been expended in caricaturing many of the famous literary productions, the scope and extent of which lend themselves to this device, and nearly all the great characters and burning current questions and pretensions generally are treated with at least intended satire. Mock heroics and serio-comedies have this advantage, if high themes are essayed, they afford a ready shelter for the disappointed susceptibilities of ambition. Efforts of this class are, however, mostly directed against objects, ideals or sentiments which are not deeply felt by their authors, and this instinct is a beneficent agent in destroying the old clothes of culture and doing its May-day house cleaning. There is always much in every age and community that greatly needs to be executed and buried, and yet is so entrenched that only the shafts of ridicule can reach it. If this often goes too deep and attacks that which is intrinsically and always good, true and beautiful, I believe that on the whole its benefits outweigh its harm. We live in an old age of civilization that has accumulated vast cultural impedimenta that ought to be given over to the agencies of oblivion. The race needs to forget a great deal in the past in order to press effectively forward to the future, and for one I cannot believe with Hegel that satire can ever undermine any of the deeper foundations of belief, admiration or reverence. Youth refuses to be satisfied with anything save the very best; the second-best palls on its palate, and as hypocrisy may be defined as the homage which vice pays to virtue, so parody and satire are the homage that pedantic pretension and dry-as-dust learning and mere convention and tradition pay to the deeper affirmations of the soul. The latter, youth lives by, but is coy in express-

ing, and its negations are a healthy pruning that leave it untouched and ever revealed to the psychological seer.

It has been urged that collegians develop more power of criticism than of appreciation; that they can deride but not create. That this is a grave indictment and is to a great extent just, few will doubt, but the admiration which Ruskin praises is itself incipient creation, or is at least a lower degree of the same power by which the great artist works. I would go further yet and urge that this instinct does not only very wholesome scavenger work, but that its value as a spur to keep professors vital and to perform the gadfly function, which Socrates praised, of stimulating them to keep their faculties mobilized, to grind ever new and better grists, is a sanifying influence. Irony then has its place and work.

The attitude of later adolescent stages toward an earlier, more unconscious and instinctive state is a broader theme. The freshman must be salted, his greenness must be seasoned, and at no period does everything that is naïve seem so contemptible as during the stages when insight and self-consciousness are developing. Never is the mind more highly sensitized to all that illustrates the rôle of the *ingénu*. The novice who has not cut his eye-teeth, who is unsuspecting and credulous, is subjected to every form of indignity. Even innocence is more or less despicable and in need of deflorescence. No stage of life so well exemplifies the one-sidedness of Plato, who urges and illustrates in manifold ways how a virtue that is unknowing is no virtue, that to know the good does not make failure to do it more guilty but is half way to complete virtue. The sophomore must put off the freshman and all his ways and works. From his superior plane he looks down upon the preceding year as a pit from which he has been digged, as if he were separated from it by a wide interval, and so each succeeding year is richly characterized in college literature as marked by a progress even

greater than it really is. In Germany the Fuchs, Brander Fuchs, junger Bursch, Bursch, alter Bursch, bemoster Kopf, almost mark great epochs in human evolution. The Bejanus or yellow bill is a callow lout or hayseed, who must be made over by upper classmen into a civilized being. The annual nodes in human growth are never so far apart as at this age and never so accentuated as in academic life. Ignorance and insouciance are to be initiated into the mysteries of a real knowledge of life, each class by the paternal culture of the sager class above it. One of the strongest currents of college caricature and satire is directed against the dress, manners, home-bred ideas of religion and practical morality of the novice, who is also carefully excluded from certain privileges reserved by force if need be for each higher class. From doing nothing with consciousness to doing all with it is the inarticulated and unformulated but dominant ideal.

Early boyhood is imitated, mocked and mimicked with great gusto by collegians. At Yale seniors for many student generations have taken pleasure in reserving for themselves alone the right to play top, marbles and hoop. The annual peanut bum at Yale; the molasses candy society at Amherst; the hawkey-hurley club; all the ways of the good and bad pupil at school and the Sunday-school scholar,—are the theme of many an extravaganza in song, game, college theatrical, *etc.*¹

Feminism so far as the histories of academic life show is a modern fad relatively unknown in mediæval times. Now we have old maid clubs and clatches, female impersonations sometimes even in falsetto, very clever mimeries, every item of woman's ways, handkerchief, fan, motion,

¹ For many of the facts and dates in what follows I take pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to my former pupil, Henry D. Sheldon, whose memoir accepted at Clark University last summer as a dissertation for the degree of Ph.D. is soon to appear in book form from the press of D. Appleton & Co. entitled "Student Life and Customs." To this work as by far the best treatise on the subject the reader is referred.

gait, toilet, every art of the coquette and even the *allumuse* from the age of dolls on to the stage of maturest college widowhood are felt and acted out, characterized in journalistic skit with a verisimilitude that excites grave reflection. Can a truly manly nature thus devirilize himself and take on so naturally all the secondary qualities of the other sex without evincing either defective masculinity or else tending to induce feminism. The best female impersonators, so far as my observation and inquiry go, are those who in form, voice, or natural disposition suggest deficient and sometimes even abnormal sexual development. We know too from the sad and unspeakable new chapter of psychology that deals with aberrations in this field, that the passive pediatist has special gifts or abilities in the line of acting female rôles. As long as this is well seasoned with rough and rather coarse mannishness, thinly veiled with gown and affectation of the ways of womanhood, it is harmless, but I am convinced from considerable study in this field that the modern refinements now so prevalent in this direction tend to psychic emasculation, and that some traces of a corresponding danger are imminent in the converse impersonation of male parts by college girls.

It is well established that during a few years which precede pubescence, boys are prone to illustrate certain definite traits of savage life. Their organizations (as Mr. Sheldon has shown), if spontaneous are likely to be predatory. So college life repeats this tendency in a secondary way. In a leading college lately a cave elaborately fitted up was discovered with the beginnings of a kitchen midden of bottles and chicken bones, as the home of the H-E-O-T-T- society. These letters, so mystifying to outsiders, stood to the initiated for "Ho, every one that thirsteth." The "rangers," an interesting organization of a university of the far west; the old pandowdy club of Bowdoin, one function of which was the barbaric serenade of hated professors; the "ranterers" of the University of

Virginia, who robbed hen and turkey roosts, shaved the manes and tails of horses, *etc.*; clubs sometimes extemporized for a season and sometimes lasting for decades devoted to corn roasts, watermelon stealing, the piebald painting of houses, collections of gates, pig roasts; ghost clubs to terrorize those who fell under their ban; associations to mortify in many ways the pride of individual students or townspeople and sometimes inflicting grave injury; societies for roguish pilfering, sometimes of kitchens, gardens, barnyards, stables, sometimes for squirrel and other hunts; every form of rowdyism and sometimes excursions on holidays or vacation wanderings and migrations,—all these are outcrops of tendencies dominant in and characteristic of savage but repressed in civilized life, but are of course here veiled and more or less condoned to self and others as practical jokes. In one code a freshman's room and even his trunk may be robbed of all valuables, and only pipes, collars, neckties and canes kept. Edibles of all sorts, whether a box from home or a class banquet, are the property of whoever can get them by strategy or force, but booty or plunder is sometimes preserved and handed down to classes or societies as tokens of prowess. All this is excused, now to greater and now to less extent, with margins ever vacillating with time and marked by great geographical variations. Youth must have its fling, and the warm place that such escapades hold in the memory of adult alumni still serves to protect and even defend them, although athleticism has diverted into healthier channels much of the riotous and superfluous energy which formerly went into these licensed invasions of human right and personal liberty.

