

November 2005

Reviews in Higher Education 84

The Idea of a University in Historical Perspective

Germany, Britain, USA, and Japan

Edited by
Katsuya Senba, Yoshihito Yasuhara, and Takashi Hata



RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR
HIGHER EDUCATION
HIROSHIMA UNIVERSITY



Reviews in Higher Education, No. 84
The Idea of a University in Historical Perspective
Germany, Britain, USA, and Japan

Edited by Katsuya Senba, Yoshihito Yasuhara, and Takashi Hata

Published by:

Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University

1-2-2, Kagamiyama, Higashi-Hiroshima, 739-8512, Japan

TEL: +81-82-424-6240, FAX: +81-82-422-7104

<http://en.rihe.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/>

Printed by:

Nishiki Print Inc.

7-5-33, Shoko Center, Nishi-ku, Hiroshima, 733-0833, Japan

TEL: +81-82-277-6954, FAX: +81-82-278-6954

November 2005

ISBN 4-902808-04-8

The Idea of a University in Historical Perspective

Germany, Britain, USA, and Japan

Reviews in Higher Education, No. 84, November 2005

Contents

Preface i

Germany

The Recent Trends of Historical Research on the Founding of Berlin University
and Humboldt's Idea of a University

Masahide Miyasaka 1

Historical Development of the German Idea of "the University":
Comment on Professor Miyasaka's Paper

Akiro Beppu 11

Britain

University Reform and the Idea of a University in Victorian Britain

Lawrence Goldman 19

University Reform and the Idea of a University in Victorian Britain:
Comment on Dr. Goldman's Paper

Yoshihito Yasuhara 32

USA

The History of American Professional Education

Jurgen Herbst 37

Rethinking American Professional Education:
Comment on Professor Herbst's Paper

Toshichika Miyata 46

Japan

American Graduate School: Professional Training vs. Research Originality

Shigeru Nakayama 49

How has Japan Introduced the Notion of a “University”?

Takashi Hata 53

Concluding Remarks

The Modernisation, State Principles and Specialisation of the University:

Comments in Perspective of “Evaluation”

Masao Terasaki 65

The Coexistence of Several Ideas of a University

Kaoru Narisada 79

Outline of Conference 85

Preface

This report is mainly compiled from the papers presented at the 24th annual conference of the Japanese Society for Historical Studies on Higher Education held at Hiroshima University from 23rd to 25th November, 2001.

The main theme of the conference was “The Idea of a University in Historical Perspective”. Today, with “university reform” advancing at such a rapid speed, we recognise how important it is to look once more back in history at the question of “what is a university?” both as a subject of historical research on the university and as a practical matter of university reform. These days, the focus of discussion is on the various problems universities are facing, such as the evaluation of universities, reorganisation and integration, efficient management, co-operation with industry, the ways to deal with the IT revolution, and so on. However, it is difficult to say whether the essential problems of “why does the university exist?” and “what is a university after all?”, which lie at the heart of the problems of reform of a university, have necessarily been sufficiently discussed. It is even possible to say that contemporary university reforms are, as it were, “reforms without ideas and ideals”.

Leaving aside the absence or presence of ideas and ideals and of their necessity, it is obvious that the university reform taking place not only in Japan, but also simultaneously in every country all over the world, is a contemporary common issue. When considering the present state of contemporary university reform, it is essential to examine the historical development of the “idea of a university” from an international viewpoint. To this end, we invited Dr. Lawrence Goldman from the UK and Professor Jurgen Herbst from the USA. We discussed the four cases of Germany, Britain, the USA and Japan since the 19th century. Even now, four years after the conference took place, the deeply interesting papers and debates rich in suggestions have not lost any of their color.

The editing of this report required a few alterations and corrections to place Professor Miyasaka’s paper on Germany at the beginning, which differs from the order of the programme of the conference. This is due to the fact that the history of the idea of a university since the early 19th century has been developed with Humboldt’s idea at the center. This report is structured so as to place comments after each of the papers on Germany, Britain, the USA and Japan and there are general comments at the end summarising the whole papers.

Lastly, we would like to convey our heartfelt apologies to all of the participants who submitted their papers some time ago, for the considerable time taken for this report to come to publication because of various reasons. We would also like to express our deepest gratitude to Ms. Lynn Harrison who kindly took the trouble of translating the papers presented in Japanese into English, and Ms. Miharu Otono for her great help in the editing.

June 2005

Katsuya Senba
Yoshihito Yasuhara
Takashi Hata

GERMANY

The Recent Trends of Historical Research on the Founding of Berlin University and Humboldt's Idea of a University

Masahide Miyasaka*

1. Introduction

When talking about modern universities and the education and research in universities in Germany these days, it is necessary to consider Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1830), the renowned founder of Berlin University, as the ideological source.

Humboldt's idea of a university conferred identity on the German university model of the 19th century onwards; and the model of the modern German university, and its education and research philosophy, which arose from that, is still even now internationally renowned and often quoted as the fundamental ideology of a university.

Humboldt's idea of a university was embodied in the establishment of Berlin University in 1810, and consequently this has come to be regarded as the first time a modern university (Klassische Universität) was established in Germany. When Berlin University was founded in 1810, Humboldt had already resigned as Prussian Minister for Education, but it is thought that the greater part - although not all - of the fundamental philosophy behind the founding was based on New Humanism (Neue Humanismus) rooted in Humboldt's original ideas.

Below are some points essential to the consideration of Humboldt's new humanistic idea of a university:

1. The unification of research and education;
2. The freedom of research and education;
3. Academic research not involving a utilitarian nature;
4. The evaluation of a university as a research institute;
5. Human character building through study.

The idea has spread out throughout the world, and even now is being adopted as a fundamental idea in various countries. An international seminar "Humboldt International, the Export of the

* Professor of Humanities, Nagasaki Junshin Catholic University

German University Model in the 19th and 20th Centuries”, co-sponsored by the Department of History, Medieval History, University of Bern and the Society for University History and Science (Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, GUW), was held from 26th October to 1st November 1999 in the mountain village of Sigriswil in Bern Canton, Switzerland. At this seminar, there was much lively discussion about what exactly was Humboldt’s idea of a university, which still holds much influence as a fundamental idea for a university; and about what the German style model for a university entailed, especially the Berlin University model, which has been adopted as a model for universities founded in various countries from the latter half of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century; and also about how this university model and its fundamental ideas have been accepted into Western and Japanese society.

Those reports and discussions have been published in a collection of essays under the same title as the recent seminar held in Basel, Switzerland.¹ I would like to consider two themes from the debates and reports from the international seminar in this report.

The first theme refers to the actual research on Humboldt’s participation in the founding of Berlin University; and the second is about the establishment and transformation of Humboldt’s idea of a university in Germany.

These two themes are not just important in understanding Humboldt’s character and his way of thinking, but also in comprehending how Humboldt’s idea of a university and the modern German university model - said to have developed from the founding of Berlin University - are connected to the historical development of university organisations and philosophy over the 19th and 20th centuries in Germany.

2. Historical Research on the Creation of Universities in 19th Century Germany and Humboldt’s Idea of a University

To begin with, I will look at the historical research on the creation of universities in 19th century Germany and Humboldt’s idea of a university.

In recent years, based on a careful investigation of research materials, many topics have come to be reexamined, including among them Wilhelm von Humboldt’s participation in the founding of Berlin University; how his idea of a university has been reflected in the establishment and management of Berlin University, and what the characteristics of Berlin University are, which is the model for modernised universities in Germany. I would like to introduce the details of that

¹ Reiner Christoph Schwinges (hrsg.): “Humboldt International, Der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert”, Schwabe & Co. AG, Basel, 2001.

investigation in this report, centering on the important works of Professor Dr. Rüdiger vom Bruch of Department of History, Humboldt University of Berlin and Professor Silvia Paletschek of the Department of History, University of Tübingen.²

2-1 The Details of the Establishment of Berlin University and the Historical Background

When comparing the ideas of the founding and the organisational structure of various universities of that time period, we find that Berlin University is a university of much originality. The reform of the traditional German “family university” (Familienuniversität) to a full-scale “research university” (Forschungsuniversität) can be said to have accelerated with the formation of Berlin University.³

Indeed, Berlin University has played a central role in German higher education and scientific research since Berlin became the capital of the German Empire in 1870 from the latter half of the 19th century to the Second World War.

When considering why Berlin University has achieved such a rapid development with its short history and tradition, compared with other universities founded in the German Federation, we notice that the reasons are closely connected to its location. Berlin University, as is widely known, was the first university to be founded in a big city in the German region just before the Holy Roman Empire collapsed in the 19th century. German universities before the founding of Berlin University were mostly established in small cities in the provinces. Berlin was the first city-scale university.

There were many complications when Berlin was chosen as the construction site for a new institute of higher education inside Prussian territory, and Professor vom Bruch points out that in addition, there was a series of historical coincidences.⁴ I would like to quote from Professor vom

² The reexamination of Humboldt’s participation in the founding of Berlin University and the formation of his philosophy of the university was taken up as the principal theme at the international seminar of modern German research institutes at the Johns Hopkins University (USA) in 1995. The conclusions of that debate are published in Mitchell G. Ash, *German Universities: Past and Future. Crisis or Renewal?*, Bergham Books, New York/Oxford, 1997, and in the German edition, Mitchell G. Ash (Hg.): “Mythos Humboldt: Vergangenheit und Zukunft der deutschen Universität”, Wien, Köln, Weimar, 1999. The following essays are important in casting doubt on whether Humboldt’s philosophy of the university was actually his own original idea;

- Rüdiger vom Bruch: ‘Langsamer Abschied von Humboldt? Etappen deutscher Universitätsgeschichte 1810-1945’, Ash (Hg.): a.a.O., 1999, S.29-57.

- Ders.: ‘Die Gründung der Berliner Universität’, Schwinges (Hg.): a.a.O., 2001, S.53-74.

- Sylvia Paletschek: ‘Verbreitete sich ein ‚Humboldt’sches Modell’ an den deutschen Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert?’, Schwinges (Hg.): a.a.O., 2001, S.75-104.

- Peter Lundgreen: ‘Mythos Humboldt in der Gegenwart: Lehre - Forschung - Selbstverwaltung’, Ash (Hg.): a.a.O., 1999, S.145-169.

- Marita Baumgarten: ‘Professoren- und Universitätsprofile im Humboldt’schen Modell 1810-1914’, Schwinges (Hg.): a.a.O., 2001, S.105-130.

In this report, I chiefly refer to Rüdiger vom Bruch (2001) and Sylvia Paletschek (2001).

³ vgl.: Peter Morauw, ‘Universitäten, Gelehrte und Gelehrsamkeit in Deutschland vor und um 1800’, Schwinges (Hg.): a.a.O., 2001, S.17-31.

⁴ Rüdiger vom Bruch: a.a.O., 2001, S.56-61.

Bruch's essay below, and outline simply the details of the establishment of a new university in Berlin.

First of all, the discussion about establishing a new institute of higher education in Berlin had already started at the end of the 18th century. It is said that the first proposal known to the world to set up an institute of higher education in Berlin was drawn up by the Berlin editor Friedrich Gidike in 1778. His proposal was to integrate two powerful universities in Prussia, Frankfurt University and Halle University located on the banks of the River Oder, to make a new institute of higher education in Berlin. However, because the religious denominations of the two universities were completely different, it would have been virtually impossible to merge them. After that, in 1798, Ludwig von Massow, Minister of Justice for the Prussian Empire, released a plan to integrate technical colleges and practical colleges to place a new institute of higher research in Berlin. His plan of integration was approved by the Prussian government in 1800, but when it was about to be put into practice in 1802, it was heavily criticised by people from various walks of life. Due to these kinds of circumstances, setting up a university in Berlin was not easy.

After that, it is said that Schleiermacher, who played an important role in the establishment of Berlin University, was also skeptical about the founding of an institute of higher research in Berlin. In his 1808 essay "Thoughts on the Significance of German Universities" (*Gelegentliche Gedanken über Universitäten in deutschen Sinne*), he proposed that the university be situated not in Berlin, but in Havelberg, a provincial city close to the border.⁵ According to Professor vom Bruch, the reason he was skeptical of Berlin was that Berlin already had many research institutes other than universities, and even if a new educational institute was built, there was a possibility that they would not be able to gather enough students; and also that prices in Berlin were high and the financial burden on students would be heavy. In addition, he gave voice to the apprehension that living in a big city would lead to the moral downfall of students.⁶ Incidentally, according to Professor Paletschek's research, although throughout the 19th century there were many discussions on establishing a university in a big city, in the first half of the 19th century the comments were decidedly skeptical, but in the latter half, comments recommending a city-scale university increased greatly.⁷

The first direct opportunity to set up a new university in Berlin was the defeat of Prussia in the Napoleonic Wars and the Treaty of Tilsit, concluded in 1807. According to the treaty, Halle University, which had been an important institute of higher education in Prussia, became part of the Westfalen territory, and Berlin became one of the emergency refuge areas for academic research which up to then had taken place at Halle University. It became highly necessary to establish a new

⁵ ebenda, S.59.

⁶ ebenda, S.59f.

⁷ Sylvia Paletschek: a.a.O., 2001, S. 81f.

institution of higher education in Prussia to secure educational and research functions.

The establishment of Berlin University in 1810 shows strongly the character of society and the policies necessary to rebuild the Prussian state system after the defeat in the Napoleonic Wars. As a result, the newly founded Berlin University was different from traditional German universities of the past because of state-led university management.

So what were the advantages of constructing a university in a big city? The biggest advantage would have been the ease of co-operation between various research institutes and cultural facilities already established in the same city. In Berlin University, it was planned right from the start that people assigned to the science academies and research institutes would give lectures at the university. In 1809 when Humboldt presented his plan to establish a university to the Prussian Emperor, he proposed that the university and the science academies should interchange personnel. Due to this, from when Berlin University was first established, it was able to incorporate cutting-edge research into its university classes and research. The origin of this is “the solidarity between research and education”, part of Humboldt’s idea of a university. However, the close co-operation between universities, science academies and research institutes had not been thought up by Humboldt, it had been suggested by something already put into practice by Göttingen University. In addition to this, the university offered posts to capable researchers from outside of the university, and had a system of appointing private lecturers (Privat Dozent), set up in order to lecture and guide students, but this system was not unique to Berlin University, and had already been put into practice at Göttingen University.⁸

2-2 The Organisation of Berlin University and Humboldt’s Idea of a University

The next point is about how Humboldt’s idea of a university is reflected in the management and organisational structure of Berlin University.

First of all, according to Professor Paletschek’s research on the university regulations from when Berlin University was first founded, the purpose of university education at Berlin University, as stated in the university regulations, is for young people who have completed general education and specialised education to complete a consistent education through lectures and seminars, and to train capable people to be able to play an active role in various fields in the state and in the church. Thus, it had a clear and specific purpose: to train able people to lead organisations and become the root of

⁸ ebenda, S.78ff. S.91, Anm. 32. According to Max Lenz, the appointing of private lecturers was permitted under the 1799 Ingolstadt University Regulations, and was allowed in Heidelberg University (1803), Landsfüt Univeristy (1804) and Halle University (1804).

state systems such as the state or church, or social systems, not to build character as advocated by the “general education” of Humboldt. The university regulations are said to have been principally created by Schleiermacher’s basic philosophy towards education.⁹

Next, let us consider the influence Humboldt’s idea of a university had on the organisation of the university. What is especially conspicuous is the composition of teaching staff. One of its characteristics is that most of the scholars who became teachers at Berlin University and its researchers belonged to other research institutes in Berlin. The researchers assigned to science academies and research institutes at Berlin University had the right to give lectures from the beginning, so young researchers, who stood at the forefront of research, were able to carry out research education at the university. Due to this, the education and research at the university was lively and provided a dynamically rapid university development.

The autonomic nature of the research institutes (Institut) and seminars (Seminar) at the core of Berlin University’s educational research organisation were to a certain extent respected, as Humboldt had advocated, but in the end, the government held appointive power over instructors, and state control was maintained. Although Humboldt himself endorsed the autonomy of education and research organisations inside the university, he did not touch upon the vesting of appointive power for instructors. As you can see, the right of self-government conferred on Germany’s traditional universities was never bestowed on Berlin University.

The next point is the organisational structure of the university. Professor Paletschek has concluded that the organisational structure of Berlin University fundamentally followed the existing old traditional university structure.¹⁰ Specifically, it was modeled on the organisation of Göttingen University and Halle University, innovative universities of the 18th century. For its departmental structure, it adopted the traditional four-faculty system of theology, law, medical science and philosophy. From when it was first founded, Berlin University emphasised the superiority of the philosophy department over the other three departments, based on the New Humanism of Humboldt and Schleiermacher and others, but in actual university management, the superiority of the philosophy department was never established. Far from that, much controversy occurred within the philosophy department because of the specialising, separation and growth of the natural science and economics departments, which had been part of the philosophy department and the medical science department.

Moreover, Humboldt suggested that the university should have its own individual domain (Domene) as the traditional financial base of the university, and rely on this as its financial system. This shows us that Humboldt was seeking the same kind of base system for the university as those

⁹ ebenda, S.79.

¹⁰ ebenda, S.79f.

that had previously existed in traditional universities, and also is thought to be a manifestation of his intention of its being financially independent from the state. However, Berlin University had a fund of government investment as its financial base, the same as other modern German universities, and Humboldt's proposals were never realised. This financial support from the state has increased year by year, and has played an important role in the growth of Berlin University.

2-3 The Historical Development of Humboldt's Idea of a University

Next I would like to consider the second theme of when Humboldt's idea of a university started to play an important role in giving identity to German universities.

It is said that the book in which Humboldt's university plan is outlined in most detail is "About the inner and outer organisation of institutions of higher science in Berlin" (*Über die innere und äußere Organisation der höheren wissenschaftlichen Anstalten in Berlin*). However, this book was discovered and published in 1900. Therefore, it was not until the 20th century that the "Humboldtian idea of a university" became widely known and quoted inside and outside of Germany.¹¹

The 100th anniversary events of the founding of Berlin University in 1910 played an important role in the formation of the so-called "Humboldtian idea of a university", as well as "the Humboldt model". In that year, various anniversary lectures and publications were issued, and generally speaking, the development of Berlin University over the previous 100 years was taken to be positive. It is said that "the traditional creation of Berlin University" was consciously carried out at that time. The philosopher and specialist in education, Edward Spranger, who was a private lecturer at Berlin University at that time, and who later became a professor, was one person who played a part in this.¹² Spranger claimed that the 100 years of growth of Berlin University was due to the introduction of the modern philosophy of the university based on Humboldt's New Humanism, and the university model. In addition to this, Schleiermacher, Fichte and Steffens amongst others published books in succession from 1910 to 1920. At the same time as the thoughts of these intellectuals, who participated in the founding of Berlin University, became known to the world, the debate over the basic philosophy of the existence of the university became more serious. Spranger's interpretation of Humboldt is thought to have proved useful in legitimising the context of the university as a research institution, starting with basic research, which had rapidly developed, especially in the field of natural science.

From this, Professor Paletschek says that the earliest time Humboldt's idea of a university as a

¹¹ ebenda, 100.

¹² The most representative research on Humboldt by Spranger is "Wilhelm von Humboldt und die Reform des Bildungswesens", Berlin, 1910. Ders.: "Wilhelm von Humboldt und die Umanitätsidee", Berlin, 1901.

“Humboldtian university” or a “Humboldt model” was used with clear concept stipulations was after 1920.¹³

In the 20th century, Humboldt’s idea of a university as a “Humboldtian university” or a “Humboldt model” was repeatedly used, as if his idea of a university had been accepted into all German universities as a basic philosophy. It is thought that another background social phenomenon has also actively contributed to this change, apart from Spranger’s research on Humboldt.

This is the university reforms of the 1960s, correlated with the influence of the theory of the university published by German intellectuals. One of the representative figures was Helmut Schelsky. Schelsky, as is well-known, published *Solitude and Freedom of the University: German University and the Shape of Reform and Idea* (Einsamkeit und Freiheit: Idee und Gestalt der deutschen Universität und ihrer Reformen) in 1963, and circulated his re-interpretation of Humboldt’s New Humanism throughout the world.¹⁴ It is said that the background behind the publication of Schelsky’s book is that he himself was actually heavily involved in the university reforms.¹⁵ Professor Paletschek points out that most of the books written about Humboldt’s idea of a university in the 1960s were not written by historians, but rather by social scientists involved with university administration and university reforms.¹⁶ The essays and books published by social scientists and thinkers have become the shape of the subject matter when discussing the consciousness of the university’s existence and the way of it which arose through the growth of the student movements and university reform movements which unfolded in every part of the world in the 1960s.

