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BEFORE THE TRADEMARK TRIAL AND APPEAL BOARD

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EXHIBITS E1-E2 to

DECLARATION “E” OF JANICE HOUSEY

EXHIBIT E1

THE CREATION OF THE FUTURE

THE ROLE OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

FRANK H. T. RHODES

Cornell University Press Ithaca & London

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{1} THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

The quality of life enjoyed by the people of the United States in the opening years of the new millennium rests in substantial part on the broad foundation provided by the American university during the twentieth century. Higher education has been the doorway to advancement and participation for countless citizens and dozens of immigrant groups. It has been the path to social attainment for millions from impoverished backgrounds, the generator of the nation's leaders in every area of life, the key to vastly improved professional services from health care to technology. It has been the foundation of growing national economic prosperity and manufacturing success, vast improvements in the products of agriculture and industry, and undreamed-of access to new means of communication. And beyond all those benefits, it has provided to successive generations the opportunity for meaningful careers, for service in a free society, and for access to the riches of human experience, aspiration, and achievement. For all its shortcomings, the American university has been an unambiguous influence for good. To a degree unknown elsewhere, it has educated a steadily growing proportion of the population and thus nurtured the democratic spirit and enlivened the nation. It has trained the workforce, enriched the individual experience, and enlightened public life. It has quickened the social conscience and empowered and inspired each rising generation.

What accounts for the distinctive strength and singular contribution of the American university? How did it come into existence? What forces have shaped its development? How well is it situated to contribute to the future?

Distant ancestors of institutions are as notoriously difficult to identify as those of organisms, and the precise origins of our own and other species involve substantial speculation. Phylogenies become matters of strenuous contention, and the precise age of any ancient lineage is often a matter of lively

debate. As with human origins, so it is with the American university. What is possible, with institutions as with humans, is to pick some conspicuous milestones on the path of development, turning points on the long, unfolding journey to the present. Perhaps we might choose five universities to mark the path by which the modern American university came into being: Bologna, Harvard, Virginia, Cornell, and Johns Hopkins.

Lying at the base of the Apennine foothills on the fertile plain between the Reno and Savena Rivers is an unassuming city, carrying its ancient history lightly under a facade of mellow brick. Its splendid pedestrian arcades, its turrets and its towers (two of them leaning at perilous angles), its wealth of Renaissance and Baroque churches, its aristocratic palazzos, and its spacious piazzas all offer a gentle contrast to the bustle of a modern industrial city, producing everything from pasta to chemicals, sausages to shoes. It was here in the eleventh century that the Western university, represented by the University of Bologna, came into existence. Students from all over Europe came to Bologna, and by the middle of the twelfth century students are said to have numbered nearly ten thousand. The names and arms of those elected as representatives of their nations are still preserved in the ceiling of one of the city's oldest buildings.

The ancient university had no campus; it owned no buildings. It was a loose community of professors and students (a *universitas magistorum et scholarium*) with the professors often teaching in their own apartments, paid by the students lecture by lecture for their services. It was five hundred years before the University of Bologna had its own buildings. So Bologna, like other older universities, was — to use modern jargon — a virtual learning community, long before it was formally recognized as an educational institution. Formal recognition came first from the chancellor of the local cathedral, who licensed instruction outside the cloister, but in time the reigning pope or emperor recognized the older and more distinguished institutions as *studia generale*, whose graduates had the right to teach at any institution, without further examination.

A flowering of legal studies in Bologna about the year 1000, spurred in part by legal disputes between the pope and the emperor, led to the rise of the university. So studies in both canon and civil law flourished side by side with student guilds — the Ultramontani and the Citramontani — protecting the interests of their members, many from foreign lands and many of established position and mature years. By about 1200, faculties of medicine and philosophy (the liberal arts) came into being, while theology followed later.

Bologna is not the oldest university-like institution. Salerno, for example,

had a famed school of medicine at least as early as the ninth century. Centers of higher learning were associated with some of the larger mosques of the Islamic world. But Bologna was the first to develop a comprehensive range of studies, balanced faculties, both professional and liberal arts, and perhaps the first to create student colleges and a deliberative assembly, presided over by a rector.

The founding of Bologna was followed by a remarkable growth of universities in other Italian cities — among them Reggio nell'Emilia, Modena, Vicenza, Padua, and Naples. Elsewhere, in such places as Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, Valladolid, Salamanca, Seville, Coimbra, Prague, Cracow, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Louvain, Leipzig, and St. Andrews, others followed. In a span of two centuries, the university came into being across the length and breadth of Europe.

In 1636, the new institution reached North America, when the first American college was established in New Towne, Massachusetts, lying on the Charles River across from the city of Boston. It was in this same place, on July 3, 1775, that Washington was to take command of the Continental army. The general court of the Massachusetts Colony voted £400 to create a "schoale or colledge." Two years later, the site of its founding was renamed "Cambridge," in honor of the university where many leaders of the colony had been educated. John Harvard, a Cambridge graduate and Puritan minister, left half of his estate (almost twice the sum of the colony's funding) and his library of 260 books to the fledgling college. The purpose of Harvard's founders is touchingly summarized in their statement: "After God had carried us safe to *New England,* and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship and settled the Civill Government; One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning* and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust."[1] In 1642, Harvard awarded its first degrees — the degree of bachelor of arts — to nine young men. The charter of 1650 established the college for "the advancement of all good literature, arts and the sciences" and "the education of the English and Indian youth . . . in knowledge and godlynes." It also provided for an independent, self-perpetuating corporation consisting of the president, treasurer, and five fellows to govern the college subject to confirmation by a board of overseers. This board, though at first jointly representative of the state and the church, later became a lay board, elected by the alumni body.

The foundation of Harvard was followed by the creation of other colonial

colleges. The student experience at these various colleges was remarkably similar, including compulsory attendance at the college chapel, pursuit of the classical curriculum, participation in the extracurricular literary societies (which encouraged debates, readings, lectures, and other activities), and the senior capstone course in moral philosophy — the "great glory" of the curriculum — taught generally by the president.

As the young nation grew in numbers and expanded its frontiers, it faced a steadily growing need for both educated citizens and trained professionals, and public funding was contributed by a number of states — Virginia, North Carolina, and Michigan among them — to meet this need.

This led to the creation of public universities, funded largely by the states. The best known of these — though not the most typical — is the University of Virginia, founded by Thomas Jefferson at Charlottesville, in the shadow of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The campus echoes the Jeffersonian dream. Jefferson planned every aspect of its development, choosing the site, planning the layout of the "academical village," designing the buildings, creating the curriculum, selecting books for the library, appointing the founding faculty, and serving as the first rector. "Mr. Jefferson's University" was chartered in 1819, and opened in 1825 with eight members of the faculty. Forty years later, it was second only to Harvard in size.

The University of Virginia had two distinctive features. Unlike other universities of its time, it had no religious affiliation and required no religious assent of its students.

It also broke from the classical curriculum, which was then dominant, by creating eight schools, each headed by a professor: ancient languages, modern languages, anatomy and medicine, law, natural history, mathematics, natural philosophy, and moral philosophy. These schools, designed to grow as funds permitted, were later to be joined by commerce, diplomacy, and manufacture. This rich assortment of offerings was to allow an elective program of study, in contrast to the rigid requirements of other colleges. The architecture matched the curriculum, with each school housed in its own pavilion, with students living on the campus, "in watchful proximity" to their professors' residences.

For all its creativity, the University of Virginia provided no model for other institutions. Its style was distinctive to the point of eccentricity. Jefferson had opposed the granting of degrees, for example, as "artificial embellishments," and the baccalaureate degree was not offered until 1868, although the university awarded the M.D. degree in 1828 and the master of arts — its primary degree — in 1831.

But the massive growth of public funding of higher education began with the Morrill Act of 1862, signed into law by Abraham Lincoln, which provided grants of federal lands to the states for the establishment of public universities and colleges. These "land-grant colleges and universities" were to provide for "the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."[2] This act led to the creation in every state of a new kind of college that was distinctively American. Perhaps no university is more typical of the fusion of scholarly inspiration and worldly practicality, on the one hand, and of the joint power of private philanthropy and public expenditure, on the other, than Cornell University.

Frederick Rudolph, in his magisterial book on the university curriculum, describes the impact of the founding of Cornell as follows:

> Cornell brought together in creative combination a number of dynamic ideas under circumstances that turned out to be incredibly productive. . . . Andrew D. White, its first president, and Ezra Cornell, who gave it his name, turned out to be the developers of the *first American university* and therefore the agents of revolutionary curricular reform. . . .
>
> Ezra Cornell, whose wealth and imagination allowed him to be Western Union's largest stockholder, turned these same assets into a few words that transformed the American college curriculum: "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study." Andrew D. White, the university's first president, translated a classical education at Yale, scholarly training in European universities, and experience on Henry Tappan's faculty at the University of Michigan into a resolution to create a great American university.[3]

So, with the founding of Cornell, a new kind of university came into existence. When Ezra Cornell spoke of "any person" he meant poor as well as rich, as he provided work and scholarships; women as well as men, as he built a women's college as an integral part of the university; "the whole colored race and the whole female sex," in White's words.[4] Ezra Cornell was equally serious when he spoke of "any study," leaping over the weary debate on the traditional classical curriculum in relation to more modern studies. Law and languages, agriculture and architecture, engineering and English jostled together, with the student encouraged to make informed choices within a range of nine "departments" broadly aimed at professional careers, while the division of literature, science, and the arts allowed nonprofessional students five routes toward a general course of study. "Discipline comes," White declared, "by studies which are loved, not by studies that are loathed."[5]

"In walking away from choice and embracing all alternatives, White made an American decision consistent with Ezra Cornell's democratic intentions and the imprecise, but clear obligations of the Act of 1862," Rudolph wrote. "Practical vocationalism, scientific research, applied technology, classical learning, and university scholarship all found a welcome."[6] "The Cornell curriculum brought into imaginative balance the openness of American society, the temporary nature of its directions and opportunities; it multiplied truth into truths, a limited few professions into an endless number of new self-respecting ways of moving into the middle class."[7]

Ezra Cornell and Andrew Dickson White insisted on one other concept; their university was to be nonsectarian, with a board of trustees in which members of no one denomination should have a majority. So Cornell was to become hospitable to all religious persuasions, but committed to no one denomination.

To the Morrill Act of 1862, two other pieces of federal legislation were later added: the Hatch Act of 1887 provided federal funds for research and experiment stations, while the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 provided additional funds for extension programs, designed to bring to their communities the benefits of new campus-based research.

But when Cornell was founded, there was precious little research to extend. The universities of the mid-nineteenth century were teaching institutions, in which scholarship, though prized, was generally understood to mean high competence in one's field, whether in theory or in practice. In contrast, the German universities of this period became centers of research and graduate study, spurred on, to some extent, by industry's need for technical and scientific research. Many of the professors of America's new universities had themselves been students in these German graduate schools, and, almost imperceptibly, the Germanic scholarly influence, and the new knowledge it created, seeped into the American curriculum.

"The consequences," Rudolph observed wryly, "have generally been appropriately described as both profoundly inventive and overwhelmingly destructive."[8] They were inventive because they led to an explosion of knowledge in every field. They were destructive because they undermined the reigning assumptions of the unity of the traditional liberal arts and sciences and weakened the centrality of humane learning. Specialization, professionalization, and narrow inquiry were all very well for the European undergraduate, product of the demanding *gymnasium*, but they "left the college, the society's repository of liberal values and humane learning, crippled and confused."[9]

Just how far this was a problem is shown by our fifth landmark, Johns

Hopkins in Baltimore, Maryland. It was Baltimore's importance as a port and center of communication that led indirectly to its distinctive contribution to the growth of the American university. Its excellent harbor had long made Baltimore a leading shipping center, while its position on the National Road contributed to its early eighteenth-century growth. But the completion of the Erie Canal threatened its prosperity, and a group of wealthy local investors chartered the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad — the first public U.S. railroad — to strengthen its access to the west. Among these investors was Johns Hopkins (1795–1873), who gave his fortune of $7 million and his name to a new university. Johns Hopkins's first president, Daniel Coit Gilman, made advanced scholarship, scientific research, and graduate study the university's main purpose, though it also included an undergraduate college. The Hopkins model — serious scholarship, graduate study, the Ph.D. degree, the specialized academic major and expansive minor, a pervasive spirit of inquiry and an earnestness of purpose that went with it — soon influenced the new universities and aspiring colleges, both private and public.

"The presidents of state universities . . . knew that they could not be universities in reality until the spirit of Johns Hopkins had become as pervasive as that of Cornell," concluded Rudolph.[10] Opened to great acclaim in 1876, Hopkins in its preoccupation with research served as the model for a number of other embryonic universities — Clark University, Catholic University of America, and the University of Chicago among them. But though total immersion in research to the exclusion of substantial concern for the well-being of undergraduate students and professional studies proved an unsuccessful recipe, Hopkins's great contribution to the development of the American university was to inject a spirit of advanced study, serious inquiry, and scholarly emphasis into the Cornell model of wide access, expansive scholarly and professional programs, and institutional autonomy. Its influence remains strong today.

By the final quarter of the nineteenth century the general form of the American university had taken shape. It had become a learning community with a largely residential campus, embracing both a college of liberal arts and sciences and graduate and professional schools, devoted to both teaching and research, committed to widening access and expanding public service. That structure continues into the twenty-first century.

The contemporary American university, however, is a distinctive product of the twentieth century and especially of the last fifty years. There are several particular trends that have altered the shape, though not the structure, of the university.

The university has seen a deliberate growth in social inclusiveness, with a major expansion in the proportion of the traditional college-age population attending college and a more recent but rapid increase in lifelong learning, including both continuing professional education and distance learning.

There has been a growth in number and size of institutions to accommodate this growing student enrollment and the differentiation of institutional style to respond to differing educational needs and opportunities.

The university has seen increasing intellectual inclusiveness, with growing professionalism both in the "established professions" such as law, medicine, and engineering and in new ones such as architecture, city planning, and business, as well as the specialization and growing professionalization of the traditional disciplines.

Finally, universities have experienced the disproportionate expansion of science and the science-based professions, supported by infusion of federal funding for research, and their growing influence in shaping the culture of the campus.

I discuss professionalism and science in Chapters 2 and 3. In this chapter, I want to explore the impact of increased student access and institutional growth.

The colonial college, large in aspiration but small in size and modest in the range of its curriculum, was unambiguous in its educational purpose, selective in its admissions, and homogeneous in its student body. Its aim was typified by that of Yale: that "Youth may be instructed in the Arts and Sciences who thorough the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for Publick employment both in Church and Civil State." Its membership was predominantly white, male, and Protestant.

The subsequent history of higher education is one of larger purpose, steadily expanding access, and growing inclusiveness. The Morrill Act established new land-grant universities to educate "the industrial classes." Institutions like Cornell welcomed the rich and poor of both sexes and all races and religions. In comparison with contemporary European universities, this was an extraordinary degree of inclusiveness. Yet women and nonwhites remained a rarity and small minority on the university campus. It would take another half century before dramatic increases in inclusiveness would take place.

In 1900, only 237,592 men and women attended college, about 4 percent of the college-age population. By 1940, total enrollment had reached 1.5 million, about 12 percent of the college-age population. The passage of the G.I. Bill at the end of World War II represented a national decision to extend the benefits

of a college education to a greater proportion of the population, offering support to returning veterans, and thus giving a major boost to college attendance. By 1998, a record 67 percent of the graduating high school seniors were enrolled in college, most of them as full-time students at four-year institutions.

But inclusiveness involved more than attendance ratios. Thirty years ago, universities set out to make their campuses look more like America. It was a mission supported, monitored, and overseen by federal and state governments on the basis of widespread agreement on this threefold premise: education provides a foundation for personal growth, professional training, and social mobility; women and minority groups have been historically underrepresented on college campuses and in professional and leadership roles in society; and universities should pursue affirmative policies to recruit these groups and so remedy past underrepresentation.

Although the concept of affirmative action is now the topic of litigation and lively public debate, the striking growth in numbers of women and previously underrepresented minorities in both higher education and public life is evidence of the success of this venture. Also notable are the growing presence of students from families of lower income levels and the growth in numbers of female and minority faculty. Until recently, university admissions were guided by the *Bakke* case, a 5–4 decision of the Supreme Court that prohibited discrimination by race, but allowed race to be used as one positive criterion, among others, in college admissions.

The future of affirmative action is unclear. The rejection by California voters of racial preferences (Proposition 209), the prohibition by the University of California Board of Regents of their use in admissions, and the recent *Hopwood* court decision concerning admissions to the University of Texas have had a profound effect on universities in those states. In the first year following the Texas and California decisions, there was a precipitous decline in minority student applications and enrollment. In the law school of the University of Texas at Austin, for example, once a significant source of black graduates, the number of new black students enrolling in 1997–98 plunged to zero. At California's flagship public universities — Berkeley and the University of California at Los Angeles — admission levels of underrepresented minorities are down substantially from pre–Proposition 209 levels. As of 1999, they were down 44 percent at Berkeley and 36 percent at UCLA.[11]

Several alternatives to traditional affirmative action programs are now being suggested. Some argue for the use of nonracial "class-based" criteria in admissions, assuming that this could still produce enrollments that resemble

current college levels of racial diversity, since black and Hispanic students are three times as likely to come from low-income families. What such arguments overlook, however, is that these minority students represent only a small minority of the low-income population and that many minority students achieve relatively low SAT scores. This would mean that to retain anything approaching present minority enrollment levels, a very large intake of low-income students would be required, thus further limiting access for middle- and upper-income students. Others have urged the use of geographic origin — zip code — as an admissions criterion, but this may involve similar problems.

The impasse here is real, and the implications are serious. California voters' rejection of affirmative action and the judicial rejection of racially based admissions criteria in other states are both clear. But equally clear is the need for access to the ranks of the professional workforce for all Americans as a foundation both for a comprehensive and effective educational setting and for a harmonious and just society. As yet, no simple numerical criteria seem capable of providing this.

Fortunately, an alternative admissions model exists. If each student applicant is treated as an individual — rather than as a racial representative or a disembodied numerical test score — and admission is based on consideration of essays, class ranking, teacher and counselor reports, civic and community service, leadership, extracurricular activities, socioeconomic background, and other factors, race may still be taken into account, as one factor among others. Where this is done, numbers of black and Hispanic students continue to increase or hold steady.

Consider one example. For the Cornell University Medical College class of 2000, there were 7,602 applications for 100 places. The faculty conducted 1,339 interviews, and the class finally selected contained 24 black and Hispanic students. That number was achieved without quotas or set-asides, without admitting the unqualified or the uncommitted. It was achieved by considering each individual as an individual, representing a range of abilities, skills, experience, backgrounds, and characteristics — of which race can legitimately be considered to be one among others.

In large public universities, where student numbers make such personal interviews difficult, new programs that offer blanket admission to the top 10 or 20 percent of all graduating seniors of all high schools, whatever their test scores, seem at first glance to offer encouraging results. These programs have liabilities, as well as benefits. They leave untouched, for example, the important issue of admissions to graduate and professional programs. They typi-

cally guarantee admission to only one of the various state colleges and universities, with a consequent concentration of the best minority students in a few and a "cascading" of the rest. In an age when over 60 percent of all high school graduates enroll in college, these programs leave out the many able minority students who do not make the 20 percent cut. What has been interpreted by some as an easy solution to the problem of maintaining both race-blind admissions and campus diversity turns out to be far from a panacea.[12]

With growing inclusiveness has come growth in campus size. The early American college was a small, compact, homogeneous community. Two hundred years ago, Harvard enrolled some 57 students, a hundred years ago 3,373, and today 18,700, of whom about 6,800 are undergraduates. A century ago the University of Michigan had 3,303 students on its campus in Ann Arbor; today it has about 50,000 on three campuses, located in Flint and Dearborn as well as in Ann Arbor. For virtually every college and university in America, the same story of growth could be told, though the details would differ.

It is easy to forget how this growth in size has changed the culture of the campus. In 1891, for example, James Angell, the president of the University of Michigan, had no secretary, answered all letters himself in longhand, personally enrolled all students in the Literary College, taught courses in international law and the history of treaties, conducted all the chapel services, and knew each of the 103 members of the faculty, as well as hundreds of the 2,420 students. "No part of the curriculum was mysterious to him," commented Howard Peckham.[13]

Few of the charms of that small campus remain in the university of today. Although nationally the average enrollment on a single campus is 4,034, the research universities tend to be substantially larger: fifty-three universities, for example, have enrollments greater than 25,000 students.

But if the American university has lost the intimacy of a small campus, the growth of higher education has brought immense benefits. Along with the new inclusiveness have come new programs, most of them professional or technical, which have brought benefits to the nation.

The extraordinary medical successes of the last century, for example, are the direct result of the Flexner Report of 1911. In 1900, medical training involved a system of apprenticeship, with little formal education beyond the sharing of treatments and remedies, many of quite limited effectiveness. Flexner recommended not only the transfer of all medical education to the universities, but also its linkage to research in the basic sciences, which have since provided the groundwork for pathbreaking medical advances.

The pattern of incorporating professional training into the universities has

been repeated in other professions. Within universities, preprofessional education has been linked to systematic professional training; research has been linked to professional practice; ethical standards have been created along with the expectation that personal practice will be linked to public service. All these developments have brought positive benefits to the public at large.

Professional education and sophisticated training are no longer limited to the "college years" or the period of on-campus enrollment. Growing numbers of professional continuing education programs are provided, often at remote sites, as well as short residential postgraduate refresher courses, workshop introductions to new developments and procedures, reference resources, and on-line consulting and advisory services.

The rise of the American research university reflects a pattern not seen elsewhere on anything approaching the same scale. In Europe, for example, at the close of the nineteenth century, a handful of universities — Berlin, Cambridge, the Ecole Polytechnique, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Oxford, and the Sorbonne among them — represented the standard toward which all other universities aspired. A listing of the world's top ten universities would have included, at most, only one or two American institutions. A century later, such a list might have included two-thirds or more universities from the United States.[14]

What were the distinctive factors that produced this transformation? Institutional mission has played a significant role. Whether developed out of older colonial colleges (Columbia, Harvard, Princeton, Yale), created by nineteenth-century benefactors (Chicago, Cornell, Duke, Hopkins, Stanford, Vanderbilt), or established by states in response to public needs (California, Illinois, Michigan, North Carolina, Virginia, Wisconsin), all American research universities embraced a mission of research; undergraduate, graduate, and professional education; and, especially in the state universities, a wider role of public outreach and extension. This mixture of functions produces tensions — research versus teaching being a frequent complaint — but it also produces benefits of cross-fertilization and professional cooperation. The performing arts exist alongside law and medicine. Philosophy and public health share a common home with economics and environmental engineering. All disciplines, together with their students and faculties, are swept up in the atmosphere of inquiry and discovery that pervades the campus. All this has been developed around the core of a college of arts and sciences, a legacy of both the colonial college and the need to educate large numbers of undergraduates coming from a variety of precollege backgrounds. This large undergraduate student body, representing a rapidly growing proportion of the

traditional college-age group, distinguished the American university from its more selective and elite European counterpart until the last few decades.

The sponsorship of American research universities is distinctive. There is no one sponsor, no overseeing ministry, no national plan or government regulation. Decentralized, feistily independent, uncoordinated, pluralistic, American universities have been opportunistic, adaptive, creative, and responsive to new opportunities. The pattern of state control and centralized funding, so typical of most European universities, is in the United States replaced by a decentralized system consisting of fifty states, each with distinctive goals and needs, and scores of independent institutions, each with its own goals and traditions. While internally American universities — whether public or private — tend to assume a broadly similar functional organization, their independence from central government planning and control gives them a vigor that has proved more elusive in the regulated European institutions, where faculty members are often civil servants and where central government control extends not only to management of institutional enrollment and programs, but also to regulation, budgeting, and evaluation of individual academic departments. It is ironic that, whereas the older universities in Europe — including the great civic universities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries — were privately founded by religious orders, individuals, cities, and other communities, they were later effectively nationalized into a system of higher education rigidly planned, budgeted, and controlled by a central ministry. Even in those countries, such as Germany and Switzerland, where local states *(landes)* supported universities, they did so within the context of a well-defined national plan.

In contrast, the great state universities of the United States have tended to become more diversified over time, with each state supporting a distinctive range and style of institution, many of which have gained a substantial degree of autonomy. Unlike the planned "command" educational systems of Europe and elsewhere, the unplanned, opportunistic, pluralistic "system" of the United States has proved adaptable, flexible, and remarkably successful.

The governance of American universities has been distinctive. The typical board of the colonial college, made up of independent "gentry," developed into the lay board of trustees of the private university, whose independence became a model for the generally less independent, politically appointed or elected board of regents of the public universities. These boards, though of variable quality, have tended to have far more authority and autonomy than the typical boards of universities in other lands. Because the boards of American institutions had a major role in justifying and providing funding for

their individual universities — as opposed to dispensing what was provided from a remote central government ministry — their identification with the aspirations and success of their universities was immediate and strong. This has led to a degree of interinstitutional competition unknown elsewhere, which, though it has its liabilities, has been a force for good. In this respect, the great private universities — the Ivy League, Stanford, Chicago, CalTech, MIT, and others — have been pacesetters not only for the independents, but also for most of the publics. It is not that private universities are unknown in other nations, but rather that their limited number and particular role (specialized professional in France, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Sweden, serving particular religious or ethnic communities in Canada, devoted to expanded undergraduate education in Japan, Brazil, and Venezuela) have made them much less influential.[15]

The leadership of American higher education has had a strong influence on its development. Though many would argue that there has been a decline in the influence of presidential leadership since the giants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, still the power of the American university president has typically been substantially greater than that of his or her counterpart elsewhere. Supported by a strong faculty and a committed board, presidents have shaped and nurtured their institutions to a remarkable degree. Andrew Dickson White at Cornell, Charles Eliot at Harvard, Daniel Coit Gilman at Johns Hopkins, David Starr Jordan at Stanford, and many others seized the responsibility entrusted to them and led their universities to greatness.

The American university remains an organizational enigma, whose loosely coupled structure and collegially based organization defy the established canons of management. But the very flexibility of the internal organization of the American university has nurtured its entrepreneurial spirit. The basic unit of organization — the department — is not, as in some other countries, the domain of a single professor, presiding over it, sometimes with a heavy hand, for an indefinite and often prolonged period, but an alliance of more or less equal colleagues, democratic in spirit if not always in fact. The elected chair, the first among equals, serves for a specified term — often three or five years — renewable by agreement. This system, while it has imperfections — lack of continuity and lack of strong leadership — has major benefits in its lack of rigidity and in the entrepreneurial opportunities it provides for all its members.

So, too, does the academic career ladder, where a full professorship can be the career aspiration of not one, but most faculty members of a department. The incentive to continued striving provided by this structure contrasts

sharply with the more restricted career opportunities of the traditional academic hierarchy in other countries.

While the department chair in the American university has been relatively weaker than his or her opposite number in other countries, the office of dean has typically been relatively stronger, representing a substantial level of administrative and financial independence and academic responsibility. This, too, has fostered a sense of entrepreneurial initiative and scholarly creativity. Behind much of the success of the American university lies the steady leadership and vision of generations of deans who have nudged the aspirations and nurtured the creativity of their colleagues.

The size of most American research universities has been a positive factor in allowing a critical mass of faculty in those areas, especially the sciences and science-based professions, where scale and teamwork are critical to success in research. While size is less important in the arts or humanities, the larger size of the science-based faculty allows a degree of specialization and cooperation that has major benefits in research. This does not mean, of course, that a physics department of sixty faculty members is necessarily superior to one of thirty, but there are few eminent small departments.

The pattern of federal support for research has been critical to the success of the American research university. A variety of federal agencies — the National Institutes of Health, the National Science Foundation, the Department of Defense, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce among them — have offered financial support at growing levels, aimed at varying national needs, from national defense to health care, from environmental conservation and agricultural productivity to regional economic development. Almost all this support has been based on proposals designed by the professor-investigator, rather than being contract work designed by the sponsoring agency, and it has been awarded on the basis of the merit of the proposals submitted, with awards screened and largely determined by independent panels of expert peers. This pattern, first established by Vannevar Bush more than half a century ago (see Chapter 9), has returned an incalculable dividend on the nation's investment in research.

In other nations, much of this type of research is performed in national institutes or academies, having little linkage to universities.

None of this would have been possible without an unabashed competitive spirit and entrepreneurial attitude within the university. The long traditions of strong alumni financial support in the great private universities, the openness to industrial and state partnerships pioneered by the leading land-grant universities, and the existence of charitable foundations willing to share in

the educational and research enterprise by supporting everything from multimillion-dollar telescope systems to inner-city poverty– and drug abuse–prevention programs have represented an extraordinary opportunity for the American university.

These factors, taken collectively, have shaped the history of the American university over the last century. It would be rash, of course, to suppose that any one factor has been decisive. Quite different patterns of organization and oversight, for example, have been used by the various states in their support of the great flagship public universities. But collectively these features have defined the characteristics of the most successful universities. Unplanned, opportunistic, well governed, well led, as conservative in some respects as it has been entrepreneurial in others, the research university is one of the great success stories of America's twentieth-century history.

EXHIBIT E2

The American College and University

A History

BY FREDERICK RUDOLPH

Introductory Essay and Supplemental Bibliography

BY JOHN R. THELIN

The University of Georgia Press

ATHENS AND LONDON

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1990

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II

Crisis of the 1850's

The American college did not find the answers to the questions raised by the rising tide of democracy until after the Civil War. Nor did it, until then, begin effectively to grapple with the question of quality, of standards, of excellence. Whether higher education in the United States was going to serve the people was one question; whether it was going to serve learning was another.

The old-time college had been willing to serve both, but on *its* terms, which meant that the people must take from the colleges what the colleges had decided was good for the people and that learning must not interfere with the colleges' commitment to character. Both the people and learning would find new allies in postwar America. As an expanding dynamic industrial society set about making itself into a colossus of power, new institutions would be developed that would better meet the requirements of such a society. The college of the first half of the nineteenth century was the creature of a relatively simple, agrarian community, a community of settled ways and of ancient certainties. It would survive, partly as an instrument of class or religious purposes. In the next hundred years, however, the old-time college would change significantly and it would find itself

increasingly surrounded by new institutions that were addressing themselves effectively to the questions of intellectual and popular purpose to which the first two hundred and twenty-five years of American higher education had given but faltering, uncertain answers. The likelihood that such questions would soon be answered became apparent in the 1850's when the voices of complaint were more insistent, when the always expanding domain of science registered new and significant victories, and when under the leadership of Francis Wayland, Brown took steps that provided a new rallying point for critics of the Yale Report of 1828.

The maturing of the natural and physical sciences profoundly influenced the colleges; and while the role of science as the great disrupter of the classical course of study would have to wait until after the war, the first half of the nineteenth century suggested that if anything were going to shake the colleges loose from many of their old convictions, it would be science.

The very first inroads on the classical curriculum had been made in 1727 with the appointment of a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Harvard. By 1792 botany had entered the course of study at Columbia, and three years later John MacLean, at Princeton, became the first professor of chemistry in an American college. By mid-nineteenth century the so-called new subjects—mathematics, natural philosophy, botany, and chemistry, to which were added zoology, geology, and mineralogy—had insinuated themselves into the course of study in most colleges. Accompanied as they were by French, German, history, and English literature, they were not given more than passing attention. Sometimes they were packaged in such a way as to offer a degree of election. At Dartmouth they were placed in the winter term when most students were absent, teaching in New England district schools.[1]

[1] Palmer Chamberlain Ricketts: *History of Rensselaer Polytechnic*

The new scientific subjects had not yet achieved anything like ultimate respectability, but thanks to a band of curious, inquiring pioneers, science was popularized in the United States and before long was recognized as offering that broadly utilitarian orientation which the ancient studies lacked. The work of the pioneers, both in advancing science and in popularizing it, combined with the richness of the American continent in making science an instrument for exploiting the great natural wealth of inland America. Not even the most hidebound of the college conservatives were able to deny to the sciences limited entry.