In the treatment of younger men and classes, we can mark three distinct forms of aggression into the sacred precincts of personality. The lowest of these is represented by pennalism, which in some respects was hardly less at its period of greatest development than slavery,

and which survives in fagging. The fags of the great English school had to run to any upper form men and the last comer must do his bidding. Sometimes he is sent on a twenty-mile errand; his calves are toasted; he is branded, tattooed, beaten, bullied in many cruel ways which really infringe the criminal code. Elsewhere each under classman is assigned to a member of the upper form, who protects him from alien imposition, but requires services. In the English schools, the latter is now generally reduced to copying, serving breakfast, perhaps making up washing or performing other quite minor services, which tradition has prescribed with great definiteness. A generation ago the fag must play music at night for his master, if so ordered and if he could; must help him safely home if drunk; must look out for the food and drink served in his room; keep his accounts; make certain minor expenditures and perform special mechanical services connected with examinations.

Hazing, which literally means ham stringing, may be described as breaking in raw student recruits, teaching them respect and obedience to upper classmen. In the ancient universities of Paris and Bologna, the new comer was described as a wild beast to be tamed or domesticated, subjugated to the harness. He was dressed as a boar, his ears were clipped, his teeth filed, his hair or beard cut, or even singed. He was green grass to be cured, wood to be seasoned, unclean and in need of purification, he was scoured with soap and sand; and bodily mutilations leaving scars for life were occasionally inflicted. In early German universities, he must be passive and let others work their complete will upon him. He was made to eat dirt and glass; drink from a shoe; and to make him drunk was a common diversion. In one old New England college the custom of parodying the "infare" still survives, and the student is finally put to bed with a pumpkin nightcap. In another institution a similar custom still

survives, with the variant that portions of his body were smeared with molasses. In the colonial college he was mulcted and in one large institution still has to supply balls and bats for the upper classmen. In various others certain articles of clothing are forcibly appropriated. The Yale freshman was elaborately tutored, the upper class orator expatiated for his benefit, in a mock heroic way, first upon the dangers, second upon the honors of college life, and then came a programme of physical treatment. In few respects are college communities more conservative, and we all remember the regrets at the removal of the old Yale fence upon which no Freshman must sit until his class team had beaten Harvard. Everyone knows the current modes of smoking out, enforced speeches and songs, tossings in a blanket, isolation in remote places blindfolded, perhaps bound and gagged, *etc.*, the suppression of which, neither law, college discipline nor the disapproval of the academic sentiment of the overwhelming majority can exterminate.¹

Initiations can best be treated as a class of subjections by themselves. The more we know of savage life the larger we find the rôle of such ceremonies. Not only the great cycle of initiations sometimes occupying weeks by which boys are inducted to early manhood, but many a secret order constructs ceremonials of a very high degree of symbolic significance, designed to impress not only those without, and of course especially the candidates themselves, but also the tribesmen within with the great importance of membership. A ritual is composed mainly from such elements as we see unorganized in hazing, and to this a sacred character attaches. This was the case with the Eleusinian and other ancient mysteries. The novice is observed and studied, and his eligibility is the result of diverse comparative estimates. He then sometimes under-

¹The recent investigation of the hazing methods at West Point afford an interesting modern instance of these barbaric survivals.

goes a period of probation with certain duties or restrictions. The ceremonial is generally made up in the American college secret societies of two parts: one that is elaborately prescribed and must be followed with the utmost precision, and another that is extemporized and sometimes with special individual adaptations. The impressiveness and sometimes the terrors of mystery are always appealed to. There are elements from judicial procedure like accusation and defence; statement of the candidate's good and bad traits; frequently he is symbolically condemned, executed, nailed into his coffin; and perhaps buried and resurrected to a new life. These procedures are well concealed, but those I know bear plain traces of a depressive minatory or descending, which are sharply contrasted with an ascending and restorative phase. The ethno-psychic relationship between these rites and those indicating the new birth of the soul with a background to both of the resurrection of spring following the death of autumn or the Balder motive, are unmistakable.

Studies in this field show conclusively the inadequacy of the current conceptions of play, whether the surplus energy theory of Schiller and Spencer, the recreation view of Lazarus and Steinthal, the æsthetic explanation of Guyau, or the social theory of Jean Paul; but it is most of all opposed to the conceptions of Gross that it is the preparation for future serious occupation. Indeed, from the above and many other facts already gathered but not pertinent here, I think we must feel justified in proposing a new theory of play, which while not exclusive as others claim to be, I think has quite as wide and important a range of facts and as much explanatory power as any. Play consists, I suggest, in part of reversion to outgrown stages and in the repetition, with variations, of acts and the expression of instincts that growth has left behind. We love to drop back to an older level and dip again into the experiences of the paradise of childhood. The charm of

this consists in the fact not only that we leave behind the stress of the battle line at the front, which our best mature energies seek to advance, but we fall back to a range of memories and experiences that are pleasant in themselves, and automatically repeat acts characteristic of very primitive and perhaps even animal stages of human evolution.

The years of academic life are like a high tableland or a mountain ridge, which we cross in passing from infancy to old age. At each point on it we can best see and feel both ways—protensively toward the future and retroensively toward the past, as at no other stage of life. Soon childish memories and feelings will mostly be lost to view. The Colegrove and other studies of memory at different ages indicate that a little later childhood becomes a pallid, unreal, desiccated thing for memory, preserved as a useless rudiment, and consisting only in a few chance images. Before this all adult life has seemed remote and unreal, but now the soul is Janus faced, looking before and after in a very peculiar sense.