In Japan, when discussing Humboldt’s idea of a university, Schelsky is much quoted. The section from one of the foremost researchers on Humboldt in Japan, Professor Teiji Nishimura’s critical biography, *Humboldt*, about Humboldt’s idea of a university is principally based on the above-mentioned Schelsky’s book.¹⁷ In the future, it will be important to examine in detail when Humboldt’s idea was introduced into Japan, in what form it was carried out, and also how this idea of a university has come to be referred to in the social context.

In Conclusion

Above I have given a simple introduction, but to sum up I would like to quickly emphasise Professor vom Bruch’s, Professor Paletschek’s and others’ historical research.

¹³ Sylvia Paletschek: a.a.O., 2001, S.100.

¹⁴ The Japanese translation is *Daigaku no Kodoku to Jiyu* (translated by Kinya Abe, et al., Mirai-sha, 1970).

¹⁵ According to Professor vom Bruch, the publication of Schelsky’s book, *Solitude and Freedom of the University*, was connected to the conception of the establishment of the new Bielefeld University.

¹⁶ Sylvia Paletschek: a.a.O., 2001, S.101f.

¹⁷ See Teiji Nishimura, *Humboldt*, Shimizu Shoin, 1990, pp.105-110.

1. According to the historical research on the founding of Berlin University in 1810 and Humboldt's idea of a university based on his New Humanism and the university model, at the time of the founding of Berlin University, there is hardly any evidence to suggest that Humboldt's original idea of a university was directly reflected in the organisational management of the university. There is, however, evidence to assert that Berlin University was the first of the modern German universities, and also to claim that Göttingen and Halle Universities had already put into practice organisational principles, which have been thought to have been first realised in Berlin University from Humboldt's original ideas, for example, freedom of research and teaching, the university as a place of original research, and others. As for organisational principles and philosophies, there is a large part of Berlin University which was organised around an already existing university model.
2. Also, when discussing the nature of the university in the 19th century, there is no evidence to suggest that "Humboldt's idea of a university" or "Humboldt's model" was taken up as an important theme.
3. Humboldt's idea of the university has been bound up with a German philosophy of a university, and only really after the 100th anniversary of the founding of Berlin University in 1910 did it start to play a big role in the formation of an identity for German universities, and the traditional academic formation of Berlin University. The idea of a university based on Humboldt's New Humanism was used by the philosopher Edward Spranger for the purpose of conferring a legitimisation on Berlin University's actual philosophy of the university and on the 100 years of growth.
4. The Humboldt idea of a university and university model that we know was greatly influenced by Humboldtian theory which arose as a link in the university reforms that took place in the 1960s. The social scientist Helmut Schelsky's *Solitude and Freedom of the University* has especially greatly influenced the formation of the Humboldt model.

It is thought that these interpretations of Humboldt's idea have caused a stir in 19th century German university history research. As Humboldt's idea of a university has been accepted as a symbol of German university education and research as a whole, various diverse historical developments which have unfolded in many parts of Germany have been covered up. In the future, it will be necessary to conduct a detailed examination into the historical background of how the shape

of Humboldt's idea of the university arose and its development; and about what is the characteristic development of each university in Germany not subsumed by Humboldt's idea.

Historical Development of the German Idea of “the University”: Comment on Professor Miyasaka’s Paper

Akiro Beppu*

Introduction

Broadly speaking, the concept of “the university” is comprised of three components: idea, organization, and function. These three components do not explain the all of the dynamics within the university, but they do explain the basic facts regarding the university.

1) *Idea*

Idea is related to the ethical side of the university. Whatever the structure of the organization, there must be a subjective rationale within the mind of each member for having become a member of the organization. Together with this subjective rationale, the university member also has spiritual ties to the organization. These ties are neither economic nor political values, but are linked to idealistic and academic values. Moreover, these values govern the organization of the university and the activities of its members, and must serve to elevate standards. Idea, thus, is comprised of spiritual values.

2) *Organization*

Organization may be called the body or constitution of the university. Because the university was originally an academic organization, faculties, departments and lectures form the core of the university organization, and are elements of education and research. The university also has an administrative structure. Administration is a decision-making organ with links to finance as well as to education and research. Its structure includes faculty meetings, full staff meetings (at Meiji University there are inter-faculty meetings and university staff meetings), a board of trustees, and a board of regents. Organization is the most visible of the three components, as it represents the “body” of the university.

* Professor, School of Arts and Letters, Meiji University

3) Function

The university exists within society, and therefore fulfills a specific social function. Seen in historical perspective, the original function of the university was to train and educate a class of professionals and specialists: the medieval European university was comprised of faculties of divinity, law and medicine. From the end of the 18th century into the early 19th century, the goal of the university, particularly in Germany, was “the unity of education and research”.

This does not mean that professional training was ignored or even neglected. Rather, it was thought that if education and research are the basic functions of the university, then the social function of the university rests in professional training through research and education.

1. The Three “Characteristics of Idea”

The original ideal of the university becomes apparent when idea, organization, and function operate in harmonious unity. The contents of education are stipulated and practiced according to idea, and the administration of organization is carried out according to doctrinal precepts.

I would next like to consider the three “characteristics of idea”.

First, idea is set in place when the institution is created; however, it is not in a complete or perfect form. It achieves its final form over time through the efforts of the members of the institution.

Second, because idea is formed as an historical process, doctrinal interpretations change according to the age. However, idea cannot be completely mutable, but must contain some immutable elements. There is an apparent contradiction here: idea must be able to endure a wide variety of historical interpretations while at the same time retaining an immutable set of values.

Third, doctrinal ideals are never completely attained. Complete attainment would negate them as ideals. Idea is related to the spiritual values of the institution’s members, and has the power to act as an ethical brake at times of crisis or apathy, restoring standards to their original levels.

Having given this outline, I would now like to consider the ideas of Berlin University.

2. Three Regulations Formulated by von Humboldt at the Time of the Foundation of Berlin University

Wilhelm von Humboldt formulated three regulations at the time of the foundation of Berlin University, these being: 1) academic freedom, 2) the unity of education and research, 3) education through academe.

- 1) Academic freedom meant “the state shall not interfere with nor regulate academics. Professors are free to pursue education and research, and students are free to study and develop themselves”.
- 2) The unity of education and research meant “professors have a duty to attend equally to both education and research. Professors should employ their research methods and achievements within the field of education, and educational content should always be based on the most recent academic achievements”.
- 3) Education through academe meant “as for education and study, repetition and the transmission of conventional wisdom are not at the core of university learning; learning based on ongoing research forms the core”.

Put in an historical context, these ideas form the ideological foundation of those who espoused the “spirit of reform”, including Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Friedrich Schleiermacher.

3. The Idea Manifested in the Regulations of the Faculty of Philosophy, Berlin University

The idea of Berlin University is most clearly manifested in the regulations of the Faculty of Philosophy, which were promulgated in 1838.

Chapter 1 - Duties and Affairs of the Faculty of Philosophy

Article 1: “Academic disciplines of professors are to include philosophy, mathematics, natural science, history, linguistics, and national studies”. (vide Chapter 1, Article 4)

Article 2: “Education given in the Faculty of Philosophy shall have a two-fold mission. 1) Providing students with a general and scientific education having professional education as its basis; that is to say, providing students with both general and supplementary knowledge that must include research into divinity, law, and medicine. 2) Promoting the academic disciplines of this faculty for the sake of academe, and by so doing training teachers. However, The Faculty of Philosophy will not pursue this two-fold goal according to two different pedagogic styles, but through unified, goal-oriented lectures which maintain a pure scientific interest”.

These articles clearly state the ideas of “the unity of education and research” and “education through academics”.

(vide Prussen’s 1794 work ‘Allgemeines Landrecht fuer die preussischen Staaten’, Article 1:

“Schools and universities are institutions of the state with the goal of providing youths with learning and productive knowledge”. Article 67: “The university shall possess every right held as a privilege by an organization”.)

4. The Reality of Education in German Universities as Deduced from Idea and Regulations

Having presented education as the basis of idea, let us turn to the reality of German university education.

It was thought that students had to be educated into independent academic thinking within a framework of solitude and freedom. The goal of learning was not the acquisition of unchanging, transmissible knowledge, but the search for truth by means of academic methodology.

Von Humboldt believed that “academic awareness has no duty but to truth, and truth should be newly sought and discovered. That is to say, truth is not dependent on any one thing, nor does it exist in perfect solitude. It follows, then, that education through academics should a priori be free from goals, should be open to new ideas, and should be ever expanding”.

Friedrich Schleiermacher subscribed to this idea as the essence of learning: “as for the workings of what we call academics, the student should study in order to know, within a variety of ideas and concepts, the nature and rules of academe, and by so doing, acquire the ability to do his own research, make discoveries, and express himself”.

The words of these two men express the idea that “the student receiving an education through academics within the freedom of a university lies at the core of university education, and is what is significant about studying at university”.

A highly liberal academic environment holds the definitive meaning for research, teaching, and learning. It follows, therefore, that both doctrinally and in reality, German university education does not have a prescribed duration of study, nor does it have prescribed classes. In most of the disciplines of psychology and sociology, there is neither compulsory course work nor curricula.

By participating in the academic operations, students can form their own characters and personalities. This development toward self-formation is unattainable through government regulation of the duration of study, curriculum content, and the learning process.

Development is most attainable when the process is widely and freely left up to the students and faculty, and when regulations allow for freedom of education and research.

The present academic reality is in the process of gradual change. Even so, it may be thought that the idea presented above still forms the core of mass German university education.

5. Characteristics of the Classical University

The classical period of the German University (from 1810 to about 1970) as represented by Berlin University may be said to have had the following characteristics: ‘a university which values academic achievement’ (Leistungsuniversität); ‘a university controlled by tenured faculty’ (Ordinarienuniversität); ‘large-scale management of academics’ (Grosbetrieb); ‘spiritually aristocratic academic training’; and ‘the supremacy of the idea of the unity of education and research’.

Unlike the aristocratic university which values family lineage, ‘a university which values academic achievement’ places the greatest significance on the academic achievements of the teaching faculty. As a result, academic competition becomes the single standard for determining quality. More precisely, the Professor Credential Examination (Habilitation) and the related Private Lecturer System were introduced. Further, the practice of “Hausberufungsverbot” came about forbidding the promotion of part-time lecturers and professors to tenured professorship at the university where they are employed. (This practice has become a regulation within universities.) Behind this lies the belief that the main responsibility of academe is to change its outlook from the transmission of traditional knowledge to the creation and discovery of new knowledge.

As in the era preceding the classical age of the German university, tenured professors monopolized the university operations, and the ‘university controlled by tenured professors’ has endured into the present.

The trend toward ‘large-scale management of academics’ became more pronounced at the end of the 19th century, as symbolized by the creation of ‘seminars’ and ‘institutes’.

The fourth characteristic, ‘spiritually aristocratic academic training’, without doubt helps teachers and students to create and discover new knowledge, however, as Jaspers has said, this academic training has the aristocratic character of being carried out ‘in solitude and freedom’.

‘The supremacy of the idea of the unity of education and research’ may be restated as “teaching while researching, and researching while teaching”. This is a classical idea that may be seen in the activities of seminars and in engineering research institutes. The professor investigates the nature of academe and scientific problems, and the students debate and discuss.

The above are all concrete examples taken from the idea of Berlin University.

6. The German University Today

What are present German thoughts regarding the university? ‘The mission of the university’ in present German society is clearly expressed in the “University Regulatory Laws” (HRG). Article 2,

Clause 1 decrees that “Institutions of higher education shall be devoted to the cultivation and development of arts and letters through research, education, learning and continuing education. Institutions shall promote academic knowledge and academic methodology, and prepare students for occupational activity”.

As is clear from the above, the idea of academe devoted to the pursuit of truth, that is, ‘academe for the sake of academe’, has not been completely abandoned, but has come to include education as occupational preparation.

It follows, then, that the ‘goals of learning’ have been expanded. Article 7 of the HRG states “Education and learning shall prepare the student to undertake occupational activity, and to this end shall provide the necessary knowledge, skills, and methodology through course work; they shall further enable the student to undertake academic and artistic work; they shall enable the student to act responsibly within the democratic, social, and legal framework of the nation”.

Traditional ideas still persist, notably the following two: ‘universities shall undertake research aimed at the promotion, development, and cultivation of academe’; and ‘education and training through academe’. These two traditional ideas form the base upon which the more recent ideas of occupational training and citizenship have been built. Clearly, the goals of university education have responded to the needs of society.

7. Conclusion

The idea of von Humboldt for the university has changed with the times, undergoing a series of reforms and renewals. However, it has remained the most definitive and powerful influence on the German university up to the present.

The German university (institutes of higher learning) is presently undergoing a radical series of reform measures, and it is worth considering whether von Humboldt’s idea will survive the 21st century.

The following are the changes presently occurring.

- 1) The state is abandoning university management, and is calling upon the universities to manage themselves.
- 2) Together with this is the call for universities to take on a greater share of all university-related responsibilities.
- 3) Efforts to obtain private funding are underway.
- 4) To be economically viable, universities are being asked to reduce the number of courses and

to merge.

- 5) The trend toward disbursing funds to universities on the basis of scholastic achievement has grown pronounced.
- 6) 'University Administrative Committees' (Hochschulrat) modeled on the American Board of Regents are being established.
- 7) The powers of university chancellors and deans have been enlarged.
- 8) Education and tutorials are being stressed in order to resolve the longstanding issue of duration of study.
- 9) More private universities are being established, and there is a trend to private management.

These changes are bound to exert an influence on the idea of the university. How can the idea be maintained and still respond to changes in the "zeitgeist"? Will it be restructured? With universities becoming self-governing bodies, will they be able to retain the spirit of liberal research and education? These are the questions being pondered in Germany today.

Looked at from an historical perspective, whenever the German university faced a crisis, the idea propounded at the foundation of Berlin University, the birthplace of the classical university, was used as a basis for consideration and discussion. We may expect the same in the future, making this idea a worthy subject for study and reflection.

References

Statuten der koniglichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universitat zu Berlin. 1816.

Statuten der philosophischen Facultat der koniglichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universitat zu Berlin. 1838.

Beppu, A., *Doitsu ni okeru Daigakukyoju no Tanjo*. 1998: Sobunsha.

Takagi, H., *Daigaku no Hotekichii to Jichikiko ni kansuru Kenkyu*. 1998: Taga Shuppan.

Amano, M., Yuki, D., and Beppu, A., *Doitsu no Kyoiku*. 1998: Toshindo.

Ritter, G., *Die Krisis des deutschen Universitatswesens*. 1960: Erscheinungsdatum.

Moraw, P., *Vom Lebensweg des deutschen Professors (Gekurzte Fassung eines Vortrages)*,
Forschung: Mitteilungen der DFG. 1988, S.1.

Regierungserklärung im Bayerischen Landtag: Kultusminister Zehetmaier stellt Einzelheiten der Hochschulreform vor (<http://server.stmukwk.bayer.de>).

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universitat-Munchen, Jahresbericht des Rektoratskollegiums vom 1 Oktober, 1995 bis 30 September. 1977, S.39.

BRITAIN

University Reform and the Idea of a University in Victorian Britain¹

Lawrence Goldman*

In May 1854, during debates on the Oxford University bill then before parliament, Sir John Ramsden, Liberal M.P. for Taunton, who had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, asked the following questions:

In the first place...what were the Universities? Were they national establishments or not? Was a degree conferred by the Universities a civil or ecclesiastical distinction? Were the Universities mere schools for supplying clergymen to the Established Church, or were they institutions for the general cultivation of knowledge and for the enlargement of the field and literature and science?²

As historians have acknowledged, the national debates in the mid-nineteenth century over the reform of Oxford and Cambridge involved ‘nothing less than different conceptions of the nature and purposes of universities’.³ Ramsden, though an Anglican himself, was concerned to open the universities to members of all religious denominations and hence questioned the relationship of them to the Anglican church. But as we shall see, there were many more questions beyond those of religion in the matter of university reform. This paper, while focusing on the parliamentary debates over the reform of Oxford in particular, will try to set out some of these questions and also consider the solutions that the Victorians offered to them. It will argue that, in the case of Oxford and Cambridge, there was no single ‘idea of the university’ but many different ideas held simultaneously, sometimes in creative tension with each other, and sometimes in disabling competition.

The reform of the ancient universities, carried out between the 1850s and 1880s, was largely imposed from outside by the state. It was intended to open Oxford and Cambridge to all religious denominations, modernise their curricula, quicken the educational life and utility of the institutions,

¹ Sections of this essay have been published previously as ‘Oxford and the Ideas of a University in Nineteenth Century Britain’, *Oxford Review of Education*, vol. 30, 4, December 2004, 575-92 (<http://www.tandf.co.uk>).

* Editor, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and Fellow and Tutor in Modern History*, St Peter’s College, Oxford

² *Parliamentary Debates* (hereafter *P.D.*), 3rd series, cxxxiv, 22 June 1854, 538.

³ T. W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England* (London, 1982), 155.

and encourage academic research. Much of this was to be achieved by the establishment within the universities of an academic career structure open to merit. The focus was on secularisation, specialisation, and the so-called 'endowment of research'. In Oxford in the space of a generation, college fellowships were thrown open to competition; celibacy as a condition for the holding of a fellowship was ended; intercollegiate lectures began to break down the educational isolation of the individual colleges; the university's governing structure was made more representative as the Hebdomadal Board composed of heads of colleges was replaced by a broader Hebdomadal Council; the professoriate was expanded; academic research was recognised as a legitimate university function; natural science was added to the curriculum, and religious tests were abolished for matriculation, graduation and election to fellowships. The social composition of the universities - who the students were and where they came from - was a consideration in these changes, but was always less important than purely institutional reform. Yet it must be emphasised that some of these aims were only partially fulfilled; that many aspects of the universities in 1900 would still have been familiar to the undergraduates and tutors of 1850; and that the progress of these reforms was halting and erratic.

The process was begun with the establishment in 1850 and 1852 respectively of Royal Commissions of Enquiry into the Universities of Oxford and of Cambridge. Legislation followed in 1854 (Oxford) and 1856 (Cambridge). The commissions 'stimulated and focused a debate over the nature of universities that extended through the 1850s'.⁴ The state returned to the offensive in the early 1870s in the shape of another enquiry, the Cleveland Commission, into the 'properties and income of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge'.⁵ Further legislation in 1877 established the executive Selborne Commission which was charged with the reapportionment of revenues so that college wealth might in future be used for wider, federal university purposes. Taking into account other developments with a bearing on the ancient universities - for example, the Devonshire Commission which enquired into 'Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science' and reported in 1873⁶ - the process of reform came to an end three decades after it began in the early 1880s.

Contemporaries often explained the changes to Oxford and Cambridge as part of the more general current of liberal reform in nineteenth-century Britain which altered many traditional

⁴ Ibid, 164.

⁵ Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Property and Income of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (Pts. I-III), *Parliamentary Papers* (hereafter *P.P.*) 1873, vol. xxxviii.

⁶ Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science, 3rd report, *P.P.* 1873, vol. xxviii.

institutions, including the political system itself. When discussing the need to open Oxford to members of all faiths, Sidney Herbert, the former Peelite M.P. and minister, spoke approvingly of religious liberty and believed it 'impossible...at the present day to maintain the exclusive system which had so long prevailed at the University of Oxford'.⁷ Historians have generally agreed, linking university reform to a range of progressive changes and forces that Oxford and Cambridge could not resist, and which many of their members welcomed. Lewis Campbell, who wrote one of the first and best accounts of university reform explained it in terms of the wider process of Victorian secularisation.⁸ More recently, Arthur Engel has emphasised the professionalisation of the academic staff and senior members of the universities.⁹ Martin Wiener, meanwhile, has placed the universities - along with the public schools - at the forefront of the cultural incorporation of the middle classes by the aristocracy in nineteenth-century Britain which allowed for the smooth transmission of social influence to the bourgeoisie and the maintenance of political stability.¹⁰ W. R. Ward, on the other hand, in his work on Victorian Oxford, has eschewed such large contexts, and concentrated instead on studying the internal academic politics of the university, reminding us thereby that issues of principle concerning the nature of the university were often disguised (and sometimes, perhaps, forgotten entirely) in local struggles for 'donnish dominion'.¹¹ While this internalist approach runs the risk of degrading all questions to struggles for local precedence and authority, it also shows that strictly political disputes within the institutions were correlates of wider educational debates. Each faction stood for a different type of reform and hence for a different type of university. To argue over the distribution of power between a narrow Hebdomadal Board or a wider Hebdomadal Council, or between the Congregation of active university teachers and the Convocation of all graduates was also to argue over the relative merits of conservative and liberal versions of what the university should be.