Instrumental in developing American interest in science was Benjamin Silliman, a Yale graduate of the Class of 1796 who was appointed professor of chemistry and natural history at Yale in 1802, even before he had ever seen a chemical experiment performed, let alone performed one himself. Preparatory to taking up his professorship, Silliman studied for two years at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, among other places, and at the laboratory of John MacLean at Princeton, where he saw his first chemical experiment. Silliman gave his first course of lectures at Yale in 1804 and followed it by a trip to Europe, where in addition to purchasing scientific equipment and books, he undertook further study in Edinburgh and London. In 1813 he acquired for Yale a celebrated American collection of minerals which enabled him to give the first illustrated course in mineralogy and geology in an American college. In 1818 he founded the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, a learned journal where aspiring American scientists found an audience for their researches and a hearing for their speculations.[8]

Silliman became a magnet for young men with scientific

Institute 1824-1914 (3d. ed.; New York, 1934), p. 1; Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker: *Princeton 1746-1896* (Princeton, 1946), p. 124; Leon Burr Richardson: *History of Dartmouth College* (Hanover, 1932), II, 434.

[8] William Lathrop Kingsley, ed.: *Yale College: A Sketch of its History* (New York, 1879), I, 115-18; Russell H. Chittenden: *History of*

aspirations, and outside the university he won fame as a popularizer of the scientific outlook. He was selected to inaugurate the lecture series of the Lowell Institute in the winter of 1839-40, when he made Boston and Cambridge for the first time acutely aware of science. Silliman taught at Yale from 1802 to 1853, assisted by his son Benjamin, an eminent chemist in his own right, and by his son-in-law James Dwight Dana, a pioneer mineralogist. The Sillimans made Yale a fountainhead of scientific study in America, and the fact that their work could take place within the temple of the report of 1828 unquestionably helped to lend an aura of respectability to their activities. Soon after Silliman's course of lectures in 1804, young men began arriving in New Haven to study chemistry and then to go out and become pioneer professors elsewhere. Still later the publication of James Dwight Dana's textbook in mineralogy in 1837 would open the way for mineralogical instruction in the American college.

Similarly, a band of pioneer botanists led by Amos Eaton, who studied under Silliman, went about the task of collecting, describing, classifying, and popularizing the study of botany. Eaton published a pioneering botany manual in 1817 and as an itinerant lecturer helped to awaken an interest in science in countless young Americans. One of these was Edward Hitchcock, who became professor of chemistry and natural history at Amherst, and who in 1833 completed for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts the first state geological survey in the United States; another was Ebenezer Emmons, who became professor of natural history at Williams and the pioneer state geologist of New York and North Carolina. John Torrey, a celebrated southern botanist, whose father was a jailkeeper in Greenwich Village, is supposed to have come under the influence of Eaton while Eaton was serving a sentence for nonpayment of debts. Asa Gray, the most eminent

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the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University 1846-1922 (New Haven, 1928), I, 26-30.

botanist of the period, was led to science by the writings of Eaton. In 1842 Gray was appointed Fisher Professor of Natural History at Harvard, and in 1859 his ranking as a scientist was certified when he became one of three scientists to receive from Charles Darwin an advance copy of *Origin of Species*.[3]

Here and there in the old colleges equally dedicated men were pioneering in the discovery of science. At Princeton, Joseph Henry explored the world of physics, experimented with electricity, and in 1846 resigned in order to become the first secretary and director of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, an agency of education which he shaped into a foundation for the diffusion of scientific knowledge. At William and Mary and then at Virginia, William Barton Rogers established an international reputation in geology and physics.[4]

Interest in science during these years fed on the natural enthusiasm and ambition of American youth. It also was unquestionably strengthened by the deepening mood of nationalism which by the 1840's was speaking the language of manifest destiny. Also becoming interested in science were men of strong religious conviction, who were prepared to turn this scientific enthusiasm to their own benefit. Albert Hopkins, who assisted his brother Mark in guiding the religious life at Williams, while in Europe in 1834 purchased instruments which went into the completion under his direction in 1838 of the first permanent astronomical observatory in the United States. This observatory served science, but that had not altogether been the purpose—as Albert Hopkins revealed at the exercises of dedication in 1838. In their worship of the practical, he declared, men were losing sight of the moral. Education itself was being subverted by a prevailing notion that it was intended to whet the intellect, sharpen mental powers, and prepare for "action, action, ac-

[3] See Ethel M. McAllister: *Amos Eaton: Scientist and Educator* (Philadelphia, 1941).

[4] Wertenbaker: *Princeton*, p. 220: Philip Alexander Bruce: *History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919* (New York, 1920-2), II, 166-7.

tion." To counteract these influences, he confessed, he had decided that what Williams College needed most was an astronomical observatory where the students could elevate their thoughts "toward that fathomless fountain and author of being, who has constituted matter and all its accidents as lively emblems of the immaterial kingdom." [3]

The religious orientation of the American colleges provided a climate in which pioneer science could be effectively nurtured, for it was not really necessary for the orthodox to capture or constrain science. The early scientists on the whole were men of religious conviction who could pursue their studies of the natural world without involving their deeply held belief in the supernatural. The evangelical saw science as a useful tool in demonstrating the wondrous ways of God. Science, therefore, gained entry into the American college not as a course of vocational study but as the handmaiden of religion. As early as 1788, at Princeton, Professor Walter Minto recognized the intrusion of science into the curriculum and welcomed it: "Natural philosophy . . . by leading us in a satisfactory manner to the knowledge of one almighty all-wise and all-good Being, who created, preserves and governs the universe, is the very handmaid of religion. Indeed I consider a student of that branch of science as engaged in a continued act of devotion. . . ." [4] Throughout the era of the colleges this sentiment would be echoed by college presidents, by the pioneer scientists themselves, as they built the structure of American collegiate science.

During these years the colleges developed their natural science museums and their mineralogical cabinets. Sometimes it seemed as if a stage of intercollegiate rivalry was being carried on by the rock, butterfly, and plant collectors. Princeton in 1805 was able to summon as much enthusiasm as was later reserved for a football game with Yale when a

[3] Frederick Rudolph: *Mark Hopkins and the Log: Williams College, 1836-1872* (New Haven, 1956), p. 137.

[4] Wertenbaker: *Princeton*, p. 95.

superior natural-history collection was purchased from a French collector in New York. The very first purchase authorized by the board of regents of the University of Michigan in 1838 was a collection of 4,000 minerals. The stuffed zebras, bears, and assorted animals which from time to time made their way into chapel pulpits or bell towers reflected the collecting passion which was one aspect of the early scientific movement.[7]

The extracurriculum of course also developed a scientific branch. A short-lived mineralogical society appeared at Williams in 1817, apparently in response to a series of lectures given by Amos Eaton. From 1818 to 1827 an undergraduate scientific society existed at Brown. Others developed at Amherst, Lafayette, Wesleyan, Gettysburg College, Union, the University of Nashville, and Miami. Unquestionably there were many others, but probably few that compared with the Lyceum of Natural History at Williams, founded in 1835, which sent out to Nova Scotia the first American college scientific expedition in the same year, erected its own museum building in the 1850's, and in 1851 (thanks to the thoughtfulness of a Williams missionary) became the first American museum to own examples of Assyrian bas-reliefs.[8]

If the experience of the Williams lyceum was any indication of the nature of undergraduate interest in science elsewhere, then college students everywhere were finding purposes other than the purely pietistic in science. The lyceum made up for the official neglect of science by undertaking, between 1835 and 1871, expeditions to Nova Scotia, Florida, Greenland, South America, and Honduras; by building a remarkable natural-history collection; and by devoting their

[7] Ibid., p. 125; Elizabeth M. Farrand: *History of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1885), p. 30.

[8] Rudolph: *Williams*, pp. 144-55; Claude M. Fuess: *Amherst: The Story of a New England College* (Boston, 1935), p. 113; David Bishop Skillman: *The Biography of a College: Being the History of the First Century of the Life of Lafayette College* (Easton, 1932), II, 177; Carl F. Price: *Wesleyan's First Century* (Middletown, 1932), p. 43; Walter C. Bronson: *The History of Brown University 1764-1914* (Providence, 1914), p. 181.

meetings to the consideration of such matters as flying machines, dyestuffs, the manufacture of silk, the culture and manufacture of cotton, and the principle of artesian wells. Students reported at society meetings on coal beds, whale fisheries, oil wells, and iron ores. Over the front doors of their museum building these young Williams scientists perched a great bronze cast of an American eagle, a symbol of the adventuresome spirit with which they applied their sense of the practical to the discovery of science. The lyceum was a manifestation of a national spirit in which the young men of Williams freely joined, a spirit that recognized the vast American continent as a limitless expanse in which to roam, dig, and shape careers around the life that applied science made possible.

The success of the two educational foundations that most clearly expressed that spirit did not escape the attention of critics and observers of the American collegiate scene. At both the United States Military Academy at West Point and the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, the commitment to applied science was paramount.

When the Congress of the United States established the Military Academy in 1802 it created what was to become the first technical institute in the United States. Under the influence of its first superintendent, Jonathan Williams, there grew up at West Point between 1802 and 1812 an intramural "Military and Philosophical Society" which nurtured military science in ways that the official plans did not permit. This extracurricular organization created the "richest collection of technical books in the United States." It published works on military subjects and succeeded in transforming West Point into a national center of scientific study. Under its auspices all sciences became pertinent to military purposes, the study of analytical trigonometry was introduced into the United States, and a significant number of cadets fell under the sway of a scientific approach to military problems.

The curriculum that took shape at West Point included moral philosophy in the last year, but in many other particulars it was a marvel of innovation. From the beginning, for instance, French was a required subject because of its usefulness in scientific study. Advanced mathematical instruction, chemistry, drawing, and civil engineering were central in the course of study. Cadets were divided for instruction into sections based on ability; their textbooks were the most advanced European works on the subject, often translated from the French by their instructors.[2]

Not every cadet flourished under this regimen. One who did not was Edgar Allan Poe, who during his year there, in 1830-31, wrote in a sonnet:

> *Science! meet daughter of old Time thou art*
> *Who alterest all things with thy peering eyes!*
> *Why prey'st thou thus upon the poet's heart,*
> *Vulture! whose wings are dull realities!*

And another was the artist James McNeill Whistler whose comment on his Military Academy days was the terse observation: "Had silicon been a gas, I would have been a major general."[3]

Farther up the Hudson at Troy the benefactions of Stephen Van Rensselaer, last of the great patroons, founded a technical school in 1824 which under the leadership first of Amos Eaton and then of B. Franklin Greene would become the center of applied science in the United States. After the Civil War the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute would suffer from the development of wealthier foundations elsewhere, but during the era of the colleges it was something of a constant reminder that the United States needed railroad-builders, bridge-builders, builders of all kinds, and that the institute in Troy was prepared to create them even if the old institutions were not. In a remarkable letter in 1824, so

[2] Sidney Forman: *West Point: A History of the United States Military Academy* (New York, 1950), pp. 23-60, 85.
[3] Ibid., pp. 74, 86.

alien to the spirit and purpose of the Yale Report four years later, Van Rensselaer described his purpose as being to train teachers who could go out into the district schools and there instruct "the sons and daughters of farmers and mechanics . . . in the application of experimental chemistry, philosophy, and natural history, to agriculture, domestic economy, the arts, and manufactures." Van Rensselaer had clearly anticipated the rationale of the American land-grant college. For in his letter of 1824 he expressly stated that what he had in mind was "the diffusion of a very useful kind of knowledge, with its application to the business of living." [8]

Under the direction of Amos Eaton as senior professor (1824-42) the Rensselaer Institute, as it was first known, successfully incorporated new methods and new subjects into an American course of study. Students at the institute in Troy learned by teaching, by lecturing, by demonstrating experiments. For them instruction began with the practical application of the subject at hand. They were introduced to the scientific principles involved as progress in their studies required. Thus, a visit to a bleaching factory, tannery, or to a millstone-maker always preceded the appropriate laboratory experiments.

The great out-of-doors became an important classroom at Rensselaer, where surveying, engineering, collecting specimens, touring workshops, and gardening were an integral part of the course of study. Under the direction of Eaton the Rensselaer Institute provided the first systematic field work in an American institution of learning; established in 1824 the first laboratories in chemistry and physics for the instruction of students; and set up the first engineering curriculum, awarding the first engineering degree in 1835. In 1830 the institute offered its students a group of optional field trips: New York to Lake Erie by steamboat and canal, for botanical and geological purposes; the Connecticut River Valley; or the Carbondale, Pennsylvania, coal fields. These

[8] Ricketts: *R.P.I.*, pp. 9-12, 27, 43-5, 58-9.

field excursions were the forerunners of similar expeditions in the traditional colleges.

Under B. Franklin Greene the school was reorganized in 1849 and 1850. The progress in technical education achieved by French scientific schools was incorporated in the new programs. The course was expanded from one to three or more years. Well-developed courses in natural science and civil engineering were added. The institution began to place a new emphasis on fundamental research in chemistry and physics. The new program in civil engineering was widely copied in the 1850's at institutions that were otherwise traditional, thereby helping to point the way toward fundamental change in the American college in the half century that lay ahead.[3]

In the meantime, at Harvard and at Yale science had established important new beachheads. At Yale, in response to the arguments of Benjamin Silliman and with faculty concurrence, the corporation in 1846 authorized the creation of two new professorships, a professorship of "agricultural chemistry and animal and vegetable physiology" and a professorship of "chemistry and the kindred sciences as applied to the arts." The same year at Harvard plans were undertaken to establish a graduate school of arts and sciences. Eventually these stirrings became the Sheffield and Lawrence Scientific Schools.[4]

In Cambridge in 1847 the plans of the Harvard faculty ran into a $50,000 benefaction for scientific education from Abbott Lawrence, and what had been intended as a graduate school in arts and sciences became an undergraduate program in science leading to a Bachelor of Science degree. Even Lawrence's expectation that the school would emphasize engineering was frustrated by the commanding pres-

[3] Ibid., pp. 92-109.
[4] Kingsley: *Yale*, I, 150-2; Chittenden: *Yale*, I, 38-71.

ence and authority of Louis Agassiz, an eminent Swiss scientist who had come to the United States in 1845. His tremendous energy and knowledge stimulated science at Harvard in a way that Silliman's presence had earlier at Yale, and under his direction the Lawrence School fostered the natural sciences—particularly Agassiz's special interest, comparative zoology—rather than engineering.[8]

In New Haven in 1847 Benjamin Silliman, Jr., and John P. Norton developed a School of Applied Chemistry as a section of a newly authorized Department of Philosophy and the Arts. In 1852 they added instruction in civil engineering; in 1854 this department was reorganized as the Yale Scientific School, and with a $100,000 benefaction of Joseph Sheffield in 1860 became the Sheffield Scientific School.

Harvard solved the problem of what degree to offer its scientific students by giving its first Bachelor of Science degree in 1851; Yale solved the problem by creating the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy in 1852. The two old foundations kept the B.A. degree inviolate and protected it from dilution. At both Yale and Harvard admission standards for candidates for these degrees were lower than for the B.A. degree; the length of the course of study was three years rather than the normal four; and in both institutions the scientific students were considered second-class citizens, too benighted to aspire to the only worthy degree and therefore to be treated with condescension. At Yale, for instance, Sheffield students were not permitted to sit with regular academic students in chapel.

The scientific school idea was contagious. In 1851 Dartmouth received a bequest of $50,000 with which to support a separate scientific department. During the 1850's variations of the scientific department idea, offering the B.S. or Ph.B. degree, were introduced at the University of Rochester, Denison, the University of Michigan, Illinois College, the University of North Carolina, New York University, the State

[8] Samuel Eliot Morison: *Three Centuries of Harvard 1636-1936* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 279.

University of Iowa, and the University of Missouri.[6] Between 1860 and 1870 at least another twenty-five institutions would open scientific departments. Significant, too, was the fact that two men who perhaps would do most to shape the future of American higher education began their teaching careers in the new scientific schools in the 1850's: Charles William Eliot, the president who remade Harvard, at the Lawrence Scientific School in 1854; and Daniel Coit Gilman, who would be the first president of Johns Hopkins, at the Scientific School at Yale in 1857.[7]

The era of science still lay ahead, but the emergence of the B.S. and Ph.B. degrees and the creation of scientific departments, first at Harvard and Yale and then at other institutions, suggested that the American college was perhaps in the neighborhood of discovering some way of making a vital connection with American society.

The 1850's in many ways compiled a record of frustrated beginnings in graduate education. At the University of Michigan Henry Philip Tappan in 1852 began to show an amazed board of regents what could happen when a university president was ambitious to create a great American university. Impressed by the scholarly ideal of the German universities, Tappan proposed to make the University of Michigan central in the life of the state. It would hold high the ideal of a true university of advanced scholarship, but it would also respond

[6] Richardson: *Dartmouth*, I, 422-7; Jesse Leonard Rosenberger: *Rochester, the Making of a University* (Rochester, 1927), pp. 44-5, 79-80; G. Wallace Chessman: *Denison: The Story of an Ohio College* (Granville, 1957), p. 56; Burke A. Hinsdale: *History of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1906), p. 44; Charles Henry Rammelkamp: *Illinois College: A Centennial History 1829-1929* (New Haven, 1928), pp. 168-9; Kemp Plummer Battle: *History of the University of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1907-12), I, 642-4; Theodore F. Jones, ed.: *New York University 1832:1932* (New York, 1933), p. 81; Clarence Ray Aurner: *History of Education in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1914-16), IV, 11-12, 22; Jonas Viles, *et al.: The University of Missouri: A Centennial History* (Columbia, 1939), pp. 91, 97.

[7] Walter P. Rogers: *Andrew D. White and the Modern University* (Ithaca, 1942), pp. 11, 113.

to popular needs. It would send its graduates into the public schools of the state and thus perfect the whole system of education in Michigan. No friend of pure vocationalism, Tappan had made clear before he went to Michigan that the true university would be "a powerful counter influence against the excessive commercial spirit, and against the chicanery and selfishness of demagogueism" which prevailed in American society. An American university, he said, would demonstrate to a skeptical public what real scholarship was: "We shall have no more acute distinctions drawn between scholastic and practical education; for, it will be seen that all true education is practical, and that practice without education is little worth; and then there will be dignity, grace, and a resistless charm about scholarship and the scholar."[8]

Tappan, however, had difficulty in advancing his university ideal in Michigan which, after all, in the 1850's was a somewhat crude setting for a German university. He hired some scholars, Andrew D. White and Charles Kendall Adams among them, and with the support of the regents the University of Michigan in 1858 offered courses of study leading to earned M.A. and M.S. degrees. The response was slight, however, and increasingly Tappan was subjected to popular abuse. His Germanic pretensions rubbed Michigan the wrong way; his habit of drinking wine with dinner was greeted with ridicule; one newspaper described him as "the most completely foreignized specimen of an abnormal Yankee, we have ever seen." In 1863 Henry Tappan was dismissed from the presidency of the University of Michigan, victim of anti-intellectualism and a popular prejudice in favor of the practical, victim also of his own premature dreams of an American university.[9]

If Michigan could not support a true university in the

[8] Richard J. Storr: *The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America* (Chicago, 1953), pp. 64-81; Farrand: *Michigan*, pp. 90-5; Henry P. Tappan: *University Education* (New York, 1851), pp. 65-6, 69.

[9] R. Freeman Butts: *The College Charts Its Course* (New York, 1939), pp. 150-5; Storr: *The Beginnings of Graduate Education*, pp. 112-17.

1850's, the city of New York could not create a new one or make over an old college. Beginning in 1852 the faculty at Columbia wrestled with the question of how it might translate its own awareness of the need for advanced study in the American colleges into some workable program. The decision was to offer, beginning in 1857, a program leading to an earned M.A., but the response was not encouraging. For while the professors sensed a national need for the encouragement of pure scholarship, not yet could it be demonstrated that any American professor needed an M.A. degree. The Columbia offerings, moreover, were not yet rich enough. Columbia would have to wait.[1]

Between 1855 and 1857 an effort to create a great new university in New York called into action the unhappy Henry Tappan of Michigan, the frustrated men of science and scholarship in the colleges, the mayor of New York, and such potential benefactors as William Astor and Peter Cooper. During the deliberations that decided the fate of the projected university in New York, Henry Tappan found himself writing to William Astor: "Now amid all my thinking on this subject—do you deem it possible that I should not have said to myself—'What a noble destiny is possible to this family!' . . ." But it was impossible to get all the interested groups to focus on the same project, on the same needs, on the same future; and as the final shape of William Astor's and Peter Cooper's benefactions revealed, the philanthropists in particular were not yet prepared to accept a true university as a worthy project. Failure to achieve a successful reformation of the traditional colleges or to achieve a new American university helped to swell the insistent voices of hostility into a growing chorus of protest.[2]

One young Princetonian complained that he and his friends were being provided with an education "about as fit for the

[1] Ibid., pp. 94-111.
[2] Ibid., pp. 82-93.

station they . . . [were] to occupy through life as the military tactics of the Baron de Steuben for fighting the Blackfoot Indians among the passes and glens of the Rocky Mountains." The New York City Board of Education asked in 1847 that the city be provided with a college that was not so fully committed to the needs of the ancient professions. In 1850 a committee of the Massachusetts General Court called on Harvard to reform its curriculum in order to prepare "better farmers, mechanics, or merchants." [3]

At New York University Professor John William Draper confronted the old order with a forceful and telling challenge. Explaining the failure of N.Y.U. to become a popular institution, he argued: "To use language which this mercantile community can understand, . . . we have been trying to sell goods for which there is no market. . . . In this practical community of men, hastening to be rich, we found no sympathy. . . . But few American youth . . . care to saunter to the fountains of knowledge through the pleasant winding of their flowery path. The practical branches must take the lead and bear the weight, and the ornamental must follow." And then Draper warned: "Mere literary acumen is becoming utterly powerless against profound scientific attainment. To what are the great advances of civilization for the last fifty years due—to literature or science? Which of the two is it that is shaping the thought of the world?" [4]

Up in Concord, Massachusetts, Henry David Thoreau was prepared to turn in his verdict on Harvard College. His complaint was with the method and psychology of learning that held the traditional college in its grip. The students, he observed, "should not *play* life, or *study* it merely, while the community supports them at this expensive game, but ear-

[3] Wertenbaker: *Princeton*, pp. 235-6; S. Willis Rudy: *The College of the City of New York: A History, 1847-1947* (New York, 1949), p. 13; Morison: Harvard: *Three Centuries*, p. 287.

[4] John William Draper: *The Indebtedness of the City of New York to Its University: An Address to the Alumni of the University of the City of New York at their Twenty-First Anniversary, 28th June, 1835* (New York, 1853), pp. 20-4.

nestly *live* it from beginning to end. How could youths better learn to live than by at once trying the experiment of living? Methinks this would exercise their minds as much as mathematics." He asked: "Which would have advanced the most at the end of a month,—the boy who had made his own jack-knife from the ore which he had dug and smelted, reading as much as would be necessary for this,—or the boy who had attended the lecture on metallurgy at the Institute in the meanwhile, and had received a . . . penknife from his father? Which would be most likely to cut his fingers?" As for his own experiences at Harvard, Thoreau could only relate: 'To my astonishment I was informed on leaving college that I had studied navigation!—why, if I had taken one turn down the Harbour I should have known more about it."[5] In Georgia, a newspaper in 1857 announced: "We are now living in a different age, an age of practical utility, one in which the State University does not, and cannot supply the demands of the State. The times require practical men, civil engineers, to take charge of public roads, railroads, mines, scientific agriculture, etc." In California, the superintendent of public instruction in 1858 asked: "For what useful occupation are the graduates of most of our old colleges fit?"[6]

These voices had found a rallying point and a spokesman in Francis Wayland at Brown. As astute a critic of the old college as the century was to develop, Wayland had already, in the 1840's, reminded the colleges that there was something ridiculous about their preference for buying students rather than offering a curriculum that students would buy. Discouraged by his inability to make much headway with the Brown governing board, he resigned the presidency in 1849 and then agreed to reconsider, on the promise that the corpo-

[5] Henry D. Thoreau: *Walden: or, Life in the Woods* (Boston, 1854), pp. 56–7.

[6] E. Merton Coulter: *College Life in the Old South* (Athens, 1951), p. 201; William Warren Ferrier: *Origin and Development of the University of California* (Berkeley, 1930), p. 34.

ration would face up to the pressing problems that thus far Brown and most other American colleges had succeeded in ignoring, partly by taking refuge in the Yale Report of 1828.[7]

In 1850 Wayland came forth with a report of equal influence.[8] It shattered the calm in many of the traditional foundations. It encouraged such reformers as Henry Tappan and John W. Draper. And it hauled the American college before the public and there gave it a vigorous beating. The colleges were becoming more and more superficial, he noted. As efforts were made to accommodate new subjects within the old framework, all subjects were offered in diluted quantities, and one consequence was that the colleges were turning out men who were not expert at anything. "The single academy at West Point," he charged, "has done more toward the construction of railroads than all our . . . colleges united."[9] Wayland argued that the old course of study made no sense in an environment defined by the exploitive possibilities of an abundant continent, the development of new scientific techniques, and the existence of a self-reliant, ambitious, and democratic people bent on achieving economic and social independence. "What," he asked, "could Virgil and Horace and Homer and Demosthenes, with a little mathematics and natural philosophy, do towards developing the untold resources of this continent?"[1]

Appealing for a course of study that would be "for the benefit of all classes," but especially for the rising middle class, he called for "a radical change . . . [in] the system of collegiate instruction," proposing such reforms as: an end to the fixed four-year course, thereby offering the students freedom, within limits, to carry whatever load they wished; a new system of course-accounting that would allot time to a course according to its utility; a system of completely free course

[7] Bronson: *Brown*, pp. 259-62.

[8] Francis Wayland: *Report to the Corporation of Brown University on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education, Read March 28, 1850* (Providence, 1850).

[9] Ibid., p. 18.

[1] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

election; a system that would enable a student to begin a subject and carry study in it to completion without interruption.[2] In this framework Wayland proposed to the Brown corporation that it offer a new program of courses in applied science, agriculture, law, and teaching. The report, as a whole, was direct, soberly argued, temperate, nondoctrinaire, and its proposals were remarkably flexible. At one point, in considering the possibility of programs of study ranging from two to six years, it anticipated a university way of looking at things. The main concern of Wayland's report, however, was to bring the American college into line with the main economic and social developments of the age.

Wayland's plans met with the immediate approval of the reform element in the colleges and also, significantly, of the Rhode Island General Assembly and the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers. The Brown corporation indicated its readiness to put the proposals into effect when it had raised $125,000.[3] In 1851 the great experiment was begun. Because Wayland was motivated both by a deeply held democratic faith and by an acute awareness of Brown's pecuniary needs, he chose to offer an M.A. for four years' work and a B.A. for something less than that, and he also included a Ph.B. degree for three-years' work in the practical subjects.

Enrollment increased, but not enough to support Wayland's expectations. The university was unable to offer enough courses to permit any real specialization. The faculty had difficulty adjusting the old rigid system of discipline to the new flexible curriculum. The new order attracted to Brown essentially a group of students of lower academic quality.[4] By 1856 the faculty and corporation were in revolt, and Wayland was replaced that year by President Barnas Sears who made clear that he was prepared to return Brown to the safe ways of the past. "We are in danger," he com-

[2] Ibid., pp. 50-2.
[3] Bronson: *Brown*, pp. 275 ff.
[4] Ibid., pp. 282-300.

plained, "of becoming an institution rather for conferring degrees upon the unfortunate than for educating a sterling class of men." He had friends elsewhere, many of them. At South Carolina College President James H. Thornwell proudly proclaimed: "While others are veering to the popular pressure . . . let it be our aim to make Scholars and not sappers or miners—apothecaries—doctors or farmers." At Marietta in Ohio President Israel Ward Andrews heaped scorn and sarcasm on the reformers: "Let us then give up our Algebra and Astronomy and Rhetoric, and inquire into the proper proportions of a piece of meat which can be swallowed without our incurring the hazard of being choked to death. Substitute Physiology for Grammar, Physiology for Arithmetic, Physiology for everything. . . ." The day for Francis Wayland had not yet arrived, but although they did not know it, the days of James H. Thornwell and of Israel Ward Andrews were already numbered.[8]

[8] Ibid., p. 322; Daniel Walker Hollis: *University of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1951-6), I, iv; Arthur B. Beach: *A Pioneer College: The Story of Marietta* (Marietta, 1935), p. 86.

16

Flowering of the University Movement

In a spirit of optimism appropriate to the age President James B. Angell of the University of Michigan looked out upon the collegiate world in 1871 and concluded, "In this day of unparalleled activity in college life, the institution which is not steadily advancing is certainly falling behind."[1] The little sleepy colleges, the reluctant universities, the friends of the status quo—if they did not hear this call to action from one of the important new spokesmen for American higher education, they could not avoid the growing evidence that indeed there had never before been an age of such stirrings, such changes, perhaps, as President Angell said, such advance.

James McCosh was prodding a reluctant board at Princeton, Charles William Eliot was conquering a reluctant board at Cambridge. At Ithaca and Baltimore new departures in American higher education were being plotted. The land-grant colleges were sprouting, and the state universities were assuming new roles. So dynamic were the changes, so remarkably accelerated the influence of the new institutions and the

[1] James Burrill Angell: *Selected Addresses* (New York, 1912), p. 27.

new movements, so rapid the tendency of one institution to emulate the advances of a rival that a short thirteen years later John W. Burgess, an astute and perceptive professor at Columbia College in New York, was led to the observation: "I confess that I am unable to divine what is to be ultimately the position of Colleges which cannot become Universities and which will not be Gymnasia. I cannot see what reason they will have to exist. It will be largely a waste of capital to maintain them, and largely a waste of time to attend them. It is so now." [8]

It was well enough for the Columbia professor to dispose of two hundred and fifty years of American collegiate history and now to proclaim that the colleges had either to become universities or to remain advanced high schools. Every institution knew that it had to do *something*, even, if necessary, defend its right to stand still. What no institution could be certain of, however, was exactly what was meant by a university. President Eliot might proclaim that "a university cannot be built upon a sect"—which was unquestionably true in Germany and Cambridge, but was it not worth trying in the United States, where all things were possible? [9] What was one to say to the warnings of Professor Henry Vethake of the college in Philadelphia that called itself the University of Pennsylvania? Professor Vethake had pointed out that the German universities were largely supported by students preparing for three professional careers that did not even exist in the United States—teaching, the civil service, and diplomacy. The answer to the professor unquestionably was that the day had come when the United States *needed* professional teachers, professional public servants, and professional diplomats, and that the needs could not be served by the colleges. Very well, then, a university was a place that turned out pro-

[8] John W. Burgess: *The American University: When Shall it Be? Where Shall it Be? What Shall it Be?* (Boston, 1884), p. 5.

[9] Quoted in George Wilson Pierson: *Yale: College and University 1871-1937* (New Haven, 1952-5), I, 61.

fessional career men for opportunities that did not exist but ought to. Was that a way to command public support? [4]

As the years passed, confusion was piled on confusion, not only because colleges changed their letterheads to read "university," but because the road to university purpose, function, or status was in no sense clearly defined. At Virginia the university concept rested on a broad base of courses and departments in which a student could study in depth and with a freedom unknown in the traditional institutions. At Johns Hopkins, on the other hand, the position was developed that a true university was postcollegiate in its orientation, that its essence was located in the graduate faculty of arts and sciences whose life revolved around the advancement of learning. In Cambridge President Eliot was moving Harvard toward university status by purposefully obliterating or at least diffusing the lines between undergraduate and graduate, between collegiate and scholarly. For Eliot the idea of a university was essentially a matter of spirit, and if an institution had that spirit, there was no place within it where the university spirit was out-of-bounds. In New Haven, however, where there was a certain vested interest in the collegiate way, the university idea, while clearly in the ascendancy, was as yet still caged, and the Yale faculty was reluctant to contaminate Yale College with the spirit that President Eliot was employing to reshape the whole outlook of Harvard College. At Ithaca it seemed as though a university was being defined as a place where anything could be studied, as a place where physical chemistry, Greek, bridge-building, the diseases of the cow, and military drill were equal.[5]

Variations on these many themes would give to the United States a remarkable flowering of the university idea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but they would not

[4] Richard J. Storr: *The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America* (Chicago, 1953), p. 79.