Thus we may understand another new principle which I propose, viz., it is a range and mobility up and down the genetic ladder peculiar to this age. It is never so easy to sink far below the normal or average sense, intelligence or effort to abject silliness and folly and babyhood; but these moods alternate with the most strenuous and lofty aspirations towards the highest. I have a number of striking cases in my own collections, of collegians who seemed to find distinct relief from the hardest and most intellectual activity in a degree of banality that would defy belief save among the circle of intimate friends who had actually seen it. Perhaps those whose wisdom is veined with the most preclusions of senescence are those who can be most babyish. Some serious young men seem born old and very early lose the power, if they ever had it, to be or feel young, while others remain all their lives conserved youth if not children. Perhaps the former is more common in

those born of parents a little past the age of the most efficient procreative vigor; the latter of parents who have not quite attained it. This power of free and ready movement up and down the Jacob's ladder of phylogeny, I firmly believe to be a resource of very great economic value for achievement. In sleep we fall back physically to a lower philetic level. The forebrain, then the midbrain sleeps, but the medulla never quite sleeps. This functional reversion enables us as it were to tap the freshness and resources of earlier years and prevents the ossification of each stage of the past, like death closing in upon us. The *vis a tergo* of growth which makes us so conscious of every stage in the development of life's programme must not settle into a horror of childhood or despising our own youth, but free movement through all the Nautilus stages of growth renews its charm, deepens and broadens sympathy, conserves the strong deep life of the heart and thus makes the individual more effective when he seeks to storm the height of life or summon his resources for a titanic effort toward the level of the super-man that is to be in the world. Each year as it passes brings a vast and distinct development of soul. The twenty-fifth year, *e. g.*, and indeed every other, is no doubt marked by nascent periods that distinguish it from all years that have preceded or will succeed. Although this rapid progression in the school of life is obscured and concealed till it is currently unsuspected because so disguised by the monotony of external conditions, the advancement through curricula is, compared with it, snail-like and almost imperceptible.

We must not fail to add, however, that there is here some danger of excess. There are those who lack stability and whose average variation from the norm is excessive, and still more whose instability here savors of neurotic or perhaps hysterical disequilibrium. We all know specimens of the type wherein periods of intense endeavor alternate with those of puerility, especially if the recur-

rences are not daily but interfere with the normal rhythm of day and night. There are other rhythms in the male and female organisms which must never be interfered with, and there is an extreme of childishness which no real man can descend to without sacrificing strength of character to flexibility of mood. I hold no brief for any current conception of personal dignity, but praise the teacher who can command his school and be a boy with his pupils. The man of large affairs or office, who enjoys participating in the games of young men; the mother who can, like the stately maids of honor of Queen Elizabeth, play tag with her girls,—these natures can never grow old in the many ways that make age so often uninteresting and even slightly repulsive to the young. This elasticity is one trait in the psychology of genius, and if this can be cultivated, so can also to some degree at least a little of its true Attic salt.

The segmentation of years somewhat over-emphasized by grades and classes tends to widen sympathy horizontally as it were, so that the tendency to exhaust at each stage all its possibilities before advancing to the next is favored. The abuses of the upper classes, for instance, segregate and unify freshmen and strengthen class feeling. We cannot, therefore, regard the obliteration of the class unit and the substitution of associations with those older and younger as an unmixed gain. Again, subordination of educational stages, each lower to the next higher, favors docility, keeps open sutures which might close prematurely, brings pliability, offsets tendencies to precocity and a sense of attainment and finality, keeps the psycho-physic organism young and growing, and impresses humility without humiliation because self-respect can keep itself in countenance if endangered by turning to the stage below.

From the days of Aristotle and Cicero, oratory and debate have been prominent educational functions, and repeatedly in its history this has been the chief focus of

educational endeavor. From the dawn of adolescence, when the pugnacious instincts develop, debate becomes one of its favorite forms of expression. The reasoning instincts at this period begin to knit the mental centres to a higher unity. The association fibres, which connect the various cortical areas, seem to coincide in their growth and function with the instinct to think in a logical, causal, catenal way, as associations in time and place are being made over into those of congruity and similarity. Before puberty mental life seems more connected with the projection system of afferent and efferent nerves which put the soul in rapport with its environment, but now first in revery, which is a kind of rude darning stitch, and then in coherent logical fashion, the mental content is knit together into unity of a higher order. That these reconstructive processes should be highly developed and that this constitutes one of the chief functions of superior education is obvious.

During a prolonged stage of life probably nothing so stimulates this process as discussion and debate. Conversation is never so prone to lapse into disputation. Even the dialectic or dialogue form never performs a greater function in sustaining interest in even abstract themes. No small part of the charm of sociability in the salon and even conviviality in student life arises from the clash of diverse if not conflicting views. The connotations of the very word "conflict" rouse unique zest, just as fear of it in paranoiacs may become a phobia. From Plato down to Berkeley and many contemporary writers, philosophers have often greatly enhanced interest in the most abstruse subjects by their dramatic talent, even though the interlocutors are but abstract qualities or schools of thought personified. The great discussions of the early Church synods and later councils, and the great debates of the heroes of the scholastic age, afford abundant illustrations of the higher form of the instinctive passion of men to

quarrel or to witness a fray. To the doctor's thesis in Germany to-day are often added special points which the candidate offers to defend against all comers, and imaginary responders are often set up if there are no real ones. The methods of thesis and antithesis are most effective and logical, while the orator on the other hand often conjures up a feigned objector or man of straw to demolish. In the old universities, the doctorate was conferred when the novice could defend the propositions with which he challenged or defied the world. The charm of pointing out a flagrant fallacy in the arguments of an antagonist or of a *reductio ad absurdum* of his statements of refutation and rebuttal or even of rallying specious arguments in a lost cause fascinates the youthful mind.

One of the chief institutions of the American college, from the close of the last down to the middle of the present century, was that of the debating societies. Nearly every college had two, in each of which great political, moral and literary themes of current interest were discussed, usually one evening a week with two or three joint debates in which representatives of the two societies met each other. In the best preparatory schools similar societies existed. All who remember these organizations in their prime ascribe to them a very high educational value. Two or three speakers on each side alternated, there was often a critic, a decision, perhaps by a show of hands or by the president, who must sum up and weigh arguments on both the merits of the question and on that of the discussion. There were no seminars and the dignity of the professor did not invite free and unreserved discussion in class, but here it could flourish with no restraints. Youth is the age of *aufklärung*. Childish views of the great facts and laws of the world are falling off like the deciduous teeth. It is the pin-feather age of spread-eagles; individuality is finding its voice and its own proper orbit and motion; style is beginning to be felt, and diction

almost inevitably falls into some imitative rut—Carlyleian, Addisonian, romantic sententious, pompously oratorical—the omniscient mental gate of the newspaper leader; that of the satirical under-cut, funniness, and all the stylistic affectations seem necessary stages of immaturity before thinking finds out its own way and becomes as individual as penmanship, as it will do if all these copy-hand forms are outgrown.