One alternative to the close study of academic politics would be to focus instead on the famous programmatic statements on the 'nature of the university' which this age encouraged. Newman's *Idea of a University* (1852), Pusey's *Collegiate and Professional Teaching and Discipline* (1854), Mark Pattison's *Suggestions on Academical Organisation* (1868) and the *Essays on a Liberal Education* edited by F.W. Farrar in 1867, were, among other texts, responding to the challenge of defining the purpose of universities. Yet however interesting and persuasive these texts were (and

⁷ P.D. cxxxiv, 22 June 1854, 519.

⁸ Lewis Campbell, *On the Nationalisation of the Old English Universities* (London, 1901).

⁹ Arthur Engel, *From Clergyman to Don: The Rise of the Academic Profession in Nineteenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford, 1983).

¹⁰ Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980* (Cambridge, 1981).

¹¹ W. R. Ward, *Victorian Oxford* (London, 1965); idem, 'From the Tractarians to the Executive Commission, 1845-1854' in M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys, *The History of the University of Oxford, vol. vi, Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Part I* (Oxford, 1997), 306-36.

remain), they can tell us little about the history and process of university reform, and about the opinions and intentions of those directly engaged in framing the changes. By turning attention to the House of Commons and away from the internalised disputes within Oxford, and by examining the national political debates on the universities rather than the blueprints of lone scholars, it may be possible to investigate ‘the idea of the university’ in the most appropriate and relevant context - the national political developments and choices which actually shaped university reform.

It must be understood that university reform was imposed from without by the combination of public pressure and the state. The national community had certain expectations of Oxford and Cambridge which they seemed unable to meet. In a period when the calibre of secondary education was improving in the public schools under the dual impulse of Thomas Arnold’s example at Rugby and the growing expectation of middle-class parents that their sons would receive a university education to fit them for entry into the professions, the pressure for reform came not just from the state above, but from the potential customers of university education below.¹² In a critique that had almost been standardised by 1850, the universities were seen as essentially clerical institutions for the training of Church of England clergy.¹³ They were dismissed for the low standards of their scholarship and the narrowness of their curricula: mathematics and classics alone led to honours. The absence of natural and applied science limited their contact with intellectual progress beyond their walls and ensured that they made no contribution at all to the economic life of the nation. College tutors controlled the teaching of undergraduates and were generally held to be defective in that role. Many only held their college fellowships until a college living fell vacant, at which point they would leave the university, marry and turn to parish duties. Other non-resident fellows used their emoluments to train for a profession in London. There was thus no internal academic career structure that might have encouraged higher standards. The narrow focus on preparing undergraduates for their examinations rather than encouraging intellectual growth and speculation stunted intellectual life within the walls and marginalised the professors whose subjects and lectures were usually of no relevance to ‘reading men’ studying hard for honours. Meanwhile the colleges of the universities were bound by statutes which made the process of self-reform (even where it was desired) extremely difficult. Above all, half the sons of the nation were debarred on grounds of conscience; at Oxford, only those who would subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of

¹² J. R. de S. Honey and M. C. Curthoys, ‘Oxford and Schooling’ in M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys, *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. vii, *Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Part 2* (Oxford, 2000), 545-69.

¹³ ‘At Oxford Before 1854, the Church was still everything and everywhere...’, [H. P. Liddon], ‘Recent Fortunes of the Church in Oxford’, *Church Quarterly Review*, xii, April 1881, 204.

England could become members of the university (matriculate); and at Cambridge subscription was required from anyone wishing to take a degree. According to Robert Collier M.P.,

Why was there this inferiority on the part of Oxford? The main cause of it was, her own exclusiveness. She excluded not only Dissent, but the advancing knowledge of the age and its new ideas; treated with indifference, if not with contempt, modern science and art; and, ignoring progress, chose rather to rely on the wisdom of the ancients...The close atmosphere of Oxford required ventilation.¹⁴

Gladstone - who drafted the 1854 Oxford University bill - called it 'an emancipating measure'.¹⁵ He talked of 'releasing its government from the fetters to which its action has been long subject'.¹⁶ It was designed to emancipate the university from the colleges, and the colleges from the intentions and specific benefactions of their founders, which, by the nineteenth century, were often obstacles to educational advance and social usefulness.

The Oxford Commission, reporting in 1852, recommended 'a centralised university run predominantly by professors and faculties, with a much higher emphasis on research, on the Scottish/German model'.¹⁷ As for the colleges, they should become more efficient, scholarly and meritocratic. Their fellowships should no longer depend on the taking of holy orders; they should be opened up to competition on the basis of ability; and some of their unnecessary positions should be suppressed with funds thus released for the use of the university. But these radical proposals met a hostile response in Oxford itself where opinion divided three ways between conservatives, liberals and a Tutors' Association (with whom Gladstone worked closely) in between. Gladstone was one of the University's two elected M.P.s at this time and also in office as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the coalition government led by Lord Aberdeen. His intimate knowledge of the university and his authority in national politics allowed him to frame a measure offering something to most of the groups and interests involved - though inevitably in such an exercise, the Commission's rigorous proposals were diluted. On the other hand, Gladstone's original bill did not include any provision for the removal of the religious test on students at Oxford; this was added during debate in the House of Commons on the bill's second reading, and it is for this addition above all that the Oxford University

¹⁴ *P.D.* cxxxiv, 22 June 1854, 518. Collier had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (BA 1841). A Liberal, in the 1860s he was Solicitor General (1863-6) and Attorney General (1868).

¹⁵ *P.D.* cxxxii, 7 April 1854, 767.

¹⁶ *P.D.* cxxxii, 27 April 1854, 954.

¹⁷ Colin Matthew, 'Gladstone and University of Oxford', *Oxford Magazine*, 2nd week, Michaelmas Term, 1999, 4.

Act of 1854 is best remembered.

These debates are justly famous. Four past and future prime ministers spoke: Russell and Gladstone who favoured reform, and Disraeli and Salisbury who were against it. The latter, as Lord Robert Cecil, actually made the maiden speech of his remarkable parliamentary career in these exchanges. They were supported by an able second tier of parliamentarians including Sidney Herbert, John Bright, and Roundell Palmer (the future Lord Chancellor and university reformer of the 1870s, Lord Selborne). The later stages of the second and third reading debates, once the clause admitting dissenters was added to the bill, were focused on that issue alone. But earlier exchanges, while certainly concerned with the precise details of the reform of Oxford, were also concerned with broader questions on the nature of universities. And from these speeches we can isolate several different ‘ideas of the university’: as a national resource; as a self-governing community; as the focus for higher research on the German model; as a nursery for statesmen and political leaders; and as the home of a liberal education.¹⁸

That Oxford should be a ‘national’ institution was the message of many M.P.s in the debates. But by ‘national’ they meant several different things. First and foremost, they intended that Oxford should be open to all individuals and groups and legally exclude none; as the radical Milner-Gibson stated, ‘it was wrong, and absolutely immoral, to exclude any portion of the people of the country from the benefits of these institutions’.¹⁹ As John Bright argued, dissenters were not excluded ‘when you send your tax-gatherers round, or when you ask for the performance of the duties of citizenship’. Why, then, should they be deprived access to the ancient universities?²⁰ But ‘national’ also implied utility to the nation: if Oxford could not be a seminary for one denomination, it also could not remain an intellectual ornament: ‘the question before the House’ according to Robert Collier, ‘was how this great national educational institution could be made useful to the country’.²¹ And Roundell Palmer went further still in the suggestion that Oxford should continually adapt to the national need: ‘The people of this country have a right to say that a great institution like Oxford, with such magnificent resources, ought to be capable of answering any extending demand which the wants of the country

¹⁸ Discussion of the liberal education provided by Oxford was never explicit. The debates focused on institutional changes, and when they touched educational questions, were usually concerned with widening the curriculum. Yet the liberal aims and values of an educational experience designed to build intellect, character and manliness were implicit in much that was said, and were never questioned in the House of Commons in 1854.

¹⁹ *P.D.* cxxxiv, 22 June 1854, 527. Thomas Milner-Gibson was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A. 1830) and was the Radical-Liberal M.P. for Manchester 1841-57, and for Ashton-under-Lyne 1857-68.

²⁰ *P.D.* cxxxii, 27 April 1854, 983.

²¹ *P.D.* cxxxiv, 22 June 1854, 515.

may make upon it'.²² The people had a claim on the university, therefore. But this was not without its advantages to Oxford, for if it could reform itself so as to win public favour, the strong desire that it should represent the nation would give it an authority that it presently lacked in its insular and exclusive form.

The very attempt of the state to reform the university from outside gave rise to concerns about Oxford's independence and to the claim that a university should, by definition, be a self-governing community of scholars. Lord Robert Cecil was concerned at setting 'the dangerous precedent of Parliamentary authority' in university affairs and contended that Oxford, from which he had recently graduated, could reform itself.²³ Disraeli was less sanguine about self-reform but preferred the imperfections of the present to the impositions of government and the loss of autonomy that entailed:

If I were asked, 'Would you have Oxford with its self-government, freedom and independence, but yet with its anomalies and imperfections, or would you have the University free from those anomalies and imperfections, and under the control of Government?', I would say 'Give me Oxford, free and independent, with all its anomalies and imperfections'.

Of all institutions, he argued, a university 'should be independent and free'.²⁴ As historians of nineteenth-century Germany have reminded us, the superiority of German universities in this era could not offset their reliance on the state, and the absence of true academic freedom within their walls, to the detriment of both the intellectual and public cultures of the Second Reich.²⁵

This leads to a third theme in the 1854 debates: the supposed superiority of European universities and the desire to 'germanise' British universities. The implicit model of the university in this case was one dedicated to research. One M.P. commended reform because without it 'Oxford would never be brought to bear a comparison, as a seat of learning, with her European rivals'.²⁶ According to another, Edward Horsman, 'all the most approved editions of classic writers which have been produced in modern times are German; all the great commentators are German'. Horsman

²² *P.D.* cxxxii, 7 April 1854, 725.

²³ *P.D.* cxxxii, 7 April 1854, 712-14.

²⁴ *P.D.* cxxxii, 27 April 1854, 974-5.

²⁵ Fritz Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community 1890-1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969); James J. Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago and London, 1978).

²⁶ *P.D.* cxxxii, 7 April 1854, 711 (Mr. Warner, Liberal M.P. for Norwich and a graduate of Wadham College, Oxford).

proceeded to explicit comparisons with Germany where universities had ‘brought a very superior philology and scholarship to bear on the Bible; we have nothing, actually nothing, readable in that line’.²⁷ More frequently, the comparison with Germany was made by those who wished to see the study of the natural sciences developed in English universities. Most ‘germanisers’ were of the radical liberal persuasion, attracted to the professorial model of German universities as more efficient in instruction and as likely to encourage higher learning among university teachers. Yet Horsman’s argument in 1854 was more complex and also more conservative than this: he wanted to see a renewal of scriptural and classical scholarship in order that Oxford could better defend Christianity from the foreign doctrines of materialism and atheism that were rife in continental universities. To Horsman, a university should be a place of religion and high scholarship where the latter could be employed to defend true christian doctrines derived from God’s revelation in the scriptures.²⁸ This was not the usual aim among those who made comparisons with German universities, and it evidently confused many of the M.P.s in the House of Commons who expected such comparisons to end in rather different - and progressive - conclusions. In fact, Horsman’s arguments were very like those developed by Pusey, a Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and Professor of Hebrew, whose brief sojourn studying in Germany as a young man had also led him to fear the effects of German scholarship on the religious temper of British universities and hence to oppose reforms that might turn Oxford into a professorial - and hence a godless - university.²⁹

Those in the House of Commons who supported the German example were then answered by Disraeli, who, in a bravura performance of eloquence, wit and historical sensitivity, developed an alternative idea of the university: better a nursery for the governing elite than an academy for higher research. Disraeli - who had not attended a university - contrasted the limitations to public and political life in Germany, dominated as it was in 1854 by princes and arch-dukes and divided into a crowd of petty states, with the opportunities made possible by Britain’s representative system of government and open, plural culture.

What sphere is there for the genius, the intellect, the talent, and the energy of Germany but in the professorial chair? Give Germany a House of Commons, and do you think that she would then produce those men of profound erudition, of

²⁷ *P.D.* cxxxii, 27 April 1854, 940-42. Horsman was the Liberal M.P. for Stroud at this time, but of conservative views. He was Chief Secretary for Ireland 1855-7.

²⁸ *P.D.* cxxxii, 27 April 1854, 945-50.

²⁹ H. P. Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey* (4 vols., London, 1894), iii, 384-5; Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life*, 165.

commanding eloquence - men who can bury themselves in speculative abstractions, and produce those results of erudition, which, we are told, shake the world? The fact is that in Germany, with a gifted population double the extent of ours, there is no avenue for any man by which he can make the world conscious of his powers, except by the chair of the professor.

The situation was different here:

If we have not these profound professors in England, it is because the character of the country is different; the character of our life is contrary to it. We are a nation of action, and you may depend upon it that...men will look to the House of Commons, and not to professors' chairs in the Universities.³⁰

To 'germanise' the English universities would be alien to English character and taste; it would also be difficult as scholars of such stature could not be educated and cultivated quickly. But, above all, if the universities were reformed in this way national life would be the poorer, for the universities provided Britain with a confident and able governing class rather than a scholarly caste - and in that function they could not be bettered nor should they be changed.

Writing a few years later the young Cambridge don, Leslie Stephen, made a similar point: England could not compete with Germany in the production of a professoriate because 'every ambitious young Englishman takes to the bar or politics, or some active life, and thus precisely the men most capable of distinction are generally draughted off elsewhere'.³¹ When the leading university reformer of the 1860s, Goldwin Smith, previously Regius Professor of Modern History in Oxford, delivered a paper to the Social Science Association at its 1867 congress on 'The Adaptation of the Old Universities to the Requirements of the Present Day', the *Daily Telegraph*, usually in the vanguard of reform, gave only qualified approval. Enlarge the curriculum by all means, it replied, 'but we must not turn Oxford into a Sorbonne; nor Cambridge into a Heidelberg... the two English universities have what is still worth more than Continental imitations could ever bring us in exchange'.³² Disraeli had reminded contemporaries that a university had more than purely academic

³⁰ *P.D.* cxxxii, 27 April 1854, 970.

³¹ Leslie Stephen, 'On the Choice of Representatives by Popular Constituencies' in [A. O. Rutson (ed.)] *Essays on Reform* (London, 1867), 95.

³² *Daily Telegraph*, 25 September 1867, p. 4. On the Social Science Association see Lawrence Goldman, *Science, Reform, and Politics in Victorian Britain: The Social Science Association 1857-1886* (Cambridge, 2002).

functions. Universities that provided a political elite were not failing the nation; nor were their colleges, some of which, like New College in Oxford, had been founded hundreds of years before specifically to provide educated men for the service of church and state.

Several different 'ideas of the university' were expressed in the House of Commons in the spring of 1854, therefore. And in a situation in which many different interests in Oxford, in parliament, in the Church, and among dissenting communities had a strong interest in trying to influence the legislation, it is unsurprising that the 1854 Oxford University Act was declared by John Bright - with some contempt - to be 'a compromise'.³³ Another Liberal complained that many clauses 'commenced with a liberal, sweeping enactment' but 'checks and limitations to [their] operations' then followed so that 'what was given with the right hand was taken away with the left'.³⁴ As a legislative draughtsman, Gladstone was cautious and moderate, hoping to encourage the growth of a professorial system alongside the collegiate tutorial system.³⁵ Arguably he did this work too well, for a hundred and fifty years later this is indeed Oxford's dubious and increasingly unstable inheritance from the 1850s. As Colin Matthew put it in 1998, 'The ambivalence of the position Gladstone and Parliament took is with us still'.³⁶ The Act ended subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles; it established an elected Hebdomadal Council; it licensed private halls of residence to encourage the expansion of student numbers and the admission of men from less affluent backgrounds. It also established a commission which worked its way through the statutes of the colleges until 1858, improving and modernising them as it could: some clerical fellowships were suppressed; other fellowships were opened to competition; and surplus funds were transferred from the colleges to the university to provide for ten new chairs with an annual salary of £600 each.

Yet as one historian has put it recently, 'the Act was conservative and the Executive Commission timid'.³⁷ And the compromise in 1854 set the standard for subsequent university reforms and for the slow adaptation of Oxford (and Cambridge) down to 1900. Throughout this period we can see evidence of change set beside evidence of continuity. Oxford in the 1860s was still a university for men alone; it offered only a very small range of academic courses; there was very little development

³³ 'But what I learn from its friends and from its opponents, and from those who do not exactly know what opinions to form upon it, is just this - that it is a measure very much like others which we have lately had - a compromise'. *P.D.* cxxxii, 27 April 1854, 978.

³⁴ *P.D.* cxxxii, 7 April 1854, 698. (Mr. John Blackett, educated at Christ Church, Oxford (B.A. 1841); Fellow of Merton College, Oxford; Liberal M.P. for Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1852-56).

³⁵ *P.D.* cxxxii, 7 April 1854, 768.

³⁶ Matthew, 'Gladstone and the University of Oxford', 4.

³⁷ Christopher Harvie, 'Reform and Expansion, 1854-1871' in Brock and Curthoys (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Part 1* (Oxford, 1997), 701.

of professional studies, including medicine, and little hint of the scholarly renaissance that many reformers desired. The universities were still unconnected to the economic life of the nation; they continued to educate a social elite; they continued to uphold the ideal of a classical education.³⁸ Rather than decide whether teaching or research should be the dominant function of the university, the cumulative reforms left the issue open and in constant tension to the present day. And rather than decide between colleges and the federal university, the reforms had left them in a difficult alliance. As Michael Brock has diagnosed modern Oxford's greatest political problem: 'The colleges made the University difficult to organise and slow to respond to new demands; they also gave their undergraduates an experience which was both more enjoyable and more formative than anything available from a centralised university less amply endowed'.³⁹

Gladstone hoped that a reformed university would recover its influence and 'exercise a far greater sway than heretofore over the mind of England'.⁴⁰ His approach to Oxford was rather like his approach to the Church and all the other national institutions requiring attention after the 1820s: moderate reforms were designed to quicken intellectual or spiritual vigour by bringing contact with new social forces and groups, and subjecting traditional institutions to open competition. He had learnt this technique and these ideas from his political mentor, Peel, and they may be judged to have worked in the case of Oxford, though at the expense of the Anglican connection which Gladstone himself prized so highly. For if some things stayed the same, other things undoubtedly changed. Oxford's systems of instruction improved, and the late-Victorian university was palpably busier and more vital than its mid-Victorian parent; it was recognised now as a national institution, its international prestige rose, and it was on the way to becoming a truly interdenominational university. In the ten years 1854-1863, some 63 per cent of Oxford graduates took holy orders; but between 1882-1891 this had fallen to 39 per cent.⁴¹ In Balliol College the appeal to take up secular callings was heard earlier and more insistently from its liberal Master, Benjamin Jowett, and its leading spirit, the idealist philosopher, Thomas Hill Green, than in other colleges. If nearly a third of its graduates were ordained in the decade 1845-1855, by the 1890s the proportion had decreased to only one in every twenty-five.⁴² The reforms of the Selborne Commission at the end of the 1870s reduced further the number of clerical fellowships in the colleges to a level more or less commensurate with the other academic subjects, so that, in the space of a generation, the connection with the Church had

³⁸ M. G. Brock, 'A "plastic structure"', in Brock and Curthoys (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Part 2* (Oxford, 2000), 7-9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 54-5.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Harvie, 'Reform and Expansion', 698.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 697.

⁴² Melvin Richter, *The Politics of Conscience. T. H. Green and His Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 69.

diminished enormously - though, as Anglican foundations, the colleges retained sentimental and historic links that continued to shape and influence them.

In this delicate balance between change and continuity no single 'idea of the university' had triumphed or can even be discerned. In 1900 as in 1854 there were several different ideas in creative coexistence. Perhaps this was inevitable; the reform of an historic and organic institution like Oxford could never have achieved anything unless it proceeded with respect for the past, and unless it recognised that the university was a plural institution fulfilling different roles simultaneously. Hence the reforms between the 1850s and 1880s were compromises in themselves which left several 'ideas of the university' in place even as they added new ideas in turn. Whether this represented a failure of nerve on the part of the university reformers, or was done by design - and there is evidence that both judgments are correct - we should view this historic compromise as a source of strength. The reforms revitalised Oxford and encouraged one of the most creative phases in its history from the 1870s to the First World War, during which teaching and research, secular and also religious callings, high scholarship and public and imperial service, the education of the elite and the spread of learning to new groups, including women and workers, were all held in balance. As such, Oxford after 1854 is a model of the true pluralism and universality of any university at any time. It could not and it did not choose between rival conceptions of its mission; rather the balance between change and continuity suggests a subtle blending of many different 'ideas of the university' in Victorian Britain.