[5] See Pierson: *Yale,* I, 44-5; Daniel Walker Hollis: *University of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1951-6), II, 10-11; Samuel Eliot Morison: *Three Centuries of Harvard 1636-1936* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 326.

give any one answer to the question: What is an American university? For as in its people, its geography, its churches, its economic institutions, the United States in its universities was to reveal a remarkable diversity, an unwillingness to be categorized, a variety that would encompass differences in wealth, leadership, public influence, regional needs.

But if there was to be no American university, as there was to be no American system of education, there would one day be scores of institutions of university status and distinction. At Worcester, in Massachusetts, G. Stanley Hall would endeavor to pattern Clark University after Johns Hopkins. In the West the state universities substituted for the traditional B.A. curriculum a whole collection of undergraduate departments and courses specializing in vocational subjects. Everywhere little colleges, taking their cue from Harvard, introduced an elective curriculum and waited to become universities. New York University adopted three traditional collegiate practices that won it much-needed support: it forged an alliance with the Presbyterian community in New York; it abandoned its practice of not charging tuition (which among New York's better families had given the institution a reputation as a pauper's college); and it moved to an uptown site where a campus and other collegiate delights would be possible. And then, having assured itself of a nonuniversity base, New York University successfully inaugurated a vigorous program of postgraduate professional work and in time became a university.[6]

Probably for most Americans, however, the image of an American university would most closely approximate that which was being hammered out in the state universities of the West. John Hiram Lathrop, president of the University of Missouri, said in 1864: "The idea of an American University

[6] W. Carson Ryan: *Studies in Early Graduate Education: The Johns Hopkins, Clark University, The University of Chicago* (New York, 1939), pp. 47-90; Wallace W. Atwood: *The First Fifty Years: An Administrative Report* (Worcester, 1937), pp. 1-10; Theodore F. Jones, ed.: *New York University 1832-1932* (New York, 1933), pp. 137-50.

is a central school of Philosophy . . . , surrounded by the Professional Schools, embracing not only the Departments of Law, Medicine, and Divinity, but the Normal School for the education of teachers, and Schools of Agriculture and the Useful Arts."[7]

By 1872 this idea of a university as a collection of disparate agencies was well-developed in the United States, and in his inaugural address as president of the University of California, Daniel Coit Gilman gave expression to a university concept that was just about large enough to cover anything that might henceforth occur under the roof of an American university: "It is a university, and not a high school, nor a college, nor an academy of sciences, nor an industrial school which we are charged to build [here]. Some of these features may be included in or developed with the University, but the University means more than any or all of them. The university is the most comprehensive term that can be employed to indicate a foundation for the promotion and diffusion of knowledge—a group of agencies organized to advance the arts and sciences of every sort, and train young men as scholars for all the intellectual callings of life."[8] Within Gilman's definition were the seeds of growth which enabled the head of one of the great philanthropic foundations to observe one day in the next century: "From the exposition of esoteric Buddhism to the management of chain grocery stores, . . . [the American university] offers its services to the inquiring young American."[9] Perhaps no one will ever come closer to defining the American university.

The university movement in the United States owed more to the German than to English or French examples, with the consequence that university did *not* mean—as it did in Eng-

[7] Jonas Viles, *et al.: The University of Missouri: A Centennial History* (Columbia, 1939), p. 108.

[8] Daniel C. Gilman: *The Building of the University: An Inaugural Address Delivered at Oakland, Nov. 7th, 1872* (San Francisco, 1872), p. 6.

[9] Henry S. Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation in Howard J. Savage, *et al.: American College Athletics* (New York, 1929), p. x.

land—purely an examining body for the products of the teaching bodies or colleges, nor did it mean—as it did in France—an administrative organization for supervising and regulating instruction at large. On the other hand the American university was no simple reflection of the German university, which was a group of faculties that prepared young men for the learned professions. As President Arthur Twining Hadley of Yale was fond of pointing out, the American university was everything and none of these things: a teaching body; an examining body; a supervisory and regulating body, in the case of the state institutions; and just as ready to prepare young men for the unlearned as for the learned professions.[1] Yet, because the German example was paramount, almost everywhere in the creation of an American university there was a fundamental attachment to the graduate faculty of arts and sciences, to the idea of a body of scholars and students pushing forward the frontiers of pure knowledge.

The distance between the era of the colleges and the era of the universities was everywhere apparent. And perhaps no more so than in the 1893 remarks of Professor Basil Gildersleeve, bearer of the tradition of scholarship at Johns Hopkins. Sensing the meaning for America of the young scholars flowing in accelerating numbers from the graduate schools in Baltimore, New York, Worcester, Chicago, New Haven, Cambridge, Ann Arbor, and Madison, he recalled how as a youth he had fled to Germany to prepare himself for a professorship, for to have prepared himself in the United States would have been impossible and to have argued for the necessity of professional preparation would have opened himself to ridicule and charges of absurdity.[2]

[1] Walton C. John: *Graduate Study in Universities and Colleges in the United States* (Washington, 1935), p. 35.

[2] John C. French: *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins* (Baltimore, 1946), p. 275.

Now, all that was changed. It had begun at Yale in 1856 when James Dwight Dana had asked, "Why not have here, The American University?" The answer he wanted may not have been forthcoming, but in 1860 Yale decided to offer the Ph.D. for high attainments in its graduate Department of Philosophy and the Arts. In 1861 Yale awarded three doctoral degrees, the first earned Ph.D.'s in American history. By 1876, the year that Johns Hopkins dedicated itself to the development of the Ph.D., the precedent set by Yale was being followed in twenty-five institutions which that year awarded a total of forty-four Ph.D. degrees. The work represented by these degrees was of uneven quality; some of them were probably awarded to faculty members of the institution as a means of gilding the college catalogue. But the degrees meant that the notion of serious study beyond the B.A. was being widely established, and with the founding of Johns Hopkins impetus was given to the organization of graduate study into separate schools.[3]

Columbia created an advanced school of political and social science in 1880, and Michigan achieved something comparable the next year; Yale put its graduate studies into formal order in 1882. In 1889 Clark in Worcester and Catholic University in Washington were created in the image of Johns Hopkins. In 1890 a great old university, Harvard, and a great new university, Chicago, established graduate schools of arts and sciences. In the 1890's such state universities as Michigan, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Kansas found the funds and the will to follow suit, and in the South, Vanderbilt led in the revival of southern intellectual life.[4]

[3] Storr: *The Beginnings of Graduate Education*, pp. 57-8; John: *Graduate Study*, p. 19.

[4] John Howard Van Amringe, *et al.*: *A History of Columbia University 1754-1904* (New York, 1904), pp. 220-60; Byrne Joseph Horton: *The Graduate School (its Origin and Administrative Development)* (New York, 1940), pp. 73-7; Elizabeth M. Farrand: *History of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1885), p. 270; Burke A. Hinsdale: *History of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1906), p. 85; Samuel Eliot Morison: *The Development of Harvard University Since the Inauguration of President Eliot 1869-1929* (Cambridge, 1930), pp.

Reviewing these remarkable indications of university development, President Eliot noted in 1902: "The graduate school of Harvard University . . . did not thrive, until the example of Johns Hopkins forced our Faculty to put their strength into the development of our institution for graduates. And what was true of Harvard was true of every other university in the land which aspired to create an advanced school of arts and sciences." By 1900 Hopkins had probably lost its eminence as "the premier American Ph.D. mill" to Harvard, but in 1926, just fifty years after its founding, Johns Hopkins could locate 1,000 of its 1,400 graduates on American college and university faculties. In twenty-four institutions ten or more Hopkins graduates testified to the role of the institution in Baltimore in establishing and in diffusing the university idea.[8] But the day had already passed when so major a control or so major an achievement could be continued in one institution. For Johns Hopkins had taught well: both its spirit and its instrument of recruitment, the graduate fellowship, were contagious.

The use of fellowships as an inducement for graduate students was known in the United States before Johns Hopkins demonstrated how important they would be to the flowering of the university movement. Indeed, in 1731 the Reverend Dean of Derry, Ireland, the later Bishop George Berkeley, had deeded to Yale College his farm in Newport, Rhode Island, with the stipulation that it be used to support fellowships in Greek and Latin for the period between the B.A. and the awarding of the M.A., a degree which customarily went to all college men who three years after graduation were not in jail. In 1822, also at Yale, funds were provided

451-62; Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen: *The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848-1925* (Madison, 1949), I, 630 ff.; Edwin Mims: *History of Vanderbilt University* (Nashville, 1946), p. 150.

[8] French: *Johns Hopkins*, pp. 86, 204-5; Morison: Harvard: *Three Centuries*, p. 336.

which were to accumulate until 1848 and then be used to provide graduate fellowships.[6]

The idea of using fellowships as a means of stimulating advanced study in American institutions received encouragement in the 1850's from a rather popular book of the period, *Five Years in an English University*, the autobiographical account of a young American at Cambridge who had been impressed by the role of fellowships as inducements to advanced study in the English universities. In the 1850's, however, the university movement did not catch on, and although the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania gave thought to the idea of founding fellowships, they were more impressed by their colleague who asked where the money was going to come from and who then added, "The *Yankee* graduates, at any rate, will inquire before they start, whether the cash has been paid in."[7]

In the early 1870's a number of institutions—among them Princeton, Columbia, and Harvard—adopted the custom of subsidizing foreign study for especially promising graduates of their own colleges, but it fell to Johns Hopkins to establish and systematize the practice of populating graduate schools with subsidized students of promise from everywhere.[8] The Hopkins decision to offer $500 fellowships reflected the uncertainty which the board of trustees must have felt for the immediate success of their venture into graduate education, but it also revealed their determination to provide the Hopkins faculty with students capable of keeping the faculty "constantly stimulated." Their determination was rewarded, and unquestionably "the first twenty-one fellows at Johns

[6] William Lathrop Kingsley, ed.: *Yale College: A Sketch of its History* (New York, 1879), I, 57-62; Storr: *The Beginnings of Graduate Education*, pp. 32-3.

[7] Storr: *The Beginnings of Graduate Education*, pp. 60-1, 65-6, 172; Charles Astor Bristed: *Five Years in an English University* (New York, 1852); Storr: op. cit., p. 80.

[8] Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker: *Princeton 1746-1896* (Princeton, 1946), pp. 301-2; Van Amringe: *Columbia*, pp. 142, 221; French: *Johns Hopkins*, pp. 39-41; Hugh Hawkins: *Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889* (Ithaca, 1960), pp. 79-90, 120-2.

Hopkins were . . . a more remarkable group of college graduates than had ever before gathered for study anywhere in America." Among them were: Herbert Baxter Adams, who pioneered in the establishment of advanced historical studies in the United States; Henry C. Adams, who carried the new learning and the new history to the University of Michigan; Walter Hines Page, who became Woodrow Wilson's wartime ambassador to England; and Josiah Royce, who was headed for a career as an eminent Harvard philosopher. The early success of Johns Hopkins rested in part on its program of fellowships, a device which would become a characteristic element in the creation of every major American university.[9]

If the graduate school of arts and sciences with its auxiliary program of fellowships was central to the achievement of university status, another emphasis was provided by a spirit of vocationalism and by the incorporation of professional schools in the university structure. Frederick A. P. Barnard in an 1855 report which he prepared as president of the University of Alabama wrote with the blindest of certainty that a craft society and its characteristic apprentice system were so permanent a feature of American life that vocationalism would never intrude itself upon institutions of formal learning. "While time lasts," he then wrote, "the farmer will be made in the field, the manufacturer in the shop, the merchant in the counting room, the civil engineer in the midst of the actual operation of his science."[1]

The emergence, after the Civil War, of land-grant colleges and institutes of technology; the rapidly accumulating knowledge of a technical nature which required some orderly synthesis; the requirements of a now complex, industrial society with its need for experts of the most specialized sort—all this

[9] Hawkins: *Johns Hopkins*, p. 83.

[1] Walter P. Rogers: *Andrew D. White and the Modern University* (Ithaca, 1942), p. 108.

helped to unleash a spirit of vocationalism which many of the growing universities not only found impossible to resist but sought to encourage. And in a bid for survival, many small colleges which had no chance of becoming universities were led to introduce into their undergraduate programs such courses as pharmaceutical chemistry, engineering English, mechanical drawing, library science, and the history and philosophy of education. In the state universities whole undergraduate programs could be built around what might be only a course in one of the smaller institutions. Coeducation served this tendency to vocationalism by helping to turn most American colleges into teacher-training institutions; by the end of the nineteenth century, American colleges and universities were producing more teachers than anything else.[7] The strength of this vocational emphasis was demonstrated by the degree to which it became embedded even in a place like Yale. In 1899 Yale permitted B.A. candidates to include law and medical courses in their programs, and this movement continued until Yale found itself offering undergraduate majors in law, medicine, theology, art, and music.[8]

It became one function of the university movement in America to blur the distinction that had long existed between the connotation of profession and that of vocation. The tendency had been to reserve the word profession for those occupations that required some formal study and instruction. As a consequence, there were but three professions: divinity, law, and medicine, with perhaps a fourth, the military. All other occupations were of a lesser nature, of the sort that could be learned "on the job." Farmers, merchants, and manufacturers pursued vocations. The graduates of the theological seminaries, the law schools, and the medical schools pursued professions. College professors had long been in a kind of ambiguous no-man's land, in which specific preparation was not necessary but in which many practitioners had stud-

[7] Bailey B. Burritt: *Professional Distribution of College and University Graduates* (Washington, 1912), p. 77.
[8] Pierson: *Yale*, I, 213, 222-9.

ied and been certified as professional clergymen. The university movement, however, contained a respect for the changing world beyond the campus which recognized the need for rigorous professional training in engineering and many other phases of applied science; in its pursuit of scholarship and learning the movement created a profession of college and university teachers; it accepted the democratic argument that what had been the unlearned vocations could and should be learned professions.

In assuming responsibility for providing formal professional education, the universities revealed the degree to which American higher education had now broadly entered into the life of the people. The early collegiate reformers had failed in their efforts to bring the colleges into any vital connection with the economic life of the nation. Now, the tendencies of an equalitarian and expanding industrial society made no distinction between what might be learned on the job or in the university: in the United States all careers were honorable, and therefore the university would offer itself as an appropriate agency of instruction and preparation for all careers for which some formal body of knowledge existed. Increasingly, therefore, the universities supplanted the system of apprenticeship in the old professions and brought into equality with them a whole range of vocations on their way to professional status.

The blurring of the distinction between professional and vocational was paralleled by a blurring of the equally ancient distinction between the college, which had been considered preprofessional, and the separate or attached divinity, law, and medical schools, which had been considered professional.[4] The elective principle brought within the range of

[4] See Roland H. Bainton: *Yale and the Ministry* (New York, 1957); Henry K. Rowe: *History of Andover Theological Seminary* (Newton, 1933); George H. Williams, ed.: *The Harvard Divinity School* (Cambridge, 1954); Frederick C. Hicks: *Yale Law School: from the founders to Dutton, 1845-1869* (New Haven, 1936); Alfred Zantzinger Reed: *Training for the Public Profession of the Law* (New York, 1915); Willard Hurst: *The Growth of American Law* (Boston, 1950); Henry

undergraduates all kinds of courses and programs of concentration for which the most compelling argument was their usefulness in preparing for a career. A Harvard student who studied hardly anything but Greek and Latin was probably going to be a teacher of the classics, and certainly the young men who concentrated in physics and chemistry expected to put their learning to use in some practical way.

In one sense, this spirit of career preparation was not something new, for in the old-time colleges the student body was composed largely of young men headed for the three learned professions. The practical relationship between the ancient course of study and those professions had been one of the arguments of the Yale faculty in 1828. What was now happening, however, was an incredible expansion in the number of careers for which formal study and instruction was possible, useful, and demanded. The implications of the Jacksonian emphasis were quite clear: all careers were equal, and all careers demanded an equal hearing and an equal opportunity within the university. The colleges were now, in their university phase, required to welcome and to serve potential merchants, journalists, manufacturers, chemists, teachers, inventors, artists, musicians, dieticians, pharmacists, scientific farmers, and engineers on an equal basis with students of law, theology, and medicine.[8]

B. Shafer: *The American Medical Profession, 1783 to 1850* (New York, 1936); William Frederick Norwood: *Medical Education in the United States before the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1944); Abraham Flexner: *Medical Education in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1910); Francis R. Packard: *History of Medicine in the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1931).

[8] Arthur C. Weatherhead: *The History of Collegiate Education in Architecture in the United States* (Los Angeles, 1941); Thomas Thornton Read: *The Development of Mineral Industry Education in the United States* (New York, 1941); Charles Riborg Mann: *A Study of Engineering Education* (New York, 1918); De Forest O'Dell: *The History of Journalism Education in the United States* (New York, 1935); Jessie M. Pangburn: *The Evolution of the American Teachers College* (New York, 1932); Robert A. Gordon and James E. Howell: *Higher Education for Business* (New York, 1959); Frank C. Pierson, *et al.*: *The Education of American Businessmen* (New York, 1959);

The university movement did not intrude the spirit of professionalism into the life of American higher education. The old college was, after all, preprofessional, regardless of its contention that the ancient course of study was a universally appropriate basic education. Moreover, many of the colleges, particularly in the cities, had spawned or entered into alliances with theological schools, law schools, or medical schools. Professorships in theology had been the first to appear, at both Harvard and Yale before 1750. Thomas Jefferson introduced the first law professorship at William and Mary, and in 1765 the first professorship in medicine appeared at the College of Philadelphia. Although professional schools of high standards would be one result of the university movement, during the collegiate era affiliated or integral schools of theology, medicine, and law were beginning to replace the more ancient practice of apprenticeship and to bring professional training to the campus. Yet, if the university movement did not introduce an element of professional concern to higher education in the United States, it was nonetheless largely responsible for recognizing and nurturing new professional interests that did not draw their inspiration from the ancient learning.[6]

The new professions, therefore, were not as respectable as the old professions. The old professionalism was characterized by a serious regard for the liberal studies and by the degree to which the central subject of every liberal study was man himself. The new professionalism, on the other hand, studied things, raised questions not so much about man's ultimate role and his ultimate responsibility as it did about whether this or that was a good way to go about achieving some immediate and limited object. There was, therefore, a difference, a *real* difference in kind between the old and the

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Melvin T. Copeland: *And Mark an Era: The Story of the Harvard Business School* (Boston, 1958).

[6] Robert L. Kelly: *Theological Education in America* (New York, 1924). Useful short histories of early professional education may be found in Nicholas Murray Butler, ed.: *Monographs on Education in the United States* (2 vols., Albany, 1900).

new professions, a difference that had once been clarified by the distinction between profession and vocation. The flowering American university took what were vocations and turned them into professions; the old distinction would be lost in the process.

The American university, in one of its characteristic manifestations, thus became a collection of postgraduate professional schools, schools which replaced the apprentice system in law, put responsibility into the study of medicine, tended to relegate theology into a separate corner, created education as an advanced field of study, and responded—in one institution or another—to the felt necessities of the time or the region, thus spawning appropriate schools at appropriate times, whether they were schools of business administration, forestry, journalism, veterinary medicine, social work, or Russian studies.[7]

The developing universities revealed an appetite for expansion, a gluttony for work, a passion for growth which constituted one of their most fundamental characteristics. Because there was no agreed-upon idea of what an American university was or might be, there were no theoretical or philosophical limits which the university developers might place upon themselves. Only the lack of funds might keep them in harness, but even that could not be counted on in an era of building and rivalry which could draw on the resources of a remarkable number of millionaires.

If a university could not procure the faculty it wanted, it was not thereby frustrated: it borrowed a faculty. Andrew D. White of Cornell instituted the practice, and for a term each he was able to offer in Ithaca: James Russell Lowell, Louis

[7] For typical experiences see Curti and Carstensen: *Wisconsin*, II; Morison: *Harvard University Since the Inauguration of President Eliot;* Waterman Thomas Hewitt: *Cornell University: A History* (New York, 1905), II. Under the general editorship of Dwight C. Miner, Columbia University published a series of monographs on the schools of the University: *The Bicentennial History of Columbia University* (1954-7).

Agassiz, George William Curtis, and others. To Johns Hopkins, Daniel Coit Gilman brought for short periods Simon Newcomb, William James, Sidney Lanier, and Lord Bryce. At Stanford, David Starr Jordan put into service the talents of a former president of the United States, Benjamin Harrison.[8]

Another instrument of growth was the concept of federation which enabled semi-autonomous institutions to cluster around a core institution, which was probably an old college become a new university. The Rhode Island School of Design allied itself with Brown, the Institute of Paper Chemistry with Lawrence College, the California College of Pharmacy with the University of California, and most of the theological seminaries in New York with Columbia. The summer session and the extension course were likewise agencies devoted to the enlargement of university purpose. It took an institution in New York, City College, to discover a means for putting to full use whatever time the normal university program now left in the year: in 1909 it inaugurated the first night-school course of study leading to a bachelor's degree.[9]

But the spirit of the new American universities was far from adequately revealed in these devices. A more startling revelation was in the inaugural address with which Andrew Lipscomb in 1875 opened Vanderbilt University, the new capstone of Methodist education in the South. How remote from the narrow sectarianism, how different from the suspicion of intellect, how hostile to all the tendencies that held the little Methodist colleges in the grips of pettiness and ignorance, how remote from all this were the words that Methodism sponsored at Vanderbilt in 1875: "The University is

[8] Rogers: *Cornell*, pp. 71, 155-6; French: *Johns Hopkins*, pp. 88-92; Orrin Leslie Elliott: *Stanford University: The First Twenty-Five Years* (Stanford University, 1937), p. 114.

[9] Daniel Sammis Sanford, Jr.: *Inter-Institutional Agreements in Higher Education* (New York, 1934), pp. 18-19; Watson Dickerman: *The Historical Development of the Summer Session in the United States* (Chicago, 1948); Louis E. Reber: *University Extension in the United States* (Washington, 1914); S. Willis Rudy: *The College of the City of New York: A History, 1847-1947* (New York, 1949), p. 315.

bound to recognize every department of true thought, every branch of human knowledge, every mode of thorough culture. . . . What is best in the University is the catholicity of its views. . . . It must have an open-minded hospitality to all truth and must draw men together in the unity of a scholarly temper." [1]

In social arrangements as well, the university movement created its own spirit; and while the collegiate tradition was persuasive enough and strong enough to sustain and to expand the fraternity movement, there now appeared in the environs of the American university such an institution as the renowned rooming and boarding house of Mrs. DuBois Egerton at 132 West Madison Street in Baltimore. There elegant style in the grand southern manner, old silver, fine furniture, excellent food, and twenty paying guests—Johns Hopkins faculty and students—in the 1870's and 1880's created a salon of high distinction, where such men as G. Stanley Hall, Sidney Lanier, James Russell Lowell, and William James were not unknown. [2]

The new university spirit was likely to appear almost anywhere, and although in 1884 the president of the University of Arkansas actually rejected it, he publicly charged that some subversive university-minded faculty members had imported from the University of Virginia the two habits that were doing Arkansas the most harm: high standards of scholarship and faculty neglect of student conduct outside the classroom. At Indiana University in 1892 a professor with the true spirit suggested that the faculty should sit once a year to award diplomas to students who were ready and to deny diplomas to those who were not ready, "irrespective of how long . . . [they] may have been in residence." Let the college degree, he said, be a "certificate of proficiency" instead of a "certificate of residence." [3]

[1] Mims: *Vanderbilt*, pp. 63-4.
[2] French: *Hopkins*, pp. 77-8.
[3] John Hugh Reynolds and David Yancey Thomas: *History of the University of Arkansas* (Fayetteville, 1910), p. 125; James Albert

IN THE UNITED STATES PATENT AND TRADEMARK OFFICE
BEFORE THE TRADEMARK TRIAL AND APPEAL BOARD

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY Petitioner, V. AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF KUWAIT, Registrant.	Cancellation No. 92049706 Reg. No. 3387226 Mark: AUK AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF KUWAIT Reg. Date: February 26, 2008
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EXHIBITS E3-E4 to

DECLARATION “E” OF JANICE HOUSEY

EXHIBIT E3

THE SOUL OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief

George M. Marsden

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Introduction

This book is about how and why pace-setting American universities are defined as they are. Particularly it is concerned with how and why they are defined with respect to religion. These two questions are closely connected since those who originally set the standards for American universities in the late nineteenth century were shaped by their strongly Protestant heritage. Most of the first generation of university builders were active Protestants and many were ardent believers. Even if they gave up the particulars of the evangelicalism of their mentors' generation, they retained a dedication to liberal Christianity. Through the second and third generations of the evolution of American universities, until the early 1960s, almost all the leaders of the pace-setting institutions were of Protestant stock, had outlooks shaped by a Protestant ethos, and on occasion would honor their Christian heritage.

In the late nineteenth century, when American universities took their shape, the Protestantism of the major northern denominations acted as a virtual religious and cultural establishment. This establishmentarian outlook was manifested in American universities, which were constructed not, as is sometimes supposed, as strictly secular institutions but as integral parts of a religious-cultural vision. The formal strength of such nonsectarian Protestantism was evidenced by the continuing place of religious activities on most campuses. In the 1890s, for instance, almost all state universities still held compulsory chapel services and some required Sunday church attendance as well. State-sponsored chapel services did not become rare until the World War II era. In the meantime, many of the best private universities maintained Christian divinity schools and during the first half of the twentieth century built impressive chapels signaling their respect for their Christian heritages. As late as the 1950s it was not unusual for spokespersons of leading schools to refer to them as "Christian" institutions.

Such vestiges of the Protestant establishment are significant not simply as curious, but largely forgotten, practices. Rather, they provide important clues for unearthing a much larger connection between establishmentarian Protestantism and the construction of American universities. While the United States was formally pluralistic, its cultural centers had never seen a time when Protestantism was not dominant. During the first

half of the nineteenth century Protestant leaders consolidated their cultural hegemony. Nowhere was this cultural aggressiveness more successful than in their gaining control over virtually all the influential colleges in the country, including state schools. New Englanders, who drew on centuries of experience in American higher education, were the dominant party in this enterprise, setting national standards that others attempted to emulate. Politically they were Whigs and later Republicans. Heirs to the Puritans, they were national reformers who combined high moral idealism with zeal for modern capitalist and technological progress. For a time after their triumph in the Civil War no other group could challenge their cultural leadership, especially not in education. It was the sons of this heritage—men who came of age during the earthshaking national conflict and who inherited a sense of calling to serve God and nation in a cultural mission—who founded and defined America's universities.

Protestantism was, of course, far from the only factor shaping the founders' heritage or the universities they built. They were responding as well to many practical, technical, professional, and economic forces. Yet it would be remarkable if visionary men reared in an era of such fervent national moral idealism did not view their practical concerns through the lens of their religious heritage. Typically they did not abandon the Christian idealism of that heritage but rather adjusted it to accommodate their commitments to modernity. So while it is possible to look at the shaping of American higher education primarily as responses to practical forces and concerns, it is illuminating to recognize that the ideals for which the universities stood and which helped define practical priorities were also shaped by a powerful and distinctly Protestant heritage. Even major educational ideals that might not seem especially religious, such as scientific standards growing out of the Enlightenment, American republican moral ideals growing out of the Revolution, romantic principles of individual development, or American perceptions of German universities, were mediated through the American Protestant heritage.

If we look at the story from the other side, asking what the universities did with Protestantism, rather than how the Protestant heritage shaped the universities, we immediately see a striking paradox. The American university system was built on a foundation of evangelical Protestant colleges. Most of the major universities evolved directly from such nineteenth-century colleges. As late as 1870 the vast majority of these were remarkably evangelical. Most of them had clergymen-presidents who taught courses defending biblicist Christianity and who encouraged periodic campus revivals. Yet within half a century the universities that emerged from these evangelical colleges, while arguably carrying forward the spirit of their evangelical forebears, had become conspicuously inhospitable to the letter of such evangelicalism. By the 1920s the evangelical Protestantism of the old-time colleges had been effectively excluded from leading university classrooms.

During the next half century the paradox turns into an irony. Many

of the same forces set in motion by liberal Protestantism,[1] which rooted out traditional evangelicalism from university education, were eventually turned against the liberal Protestant establishment itself. Now, while it is the spirit of liberal Protestantism that arguably survives, normative religious teaching of any sort has been nearly eliminated from standard university education.

The deep irony in Protestant-dominated American education is highlighted further if we consider dominant attitudes toward Roman Catholicism. On the one hand, the ideals for which the Protestant establishment stood included freedom, democracy, benevolence, justice, reform, inclusiveness, "brotherhood," and service. Education was conceived of as a means of assimilating other traditions into an American heritage that included these ideals. While the cultural leadership often failed to live up to what it professed, these ideals themselves have had a pervasive influence on almost every subgroup in the culture and should not be dismissed lightly. At the same time, as many Catholic educators of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries could have testified, these universal and inclusive attitudes were also imperialistic and exclusive.

The American Protestant leadership was determined to have a standardized education system and treated Catholics as second-class for persisting in having their own schools. In higher education Protestants insisted on a universal academic ideal, underwritten by Enlightenment assumptions concerning universal science and supported by optimism concerning human nature's ability to progress toward a universal moral ideal. During the era when America's dominant university system was defined, a Catholic university was regarded, as it was popular to remark, as an oxymoron.

Ironically, therefore, Protestant universalism (catholicity, if you will) was one of the forces that eventually contributed to the virtual exclusion of religious perspectives from the most influential centers of American intellectual life. Unlike some other Western countries which addressed the problems of pluralism by encouraging multiple educational systems, the American tendency was to build what amounted to a monolithic and homogeneous educational establishment and to force the alternatives to marginal existence on the periphery. Almost from the outset of the rise of American universities, such universality was attained by defining the intellectual aspects of the enterprise as excluding all but liberal Protestant or "nonsectarian" perspectives. For a time liberal Protestantism also was still allowed to play a priestly role, signaled by the building of chapels, blessing such academic arrangements. Eventually, however, the logic of the nonsectarian ideals which the Protestant establishment had successfully promoted in public life dictated that liberal Protestantism itself should be moved to the periphery to which other religious perspectives had been relegated for some time. The result was an "inclusive" higher education that resolved the problems of pluralism by virtually excluding all religious perspectives from the nation's highest academic life.

Telling the story these ways points out the wisdom of not jumping to evaluative conclusions in considering the role of religion in American higher education. On the one hand, it is a story of the disestablishment of religion. On the other hand, it is a story of secularization. From the point of view of persons with wholly secular values, these two ways of characterizing the history may fit harmoniously, both being laudable. Even for such readers, though, it may be illuminating to reflect on the degree to which many of the things they like as well as those they dislike in contemporary universities may have been shaped by a Protestant heritage. For those who have religious commitments, on the other hand, "disestablishment" and "secularization" are likely to suggest opposed evaluations. Disestablishment is likely to sound like a good thing, while secularization, even if desirable in many of its forms, seems undesirable if it excludes religion from the major areas of public life that shape people's sophisticated beliefs.

Persons concerned about the place of religion in American life might be particularly concerned that the largely voluntary and commendable disestablishment of religion has led to the virtual establishment of nonbelief, or the near exclusion of religious perspectives from dominant academic life. While American universities today allow individuals free exercise of religion in parts of their lives that do not touch the heart of the university, they tend to exclude or discriminate against relating explicit religious perspectives to intellectual life. In other words, the free exercise of religion does not extend to the dominant intellectual centers of our culture. So much are these exclusions taken for granted, as simply part of the definition of academic life, that many people do not even view them as strange. Nor do they think it odd that such exclusion is typically justified in the names of academic freedom and free inquiry.

One of the themes of this book is that there were undesirable features of the American Protestant establishment which have led to equally flawed features of American disestablishment.[2] It has been a particular source of later problems in American higher education that Protestant church-related institutions typically regarded themselves as essentially public institutions as well. From their beginnings, reflecting their European establishmentarian heritages, they made almost no distinction between the ideals that should shape the whole of American society and the particularities of the Protestant faith. After the formal disestablishment of religion, they found ways to perpetuate this identification of religious and cultural heritages. Essentially by broadening the definitions of Protestantism they managed to maintain their cultural hegemony under the rubric of consensual American ideals.