These societies in the days of their prime were always the centre of interest for some of the best men, and generally brought to the surface another class of leaders than those who excelled in scholarship. Here all social distinctions were forgotten; courses in rhetoric and even logic and perhaps history and related subjects were given a new interest. The library was ransacked for authorities and points for citation; competition prompted men to buy and beg books for society libraries and a new order of champions and of hero worship was sometimes developed. As these societies declined during the third quarter of this century, debates became less studied and serious. The social features that had made their very names attractive paled before the closer friendships of the Greek letter societies, in some of which debates still hold a prominent place, but they are sustained with abated ardor perhaps because conversation has steadily developed in range of topics, freedom and animation, so that the growing social instincts afford other vents and channels for the same interplay of facts and opinions.

In all the German universities, *Vereine* exist for the discussion, formal and informal, of general and of special topics. The Unions of Oxford and Cambridge, which have existed with unabated interest for a number of decades, are organized and conducted in every possible detail like Parliament. Questions take the form of bills which are in the end passed or lost by vote. When these were organized, they were almost the only medium of intercourse

between the different colleges, many of which had their own debating clubs. These unions are often able to bring down leading members of Parliament to defend bills which they are advocating at Westminster, and statesmen find themselves attacked here always with the greatest freedom and sometimes with a rare force and acumen. Here as in all such organizations young men are great sticklers for rules and technicalities, and the details of parliamentary usage are insisted on with extreme strictness and literalness. The Scotch universities have always shown great fondness for these organizations and for discussion.

Since 1889, on the initiative of Harvard College, which had for a few decades conspicuously neglected, if not disparaged this work, a new stimulus has been given and over one hundred colleges are now organized into a league for intercollegiate debate. This movement has introduced a new method, and even style of work. Champions are very carefully chosen after a competition which animates a good deal of previous preparation; the subject is divided so that each debater presents a definite part of it. College rivalry is much involved and generally its representatives are very carefully coached by the professors, under whose tuition they rehearse and are prepared to meet the arguments of the other side. This work has reacted upon the curriculum (Sheldon says), and twenty-seven colleges now offer one hundred and four courses in forensics and allied subjects. These debates rarely reach a high level of interest or ability, and are sadly lacking in spontaneity. Unlike the Oxford and Cambridge discussions they are very rarely enlivened by a free play of wit and humor or repartee.

The dangers of the academic debates are great and obvious, but not insuperable. Often individuals have no freedom of choosing their own sides, and occasionally young debaters prefer to talk against their convictions as an exercise in cleverness. It is unfortunate too to become prematurely interested in one side of any great open

question, but perhaps the gravest evil is the danger of cultivating too great readiness in speech. This tends to superficiality, loose thinking and rabulistic ratiocination. It is a mental calamity to be able to talk glibly upon any subject. Form should be based on and come after matter, and the judicial type of mind which finds or maintains equanimity against the widest diversity of view is not favored. Young debaters, especially of the preparatory and to a less extent of the collegiate stage, are also too prone to wrangle, to raise specious, factitious and even verbal issues, and sometimes to lapse to personalities.

Attempt at self-government by students is essentially an American experiment, and is recent here and has taken many different forms, which Sheldon has collected. One is that of a student court like that of the junior and senior classes at Trinity; another is the selection of student representatives to confer with the faculty on matters within fields carefully defined; in still another form the faculty selects an advisory board and invests it with power to determine and control certain matters along with members of the student body. Disciplinary committees with power over certain offences, even vigilance committees to patrol the halls, censors as in the University of Virginia with its unique honor system in vogue since 1865, a student Senate or House like that of Amherst with power to enact laws, illustrate the various types and degrees of student autonomy. Other interesting forms are on trial at Stanford, Maine, South Carolina, Indiana, and elsewhere. Nearly one half of the smaller American colleges have adopted some form of self-government, which in some is carried to an extreme. There is great diversity of need and capacity in this respect between different institutions and different sections of the country. Many irregularities of student life, especially outbreaks of lawlessness and sometimes dishonesty in examinations, have been materially checked. Students can best detect and best judge

students. The success of all these schemes depends very largely upon the tact and discretion of the president and faculty. In some institutions students on entering are requested to sign a form of contract; in others they pledge adherence to carefully drawn rules. The indefinite and volatilized freedom, which is advocated for the period of student life in continental Europe, it is often said, is less needed in a land where the liberty of subsequent life is so unrestricted as in a republic.

One of the last sentiments to be developed in human nature is the sense of responsibility, which is one of the highest and most complex psychic qualities, and in the development of which our carefully nurtured and protected youth of student age, although perhaps more matured in this respect than in any other land, have had little training. Necessary as is the discipline of this experience, the college is less fitted to give it than the outside world. The learner is necessarily receptive, under authority, in a state of pupilage, and premature independence is always dangerous and tempts to excesses.

The ideal relations between student and professor are those of the antique friendship as described by Socrates, Aristotle and Cicero. The teacher, as it were, incubates the pupil's soul and loves him, and is loved back with a devotion which in a degenerate day became sinful and scandalous. The joy of infecting the youthful mind with the insights and ambitions of maturer years is, as Phillips has shown, the later and culminating function of parenthood. The student of old consulted his mentor for what now would send him to the library. Initiation into life, induction into the mysteries of the universe even more than the transmission of information, was the purpose. The instructor dealt out knowledge as stages of initiation into the esoteric mysteries of life, and thus not only was youth taught but the inculcator himself received an incalculable moral inspiration to avoid everything unworthy in

word, deed or manner, to be an heroic ideal and almost an object of worship for his protégé.

Academic teaching has lapsed far from this ideal; partly from the reactions against the sensuous abuses of these most intimate of all ancient relationships, partly because instruction is no longer individual but in groups, but especially because teaching itself has degenerated to a trade. Of old, pupils were inspired; now they are driven. Their highest powers of endeavor were evolved; now they are often suppressed. Hard as is the doctrine for us pedagogues, I am convinced that in general, disciplinary troubles have been inversely as the power of teachers to rise to the ideal of their vocation. The history of academic life shows that just at those periods when curricula have been most impoverished, method most unnatural, and matter most remote from the great natural springs of human interest, student life has degenerated, and oscillations, even to the extremes of severity of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when mature youth were flogged, forbidden to go out without surveillance, compelled to observe severe parietal rules or ascetic rigors, or to the other extreme of license which followed, when students robbed, raped and murdered the townspeople and were guilty of every unbridled excess and hostile to every form of restraint. In place of the old amity, students and professors have ceased to trust and even grown suspicious of each other. Within very recent decades and often now, student censure is meted out to those who call upon an instructor socially, seek information about reading or studies; and the familiar terms, bootlicks, blues, curriers, piscatores, indicate the ostracism experienced by those who seek the goodwill of instructors. Widespread convention sanctions reticence and perhaps even lies to the faculty, and every act known only to one's fellow students is almost as secure of betrayal as if done in some organization pledged to secrecy. The history of American