This is still the case in the contemporary university, though the attempt to sustain many different types of academic and social activity in a single institution is becoming increasingly difficult.⁴³ Resource constraints now bear upon Oxford and throw up difficult choices; can the university afford to cover all corners of the map of knowledge, or should it concentrate resources and begin to specialise? Can it continue to run, at great expense, both a tutorial and a professorial system, employing more staff in more intensive teaching than in comparable institutions? Should it continue to devote resources to subjects, including classics, that have lost their cultural centrality, at the expense of new and more immediately utilitarian disciplines? Reliance on public funds, meanwhile, throws up the problem of the university's independence that Disraeli and Cecil could see in 1854. Governments of the 1980s wanted Oxford to become more engaged with the economic life of the nation and hence emphasised applied rather than pure subjects. Governments of the 1990s have

⁴³ The following paragraph is based on personal experience at the administrative centre of the University of Oxford during the academic year 2000-2001 when the author, as Assessor, was, with the Proctors and the Vice-Chancellor, one of the four statutory officers of the university.

been concerned about the social composition of the student body at Oxford, which they wish to see broadened so that the university takes more students from state (as opposed to private) secondary schools and from social groups hitherto under-represented in the university. The social composition of the student body has become the main concern of government almost to the exclusion of the academic health and development of the university. And under the present university financial regime, more public funds are being applied to the support of research than to teaching, with consequent problems and distortions in a university which historically, has placed so much emphasis on the instruction of undergraduates. These policies have forced the university to reorder its priorities, in the short-run at least; energies and resources that might be applied to one set of academic purposes have to be applied to another set. Once more there is a danger that the university will have to choose between rival functions rather than allow different activities to develop in parallel. The problem today is to maintain the legacy that the Victorians handed down: they bequeathed several different ideas of a university in a single institution, and it is our task to ensure that the many are not reduced towards the one. We might be guided in this by the description of an 'ideal university' that was penned by James Bryce, a university liberal and a characteristic product of the reformed Oxford, in 1884, just at the end of this period of reform. A university, he wrote, should be

a body of persons teaching the highest knowledge, that knowledge which is the most worth to man, either because it deals with their highest interests, appeals to their noblest feelings, evokes their finest powers, or because it is at the root of their practical achievements, forms the basis of their control of Nature, supplies the explanations of the phenomena of their own life, guides them in the path of moral and social advancement...⁴⁴

⁴⁴ James Bryce, 'An Ideal University', *Contemporary Review*, xlv, June 1884, 839, quoted in Christopher Harvie, 'From the Cleveland Commission to the Statutes of 1882' in Brock and Curthoys (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Part 2*, 92-3.

University Reform and the Idea of a University in Victorian Britain: Comment on Dr. Goldman's Paper

Yoshihito Yasuhara*

Before making some comments on Dr. Goldman's paper to provide a prime mover for the discussion, let me introduce Dr. Goldman to you briefly. He read modern history at Jesus College, Cambridge. He then took a Junior Research Fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge. After having worked as a staff tutor in history and politics at the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, Oxford, he joined St. Peter's college, Oxford and is now a fellow and tutor in modern history there. He is also the editor of the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. His main works include *The Dons and Workers: A History of English Adult Education 1850-1970* which was published by Oxford University Press in 1995. His latest work, *Science, Reform and Politics: The Social Science Association 1857-1886* was published by Cambridge University Press in 2002. One of his main research concerns is to trace a history of English intellectuals in a wider political and social context in modern Britain. His knowledge extends to the history of education and the history of universities as well. He also has intimate knowledge and experience on the management and contemporary reform of Oxford as he has been appointed as an assessor of the university for the past year, an important office of central university management along with the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors.

Now, 'university reform' is rapidly making its way in quite a radical form in Japan, too, which all the academics here present know only too well. In contrast to social change such as a decline in the proportion of 18-year olds, administrative and structural reform of the nation, reorganisation and mergers of higher education institutions, re-establishment of the National University as a quasi corporate body, assessment of universities etc. have been discussed and projected. The key words are accountability, competition, efficiency and 'Value for Money'. On each theme of university reform above mentioned, both bureaucrats and academics are of course ready to talk and discuss, and the latter are busy in responding to national policies presented in rapid succession by the Ministry. However, the most important matter in the contemporary university reform movement now in progress seems to me, to cast that fundamental question once more: that is, 'What is a university and what is not a university'. Historians of university and researchers working on higher education among others cannot and should not escape from this fundamental question, I think. The theme of

* Professor, Graduate School of Education, Hiroshima University

this symposium ‘The Idea of a University in Historical Perspective’ was thus projected. Our task is to consider this matter through discussion in a historical perspective and from a comparative point of view.

The question of the idea of a university is a fundamental, essential question that is therefore difficult to answer and requires some technique to approach it. The traditional, orthodox way of approach is, of course, to extract the idea through analysis of the expressed words in texts written by great thinkers, philosophers, intellectuals and academics. Thus, the thoughts and opinions of such great figures as E. Kant, W. V. Humboldt, K. Jaspers, J. H. Newman, J. S. Mill, T. H. Huxley have been introduced and are well known in Japan. Another way of approach is to trace the process of university reform in relation to a wider social reform and try to find the idea in the reform movement. The analysis of party politics within a university where different interest groups contend with each other could be a useful approach.

The unique way of approach Dr. Goldman has here adopted in dealing with the idea of an English University in his paper is to focus on the debate on the proposed Oxford University Bill in the House of Commons in April 1854. While focusing on the parliamentary debates over the reform of Oxford, he tries to extract the ideas of the university then discussed. Then referring to the characteristic feature of the 1854 Oxford University Act as ‘compromise’ and its influence on the later course of the reform, he argues that “there was no single ‘idea of the university’ but many different ideas held simultaneously, sometimes in creative tension with each other, and sometimes in disabling competition”. There could be several different ‘ideas of the university’: as a national resource; as a self-governing community; as the focus for higher research on the German model; as a nursery for statesmen and political leaders; and as the home of a liberal education. All these ideas were in ‘creative coexistence’ in Oxford as a plural institution fulfilling different roles simultaneously. Thus the reform of Oxford during the 1850s and 1880s made gradual progress, adding new ideas to the old ones in turn and taking a delicate balance between change and continuity, which Dr. Goldman regards as a source of strength of Oxford.

Dr. Goldman pointed out that there were three main themes in the 1854 debates. That is (1) a ‘national’ character of Oxford and its utility to the nation, (2) Oxford’s independence and autonomy, and (3) ‘germanisation’ of Oxford.

The first theme was, in other words, a question of ‘nationalisation’ and ‘democratisation’ of Oxford, a question on how to open the door of the university to the dissenters and less-privileged people. It was also a question on the relationship between the university and the nation. Regarding

this question, we will need to pay special attention to the different meaning of ‘national’ and ‘nation’ in relation to the then British liberal state. As is well known, not only Oxford but none of the British universities have ever been ‘universities of the state’ in a German or a Japanese sense.

This leads to the second theme of independence and autonomy of the university which relates to the legal form and possibility of self-reform of the university. There is now a move to change the form of the Japanese national university from ‘a state university’ to ‘a quasi corporate body’. When we consider this, there occurs the queer question of whether there was any discussion to change the form of Oxford as a ‘self governing corporate body’ into a ‘state university’ at all in the parliamentary debates in 1854.

As for the discussion of Oxford’s independence, Disraeli’s argument was very impressive. We should not forget that even Gladstone who was the leading figure in drafting and introducing the Oxford Bill was once strongly opposed to Government interference.

The third theme of ‘germanising’ Oxford is a very interesting one which will be the focus of our discussions in the later sessions as well. Dr. Goldman points out that the desire and counter argument to ‘germanise’ English universities was discussed not only from a point of view of promoting higher learning and ‘endowment of research’, but also on the basis of the defence of orthodox Christianity and of a national character of different countries. *The Daily Telegraph’s* opinion that ‘but we must not turn Oxford into a Sorbonne; nor Cambridge into a Heidelberg’ reminds us of the recent unavoidable trend of ‘americanisation’ or ‘globalisation’ of universities. Where do we find a present Disraeli and *Daily Telegraph*?

Another important point which Dr. Goldman made was that a question on the aims and values of liberal education, which has for such a long time been regarded as a unique tradition and an essence of Oxford education, was never explicitly discussed in the House of Commons in 1854. Then we will need to ask again when, by whom and in what context the idea of liberal education was advocated and introduced in Oxford.

Not only was the theme debated in Parliament, so impressive but so was the line-up of the participants in the discussion. The first-rate politicians including four past and future prime ministers (John Russel, Gladstone, Disraeli and Salisbury) took part in the debate. They spoke of and debated earnestly the future of Oxford and the nation. Where did they get the knowledge and information on the university? Why were they so earnest in the debate on Oxford? Were they supported by bureaucrats in preparing the draft of their speech or they did prepare it themselves? Anyway, it must surely be a Victorian legacy to us that they argued on the idea of a university with a good deal more sophistication, as M. Sanderson suggests.

Finally Dr. Goldman refers to the problems of the contemporary university. Here he speaks not only as a historian and an academic but also on his recent experience as an important university officer (an assessor). He says that 'the problem today is to maintain the legacy that the Victorians handed down: they bequeathed several different ideas of a university in a single institution'. Then how can we maintain that legacy in this rapidly changing, competitive, efficiency-oriented, commercial, busy contemporary society?

USA

The History of American Professional Education¹

Jurgen Herbst*

During the last third of the nineteenth century, colleges and universities came to play a dominant, though not exclusive, role in the development of American professional education. As Sydney Ann Halpern wrote, American university scholars had come to consider “professional training a central function of higher education and constituted professional schools parallel to letters and science colleges, as major academic divisions. University presidents expected the faculty of these professional schools to engage in scientific research and other scholarly activities”.²

This development occurred as part of what Christopher Jencks and David Riesman have called the “Academic revolution”³ and what Richard Hofstadter and Waiter Metzger in their book on academic freedom in the United States⁴ have defined as the transition period between the age of the college and the age of the university. It also has often been described as part of the German influence on American universities between the Civil War and the First World War.⁵ These American students who had studied in Germany and began their careers as scholars in the United States set out to model the new American university in the spirit of Wilhelm von Humboldt’s *Wissenschaft*. Their and their students’ commitment to professionalism was to be guided by university inspired scientific principles rather than by the demands of professional practice.

Yet it has to be recognized that the “academic revolution” did not sweep over the American academic landscape to create, as it were, a *tabula rasa* on which to build a completely new university and erect a new edifice of professional education. American professional education had its origins in the colonial period in apprenticeships and proprietary schools, and these were not obliterated by the

¹ This is an abbreviated version of a longer paper published in volume 21 (2001) of the *History of Higher Education Annual*.

* Professor Emeritus of Educational Policy Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison

² Sydney Ann Halpern, “Professional Schools in the American University”, in Burton R. Clark, ed., *The Academic Profession: National Disciplinary, and Institutional Settings* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 311.

³ Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1968).

⁴ Richard Hofstadter and Waiter P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955).

⁵ See my remarks in Henry Geitz, Jürgen Heideking and Jurgen Herbst, eds., *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 11, and Burton Bledstein’s comment in his *The Culture of Professionalism: The middle class and the development of higher education in America* (New York: Norton, 1976), pp. 318-319.

new emphasis on university centered professional education. Native collegiate and non-college antecedents of professional training survived into the twentieth century and became intertwined with foreign imports. Furthermore, the American university professional school became, as Robert Lynn wrote of the theological seminary, a “hybrid creation”⁶ - hybrid, not only in its derivation but also in its academic purposes and social functions. First of all, its faculty members were both professional practitioners and academic scholars. Secondly, their commitments to both particular sectarian doctrines or local practice and to universal scientific principles were often in conflict with one another. And thirdly, they found themselves torn by their preference for high entrance and performance standards for their students and by their desire to keep their profession open to members of all segments of society. These built-in conflicts will have to be taken account of in any discussion of professional education.

Let me first turn to the history of American professional education. Its native roots go back to the colonial colleges. In his *History of the American College and University* Frederick Rudolph noted correctly, “The university movement did not intrude the spirit of professionalism into the life of American higher education”. From the beginning, a college liberal arts education had traditionally been held to be the proper education for the ministry, law, and medicine, and colleges had often been allied with theological, law, or medical schools.⁷ Colonial colleges also established professorships in divinity, medicine, and law. Their incumbents not only taught undergraduates but also gave special attention to graduates who remained at the college for professional study or returned after an apprenticeship elsewhere. Harvard had appointed its first professor of divinity in 1721; William and Mary, Yale, and the College of New Jersey followed during the next forty years. Medical professorships were established during the 1760s in Philadelphia and New York, and entering students were required to have obtained a bachelor’s degree or show competence in Latin, mathematics, and natural philosophy. During the 1770s both Yale College and the College of William and Mary introduced medical and legal education. Harvard granted its first medical degree in 1788.⁸ Colonial colleges saw it as part of their task to provide their society with professionals educated in the liberal arts and trained in their specialities.

The most ambitious project of academically demanding professional education of high quality

⁶ Robert W. Lynn, *Why the Seminary: An Introduction to the Report of the Auburn History Subject* (typescript, 1978), p. 3.

⁷ Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990), p. 342.

⁸ See Jurgen Herbst, *From Crisis to Crisis: American College Government, 1636-1819* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 160-165.

occurred as outgrowth of a revolt of conservative churchmen against the liberal theological ministerial education offered at Unitarian Harvard. The revolt led in 1808 to the opening of the Andover Theological Seminary, an institution that, though it was neither college nor university, could claim for itself the rank of a church-sponsored graduate institution. It demanded of its students prior graduation from college and offered a three-year curriculum taught by a professorial faculty of three.⁹ Later in the nineteenth century American colleges introduced scientific and engineering courses into their curricula. Union College, the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology are examples of collegiate institutions that provided undergraduate professional education.¹⁰

These collegiate and academically demanding instances of professional training, however, do not give a representative picture of professional education during the post-revolutionary and Jacksonian period. The majority of America's ministers and preachers as well as lawyers and physicians were not college graduates. Professional education was offered in church-sponsored divinity schools, in proprietary medicine and law schools, and under apprenticeship arrangements in parsonages or individual or group legal or medical practices. An end-of-the-19th-century report indicated that in New York state the minimum standard for a license to practice medicine was the equivalent of high school graduation, and other states required no more than a common school education, a high school course, or some evidence of similar academic attainment. As late as 1897 even those professional schools that enrolled college graduates did not always make that a condition of admission. In such theological institutions only 49 percent of the students held bachelor's degrees. In law schools college graduates amounted to 24 percent, and in medical schools to only 14 percent.¹¹ The rationale for not strictly enforcing the bachelor's degree as entrance requirement was not academic or intellectual but financial and demographic. Professional schools were in need of income from students, and, given the demand for professionals, college graduates were in short supply. Thus there were few voices that called for an academically more demanding training.

The European roots of professional education lead us back even further to the beginnings of Western universities in the medieval world. These institutions had begun, not like their 19th century

⁹ Donald W. Light, "The Development of Professional Schools in America", in Konrad H. Jarausch, ed., *The Transformation of Higher Learning 1860-1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 346-349.

¹⁰ See Thomas N. Bonner, "The Beginnings of Engineering Education in the United States: The Curious Role of Eliphalet Nott", *New York History*, LXIX (1988), pp. 35-54.

¹¹ See James Russell Parsons, *Professional Education, Monographs on Education in the United States*, # 10, Nicholas Murray Butler, ed. (St. Louis: Universal Exposition, 1904), pp. 7 and 10.

German successors as state institutions, but as assemblies of aspiring and practicing professionals who were incorporated by Pope and Emperor as self-governing faculties or schools for lawyers, physicians, and theologians. They were in effect professional schools. For the preparatory training of their students in the *arte liberales* - the languages arts - they relied on cathedral schools and on their own non-professional arts faculties.¹² Yet with the break-up of the Roman Empire and with the Reformation, the universities lost their imperial and papal protectors and their corporate autonomy. The professional faculties now became training schools of civil servants for the territorial rulers and their confessional church establishments. The arts faculties suffered from steadily diminishing prestige and sank to the level of secondary schools, the continental *gymnasia illustria* or the English endowed grammar schools.¹³

Toward the end of the eighteenth century demands arose in Germany and other countries that the universities be abolished and their faculties turned into separate specialty schools.¹⁴ In France such program was effectively instituted in 1806 as a state monopoly under the Imperial University.¹⁵ In Prussia, however, Humboldt, well aware of the need for specialized professional training but also disturbed by the fractionalizing and disintegrating effect of specialization, was concerned to preserve “the unity of knowledge” which, to him, constituted the all-embracing concept of university education. He asked his king to join in Berlin the existing scientific academies, institutes, libraries, and collections with the faculties of a university that was neither to exclude any subject nor limit itself to practical exercises. It was to be one organic whole, allowing each part a measure of independence yet working cooperatively for a common purpose.¹⁶ Its organization was to conform to the proposals of Immanuel Kant who in his “The Battle of the Faculties” had proposed that the disfunctional arts faculty be elevated to a faculty of philosophy. Its mission was to protect the university’s freedom of learning, teaching, and research and to serve as a unifying capstone over the specialized and government service oriented professional faculties.¹⁷ This was the vision that so inspired the

¹² See Alan B. Cobban, *The Medieval Universities: Their Development and Organization* (London: Methuen & Co., 1975), and Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, eds., 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951).

¹³ See Jurgen Herbst, “The First Three American Colleges: Schools of the Reformation”, *Perspectives in American History*, VIII (1974), pp. 7-52.

¹⁴ See Charles E. McClelland, *State, Society, and University in Germany, 1700-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 76-77.

¹⁵ See Jacques Verger, ed., *Histoire des universités en France* (Toulouse: Bibliothèque historique privat, 1986), pp. 261ff.

¹⁶ Application to found the University of Berlin, July 24, 1809, in Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 10 (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1903-1936), pp. 148-154.

¹⁷ Immanuel Kant, “Der Streit der Fakultäten”, in *Werke in Sechs Bänden*, Wilhelm Weischedel, ed., VI (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1964), pp. 261ff, and Günther Bien, “Kant’s Theorie der Universität und ihr geschichtlicher Ort”, *Historische Zeitschrift*, CCXIX (1974), pp. 551-577.

American students studying in Germany during the last third of the century.

But what the American students in Germany did not or did not want to see was that during the half-century after Humboldt the faculty of philosophy had itself become a specialized professional faculty for the training of Germany's school teachers, scientists, and scholars. It no longer carried any responsibility for the liberal arts education of its students, as that function had been assigned to the country's *Gymnasias*. While the rhetoric of the "unity of science" and *Bildung* - education as character formation and cultivation - continued, in its daily work the university devoted itself to the specialized utilitarian needs of the emerging nation state.

Besides, the university was not the only institution for German post-secondary education. Specialized schools and institutions, independent of and separate from universities and claiming, and eventually receiving, recognition of university status, provided training in business, engineering, forestry, mining, agriculture, veterinary medicine and other professional specialties. In their utilitarian emphasis and their separate existence these institutions resembled the professional faculties and schools of Napoleonic France which had replaced the French universities. Thus Robert Anderson could state quite correctly that "what happened at the end of the nineteenth century was not so much the triumph of the Humboldtian ideal as a new synthesis in which elements of both Enlightenment and Humboldtian traditions were merged".¹⁸

Just as the history of modern American professional education at the end of the nineteenth century cannot focus solely on the appearance of university professional schools and present these as uniformly accepted results of the transition from the age of the college to the age of the university, it cannot ignore the hybrid nature of these institutions that I mentioned above. It has to acknowledge that once professional schools became parts of universities whose reputation depended on the research productivity of its faculties, faculty members of professional schools were expected to devote their energies to advance the theoretical understanding of their craft and to engage in research and publishing.¹⁹ But it also has to recognize that as teachers in training schools for future professionals they had to be mindful of the demands of their students for practical information and skills, the "tricks of the trade". Donald Light asked the relevant question: "To what extent are they [professional

¹⁸ Robert Anderson, "Before and After Humboldt: European Universities between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", *History of Higher Education Annual*, XX (2000), p. 12.