In understanding and evaluating changes in the role of religion in America, it is important to keep in mind that the largest forces involved are by no means unique to the United States. Rather the American developments are part of changes in Western culture that have been going on since at least the Reformation and accelerating since the rise of science,

technology, and Enlightenment thought in the early modern era. Such massive transformations as disestablishment, secularization in all its complexities, disenchantment of reality, rationalized approaches to work and other human activities, and revolutions in technology, politics, economics, intellectual life, culture, and in all human relationships were parts of more general Western cultural trends, even if they took distinctive forms in America. Moreover, Americans did not invent universities, even if they reshaped them in their own image. Higher education in the United States was directly influenced by English, Scottish, and German models, which in turn were shaped by the impact of all the overwhelming forces for change in those countries. Nonetheless, if we keep this larger picture in mind, it is possible to see how those forces, as well as particular European models, were refracted though the American experience.

As should be apparent by now, the way in which this story is told is influenced significantly by my own point of view. Since historians when they are candid admit their books are in part autobiographies, I have long thought it appropriate for authors to identify their own points of view, so that readers may take them into account. I am also now pleased to see that, thanks in part to feminist scholars, this has become more customary practice. My point of view is that of a fairly traditional Protestant of the Reformed theological heritage. One of the features of that heritage is that it has valued education that relates faith to one's scholarship. Particularly important is that beliefs about God, God's creation, and God's will and provision for humans should have impact on scholarship not just in theology, but also in considering other dimensions of human thought and relationships. In my own experience I have seen the possibilities for such scholarship demonstrated, often in intellectually impressive ways, particularly at Calvin College where I taught for many years and also among other colleagues, especially in American religious history, who share such convictions.[3] Yet it is also apparent that such viewpoints, no matter what their academic credentials, are seldom given a hearing in American academic life. Most American scholars hardly know that such serious traditional faith-related academic enterprise still persists, or if they do, they write it off as obscurantist. The present study then arises from my puzzlement as to how the dominant American academic life came to be defined in a way that such viewpoints, including their counterparts in other Christian or other religious heritages, have been largely excluded.

Since it is nowhere written in stone that the highest sort of human intellectual activity must exclude religious perspectives, it is helpful, I think, to consider how it came to pass that so many academics believe that such exclusions are part of the definition of their task. Such beliefs are of relatively recent origin. In America they are constructions largely of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although their roots can be traced further back and to European antecedents. The evaluative question that this historical analysis should raise is, given that many of the original reasons for these beliefs are no longer widely compelling, is it

not time to reconsider the rules that shape the most respected academic communities?

One point that I find needs to be underscored is that this book is not a lament for a lost golden age when Christians ruled America and its educational institutions. Rather, if anything, it is a critique of that old regime. Particularly, it critically analyzes the Protestant heritage to which I am closest, the Reformed (such as Congregationalists and Presbyterians), who long set the standards for dominant American education. Nonetheless, this analysis is not first of all a critique of any particular individuals or groups so much as an attempt to understand American tendencies toward cultural homogenization and uniformity with respect to this issue. Those from Protestant heritages, notably the Reformed, who aspired to dominate the culture, are partly responsible for those tendencies. At the same time college and university leaders were responding to broader cultural forces and many legitimate demands. So rather than finding many culprits, what we typically find are unintended consequences of decisions that in their day seemed largely laudable, or at least unavoidable. The evaluative question is whether the unintended consequences regarding religion are desirable. Particularly, in a just society might there not be more room for the free exercise of religion in relation to higher learning?

Now that I have so explicitly identified my evaluative concerns, there is a danger that readers may conclude that what follows is little more than historical partisanship. However, as many historians who do not say much about their own points of view have demonstrated, it is perfectly possible to have strong evaluative interests in a subject and yet treat it fairly and with a degree of detachment. A large part of my motive is to provide a narrative that will illuminate the relationship of dominant American academia to American religion. Moreover, I have attempted to address wider audiences that include many points of view different from mine. My hope is that my somewhat unusual perspective has led me to raise a set of questions sufficiently novel for a wide range of observers to find them intriguing. So while I write from an acknowledged point of view, I have also attempted to tell a story that is fair enough to the evidence and to all parties concerned to be illuminating to others whose interests are very different from my own.

Notes

1. Often in this volume I use the term "liberal Protestantism" rather loosely as a shorthand for the leadership in the major American denominations (such as American Baptist (Northern Baptist), United Methodist, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., United Church of Christ (including earlier Congregational), Episcopal, Disciples of Christ, some Lutherans, and others associated with the Federal Council of Churches and its successor, the National Council of Churches. Although there were many varieties of viewpoints among and within these groups,

the leadership was "liberal" at least in the sense of being theologically inclusive and tolerant. Often leaders from these groups in university education were themselves liberal in theology, though there again there would be many exceptions. Sometimes I refer to these groups synonymously as "mainline Protestants." "Evangelical" also has a number of legitimate meanings. I use it here to refer to Protestant traditions that place a strong emphasis on the authority of the Bible as a reliable historical record of God's saving work centering in Christ and that have at least sympathy for revivalist emphasis on conversion.

2. This observation roughly follows the argument of David Martin that the character of a country's disestablishment will parallel the character of its former establishment. *General Theory of Secularization* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978).

3. I have surveyed both the strengths and the weaknesses of traditional Protestant scholarship in "The State of Evangelical Scholarship," *Christian Scholar's Review* 17 (June 1988), 347–60.

EXHIBIT E4

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

How It Runs

Where It Is Going

by JACQUES BARZUN

1817

HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS

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Introductory

I admit that Plato's world was not ours, that his scorn of trade and handicraft is fantastic, that he had no conception of a great industrial community such as that of the United States, and that such a community must and will shape its education to suit its own needs. If the usual education handed down to it from the past does not suit it, it will certainly before long drop this and try another.

—MATTHEW ARNOLD

The society of a university may embrace many groups within the state who possess capacity and energy for the serious pursuit of knowledge. . . . It thus becomes "an instrument of the people," placing its resources at the disposal of all members of the state who need its aid.

—J. J. FINDLAY

The North American university is unlike any other. Its structure, management, sources of support, relation to Church and State, and responsibility to the public are unique and set it apart from all other types—English, Continental, or South American. As for the one element that universities share all over the world—teachers and students—it is, despite appearances, less homogeneous in interest and purpose than it used to be, hence cannot be relied on to give a uniform character and destiny to culturally diverse institutions.

In the United States that character and destiny are now a subject of public and private discussion as they never were before, and the reason is obvious. During the past twenty years the leading universities of the country have changed markedly in form and function, carrying with them—part way or altogether—the eighteen hundred other establishments called colleges and universities. All tend to suffer from similar and unexampled difficulties. They spend huge sums and are desperately poor; their students attack them; their neighbors hate them, their faculties are restless; and the public, critical of their rising fees and restricted enrollments, keeps making more and more peremptory demands upon them. The universities are expected, among other things, to turn out scientists and engineers, foster international understanding, provide a home for the arts, satisfy divergent tastes in architecture and sexual morals, cure cancer, recast the penal code, and train equally for the professions and for a life of cultured contentment in the Coming Era of Leisure.

One may be tempted to shrug off these fierce claims as part of the mid-century madness. But they are pressed just the same, and the university must somehow meet them, on pain of being reminded that it lives on charity. There it sits, doors open, overcrowded in city or country, and bound to perform from day to day the miracle of juggling deficits and coaxing donors, of soothing alumni and keeping its scholars faithful, while trying also to outlive the picket lines, sit-ins, teach-ins, and hot or cold articles in the local press.

Not all these miseries, it is true, bedevil all colleges and universities all the time. But the fact remains that the university as an institution has become the object of an endless domestic guerrilla, part organized, part fortuitous. It is perhaps time that this institution, which is still much loved and respected, even by its impatient clients, should be better understood. The subject is complex and variable, but not beyond comprehension. Why, then, is it so poorly known?

To begin with, there are in the country many overlapping kinds

of universities, not equally besought or beset. There are private and public universities (and hybrids like the land-grant colleges); there are new and old, state and municipal, secular and church-governed, urban and rural universities; there are four-year colleges that content themselves with undergraduate instruction and others that venture to give higher degrees in certain subjects; and all these exist side by side with the many colleges and universities in name only—institutions of lesser scope relabeled in the general excitement with some loftier title. This is what we should expect as a result of rapid expansion and limitless answerability, coupled with widespread confusion as to what a university is and can do.

The things that interest newspaper readers about universities besides athletics—the scientific discoveries, art exhibits, "studies" on human and social woes; the new buildings, fund-raising campaigns, and unsatisfactory admissions policies—are but external products. The public knows little, and perhaps cares not at all, about the vast apparatus of men and machines, rules of law and of thumb, duties and ambitions that lie below the externals and that are, like our national culture, in a perpetual state of flux. Yet, without an informed view of this heaving organism, much that affects the national culture no less than the university must remain a mystery.

The new functions it has taken on and the methods it has improvised in a decade-and-a-half have torn apart the fabric of the former single-minded, easily defined American university. A big corporation has replaced the once self-centered company of scholars and has thereby put itself at the mercy of many publics, unknown to one another and contradictory in their demands. It is not surprising that the newspaper reader, like the reporter who supplies him with fragmentary facts, is bewildered.

Indeed, the place is not always clearly seen by those within, so diverse are its activities and changeable its conditions of life. The internal stresses and strains are of course matters of gossip on the campus, but their cause is often a puzzle: Why do we do *this?*—is it the trustees? Why can't we do *that?*—doesn't the administration

understand? Why weren't we told?—after all, *we* are the university. Faculty, student body, administration all suffer from a lack of mutual comprehension—and there are times when the lack seems irremediable.

The point is not that idle curiosity remains unsatisfied but that the missing information is essential to right action, individual and corporate. Both the need and the lack are new, as a simple contrast will make clear. Barely twenty years ago the workings of a large university such as Columbia could be sketched in a few strokes. Though the university already comprised a dozen schools, and its student body and faculty matched in size their largest counterparts, its administration presented a spectacle of endearing simplicity. The president, the secretary, a few deans (fewer than there were schools and largely unassisted by subdeans), together with half a dozen understaffed clerical and business offices, kept the show going. The innocence of those days appears from the fact that sixty-seven persons reported to the president—whenever they felt they wanted to. Under a set of statutes quite properly general, each unit or department (there were twenty-eight departments of arts and science) worked by precedent. Lacking any common procedures in written form or any table of organization at any level, a wide diversity reigned, which furnished lunch-table conversation of endless interest. Each group knew it was impossible to carry on teaching and scholarship in any other way than its own, and marveled at the other groups' ability to do the impossible.

Each department was led by a senior member designated "executive officer," lest the title of chairman suggest rules of order. With or without his colleagues' advice he did his best for his little republic under the unpredictable but rare and usually benevolent directions of the president. Privileges or their absence rested upon some bargain made or not made in the dim past. Such discrepancies were accounted for by the different needs of different subject-matters—vastly different, for example, like French and Italian, or like Physics and Chemistry—differences deemed sufficient to explain why, in one or the other department, leaves granted were more frequent or telephones more numerous.

About this same time (the mid-forties), the budget of the university consisted almost entirely of academic salaries, books and supplies, and maintenance costs. The president was supposedly in charge of its preparation, but by statute and in practice he was head of the educational sector only; the treasurer had parallel powers and direct access to the trustees. But conflicts did not arise—or they were kept down. At any rate, it was believed that all the financial affairs of the university were settled at the president's Saturday lunch with the treasurer. Unfortunately, toward the end of that era, despite good intentions on both sides, it often happened that the budget for business affairs was passed before the educational estimates were in hand. The outcome was that education had to make do with what was left, having had no chance to question or review the business side's claims upon the available resources.

These conditions appear in retrospect more alarming than they were, and this is one measure of the distance we have traveled in less than twenty years. Today no university could last a week under such a regime. And the reason why the old order spelled tolerable diversity rather than mad anarchy is that the demands upon the institution were fewer and gentler. There was more time; the interests of the individual as well as of the corporation were less momentous; errors and omissions were more easily repaired; the regularity that was absent from the organization was present in the mores, in the outlook of its members, and in their private circumstances. In short, Columbia University, despite its relative massiveness and reputed riches, was still an enterprise capable of being grasped and run by one man.* The president could deal offhand with seventy or seven hundred people and take care of their infrequent wants, easily knowing what had gone before and

* The changed meaning of "large scale" can be gauged by recalling how John Jay Chapman interpreted the advent of President Eliot at Harvard a hundred years ago: "The circumstances required the construction of a one-man machine. . . . This is the only way in which executive business on a large scale can be done quickly. . . . On the other hand, . . . a true University always rests upon the wills of many divergent-minded old gentlemen, who refuse to be disturbed, but who growl in their kennels."—J. J. Chapman, *Selected Writings*, ed. J. Barzun, New York, 1957, 213.

what he was doing now, to use or not as a precedent the next time.*

Today, the word "multiversity" has gained currency as a description of the changed reality, and it strongly hints that no group of men can do all that is attempted at our universities and still maintain the cohesion that makes an institution.

That point is still to be proved. Meanwhile the situation is rich in paradoxes. The American university has upheaved itself to "catch up" and "modernize," words that mean: has ceased to be a sheltered spot for study only; has come into the market place and answered the cries for help uttered by government, industry, and the general public; has busily pursued the enthusiasms of our utopian leaders of thought, both private patrons and big foundations; has served the country by carrying on research for national goals; has, finally, recognized social needs by undertaking to teach the quite young, the middle-aged, the disabled, the deprived, the misdirected, and the maladjusted.

In this great effort it has been encouraged with money and fair words. But despite this eagerness to help and this quick adaptation to new duties, the university is now receiving the harshest criticisms it has ever had to endure. Never so trusted, never so challenged. Government (both the legislative and the executive branch) is suspicious of its management of research. Foundations accuse it of conservatism and inability to change. Students who attend it regard it as another establishment to be brought down by violence and revolutionized. Benefactors and paying customers shake their heads over rising costs and low productivity. And inside the house the scholars, who repeat that *they* are the university, complain of the work and the pay like wage earners, while declaring that their allegiance is not to the particular place but to their subject of specialization, their "discipline."

It may be that these diverse remonstrances are the sign of a deep attachment, that the critics are only dissembling their love,

* Until the fifties the presidential files for any one year fitted readily into three drawers. By 1956–57, one year filled up fifteen drawers, and the volume has kept multiplying annually ever since.

which will work its legendary miracle if only we give it time. But whatever the future may hold, it is clear that both the anxious state of the American university and its altered life call for immediate attention. The dangers are clear and present—bankruptcy, paralysis, futility.

The causes of disaster have developed with a fatal logic since the Second World War. The new university emerged then as the by-product of its own war effort. It was the Manhattan Project, the V-12 Program, the GI Bill of Rights, following close upon the participation of the academic community in the New Deal, that catapulted the university into its present headlong rush. To that momentum was added, after the war, the impetus of a world power that must continue to mobilize academic men for global advice and activity.

The war, then, is the event that divides past from present in what concerns us here. It was at that time, in 1945, that I published under the title *Teacher in America* an account of university working as it was then. The book was based on a tour of inquiry that I had been asked to make for the guidance of Columbia College in restoring the civilian curriculum. The university was still a traditional institution, the handiwork of a brilliant empire builder in the classical manner, Nicholas Murray Butler. Still in the saddle, "Nicholas Miraculous" had dominated the scene since 1902, having directed all things himself like a virtuoso conductor, without crisis or rebellions.* But by the close of his reign the dislocation caused by war and the drift due to the slackening of his direct control created a need for new plans and a new mode of administration. If the university was to maintain its rank it must be reorganized.

What is to be discussed later makes it relevant here to say a

* So regular had the lack of system become at the end of Butler's time that he could rely on his docile deans and coast as it were by gravity. The departments were similarly inclined. Even when he appointed a full professor without consulting anyone, the growling in the kennels was localized and brief. Today such an act would blow a president sky-high and furnish the papers with congenial matter for weeks.

word about the reasons that moved a thereupto blameless member of the institution such as myself to give up for a time his chosen work and submit to a sentence of hard labor—the long hours and grueling conditions of the executive life, coupled as it is with the overt pity and envious disdain of one's colleagues. The decisive reasons in my case were my long attachment to the university—thirty-two years as student and teacher—and the knowledge that its indispensable modernizing was to be carried out under the direction of a new president, who from the beginning conceived his task in the terms just stated, and who chose his associates because they shared his sense of urgency and his view of what needed to be done. Thoroughgoing reorganization should indeed have begun on Dr. Butler's retirement, but it was not until 1953, after two interim presidencies, that the election of Grayson Kirk as fourteenth president since 1754 and of Dr. John Allen Krout as vice-president gave hope of change.

Even then, another year had to elapse, during which all available energies were bent upon the Bicentennial Celebration of 1954–55. Systematic work was thus postponed until the autumn of the latter year, which was when I joined the administration as dean of the graduate faculties. About the same time, the president appointed a faculty committee to examine the state of the university and recommend changes. The report, published after wide discussion in 1957, and known as the Macmahon Report, provided a chart of the changes deemed desirable in the work of instruction and research. One of the recommendations was the creation of the post of Dean of Faculties, to which I was named in 1958 with the added title of Provost—a term whose meaning will appear in the sequel.

The Dean of Faculties was to provide a unifying force in the work of instruction and research, such as is commonly expected elsewhere from the Academic Vice-President; but it was clear from the outset that few if any of the goals defined by the faculty committee could be reached without recasting or strengthening every administrative agency, codifying procedures, and devising many

new ones. This reshaping of the structure while carrying on the daily operations was necessarily a cooperative effort, in which not merely the president and his immediate aides, but the deans of the sixteen schools, the directors of all the institutes and centers, and the chairmen of the forty departments must take part, often changing their long-rooted practices and helping their subordinates to follow suit.

All changes, moreover, must commend themselves to those directly affected, the faculty and students, which meant consultation and discussion—yet not without the tactful imposition of limits if the new machinery was to be in motion before the end of the century. The shift must somehow be made from one-man fitful authority to delegation-with-consensus. Freedom must be salvaged out of the previous lack of system without replacing the anarchy of laisser-faire by that of bad bureaucracy.

Add to this overhaul the need to find and train a much enlarged corps of second-line administrators and to develop ways of adapting all new methods to continually changing requirements—whether imposed by Washington or by the march of mind—and it will not seem that the time taken for bringing order to one large university was excessive; rather, it was surprisingly brief. When I resigned my administrative duties in the spring of 1967, twelve years had gone into filling the outline of the new American university. Not every comparable institution had suffered the long interregnum that put Columbia administratively at a disadvantage in the early fifties, but what had to be done there amounts to a comprehensive agenda of what has had to be done elsewhere or is being done wherever expansion and modernization are in progress. The summary of this effort as I saw it should furnish at once a sketch of the recent upheaval in our American system and a bird's-eye view of the aims, organization, and turmoil that characterize our leading universities today.

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To
BREWSTER GHISELIN
who soon informed me of the academic life
and always managed to convey the notion
that it was compatible with excitement.

PREFACE

THE MOST STRIKING THING about the American university in its formative period is the diversity of mind shown by the men who spurred its development. Here lies the excitement of their story. Those who participated in the academic life of the late nineteenth century displayed sharply dissonant attitudes. Their outlook offered no smooth consensus, despite the eventual efforts of an official leadership to create one. Instead, theirs was an arena of continual dispute, of spirited conflicts over deeply held ideas, of partisan alignments and sharp individual thrusts, which gentlemanly loyalties might soften but could never wholly subdue. Although by the end of the century one can properly speak of "the" university, characterized by a particular structure, not even a powerful trend toward uniformity of procedure could obliterate the profound differences of opinion which subdivided the academic population.

Academic man in America, as a single, stock conception, disappears under the gaze which seeks to inspect him. Unfortunately the depth of academic disagreement in the decades after the Civil War has often been minimized. On the one hand, the fragmentation of the total picture into local chronicles of individual campuses has tended to obscure the broader issues which divided academic men from one another. Although it is undeniable that Cornell, Harvard, and Columbia, for instance, each carried peculiar loyalties and traditions, these ties seldom coincide with the more basic sources of academic tension. When one sees these several universities as comprising *an* institution rather than a series of separate enterprises, when one discovers their spokesmen addressing a national academic audience beyond their own particular flock, their disagreements take on an entirely new aspect. On the other hand, general treatments of American higher education have tended to go to an opposite extreme. Seeking comprehensiveness, these histories have used very broad analytical units, with little room

to explore, for example, the plurality of interests to be found within faculty circles. The more penetrating local studies, the better summaries of the development of higher education, have provided an indispensable wealth of information concerning the American academic establishment. But they have both been hampered by their neglect of middle-range groupings—broader in scope than the individual campus, narrower than "the faculty" as a whole.

The two most important types of academic conflict in the late nineteenth century were over the basic purpose of the new university and over the kind and degree of control to be exerted by the institution's leadership. The first of these issues was dominant from the Civil War until about 1890. In this earlier period one's educational philosophy served as a major focus for one's academic allegiance. Arguments tended to center upon definitions of the proper nature and function of the university and were maintained in fairly abstract terms. Then, beginning in the nineties, the emphasis of dispute shifted to a concern over academic administration, as factions appeared in response to the tightening executive policies of the institution. The battles which determined the fundamental direction of American higher education were fought first along the lines of competing academic goals, then over questions of academic command. Conflicts of other kinds should not be ignored; some of them will receive considerable prominence during the analysis that follows. But the other conflicts tended to involve competition among like parties, so that it made far less difference who gained victory as a result of them.

This study is therefore divided into two parts. The first considers in turn each of the principal academic philosophies which vied for dominance of higher learning in the United States during the decades after 1865. Interspersed among the accounts of these philosophies are brief analyses of some of the individual leaders who were more or less associated with each of them. The second part of the study, largely devoted to developments after 1890, describes the academic structure which came into being, the younger men who took command of it, and its effect on a variety of professorial temperaments. Here again brief discussions of particular leading figures have been used to illustrate the general themes.

The two basic types of cleavage within the developing American university, as described in the two parts of this study, require analysis by different methods: those of intellectual history in the first case and an informal version of structural-functional analysis in the second. Unhappily these avenues of approach still carry with them the prejudicial

burden of the humanities, on the one hand, and of the social sciences, on the other; they are more often seen as rivals than as allies in the explanation of a given set of events. Formal ideas, which show man at his most dignified, have been emphasized by academic conservatives, including many historians, whereas non-volitional behavior of the sort that often shapes institutions has been seized by sociologists. In an account of men who thought abstractly, but only for portions of each day, both of these approaches must be granted legitimacy. The whole range of the human mind begs recognition—deep-seated impulse as well as polite articulation. Therefore the university must be understood as a magnet for the emotions, not alone as a project of conscious definition.

This study is an exploration of the connections between a variety of thoughtful men and the institution which sustained them. It tries to define what the officers of the new university wanted it to become and then to appraise, by way of at least partial contrast, what it did become. It is concerned not with the learning of the late nineteenth century but with the thinking about its institutions of learning. Again, it is not an administrative history as that phrase is usually understood, although in part it is a history of attitudes toward administration. And it is centered upon the academic profession, not upon the keenest or most famous professorial minds of the age except as they showed an interest in the problems of the academic life. These are some of the broad limits of the inquiry. Other important related concerns are also beyond its scope. It cannot provide detailed narratives of the development of the important individual institutions. Nor can it concern itself with the academic disciplines, most of which would require a volume of at least this size if they were to be treated without disrespect. In addition, I have had largely to bypass the fascinating but quite distinct universe of undergraduate life. A brief discussion of student behavior appears in one of the later chapters, but it is intended only to show the effects of students' values upon the institution as a whole. Finally, these pages cannot explore non-academic opinion about the university. (Here also belong the views of university trustees.) This is a study of the full-time participants in an institution, and although it includes an account of their responses to public sentiment, it cannot deal with the origins of mass attitudes.

Yet in another sense the relation between the university and American society has indeed been my central concern. This relation would seem to be a highly puzzling one, marked by the deepest contradictions. The university has been a phenomenal success. Some people

have even speculated that, in our present age of enormous emphasis on skill, the university may soon become as characteristic an institution in America as the church was three hundred years ago. On the other hand, ever since the late nineteenth century the better university campuses have maintained the character of oases, sharply set off from the surrounding society in many of their fundamental qualities and frequently the objects of deep-seated suspicion. In this book I have tried to show how the American university developed in such a way that it could inspire, with equal accuracy, both these opposing definitions of its role.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THIS STUDY was originally prepared as a doctoral dissertation in history at the University of California, Berkeley. (The thesis version, which has the same title, is considerably longer, both in text and documentation, and may be consulted at the University of California Library or on microfilm). The debt of gratitude which I owe to my adviser, Professor Henry F. May, cannot be measured; I thank him not only for extended criticism and counsel but also for the basic encouragement and stimulation which he gave from beginning to end. For two years, from 1959 until completing the thesis in 1961, I was enabled to give the project all my time as the result of generous fellowship grants from the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Helpful readings and criticisms of the entire original manuscript were supplied by Fred Matthews and Professors Richard J. Storr and Walter P. Metzger; I am further thankful to Professor Storr for a long series of conversations which have greatly helped me to see my way. At a later stage the whole manuscript was read by William Freehling, whose stylistic advice was invaluable. Parts of the study received useful criticism at various points from Constance Veysey Apperman, Vida L. Greenberg, Gerald Trett, Robert Church, D. R. Fox, and Professors A. Hunter Dupree, Hugh Hawkins, Fritz K. Ringer, Richard Hofstadter, and Eric L. McKitrick, whose shrewd suggestions and steadfast encouragement again establish a very special debt. All these kind readers have saved me from blunders, but their names should not be invoked in blame.

I spent some time at the archives of a dozen institutions. Everywhere the archivists and their staffs supplied indispensable aid, often beyond the call of duty. I wish very much to thank all these helpful people at the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Chicago, the University of Wisconsin, the Wisconsin State Historical Society, the Johns Hopkins University, Princeton University, the

Clark University Library, Harvard University (including both the university archives and the Houghton Library), the Boston Public Library, Yale University, Columbia University, Cornell University, the University of Michigan, Stanford University, and the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. For enabling me to use certain manuscript materials I must thank Clifford K. Shipton and the Harvard Corporation, Barrett Wendell (the son of "my" Barrett Wendell), and Dr. John A. Krout, then vice-president of Columbia University. Some of the discussion of Woodrow Wilson in chapter 4 appeared in a rather different form in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March, 1963.

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INTRODUCTION
THE RISE OF ACADEMIC REFORM

TO THE MEN who experienced it, the time around 1870 seemed to mark "almost the Anno Domini of educational history" in the United States.[1] Watching the rapid flow of events with a skeptic's eye, President Noah Porter of Yale commented upon American higher education in 1871:

> Never, perhaps, did this subject occupy the thoughts of so many persons and occupy them so earnestly. It certainly never excited more active controversy, or provoked more various or confident criticism, or was subjected to a greater variety of experiments than with us in these passing years. The remark is not infrequently made that college and university education are not merely agitated by reforms; they are rather convulsed by a revolution,—so unsettled are the minds of many who control public opinion, so sharp is the criticism of real or imagined defects in the old methods and studies, and so determined is the demand for sweeping and fundamental changes.[2]

Not everyone has agreed with Porter in invoking the term "revolution" to describe the movement which produced the American university in the decades after the Civil War. Again and again academic reformers were to insist that they believed in gradual change, that they sought to balance the "progressive" against the "conservative." Then, too, while enrollments in universities appeared to soar by the turn of the century,

[1] G. S. Hall, "Phi Beta Kappa Oration," *The Brunonian*, N. S., XXV (1891), 110.

[2] Noah Porter, "Inaugural Address," in *Addresses at the Inauguration of Professor Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D., as President of Yale College, Wednesday, October 11, 1871* (New York, 1871), p. 27.

producing an unprecedented impression of expansion, the percentage of Americans of college age attending college rose only from 4.01 to 4.84 in the decade from 1900 to 1910. These figures would not have made an exciting graph of business sales during a comparable span.

Yet the fact remains that the American university of 1900 was all but unrecognizable in comparison with the college of 1860. Judged by almost any index, the very nature of the higher learning in the United States had been transformed. Intellectually, purposes were being nurtured of which the mid-nineteenth-century academic custodian had had only an alarming premonition. The complexity of the university made the former college seem a boys' school in contrast. And a profession, pridefully jealous of its status, had come into being in the interim, replacing what had been a gentlemanly amateurism of spirit. The decades after 1865 thus saw a definite process of metamorphosis, operating on many levels, occur within what was an already venerable corner of American life. Despite significant elements of continuity in the change, the college scene before 1865 seems archaic indeed when set against the new and rapidly working forces of academic reform.

These new conditions were several. Given labels, the most important of them might be termed Europhilic discontent, available national wealth, and immediate alarm over declining college influence. The university is, first of all, the distinctive creation of western Europe. Universities have eventually appeared in other parts of the world, in the United States as in India or Japan, as a result of the outward spread of European patterns of cultural activity. This fact underlies the transformation of American higher education in the late nineteenth century. An intellectual leadership had come into being in the United States which yearned for an equality with that of Europe, even while it cherished a certain posture of independence from foreign standards. This leadership fervently sought national progress, but it was likely to cast its glance eastward across the Atlantic whenever improvement needed specific definition. Increasingly as the nineteenth century advanced, the moral, religious, and political scruples which had operated as powerful deterrents to the adoption of recent European intellectual forms grew weaker among an educated minority of Americans. This leadership, separating itself from orthodox evangelical piety and continuing to reject Jacksonian vulgarity, became receptive to European scientific and educational developments which might offer a counterweight to the cruder tendencies manifested in the surrounding society. At the same time, the lack of a suitable focus for their talents, the absence of a vehicle to command, left men of this educated stamp restless and discontented. Looking at Europe, they saw what they

needed. The university, hallowed yet newly thriving on the Continent, could uniquely satisfy the social idealism, the personal ambition, and the prideful American urge to equal the best of European achievements which these men possessed.

From this perspective it is by no means startling that the university took root in the United States during the several decades after 1865. But such aspirations might have come to nothing had they not received assistance of more tangible sorts. To begin with, there is the blunt fact of the surplus capital that was newly available. Earlier efforts at innovation in the field of American college education had proved abortive in large part simply because there had not been money to sustain them. American colleges and universities have always been basically dependent upon philanthropy, whether public or private. In the post–Civil War years, the university could not have developed without the Cornells, Hopkinses, and Rockefellers, without the taxpayers of Michigan and Wisconsin.

Wealth, again, was a necessary precondition but not a sufficient cause for the academic change which took place. The same money may buy castles as easily as classrooms. For some of it to be directed toward academic reform, further incentives were required. Education had to be warmly regarded by at least a few men of surplus means. It is easy to exaggerate the passion for education, especially in its higher reaches, that was held by Americans during the mid-nineteenth century. Practical men of that period often showed contempt for "useless" books. One can too easily forget that both of the prominent academic donors of the period before 1890, Ezra Cornell and Johns Hopkins, were Quakers motivated by an uncommon humanitarianism; only after that year would benefactions toward higher learning become widely fashionable. Yet the college did still manage to function as an important symbol of respectability. And the university, as an outgrowth of the college, promised to move higher education much closer to the ways of thinking shared by the practical and the wealthy. Academic reform thus held out the hope of salvaging a somewhat quaint ministerial survival and transforming it into an agency that would cater to newer, secular desires. Slowly at first, but then with increasing speed, education began to be identified with material success, bringing it into the notice of those whose financial backing was necessary for its widespread growth. University development in the United States before 1890 fed on a mere trickle from the nation's wealth, but that trickle was sufficient to register dramatic gains.