college life abounds in both open and covered hostilities, sometimes with personal assaults upon the members of the faculty, but more often in the form of concerted rebellion. College revolts of old were based more often upon complaints regarding commons' food, but suspicions of favoritism, any increase of the wonted stint of study or augmented rigor of examination, suffices. The latter caused the famous Harvard outbreak of 1790, which was not settled for seven years. The Harvard rebellion of 1766 interrupted work for about a month. Still more serious rebellions occurred there in 1807 and 1830. In the southern colleges, riots have been not infrequent. In 1808 about one half the students were expelled from Princeton; in 1845 all the students but two freshmen were expelled from another institution; a State university not many years ago expelled the entire senior class. An attempt a few decades since to pledge each college to refuse admission to students expelled from another soon failed. These revolts have had their literature and show that not only classes but often the entire student body can become unified by sentiment and even by organization, and offer no exception to the law of mobs in which sometimes the worse occasionally but always the bolder spirits lead those who are by nature orderly. Indeed some of these troubles have been abundantly justified and have brought great and lasting reforms.

In Bologna and in Paris, there were student strikes and boycotts, and more than once the entire body under the lead of the Nations withdrew from town and either dictated terms before they would return, defying sometimes even the Pope, or withdrew to another seat. Here too the students were sometimes all right and the faculties all wrong but usually better wisdom and rectitude are found with the latter. The migration of 5,000 students from Prague to Leipzig and the exodus from Williams to Amherst are also in point in more recent times. Oxford

asserted the right of appeal from the chancellor. Student life always insists upon privileges which of old were granted in abundance, in the form of immunities from taxation, from arrest save by the university beadle, and incarceration in the college prison with trial by a college court. Until very recent years the German student, who has offended the city's ordinances, merely shows his legitimation card to a policeman and thereby escapes arrest. Free passes, exemptions from military service, reduced fees at theatres and concerts, were almost universal. To-day wherever the whole student body is threatened with the withdrawal of what seems prescriptive and traditional rights, it asserts itself with a force that few faculties can successfully cope with, as witness the efforts at Purdue and elsewhere to exterminate secret societies. The right to celebrate important events in very irregular ways is an immemorial tradition, perhaps even more difficult to suppress than hazing.

American colleges despite the growing freedom of life and efforts at self-government still insist upon a state of pupilage, especially in matters of study, which favors the tendency to regard teachers as natural enemies. Resident tutors and night watchmen about dormitories, attempts to control hours of study and retiring now generally abandoned, the time of being in, of rising, attending chapel and recitation, punctuality, *etc.*, devolve a mass of disciplinary details upon college and university faculties which ought to be outgrown. One of these institutions had lately eighty-three punishable offences specified in its rules, and the parental theory requires great discretion in its administration. The New England professor of the old type feels that there is almost no folly of which a class are not capable, and understands well that if he makes a friendly call upon a student he would be thought a spy. I lately counted eleven men asleep at a popular elective lecture, and the professor informed me after class that he suspected

they were the men involved in a riotous demonstration the night before. Individual instructors are constantly suspected of punishing real or imaginary offences by consciously or unconsciously increasing the rigors of the pass mark for recitations and examinations. Great as the improvement in recent years, especially under the elective system and athletics, vast progress is yet necessary.

Just in proportion as young men are absorbed in intellectual interests, and as professors are able and inspiring enough to dominate these interests of the class, this antagonism diminishes. It increases just in proportion as the chief interests of students are outside the special work of the classroom, laboratory or seminary, and as the professor becomes arid and barren. We often see the spectacle of new men or new subjects acting as the nucleus of a radical change of sentiment throughout the student body in this respect. Youthful sentiment is right. There is nothing more worthy of being the butt of all the horse play of ephebic wit or practical joke than an instructor from whose soul the enthusiasm of humanity has vanished, who has ceased to know and grow, and who serves up the dry husks of former knowledge and peddles second and third hand information, warmed up from year to year, rather than opening new living fountains in which the burning thirst of youth can be slaked. The latter's instincts are far wiser than they know, for iconoclasm is never better directed than against the literalist, formalist and sophronist. The well-fed mind, like the well-fed body, settles to a state of complacency and satisfaction; and hunger of mind, like hunger of body, is the greatest incentive of restlessness and discontent.

Student organizations present very interesting parallels on the one hand to the tribal system, the features of which predominate among younger; to the guilds of the Middle Ages, the ontogenetic analogue of which appears in the higher grades of university life. The Nations were spon-

taneous and democratic associations of students in the great mediæval universities who came from the same place. They found themselves without political rights in a strange town, with their property and even life insecure, and hence united for mutual protection, to tend the sick, defend the weak, help the poor, and soon succeeded in establishing a kind of artificial citizenship which obtained legal recognition. These were most fully developed in Italy, where the power of student organizations was greatest and where the Cismontanes had seventeen and the Ultramontanes sixteen nations. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they were strong in the University of Paris with its four nations,—French, Normans, Picards, and English or Germans. At Oxford they were feeble, and the two organizations—the Boreals and Australes—fused in 1274. In Aberdeen the Nations lingered until the nineteenth century and traces of them are still found in the Finnish University of Helsingfors. In Prague and Vienna, the two oldest German universities, these societies existed; and in the former the Czechs and the Germans have been opposed for six centuries, and in 1409 the German students withdrew to Leipzig. In the fifteenth century the college slowly succeeded the Nation as a unit of student organization.

The "House," as it is still called in the great public schools of England, or the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, was slowly developed from the mediæval hospices, bursa, or inns. Sometimes, as at Rugby, it was originally for foundation scholars only. One of the chief works of Arnold was to reorganize it so that each boy should here have a school home. The modern "hall" has the same origin. The first colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were simply endowed inns, where poor students had board, lodging and a common life. At first they elected their own principal, as in some of the earlier universities, and students employed and discharged professors and elected heads. The chancellor of the university, however, gradu-

ally acquired influence in the halls or inns, because his guarantee of financial responsibility was necessary. Later he was able to remove bad principals and forbid objectionable students. In France the colleges were inspected by university authorities and subordinated, but in Oxford they were left free and independent. Here they are still little subordinated to the university, and each of the stronger ones seeks to do its own teaching even in sciences, although with a great amount of expensive duplication; each has its own cricket team and crew, and by this system even in the great secondary schools, the benefits of athletics are widely diffused by the competition between the different houses. This unit of organization, although little known in this country, where it is very feebly represented by the dormitory and nearly extinct on the continent, was far superior in the strength of its bond or its *esprit du corps* to the Nation.