¹⁹ Sociologists refer to this conflict of missions as sociological ambivalence. See the essay by this title in Robert K. Merton, ed., *Sociological Ambivalence and other Essays* (New York: Free Press, 1976), pp. 3-31.

schools] to train practitioners and to what extent are they to *educate* pure disciples of the profession's core knowledge?"²⁰

That issue was posed at the turn of the century by the conflicting statements of Harvard's President Charles W. Eliot and Professor George F. Moore of the Hartford Theological Seminary. Commenting on the appointment of James Barr Ames in 1873 to the Harvard law school, Eliot said:

In due course ... there will be produced in this country a body of men learned in the law, who have never been on the bench or at the bar, but who nevertheless hold positions of great weight and influence as teachers of the law, as expounders, systematizers and historians.²¹

Moore, thinking of the Hartford Seminary as a "theological university", countered by saying in 1908:

Just as it is not the primary end of the law school, to produce men learned in the history and philosophy of the jurisprudence, but to train men to *practice* law... so it is not the primary end of the theological school to send out men learned in the history and philosophy of religion, but to train men for the practice of the ministry.²²

The contrast could not have been put in starker terms.

The issue, however, is by no means only of historical interest. It has remained alive to this day. For the teachers in university professional schools it has been less a matter of having to choose than of trying to satisfy both claims. "Janus-like", wrote Sydney Halpern in 1987, "they sit facing, on the one side, the university with its commitment to academic standards, and on the other, practicing professions with guild interests and commitments to client-oriented services".²³ Referring specifically to university law schools, Robert Stevens wrote in 1983 that "teaching still took pride of place over scholarship", and the legal literature produced by law school professors "was more likely to be of interest to the practitioner than to the scholar". But as the university's notorious "publish or perish" pressure made itself felt, he concluded, the "inherent conflict" between serving the profession

²⁰ Light, "The Development of Professional Schools", p. 346.

²¹ Quoted in Jerold S. Auerbach, "Enmity and Amity: Law Teachers and Practitioners, 1900-1922". *Perspectives in American History*, Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., vol. V (1971), p. 551.

²² Quoted in Light, "The Development of Professional Schools", p. 350.

²³ Halpern, "Professional Schools", pp. 304-305.

through teaching its newcomers and pursuing scholarship “had developed into a massive case of intellectual schizophrenia”.²⁴

A second issue that historians will have to face is that of professional education’s tension between their practitioners’ divided loyalties. On the one hand they are asked to acknowledge and abide by doctrinal and local diversity; on the other, their commitment to scholarship compels them to defend the uniform and universal applicability of the results of scientific inquiry. The case of the Andover Theological Seminary, referred to above, illustrates the dilemma of an institution that sought to serve two masters, the church and the academy. Can divinity schools claim their teaching to be scientific when they are asked to endorse and abide by the creeds and prayers books of their sponsoring denominations, churches, or sects? Can they belong to the world of scholarship only when they divest themselves of any ties to particular denominations or religions? For law schools the question has been whether institutions that serve regional clienteles should concentrate on teaching their students the law of their particular jurisdiction, or whether, defending the law as a science, they are obliged to also teach jurisprudence, the history and philosophy of law, and development of legal reasoning?²⁵ Historians who study nineteenth century medical education will have to wonder whether a convincing case can be made for scientific medical education as long as physicians were divided among themselves in various camps, the generalists, the Thomsonians, the homeopaths, and the osteopaths?²⁶ To be sure, when toward the end of the century the germ theory and other developments led to a marked decrease in the threat of infectious diseases, the advances in establishing a scientific knowledge base immeasurably strengthened the scientific authority of university medical schools. As a result, medical schools in the twentieth century have been less endangered than divinity and law schools by sectarian strife or by local and regional differences in their curricular offerings. Still, the presence of chiropractic herbal medicine, and varieties of so-called non-western medicine remind us that the issue persists in medical education as well.

Finally, professional schools find themselves caught in the struggle between those of their faculty members who argue that an open admissions policy and low accreditation standards will dilute the quality and the prestige of their school and profession and those who believe that only by upholding such policies can their profession be a truly public profession with access open to members of all

²⁴ Robert Stevens, *Law School: Legal Education in America from the 1850s to the 1980s* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983), pp. 264 and 271.

²⁵ Stevens, *Law School*, p. 41.

²⁶ Light, “The Development of Professional Schools”, p. 361.

social, ethnic, and racial groups. Here, the contrast between the 1910 Flexner Report on medical education and the 1921 Reed Report on legal education is instructive.²⁷ Abraham Flexner had argued that the subject matter of medical schools rested on scientific investigations and required a uniform application of the highest scientific standards. Medical schools, therefore, should be associated with a university and a teaching hospital. They should not be operated as a business for private profit.²⁸ Their faculty members should consist of full-time professors committed to research in clinical as well as scientific departments, and their students should have a minimum of two years of college studies in the natural sciences.²⁹ Alfred Reed, like Flexner commissioned by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, did not think that all law schools had to conform to as stringently uniform scientific standards as Flexner had demanded of medical schools. The law, he argued, was a public profession that had to respond to the country's need of "lawyers of differing skills and qualifications serving different purposes and different elements in society."³⁰ There was room for night schools that were accessible to working people who aspired to work with individual clients and their everyday legal problems, and there was room for university law schools that trained college-educated specialist to deal with government and corporate clients.

As it was, America's physicians endorsed Flexner's view of their profession for much the same reasons that America's lawyers, as represented in the American Bar Association, rejected Reed's report. In both cases, professionals sought to protect scientific standards and the prestige they conveyed on them. Critics were later to charge that the Flexner report had severely restricted the supply of physicians and "many of the ills of inadequate medical care in the 1970s can be traced" to its success.³¹ Reed's views, too, found their supporters among lawyers who, like Robert Stevens, pointed out that if proprietary law schools had been entirely eliminated, "legal services might have been even more inadequately distributed in this country than they are today".³² The conflict of views, however, persists in both professions and was made all the more virulent as charges of anti-semitism, xenophobia, and elitist discrimination against racial minorities and the poor entered the debates.³³

²⁷ For a far more incisive comparative analysis of the two reports than I can provide here, see Michael Schudson, "The Flexner Report and the Reed Report: Notes on the History of Professional Education in the United States", *Social Science Quarterly* (September 1974), pp. 347-361.

²⁸ Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Bulletin No. 4, 1910), p. 173.

²⁹ For an excellent overview and analysis of the Flexner Report, see chapter 9 in Kenneth M. Ludmerer, *Learning to Heal: The Development of American Medical Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1985).

³⁰ Quoted in Stevens, *Law School*, p. 116.

³¹ Quoted in Schudson, "The Flexner Report and the Reed Report", p. 381.

³² Stevens, *Law School*, p. 116.

³³ See Auerbach, "Enmity and Amity", pp. 579-580.

This attempt to sketch the history of American professional schools and education, their antecedents in Europe, and some of their past and contemporary problems, has of necessity been limited in its scope. It has taken its examples from the traditional academic professions of the ministry, medicine, and the law because their history foreordained them as the preferred candidates for inclusion into American colleges and universities.³⁴ To what extent other professional fields and their educational institutions share the history and problems outlined here remains a subject for further investigation. What this historical survey points out is that in the United States colleges and universities have played a dominant role in the development of professional education. This becomes especially clear when one looks at developments in other countries where practitioners and the state have largely determined the course of professional education.³⁵ As to the conflicts that face American professional education - the tension between professional and academic demands, between particular sectarian or local and universal scientific principles, and between high performance standards and social openness - they are likely to persist and will have to be dealt with by the members of each new student cohort as they enter on their careers.

³⁴ Note that Abraham Flexner, for reasons I discussed above, did not want to include schools of denominational religion as candidates for university professional faculties. See his *Universities: American, English, German* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 29.

³⁵ See Michael Burrage, "From practice to school-based professional education: Patterns of conflict and accommodation in England, France, and the United States", in Sheldon Rothblatt and Björn Wittrock, eds., *The European and American University since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 155: "To put it in a nutshell, professional education in England has been dominated by practitioners, in France by the State, and in the United States by the universities".

Rethinking American Professional Education: Comment on Professor Herbst's Paper

Toshichika Miyata*

It is a great honor as well as a pleasure to act as a commentator for Professor Jurgen Herbst in his lecture entitled 'Rethinking American Professional Education'. As everyone here knows Professor Herbst's academic achievement is so remarkable that I do not have to repeat it. In fact, the enormous scope of his accomplishment is far beyond my grasp. Reading only a few of his works, however, makes us see what the spirit of traditional German scholarship means. And this spirit is real: when he writes about Wilhelm von Humboldt, he does so not only as an accomplished scholar, but also as one who once went to a school created in the Humboldtian tradition. Professor Herbst studied Geography at the University of Nebraska, and took his master's degree in American Studies at the University of Minnesota, and his Ph.D. in the History of American Civilization at Harvard. He taught and did research work at Wesleyan University, a well-known liberal arts college, and for many years at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, a representative state university that produced the Wisconsin Idea. What else could have made him more American, or more of an American intellectual? Thus when he compares Wilhelm von Humboldt with Thomas Jefferson, he stands on unrivaled ground.

But even with Professor Herbst's scholarship and assiduity, it is hard to sum up the historical facts in a simple formula. The history of American professional education cannot be simplified, as he says, into 'a straight line transition' drawn from the origins of colleges in the seventeenth century to 'the German influx at the end of the nineteenth century'. Things are 'of greater complexity than textbook accounts convey'. When Professor Herbst says 'these developments were of greater complexity than textbook accounts convey' there is much truth in it. But what happened during the half century after Humboldt started the University of Berlin in 1810 was the simple fact that the faculty of philosophy no longer carried any responsibility for the liberal arts education; it was regulated to *Gymnasia*. And this was what the American students 'did not, or did not want to see'. American students brought back with them an idealized picture of the German university.

Richard Ely, like many other Americans scholars, brought back from Germany 'the spirit of freedom' to Johns Hopkins (Richard Ely later moved to Wisconsin). One of his students at John's

* Professor, Faculty of Humanities and Economics, Kochi University

Hopkins, Frederic Howe, describes its atmosphere as follows: 'Teachers and students alike felt a dignity and enthusiasm in their work. We wondered at the intimacy between professors and students, at the possibility of meeting distinguished teachers as human beings'. Both professors and students were there for the pursuit of scholarship. The worship of *Wissenschaft* was introduced into American graduate schools. As for undergraduate education, Professor Herbst says that 'from the beginning, a college liberal arts education had been held to be the proper education for ministry, law, and medicine'. He also refers to the fact that the majority of professionals, ministers, lawyers, and physicians were not college graduates and got their training outside college.

Almost two centuries later, Eric Ashby writes, 'The graduate school is the pride of American higher education, and justifiably so. At its best it preserves some of the apprenticeship of the German institute: young men watching the master at work every day'. It was significant that in the United States, this worship of *Wissenschaft* found its way into graduate institutions, and not into undergraduate colleges. This ideal of master-disciple relationship makes sense in institutions where *Wissenschaft* is rigorously pursued by small groups of dedicated researchers. It makes little sense in undergraduate courses of a universal higher education in which fourteen million young people are enrolled. But here, Professor Herbst points out, is another problem of maintaining professional standards or opening access to professional schools. As Professor Herbst says, we cannot 'speak glibly and in general terms of professional education when practice and traditions differ among the nations and among professions'. What happened in England was different. When students returned to England from Germany, they brought back the German enthusiasm for science, but it never replaced the tradition that was traced back to John Locke and built up by such humanists as John Henry Newman and Mark Pattison. As is often said, they do not teach great truths, but they teach truth in a great way.

In American liberal arts colleges, graduate or professional schools, or in English undergraduate education, ideals seem to have survived to this day. I do not know whether these are the same as what Wilhelm von Humboldt had in mind, let alone the unifying capstone ideal of Immanuel Kant. As is always the case with ideals, winds blow bitterly against them. For instance, the number of liberal arts colleges is, in a strict sense, drastically diminished. David Breneman says that their history has been an unbroken struggle for survival. But it is hard to think that what has been inherited in the United States and in England will disappear and become things of the past. Good teaching always draws some graduates back to their *Alma Mater*. Torch bearers will keep running.

The professional school is the pride of American higher education. But it is not without its own problems. Even with such heroic and successful surgery as executed by Flexner, aftereffects linger and become chronic. Some are even global; we can readily refer to the similar problems here in

Japanese medical schools. One such typical symptom is the conflict between practitioners and academics. But both sides, practitioners and academics, are endowed with the most needed properties; they have social status and financial support. This is not the case with all professional schools, of course. Professor Herbst describes historical facts related to normal schools in *And Sadly Teach*. Nor is it the case with liberal arts colleges; they also have to struggle to survive. When we extend our view to liberal education as preprofessional education, problems emerge. For instance, it is easy to see what will happen if professional and non-professional, or specialized and general education, are placed in one institution, as they are in this country. Professional faculty always prevails; there aren't even conflicts.

As Sheldon Rothblatt says, liberal education is moral or socio-moral. And good professional education is an outgrowth of good preprofessional education. In the twenty-first century, we are obliged to think once more about the role of public morality once played by universities supported by religion. Some scholars trace back the origin of liberal arts colleges to the cathedral school of Islam. Education of young minds when they are in their most plastic state makes a difference, even shakes the world. Here, once more, we probably have to recall and reflect on Humboldtian ideals.

JAPAN

American Graduate School: Professional Training vs. Research Originality

Shigeru Nakayama*

In 1957 when I was a Harvard graduate student, I saw Professor Robert Ulich and asked him how to prepare for an oral general examination (It is called a comprehensive examination in other institutes. It is basically the examination for Ph.D. candidacy.) on the subject of the history of the university that he was in charge of. He used to be a university administrator of Saxonian University and was expelled by Hitler out of Nazi Germany before he came to Harvard to teach the subject of “history and the present state of Western universities”.

He was not in a good mood. He told me “there was no freedom on the part of students here in the USA. What about Japanese universities?” I had a long reading list for the subject and then, wondered what he meant to say by that?

It is an established opinion among scholars in the history of education that the American graduate school was modeled on the German doctoral system. I think otherwise. At the outset, my graduate study was largely preoccupied with busy course-work, which is missing from the *laissez-faire* European or Japanese university systems. During the first two years in an American graduate school, we have to complete course-work with good grades. My concept from Japanese graduate study was that it was solely devoted to individual research. The American graduate school treated us in a somewhat humiliating way by imposing course-work and common competitive written examinations. If a grade is inferior to a B, a student will be expelled from the school. In order to renew a full fellowship, it is necessary to get all A grades. Accordingly, I had to work hard to fulfill the course-work.

What is, then, the origin of the hard training by course-work in an American graduate school? It is not possible for it to have originated in the tradition of *akademische Freiheit* in the philosophical faculty of German universities. Otherwise, Professor Ulich would not complain about it. After the general examination, an entirely different world opens for the successful Ph.D. candidate. Thereafter,

* Professor Emeritus, Kanagawa University

we were able to concentrate on preparing our dissertations. Residence at the home university may not be necessary. Such a big difference suggests that the system of the American graduate school consists of two entirely different modes - before and after the general examination.

The glory of the 19th century German universities is often synonymous with the rise of its philosophical faculty. The course-work in American colleges and graduate schools has nothing similar to the academic freedom in the philosophical faculty of the German universities. In the USA, employing competitive written examinations, they drill into students' brains disciplined skills and knowledge. This is not the individual freedom of academic inquiry and research of German universities, which appreciates only original individuality, not the training of common skills and knowledge.

I think the freedom of the German university is a *laissez-faire*, undisciplined, amorphous freedom in a tradition derived from the medieval Western university. The plea for academic freedom in German university was the result of an outcry when it was infringed by Napoleon or the German Empire, not a carefully designed one. It was pre-modern, existing before rational training and happened to attain glory under a market mechanism operating in a feudalistic pluralism, as Ben-David showed.

Then, what was the origin of such rational professional training? It may eventually go back to the 7th century Chinese civil service examination of Confucian rationalism. For recruitment of bureaucrats, they sought fairness in a competitive written examination excluding personal connection and nepotism. It invited the attention of the Jesuit rationalists who came to China in the 17th century. A system of written examinations began to be adopted in 18th century rationalistic Western society. I presume that the written examination must have been adopted first by the newly rising technical, professional schools (such as the *ecole des ponts et shausses* or *ecole central*, the predecessors of *ecole polytechnique*) rather than the old universities, the fortresses of *ancienne regime*. Then, West Point imported the harsh training method of the *ecole polytechnique* in mathematics and highly theoretical subjects. There is also an established opinion in the history of American education that Harvard College followed the practice of Cambridge's education of gentlemen but recitation of classics might have not been the predecessor of professional training. President Eliot of Harvard adopted into the College and Graduate school elective courses that had been the practice of the philosophical faculty of German universities. (At this point, I would like to seek the opinion of overseas scholars as to the origin of written examinations and course-work in the older educational

institutions, as I have had no opportunity to document my conjecture from the sources available in Western libraries.)

The immediate predecessors of course-work in the present American universities must have been the German *Technische Hochschule*, following the practice of the *ecole polytechnique*, and American land-grant A & M colleges. The tradition has now been taken over by the contemporary professional schools, where individual originality is not necessarily highly appreciated but solid skill and knowledge are commonly required as a professional practice. Normally, the Master's degree is given to such a practical qualification, but, because of the length of training, the MD is conferred at medical schools.

For the training of common skills and knowledge, textbooks are compiled. Written examinations accompany textbooks. The American graduate school aims at training of researchers with individual originality but along with the use of textbooks and written examinations, it requires course-work to provide the common skills and knowledge of research professionals and as the prerequisites for future individual research.

I notice that there are certain differences of research style between American researchers with course-work training and European and Japanese scholars without it. From the former view point, the latter appears to be amateuristic, while the latter views the former as being too much professionalized. In the American graduate school, the paradigm common to a disciplinary group is thoroughly mastered, and professional skills are drilled in.¹ Only after that, with the premise of common knowledge at their research front, could they discuss the esoteric topics not understood by those outside the discipline. In my specialty of the history of science, for example, graduate students were required to read all of the classical paradigms of science appropriate to the history of science, starting with Aristotle, and in their discussions is the premise that all the professional discussants are familiar with these classics. At the same time they become familiar with disciplinary tools, such as standard reference works and current interpretations of the subject. In Japan, in a field such as the history of science, which is not as yet professionalized, it is often difficult to distinguish between an amateur and a professional. Some people appoint themselves as professionals by reproducing text-book knowledge; they would not be regarded as professionals in an American history of science

¹ In the first American graduate school at Johns Hopkins, 6-hour written examination for each course was imposed at the end of academic year, in spite of the opposition that there were no precedent in European universities. Hugh Hawkins, *Pioneer*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1960, p.249

society, where now professionals with graduate training dominate. Whether the merits of professionalization are still arguable, most of the field in natural sciences are already professionalized, while in the social sciences and humanities the difference between professionals and amateurs may or may not be clearly visible.

Within such a trend to professionalization of science, the oral debating tradition of the medieval university is still preserved in the general and defense examinations before and after writing an individual dissertation, at least as a matter of formality. It is the formality of public debate, by which the qualification of degree candidates is assessed according to their individual originality. Such a debating scholarship is running into modern academic science but is missing in the Eastern tradition.

A written examination of the Eastern tradition cannot be applicable as a qualification test for general and defense examinations, as candidates are required to possess specialized knowledge that can be tested only individually. Even before the general examination, graduate students are required to present individual papers of laboratory work and seminars.

On the other hand, modern rationalistic training in professional schools of the newly rising bourgeois class evaluates the practicability of science rather than individual originality. Modern technology is especially appreciated for its interchangeability. Among practical professionals, creative individuality is not necessarily esteemed. The technical acme of a talented individual often means a retreat from modern professional skills to pre-modern craftsmanship. In medicine too, American medical schools train their MD candidates only in professional skills, without requiring individual dissertations.

Bifurcational development of American graduate and professional schools has proved to be rational. In such a fast moving frontier of science and technology, however, research-mindedness should be required for high-tech high professionals. On the other hand, in Japanese graduate school, such a bifurcation has not been attained yet. Before the eventual merging of graduate and professional schools in frontier science and technology, a bifurcational way of thinking must be thoroughly considered.

How has Japan Introduced the Notion of a “University”?

Takashi Hata*

1. Is the Japanese *Daigaku* a University?

Over the past 10 years, Japanese universities have been through various drastic changes, ranging from the virtual abolition of general education, the introduction of the university evaluation system, to the corporatisation of national universities. Through that process, I feel it is important to evaluate the character of the university from a historical viewpoint, including among other points, the weak base of general education, and the lack of collegiality.

To begin with, the university as an organisation was introduced to Japan by the West, rather than actually developing in Japan and other Asian countries. The Japan of the late 18th century was forced to “westernise” through the economic and cultural pressure of various Western countries, and as part of that nation building, public education system and universities were introduced.

Altbach (1989) said that in the process of becoming independent, the university system transplanted to Asian countries became indigenised, but was different from European universities.¹ His theory is mainly concerned with the countries which underwent colonisation and liberation after the Second World War.