Neither wealth nor the temptation to match European achievements could have produced reform in American higher education had not the

existing colleges been in troubled circumstances. In fact, the American college, with more than two centuries of history already behind it, now found itself in deepening difficulty. Ever since the Jacksonian period, college enrollments had remained static amid a growing national population.[3] In the years after 1865 these discouraging figures drew more and more notice within academic circles. During the 1870's attendance at twenty of the "oldest leading colleges" rose only 3.5 per cent, while the nation's population soared 23 per cent. In 1885 less than a quarter of all American congressmen were college graduates, as compared with 38 per cent ten years earlier. "In all parts of the country," Charles Kendall Adams of Michigan declared, "the sad fact stares us in the face that the training which has long been considered essential to finished scholarship has been losing ground from year to year in the favor of the people."[4]

In one respect it could be said that the unfavorable statistics represented a false alarm. European immigration accounted for a substantial share of the national population growth. The immigrants were usually in no position to attend college, even when they were of the proper age. For the same reason, throughout the 1880's the ratio of those attending school to the total school-age population of the United States also fell. But of course this factor does not account for the total picture. Immigrants came in greater numbers after 1890, but college attendance began its steady climb upward around that date. To an important degree the static quality of American higher education reflected the changing tastes of the established population.

The college, with its classical course of training, had hitherto been a means of confirming one's respectable place in society. Now many young men—for example, the younger brothers of college graduates—for a time became convinced that sufficiently attractive rewards

[3] Several sets of statistics, though slightly disparate, agree in the main. See United States Commissioner of Education, *Report* (Washington, 1900), II, 1874 (hereafter cited as U.S. Com. Ed., *Report*); W. T. Harris, "The Use of Higher Education," *Educational Review*, XVI (1898), 161; Merritt Starr, *The Decline and Revival of Public Interest in College Education* (Chicago, 1893), p. 5; A. M. Comey, "Growth of Colleges in the United States," *Educational Review*, III (1892), 128, for a careful regional breakdown; G. H. Marx, "Some Trends in Higher Education," *Science*, XXIX (1909), 764–67.

[4] J. K. Newton, "A Criticism of the Classical Controversy," *Education*, V (1885), 497; C. K. Adams, "The Relations of Higher Education to National Prosperity," in C. S. Northup, W. C. Lane, and J. C. Schwab (eds.), *Representative Phi Beta Kappa Orations* (Boston, 1915), pp. 160–61.

were available to them by direct effort in business or in the professions. (The number of lawyers and doctors who had college degrees declined in the late nineteenth century.)[5] The large city also brought with it altered expectations. The highest conceivable prominence was no longer that of the small-town physician, lawyer, or minister. The prospect of a business career in the city lured many who otherwise would have been content as village clergymen. This kind of prospective student the college lost. As T. H. Safford, a professor at Williams, remarked in 1888: "The varied attractions of city life restrain intellectual tendencies in the minds of many boys, and the variety of careers which they see opening before their older schoolmates leads to a strong tendency to follow business rather than classical courses." The trustees of the University of Vermont pointed in the same direction in 1871 when they said the most important cause of a thirty-year drop in attendance was a growth in the mercantile spirit, consequent upon "our close connection by railroad and telegraph with our great cities."[6] Unless they changed, the colleges seemed destined to play an increasingly minor role in an urban, "materialistic" society.

The mid-nineteenth-century decline in college influence showed itself in non-statistical ways which are perhaps the most significant. Testimony throughout the fifties and sixties unanimously echoes the fact that the intangible prestige of the American college graduate was sinking.[7] When G. Stanley Hall, a Massachusetts farm boy, was admitted to Williams College in 1863, he attempted to conceal the fact

[5] E. G. Dexter, "Training for the Learned Professions," *Educational Review*, XXV (1903), 30–35; Cyrus Hamlin, *The American College and Its Economics* (Middlebury, Vt., 1885), p. 8.

[6] T. H. Safford, "Why Does the Number of Students in American Colleges Fail To Keep Pace with the Population?" *The Academy*, III (1888), 485; "Is the Higher Education Growing Unpopular?" *New York Teacher and American Educational Monthly*, VIII (1871), 35. For a similar assessment by F. A. P. Barnard, see Columbia College, *Annual Report of the President*, 1866, pp. 24–25.

[7] E.g., see Daniel Read, "The Educational Tendencies and Progress of the Past Thirty Years," National Education Association, *Proceedings*, 1858, p. 78 (hereafter cited as N.E.A., *Proc.*); S. P. Bates, "Liberal Education," *ibid.*, 1864, pp. 423–24. A Philadelphia schoolmaster reported in 1869: "The number of parents here who desire a collegiate education for their sons is surprisingly small." R. Chase to C. W. Eliot, Nov. 22, 1869 (CWE). (The locations of manuscript sources cited in the footnotes are given in an abbreviated letter code in parentheses at the end of each reference. For an explanation of the code, see the list of manuscript collections at the back of this volume.)

from his rural companions, "but it was found out and I was unmercifully jibed," he recalled.[8] This kind of incident reflected the uncertain social position of the educated man in a restless society. Colleges were identified with the elements that had dominated the population, particularly in New England, before the day of Jackson. American Bachelors of Art comprised "something of an educational aristocracy." Those who stood within the charmed circle might talk easily of the "inherent respectability" of classical training. But they formed a minority which was becoming less honored within the nation at large.[9] As for the college professor, he shared in the esteem common to members of the eastern aristocracy, but within those ranks his place was near the bottom. He lacked the comfort of a well-marked professional position akin to the lawyer's or the minister's. He might have to wait for years until a chair became vacant, and then he was likely to be appointed as a result of casual social contacts (or religious loyalty), rather than in recognition of academic competence. As late as 1870 William Graham Sumner complained: "There is no such thing yet at Yale as an academical *career*. There is no course marked out for a man who feels called to this work, and desires to pursue it."[10] Once given an appointment, a professor almost required independent means to supplement his nominal salary. His duties were monotonous: the hearing and grading of memorized recitations, usually in the ancient languages or mathematics.[11] Harvard's President Eliot remarked at his inaugural in 1869: "It is very hard to find competent professors for the University. Very few Americans of eminent ability are attracted to this profession. The pay

[8] G. S. Hall, *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist* (New York, 1923), p. 156.

[9] W. J. Tucker, *My Generation* (Boston, 1919), p. 34; Tayler Lewis, "Classical Study," University of the State of New York, *Annual Report of the Regents*, 1872, p. 530 (hereafter cited as U.N.Y., *Report*).

[10] [W. G. Sumner], "The 'Ways and Means' for Our Colleges," *The Nation*, XI (1870), 152. See also J. B. Angell, *Selected Addresses* (New York, 1912), p. 16; Ephraim Emerton, *Learning and Living* (Cambridge, Mass., 1921), pp. 9–10; E. G. Sihler, *From Maumee to Thames and Tiber* (New York, 1930), pp. 114–15. David Starr Jordan, after a brilliant record at Cornell, was reduced to teaching high school in Indianapolis.

[11] Even payment of promised salaries was sometimes undependable. See the pitiful letter of Noah Porter to T. D. Woolsey, Dec. 24, 1867 (WF). C. W. Eliot to G. J. Brush, June 24, 1869 (BF), speaks of professors as being able to afford meat only three times a week. More of a description of the professor's duties in the old regime is given in the section, "The College as a Disciplinary Citadel," in chapter 1.

has been too low, and there has been no gradual rise out of drudgery, such as may reasonably be expected in other learned callings."[12] Families of social prominence usually looked down upon the professor. Paid little, burdened by an unexciting routine, the professor of this period clung to the coat tails of the slowly sinking New England tradition.[13]

Many of the most prominent college presidents who held power in 1865 were old men, and in perhaps as many as nine cases out of ten such presidents were still recruited from the clergy. At Williams, Mark Hopkins, who had become president in 1836, held the reins until 1872. Theodore Dwight Woolsey, who had first instructed Yale students in 1823, was not to retire until 1871. William A. Stearns, who headed Amherst until 1876, had been an unusually pious youth at Harvard back in the 1820's. Such men as these reacted with caution to the challenge of the late sixties. Mark Hopkins spoke out plainly against academic expansion. "There is a false impression," he declared in 1872, "in regard to the benefit to undergraduates of the accumulation of materials and books, and of a large number of teachers." One of Hopkins' eulogists remarked: 'He was not . . . in haste to substitute a new text-book for an old one."[14] Stearns of Amherst was described by those who knew him as a moderate conservative in matters educational, political, and theological. Philosophically, Stearns rejected "the thick German fogs" in favor of Scottish common sense. Too much literary or intellectual content in the curriculum might, he feared, turn Amherst into "a nursery of pantheism." "Reverence for the aged, veneration for parents, for sacred institutions, for wisdom and goodness in character"

[12] Eliot's Inaugural, Oct. 19, 1869, in S. E. Morison (ed.), *The Development of Harvard University since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869–1929* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), p. lxxii (hereafter cited as Morison, *Harvard 1869–1929*). See also C. W. Eliot to C. E. Norton, Mar. 16, 1870 (H), and to G. J. Brush, June 24, 1869 (BF).

[13] See N. S. Shaler, *The Autobiography of Nathaniel Southgate Shaler* (Boston, 1909), p. 363; Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1931), p. 307. This shabby picture can be carried too far. In 1874 Charles Eliot Norton pleaded to be given a professorship, rather than a lectureship, at Harvard on the ground that the former "would give me a definite status in the community, and this to a man of my age, without recognised profession, is of importance." C. E. Norton to C. W. Eliot, Jan. 15, 1874 (CWE).

[14] Williams College, *Inauguration of Pres. P. A. Chadbourne, July 27, 1872* (Williamstown, Mass., 1872), p. 8; I. W. Andrews, "President Mark Hopkins," *Education*, VIII (1887), 119–20.

were among the qualities he would inculate in his students. As a teacher Stearns held aloof from his classes and was said to lack both enthusiasm and inspiration.[15]

Yale and Harvard then stood pre-eminent among colleges, and both their presidents were somewhat more alert than most. Yet it would be easy to exaggerate their relish for change. Woolsey of Yale had studied classical philology in Germany. But when he returned home he stressed the teaching of metaphysics, and, for this purpose, he used exclusively the English and Scottish philosophers, not Kant or Hegel. During the long Woolsey administration, emphasis upon science, history, and economics had declined at New Haven. And Woolsey's classroom manner could also be characterized as "chilly and forbidding."[16] President Thomas Hill of Harvard was a self-made man. This fact set him apart socially (he was once taken to task for removing his shoe in public to extract a pebble); perhaps it contributed to a certain open-mindedness on his part about educational innovations. Hill enjoyed drawing up grand abstract schemes that would encompass the whole of human knowledge. Nonetheless he made it plain that intellectual training "should be most carefully watched and guarded," so that Harvard youth might "keep the heart open for simple and refining pleasures." Colleges, he urged, must more carefully segregate liberal education from the taint of vocationalism. Hill's yearning for reform, which was unsupported by any vigor of personality, remained tepid. He was to resign on account of ill health in 1868.[17]

These were the men who led some of the major American colleges in 1865. Either they opposed change or they spoke of reform in vague, half-hearted terms. It is not surprising that the college has often been

[15] See W. S. Tyler, *William A. Stearns* (Springfield, Mass., 1877), pp. 33, 50–52, 59; B. G. Northrop, *Education Abroad, and Other Papers* (New York, 1873), p. 14; W. A. Stearns, "Inaugural Address," in *Discourses and Addresses at the Installation and Inauguration of the Rev. William A. Stearns, D.D., as President of Amherst College, and Pastor of the College Church* (Amherst, Mass., 1855), pp. 90, 96–102.

[16] J. C. Schwab, "The Yale College Curriculum, 1701–1901," *Educational Review*, XXII (1901), 8–11; A. R. Ferguson, *Edward Rowland Sill* (The Hague, 1955), p. 30.

[17] See W. G. Land, *Thomas Hill* (Cambridge, 1933); Thomas Hill, "The Powers To Be Educated," N.E.A., *Proc.*, 1863, pp. 347–48, 353; Thomas Hill, "Remarks on the Study of Didactics in Colleges," *ibid.*, 1864, pp. 433–35; Thomas Hill, *Integral Education* (Boston, 1859).

overlooked in an assessment of American conditions on the eve of Reconstruction. Most of its managers had been reared in the world of Fisher Ames and John Quincy Adams. For these men the Civil War may have resolved a set of troublesome, important political issues, but it offered no invitation to alter fixed beliefs about the fundamentals of society, religion, or learning. These presidents and their faculties comprised a very small group within a dynamic, unintellectual nation. They did not wish vulgarly to attract the public's attention. They minimized the declining support for their institutions by blaming transient particulars, local in nature: the disruption of the war, rivalries with their neighbors, financial troubles, the failings of secondary schools, factional discords, and higher entrance standards.[18] The only course of action which these men could urge was to hold on, perhaps making minor concessions, and hope that their institutions would be able to survive. These were tired men, and one suspects that they were less militant than the younger conservatives who replaced them at such campuses as Yale and Princeton a few years later.

The old college order was far more complex and somewhat more defensible than these few remarks can indicate. It attracted able partisans down through the 1880's, men whose reaction to the academic transformation around them will be worth an extended look. Under the banner of "mental discipline," a phrase which referred to the sharpening of young men's faculties through enforced contact with Greek and Latin grammar and mathematics, the old-time college sought to provide a four-year regime conductive to piety and strength of character. Unitarian Harvard, enduring doldrums which live in the pages of Henry Adams, was not characteristic of the old order, whose best moments required less sophistication for their appreciation. For ambitious village boys the old-time college had offered genuine satisfactions, even if few of these came directly from the curriculum. Before the Civil War hardly anyone had scoffed at the pleasures of a religious revival. Yet when this is said, it remains true that the old regime had entered a decadence made self-conscious ever since the Yale Report of 1828, when for the first time attacks upon academic orthodoxy had required an articulate answer. The American college had been a thriving institution in the eighteenth century; in the early nineteenth, it

[18] E.g., see *American Educational Monthly*, III (1866), 425; Jonas Viles, *The University of Missouri* (Columbia, Mo., 1939), pp. 162–63; College of New Jersey, "Report of the President to the Board of Trustees, Dec. 18, 1872," p. [1] (Princeton MSS; hereafter cited as C.N.J., "Pres. Report").

tended to become a bit artificial, despite the deceptive ease with which its managers had thus far maintained themselves in power.

In 1865, beneath the calm façade afforded by their aging presidents, several colleges harbored would-be leaders of a different and far more vital potential. These younger figures, as yet on the margins of academic life, were the heirs, direct or indirect, of a number of prewar efforts toward college reform which had already left behind them what their historian calls "a tradition of aspiration and experimentation." [19] Occasional Americans had been studying in Germany since 1816, and by the fifties considerable interest had developed concerning Continental universities, the German then being without doubt pre-eminent in the world. Henry P. Tappan, on assuming the presidency of the University of Michigan in 1852, had prematurely declared that the German institutions could serve as "literal" models for American higher education. (He moved too fast and was replaced by a docile clergyman.) Other prewar stirrings, such as those initiated by Francis Wayland at Brown in the forties, had emulated foreign ideas less directly but also tended toward a flexible, more departmentalized curriculum. Several colleges had briefly tried to offer graduate work. Carefully segregated "scientific schools" had been founded at Harvard and Yale, and these, unlike the other experiments, were taking root and incidentally nurturing several of the leading academic reformers of the generation to come.

The fifties and sixties marked the budding season for a new and discontented group of future American academic leaders. Jolts provided by newly released wealth and an awareness of static or declining college enrollment were to bring some of these reformers to power far more suddenly than they could have foreseen in 1865. The clergymen who still held control in that year were exiled from a number of prominent seats of learning during the following decade. That the reformers gained leverage so rapidly indicated several facts about the change that was taking place. First, it showed that even at its nadir, academic life was still sufficiently prominent in America to attract a remarkable group of potential chieftains with ideas about its improvement. Further, it demonstrated that the trustees of the existing institutions, more than a third of them clerical, sometimes preferred to risk experimentation rather than to continue in the unpromising ways of the

[19] R. J. Storr, *The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America* (Chicago, 1953), p. 129.

past. Since those older ways were firmly identified in everyone's mind with religious piety, and innovation with unsettling intellectual influences, the reform-minded trustees whose votes were essential in selecting new presidents had obviously shifted to a primary concern over educational rather than religious problems. Finally, once any one respectable institution moved in a new direction, others found themselves under a powerful compulsion to follow suit. The changes, if they meant anything, were bound to attract more students. Colleges which lagged behind for any reason, including religiously motivated traditionalism, had to face the threat of eventual starvation.[20]

Fear thus might often spur change. But in many quarters a more positive sense of intellectual urgency could be discerned. The 1860's will longer be remembered as the decade of Darwin's reception than as the time of growing panic in the colleges. Knowledge, particularly in the sciences, was begining rapidly to expand. No longer could the old curriculum even pretend to account for all major areas of fact, nor could it adequately explore the "laws" which men of that time believed could almost effortlessly be derived from fact. Europe offered exciting challenges to accepted ways of thought. Intellectual respectability demanded new academic forms.

Down into the sixties proposals for major academic reform in America had been regarded rather vaguely by their proponents and opponents alike. The word "university" was already much in use in discussion, and indeed a number of small colleges, especially those with public endowments, bore this name in their title. But the phrase lacked clear definition. According to one observer in 1860, the term meant nothing more specific than "an educational institution of great size, and which affords instruction of an advanced grade in all learning." [21] The then president of Harvard, Charles C. Felton, appears to have conceived of a university as an expanded country college with a somewhat larger library.[22]

[20] Thus James McCosh of Princeton, intellectually a militant conservative, warned the trustees in 1868 of "the necessity of having new chairs founded to meet the wants of the times. Unless this is secured without much longer delay we shall be outstripped by other Colleges." C.N.J., "Pres. Report," 1868, p. [1].

[21] "The University: Significance of the Term," *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, IX (1860), 49. See also Storr, *The Beginnings of Graduate Education*, pp. 130–32.

[22] C. C. Felton, "Characteristics of the American College," *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, IX (1860), 117.

From this primordial, scarcely thought-out vision of "the university" there appeared, in the period from 1865 to 1890, three much more specific conceptions. These centered, respectively, in the aim of practical public service, in the goal of abstract research on what was believed to be the pure German model, and finally in the attempt to diffuse standards of cultivated taste. (A fourth group of academic leaders, who will be examined first, continued in effect to say "no" to the university altogether.) The men who became identified with one or another of these postwar academic platforms will occupy our attention for the first part of this study. Yet at the outset it is important to realize the underlying power of the undifferentiated dream of "the university," which in a sense was to swallow up the followers of the more particular educational philosophies once again after the turn of the twentieth century. Like so many moving forces in American history, the simple urge toward "the university" in this unqualified sense did not lose power because it lacked concreteness. Before 1865 the dream of an American university standing on a par with those of Europe had been a vague but increasingly insistent urge. Again in the twentieth century, rhetoric about the university (with some notable exceptions) was to lean toward hazy generalities. Only for one generation, while the university was actually coming into existence, did clearer, more articulate lines of debate find widespread expression. Only for the approximate years of this study, and then only for some of its protagonists, did the American university generate what could be called a coherent intellectual history. Before that, the *college* had had such a history, closely bound to the history of American religion. Afterward, the university tended to lose itself among individual disciplines, and thinking about the institution as a whole retreated to the level of slogan.

None of the three particular conceptions of academic reform which appeared after 1865—those of service, research, or culture—was original in mid-nineteenth-century America. The goal of practical service, linked with congeniality toward applied science, was less European than the other two and has sometimes been acclaimed as the genuinely American contribution to educational theory (though utilitarian enthusiasm could be traced back at least to Francis Bacon). The idea that higher education should be attuned to the teaching of vocational skills could claim American ancestry in Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, but these had been cosmopolitan figures very much in touch with the European Enlightenment. The other two reforming ideals of the post-Civil War period were even more clearly borrowed from abroad. Enthusiasm for research came from Germany, although with

complications that will merit exploration. Finally, culture was perhaps the most Europhilic conception of all, deriving basically from British attitudes, with additional sustenance from Romantic Germany, the Renaissance, and classical civilization.

There is no reason to claim a native originality for the several late nineteenth-century conceptions of the American university when in fact such independence can easily be exaggerated. Educated Americans of this period could not afford to be without European influence. One of the most obvious yet unsung functions of the American university, especially in its formative years, was to feed ideas from the center of Western civilization into an area which still stood in great need of them. The danger was that European ideas, including those about the university, would too soon lose their force when they began to be applied throughout the vast American continent. Here it may be noted that American academic imitativeness would nearly always prove selective; scarcely any major university leader who came to power in the sixties or seventies wanted to import the whole of the German university without change. Indeed, such leaders often boasted reassuringly of how American their conceptions were—a fact which should not obscure their continued concern for the latest European developments.

Meanwhile, at home, the new American academic reformers would have to face a restless and for the most part ill-educated population.[23] The American public had little enthusiasm for the foreign, the abstract, or the esoteric. Yet some of this public must be tapped if enrollments were to expand. To win popular sentiment for a venture which by its nature had to be somewhat alien must have seemed a dishearteningly difficult task, especially in the period between the Civil War and about 1890. This was the time when industrial leaders liked to issue acid statements about the uselessness of higher education. In 1889 a banker attracted attention by his declaration that he would hire no college graduates anywhere in his office. Most publicized of all were Andrew Carnegie's ringing words of the same year:

> While the college student has been learning a little about the barbarous and petty squabbles of a far-distant past, or trying to master languages which are dead, such knowledge as seems adapted for life upon another planet than this as far as business

[23] Concerning non-academic sentiment toward the new universities, see L. R. Veysey, "The Emergence of the American University, 1865–1910" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1961), pp. 18–70, which contains a much fuller discussion of the points that follow.

affairs are concerned, the future captain of industry is hotly engaged in the school of experience, obtaining the very knowledge required for his future triumphs. . . . College education as it exists is fatal to success in that domain.[24]

Mistrust of the bookishness and cultivation which academic life symbolized was also to be found at all the less prosperous levels of the society: in textbooks for primary schools, among farmers and their spokesmen, and in the infrequent pronouncements of labor organizations on the subject.[25] A life of virility and action seemed irreconcilable with the higher learning. As William P. Atkinson observed: "The popular idea of a young scholar is that he should be a pale and bespectacled young man, very thin, and with a slight and interesting tendency to sentimentality and consumption. Parents send their weakly children to college; and it is supposed to be an ordinance of nature that a large proportion of what are called promising young persons should die young."[26]

The newer purposes of the university long failed to register in the public mind; when they did become clear, the gap between scholar and ordinary citizen might thereby grow wider instead of disappearing. The student always continued to be judged by his friends and relatives in terms of a material scale of prestige. In many communities a young man's decision to attend college was regarded as a "questionable experiment." All that his parents and neighbors usually asked—in these early years with skepticism—was: "Will he make more money, will he secure a better position in life, will he become more distinguished than if he had remained at home, and married young?"[27] In rural areas positive fear of the college long existed. A California newspaper reported in 1892 a belief "to a surprising and alarming extent" throughout the interior of the state that it was "worth a young man's soul to send him to the State University at Berkeley," where he would be surrounded "by an atmosphere entirely Godless, not to say vicious."[28]

[24] U.S. Com. Ed., *Report*, 1889–90, II, 1143. See also Allan Nevins, *The State Universities and Democracy* (Urbana, 1962), p. 35 n. 9.

[25] E.g., see R. M. Elson, "American Schoolbooks and 'Culture' in the Nineteenth Century," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (1959), 411–34.

[26] W. P. Atkinson, *On the Right Use of Books* (Boston, 1878), pp. 11–12.

[27] M. I. Swift, "A Lesson from Germany for the American Student," *New Englander and Yale Review*, XLV (1886), 721–22.

[28] Quoted in *Pacific Educational Journal*, VIII (1892), 102.

In the South, "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman promised to abolish the University of South Carolina during his gubernatorial campaign of 1891. It was in such an unfriendly climate as this that the American university initially had to make its way.

Signs existed, however, that educational promoters might lead the public from its fitful hostility by judicious pleading and maneuvering. These tactics, abetted by favorable political circumstances, had already been responsible for the passage of the Morrill Act of 1862. Under the terms of this act, the federal government offered aid to states which would support colleges whose curriculums included agricultural and mechanical instruction. Only potentially would these colleges be more than pretentious trade schools, but academic reformers with loftier intentions often secured control of them in their infancy and made them entering wedges for their own plans. The delicate process of gaining support was then repeated at the state legislatures, where sustenance had to be obtained for the publicly endowed institutions that were coming into being. Only very gradually and unevenly, and with frequent setbacks, was state support for higher education gained. In the early years victories were due less often to widespread public sympathy than to other, more particular motives. The Morrill Act provided a basic incentive; what the states could obtain for nothing, they were likely to take. Then the alumni of the state universities gradually grew to be powerful minorities within a number of legislatures; acting more from their own loyalty than from their constituents' wishes, these delegates frequently tipped the balance when appropriations were being considered. Finally, state pride was invoked once a neighboring state had acted vigorously. Despite these favorable tendencies, legislatures were always ready to interfere with or curtail the operations of state institutions (as, for example, at Michigan in 1877, when faculty salaries were reduced), and by 1900 only a handful of states had provided outstanding public universities, fit to be compared with the leading private establishments.

The would-be academic reformer also had to cope with a suspicious public in the form of well-defined pressure groups. Prominent among these were the proponents of the various organized religions, political factions of all persuasions, and, away from the eastern seaboard, agricultural societies such as the Grange. Religious leaders often resented the trend toward secularization augured by the university. They might even seek by legislative means to hamper a foundation which harbored alien styles of thought and which at the same time drained students from the local colleges operated by the denomination. Meanwhile,

politicians found a device for votes in anti-intellectual oratory. Grangers, for their part, demanded the teaching of agriculture rather than literature and succeeded in tampering with several state universities when their movement achieved power. Everywhere and at all times newspapers gleefully emphasized academic misdoings, real or imagined. The absence of a prayer on a public platform, as at the Johns Hopkins in 1876, might damage one's public relations for months or years ahead. So frightened of sectarian hostility to the new Cornell University was the governor of New York in 1868 that he backed out of a promised attendance at the opening exercises.

During the early years of the American university movement, until about 1890, academic efforts burgeoned largely in spite of the public, not as the result of popular acclaim. It was observed, for instance, that Johns Hopkins "came into existence unasked for and uncared for; and so must first create a demand and then supply it." Josiah Royce, writing from Berkeley in 1880, declared: "The public says very little about us, and knows, I fear, even less."[29] Academic and popular aspirations seemed rarely to meet. Even the advocates of a higher education dedicated to practical social service often revealed that they were not attuned to what the public, or the groups that offered to speak for it, were really thinking. Far less did "the people" ask for a higher education that was centered in abstract research. Nor did they care for culture in the deep and demanding sense which was desired by its academic partisans. The distance between popular modes of thinking and the nascent universities was one which increasing talk about "democracy" on both sides of the dividing line tended more often to obscure than to eradicate.

For the internal development of the new universities, these difficulties over public relations heralded two widely divergent consequences. First, such problems tended to produce academic leaders whose careers were molded by their insistent efforts to woo a recalcitrant clientele. Reasoning that popular support was essential for the success, numerical and financial, of the new institutions, these men leaned as far in the direction of non-academic prejudices as they dared. They stumped the surrounding country with ingratiating speeches; they made friends with the influential; they campaigned like politicians in seasons of crisis. With one hand they built the university, borrowing from Europe and improvising as they went; with the other, they

[29] Austin Bierbower, "The Johns Hopkins University," *Penn Monthly*, IX (1878), 695; Josiah Royce to D. C. Gilman, Sept. 5, 1880 (DCG).

popularized it. This group of academic executives emerged with a battle-scarred sensitivity to the subject of public opinion. Knowing its power, fearing its force, these men could develop an almost obsequious habit of submissiveness to it. But, secondly, the very aloofness of many academic concerns from public sympathy tended also to attract men to the university who sought to separate themselves from the other elements of the society. This second kind of academic man, more often a professor than a president, relished the distinctiveness of the higher learning. He wished to build the university in an almost deliberately unpopular style. While naturally he hoped to win the loyalties of a certain number of students, he assumed that these students would have to meet the standards he imposed, not that he should have to go forward to bargain with them. The academic life, for this kind of believer in the university, must set its own terms.

For a while, as universities began to develop, the contrast between these two kinds of person who were attracted to it revealed itself only rarely, and then in the exalted realm of debate over academic purpose. The question of how far the university should bend to meet the public remained rather abstract so long as public acceptance continued to be an uncertain novelty. No one at Cornell or Johns Hopkins was likely to turn away the first flock of students as they appeared. Yet the very difficulty of gaining support, the very sharpness of the distinction between academic life and "real" life in the mid-nineteenth century, had set in motion opposed expectations which were to reflect themselves in major internal tensions after 1890. On the one hand, an almost insatiable need for the feeling of public approval developed; on the other, a hope that the university could serve as a refuge.

From the point of view of those who sought a distinctive role for the university, it was the best possible circumstance that higher education remained relatively unpopular for more than two decades after 1865. In this period the young university enjoyed a temporary (if partial) liberty of action. Not overwhelmed by vast numbers of students, it could afford to experiment with fewer restraints. Since its leaders lacked the "feel" of what the public might be willing to accept, new ideas from Europe could penetrate with fewer impedances. Indeed, it was the luxury of widespread public indifference which permitted such a variety of abstract conceptions of the university to blossom immediately after 1865. In this fluid time, before the pressure of numbers had irrevocably descended, entire universities might even be founded or reorganized in the name of such particular conceptions. Presidents and professors could engage in debate among themselves over the

guiding aim of the university with the feeling that their words really mattered. It could be hoped that deeply held convictions would realize themselves in institutional structures. Thus one's academic partisanship became shaped by the definition one gave to the process of learning. For the professor—and for those presidents who had not yet fully learned that their art centered in public relations—it was a season of unparalleled idealistic anticipation.

PART ONE

RIVAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE HIGHER LEARNING 1865–1910

Many names have been applied to the Nineteenth century by those who have striven to anticipate the verdict of posterity. It has been called an age of steam, and an age of steel; an age of newspapers, and an age of societies. What [ever] will be its final title in the light of the calmer judgment of the Twentieth century, . . . I feel sure that it will be connected with the inward rather than the outward character of our age; with the fundamental ideas which have pervaded the life of the century, rather than with manifestations which are but incidents in its development.

—Arthur T. Hadley, *President of Yale* (1899)

In the true University the undergraduate ought to feel himself a novice in an order of learned servants of the ideal.

—Josiah Royce (1891)

hope, almost wistfully, to gain respect for the fervency of their convictions as well as for their external accomplishments. In the person of Charles W. Eliot—despite what James and Santayana often thought of him—the two qualities perhaps came closest to a genuine rapprochement. It was in no perfunctory spirit that Eliot declared in 1891: "A university stands for intellectual and spiritual domination—for the forces of the mind and soul against the overwhelming load of material possessions, interests, and activities which the modern world carries. . . . A university keeps alive philosophy, poetry, and science, and maintains ideal standards. It stands for plain living against luxury, in a community in which luxurious habits are constantly increasing and spreading." [171] Yet even Eliot was forced to adopt a certain defensiveness of tone when he pondered in private what he had done. Three years later he responded to a compliment from William James:

> I thank you for including in the list of my serviceable qualities "devotion to ideals." I have privately supposed myself to have been pursuing certain educational ideals; but so many excellent persons have described the fruits of the past twenty-five years as lands, buildings, collections, money and thousands of students, that I have sometimes feared that to the next generation I should appear as nothing but a successful Philistine.[172]

The regretful awareness which registered in Eliot's second, more personal declaration could not be masked by its attempt at controlled irony. This awareness revealed the inherent difficulty of reconciling the outward success of the university in America with the ardor of commitment which its most zealous adherents demanded.

[171] Eliot, *Educational Reform*, p. 246.

[172] Henry James, *Eliot*, II, 87. For the supreme statement of optimistic administrative idealism, advancing the serene belief that recent American academic history had been marked by continual progress, see C. W. Eliot, "American Education Since the Civil War," *Rice Institute Pamphlet*, IX (1922), 1–25.