The Landsmannschaften, the German analogue of the Nations, after an eventful career were forbidden in the eighteenth century, but dragged out a long subterranean existence. They were originally territorial (Thuringian, Schwabian, Westphalian), and soon adopted some of the features of pennialism for their novices, inducted to full membership with initiation ceremonies, held a catechism on the beer *Komment*, with awful condemnations to infamy of all "renonciers" or betrayers of secrets or those who refused to obey orders of the council, and had their ribbons, ciphers and ceremonial kiss. The *Komment* treats of honor, a most intricate and wonderful thing in those days, how it was to be gained, kept, attacked, regained, and suggests the Japanese Bushido. The sword was its talisman and instrument, and many of the terms and forms of the French duel were introduced. The Landsmen could be decreed dishonorable on sixteen points; knew no obligations to Philistines or townsmen; were good swordsmen, the best of whom were ambitious to score a hundred duels;

must fight all former colleagues if they wished to enter another society; and were sometimes guilty of riots, marauding, and of excesses occasionally almost bestial in their beer duels and other drinking habits. It was two of these societies that the philosopher Fichte actually dissuaded to disband and give their regalia to him.

The Burschenschaften, which originated at Jena in 1816, sought to introduce higher and reformatory ideals. The famous Wartburg festival was held in 1817 on the three hundredth anniversary of Luther's defiance of the Pope just at the period of Germany's most intense reaction after the fall of Napoleon. The Burschen delegates partook of the sacrament, listened to an oration by a fellow tribesman, Riemann, already knighted by the Iron Cross for bravery in the French wars, and who evoked Luther to hear his vow in behalf of all to serve the spirit of truth and justice, to repel invaders, not to be dazzled by the splendor of the monarch's throne from speaking the strong free word of freedom and individuality. In the evening twenty-eight books, thought to contain un-German views, were burned, and not long after the Russian court chancellor, Kotzebue, whose book had been burned with the others, to the great scandal of the court, was stabbed by a Burschen theological student, Sand. Before this a small minority led by Carl Follen, a leader of the blacks or extreme left wing, a disciple of Fichte, and who afterwards taught gymnastics at Harvard College, advocated an appeal to force to accomplish at once a republican form of government, which the moral reason demanded. The government accordingly in 1819 abolished the Burschenschaften, removed suspected professors, appointed an inspector for each university, and banished or imprisoned those who still maintained membership. Although the Tugendbund of 1822 sought to perpetuate the salvable part of the organization, the Burschenschaften soon died out, after having greatly reduced gambling and duelling and otherwise having moralized student life.

The more aristocratic Corps developed as this latter organization declined. These are the outgrowth of an extravagant chivalric sense of personal dignity, self-respect and honor, of the passion to enjoy life at the stage of it when hilarity is most attractive, of a desire to knit the ties of friendship as closely as possible, and with a love of sentiment unknown in our American life. The Corps, almost as much as the Nations, had power to boycott. As representing the student body they could launch the ban of excommunication against a student, city or landlord; they developed a beer drinking *Komment* with an elaborate ritual; held that duelling was the only dignified way of resenting an insult. Some American writers have defended it as preferable to hazing, but the code lapsed, to decreeing as insults the most fanciful of offences and even to the arrangement of almost utterly causeless encounters for the delectation of spectators.

The class as an organization came to its conscious development late. Its bonds, although less close and clannish than other forms, have been found to be exceedingly strong, and until the rise of the elective system in the larger colleges the very term classmate suggested life-long ties that strengthen with years. It represents a type of comradeship with far more diversity in it than the Greek letter fraternities; and the reunions,—annual, triennial, decennial,—class-books, histories, *etc.*, touch bonds of very deep interest. Sheldon thinks that three-fourths of the conversation in the charmed circle of class members is of each other, and that to judge character and eternally revise estimates of individuals is a great school of human nature or ethology, especially valuable because of the range of types represented. Class spirit, which is so often invoked, has left lasting monuments in nearly every American institution, and feeble and ephemeral as its organization its ties are strong and lasting just in proportion to the breadth and depth of each member's humanity.

The American Greek letter fraternities are a unique organization, developing to some extent at the expense of the old debating societies, a little as the Corps grew from the Burschenschaften. Sheldon estimates that there are now one hundred and thirty thousand fraternity men ; that there are thirty-eight different organizations for men and fourteen for women, and more than five million dollars expended in buildings. Few things have been so hotly debated as their net good or evil. All the anti-Masonic sentiment has been directed against them, and it was this that compelled the Phi Beta Kappa to drop its secrecy. By students outside them, they are often called undemocratic, clannish, exclusive in a way that impresses some as making life seem cold and hopeless. They are accused of unduly influencing college politics, or rivaling commencement exercises in attraction for visiting alumni, of developing luxurious habits and perhaps worse under the guise of secrecy, of injuring class sentiment, of short-circuiting the expressions of the powerful social instinct which might otherwise be turned into religious work or larger literary organizations, and of narrowing love that ought to be broad enough to include the entire college.

On the other hand, many of the ablest and most judicious men in the country have not only been members, but keep up their interest by large subscriptions and annual visits to the society houses, often elegant and even luxurious, and many like President White, lately of Cornell, have vigorously defended them.

Their strength is great. The effort of Purdue in 1881 to compel freshmen to sign a pledge not to join the fraternities met with disastrous failure. California in 1896 was defeated in this issue. Vanderbilt strove to prevent members from competing for college honors. Michigan once expelled all members, and the Masons expelled the President. Princeton, which abolished these organizations in 1855, is perhaps the only large college now opposed to

them. In small colleges the Greek fraternities have sometimes great power over the administration. The movements against these societies are spasmodic, and sometimes, if organized, end in the formation of a new secret society.

The charm of secrecy is great, and the discipline of reticence perhaps has something to be said in its favor. Its fascination is greatly heightened by wearing the badge somewhat concealed, or by never referring to the organization to outsiders, as is the custom among members of the "Skull and Bones" and of the "Scroll and Key" societies of Yale. Fancy often constructs wild conjectures of preposterous and perhaps cruel initiations, or develops extravagant conceptions of fellow classmen hobnobbing with great alumni behind windowless walls or in secret lodge-rooms.