The “westernisation” of Japan was a process of nation building through the independent and selective introduction of Western systems, and indigenisation was started right from the stage of introduction. It is said that in that process, Japan modeled its universities on those of Germany, England, France and the United States. However, in addition to that, as Shigeru Nakayama (1989) has pointed out, the universities are also modeled on the institutions of higher education under the ancient system of centralised administration established under the constitutional form of government (*ritsuryo-sei*); based on that of China (Tang period).

Toshiaki Okubo (1943),² one of the first persons to have perceived this, describes the origin of

* Professor, RIHE, Hiroshima University

¹ “Two basic realities shape Asian higher education systems - the foreign origin of the basic academic model and the indigenisation of the universities as part of the development process”. Philip G. Altbach and Viswanathan Selvaratnam, Kluwer ed., *From dependence to autonomy: the development of Asian universities*, 1989, p.1.

² Toshiaki Okubo, *Nihon no Daigaku (Japan's Universities)*, 1943. He edited the general history of the University of Tokyo (*Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku Gojunenshi*, 1932).

Japanese universities as being “*Daigaku-Ryo*”, and notes the history of Kanritsu (National) University of the Meiji Era as starting from the revival of the *Daigaku-Ryo*. However, we cannot say that this theory has been sufficiently evaluated, as that book unduly emphasises the inherent character of Japan, because it was written in a period of wartime when extreme nationalism and patriotism was encouraged. Nevertheless, the fact that the word “university” was translated as “*daigaku*”, is a good indication of the ideology of the current concept that *daigaku* equals university.

2. The Three Stages of the School Process and the University at the Peak

The term *daigaku* originated with the ancient *Daigaku-Ryo* system, but outlasted its demise. In the Tokugawa Era, there was a position known as “*Daigaku-no-Kami* (Head of the University)” in the *Rinke-Kajuku* (Private School of the Hayashi family), which was supported by the 5th Shogun, Tsunayoshi Tokugawa (1646-1709). This *Rinke-Kajuku* became an “educational institute” under the “*Kansei-Igaku-no-Kin* (Rules of Education of the Kansei Era)” (1790) drawn up by Sadanobu Matsudaira (1758-1829, Rocho 1787-1793), and continued to exist until the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, when it became one of the founding schools of *Tokyo University*.

In June of Meiji Year 2 (1869) the *Shohei School*, which descended from one of the educational institutes, was reorganised and established as a “university school” combined with an organisation for educational administration, but was not deemed to be a “university”.

Thus, it is still unclear who translated the term “university” into “*daigaku*” in Japanese. However, the credit for popularising the word could be given to Yukichi Fukuzawa (1834-1901), who worked to facilitate the introduction of Western culture to Japan. After his first voyage to the United States of America (1859-1860), he published *Seiyo Jijyo* (Western Matters) Book 1 (3 volumes, 1866) and *Seiyo Jijyo* Book 2 (3 volumes, 1867). In those works, he used the terms “college” and “university” to indicate the Japanese word “*Daigaku*”, “*Daigakukko*” and other institutions of higher education. Fukuzawa’s concept of a university was based on the two or three processes of primary school, junior high school and senior high school: a university was the school of higher education at the top of these. Moreover, in his eyes, the function of a university was to be the driving force behind social movement and industrialisation, and he understood that the significance of the existence of universities was to help further the ambitions of less affluent students.³

The assimilation and understanding of foreign educational systems and matters made rapid progress after the Meiji Restoration and became a principal task for the Ministry of Education,

³ *Seiyo Jijyo* (Western Matters), Vol. II -3.

Science and Culture. It started to gather information and comment on foreign educational systems and matters in the “*Mombusho-Zashi* (Ministry of Education Magazine)” (starting with the April edition of Meiji Year 6), the “*Kyoiku-Zashi* (Education Magazine)” and the “*Mombusho-Kyoiku-Zashi* (Ministry of Education Educational Magazine)”. However, articles about universities did not appear until the “Ministry of Education Magazine” Issue No. 12 (8th July, Meiji Year 8), and Issue No. 16 (14th September). The title was “Universities and Degrees in Foreign Countries”. In that article, the terms “college”, “university” and “academy” were collectively used to describe all of Japan’s systems of higher education, so it appeared as if the characteristics of each institution were not properly understood.

In other words, the “university” Japan was trying to introduce in the Meiji Era was thought to be a shift away from the schools of the *ritsuryo-sei* (ancient constitutional form of government) and the schools under the Shogunate clan system.

Thus the fundamental characteristics of a university can be summarised as it follows:

1. The university as a union of teachers and students;
2. The professors who were employed according to their degrees (qualifications);
3. The systemisation of knowledge for education;
4. The special privileges;
5. The creation of a scholarly world intersecting that of the university.

The concept of what a university, sharing common features with modern universities, actually was did not seem to be accurately grasped.

3. The Structure of a University

So, what do we assume that a university teaches? The university, which stands at the peak of the three stages of education system should teach a high standard of specialised education, and that is why it should be called a university. According to the regulations of special schools, *Gakusei-Nihen-Tsuika* (Supplement to the Second Edition of the Education System Order of 1972), “The opening of special schools which hire foreign teachers should only be for the teaching of arts and sciences such as law, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, engineering and so forth. It is not necessary to teach other subjects like religion and ethics” (Article 189). The Minister for Education, Takato Oki (1832-1899) said, “Our country has its own special writing,

language, customs, and learning. Each country has its own morals, so after all, it is also necessary for us to study subjects other than knowledge in our country. Amongst others, the subjects lacking in Japan are industrial arts, technology, astronomy, physics, medicine, law and economics”⁴

Furthermore, Oki compared Japanese and foreign education systems and found that firstly, Japanese culture was taught in primary schools; secondly, Western-style general education was taught in junior high schools, and thirdly, foreign language study, special preparatory study and special vocational study were taught at schools after junior high school. This study at special vocational schools was equivalent to university study. Oki said, “Special vocational schools are not different from universities in Japan. Consequently, it is not essential to have rules about universities”.

4. The Actual Assimilation of the “University Concept”

The actual introduction of the university image progressed in the second decade of the Meiji Era. With the arrival of foreigners (Fulbeck arrived in 1859 as a foreign missionary and was hired by the Ministry of Education in 1869), and the increase in the number of Japanese going overseas, the amount of information available on systems of higher education increased. Murray drafted bills on Japanese education and introduced many diverse types of systems of higher education, such as the professional school, the university and institutions for higher learning.

Moreover, foreigners employed in Japan and Japanese graduates of overseas schools themselves started to found institutes of higher education. For example, *Kobu Daigakko* (the Imperial College of Engineering) was founded in January of Meiji Year 10, based on the Zurich Federal University of Engineering; *Sapporo Nogakko* (Sapporo Agricultural College), modeled on the Massachusetts Agricultural University was inaugurated in August of Meiji Year 9, and *Naimusho-Kannokyoku-Nogakko* (the Imperial College of Agriculture Tokyo) was inaugurated in January of Meiji Year 11.

It is possible to suggest that the introduction and embodiment of these diverse images of higher education institutes gave rise to the concept of a “university”. The renaming of *Tokyo University* in March of Meiji Year 10 contrasted with the various other institutes of higher education. These institutions of higher education that the government offices had were merged in *Tokyo University* in the latter half of 1880s (Appendix 1).

Subsequently, *Tokyo University* became the Imperial University and grew.

In actual fact, people connected with universities and government authorities commonly

⁴ Tsuyoshi Kurasawa, *Gakusei no Kenkyu*, 1973. National Educational Research Institute, *Nihon Kindai Kyoiku hyakunenshi; Gakkokyoiku (1)*, 1973.

recognise that a “university” is not just an institute of higher education, but rather an institution of higher education providing a comprehensive system including, amongst others, the four faculties of literature, science, law, and medicine. That shows how far we have come along in our understanding of the concept of a “university”.

On one hand, however, people connected with private schools and advocates of a reform of the educational system in those days were critical of the Imperial University, which was increasingly becoming more alienated from the standards of secondary education. They considered the development of “the idea of a university as comprehensive system” as a way of refuting the request of the reform bills of *Tanka-Daigaku* (a university having only one college), *Daigakko* (college) and *Senmon-Gakko* (higher special school).

For example, at the time of the inauguration of the Diet, the opposition parties argued that the budget of the Imperial University should be cut, and that the demand of private schools to be promoted to universities should be accepted. The Chancellor of the Imperial University, Hiroyuki Kato (1836-1916) countered this argument by sneering “A university must be able to teach a number of these subjects: law, science, medicine, engineering and liberal arts”, and that is impossible for private schools like *Doshisha* and *Keio* (Kato 1889).⁵ “The idea of a university as a comprehensive system” relates to the political context of the ostentatious position of the privileged Imperial University which differs from that of private schools. Consequently, the ideology of the comprehensive university principle was not firmly established in the university. When the Minister of Education, Kowashi Inoue (1843-1895) launched reforms, “The Discussion of Independence for the Law College” - a theory of how to dismantle the comprehensive university - appeared from inside the Imperial University.

In addition, in relation to the Ministry of Education theory of a “comprehensive university”, the representative of private schools commented in the *Rinji-Kyoiku-Kaigi* (Temporary Educational Council 1917-1919),⁶ which authorised the system of a *Tanka-Daigaku*; that the Imperial University was also essentially a *Tanka-Daigaku*. We can see that such opinions were in the majority: “I think that although a *Tanka-Daigaku* cannot be called a “university”; it would be possible to call it a “*daigaku*” in that sense”.

⁵ Hiroyuki Kato, “Independence of Imperial University”, *Tensoku*, Vol. 1-2, 1889.

⁶ National Educational Research Institute, *Shiryo Rinji-Kyoiku Kaigi*, Vol. 4, 1979.

Imperial University of Tokyo (1886, Law, Medicine, Engineering, Literature, Science)

1890 Agriculture

1919 Economics

Kyoto Imperial University (1897, Science and Technology)

1899 Law, Medicine

1903 Medicine at Fukuoka

1914 Science and Technology College separated into Science College
and Technology College

1919 Economics

Tohoku Imperial University (1907, Agriculture at Sapporo)

1911 Science

1915 Medicine

1918 Agriculture College was separated.

1919 Engineering

1922 Law and Literature

Kyushu Imperial University (1911, Engineering, Medicine)

1919 Agriculture

1925 Law and Literature

1939 Science

Hokkaido Imperial University (1918, Agriculture)

1919 Medicine

1924 Engineering

1930 Science

Osaka Imperial University (1931, Medicine, Science)

1933 Engineering

Nagoya Imperial University (1939, Medicine, Science and Technology)

1942 Faculty of Science and Technology separated into Faculty of Science and
Faculty of Technology.

Subsequently, the university law which authorised *Tanka-Daigaku* was the first piece of legislation which regulated the comprehensive system of universities. Until then, the general system lacked clarity as a principle.⁷

⁷ Imperial Ordinance Relating to Universities, no.388, 1918, article 2. The university, as a general rule, shall provide for several faculties, but a university be formed with only one faculty, if special need be

There are some exceptions such as the *Tokyo Institute of Technology* (instead of the *Tokyo University of Technology*), but *Tanka-Daigaku* were for the most part, generally known as “universities”.⁸ In Taisho Year 7, even when *Tanka-Daigaku* (universities with only one college) was systemised, the term *daigaku* was still used to indicate specialised education (“university”).⁹ This transliteration raised questions when university chancellors visited occupied Japan from the United States after the war.

I think it is unfortunate that the term *Daigaku* is translated in English as “university”. University in the United States and most of the world has come to mean a large institution of complex organisation having a graduate school. It seems anomalous to hear the term *Daigaku* applied to a small liberal-art college or an institution concentrating on very worthy instruction in dairying and veterinary medicine and the same term used for multiple-faculty institutions such as the national, public and private universities. I am informed that *Daigaku* has definitely been agreed upon for all. Perhaps, instead of translating it as “university”, we should adopt the Japanese word “daigaku” for English usage, just as we do with the French *Lycee* and the German *Gymnasium*.¹⁰

5. General or Liberal Education and the Private School

The introduction of universities was conducted not only through the government, but also, in the second decade of the Meiji Era, by those responsible for private schools. These schools aimed to become universities by the second decade of the Meiji Era, and provided preparatory education for students who had completed secondary education and wanted to go on to specialised education. In Taisho Year 7, these schools were authorised as private universities.

Private schools could be classified as such (Nagai 1965).¹¹

1. *Doshisha* (Meiji Year 8), *Keio Gijuku* (founded in Keio Year 4, and established as a

⁸ The Government University of Literature and Science (Tokyo, Hiroshima), The Government University of Commerce (Tokyo), The Government University of Engineering (Tokyo).

⁹ In 1919, the title of “Bunka-Daigaku (College)” changed to “Gakubu (Faculty)”.

¹⁰ Raymond Walters, “RECOMMENDATION OF VISITING EXPERT ON UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION” (1949/4/6), *Trainor Papers*.

¹¹ Michio Nagai, *Nihon no Daigaku*, 1965.

university in Meiji Year 22), *Tokyo Special School* (Meiji Year 15), *Rikkyo Institute* (Meiji Year 16), *Tokyo Eiwa School* (Meiji Year 19). These schools had a different ideology - liberalism - from that of the national schools.

2. The traditional faction included schools such as *Kotenkokyusho*, *Jingukogakukan* (Meiji Year 15) and *Tetsugakukan* (School of Philosophy) (Meiji Year 20).
3. *Tokyo Law School* (Meiji Year 12), *Senshu School* (Meiji Year 13), *Meiji Law School* (Meiji Year 14) were of the flexible faction formed mainly by law schools.

A different aspect of these private schools was apparent in *Doshisha*, which set Christian missionary work as one of its objectives. This objective had been consciously dropped by the national schools, which aimed specifically for specialised teaching, but was introduced as a primary function of the private institutes of higher education. The purpose of studying at an institute of higher education was, for some young people, the acquisition of general education. However, this purpose is also evident in the civil rights movement, in which a great many young people took part. The policy of forming schools voluntarily was included in the study movement (Katagiri 1990).¹² Furthermore, it can be seen, as in the instance of Tokoku Kitamura (1868-1894, a philosopher) that young people seeking education were approaching Christianity and were connected to the formation of an outlook on the world which exceeded practical learning (Irokawa 1964).¹³ Tamenori Yamazaki who entered *Tokyo University* - the first university in Japan - and then left to enter *Doshisha* was the most radical example of this. In correspondence of 2nd September, Meiji Year 10 to Makoto Saito (1858-1936, an admiral, and the Minister of the Navy), he criticised the bad conduct of *Tokyo University* students thus, “The reason is that in this school they put intellect at the top and put virtue at the bottom, respect intellect and disgrace virtue. It is not only thus in this school, but appears to be a tendency in the others as well” (Neesima Research Institute 1960).¹⁴

However, the road chosen by Yamazaki when he transferred to *Doshisha* was a hard one. It was not only the distress caused by the interference of the Meiji government in Christianity. In order to supervise well, it was necessary to compromise with Japanese young people who tended to favour practical learning. In a letter Yuzuru Neesima (1843-1890, the founder of *Doshisha*) sent to the finance committee of an American board in Meiji Year 12, he commented that because missionaries attempted to teach the Bible so strongly “many young people with bright futures are losing hope and

¹² Yoshio Katagiri, *Jiyuminkenki Kyoikushi Kenkyu*, 1990.

¹³ Daikichi Irokawa, *Meiji Sesishinshi*, 1964.

¹⁴ Neesima Research Institute, *Neesima Kenkyu*, No. 22, 1960.

moving away from us. They are going to schools in Tokyo, where the influence of the missionaries is less... If we can give them a proper, high level, vocational education, rather than over-emphasising the Christianity aspect as we tend to do, then of course the students will stay in our schools".¹⁵

6. Secondary Schools and General Education under the Old System

General education was of course not completely abandoned in national universities. In order to fulfill the role of specialised education, senior high schools were set up as places to teach core subjects in specialised areas. The central content of the education was foreign languages, which accounted for approximately one-third of the time (180 hours to 270 hours a year). In addition to this, Japanese language and Chinese classics, history, geography, ethics, mathematics, gymnastics were important subjects. The top students also studied 3 hours a week of introductory philosophy. However, at first, the structure of character building under the old system of schooling did not depend on general education. Under the old system, character building was not on the curriculum, but was rather acquired through the dormitory system, based on the creation of elite consciousness and student autonomy.¹⁶ Vice-Principal Hiroji Kinoshita (1851-1910) referred to the independent self-management which arose from the chaotic breakdown of morals in the *First Higher School* as "*Rojo-shugi* (the Principle of the Siege of the Castle)". The self-management was achieved by emphasis on the elite consciousness, and having all the students' board in the school, thereby putting some distance between them and the world.

With regard to order in the sports club, Inazo Nitobe (1862-1933; head of the *First Higher School*: 1903-1913; vice-secretary of the United Nations: 1919-1926) contrasted sociality with the creation of general education, referring to humanism through Bible reading meetings. He received moral training at *Sapporo Agricultural College* from W. S. Clark (graduated from Amherst College, Chancellor of Massachusetts Agricultural University). When Clark was on his way back to America, he visited *Doshisha* to meet Neesima and even after returning to America continued to send donations of money and plants (The Editorial Committee for the Complete Works of Joseph Hardy Neesima 1992).

¹⁵ Doshisha, *Doshisha Hyakunenshi; tsushihen*, Vol. 1, 1979.

¹⁶ - Masao Terasaki, "Jichiryoseido seiritsu shiron". *KKGK*, No.15, 1978.

- Donald T. Roden, *Schooldays in Imperial Japan*, 1980.

- The Editorial Committee for the Complete Works of Joseph Hardy Neesima, *The Complete Works of Joseph Hardy Neesima*, Vol. 8, 1992.

- Hiroshi Takeuchi, *Gakureki Syakai no Eiko to Zasetu*, Chuo Koronsha, 1999;

- Kosaku Miyasaka, *Kyusei Koko shi no Kenkyu*, Shinzansha, 2001.

With the help of Nitobe, the students came into contact with Kanzo Uchimura (1861-1930, a Christian missionary), a graduate of *Sapporo Agricultural University*. The students influenced by the humanism of Christianity pushed for educational reforms after the Second World War. For them - the generation entering universities of the old system, one generation after the character-formation of the Taisho Era - education could only be a form of social science and Marxism. For intellectuals of that time, the theme of character-building was closely bound up with how to come to terms with the Emperor system and national ideology. Christianity and Marxism offered a world view that was relative to the emperor system. That demonstrated the ability to create general education through a hidden curriculum for university professors and students.

7. The University as Systemisation of Specialised Education

The fact that universities were systemised as institutions of central specialised education carved a deep impression on Japanese universities. Specialised education was structured into Faculties, and these Faculties were a necessary part of universities (*Daigakurei*, the Imperial ordinance relating to Universities, 1918). Faculties were staff organisations as well as student organisations, and the fact that research and teaching were organised into Faculties created reproducible structures.¹⁷ There were 7 Faculties; law, medicine, engineering, literature, science, agriculture, economics and business, which were so appropriate that they are still used today for classification by the Science Council and for grants. However, this system obstructed the firm establishment of general education after the war. Because universities teach specialised education, graduate schools did not substantially exist. (The higher education schools of the old system were firmly connected to the Imperial University, and the rate of entry to higher education was extremely high, so the average age of students entering the Imperial University was 21-24 years old, and the average age of graduates was 24-27 years. This, it is thought, also obstructed the development of graduate schools.)

Looking at the roles and functions of that specialised education from the point of view of the direction graduates take, shows us that law was a central choice. Special privileges were granted to the Imperial University, which engaged overwhelmingly in the training of state bureaucrats. The training of specialised medical staff and for teachers of secondary schools, higher education and universities also continued. The educational content included practical learning of law for the state bureaucrats, and pure learning for the training of academic successors.

¹⁷ Masao Terasaki, *Promenade of the University of Tokyo*, 1992.

An important point in the structure of specialised education is that of securing socially the result of specialisation: the “degree” that characterises graduates. This process, however, was not firmly established. In *Tokyo University*, Meiji Year 12 graduates were given Bachelor’s degrees, and in Meiji Year 16 a rule was made that conferred degrees on excellent students who passed a test in addition to the final graduation examination. However, with the establishment of the Imperial University, Bachelor’s degrees were relegated to nothing more than just a title, and only Doctor’s degrees were actual qualifications, which the Minister of Education bestowed. Rather than proof of academic ability, these degrees were a just symbol of authority. Furthermore, the conditions and qualifications of the university staff lacked clarity. University professors did not belong to one group traversing many universities, but were more often affiliated individually to universities.