CONCLUSION
THE UNIVERSITY AS AN AMERICAN INSTITUTION

THE IDEA OF THE UNIVERSITY, initially an alien concept, underwent a process not unlike that which affected the actual immigrants who arrived on American shores in the nineteenth century: one of assimilation to the New World environment, accompanied by profound internal tension and a mingled sense of gain and loss. The domestication of the university was the primary tendency affecting the course of its development in America. Hardly had its creation become the goal of foreign-inspired dreams—centered in particular upon Germany—when its early leaders began, with an almost instinctive skill, to move the infant institution onto more familiar paths. For two or three decades, as the American public proved slow to avail itself of the new higher education, exotic tendencies toward innovation could flourish alongside steadier demands for obedience to the wishes of a practical-minded society at home. But the basic pattern of the university, as it clearly revealed itself soon after 1890, was that of a success-oriented enterprise whose less popular possibilities were deliberately blurred in the words and actions of its leading spokesmen. As more Americans began to accept the new institution, occasions for a measured appraisal of the move toward standardization and assimilation grew fewer and fewer. The promise of numbers, influence, and respectability could not seriously be ignored or resisted in high places. The claims of democracy reinforced those of patriotic and institutional pride. By 1910 practically no one was left who would consider turning away the rising surge of ordinary youth which sought degrees. Scarcely anyone would demand that the university limit itself to the few who fervently cared for science or for letters, as distinct from those who could meet the none too rigid formal requirements.

By this time, in a social sense, the university had become strongly characteristic of its surroundings. It was supposed to be open to all (so said the state law in many areas); it was especially open, during this period, to children of northern European origin whose fathers did not work with their hands. Its relative accessibility fostered ambition, and although the university sought to reward all types of ambition, this term again possessed a more particular tacit meaning: it connoted a desire to rise competitively in ways which had been strongly stylized by the urban middle class. Ambition meant competing against rivals who held similar goals, goals which centered in a public, external manner of life, whether in law, medicine, business, or in positions of direct civic responsibility. The university catered to those who sought to compete against men who were basically like themselves, hence to those whose ambitions were individualistic only in the sense, perhaps, of a baseball player's. In America, at this time at least, success seldom identified itself with a desire to break free from existing forms, whether literary or economic. On the other hand, most urban families who had begun to improve their circumstances were keenly interested in the tokens of reward which the established forms of opportunity already provided. For its students, vicariously for their parents, and even for many of its faculty, the university offered a fairly easy means of "advancement." This fact lay behind improving enrollment figures, on the one hand, and the often soothed minds of apparently energetic professors on the other. Stylized social ambition, more than a quest for academic excellence, captured the new American university; indeed, excellence of inquiry or imagination was an attribute which few men knew in surefooted fashion how to recognize or define. It would only slightly caricature the situation to conclude that the most important function of the American professor lay in posing requirements sufficiently difficult to give college graduates a sense of pride, yet not so demanding as to deny the degree to anyone who pledged four years of his parents' resources and his own time in residence at an academic institution.

The university in the United States had become largely an agency for social control. (The phrase invented by Edward A. Ross, curiously enough, is peculiarly apt in describing the most widely expected academic function.) The custodianship of popular values comprised the primary responsibility of the American university. It was to teach its students to think constructively rather than with an imprudent and disintegrative independence. It was to make its degrees into syndicated emblems of social and economic arrival. It was to promise, with repetitious care, that the investigations of its learned men were dedicated

to the practical furtherance of the common welfare. It was to organize its own affairs in such a businesslike fashion as to reassure any stray industrialist or legislator who chanced onto its campus. It was to become a place prominently devoted to non-abstractive good fun: to singing and cheering, to the rituals of club life and "appropriate" oratory; it was to be a place where the easy, infectious harmonies of brass band and stamping feet found few toes unwilling at least faintly to tap in time.

Yet this, of course, was not the whole picture. At the better institutions senior professors, in particular, found a more or less effective insulation from the rhythm of undergraduate life. While it performed its public functions, the American university also began to produce scientific and scholarly research of a quality and variety which, after a later transfusion of European refugees, made it eventually pre-eminent in the world. The marchers of the autumn Saturday brushed almost unknowingly against scattered individuals bent for the laboratory or the stacks. These individuals were not behaving in a characteristically "American" fashion, but since the early days of the Hopkins they had been accorded a certain fluctuating degree of respect. Indeed, they had found a measure of security in American academic life which for varying reasons was someday to surpass that of their German, Russian, and British colleagues. To the learned community throughout the world, they, not the Saturday marchers, comprised the American university, and some non-academic Americans also had occasional glimmerings that this might be so. For their part, university administrators (whose deeper sympathies more frequently lay with the marching feet) took pride in the accomplishments of their faculties, even if they did so in the manner of the neighborhood theater owner who never watches the films he books but keenly knows the drawing power of the actors. In such an environment, indeed more than in one which is carefully watched and guarded from above, the scientist and the scholar could flourish, neither dominating the institution nor being too uncomfortably dominated by it.

The university also tolerated its minority of insistently vocal malcontents, unless they threatened flagrantly to harm its public name. The unhappy faculty "idealist" survived. This fact also deserves recognition in the definition of the American university that had developed by 1910. The laments which were heard did not represent a death cry, but rather another permanently "frozen" fixture within the total academic complex. The university thus did not go the whole way into the American mainstream. Pockets of strenuous dedication to goals that were absurdly unpopular (for instance, too insistently democratic to be

widely shared by the American people) persisted in odd places within the institution. The incoherence of the academic structure protected the alienated critic along with the football player and everyone else. Factions of whatever sort were almost never purged. Athletics and intellect alike could usually be pointed to as evidence of affirmative institutional service. The university, already diverse in so many ways, thus grew also to include its own severest critics.

In a broader sense it was also true that the university remained less than fully domesticated. A great number of professors, though taking no radical line of dissent, remained somewhere short of embracing all the official values. Such men hoped to reconcile learning with social optimism, culture with football, academic standards with enthusiasm for quantity. They felt mildly inspired, perhaps, when they listened to commencement speeches, and they were easygoing toward fraternities; yet they insisted on at least a convincing show of effort inside the classroom. They thought of themselves in matter-of-fact terms as professional men, and they held no airs toward lawyers, doctors, or the clergy; yet they could also take pride in their distinctive area of competence in a way that gave them a satisfying sense of purpose. Bliss Perry spoke for this central portion of the faculty when on the one hand he briefly praised the quality of "moral detachment" while on the other declaring: "No American, above all, no body of educated Americans, should imagine that they have a charter to live unto themselves. . . . For the members of any profession to insulate themselves from . . . currents of world-sympathy is to cut off that profession's power."[1]

As Perry himself noted, the efforts of the turn-of-the-century professor to appear decently conventional in his tastes and affections could often display an uneasy note that implied partial self-deception.

> The habit of addressing boys without contradiction leaves him often impotent in the sharp give-and-take of talk with men, and many a professor who is eloquent in his class-room is helpless on the street or in the club or across the dinner-table. Sometimes he perceives this, and makes pathetic efforts to grow worldly. Faculty circles have been known to experience strange obsessions of frivolity, and to plunge desperately into dancing lessons or duplicate whist.[2]

[1] Bliss Perry, *The Amateur Spirit* (Boston, 1904), pp. 99–101, 114–15.

[2] Bliss Perry, "The Life of a College Professor," *Scribner's Magazine*, XXII (1897), 516.

Henry Seidel Canby, thinking of Yale, detected the persistence of an even sharper distinction between members of university faculties and other Americans: "The two waters did not mix," he declared. "A boy of a commercial or legal family who went into the faculty was lost to his line, taking on a psychology so different from his brother who had stayed in the family affairs as to cause remark even among the unobservant. Whereas a professor's son who went into business seemed to drop overnight all feeling and often all respect for the craft of teaching and scholarship."[3] In the rank and file of the faculty population, certain distinctive expectations of an academic role were likely to maintain themselves despite all one's conscious efforts toward producing an agreeable conformity of manner.

The American university of the early twentieth century thus presented two extremes, neither of which was truly representative. On the one side, it included administrators who might almost as easily have promoted any other sort of American enterprise. These leaders, in conjunction with trustees, undergraduates, and alumni, spoke for goals with which a large American audience could readily sympathize: moral soundness, fidelity to the local group, and the implicit promise of enhanced social position. The external face of an American campus reflected these familiar values in its ornate buildings, its efficient and burgeoning business staff, its athletic stadiums, its renewed facilities for student supervision (often again including dormitories), and its annual commencement pageantry. When most Americans visited a college or university, these were the things they saw; these for the most part were the items included in casual academic boasts. At the opposite extreme, a few scattered men could be found urging drastic reorientation of the whole endeavor. Falling between these stark alternatives, most of the lifetime participants in the academic calling occupied a resting place which had been largely Americanized but not quite fully so. For most of the faculty, the virtue of the university lay in the very fact that it provided just such an ambiguous possibility. The university offered a convenient intermediate pattern of behavior, somewhere between a business career and exile. It accommodated men who lacked the bravado or the inclination to live in a garret or a monastery, but who at the same time did not feel quite at home in the countinghouse. For such professors as these it was the best possible circumstance that Ross cases did not frequently arise, forcing each individual on a campus to make an onerous public choice. Rather such men

[3] Canby, *Alma Mater*, pp. 18–19; cf. Herrick, *Chimes*, p. 104.

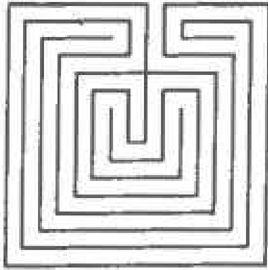
relished the calm which permitted the actual extent of their conventional loyalties to remain an open question, to themselves and to others. It was this kind of privacy, after all—a situation in which no one inquired too closely into how "American" were a man's convictions—which enabled the academic life to connote a certain desirable measure of freedom. It was a precious right not to be forced to be counted.

These wholly personal considerations did not preclude a simultaneous belief in the social mission of the American university, a belief which resided at a more conscious level in most professorial minds and which in one form or another was assented to by everyone who pretended to speak for educational policy after the turn of the century (excepting only the most austere advocate of "pure" research). To see one's role in terms of social service was the American means of legitimizing all the inarticulate compromises by which most men, including most professors, learn to maneuver among conflicting demands. Affirmation of such a role also became necessary among the few professors who retained sharp-edged convictions about the purpose of the university, if they were to accommodate themselves to the less intense academic life which flowed around them.

By permanently accepting the altruistic rhetoric of the Progressive Era, by genuinely believing in the promise of its cadences, the American professor retained permission to explore alien ideas and to use techniques which had originally come to him from abroad. If this was a bargain, it was one of which nine-tenths of the American faculty of 1910 remained unaware. Only in retrospect could one see how the new uniformity of academic rhetoric had made possible a continued flexibility of academic impulse.

REFERENCE MATERIAL

EXHIBIT E6



THE CONTEMPORARY UNIVERSITY: U.S.A.

EDITED BY ROBERT S. MORISON

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The Introduction by Robert S. Morison, "On Judging Faculty" by Stephen Orgel and Alex Zwerdling, "Styles of Teaching in Two New Public Colleges" by David Riesman and Joseph Gusfield, "Rebellion in Context" by David M. Gordon, and "The Faces in the Lecture Room" by Kenneth Keniston are here published for the first time. Portions of "The Arts" by W. McNeil Lowry have appeared in *Educational Theatre Journal* (May 1962). "The Ethos of the American College Student" by Martin Meyerson will also be found in *Higher Education in the United States*, edited by Robert A. Goldwin (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966). The other essays in the book appeared originally, some of them in slightly different form, in the Fall 1964 issue of *Dædalus*, the Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

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CLARK KERR

The Frantic Race to Remain Contemporary

"THE TRUE American University," David Starr Jordan once observed, "lies in the future." It still does; for American universities have not yet developed their full identity, their unique theory of purpose and function. They still look to older and to foreign models, although less and less; and the day is coming when these models will no longer serve at all.

The American university is currently undergoing its second great transformation. The first occurred during roughly the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the land grant movement and German intellectualism were together bringing extraordinary change. The current transformation will cover roughly the quarter century after World War II. The university is being called upon to educate previously unimagined numbers of students; to respond to the expanding claims of government and industry and other segments of society as never before; to adapt to and channel new intellectual currents. By the end of this period, there will be a truly American university, an institution unique in world history, an institution not looking to other models but itself serving as a model for universities in other parts of the globe. This is not said in boast. It is simply that the imperatives that are molding the American university are also at work around the world.

Each nation, as it has become influential, has tended to develop the leading intellectual institutions of its world—Greece, the Italian cities, France, Spain, England, Germany, and now the United States. The great universities have developed in the great periods of the great political entities of history. Today, more than ever, education

This article is adapted in substantial part from the author's Godkin Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1963, which were published by the Harvard University Press in 1963 under the title, *The Uses of the University*.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

TALCOTT PARSONS AND GERALD M. PLATT

with the collaboration of Neil J. Smelser
Editorial Associate: Jackson Toby

Harvard University Press Cambridge, Massachusetts 1973

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high levels of accomplishment, measured, for example, by years of formal schooling. In the United States, universal elementary education was largely realized by the turn of the twentieth century, and a marked increase in the proportions beginning secondary education was under way. This trend continued during the first third of the century. By the 1930's the universalization of secondary education, measured by completion of high school, was approximated. The next third of the century, especially the period immediately following the end of World War II, saw a swift upsurge in participation in the system of *higher* education. By the later 1960's, the proportion of the age cohort going on from high school graduation to some kind of higher education was more than 50 percent, a situation historically unprecedented.

Current discussion of the universalizing of *higher* education, the next logical step, leaves open the question of precise level to be sought. Most often advocated is the universalization of the four-year undergraduate college program. Minimal though this would seem from the point of view of graduate and professional levels, nothing like it has previously been dreamed of for mass populations. Note that the process of educational upgrading has not developed evenly for all population groups. Some groups surged ahead and others lagged behind. This has been especially characteristic of the United States with its local control of public school systems and its pattern of private and parochial schools. At the college level, the American system has been more diversified, with a large number of private colleges of many different types and quality, many originally founded under religious auspices.[1] American public institutions have been rapidly growing, although not at the federal level. State universities and colleges began first; more recently municipal institutions developed; and most recently community junior colleges. Higher education in the United States has never resembled the French system in which a central ministry administers for the entire country.

The Development of the University System. At the beginning of the Civil War there was no such thing as an American university in the European sense; there were only colleges, a large number of them. Shortly after the war, an innovative process began. This process centered in private institutions, first with development toward university status of existing private colleges

1. Everett C. Hughes, *The Sociological Eye: Selected Papers* (Chicago and New York, Aldine-Atherton, 1971), chaps. iv and v, pp. 29–51.

EXHIBIT E7

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ART. IV.--OUR COLLEGES.
Christian Examiner (1857-1869); Jul 1867; 83, 1; American Periodicals
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EXHIBIT E8

Art. IV.—OUR COLLEGES.

Inaugural Address delivered to the University of St. Andrew's, Feb. 1, 1867. By John Stuart Mill, Rector of the University. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer. 1867. 8vo, pp. 99.

On the Principles of English University Education. By Rev. William Whewell, M.A. London: John W. Parker, West Strand. 1838. 12mo, pp. 189.

The Atlantic Monthly. September, 1866. University Reform.

Report of the Committee on Organization. Presented to the Trustees of Cornell University, Oct. 21, 1866. Albany: C. Van Benthuysen & Sons. 8vo, pp. 48.

Proceedings of the Third Anniversary of the University Convocation of the State of New York. Held Aug. 7, 8, and 9, 1866. Albany: Charles Van Benthuysen Sons, Printers. 1866. 8vo, pp. 152.

The Atlantic Monthly. April, 1867. Considerations on University Reform.

The quickening which every form of social and educational discussion has experienced since the close of the war, has been nowhere more marked than in regard to collegiate education. There is a very wide-spread conviction, that our colleges, as at present organized, are not accomplishing all that this generation has a right to demand of them; and the academical year that is now closing has been distinguished for earnest and profound discussions as to the best method of bringing them fully into sympathy with the spirit of the age. Nor have these institutions themselves been backward or ungracious in recognizing their own shortcomings. While in different parts of the country new universities are springing up, upon broader, or at any rate different, bases, to keep pace with the growth of population and the changed demands of the times, our Harvards and Yales are adapting themselves to the new order of things, with a promptness and cheerfulness which must seem marvellous to those who have been accustomed to regard them as a mere embodiment of conservatism.

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The most notable and encouraging feature of the discussion is its hearty and timely protest against the sordid materialism of our age and country. What training will best make *men;* how the next generation shall be made wiser and better than this,—these are the problems which have most earnestly engaged men's minds: and so long as these are recognized as the vital questions of education, we may feel assured, that we are going forward, and not backward. It is this that gives its highest value to Mr. Mill's St. Andrew's address,—that he, the most advanced and radical thinker of the day, the representative of utilitarianism, the successor of Bentham, has spoken so noble a word for culture, in the interests of the highest utility. Apart from the wisdom of the views themselves, the source from which they come—the man who probably exercises a more powerful influence upon American thought than any one now living—lends every word a peculiar emphasis.

The problem before us as a people is twofold,—the organization of the university itself, in the American acceptation of the term; and the best method of securing that higher education which we call distinctively "liberal," and which Mr. Mill well defines as "the culture which each generation purposely gives to those who are to be its successors, in order to qualify them for at least keeping up, and if possible for raising, the level of improvement which has been attained," and again as "what every generation owes to the next, as that on which its civilization and worth will principally depend." This is Mr. Mill's definition of what he calls "university education." A university, he adds, "is not a place of professional education." This last is an unessential point, which each community may fairly be allowed to settle for itself, organizing its "universities," or institutions of highest education, in accordance with its own special customs and needs, as indeed is done now; so that the definition of the university varies widely in different countries. In England, as Mr. Mill says, it is a place designed solely for "liberal education;" in Germany, on the other hand, it embraces, besides this, all branches of professional education.

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It seems to us that we in America have a right to develop such an institution under this name as is best adapted to our national wants, even if, in so doing, we depart from the accepted *English* definition of the word. In this country we are accustomed to use the term in its broadest and radical sense, as embracing the whole scope of a higher education, as well professional as liberal. For that department of the university which is devoted to a general education, to make *men*, — not lawyers, physicians, or civil engineers, — we have reserved the word "college," which word also we use in a quite different sense from the English, French, or German. That Yale College is a true university, while Brown University is nothing but a college; and that Waterville College, with less than fifty students, has chosen, for the sake of the lofty-sounding title, to dub itself Colby University, — these facts prove only a looseness of practice in the application of the terms: few will question that they are in general distinguished as we have indicated.

The true American university is not, however, confined in its scope to the liberal course of study and the so-called "gentlemanly professions," which are all that are as yet combined with most of our Eastern institutions. It should embrace every branch of knowledge *as science* which a man may need, whether for culture or for earning his bread. We question the utility of attempting, in these institutions, to enter into the practical details, whether of agriculture or the mechanic arts, any further than is necessary for illustrating the scientific principles. Law schools and medical schools do not make lawyers and doctors, but adepts in their respective sciences: the application of their theories must be learned by means of office-work and sick-room visiting, before the student is competent to practise by himself. So the agricultural schools, we fancy, will not turn out farmers, but agriculturists; and we are afraid those will be disappointed who expect that — in the East, at any rate, where tilling the ground is so hard work, and conducted on so small a scale — common farmers will avail themselves of them to any

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great extent. But we may expect from these institutions a powerful influence in raising the standard of agriculture among us; and this science, as well as every other, should be included in a university course. Harvard is not therefore, as yet, a complete type of the American university, inasmuch as it does not aim at embracing all departments of human science.

The first point therefore in the organization of a university, is this broad distinction, generally recognized, between the *college*, whose object is pure culture, and the *professional schools*, which prepare a man for earning his living. The former of these entitles the graduate to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and is properly supplemented, as at the University of Michigan, by a *post-graduate* course, continuing the general culture of the college course, and entitling to the degree of Master of Arts. We think, therefore, on the ground of this general distinction, that Mr. White, in his admirable scheme for the organization of Cornell University, has made a mistake in putting the "Department of Jurisprudence, History, and Political Economy" among the professional schools, as a department of the "Division of Special Sciences and Arts." His remarks on the importance of this department, and the peculiar benefits our community is likely to derive from it, are eminently just. We are at this moment as a nation suffering more from an ignorance of the most fundamental principles of political science, than from any other cause; and we look with confidence to the new university, under the guidance of Mr. White, to aid in forming a better race of public men: but it seems to us, that this branch of study, not being one which students will follow with a view to a life-profession, but rather to special culture, would properly belong to a post-graduate course.

The second of the two questions indicated above,—the nature, scope, and method of liberal education,—is that which has been chiefly discussed, as is natural in a community which has its universities already in existence, and needs only to perfect them. This discussion was opened by Dr. Hedge, in his Alumni address last July; and the general plan

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which he sketched has been admirably developed in detail in a recent paper in the "Atlantic Monthly."* The mind of the community has been steadily settling, under this discussion, upon four general principles, each of which was laid down more or less distinctly by Dr. Hedge. These are,—1. That the classics should still form a necessary part of such a course; 2. That the natural sciences justly claim a larger share than they have generally received; 3. That more freedom of choice should be allowed in the studies pursued; 4. That college discipline should be materially modified, as befits institutions designed for men, not boys.

We do not propose to discuss at any length the claims of the classics to the position which has been assigned them, especially seeing that the turn taken by the discussion renders this on the whole unnecessary. We will, however, say a few words upon certain reasons for considering Latin, in combination with mathematics, the best mental training there is for boys of between fifteen and eighteen, which we do not remember to have seen sufficiently analyzed. Nobody denies that the natural sciences and the modern languages, set up as the peculiar rivals of the classics, must form a part of every gentleman's education; and, if a person has not time and opportunity for all of these, no doubt he should in most cases study French and German, rather than Latin and Greek. It is often forgotten in this discussion, that we are speaking only of those who are able to devote themselves to study for a long enough time to obtain that systematic and well-rounded education which we call distinctively *liberal*. For these we claim, that, at the age specified, Latin is superior to either of its rivals, and largely for the reason, which is often made an argument against it, that it is harder, and requires more careful and systematic use of the mental powers. The natural sciences are partly studied by observation and mere memory, and so far should come very early in the education of a child; partly mathematical, belonging strictly to the mathematical course; partly experimental and theoretical, calling for the

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* April, 1867.

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exercise of the highest powers of the trained mind.* At sixteen, a boy has no ideas of his own, and this higher range of physical inquiry is beyond his grasp and appreciation. Natural history is too much a matter of mere memory to give his mind the exercise it requires at that stage. What he needs just then is *work*, not play,—work hard enough to call his mind into full activity; and for *boys* there is very little danger of overworking mentally. We do not think it desirable that the work at this age should be made easy: attractive and interesting it can and should be made. There is the same sort of pleasure to a healthy mind in mastering a difficulty, and in dealing with intellectual problems adapted to its strength, that there is to a healthy body in catching a fly-ball or pulling a strong oar. We have never yet known an intelligent boy of suitable age, who could not be made to *enjoy* that greatest stumblingblock and mystery of Latin, the *oratio obliqua*.

The same consideration that gives Latin a preference over botany or zoölogy, its greater difficulty, gives it also a preference over French or German,—though German, no doubt, comes nearest of all studies to the ancient languages in the quality of the training it secures, and is the very best substitute for them. The philological study of one's native language, for instance, belongs properly to a more advanced stage than that of any other language; for the reason, that to study it superficially is so very easy that in most persons it will train nothing but the memory, while to study it to any purpose calls for a mind thoroughly trained, and stored with all varieties of parallel knowledge. There is, however, besides the difference in difficulty, a distinction in the essential character and structure of the modern languages, which renders

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* Dr. Whewell has made a very good statement of the limitations of the physical sciences for the purposes of discipline, although he entirely overlooks, and indeed denies, their value at a higher stage of education in training the powers of thought, of which Mr. Mill gives so admirable an analysis. "The effect of the clear insight of geometry or mechanics cannot be efficiently replaced by sciences which exhibit a mass of observed facts and consequent doubtful speculations, as geology; or even by other sciences, as chemistry and natural history, which, though they involve philosophical principles, can only be learnt by presenting numerous facts to the senses." —*University Edition*, p. 41.

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them much less adapted either to mental discipline or to that philological culture which all admit to be one of the most important elements of education. The difficulties of Latin and Greek lie in their *constructions;* of the modern languages, in their *idioms.* In reading French, all that is necessary is to know the meanings of the words, which is purely a matter of memory; or, if any difficulty occurs, it is in most cases as to the particular meaning attached to a particular collocation of words, which again is purely a matter of memory. The same is true, although in a less degree, of German. In Latin and Greek, on the other hand (especially Latin, which is, except in its roots, much further removed from the modern languages than Greek), the idioms are of very subordinate importance; and translating a sentence is in the main an exercise of judgment and skill,—much less a matter of mere memory than in any of the other languages. This characteristic of modern languages renders them especially fitted for children, who learn by memory and catch idioms readily; and we would for this reason have French and German learned very young. Latin and Greek, appealing as they do mainly to the reason, are equally fitted for young people of sixteen and thereabouts, for whom the main object is the training of the reasoning powers.

Latin, therefore, being furthest removed from English,—English being the most idiomatic of all languages, and Latin the least,—forms the best instrument for that important branch of philological instruction which consists in comparing the modes of expression in one's own language with those in another. Without this, as has been well remarked, no person can be said really to know his own language; and while we freely admit that even French, the language most similar to English in roots, constructions, arrangement, and idiomatic character, may be made very serviceable for this purpose, we maintain that no other of the languages usually studied, not even Greek, can at all compare with Latin for it.

Again, leaving out of sight these points of difficulty and contrast, Latin is, of all languages, that best suited to the abstract study of modes of expression; because it was the

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first language in which these were treated logically and in accordance with rigid rules, and still remains the most logically constructed of languages. The constructions in Greek are loose and irregular compared with Latin. The Greeks had not fully developed the idea of *law* in language, any more than in politics; and, while their subtilty of thought led them to use the *moods* with great exactness and nicety, their syntax of *government* was quite inexact.* In these respects the modern languages owe much of their accuracy of structure to imitation — often unskilful — of Latin; and no one of them, not even German, approaches its model.

For these reasons, besides those which have been so well stated by Mr. Mill and others that we need not repeat them, we think that the classics are entitled to their place as the leading study in a liberal education, during a certain period of life. We would not be understood as defending the barbarous method usually pursued in the study of the classics, by which years are worse than wasted in acquiring useless knowledge, while a serviceable acquaintance with the language professedly studied is not acquired. Latin is generally begun much too young, and taught much too exclusively from *grammars*, which are, after all, not Latin, but somebody's account of Latin. Once the paradigms thoroughly learned, we believe that the principal work should be translating and analyzing; and that syntax can be much better learned from the author read, with the help of a teacher, than from any grammar. But this discussion is apart from our present object.

The question is often asked, why, granting all that has been said in favor of the study of the classics, one classical language is not enough, — why it should be necessary to learn both Greek and Latin. We answer frankly, that we do not think it necessary. We say, as we did of classical study in general, that those who have the time, means, and taste had bet-

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* Expressions hanging so loosely in a sentence, so utterly independent of it in structure, as *sibi quisque*, in *multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus* (Sall. Jug., 18), are exceedingly rare in Latin, but common enough in Greek.

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ter study Greek as well as Latin; but we believe that a large class of young men will be more benefited by substituting something else in the place of Greek. To those who have not special philological tastes, one classical language will give all the philological training desired; and, if we could have only one of the two, we should, with this end, choose Latin, — partly for the reasons already given, partly on account of the excessive difficulty of Greek, which special difficulty again is mainly either in the memory or in nice details. We think the true course is that recommended by Mr. Atkinson two years ago, which had, indeed, been adopted by Mr. Mann at Antioch College, some ten years before, — to have two parallel courses: one, the regular college course, as usually pursued; the other, the same in all other respects, but substituting other studies — say modern languages — for Greek. This is the plan adopted in Cornell University, where the "Second General Course," as it is called, has for its principal studies Latin and German. Great care is needed, however, and great difficulty experienced, in laying out a course that shall be any thing like an equivalent for Greek, whether in difficulty or as an exercise of the mental faculties.

Another argument for this will, perhaps, be new to many. A cry is raised by the academies and preparatory schools, that they are overworked; that "the few young men who are fitting for college receive undue attention, to the exclusion and great detriment of that much larger number who do not intend to enter any college." * It is urged in many quarters that Greek should be removed from the list of preparatory studies, and made a college study. We do not think well of this proposition. If Greek is to be learned at all, it should be learned well, and needs all the time that is now bestowed upon it: the time required to learn Greek thoroughly in college could be ill spared from other branches. Mr. Atkinson's proposition seems to us to give all the relief needed. If there were two courses in college, one with Greek and the

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* See a striking paper by George W. Jones, Principal of Delaware Literary Institute, in the Proceedings of the New-York University Convocation, 1866.

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other without, the small academies might confine themselves to fitting for the non-Greek course: those who wished to study Greek would go to the large schools and academies.

As to the claims of the natural sciences, only one remark need be made. Few will question that they already receive their due proportion of time in the college course: the mistake is in requiring no preparation upon these branches. So much of natural history as should form a part of the *information* of young men of this age, and so much of physics and chemistry as is purely descriptive, and preparatory to the severer mathematical course of the college years, should be added to the present requirements for entrance. This would elevate the character of the college course, not only by making it possible to give more physical instruction than at present, in the same space of time, but also by bringing students to college with better trained and better balanced minds.*

The two points which we have already considered have hardly needed discussion, because they are points upon which the community has its mind already pretty well made up. The third point, however, — the need of a greater liberty of choice to the students, although quite as generally accepted as a principle, — is open to great variety of opinion in detail. It is a good many years since Harvard College first recognized the general principle, by setting apart a certain number of studies in the higher classes as required, and allowing the students to *elect*, every year, one or two from the remaining branches. So far has this principle been carried out, that the catalogue of the present year contains, for the first term, Senior, ten elective studies, and four required. It has, however, we believe, always been felt that this system was attended with the disadvantage of rendering the mental training of the individual students too irregular, too dependent upon caprice; and we are far from considering this the best way of deciding the problem.

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* For an admirable statement of the arguments upon this point, see a paper by Dr. Barnard, President of Columbia College, read at the New-York University Convocation for 1866.

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We believe that no other prominent college has the elective system in this form, except to a very limited extent, in the Senior year. Cornell University proposes to secure the desired liberty of selection, by laying out four independent courses, — one for Greek and Latin, the second for Latin and German, the third for German and French, the fourth scientific; besides a fifth, which is called the "Optional Course," which is to consist of selections made by the student from the various regular courses, and which will not, we suppose, entitle to a degree. This method we consider much superior to the "elective," as combining freedom of choice with systematic arrangement of studies. We are not informed whether all these courses entitle to the same degree. If we might be allowed to express an opinion, we should say that the accepted usage of the title *Artium Baccalaureus* presupposes classic training, not perhaps necessarily Greek, but certainly Latin; and that, while we should readily give this degree to the "second course," we should demur at bestowing it upon the "third."

The Cornell plan, however, as well as every other one, requires another element in order to make it meet all the highest wants of our American community, — an element hinted at by Dr. Hedge, and a plan for which has been presented with considerable detail in the recent article in the Atlantic. It was, we believe, in these pages* that attention was first drawn to the characteristic and distinctive excellence of the English and American university systems; that ours is democratic, giving the whole body of students a respectable education, far better than is received by the average in the English universities, which, in accordance with their aristocratic character, expend their energy in turning out, every year, a very few men of acquirements such as in this country are reached by none. The English, we know, are reforming their schools and universities in the direction of greater liberality and general usefulness: we, on our part, need to move towards them in some way, to make it possible

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* See "Christian Examiner" for November, 1865.

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for a student at our universities to obtain as thorough an education as he desires in any branch of learning. The country needs nothing just now, so much as men of culture.

In making any reform, we must carefully avoid lessening in any way the present efficiency of the institution. The American college, with all its defects, is the natural outgrowth of American institutions and character, and, on the whole, has satisfied the requirements of American culture. Further, these requirements will continue to be, for the mass of students, precisely what they have been. But new requirements, for a limited number of students, are now added to the old: the community has advanced to the point when it demands, not merely the broadening of its general culture, which we have already spoken of, but the deepening and intensifying of special culture. To meet this want, the plan proposed by the writer in the "Atlantic" seems to us precisely adapted. He would continue a curriculum like the present, imposed upon all students as a *pass course*, containing the minimum required for graduating without special honors; and, in place of the present elective studies, would institute a *class course*, consisting of a number of special *triposes*, of which each student of ambition would select one or two for exhaustive study, and for honors, if rank should continue to be given. We do not desire here to do any thing more than direct attention to the general outlines of a plan, which appears to promise all that could be desired in elevating the general character of American scholarship. Such a system, adopted and tested in any one of our first-class universities, would, if found to work well, be introduced gradually into other colleges, wherever it should be found desirable.