I have elsewhere advocated at length as an experiment worthy of trial in the appointment of some graduate member, who has specialized abroad perhaps and is waiting for a professorship, as resident tutor, in a few of these larger society houses. The expense would be slight, the presence of such a member would be a most salutary tonic to the *morale* of the organization; he could have ample time and opportunity for advancing his own studies and could set apart an hour for coaching fellow-undergraduate members in his field. If several adjacent chapter houses, representing different fraternities in the same college, each had such a member, each a specialist in different branches, interfraternity exchanges for the benefit of the coaching hours might be arranged. In this way the strength and wealth of the fraternity might be made to support the academic work of the institution; the college might possibly find here suitable candidates for vacant places in its professorial staff; and the friction now often felt between the administration and the fraternity might be reduced. Again, the growth of these organizations, if it continues, may develop ultimately into powerful institutions, which

may some day become the analogues of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, which the tutorial methods here might represent.

The strength of the spirit of social organizations in student life is remarkable. Clubs, sodalities, associations of almost every conceivable sort and for all purposes, abound. Eating, drinking, hunting in general, hawking, the special pursuit of many species of game on foot and in the air, for every kind of indoor and outdoor sport, for the most diverse political ends, for all social reforms, clubs representing nearly all of the great philosophical systems,—stoics, cynics, sceptics, platonists, scholastics, idealists and all the rest, clubs for banterers, for drinking young hyson and stronger beverages, gambling, shooting, fishing, acting, playing practical jokes, nonsense clubs, wine clubs, essay clubs, associations for dietary reforms, for fighting, for wearing plain or eccentric clothing, elaborate organizations of those who stood lowest in class, clubs of liars, petty pilferers, associations for charity, for the propaganda of religion and even atheism, for travelling, for every special branch of intellectual culture and interest both in the sciences and the humanities, and besides these hundreds of pure funk organizations with nothing about them but high-sounding names and officers, who never had a meeting and were never elected,—all these bear witness to the intense pleasure at this age of life of simply being together, or even imaginary social bonds of association, intercourse, and everything that expresses the gregarious instincts so strong in human life.

As we have elsewhere seen, the muscles undergo very great development in adolescence, and one of the most happy but new fashions of academic life is athleticism in its various forms,—boating, football, baseball, field and track events, and the evolution of the college gymnasium from its feeble beginnings only a few decades ago at Yale, Princeton and Amherst. During the early centuries uni-

versity students were training for the priesthood, were ascetics, subdued the body, took little exercise, at most a daily walk with one companion, like the apostles. Sedentary life is particularly prone to reaction in forms of revolutionary violence. If the muscles had always had their rights in the past, the long chapter of academic crime and vice would have been far less black. As a safety-valve for exuberant animal spirits and as a respectable topic for conversation, athletics have been a godsend. In the days of Jahn, Follen and the Turner movement in Germany, physical training was suspected of revolutionary tendencies. Strong muscles, it was said, tended to make men assert their rights and liberties in a democratic way. This, especially in a republic, is precisely the reverse of the truth. An abundance of free muscular activity, not of course excessive or servile, is the best possible cure for revolutionary tendencies. Hence, despite the excessive exuberance with which college victories are sometimes celebrated, athleticism has vastly facilitated college discipline.

The movement came suddenly, and faculties were at first unable to direct or control it. The Georgia legislature forbade it, and abortive efforts to this end were made in several states. At Princeton, Yale, and the University of Virginia it is still all left to student control. Elsewhere recourse has been had to many devices to secure faculty participation. The ethics and physiology of training were not at first understood. The large sums of money coming from intercollegiate sports were squandered, or sometimes tempted to dishonesty, until faculties insisted on auditing accounts, and money was sometimes used to bribe promising athletic sub-freshmen in their choice of a college. But gradually the coarse publicity, tricks and objectionable professionalism have been reduced under the influence of men like Deland and Camp, and while we have as yet by no means learned how to make college athleticism a blessing

to the majority of students or an expression of the gentlemanly love of sport seen at Oxford and Cambridge, where it subordinates all efforts to resort to unworthy methods to beat, there is slow but sure annual progress in this respect. The public craze here in the football season, when the newspapers tire and perhaps turn the heads of the members of each team, so that it takes some time for life to settle back again to its uneventful course, is one of the worst symptoms of Americanitis and one of the chief obstacles to the goal of subordinating the passion for individual distinction to that of winning honor for the team, and of making the glory of the team tributary to that of the college. The larger and higher the unit toward which the loyalty is developed, the better the moral training of athletics. The more the benefits, both of its hygienic methods and its exercise, can be spread over the year and to all members of the institution, the better its function is discharged. The more the public can be understood to appreciate the real points of the game, rather than to gratify the same instincts which tempted the Romans to gladiatorial contests or now to bull-fights and pugilistic encounters, the better. Records are proud things to hold, and if those who excel in these contests instead of being good for little else are really coming to be the representative men of the class, there is progress. The best ideal in this respect is now seen in England; where many if not all of the twenty-one colleges often have their own crews, as well as other teams, and intercollegiate races, which attract great attention and in which the representatives of the university teams are selected, where all types of mankind meet and mingle in the most democratic fashion, and where in general the position of a college on the river is the best index of its intellectual status. Before this ideal is realized, we have a long way yet to travel.

The fighting instincts begin to be serious at adolescence, and their growth rises and falls in animals and men with

love. Glory, which is the reward of victory and makes the brave deserve the fair, is in popular estimate never so great as when it is the result of conflict; and while the human female does not as in the case of many animal species look on complacently and reward the victor with her favor, military prowess has a strange fascination for the weaker sex, perhaps ultimately and biologically because it demonstrates the power to protect and defend. Power always wins a certain respectful consideration for itself, and the law of battle is a form of the survival of the fittest, which has played a great rôle in sexual selection.

Combat and personal encounter have a charm of their own, and one of the first fields for the development of the sense of justice is seen in the instinct which demands a free field, fair play, one at a time, and all the other conditions by which the really best may win. The fights of small boys are bitter, but their lack of strength makes them rarely dangerous. There is very much to be said in favor of some field for this tonic process of developing courage, testing metal, and every other source of strength, agility, and cunning here involved. The psychology of anger and hate is a theme of great practical fecundity for ethics. As fights become dangerous with the growth of strength, law and social convention divert or restrain this instinct, which boy life not only allows free scope but encourages.