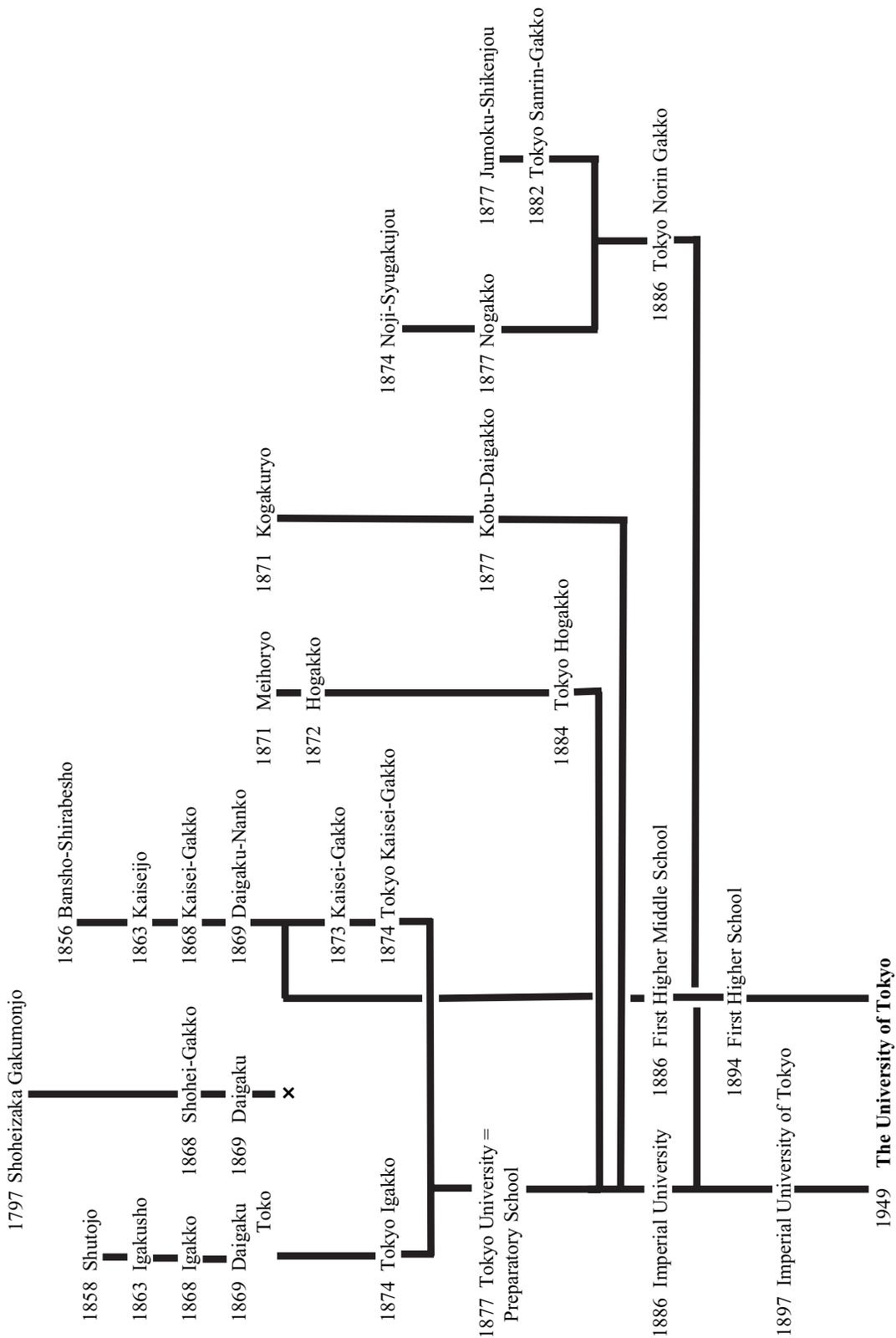
8. Conclusion

What I have roughly outlined above is that a “university” is accepted as a *daigaku*, created within Japan society rather than having naturally developed. This *daigaku* has gradually become closer to the concept of a “university”. The medieval university which evolved to become the modern university was deeply rooted in medieval society and was a part of the social system. Without having the ability to create the same social structure, combined with the lack of various necessary factors, the university that Japan ultimately designed and developed was the only one necessary to the modernisation of Japanese society at that time.

In this way, the unification of various institutes of higher education under the name of “*daigaku*” was one way of creating something close to a “university”. The post-war university reforms were also part of a large-scale plan to make all the specialised schools of the old system into a “university”. As a result, the university, which is an amalgam of the institutes of higher education with their own various origins and philosophies, has constantly undergone the difficulties of sharing ideologies and the worries of unifying identities.

(Appendix 1)

The University of Tokyo and its predecessors



Concluding Remarks

The Modernisation, State Principles and Specialisation of the University: Comments in Perspective of “Evaluation”

Masao Terasaki

1. Two Papers

It is difficult to find a direct common thread running between Professor Hata’s and Professor Nakayama’s paper. Professor Hata’s paper is about the relationship between westernisation and the process of making the modern Japanese system of higher education indigenous, with reference to the naming: “*daigaku*” (university). Professor Nakayama’s paper outlines postgraduate education and the possibility of professional education through comparisons of the course contents and ranking of education in graduate schools in Japan and America.

Professor Hata’s paper deals with the practice of calling all types of Japanese undergraduate level systems of higher education as “*daigaku*” (university). He claims that from a point of view of comparative higher education systems theory, this naming can only be seen as a mistake, and goes on to outline how and why this confusion arose. Professor Nakayama’s paper presents the theme of why evaluation for certification based on “specialised disciplines” never took root in Japanese postgraduate education, *i.e.* graduate education systems, despite American-style schooling having been carefully introduced after the Second World War. There is a great distance between these two themes. In order to find common points, Professor Hata’s paper should have dealt with the issue of how each differing class of human ability came about in each type of university which had been divided into classes according to results. Professor Nakayama’s paper needed to address the problems of the introduction and details of the graduate education system in the years up to 1890 and the late 1940s.

I will not attempt to discuss the common points in a transversal way in these comments because of the reason outlined above. Instead, I would like to consider the topic of “evaluation”, one of the points which appears in both papers.

In modern Japanese society, the word “evaluation” has two different meanings. The first is “evaluation of the university itself”. This is evaluation of the arts, sciences and education level of a university (academic evaluation), as well as the social evaluation or assessment by various administrative agencies, carried out thoroughly and powerfully in America, various countries in

Europe, but especially Britain after the Thatcher administration, and also the Netherlands, and France. In addition, this also includes self-evaluation by faculties and other staff, and the teaching evaluation carried out by some students, or evaluation of the curriculum.

Another point is the assessment of achievement of the students themselves, connected to the examination system, course contents and interviews. This is part of what is called “educational evaluation” by education scholars and elementary and junior high school teachers. I would like to focus on these two aspects of “evaluation”, rather than randomly discussing a few points provoked by the two papers. Professor Hata’s theme deals with the former concept, that is to say, the evaluation of the university itself or self-study, and Professor Nakayama’s paper is concerned with the second point, especially the evaluation of grades of graduate students. I hope the comments and supplements on both papers will help to provide advice for them.

2. The History and Themes of Evaluation of Universities

It is possible to discuss two characteristics of the first concept in Japan, namely “evaluation of the university”.

Firstly, it is not easy to dispel the idea established, especially before the Second World War, that evaluation of a university and higher education institution should mainly be the work of an administrative agency. Before the war, relevant administrative agencies, and especially people connected to universities at that time, could not even imagine evaluation carried out by specialists, particularly the method of mutual evaluation by people connected to universities.

It was specialists from the U.S. in the Occupation after the war who first criticised the idea that administrative agencies, especially the Ministry of Education, should have the power to evaluate universities. Under their influential guidance, two new systems were introduced. These were: mutual evaluation by people connected to universities, and a new system of accreditation consisting of certifying examinations by academic members. The Japan University Accreditation Association (JUAA) was set up under the guidance of people connected to universities, and university standards were implemented in 1947. These standards consisted of follow-up evaluation by a non-governmental base, and had this system worked properly, it would have taken the place of the traditional pre-1946 system.

However, in the present-day of half a century later, evaluation by administrative agencies has not

lost any of its effect and influence. Looking back over the 57-year history of JUAA, it was only eventually in the latter half of the 1990s that many universities started to seek accreditation, and that JUAA, the largest agency responsible for accreditation, started to grow briskly. It took almost 50 years since its inauguration for eventual understanding that recognition as a member of the Association was a matter concerning a university's prestige.

On the other hand, because of the low birthrate in Japan, the population of 18-year-olds will definitely decrease, and it is predicted that a time where all prospective university students will be able to enter university will come after the year 2007. For universities competing for enrollment, social and academic prestige will become a very important matter of concern. From this viewpoint too, membership of JUAA will become much sought-after.

Apart from this, there are also other important reasons why understanding of accreditation, especially follow-up evaluation, has become more widespread. This is because the wide-ranging activity of evaluation of universities, including accreditation itself, has been legislated following the report of the advisory council organised by the Ministry of Education, and has also been encouraged by the ministerial ordinances issued by the Ministry. Also, since the latter half of the 1990s, various ways to distribute sources of revenue such as the budget of the national universities, and National Treasury subsidies for private universities, have been structured to be directly linked to evaluation including accreditation.

Furthermore, various types of university evaluation activities have successively become compulsory by law. That is, self-evaluation and external evaluation of universities or faculties have first of all become compulsory by law, and in addition each university is obliged to undergo evaluation by institutes that have the qualifications to carry out university evaluation (*Ninsho-hyoka Kikan* [evaluation agencies]). I do not have the leeway to discuss this matter in detail now, but legislation and legislative regulations, and the initiative of central government agencies in the background, have given authority to university evaluation activities, including accreditation, which would have taken place in the U.S. on a non-governmental level. We can say that this is indeed a paradoxical phenomenon peculiar to Japan. This modern Japanese pattern of the government leading the people has also appeared in the world of the university.

The second characteristic is that the focus of evaluation is not on the quality of education and research, but quite often tends to be on the ranking of the organisation itself. Namely, evaluation in the category of "evaluation of the institution" actually plays a very important role.

Of course, with the trend of globalisation, the forces of free-trade, market liberalisation and loosening of regulations are intense, and the structure of the administration of higher education also

has had a tendency to shift from the pattern of “prior regulations” to the pattern of “follow-up checks”. However, even now, the pattern of administrative agencies participating in university evaluations is still strong. This is due to the fact that it is still broadly related to the distribution of the state budget and of Treasury subsidies to private universities, namely the distribution of financial resources.

The question of why evaluation by administrative agencies (to use a traditional Japanese term, “*kan* (the central government)”, especially the Ministry of Education, now the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, MEXT) is so prestigious does not necessarily require a complicated answer. There is a phrase “*kanson-minpi*” (which translates as “making much of officialdom and little of the people”), which illustrates modern Japanese social psychology. As Professor Hata points out, in the mid-1880s, the government took the initiative in founding universities, and the Imperial University was founded (1886) based on those initiatives. Eventually, that university came to have a virtual monopoly over members of the government, that is, over the training of high-ranking bureaucratic candidates from central government agencies, and this social psychology was easily transformed into the rank gap between universities and other higher education institutions.

In addition, government-founded universities (national universities) did not have to undergo assessments when founded, even though a system was created where only public and private universities and higher education institutions were able to take the administrative assessment at foundation.

In 1910, a system whereby foundations and provincial public organisations could set up universities was created. Before that, there were public and private vocational colleges, and it became possible to have public and private high schools at the same time as universities. In this time period, namely the start of the 1900s to the latter half of the 1940s, just after the Second World War, the government carried out founding assessments and follow-up inspections only on public and private institutions, and national universities and higher education institutions were exempt.

These measures led to a way of thinking that was already well-established by the Meiji Era: “There are two types of universities and schools; one is trustworthy from its foundation and the other is recognised as such only after strict assessment and when it has met the necessary conditions and made preparations”. Naturally enough, the ideas of “efforts to improve standards” and “follow-up judgment work” were never fostered, and so no such system arose.

After the war, the Occupation under the U.S., began, and among the GHQ/SCAP staff, there were several specialists of higher education. In the U.S., from the start of the 20th century, the

accreditation system by non-government groups developed out of competition between universities. To the GHQ/SCAP staff from that country, the Japanese situation must have appeared exceedingly strange. This is because each university or higher education institution did not compete on the grounds of “birth” or “blood”, nor was there any kind of follow-up evaluation apart from a kind of vague social evaluation. The GHQ/SCAP staff urged the formation of a university committee, and passionately recommended the founding of JUAA as one of the most important points, and guided the establishment of “University Standards” (1947) for the purpose of evaluating the new systems of universities. The work of accreditation thus begun, and has at last started to gather attention now, with the loosening of regulations.

Reiterating this point, before the war the only decisive factor in securing top place by evaluation of the universities and higher education institutions was simply to be set up and run by the government. It was in reality extremely difficult to break down this system in post-war Japan. Even now, perhaps it should not be allowed to totally disappear. This is because it is correct that the problem of judging standards is far more difficult than the question of whether a university or higher education institution is actually a comprehensive institution or a technical training institution.

Most of Japan’s public and private high schools publish the percentage of their graduates who go on to a higher stage of education. Still now the sole concern of how many students will enter famous national universities pushes aside concern of students passing examinations for private universities. As the OECD Education Investigating Commission pointed out at the beginning of the 1970s while looking back at university rankings, the phrase “national high-level, private low-level” has been lurking over the last 100 years of history and has not yet died out.

The measures the Koizumi Cabinet have taken since 2003 to turn national universities into corporate bodies, have served to make some people hope that an epoch-making transformation will occur in modern Japanese history.

By making national universities into “National University Corporations”, national universities will cease to exist in Japan, and the traditional 3 types of university were supposed to collapse. The new corporations are set up by MEXT, but the everyday running is left to the discretion of each university, and each university is provided with far more scope for handling the financial management than it had before. The teaching and administrative staff no longer have the status of public officials, and it has been decided that they are to be called “staff of corporations”. It has been predicted that the classification of universities into “national universities, public universities and private universities” will disappear. In addition, it is expected that many public universities will also

become administrative corporate bodies. Thus, it is possible to see the start of the realisation of the privatisation of higher education.

However at present, the number of people who think these predictions to be accurate is low. Criticism of these inconsistent reforms is extremely heated.

This is because although the old national universities are now being run by corporations rather than MEXT, each year's budget is provided by the Treasury Department through MEXT, under the name of "Operational Grants". Removal of the status of national public officials from the teaching and office staff means it is possible to see a reduction in the number of public officials. Thus administrative reform has been achieved as one link of the government's structural reform, but there has been no change in the fact that the financial base is still a burden on the National Treasury. Moreover, the assessment of the total amount has a decidedly overwhelming influence on the Treasury. Thus, it is clear that this is totally different from "privatisation" of the fundamental financial bases. I am forced to conclude that this privatisation is extremely inconsistent. There has also been criticism of "the birth of suspect private universities" especially from among the leaders of private universities.

On the other hand, we must not overlook the appearance of new systems of evaluation here. Every year, an "Annual Plan" concerning the research, teaching and management of each National University Corporation is requested, and, based on that plan, a central organisation, the "National University Corporation Evaluation Committee", appointed by the Minister of Education, starts evaluation. The final evaluation is handed down every six years, and in some cases can even influence the survival of the university. It is predicted that the new evaluations will be by far stricter than the traditional "Assessment of the Estimates" requested by MEXT.

Furthermore, it is said that MEXT is demanding that the target of this "Annual Plan" be presented as far as is possible as numerical data. There have been strong doubts as to whether the institution of numerical targets and evaluation of their achievability and unachievability, and of the university, especially when it applies to the evaluation of research and teaching, will prove to be a big hindrance on university activities.

Therefore, values capable of being numerically quantified (for example, the number of theses and academic conference papers published, the acquisition of research fees for the evaluation of research, the number of applications to programmes and courses, the number of registered students, the numerical values for class results for the evaluation of education) have been especially prioritised, and it has become possible to belittle quality evaluation. Even more dreadful is that research and

education in basic fields is looked down upon and is starting to decline. As the introduction of external investment is difficult, small-scale National University Corporations have had somehow to prepare themselves for these kinds of increasing risks.

The formation of National University Corporations has changed the framework of the 130-year old Japanese university. National regulations on the ideal of the university have been thoroughly removed, even more so than at the time of the university reforms after the Second World War. The formation of National University Corporations was supposed to be a reform to encourage the independent management of universities. However, due to the lack of the most important condition - that of university financial independence - we are unable to avoid the birth of what some people call “suspect private universities”. However, in order to secure a source of revenue, there is a danger they will be forced to accept “methods of evaluation by results”, and “the principle of taking efficiency very seriously”.

The newly emerged National University Corporations are extremely far away from the “privatisation”, which is the most suitable equivalent for the Japanese term, “*mineika*”.

3. “Examinations” Going Large-Scale in Elementary Schools

I would like to move on to the problem of the second concept of “evaluation”, namely “assessment of academic achievement”.

Why have examinations for certification not become firmly established in Japan? Professor Nakayama’s paper deals with this question, and takes into consideration the problem of professionalisation of research in Japan, and is full of stimulating points. In addition, it is a paper rich in suggestions for the organisers of education policy, who are planning the expansion of graduate schools for professional training.

I would like to add some comments to the question of examinations that Professor Nakayama considers as the foundations of his paper.

Firstly, “examinations” emerged on a wide social scale in Japanese society at the end of the 19th century, and it is an important fact that they were first of all firmly established in elementary schools. Of course, in the Edo era the feudal schools that *samurai* children attended adopted a system of various examinations, in which oral testing took place. In the private academies, such as *Tekijuku* in

Osaka, of which one of the students was Yukichi Fukuzawa, and the *Kangien* opened by Tanso Hirose in Hita in Kyushu, there were even systems of advancing or failing a grade based on assessment of academic achievement. However, these systems were implemented only for the education of a limited number of people, and did not have any influence on Japanese people as a whole. In the years before and after 1871 (Meiji 4), various examinations were carried out in government and private institutions of higher education and private academies. However, these too, were limited from a point of view of social influence.

Examinations only really became widespread after 1872. In that year, the government issued a law on educational systems, “*Gakusei*”, and adopted the ideal of “compulsory education”. It ordered the local authorities to start work on building elementary schools. More than 10,000 schools were immediately built, and they took up the system of advancing the students up a grade once every half a year. In order to evaluate the students for advancement, the schools made it a rule to adopt a test or examination system. This premise of “In learning, there are definitely steps, and these steps must be tested by examinations” was a philosophy for learning, and this philosophy was clearly stated in the main text of the “*Gakusei*”. It is not clear from which country the government obtained the idea of this system, but the leaders of that time used the literature of the U.S. and European countries for reference, and the translations of the literature of the Netherlands and France contained detailed descriptions of examination systems.

Examinations, especially those used to advance students to the next grade, were implemented strictly and on a large-scale in elementary schools throughout the country. We can find various records and documents of examinations and tests preserved in the archives of elementary schools or administration organisations in Japan. Examinations were open to the public in villages and towns. Most examinations were written, but there were also some oral examinations. Children took the examinations watched over by their parents or relatives, and also sometimes by influential people of the towns and villages, village mayors, police officers, and in some places, administration officials of the prefectural or metropolitan government; and their results were often published. The children sometimes failed a grade or had to repeat the grade according to their results, but on the other hand, advancing to the next grade or even skipping a grade was of course possible. The “graduation certificate”, given out now for the first time when graduating school, was given out when a course of study was finished, once every six months.

The topic of the history of examinations as part of the history of modern Japanese educational culture is a deeply interesting one. However, I would like to focus on the problem of social impact.

First of all, the impact of examinations suddenly appearing all over the country immediately after the Meiji Restoration was enormous. Ordinary people had faith that examinations would “measure

the achievement of learning with scores”. Measuring each child’s results and deciding their grade of learning by examinations was a powerful means of popularising the concept of replacing “social status” which had decided children’s lives and careers up until the Edo era. They were an effective method of “civilisation”, and secured advancement and success in life for children and young people, breaking down the feudal system, symbolising the drive towards modernity. Examinations were a splendid social undertaking.

Secondly, as Professor Nakayama has pointed out, the content of the examinations was to measure the accuracy of the knowledge one had already learned, and the level of memorisation. For example, examiners asked, “What is the big lake at the southwest corner of *Totominokuni* (present-day Shizuoka Prefecture) called?” and children answered “Hamanako Lake”. Examiners then pressed them with further questions such as, “How big is that lake from north to south?”, “How big is that lake from east to west?”, and so on to check if the children could answer. If they asked “Who broke the seige at Orleans in the Anglo-French War?”, children answered “Jeanne D’Arc”, but according to the examination records of Toyama Prefecture (1878), not even one child present at the examination could answer whether that person was a woman or a man.