The introduction of this plan, and we hope the progress of public sentiment at any rate, would carry with it the abolition of marks for recitation, and of rank, unless perhaps as depending upon a final examination. It would not be possible to devise any more effectual means of taking all the enthusiasm and inspiration out of a recitation, than one which makes a scholar afraid to answer lest he should be wrong, and therefore receive a low mark; and, on the other hand,

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forces the teacher to keep his eye open to every blunder or forgetfulness, not with a view to setting it right, but to determine whether the abstract value of the performance is six, seven, or the coveted eight. Marks may sometimes be of service in giving the first impulse to ambition, where the standard of study is very low: but even here we believe they generally do more harm than good; and, where there exists the slightest spark of intellectual ambition, nothing is needed but good teaching to quicken it into a flame.

These discussions have proceeded upon the assumption, that a broad line is to be drawn, as Dr. Hedge proposes, between the Freshman year and the college course proper, with a view, indeed, to eventually abolishing this year altogether. For the present, no doubt, it is necessary that there should be a preparatory and probationary year in the college itself, inasmuch as many of the preparatory schools are quite incompetent to fit scholars for the advanced college course. We believe, however, that the difficulties from this source, in the way of giving up the Freshman year, are exaggerated; and that, if it were boldly lopped off, — say at two years' notice, — the schools would adapt themselves without difficulty or delay to their new duties. The smaller schools would fit for the academies, and the academies for the universities; and — a consideration which is often overlooked — who can doubt that experienced teachers, like Mr. Dixwell and Dr. Taylor, would prepare students on the studies of the Freshman year much more satisfactorily than the average of college tutors upon whom the work is put, who are necessarily inferior both in scholarship and skill to these gentlemen?

The establishment of these *triposes* for the three years of the college course would necessitate an enlargement of the preparatory course, by making it embrace not merely Latin, Greek, and mathematics, as at present, or natural science, as urged above, but also some general though accurate knowledge of modern history and the English language. Modern history is too much neglected in this country; and, while there is much force in Mr. Mill's doubts as to the possibility of its

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being taught efficiently in school, it certainly ought to be known, in some way, before entering college. We are inclined to think that the best way would be to prescribe an acquaintance with some particular works, the preparation in which should be left to the private reading of the scholar, stimulated by the knowledge that he has to pass an examination upon them, and assisted by occasional familiar talks and lectures by the teacher.

With the Freshman year cut off, the studies made so largely voluntary, and the average age of the students so much advanced as would necessarily be the case, the college discipline might be very materially diminished in amount, and relieved of harshness and obtrusiveness,— might, indeed, almost be reduced, as Dr. Hedge suggests, to the single item of expulsion. It is safe to say, that two-fifths of the misconduct of students arises from the natural repugnance of young men to arbitrary rules, and another two-fifths to the dormitory system. Cornell University promises to be free from both these sources of trouble. The dormitory system, at any rate, is there placed upon its true basis, as simply a convenience, a *favor* to students, and, to a certain extent, a protection against exorbitant charges in private houses. The inmates are to be treated as gentlemen, and left to maintain order among themselves. If they cannot do this, they will be turned out in a body; and, if no body of students can be found who can live together orderly and respectably, the dormitories will be closed. We venture to say that the dormitories will never be closed.

Another good result of the separation of the Freshman year from the college course proper would be the greater freedom and variety which it would be possible to introduce into the preparatory course, and the increased dignity it would give to the preparatory schools. Exeter and Andover would be raised at once to the rank of the German gymnasia, and would be able to have the same completeness and variety in the course that is usual there. There is a kind of superstitious feeling in regard to the course as prescribed in the college catalogues, as if there were something sacred in

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the *whole* of Virgil and Cæsar's "Gallic War," and in those particular orations of Cicero which Mr. Folsom happened to adopt from a selection made for this purpose fifty years ago. And, although the catalogue distinctly offers to recognize equivalents, hardly any school avails itself of the permission; less than ever, since this particular set of prose authors has been petrified into one big book, which has been adopted in nearly all schools. We may feel sure that, when the great schools have the work of the Freshman year added to their present duties, they will not any longer submit to the drudgery of going over the same unvarying round, year after year.

There is another consideration of great importance, to which, we believe, attention was first directed by the most eminent of American classical teachers, Dr. Taylor, of Andover, — the burden that is imposed upon preparatory schools, by the necessity of preparing every part of this great mass of Greek and Latin for examination in detail. There should be a distinction made between two classes of work, — analysis and translation. A scholar kept at drill all the time, as is too often done now-a-days, fails to acquire that facility in the use of the language which certainly ought to be possessed upon entering college. We have the testimony of Professor Bowen to the striking fact, that all the time that the standard of scholarship has been rising at Cambridge, and the knowledge of the classic languages becoming more minute and accurate, the knowledge of classical literature, and familiarity with the classic authors, have been on the decline. One of the chief aims of a course should be to read a large amount, to go over a great deal of ground, — not carelessly, but, on the other hand, without dwelling upon minute points of grammar and antiquities, — simply with a view to obtaining a practical mastery over the language. The amount of Latin and Greek upon which a scholar is expected to pass a critical examination, in order to enter Harvard, is much larger than at the English universities; and, as a necessary consequence, the critical study being spread over so wide an extent, cannot be so accurate and thorough anywhere as it is in England, in regard to the smaller amount of Latin and Greek examined

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upon. We venture to say, that a rigid examination upon one book each of Cæsar, Virgil, Xenophon, and Homer, and one Oration of Cicero, if combined with some assurance that a much larger amount had been carefully translated, and a test as to the capacity to translate a passage from some author that has not been read, would give a better result than the present examination.

We are not willing to close without drawing attention to one or two points in Mr. Mill's address, — so wise in themselves, and yet so at variance with the prevailing practice, that it seems impossible to repeat them too often, or insist upon them too earnestly. One is as to dogmatism in teaching. He says of instruction in moral philosophy (p. 78), "I could wish that this instruction were of a somewhat different type from what is ordinarily met with. I could wish that it were more expository, less polemical, and, above all, less dogmatic." And again (p. 80), as to the question of religious instruction in schools, "On neither side of this controversy do the disputants seem to me to have sufficiently freed their minds from the old notion of education, — that it consists of the dogmatic inculcation, from authority, of what the teacher deems true." It were to be wished, that our American instructors would follow the hint here given more largely than they do. Our national practice of teaching every thing from books tends, no doubt, to render instruction here even more dogmatic than in England. We should be glad to have more of these branches, which are mainly the objects of abstract thought, rather than exact science, treated in a more *personal* manner, by the intellectual contact of professor and students. One reads the Dialogues of Plato, with a sort of despairing wish, that those who have the forming of the minds of the young men in our colleges had some process for reaching and influencing them, as effective as that of the ancients.

We cannot better close than with a second quotation, full of encouragement to those who have feared moral deterioration from the secularizing of our American education. We believe that this fear is utterly groundless; that the objects of education are in themselves so high, — the forming of char-

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acter and training of the mind, — that conscientiously pursued, they cannot fail to elevate and purify both teacher and taught; nay, that an ordinary recitation in an every-day study is itself an exercise and a lesson in morals. Mr. Mill says (p. 76): —

"The moral or religious influence which an university can exercise, consists less in any express teaching, than in the pervading tone of the place. Whatever it teaches, it should teach as penetrated by a sense of duty; it should present all knowledge as chiefly a means to worthiness of life, given for the double purpose of making each of us practically useful to his fellow-creatures, and of elevating the character of the species itself; exalting and dignifying our nature. There is nothing which spreads more contagiously from teacher to pupil than elevation of sentiment. Often and often have students caught, from the living influence of a professor, a contempt for mean and selfish objects, and a noble ambition to leave the world better than they found it, which they have carried with them throughout life."

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EXHIBIT E9

intense sultriness of a June day in Cuba, s sufficiently striking and memorable spec-

a quarter of a mile intervened between on and scaffold, to which the condemned re brought singly, on foot. The first made arance precisely at seven, preceded by two the foremost bearing a long pole swathed ; cloth, and surmounted by a plain silver The second carried a cross also, the figure h was turned toward the prisoner, who, led and supported by a spiritual father on de, marched immediately behind, two oth- wing. These bore aloft, on poles, a sort e glass lantern, containing, I was inform- of consecrated candle. All were shaven- dressed loosely in black, and looking as reed as though proceeding to breakfast. any of soldiers, clad in blue and white cotton tunics, in shape such as the English wear, only shorter, with cartouche box, lts, etc., complete and fixed bayonets, up the rear.

soldiers formed a square around the scaf- body of cavalry, about a hundred in num- ertaining to the Captain-General's guard, ad arrived an hour previous, stationing res, with drawn swords, behind them. ecently came a brass band, I believe for pose of silencing the criminals' voices, in y should say any thing against the always se Cuban Government.) Very soon the appeared on the platform, mounting the eciately, without assistance, as did all his rs.

as the one who had struck the murderous rather good-looking, dark mulatto, with a ed mustache, wearing a loose white shirt clothes, and a white linen cap, with a ess in front. The executioner, a powerful a a short blue jacket, ornamented on the th white bars, intended to represent those son window (himself a criminal, who had his vocation to escape a sentence of ten ssal servitude in Africa), conducted the man to the fatal chair, bared his neck, and t in the iron collar.

pparatus is very simple. A screw attach- te collar passes through the back of the sding in a cross-bar of perhaps three feet This being made to describe about half a ghtens the screw and collar, and compress- sek to its extremest tenuity, at once insur- ngulation and dislocating the vertebræ.

the cap concealing his face, and the priest up the cross in front of him, the criminal a moment; by the next the executioner brned his collar, and the man was a corpse. ssued no struggle and no sound, but the bable, half-relieved, half-sympathetic one ing from the crowd. The head had fallen

After making a few motions with his ward the body, the priest quitted the plat- meet the second criminal, already half-way lace of execution, while the negro removed se to one of the chairs, passing a rope round p it erect. With the head declining, you ave supposed it still in the garrote-chair. ssively, and in a similar manner, the oth- erwent their punishment. Two of them almost entire negro blood; but the last, ar of the gang, was a fine-looking Cuban, of Cardenas, and a notorious villain. He ot have the cap drawn over his face, and d a few words to the crowd, but I did th their purport—probably to request the of the spectators. When the screw turned head fell slightly forward—this is invaria- case—his bronzed cheeks became a little ed a single drop of blood appeared at the is nose: no other change was perceptible. t fifteen minutes intervened between each on, and by twenty minutes past eight all expired. By which time it was insuffera- , and the crowd next to unendurable. left the bodies sitting in the chairs, and to the full glare of the Cuban sun, and the promiscuous idlers, until four in the after- then they were conveyed away in coarse for immediate burial, and the scaffold was 1.

execution was exceptional, perhaps in con- e of the circumstances attendant on the Ordinarily capital punishment is admin- on the Punta, in front of the prison. It oc- s commonly in Havana than in other parts island, where the Chinese population are the use of the knife on any and every oc-

RPER'S WEEKLY.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1860.

E POPE ON THE SICILIAN QUESTION.

an error to suppose, as some bigoted [illegible]

in that of the other bishops of this province, your devo- tion and reverence toward us and the Holy See.

"While you were suffering for our calamities and af- flictions, we were watching with great anxiety and fear the bold efforts of those who, being supported by European powers, trampling on every divine and human right, de- signed, with surpassing impudence, to raise a revolution in those parts of Italy which had remained quiet.

"Sicily was struck and afflicted by such a misfortune; and we, venerable brother, in the midst of our sorrows, have seen that a most pernicious band of desperadoes, on board of a Sardinian ship, has landed on the island. In- deed, to the present generation and to posterity the au- dacity of these highwaymen will appear incredible. Their crime, however, is surpassed by the silence and connivance of those to whom the port from which they sailed belongs. These pirates maintain that they want to insure the union of Italy. They terrify all the island with their arms; they attack the royal troops, ex- cite the people to revolution, take possession of all places not fortified, and threaten ruin to all Sicily if she does not make herself to the kingdom of Sardinia.

"The principles on which human society is founded are already destroyed if every body may be allowed to send arms and pirates to take possession of what belongs to others, and thus extend their own kingdom. But let those who are thus unjust and cruel know that all will not fall as we. Therefore console yourself, venerable brother, and place your trust in the Lord, who will not keep the just long amidst such storms. Persevere in im- ploring Him to come to our aid and to that of Italy. Let us turn ourselves with confidence to the patronage of the Almighty Mistress of the World, the Queen of Heaven, the Immaculate Virgin Mary, who has destroyed all the monsters of error and heresies.

"Meanwhile we embrace you and the other bishops of this province with all our heart, and we pray God most humbly that he will break the arrogance of pirates and rebels, and defend and support with His arm you, the clergy and the people. We wish that the apostolic bene- diction which we impart to you and to your colleagues be a pledge of His divine protection.

"PIUS NONUS.

"ROME, 3d June, 1860, the 14th year of our Pontificate."

We need not bespeak attention for the above rescript. It will command every where admi- ration and respect, not alone on account of the exalted source from whence it springs, but from the practical sagacity and statesmanlike wisdom which it evinces. Well may his Holiness pre- dict that posterity will deem "the audacity" of the "pernicious desperadoes" and "highway- men" who march under Garibaldi "incredible." To have invaded, with less than 2000 men, an island containing 35,000 well-armed troops, sev- eral fortified places, and protected by a large number of ships of war; to have succeeded in conquering one half the island in a fortnight, taking the principal city, establishing a good government, and placing matters on such a footing in three weeks that the conquest of the remaining half of the island is merely a ques- tion of time; this is, assuredly, an exploit that may stagger the belief of posterity. The Pope shows his admirable foresight in predicting the event, and we trust that no bigoted Protestant will hereafter insinuate that his Holiness lacks that attribute of greatness.

Nor can we forbear dwelling for a moment on the profound wisdom of the subsequent sen- tence in which we are told that "the princi- ples on which society is founded are already destroyed if every body may be allowed to send arms and pirates to take possession of what be- longs to others, and thus extend their own king- dom." The phrase is not as perspicuous as might be wished; but Popes, like oracles, are entitled to be studied; and who can help ad- miring the depth of sagacity which underlies the misty veil of words? What, indeed, will be- come of society if every body "sends arms and pirates" against his neighbor? And think, too, what a demand will arise, in such a case, for pirates! What a premium the genuine Cap- tain Brand will command! An irreverent Genoese has suggested that if the arms and pirates should chance to be sent to Genoa, or to some other places, as for instance, New York, Paris, or London, the former would be confis- cated, the latter hanged, and society would not be disturbed at all; but we must beware of list- ening to such avowed scoffers as these. It certainly has happened, thus far, in the history of the world, that "arms and pirates" sent against foreign countries have never succeeded save where they invaded a region so abomin- ably governed that any change was welcomed by the people; in Sicily, in particular, it is diffi- cult to conceive any species of "pirate" more atrocious than the officers of the royal govern- ment, or any "arms" so villainous as the in- struments of torture commonly used in the royal prisons at Palermo. It is true that a couple of centuries back "arms and pirates" were "sent" from Europe to America, with a grant of this continent from the predecessors of Pius the Ninth, and that the pirates did suc- ceed for a time in butchering quiet Huguenots and Indians and stealing their property; but their triumph was short, and they were speedi- ly hanged, as we all know. These, however, are trifles, and should not be dwelt on.

The invocation which closes the same para- graph of the epistle it is not becoming to discuss. [illegible]

nor is "rain threatened," save only by the Pope's faithful servants, the bombardiers of Bomba junior. But the end is not yet; and who knows what a Papal benediction and a Papal curse may not bring forth?

No one, we repeat, can fail to perceive how wise and truly Christian are the sentiments of the Papal letter; what a fund of practical com- mon sense and knowledge of the world it re- veals; and how thoroughly it proves the Pope to be the best possible temporal ruler for the most important and most troubled state in Italy.

ANOTHER AMERICAN VICTORY.

WHEN the Rev. Sydney Smith, some twen- ty-five years ago, asked his famous question, "Who reads an American book?" he little thought that, in the year 1860, the great feature at a meeting of the most eminent British and Continental *savans* would be a paper read by a professor in an American University. At the recent meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Oxford, papers were read by the most renowned of England's men of science; but, says an English paper, the great attraction of the session was a paper read by J. W. Draper, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Physiology, and President of the Medical Department of the University of New York, and author of a work on Human Physiology, which is the standard authority on this subject in Europe as well as America.

Professor Draper attended the meeting of the Association at the special invitation of the Com- mittee, whose guest he was. When his turn came to read, the various sections, which meet daily in different halls of the city, adjourned to listen. The spacious hall of the University reading-room was "literally crowded to suffo- cation by an audience composed of persons of the highest literary and scientific reputation, of both sexes." The subject of Professor Dra- per's paper was, "The Intellectual Development of Europe considered with reference to the View that the Progression of Organisms is determined by Law." His object was to prove that the ad- vancement of civilization in Europe was not for- tuitous, but determined by a physical law—a subject which the learned professor will shortly develop more fully in a work now in press by Messrs. Harper & Brothers, the fruit of many years of assiduous study and scientific investi- gation.

His lecture lasted an hour, and, though the day was oppressively hot, was listened to with breathless interest. No sooner had he closed than half a dozen eager *savans* struggled for the floor—some desirous to offer congratulations and thanks for the able paper, and others as anxious to combat the novel and striking views of the American professor. According to the reports, a most lively discussion ensued—some of the ablest members of the Association rang- ing themselves on the side of Dr. Draper, who found himself, very much to his own surprise no doubt, the lion of the day and of the session. His paper was the talk of every literary and sci- entific coterie; and he was himself overwhelmed with invitations—to the honor of science be it said—from opponents as well as friends of his views.

At a subsequent meeting he read an account of a large reflecting telescope for astronomical photography, now being erected at his country house, near Hastings, on the Hudson, by one of his sons. This is the first instrument of the kind erected in America, and the second in the world—the only other being at Kew, in En- gland. Though its cost will be above ten thou- sand dollars, the means are furnished entirely by the young gentleman (Dr. Henry Draper), under whose supervision also the intricate ap- paratus is being prepared and put up.

WILL THE PRINCE OF WALES MARRY AN AMERICAN?

A GOOD many jokes are current about the possibility of the Prince of Wales falling in love with an American belle, and the possible consequences of such a catastrophe. Every body looks at the subject in a quizzical light; no one ever seems to have dreamed that it may become a sober reality, and that it may end in an American sharing the throne of England. Yet stranger things have happened.

If the Prince lives, he must marry. By law he is forbidden to marry a subject; nor can he wed any woman who is not a Protestant. It is [illegible]

colony; when George the Fourth married, in 1795, the United States were little better than a colony in the eye of Englishmen; Queen Victoria, at the age of eighteen, could hardly have been expected to deviate from precedent, and marry an American. Of all the heirs-ap- parent of the House of Brunswick the Prince of Wales is the first who is not forced by law to marry into one of the German families.

Now there are very substantial reasons why he should not do so. Without exception, these German marriages have proved unpopular in England. Caroline of Anspach was a shrew; Augusta of Saxe-Gotha was a fool, if not some- thing worse; Caroline of Brunswick scandal- ized Europe by her divorce suits and her loose behavior; Prince Albert is, without exception, the most unpopular man in England. The English say, with great truth, that they have to grant to all these foreigners large annual sal- aries, and that the only reward they get for them is the sacrifice of British to German in- terests. All of these German wives or husbands have lived on the British people, and support- ed their friends in Deutschland on what they screwed out of Parliament. More than this, in time of trouble they have, time and again, used the arms and money of England to serve the interests of their broken-down families in Germany. Prince Albert, as every one knows, played a thoroughly double-faced game, in the interest of the German oligarchs, during the Crimean war.

These facts are not likely to render the Brit- ish nation partial to another German marriage. The English have married their Princess Royal to a German whom they had to pay handsome- ly for taking her, just as they had to pay Albert for marrying their Queen; but when it comes to settling their Prince of Wales, they may look for something better than a Dutchwoman. If they do, they can not look elsewhere than here.

It can not be questioned but, in view of statesmanlike policy, an American marriage would be a wise step on the part of the Prince. This country ought to be made the best friend of Great Britain. We are the only people in the world who have established and maintain institutions based on the same foundation as those of England. Between England and the European Powers there never can be any last- ing friendship; this is the only country by whose firm alliance Great Britain could set store, if she could secure it. She can never find a friend so valuable or so staunch as the United States, if only she can secure our friend- ship. And there is no way so simple—in view of the character of our people—to secure that friendship as by having her Prince marry an American.

This, too, is a Democratic age, and the mar- riage of the Prince of Wales with an untitled girl would be a famous hit with the British people. It would have a spice of romance about it which would render the young man a hero at once. We may add that the Prince can find among our American girls more than one that would adorn a throne, and would make him a good wife.

THE LOUNGER.

THE PICTURE.

I SHALL not try the experiment, not only be- cause it is not necessary to praise Page in order to persuade people to look at his pictures, but because it would not be successful. The gay painter and I differ. He believes profoundly in advertising, and it is a very common and popular faith. But while it is of great use, it is not the secret of fame nor of fortune.

"The Flight into Egypt" is a small picture. In the right are Joseph leading the donkey, and Mary sitting upon it, holding the child, over whom she bows her head. Faintly outlined behind her are shrubs and trees. The path descends abruptly to the desert, which lies a glaring red waste across the canvas, with the pyramids in the left distance, and three shreds of white cloud in the blank desert of red sky that overspreads the desert of red sand. The mother is rapt in her babe. The donkey catches the last bit of herbage; while Joseph, who has already begun to descend, gravely surveys the boundless desolation upon which he is entering. They are literally going down into Egypt; and in no other picture of the subject that I recall is the fact that they are going forth into solitude and danger so impressively treated. Usually they sit under a palm-tree by the wayside, and the journey is subordinated to the holy character of the trav- elers. But here the journey is the central point of interest. Joseph has his back to the infant, and is evidently thinking only of the rough way before [illegible]

IN THE UNITED STATES PATENT AND TRADEMARK OFFICE
BEFORE THE TRADEMARK TRIAL AND APPEAL BOARD

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY Petitioner, V. AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF KUWAIT, Registrant.	Cancellation No. 92049706 Reg. No. 3387226 Mark: AUK AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF KUWAIT Reg. Date: February 26, 2008
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF KUWAIT, Counter-Petitioner, V. AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, Counter-Registrant.	Reg. No 2986715 Mark: AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY Reg. Date Aug. 23, 2005 Reg. No. 3559022 Mark: A NEW AMERICAN UNIVERSITY Reg. Date: Jan. 06, 2009 Reg. No. 4127891 Mark: AMERICAN UNIVERSITY WASHINGTON COLLEGE OF LAW and Design Reg. Date: Apr. 17, 2012 Reg. No. 4774583. Mark: AMERICAN UNIVERSITY Reg. Date: Jul. 21, 2015

EXHIBITS E10-E16 to

DECLARATION “E” OF JANICE HOUSEY

EXHIBIT E10

University of Northern Iowa

Review

Reviewed Work(s): A Discourse on the Studies of the University by Adam Sedgwick; Alma Mater, or Seven Years at the University of Cambridge by A Trinity Man; The Cambridge University Calendar for the Year 1830 by

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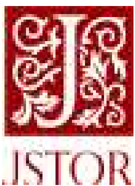

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them a last asylum. The greater portion being thus cut off, the few who had fallen alive into the hands of their enemies were reserved for every species of torture, perishing by the knife, at the stake, precipitated from the summits of lofty towers, or stifled by the foul air of damp and crowded dungeons.

Thus fell the Protestant religion in Italy. Its end was everywhere attended with the same horrors, and its history is but a repetition of racks, and dungeons, and stakes. Terrible period! when the powers of the human mind seem to have acquired a greater developement, only in order to open a broader field of suffering; and the convictions which should inspire sentiments of calm and beneficent philanthropy, served as stronger stimulants to ferocious persecution. Bitter, and even more humiliating than bitter, are the scenes that we have traced; but bitterer still is the reflection, that the spirit which distinguished them is still alive, and that in our own, as in every other age, the persecuted but awaits a moment of success, to seize, for his own use, the arms of the persecutor. Happy are we, not that our passions are milder, but that our laws are better; and that persecution, from being a moral, has become also a political crime.

ART. X. — 1. *A Discourse on the Studies of the University,* by ADAM SEDGWICK, M. A., F. R. S., Woodwardian Professor and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Fourth Edition. Cambridge, 1835. 8vo. pp. 157.

2. *Alma Mater, or Seven Years at the University of Cambridge.* By a Trinity Man. London; Black & Torry & Torry. 1827. Two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 323 and 272.

3. *The Cambridge University Calendar for the year* 1830. Cambridge. 18mo. pp. 464.

THE spirit of English reform has not spared the two great Universities, the pride and glory of the United Kingdom. Their close connexion with church and state has naturally turned the sharpest scrutiny of Reformers and Radicals to their real or supposed abuses; and many violent attacks have

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been made upon these time-hallowed seats of learning. As is common in such cases, the unjustifiable harshness which has been dealt upon them, has been met by an uncompromising spirit of resistance on the part of their friends. There appears to be a great deal of wilful blindness on both sides. The wants of different ages require changes in great institutions, which their governors are not always willing to permit; and there are difficulties in the way of changing long-established usages and methods, for which heated reformers make no allowance. Let us hope, that the resultant of these two clashing forces will be in the direction of wisdom and common sense. One thing is pretty certain, that the most violent clamorers for alterations in long-established systems of education, are those who know least about any system; and the remark is true both of England and the United States. It is no uncommon thing to find beardless boys, under the inspiration of this precocious age, passing bold and unhesitating judgments upon institutions founded by the wisdom, and cherished by the zeal, of our sturdy ancestors; weighing systems of study, in the scales of their puny understandings, and finding them wanting, though the sagacity, learning, and experience of men grown gray in the high places of church and state, have been exhausted in devising them. We venture to say, there never was a period in which speculations on the subject of liberal education were so abundant in showy confidence of assertion, accompanied by real and disgraceful ignorance.

We strongly suspect that all sound thinkers will, sooner or later, settle down in the conviction, that the great principles of university education, as established in England and among us, are the true ones. They are true, because they are founded in the nature of man. Unquestionably the basis of all just thinking, in literature, science, art, and philosophy, must be laid in a knowledge of the ancient classics, the mathematics, and intellectual philosophy. Moral philosophy and theology are concerned with the everlasting interests of man, and belong to every form of education. These are the branches of study, which the greatest minds of England and the United States have decided to be the most important for intellectual discipline, and the formation of taste. Is not their decision just? The histories of both countries, the great men to whom English liberty and English literature owe their support,

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the heroes and statesmen to whom we owe our national existence, and our constitution its perpetual illustration and defence, what are they but so many standing witnesses to the deep wisdom, in which our institutions for the education of young men have been founded?

But our present purpose is not to go into a discussion upon the great principles of university education. In this paper, we propose merely to give a brief account of the University of Cambridge, in England. We shall offer a concise description of its government; its course of studies, with the forms and methods of examination; its degrees and other honors; and, in conclusion, a few sketches of college life, which appear to us to be worthy of notice, as compared with college life in this country.

The University of Cambridge is a society of students in all the liberal arts and sciences, incorporated by the name of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Cambridge. It consists of seventeen colleges, each of which is a body corporate, and bound by its own statutes; but they are all subject to the paramount laws of the University. Each college furnishes members both for the executive and legislative branches of the government. The legislative branch of the government consists of the two divisions of the Senate, and a council called the Caput. The senate consists of all who are masters of arts, or doctors in either of the three faculties, divinity, civil law, or physic, having their names on the college boards, holding any office in the University, or being resident in the town of Cambridge. They generally number about two thousand. They are divided into two classes, called the regents and the non-regents. The regents, or members of the upper house, or white-hood house, as it is called from the members wearing hoods lined with white silk, are masters of arts of less than five years' standing, and doctors of less than two. The non-regent or lower house, called also the black-hood house, from the members wearing black silk hoods, includes all the rest. But doctors of more than two years' standing, and the public orator of the University, may vote in either house.

The council, called the Caput, consists of the vice-chancellor, a doctor in each of the faculties, divinity, civil law, and physic, and two masters of arts to represent the regent and non-regent houses. The vice-chancellor is a

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member of the caput, by virtue of his office. The other members of this council are chosen as follows. The vice-chancellor and the two proctors nominate severally five persons ; and out of these fifteen, the heads of colleges, doctors, and scrutators elect five, commonly honoring the vice-chancellor's list with the appointment. Every proposition of a university law, or grace, must be approved by the caput, every member having a negative voice, before it can be presented to the consideration of the two houses of the senate.

Meetings for the transaction of university business, called congregations, are held about once a fortnight, and a list of the days of such meetings is published by the vice-chancellor at the beginning of each term. The vice-chancellor may call the senate together for the despatch of extraordinary affairs, at other times, by causing a printed notice, specifying the business, to be hung up in the halls of the several colleges, three days before the time of assembly. Any number of the senate, not less than twenty-five, including the proper officers, constitute a quorum, and may proceed to business. Besides these meetings, there are others called statutable congregations, or days of assembly enjoined by the statutes, for the ordinary routine of university affairs, such as conferring degrees, electing officers, &c., for which no special notice is required. A congregation may also be held without three days' notice, provided forty members of the senate be present. Every member has a right to bring any proposition or grace before the senate, if it has been previously approved by the caput. When it has passed the caput, it is read in the non-regent house by one of the scrutators, and in the regent house by the senior proctor. It is read in like manner at the second congregation. If a *non placet* is put in by a member of the non-regent house, the vote is then taken. If the number of *non placets* equals or exceeds the number of *placets*, the grace is thrown out. If the *placets* are more than the *non placets*, it is carried up to the regent house, and there undergoes the same process. If it passes through both houses, it is considered a regular act of the senate, and if the subject be of a public nature, it becomes a statute. No degree is conferred without a grace, which passes through the process above described. A grace of this kind is called a *supplicat.* Those for bachelor of arts, honorary degrees, and masters of arts of King's College, require to be read at one congregation only.

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The executive of the University consists of the following officers:

The chancellor. This officer is the head of the University, and has sole authority within the precincts, except in cases of mayhem and felony. He seals the diplomas and letters of degrees, &c. given by the University, defends its rights and privileges, convokes assemblies, and administers justice to the members under his jurisdiction.

The high steward, who has the power of trying scholars impeached of felony within the limits of the University, and to hold and keep a leet according to the established charter and custom. He appoints a deputy by letters patent, which are confirmed by a grace of the senate.

The vice-chancellor. This officer is elected annually by the senate, on the 4th of November, and, as his title indicates, has the power of the chancellor, in the government of the University, and the execution of the statutes, when the chancellor is absent. He is required, by an order made in 1587, to be the head of some college; and he acts as a magistrate for the University and county.

The commissary is an officer under the chancellor, and holds a court of record for all privileged persons and scholars under the degree of M. A. for the trial of causes by the civil and statute law, and by the custom of the University.

The public orator writes, reads, and records the letters to and from the body of the senate, and presents to all honorary degrees with an appropriate speech.

The assessor is an officer specially appointed by grace of the senate, to assist the vice-chancellor *in causis forensibus et domesticis*.

The two proctors are peace officers, annually elected. They must be masters of arts, of at least two years' standing, and are regents by virtue of their office. Their duty is to watch over the discipline of all persons *in statu pupillari*, to search houses of ill fame, and take into custody loose and abandoned or suspected women. They are also required to be present at all congregations of the senate, to stand in scrutiny with the chancellor or vice-chancellor, to take the suffrages of the house, both by word and writing, to read them and declare the assent or dissent accordingly, to read the graces in the regent house, to take secretly the assent or dissent, and openly to pronounce the same.