Academic history is rich in material for this study. In 1345 the Oxford students disliked the wine which the college provided. A mug was thrown at the head of the steward and the broil grew into a battle between town and gown, where books were torn, buildings pillaged and burned, students migrated, and the Pope withdrew privileges. As late as 1854, in a row, a Yale student stabbed a rioter; the mob tried to loot the college and to batter its building with a cannon, fortunately spiked by the police. For years the Yale bully club, captured in a scrimmage

with the sailors, was transmitted from class to class to the strongest man. Residents of a college town as a class are often dubbed muckers, barbarians, philistines, have always been victims of destructiveness, vandalism and sometimes outrage, especially where the college town is not so small as to be insignificant and not large enough easily to dominate morally and physically the hostile instincts of students. The latter as a class are more select, learned, clever, richer than the average residents of their age, and are preferred by the young ladies of the town, so that jealousy in its most acrid form is almost inevitable on the side of the town, and this is repaid with contempt and anonymous and protected insult on the part of the better organized and usually more resourceful students. Between boarding-house keepers and their guests, tailors and the haberdashers of all sorts, and students, there is always a large surface of friction, where antagonisms are generated and all is heightened by the license and irresponsibility of the more transient collegians, their exuberant animal spirits, practical jokes, *etc.*

Antagonisms with each other are still more frequent, and take many forms from the elaborate code of the duello in its several academic forms; the rushes between classes, cane fights, bowl fights, as in, the University of Pennsylvania, and the personal scrapping involved in these and actually incited by football, especially when between sophomore and freshman classes. Class battles under various names, now only a survival, are still sometimes carefully arranged by seconds and set rules enforced whereby the parties are equally matched. Wrestling contests, which played once an important rôle, are now practically extinct; and pugilism has never flourished save under the strict control of the gymnasium as boxing. At Princeton freshmen for generations challenged the sophomores to fight, in immense posters surreptitiously placarded at night in letters visible at a great distance, although interest

centred mainly in the challenge and its effacement. Personal dignity, honor, prescriptive and traditional rights, a factitious and testy honor, still arouse hostile sentiments now generally kept in leash. The same tendency in a still more attenuated form is seen in the tendency of debates to lapse into petty wrangles and personalities; in the rivalries and competitions of emulation between the various organizations, and in intercollegiate contests of various kinds. It is often seen toned down in caricature, satire and parody, and often breaks out toward the faculty as we have elsewhere seen.

Morals and religion have had a very diverse history illustrating all extremes; at several periods almost every form of dissipation has prevailed. Drunkenness has offered in its most repulsive form, where at stated bouts students drank out of their boots or the shoes of dissolute women, under their arms, or lay upon the floor while their mates poured beer into their mouths through a funnel to enable them to win a drinking wager. Gambling has been a passion, burglaries have abounded in open day. During a good part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the habits of German students were particularly bad, and when Vienna undertook to expel harlots from town for the benefit of students, it was unsafe for women to go on the streets unprotected. All the more elegant dissipations of club life have promptly found their way into academic circles, and conviviality and gourmandism have run riot. Self-abuse, we are told, had at several times and places wrought herculean devastations; and cock fights, falcon hunting, the chase with dogs and birds, bowling, poaching, and many other practices which fashion sanctioned, but which sometimes a too strict morality condemned, have found a congenial home in the universities. The opposite extremes have been no less accentuated. The ecclesiastical character of early university life insisted upon almost every monastic rigor. Fast days, early matins and then college prayers

before daylight, hard beds, no fire, the severest parietal regulations, enforced the rule of poverty, chastity and obedience. In the Scotch universities most students were poor, sometimes walked to the college barefoot to save their shoes, carried all their possessions, worked hard and had no time for play. The old Lycurgus society at Yale advocated a plain Quaker-like dress and life, but the costume was so unbecoming it died. Amherst had a vigorous anti-venerean society, and benevolent organizations in great numbers flourished.

Religious reactions have been extreme. After the French Revolution, a wave of scepticism swept over nearly every European and American institution of learning. Free thinking was the fashion; and the very small minority who strove to be religious were ridiculed, dubbed *religiosi*, or lap-ears, and held prayer meetings, if at all, in secret. In 1813 Princeton had grown very lax till four young men met covertly for prayer and started a religious movement. In 1802 a society was founded at Harvard to arrest the decay of religion. In 1850 the Wingolf societies of theological students only, were established for the cultivation of religious sentiments. The data are not at hand to trace all these fluctuations. In general in Anglo-Saxon lands, religious sentiments have dominated at nearly all times and in nearly all seats of learning, while on the continent, especially in Germany, universities have been seats of free thought. Perhaps the greatest laxity in early times was that which Puritanism at its rise strove so hard to correct. We have elsewhere seen the effects of revivalism on the American colleges since the days of Whitefield. The year 1820 saw a great augmentation of religious feeling. The next year Brown University had the greatest revival in its history, and the famous haystack meeting was held at Williams, and the Mills society of men pledged to mission work was established.

The religious influence of the Young Men's Christian

Association has been very great in English speaking and especially in American institutions. These associations are now said to exist at four hundred and twenty-five colleges in this country, with more than twenty buildings devoted solely to their uses, and more than twenty-five thousand members — nearly one-fourth of the entire collegiate body. Under their auspices two world federations of students have been held representing eleven different denominations. This organization flourishes best in the state universities, where religion cannot be officially taught. In 1898, Sheldon estimates that there were four thousand young men pledged to the work of foreign missions and engaged in their study, a far greater number than could be employed. The ideals of militant Christianity are in a measure here revived, although there are still some fifteen thousand church members of all denominations in American colleges who are not connected with these societies. Their intercollegiate meetings, and especially their summer conferences, receptions to freshmen, their wisdom in abstaining from class politics, their hospitable buildings, have introduced a new spirit of confraternity. Very often Sunday-school and reform work is undertaken of an aggressive kind, and headed by the Prospect Union at Harvard valuable extension work is done among laboring men, women, and clerks.

College journalism reveals in full and free expression the spirit of youth unchecked. Scores of ventures here have died from over profundity, but light, bright, brief productions best reflect student life. The history of the various attempts in this field, political, social, scientific, literary, poetry and prose documents, all the gush and sentimentality shielded by anonymity, the ponderous Johnsonese, bombastic and every other affectation of style, while records of internal events, subtle but true reflections of the spirit of the age—most serious, most comic—elaborate treatment of the most trivial themes and the

platitudinous struggles with the deepest subjects, critiques of current authors, fashions, skits about girls, professors, escapades, athletics, and in fine everything not connected with studies and classroom work make these modern expressions of student life invaluable data for the study of the later phases of adolescence. Here we see the unique commingling of the most radical with the most conservative tendencies. The extreme of sentimentality and fickle titanic yearnings of an age, which is at once most spiritually drunk and sober, where everything is most expressed to the wise but strives for greatest concealment. The philosopher of the future who wishes to study in further detail the psychic expressions of this age, when the wine of life is most actively fermenting, depositing its lees and evolving its higher spirituality, isolated and cut loose from the two great regulators of human activity—social settlement and business—and revealing its own true nature, will find all this and more set down, as if for his use and delectation, in the files of American college periodicals.

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