Regardless of Professor Nakayama’s view, it is not so important that the controlling form of the examinations was “paper tests”. The characteristics of a simultaneous, uniform examination can be amply demonstrated by oral examinations. The most important point was that these examinations were not about human capacity or virtue, but rather about intellect. Knowledge, which was replacing social status, was becoming the base of promotion and encouragement of new industry, and for enhancing the wealth and military strength of the country - the shape of Japan after the Restoration was being widely suggested to ordinary people through the principles of opening elementary schools to the public by examinations.

In 1900, the legislation on compulsory education in Japan was completed entirely. In 1903, three years later, the percentage of school attendance for both boys and girls was over 80%. It was an obligation to the state for citizens - parents - to send their children to school. However, to help realise that obligation, it was the duty of the relevant local authorities to the Emperor to make all the children who came to school graduate. So it was in this period that the concept and system of examinations took root. In the end, examinations were deemed to be unsuitable for elementary schools because of the danger of children failing or repeating a grade, and the word itself disappeared from all laws concerning elementary schools. In elementary schools, some tests were given as occasion demanded, but these were hereafter called “evaluations” or “achievement tests”.

However, examinations have not totally disappeared from the Japanese education world.

Conversely, they are clearly apparent in institutes of secondary and higher education. They are particularly symbolised best by the selective examinations of each stage in school, namely “entrance examinations” or “final examinations”. Those examinations, as I have outlined before, have inherited the characteristics of the simultaneous uniform examinations. They are absolutely not examinations which evaluate composition writing or various kinds of imaginative skills, creative thinking, or individual knowledge which surpasses insight.

Japanese examinations, with their history outlined above, have completely inherited the character imprinted on them from conception and popularisation. The demonstration of such abilities such as composition skills, and the ability to express oneself is hardly required at all. This trend was introduced after the war from the American method of making examination papers with a choice of two answers. From the end of the 1970s, this method rapidly picked up more and more speed because of the spread of the computer-scored answer sheet method. Introduction of nationwide common tests for all applicants for national universities made swift handling of large quantities of answer papers necessary. There was absolutely no necessity to write sentences on the answer sheet. The only technique for dealing with the examinations was to pick the “correct answer” from a few choices.

On the one hand, the knowledge internalised by children or young people who had taken or gone through the examinations became an important base of support for Japan through its modernisation. In the period of industrialisation, especially, the existence of an overwhelming majority of homogenous intellect was indispensable. The shape and distribution of “intellect” through modern Japan’s tests fulfilled this request totally.

4. Assessment of Academic Achievement in Universities and Graduate Schools

The structure of evaluation before a student enters university has to change dramatically after the students enter university. Arts and humanities programmes and courses have to focus on theses and end of semester reports. Science programmes place more weight on experiments and practical training and their evaluation. This base requires composition skills, logical thinking, imaginative and conceptual thinking. This is vastly different from the way of studying that took place up to and through secondary education.

Universities started to make an effort to bridge this gap at the start of the 2000s. It became necessary to make an effort to reform university curricula with such projects as: “Co-operation between high schools and universities”, “enriching induction”. Along with this, a “making

evaluation stricter” plan was advocated in order to correct the leniency and unfairness of marking of reports and essays which sometimes occurred. Incidentally, these are all points of issue emphasised in the reports of the advisory council commissioned by the Ministry of Education to improve university education from the end of the 20th century to the beginning of this century.

Conditions at the undergraduate level change greatly for the graduate school stage. There is an absence of a systematic curriculum in graduate school education. As Professor Nakayama has pointed out, there really does exist an absence of the acquisition of professional qualifications as a premise for learning and for the subjective evaluation of research ability. There has been no notable improvement in the last half century, since the postgraduate system was inaugurated. Why? That answer is not simple.

To begin with, there exists a closed, hierarchical system of human relations. By the time we get to the postgraduate level, elementary students are in the minority, and so teaching staff, assistants and other staff members in charge of educational guidance, have a deeper relationship with each other. What arises from that is a special Japanese type of human relations, “familism”. This tends to lead to a narrowing of the research domain and flimsy intellectual freedom.

Just before the new postgraduate system came about, an American group called “the Scientific Advisory Group”, wrote the following in their report when they came to Japan:

“Graduate students belong to one professor, and all their work is to conduct research or semi-independent research under that professor’s guidance. A strong family-type loyalty is transplanted onto the professor. One professor and his or her students form a “family-style” unit, and it appears that this exerts an inappropriate influence on most of the ambitions or activities of the scientists. This leads to activities being concentrated on a very narrow field, and this leads to a decisive lack of depth in training and interest. Many of the universities have preparatory courses, and the students are able to spend their whole student lives in one school. Students who have graduated from this type of school feel a fierce loyalty to their alma mater, and there is a tendency to form academic cliques which have no discernible merits. The most important problem for students is obtaining admission to these types of schools. After admission it is expected that he or she will continue to obtain the highest degree he or she desires. No very serious hurdles seem to be interposed at the intermediate stage”.

In one of the last sentences of the above quotation, “after admission it is expected that he or she will continue to obtain the highest degree he desires”, I think “degree” should not have been translated as “*tokoro*” (place) - at that time Ministry of Education gave this word to it - but rather as “*gaku*” (academic degree), which seems to read better with the following sentence, “no very serious hurdles seem to be interposed at the intermediate stage”, Professor Nakayama also touches on this question when he asks, “Why are there no hurdles to obtaining a doctorate in Japan?”

Leaving aside the problem of the rapid expansion of master’s courses, there would be few people who would deny that the defects that the American researchers pointed out here still remain in post-graduate education, especially at the master’s level. It can be said that this is a Japanese local custom which has intruded into the modern system of postgraduate education.

The narrowing of human relations, the formation of academic cliques and the lack of fluidity of research places are all factors in the way learning in graduate schools has become fixed and unmoving. These are also most important factors in the obstruction to implementing educational courses systematically.

The relevant authorities of the American occupation army, after pointing out the passage quoted above, helped set up JUAA, and recommended a complete transformation of the postgraduate education system. Their recommendations focused on the adoption of an intermediate degree - the master’s, the introduction of a system of units or credits, and the clarification of the character of the degree. Despite this, however, the solution to the problem targeted - that of systemising postgraduate education and opening up the training of researchers - was difficult. I cannot delve deeply into the question of why these systematic characteristics remain here. This is bound up with the problem of Japanese traditional culture and social psychological “*koso*” (the deepest stratum), and is a broad-reaching problem that even affects the way researchers and university professors are employed as well.

However, it is evident that these characteristics do not conform to the national open system of “qualification systems”, and “professions”. They also do not conform to a de-personalising system, for example, Professor Nakayama’s “requirements for finishing a degree”, and Harvard Graduate School’s general examination, that is, “candidate selection examinations for the awarding of a degree (or profession)”.

To break down this wall, there are limits to what individual efforts can do. Student financial discontent is rising because the fees for graduate school are high but the academic results are low. Social psychological unrest is also spreading over the increase in the number of students who fail to get a degree. Even so, the external reason that foreign students are increasing may demonstrate a

larger power.

Ironically speaking, the trend towards the expansion of graduate schools for specialised professions may be one way of creating a chance to break down that wall.

5. Conclusion

I have added some comments on some points of Professor Hata's and Professor Nakayama's papers, including: the absence of evaluation of universities and higher education from their inauguration, the building of universities on the initiative of the central government, the problems of national universities now becoming corporate bodies, the historical circumstances which led to the de-systemisation of postgraduate education.

I was unable to touch directly upon the topic of the ideal of the Japanese university, which was the question of the whole seminar, and especially on the problem of the concept of nationalism. However, I hypothesise that in the almost 130-year history of modern Japanese universities and higher education, the question of nationalism as an ideology directly controlling university research and at the actual scene of education, is far smaller than we imagine.

Of course, in the fields of social science such as economics, history, and law, there was no research into theories refuting the idea of "*kokutai*" (national polity): those kinds of teaching activities are strictly forbidden, and academic freedom was suppressed. The freedom of students to study, too, was not secured, apart from the special privileged freedom given to a very small group of elite candidates from university students under the pre-war system. The power of state suppression and oppression of student movements obstinately continued.

However, did these things overturn the whole state of affairs, given normal researchers, normal students, normal research lives and normal study places? It is perhaps more correct to say that it was law and order and activities maintaining public safety in the advanced modern Japanese nation, rather than various kinds of suppression and oppression and nationalistic control. It is thought that in an everyday sense, the study lives of students and the research lives of teachers were different from that of the closed compulsory education system. As they were opened up by American and European arts and sciences and westernisation, they made it their mission to aim for that level and make ceaseless efforts to bring in a new system and compete.

The first article of the law on Teikoku University (1886) declares that universities must meet the "needs of the state". However, even under that system, students strived to bring in American and European university systems and prepare to make a modern university. They devoted themselves to

academic research with an awareness of international academic world standards. The modern Japanese arts and science research - the “Meiji academism” that Professor Nakayama often refers to, was able to advance through the nationalistic ethos and consistent beliefs of the scientists. On the other hand, there is history that suggests the modernisation of universities and genuine research were requested by the state. The modern Japanese university and higher education, supported by a base of elementary and secondary education, in actual fact loyally met their demands from an early time.

Notes

Information on the introduction of examinations into elementary schools in the Meiji Era:

- Terasaki, M., ed. *Senbatsu to Kyoso* [selection and competition], Tokyo: Tokyo Horei, 1994. Vol. 6 of *Nihon no Kyoiku Kadai* [the issues of Japanese education], ed. H. Sato and M. Terasaki, 10 vols. 1994-2002.

Information on the process of introducing graduate schools:

- Kaigo, T and Terasaki, M. *Daigaku Kyoiku* [university education]. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1969. Vol. 9 of *Sengo Nihon no Kyoiku Kaikaku* [educational reforms of postwar Japan], gen. ed. T. Kaigo. 10 vols. 1969-1976.
- Japan University Accreditation Association (JUAA), *Daigaku Kijun Kyokai 55 Nenshi* [the 55-year history of the Japan University Accreditation Association], Tokyo: JUAA, 2005.

Data on university evaluation in present-day Japan:

- Terasaki, M. “Nihon ni okeru Daigaku Hyoka - Hihanteki Tenbo [university evaluation in Japan - a critical view]”, *Shinjidai wo Kirahiraku Daigaku Hyoka* [university evaluation to open the new age], ed. Y. Hada. Tokyo: Toshindo, 2005, 213-232.

The Coexistence of Several Ideas of a University

Kaoru Narisada*

In the 19th century, one theory emerged from all of the debates over university reform in Germany, which said that the most important mission for universities and people connected to them was “pursuit of the truth”. As a result, a high level of research ability was required of these people, and along with that, the phrase “the unity of research and education” became popular, and it was believed that only excellent researchers were to be excellent educators. In addition, for both university teachers and students, just being loyal to one’s own intellectual pursuits raised the idea of “academic freedom” up high, and the various powers and authorities outside the universities had the maximum respect for universities, and for the concept of “academic freedom”. That kind of “idea of a university”, coupled with the competitive environment that existed between universities everywhere in Germany, led to the considerable expansion of academic research at German universities throughout the 19th century, and Germany became a mecca for scientific research. At that time, W. von Humboldt founded Berlin University (1810), and led the remarkable growth of German universities. To that end, the idea of a university which emphasises research is sometimes known as “Humboldt’s idea”. This is the general story behind the expansion of German universities in the 19th century and the “idea of a university” which supported this expansion.

Professor Miyasaka reported in his “The Recent Trends of Historical Research on the Founding of Berlin University and Humboldt’s Idea of a University”, that recent historical research has started to criticise and revise the commonly accepted theories outlined above. Professor Miyasaka asserts that, according to recent historical research, it was more probable that a university was established in Berlin, the Prussian capital, as a emergency refugee measure, so to speak, following the defeat of Prussia in the Napoleonic Wars, rather than being built as a result of the discussions over university reform led by German intellectuals with Humboldt at their center.

This is not the only revision; amongst others is the view that the establishment of Berlin University was based on contingent factors rather than conceptual ideas. “Humboldtian idea” itself

* Professor, Faculty of Integrated Arts and Sciences, Hiroshima University

was created out of the discourse over what place the centennial of Berlin University should be given in history. This Humboldtian idea was exported all over the world, and was utilised as the basis or model whenever a modern university was founded or equipped in areas other than Europe. That is to say, Humboldtian idea was not created by Humboldt himself, but rather shaped by the hands of subsequent generations. Furthermore, advancing a few decades to the university reform movements of the 1960s, Schelsky's widely read book, *Solitude and Freedom of the University: German University and the Shape of Reform and Idea* (Einsamkeit und Freiheit: Idee und Gestalt der deutschen Universität und ihrer Reformen, 1963) firmly established Humboldt's idea and the image of the German university based on that idea, as quoted in the opening paragraphs of this paper, but the opinion of recent historians suggest that the book is based on the practical motivation of the writer himself, who was concerned with university reform, and he cannot be called a pure historical researcher.

Generally, views of history and historical opinions are inevitably accompanied by criticisms, revisions and corrections. There is even debate over whether the Scientific Revolution of the 17th century and the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century which widely divide European history, really provoked enough change to actually call them "revolutions". However, Professor Miyasaka's report came like a bolt out of the blue at least for this writer.

Professor Beppu, responsible for commenting on Professor Miyasaka's report, claims, based on his many years of achievements in the field of historical research on German universities, that there is nothing even remotely surprising about the "the recent trends of historical research" in Professor Miyasaka's report. Professor Beppu cites the example of the Rules of Faculty of Philosophy, Berlin University (1838), and argues that it was actually Humboldt's idea which guided the founding of Berlin University, and that *Solitude and Freedom* has continued to illustrate the distinctive characteristics of German universities until recently.

It was thought that a fierce debate would rage between Professor Miyasaka and Professor Beppu, pulling in other participants, but due to the time constraints and the limitations of using Japanese and English simultaneously, it was indeed a shame that the debate did not deepen enough. I am looking forward to the publication of this book which will be a good chance to develop the discussion over the fundamental questions of the history of German universities.

Critical points concerning Humboldt's idea, that is to say, the idea of the German university have

been raised above, but we can see a common point in all of the following reports: the Goldman report on universities in Victorian Britain, the Herbst report on American specialised work training, the Nakayama report on the American graduate school education system and the Hata report on historical changes in the concept of “universities” in our own country. This common point is the coexistence of various types of “the ideas of a university”.

Dr. Goldman’s report examined the debate about the Oxford University Bill in Parliament in England in 1854, and explained “there was no single ‘idea of a university’ but many different ideas held simultaneously, sometimes in creative tension with each other, and sometimes in disabling competition”. That is to say, with reference to Oxford University in the Victorian era, several ideas of the university (and their corresponding social functions), coexisted with each other. For example, these included the university as a resource for the people, the university as an autonomous community, the university at the center of advanced research, the university as a place to train political leaders, and the university as a place for general education.

Professor Herbst discussed the history of specialised work training (the training of doctors, teachers and ministers, and so on) in America, and explained the problems of the double work strategy, brought about by unavoidable circumstances, of the professors of schools for specialised training. They firstly, have to make an effort to research and publish in order not to be beaten by those colleagues who have academic tendencies, and secondly, have to satisfy the needs and demands of those students who enter in the hope of gaining practical specialised work. The professors have been forced into difficulties brought about by the two frequently opposing ideas of practical education for specialised work training, and academic research.

Professor Nakayama, while delving into his own personal experience as a graduate student at Harvard University, discussed the American graduate school as a place for professional training, and at the same time, as a place for original research. We can of course say that professional schools such as medical schools and law schools are places for strict professional training, but graduate schools also train students for disciplines through strict coursework in the beginning after admission. In American graduate schools, the idea of training specialists (specialised work) through professional training has developed from a multi-layered structure of the idea of advanced, original training.

Professor Hata explained how it came about that “*daigaku*”, the Japanese translation of “university” which has become firmly entrenched since the Meiji Era, has subsumed various institutes

of higher education. In the history of universities in our country, various types of education institutes with differing organising bodies and social functions have all aspired to the authoritative title of “*daigaku*”, which denotes institutes of higher learning, and are in the process of grasping the chance to realise that “dream”. As a result, even if there is a possibility to discuss for the individual university “the Founder’s Idea of the University”, there is seldom the chance to debate “the idea of a university” in general as in “what is a university” apart from with people who are interested in university history. Perhaps it is better to say that a single “idea of a university” should not exist at all.

Looking at Miyasaka’s presentation on the question of Humboldtian philosophy in German universities, Goldman’s report on the absence of one “idea of the university” in Oxford University, and Herbst’s and Nakayama’s reports on American graduate schools being places of professional training as well as places of research, it seems natural that there is not only one single “idea of a university” in our country as well. (We must give thought to whether there is any difference between not having only a single “idea of a university”, and it not existing at all.)

To use a cliché, throughout the long history of the university, the process of adapting to the circumstances of each country, and fulfilling various functions has led to the coexistence of several “ideas of a university”.

In fact, Dr. Goldman argues that “(the Victorians) bequeathed several different ideas of a university in a single institution, and it is our task to ensure that the many are not reduced towards the one”, and I am absolutely of the same opinion. For example, research and education, and specialised education and general education are frequently said to be in opposition to each other, and pull against each other in the context of “the idea of a university”, but if we actively accept the coexistence of several types of “ideas of a university”, we can avoid this unproductive opposition.

However, it is essential for universities to have rich resources (personnel, finances, facilities) in order to allow several types of “ideas of a university” to coexist, and to function properly. Apart from Oxford University, Harvard University or Tokyo University, it is the truth that generally most universities are doing the best they can with limited resources. On that point, the world’s universities are facing a reduction in public resources, and there are apprehensions that the present situation of inclination towards academic capitalism will not permit the coexistence of several “ideas of a university”.

On top of the limits on public funds applied to universities, a certain rationality in the way to discriminate between universities must be accepted as university policy to plan the effective distribution of resources. Our country's university policy of encouraging "universities shining with individuality" is a reflection of those circumstances.

Outline of Conference

**The Japanese Society for Historical Studies on Higher Education
24th Annual Conference**

Main Theme: The Idea of a University in Historical Perspective

Date: 23-25 November, 2001

Venue: Faculty Club, Hiroshima University

Programme

Friday, 23 November, 2001

13:00- Registration

13:30- Welcome Session

Opening Address: Katsuya Senba (Hiroshima University)

14:00-17:30 Presentation

Chair: Kazuki Ohkawa (Waseda University), Akiro Beppu (Meiji University)

- *'Yon-shu' at Entrance Examination for High Schools under the Old System of Education: From the Late Taisho Era to the Early Showa Era*

Takehiro Yoshino (Research Fellow, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science)

- *BASHIMA Seiji's Studying Abroad to the University of Heidelberg*

Yasuhiko Araki (Kinki University)

- *Emerging and Expanding Process of Female Faculty Members in American Universities: With Focus on the American Association of University Women*

Tatsuro Sakamoto (Soka University)

17:30- Administrative General Meeting

18:30- Welcome Dinner

Saturday, 24 November, 2001

9:30- 9 :40 Opening Address: Katsuya Senba (Hiroshima University)

9:40-10:50 **Session 1: Britain**

Lawrence Goldman (St Peter's College, Oxford)

Commentator: Yoshihito Yasuhara (Hiroshima University)

Chair: Sekio Hada (Nihon University)

10:50-11:00 Break

- 11:00-12:15 **Session 2: Germany**
Masahide Miyasaka (Nagasaki Junshin Catholic University)
Commentator: Akiro Beppu (Meiji University)
Chair: Yoshimitsu Matsuura (Meiji Gakuin University)
- 12:15-13:45 Lunch
- 13:45-15:00 **Session 3: USA**
Jurgen Herbst (Professor Emeritus of Educational Policy Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison)
Commentator: Toshichika Miyata (Kochi Medical School)
Chair: Akira Tachikawa (International Christian University)
- 15:00-15:15 Break
- 15:15-17:30 **Session 4 - 5: Japan**
Shigeru Nakayama (Professor Emeritus, Kanagawa University)
Takashi Hata (Hiroshima University)
Commentator: Masao Terasaki (Obirin University)
Chair: Tatsuro Sakamoto (Soka University)
- 18:30- Reception Dinner

Sunday, 25 November, 2001

Guided Tour to Hiroshima University Campus

高等教育研究叢書 84

2005年11月

歴史的視座からみた大学理念
— ドイツ・イギリス・アメリカ・日本 —

広島大学

高等教育研究開発センター

ISBN 4-902808-04-8