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The librarian's duties are designated by his title. The registrary is required, either by himself or deputy, to attend all congregations, to direct the form of the graces to be propounded, and to enter them on the university records, when they have passed both houses. He also registers the seniority of such as proceed annually in any of the arts and faculties, according to the schedules furnished him by the proctors. — The two taxors are masters of arts, and regents by virtue of their office. They regulate the markets, examine the assize of bread, the lawfulness of weights and measures, and call the abuses thereof into the commissary's court. — The scrutators are non-regents. Their duty is to attend all congregations, to read the graces in the lower house, to take the votes secretly or openly, and to declare the assent or dissent of that house. — The moderators are nominated by the proctors, and appointed by a grace of the senate. They superintend the exercises and disputations in philosophy, and the examinations for the degree of bachelor of arts, in the place of the proctors. — The three esquire bedells are required to precede the vice-chancellor with silver maces, upon all public occasions and solemnities. They bring the doctors present in the regent house to open scrutiny, there to deliver their suffrages by word or writing; they receive the graces from the vice-chancellor and caput, and deliver them first to the scrutators in the lower house, and, if they are granted, carry them to the proctors in the upper house. They attend the professors and respondents in the three faculties, from their colleges to the schools, and during the continuance of the several acts. They collect fines from the members of the University, and summon the members of the senate to the chancellor's court. — The university printer, the library-keeper, the under library-keeper, and the school-keeper, are elected by the body at large; the yeoman bedell is appointed by letters patent under the hand and seal of the chancellor; and the university marshal, in the same manner, by the vice-chancellor.

The University has two courts of law, the consistory court of the chancellor, and the consistory court of the commissary. The former is held by the chancellor, or in his absence, by the vice-chancellor, assisted by some of the heads of colleges, and one or more doctors of the civil law. All pleas and actions personal, as of debts, accounts, contracts, &c., or of any injury begun or grown within the limits of the University,

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and not concerning mayhem and felony, are heard and decided in this court, and the manner of the proceeding is according to the civil law. An appeal lies from this court to the senate. The latter is held by the commissary, acting by authority deputed to him under the seal of the chancellor. He takes knowledge and proceeds in all causes, as above, except that causes and suits to which the proctors or taxors, or any of them, or a master of arts, or any other of superior degree is a party, are reserved to the jurisdiction of the chancellor or vice-chancellor. The manner of proceeding is the same in this as in the other court; and the party aggrieved is allowed, by statute, an appeal to the chancellor's court, and from thence to the delegates, if the cause and grief of the party render such application necessary.

The two members sent by the University to Parliament are chosen by the senate. The university counsel are appointed by grace of the senate, and the solicitor is appointed by the vice-chancellor. The syndics are members of the senate, chosen to transact all special affairs of the University. The professors have stipends allowed from various sources, from the university chest, from government, or from estates left for that purpose. The annual income of the university chest is about £16,000, and the annual expenditure about £12,000. The funds are under the management of the vice-chancellor, and the accounts are examined by three auditors, appointed annually by the senate. The terms of the University are three. The October or Michaelmas term begins on the 10th of October, and ends on the 16th of December; Lent, or January term, begins on the 13th of January, and ends on the Friday before Palm Sunday; Easter or Midsummer term begins on the 11th day after Easter day, and ends on the Friday after commencement, which is always the first Tuesday in July.

The seventeen colleges of the University were founded by different individuals, all of whom enjoined, first, the cultivation of religion, and then of polite literature and the sciences. The statutes of some of the colleges require the fellows to be born in England, in particular counties, &c. The fellowships at Trinity, St. John's, Sidney, Downing, Clare Hall, and Trinity Hall, are open to all competitors, and there is the following law with regard to all; "Whosoever hath one English parent, although he be born in another country, shall be

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esteemed as if born in that county to which his English parent belonged. But if both parents were English, he shall be reckoned of that county to which his father belonged." Stat. Acad. p. 268.

The orders in the different colleges are, 1. A head of a college or house, who is generally a doctor in divinity; excepting of Trinity Hall, Caius College, and Downing College, where they may be doctors in civil law or physic. The head of King's College is styled Provost; of Queen's, President; all the rest, Master. 2. Fellows, generally doctors in divinity, civil law, or physic; bachelors in divinity; masters or bachelors of arts; a few bachelors in civil law or physic, as at Trinity Hall and Caius College. The number of fellowships in the University is 408. 3. Noblemen graduates; doctors in the several faculties, bachelors in divinity, who have been masters of arts, and masters of arts, not on the foundation, but whose names are kept on the boards for the purpose of being members of the senate. 4. Graduates, neither members of the senate, nor *in statu pupillari*, are bachelors in divinity, denominated four-and-twenty men, or ten-year men, so called because persons admitted at any college, when twenty-four years of age and upwards, are allowed to take the degree of bachelor in divinity after their names have remained on the boards ten years. During the last two years they must reside in the University the greater part of three several terms, and perform the exercises required by the statutes. 5. Bachelors in civil law and physic, who sometimes keep their names on the boards till they become doctors. 6. Bachelors of arts, who are *in statu pupillari*, and pay for tuition, whether resident or not, and keep their names on the boards, for the purpose of becoming candidates for fellowships, or members of the senate. 7. Fellow commoners, generally younger sons of the nobility or young men of fortune, who have the privilege of dining at the fellows' table. 8. Pensioners and scholars. The number of scholarships and exhibitions in the University is upwards of 700. 9. Sizars, men of inferior fortune, who usually have their commons free, and receive various emoluments.

Such is a brief sketch of the government and orders of the University of Cambridge, for which we are mainly indebted to the University Calendar, a work of great interest and value. It contains a vast variety of other particulars, such as

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lists of professors, and the subjects of their lectures, together with a number of examination papers, to which we shall have occasion again to refer. The course of studies is admirably adapted to task the intellectual powers of young men, and the honors awarded to superior merit excite the young men of England to astonishing efforts. The Discourse of Professor Sedgwick, on the Studies at Cambridge, is a very remarkable work. He takes a comprehensive view of the Cambridge course, in a spirit of wide philosophy and perfect candor. He does not allow his connexion with the University to blind him to its defects, or check him from freely exposing them.

This discourse was pronounced by Professor Sedgwick, in the chapel of Trinity College, on the annual commemoration day, in December, 1832, and was published at the request of the junior members of that society. It has gone through at least four editions already, and has gained for its author a high reputation, as a vigorous thinker and an admirable writer. He examines the Cambridge studies under the three divisions of, 1. The study of the laws of nature, comprehending all parts of inductive philosophy. 2. The study of ancient literature, as furnishing examples and maxims of prudence, and models of taste. 3. The study of ourselves, considered as individuals and as social beings.

Under the first head, Mr. Sedgwick enters into an elaborate description of the objects to which the study of nature is directed, and the effects which that study must produce on the well-balanced mind. He shows, with great ingenuity of argument, and force and beauty of language, the connection between physical science and natural theology. This study furnishes subjects of lofty contemplation, and gives the mind a habit of abstraction, most difficult to acquire by ordinary means, but of inestimable value in the business of life. It tends to repress a spirit of arrogance and intellectual pride, and leads to simplicity of character and love of truth. It teaches man to see the hand of God in the works of nature, and gives him an exalted conception of his attributes, by showing the beauty, harmony, and order of creation, as manifested in the remotest consequences of the laws, by which material things are bound together, and act upon each other. The external world proves the being of God by addressing the imagination, and informing the reason. It is so fitted to our imaginative powers as to give them

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some perception of the attributes of God, and this adaptation is a proof of his existence. But the proofs which appeal to the reasoning faculties are stronger and more direct. The contrivance manifested in the bodily organs of every being possessed of life, — organs produced by powers of vast complexity, and understood only in their effects, — proves design, and is a display of an intelligent superintending power. The conclusion leads to the inevitable belief that inanimate nature is the production of the same overruling Intelligence. This structure of organic bodies proves design, and the proof becomes more striking and impressive, when we view the adaptation of their organs to the condition of the material world. We thus link together all nature as one harmonious whole. The concluding part of this branch of the discussion is devoted to the science of geology, in which Mr. Sedgwick very ably describes the surprising views, which that science unfolds, of the history of our earth and the various revolutions it has undergone. He refutes the theory, that the present state of things, and the existence of the human race, are simply the result of organic changes, as held by some philosophers; and attempts to prove that the successive races of beings, which have dwelt upon the earth, ending with mankind, are the production of an immediate creative energy.

In the second branch of the discussion, Mr. Sedgwick examines the claims of classical learning to be made a part of early and of university education. He shows that the study of language is peculiarly fitted to childhood, on account of the wonderful facility with which words are acquired and remembered at that period of life. But this readiness of verbal acquisition begins to fail with most persons, when the memory has become stored with words, and the mind accustomed to their application. The study of languages, therefore, has been wisely made a part of early discipline, and the student gains access by it, to those magazines of thought, in which the intellectual treasures of a nation are collected, as soon as he is capable of comprehending their value and turning them to good account. And as the body gains strength and grace by exercise, so the imaginative powers are strengthened, and the taste improved, by the study of models of high excellence. If it be objected, that life is too short, and the multitude of things pressing on our attention too great, to allow the classics to be made a leading part of academic

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education, it may be briefly replied, that the best literature of modern Europe is drawn from classic sources, and cast in the classic mould; and cannot be felt and understood, as it ought to be, without a previous knowledge of the classics. If this reply is not sufficient, then it may be further and unanswerably urged, that the classics are a necessary help to the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, in which the moral destinies of men are written. But, though Professor Sedgwick is satisfied with the strength of the argument in favor of classical learning, he doubts whether those studies have been wisely pursued in the University of Cambridge. While he speaks with becoming respect of the great names of Bentley and Porson, in whose hands the science of verbal criticism, generally so trifling and fruitless, was made to illuminate obscure points in history, and detect sophistry, yet even in their case he thinks there is reason to regret, that so little of their time was employed upon objects worthy of their gigantic powers. He believes that for the last fifty years, the classical studies of Cambridge have been too critical and formal, and that the imagination and taste might be more wisely cultivated, than by giving so much time and labor to pursuits which, after all, end in mere verbal imitations. Mr. Sedgwick proceeds to point out the advantages of one department of verbal criticism, which, he says, has often been overlooked, or set at naught. As words are the signs of thought and the expression of feelings, if we find in the ancient writers those which describe virtue and vice, honor and dishonor, guilt and shame, &c., coupled with epithets of praise or condemnation, we may be sure that these things existed as realities before they became words, at least in the minds of those who built up the ancient languages. By studying languages in this spirit, we find at every step of our progress a series of moral judgments, which have been forced upon men by the very condition of their existence. Mr. Sedgwick is of opinion, that the ethical writings of the ancients are deserving of more study and attention than they have hitherto received; that many of the writers of antiquity had correct notions on the subject of natural religion, and that the argument for the being of a God, derived from final causes, is as well stated in the conversations of Socrates, as in the Natural Theology of Paley. Mr. Sedgwick's remarks on the study of history are full of wisdom, and we should gladly quote them did our limits allow.

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The third and largest division of the discourse is an elaborate discussion of several points in intellectual and moral philosophy. The author's remarks are almost confined to Locke's "Essay on the Conduct of the Understanding," and Paley's "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy." He points out the defect in Locke's theory of the mind, and describes strongly the consequences which have followed from it. But he does full justice, at the same time, to the independence and masculine vigor of the great philosopher. The criticism on Paley, particularly the refutation of Paley's theory of utility, is a very able piece of philosophical argument ; and here, too, he awards a full measure of praise to the transparent clearness of Paley's style, and the admirable cogency of his reasoning. The discourse closes with a fervent strain of eloquence, in which the dictates of sound philosophy and rational piety are enforced in a highly impressive manner.

We have been the more particular in considering this discourse, because it contains the best account of the studies at Cambridge we have ever seen, and the best exposition of the grounds of university education. We do not find any very original speculations, or arguments; but the whole subject is handled with masterly vigor, and all that has been thought and said before, in parts and fragments, is brought together in lucid order, and adorned with a style of commanding dignity. A large portion of the observations apply to the state of education in this country, and we hope the discourse may be republished and widely circulated among us. It would set right the minds of many people, whose notions on the subject of academic education are at present quite wrong.

The requisitions for the several degrees are, briefly, as follows. A bachelor must be a resident the greater part of twelve terms, the first and last excepted. In order to take this degree at the regular time, he must be admitted at some college before the end of the Easter term of the year in which he proposes to come into residence. The mode of admission is either by a personal examination, or by a certificate signed by some master of arts of the University. If the certificate be satisfactory, the person's name is immediately entered on the boards, which are suspended in the butteries of the several colleges. A master of arts must be a B. A. of three years' standing. A bachelor in divinity must be a M. A. of seven years' standing. A doctor in divinity must be a

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B. D. of five, or M. A. of twelve years' standing. A bachelor in civil law must be of six years' standing, complete, and must reside the greater part of nine terms. A doctor in civil law must be of five years' standing from the degree of B. C. L., or a M. A. of seven years' standing. A bachelor in physic must reside the greater part of nine several terms, and may be admitted any time in his sixth year. A doctor in physic is bound to the same regulations as a doctor of civil law. A licentiate in physic is required to be a M. A. or M. B. of two years' standing. A bachelor in music must enter his name at some college, and compose and perform a solemn piece of music before the University. A doctor in music is generally M. B., and his exercise is the same. The following persons are entitled to honorary degrees, by an interpretation of May 31st, 1786; viz. Privy counsellors, bishops, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, barons, sons of noblemen, persons related to the king's majesty by consanguinity or affinity, provided they be also honorable, their eldest sons, baronets, and knights. By a grace of the senate, passed March 18th, 1826, they are to be examined and approved like others, but have the privilege of being examined after having kept *nine* terms, the first and last excepted. They are then entitled to the degree of master of arts. The University also confers degrees, without residence or examination, on persons illustrious for their services to the state or to literature.

The ordinary course of study before taking the degree of B. A. is comprehended under the three heads of Natural Philosophy, Theology and Moral Philosophy, and the Belles Lettres. The undergraduates are examined in their respective colleges yearly, or half yearly, on the subjects of their studies, and arranged in classes, according to these examinations. Those who are placed in the first class receive prizes of books of different values. The students are thus prepared for the public examinations and exercises, which the University requires of all candidates for degrees. The public examinations are, the previous examination, and the examination for honors, in the senate house. All business affecting the University is here transacted. On public occasions the lower part is appropriated to the higher orders of the University, and the undergraduates occupy a spacious gallery.

During the last six weeks, preceding the senate-house examination, the students are termed questionists. The sub-

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jects of the previous examination are, one of the four Gospels, or the Acts of the Apostles, in the original Greek, Paley's Evidences of Christianity, one of the Greek, and one of the Latin classics ; and every person, when examined, is required to translate some portion of each of the subjects ; to construe and explain passages of the same ; and to answer printed questions relating to the evidences of Christianity. The Greek and Latin examinations occupy the forenoon, and the Greek Testament and Paley's Evidences, the afternoon. Of the persons examined, two classes are formed ; those who have passed their examination with credit, and those who are *only not refused* their certificate of approval by the examiners. Those who are not approved must attend the examination of the following year. Four examiners are elected at the first congregation after the 10th day of October, by the senate, for the succeeding year, and each examiner receives £20 from the university chest.

The student has next to perform the exercises required for the degree which he has in view. In the beginning of January, the proctor's servant goes to every college except King's, and receives from the tutors a list of the students called sophs, who intend to offer themselves for the degree of bachelor of arts. Their names are then delivered to the moderator. The moderator gives notice on the second Monday in Lent term, to one of the students in his list, to appear in the schools, and keep an act, on that day fortnight, in this form,

"Respondeat A. B., Coll. ———, Martii 5°, 18—.
C. D., Mod'r."

This person, called the respondent or act, soon after presents to the moderator three propositions or questions, which he is to maintain against any three students of the same year, nominated by the moderator, and called opponents. The first question is commonly taken from the *Principia*, the second from some other work in mathematics and natural philosophy, and the third, called the moral question, from Locke, Paley, or Butler. When the fortnight has expired, the respondent enters the school at one o'clock. The moderator, with one of the proctor's servants, appears at the same time, and, taking the chair, says, "Ascendat Dominus Respondens." The respondent mounts the rostrum and reads a thesis generally upon the moral question. The moderator then says, "Ascendat opponentium Primus." He immediately mounts a rostrum oppo-

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site the respondent, and opposes the thesis, in the syllogistic form. Eight arguments, each of three or four syllogisms, are offered by the first, five by the second, and three by the third opponent. The distinguished men of the year appear eight times in this manner, twice as acts, and six times as opponents.

The senate-house examination lasts seven days. The moderators form the questionists into classes, according to their performances in the schools, and the first four are publicly exhibited before examination day. The questionists enter the senate house about nine o'clock, on the Friday before the first Monday in Lent term, preceded by a master of arts, who, for this occasion, is styled the father of the college to which he belongs. The classes to be examined are called out, and proceed to their appointed tables, the first and second at one, and the third and fourth at another. The examination of the fifth and sixth classes, not candidates for honors, takes place at the same time. The examinations are mostly on written papers, which are drawn up in such a manner as to give a searching test of the attainments and talents of the persons examined. A series of these papers for one year, is given in "Alma Mater," Vol. II. pp. 63–92. The labor of the examiners is extreme. Besides attending the examination through the day, they are obliged to spend the greater part of the night in inspecting the papers, and affixing to each its degree of merit. On the morning of the last day of the examination, a new arrangement of the classes, called the brackets, is made out, according to the merits of the papers, expressed in the sum total of each man's marks. These brackets are hung on the pillars of the senate house, and a great rush immediately takes place of the junior members of the University, who are naturally eager to learn the destinies of the combatants. The examination of the last day is conducted according to the order of the brackets, and the final contest is carried on with the greatest ardor. At five o'clock the examination is completed, and the moderators retire with the papers, to decide the honors, that very night. A select number, of at least thirty, who have most distinguished themselves, are then recommended to the proctors for approbation, and classed in three divisions according to merit. These divisions are, wranglers, senior optimes, and junior optimes, and these are the three orders of honors. The first in the list is called the senior wrangler, the next, the second wrangler; the last of the

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optimes is styled, in the elegant phraseology of the Cambridge men, the "wooden spoon." All after the optimes are οἱ πολλοὶ, the first of whom is denominated, in the abovementioned dialect, the "captain of the poll," and the last twelve, the "Twelve Apostles." The next day after the conclusion of the examination, the ceremonies of the admission of the questionists takes place. A congregation is called in the senate house, and two papers, containing a list of the questionists, according to their merits or seniority, are hung up on the pillars. The senior moderator makes a Latin speech, the vice-chancellor in the chair, with the moderator on his left hand. The junior proctor delivers to the vice-chancellor a list of honors and seniority, subscribed "Examinati et approbati a nobis," meaning the proctors, moderators, and other examiners. The caput passes the supplicats of the questionists, and receives a certificate, signed and sealed by the master of the college, that each has kept his full number of terms; if not, it is mentioned in the supplicat, and a certificate, explaining the cause, is given in by the father. The vice-chancellor reads them to the caput, and they are then carried by one of the bedells to the non-regent house, to be read by the scrutators. If they are all approved, the scrutators walk, and the senior says, "*Omnes placent.*" If any are disapproved, he says, "A. B. &c. non placent; *reliqui placent.*" The supplicats are then carried into the regent house, to be read by the senior proctor. If all are approved, the proctors walk, and the senior says, "*Placent omnes? Placeat vobis ut intrent.*" They are then delivered to the registrary, who writes on them, "*Lect. et concess. die Jan.*"

The father of the senior wrangler, preceded by a bedell, and accompanied by the senior wrangler, approaches the vice-chancellor, and presents him, in ascending, a formulary in Latin; he then takes the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The senior proctor then reads to him another oath, in Latin, respecting various matters pertaining to the interior regulations of the University. He then kneels down before the vice-chancellor, who, taking his hands between his own, admits him in these words, "Auctoritate mihi commissâ, admitto te ad respondendum questioni. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti, Amen." The others are then presented by the fathers of their respective colleges, and the senior proctor administers to them the same oath, which had been taken by

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the senior wrangler. When all have been sworn, they are admitted by the vice-chancellor, in the order of the list signed by the proctors and examiners, and the admissions being concluded, the congregation is dissolved.

There are similar proceedings in civil law and physic, the particulars of which must be omitted. There is also a special examination, called the East-Indian examination of candidates for writerships in the service of the company, who have not resided in the college at Haileybury. This examination includes the classics, with the collateral studies, the mathematics, modern history, and Paley's "Evidences of Christianity." It is conducted by two examiners appointed by the vice-chancellor and the regius professors, with an annual stipend of £80.

The *tripos* is a list of those who have obtained honors on commencing bachelor of arts; and there are two public days, called the first and second tripos days. On the first day, the wranglers and the senior optimes are publicly honored with appropriate ceremonies; and, on the second, the junior optimes; but the unfortunate οἱ πολλοὶ are addressed in a body by the junior moderator, "Reliqui petant senioritatem suam e registro." The ceremonies are closed in these words, "Auctoritate quâ fungimur, decernimus, creamus, et pronunciamus omnes hujus anni determinatores finaliter determinasse, *et actualiter esse, in artibus Baccalaureos.*"

Besides these honors, there are prizes awarded for excellence in the various branches of learning, scholarships of different values, and two pensions for travelling bachelors, worth £100 each, annually. These are all the objects of the most strenuous competition; but they are too numerous to be more particularly specified.

In most of the colleges the fellowships are taken, as they fall vacant, by the wranglers in the order of seniority; the greater part of the bachelors, all the οἱ πολλοὶ, and most of the junior and senior optimes having left the University to prepare themselves for the active business of life. At St. John's and Trinity College, the fellowships require a very severe examination. In Trinity College, the examination lasts two days and a half, the candidates spending about eight hours a day in hard writing. On the first morning they are occupied from nine to twelve, in translating some difficult piece of Greek and Latin into English, and some piece of idiomatic English

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into Greek iambics, or Latin heroics, Sapphics, or Alcaics, as may suit the subject. In the afternoon, from three till dark, they are occupied on a mathematical paper. The second day is devoted entirely to the classics. The exercises are translations from the Greek and Latin poets, historians, and orators, and from the English into Greek and Latin, with a paper of questions upon Roman and Grecian history. The third morning is devoted to a paper on metaphysics. Of all the papers used at this examination, the mathematical is the most important, for the number of marks given to these questions is so much greater than those given to the others, that a man may become a fellow by that paper alone. The decision upon the claims of the candidates is made on the first day of October, by the "seniority," who meet in the chapel, read the reports of the examiners, and finally settle the question by vote. The anxiety to obtain the honors and emoluments of a Trinity fellowship is so great, as frequently to impair the health and entirely break down the strength of the candidate; a successful struggle bringing, besides the honor, a handsome competence for life. The scene that passes during the deliberations of the seniority is described as one of great bustle and anxious foreboding; not only the personal friends of the candidates, but the *gyps*,* bed-makers, shoe-blacks, and scullions, taking a lively interest in the result. The latter respectable individuals, it is stated, often lay wagers of a leg of mutton, a new hat, or some other equally important stake, upon the literary success of the several candidates.

"Alma Mater" is a very curious book. It gives a lively narrative of the incidents of a student's life, during a residence of seven years at Cambridge. Mr. Wright, a gentleman well known in the literary circles of London, is understood to be its author. The various scenes of university life, from the innocent blunders of the freshman, to the last mortal struggle for the fellowships, are described in an easy and witty style. For common readers, there is too much perhaps of college slang, and too many bad puns. But still these are curious as indications of the tone and style of college society, and students' talk. Every body of men, set apart from their fellow men by peculiarity of pursuits, readily form a set of

* Another elegant term in the Cantab. dialect, meaning *servants* or *waiters*.

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terms, intelligible only to themselves and the initiated. Every profession has its slang, every college has its slang, and horse-jockeys have theirs. In point of elegance, these dialects or jargons are about upon a par. The phraseology of the Trinity men, and their abominable puns, bring up vividly our recollections of college life at home; and our only surprise is, how so large a majority of students survive these desperate doings, and turn out respectable members of society. It is astonishing how much good health is enjoyed at college, in spite of them. College frolics are pretty much the same in the mother country and here. Mr. Wright gives us some edifying scenes at chapel, which bear a strong resemblance to certain proceedings in a New England college, not half a century ago. Dissipation finds its way to the haunts of science at old Cambridge, as well as at her namesake. Students divide off into gay-men, and reading-men, corresponding to our old classes, the geniuses and digs; and on particular occasions these classes intermingle for mutual consolation and support. But though scenes of a painful and even disgusting description sometimes occur, with riotous drinking and intoxication, there is no doubt that, in proportion to the numbers, the young men in universities, both at home and abroad, are as little given to sensual indulgence, as any other class of young men whatever.

From the foregoing brief sketch, the points of difference and resemblance between an English and American university may be readily perceived. In England, a university is a perfectly-organized community, for religious and literary purposes. Its enormous wealth, and the great number of persons resorting to it, require and enable it to have a strong government, with power sufficient to enforce academical discipline, and the laws of the land. An injury to persons or property may be promptly redressed, and violated law avenged. Our colleges are similar communities in some respects, but on a much smaller scale. Their government is simply academical. They were established in the days of small things, when money was scarce, and students few. But the country has gone rapidly forward, in population, resources, and refinement. The governments of colleges remain substantially the same as they were at first. They have few means, beyond the terrors of academical discipline, to enforce obedience, while in some colleges the students number their hundreds. With such

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large bodies government ceases to be paternal, and academical discipline is not always a shield against outrages, both on persons and property. A college government may, indeed, have its remedy by appealing to the laws of the land. But it has no remedy within its immediate control, except mere college punishment, and the consequence often is, that high crimes and misdemeanors escape the notice of the law. A college becomes, like some pagan temples, to a certain extent an asylum for transgressors. In times of high excitement, and even at other times, deeds of violence are perpetrated, which would send the offender, in other walks of life, to the county jail, or the State Prison. But the young gentleman at college meets only a college punishment, in the shape of a rustication, dismission, or expulsion. There have been exceptions to this course of things; but they are merely exceptions; the rule is unquestionably the other way. We are persuaded the circumstances of the country will soon demand a more effectual organization of the government of our universities, and that young gentlemen, surrounded by all the blessings of liberal learning, will not be allowed much longer to set the laws of their country at defiance, by perpetrating outrages, which draw down upon all other persons the heaviest vengeance of society.

As we have before remarked, the basis of liberal education is the same in England and the United States. It is laid in the mathematics, the classics, and philosophy. But the methods of securing a due degree of study, on the part of the young men, are widely different. In the English universities, the student is left much more to himself, and his studies are more directed to general results than with us. He attends upon the stated instructions of the Professors of his college; but the greater part of his work is done by himself, or under the eye of his private tutor, and with reference to a distant examination. The consequence is, that his learning is profound, and integral. He has made himself, so far as his powers permit, thoroughly master of it, and can command all his resources at a moment's warning, before he ventures to enter the lists for university honors. His ambition is addressed by motives of almost irresistible strength. He is in the midst of a society, consisting of the flower of British youth, in rank, wealth, and talent. He is under the protection of an institution, venerable for its age, and illustrious for the

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mighty names that adorn its records. If he becomes a senior wrangler, that honor places him for a year at the head of English students; if he gains a fellowship, he is ranked, for life, in an illustrious body of scholars, free from the cares of the world, and at leisure to cultivate every branch of letters, in the fullest exercise of his genius. On the other hand, the inviting distinctions of church and state open in brilliant perspective. What more does he want? But the British universities are, no doubt, too scholastic in their course of study and modes of instruction. Changes, required by the spirit of the times, are not readily introduced, and some exclusive regulations, originating in an unenlightened age, still remain to disgrace the present. The requisition of a subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the exclusion of Dissenters, are foolish, unjust, and absurd. They can be defended upon no principle of necessity, policy, or expediency, and the sooner they are done away with, the better.

In our universities, the honors are awarded according to daily recitations, and examinations have but a slight effect on the general results, by which the scale of rank is formed. This method secures a degree of punctuality and prompt attention to daily duties, which leads to habits of mind of the highest importance in the business of life. But it does not secure a profound knowledge of the subjects taught, or give the power of taking broad and general views in science and literature. It makes the mind adroit, rather than powerful, and fills it with fragments of the body of knowledge, rather than with the noble spirit of knowledge. Books are thought too much of, and subjects too little. The time we give to academic studies is too short, and the studies themselves are too many. If English universities are too tenacious of old methods and antiquated courses, ours are too ready to yield before the "march of mind." The fantastic experiments made by some of our colleges, in obedience to what is respectfully denominated public sentiment, remind us of the fable of the old man, his son, and ass.

A word or two more about the government of students at college, and we have done. The young man at college is a very peculiar being. Apart from the general characteristics of his age, he is subject to several influences that belong to his condition alone. He has arrived at a period, when he is neither boy nor man. His voice has lost the treble of the

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child, without deepening into the bass of manhood. His passions are beginning to sweep over him with tremendous energy. He has noble, but undisciplined, impulses. He is capable of generous attachments, and is a boisterous friend to liberty; whence there is danger, that his love of liberty will sometimes get the better of his love of order. If he has brought with him tendencies to perverseness and folly, their developement now becomes extremely active. The days have come for him, which a friend of ours once called "the agonizing days of puppyhood." His vanity puts forth with a vigorous growth. Having been all his life before completely controlled, he thinks he ought now to be exempted from all control, and, by a process of juvenile logic, he comes to regard all who are placed over him as his natural enemies. He takes offence at something done by his tutor, and he magnanimously breaks the tutor's windows at midnight. His love of liberty is so tetchy, that a new study, or an additional exercise, rouses him to rebellion, and he forthwith proceeds to combine against the constituted authorities, and proclaim the rights of man. His credulity at such times is absolutely incredible. Tell him the Faculty amuse themselves at every meeting by devouring a roasted freshman with trimmings, and he believes it. Nothing is too monstrous for his rabid capacity of faith. Reasoning with him at such times is vain. A syllogism addressed to a northeaster would be quite as cogent. In dealing with such people, the times of trouble come round pretty often; so that we have heard the wish expressed, that boys, unless of special sobriety and promise, might be put to sleep at fourteen, and not wake up till twenty-one. But as that is impossible, they must be trained up by other means. This brings us round again to the necessity of some adequate control. The subjects of college tutelage will not be regarded as boys; and they ought to be treated as men, as gentlemen. But they ought then to be subjected to all the responsibilities of men, of gentlemen. They must be made to feel that they have no immunity from the penalty of violated rights, but that the strong arm of law is over them, as over the rest of the world, and its sleepless eye upon their doings.

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Who We Are

Bishop John Fletcher Hurst with shovel at ground breaking of College of History

American University combines a tradition of strong undergraduate and graduate education with a focus on experiential learning, global leadership, and public service.

American University was founded by John Fletcher Hurst, a respected Methodist bishop who dreamed of a creating a university that trained public servants for the future. Chartered by Congress in 1893, AU has always been defined by its groundbreaking spirit. Before women could vote, they attended American University. When Washington, DC was still segregated, 400 African Americans called American University home. As we continue to grow in reputation and stature, we remain grounded in the ideals of our founders as we continue to be a leader for a changing world.

A Legacy of Leadership

Since being chartered by Congress in 1893, American University has been a leader in higher education in the nation and around the world.

A global outlook, practical idealism, a passion for public service: They're part of American University today, and they were in the air in 1893, when AU was chartered by Congress.

George Washington had dreamed of a "national university" in the nation's capital. But it took John Fletcher Hurst to found a university that, in many ways, embodies that dream.

The land Bishop Hurst chose for AU was on the rural fringe of the nation's capital, but it was already rich with Washington history. Abraham Lincoln had visited troops at Fort Gaines, which perched on the high ground now held by Ward Circle and the Katzen Arts Center.

Presidential footsteps would continue to echo through AU history. In 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt laid the cornerstone of a building, named for Hurst's friend, President William McKinley. When the Methodist-affiliated university opened in 1914, President Woodrow Wilson gave the dedication.

> **“There is no particular propriety in my being present to open a university merely because I am President of the United States. Nobody is president of any part of the human mind. The mind is free… The only thing that one can do in opening a university is to say we wish to add one more means of emancipating the human mind, emancipating it from fear, from misunderstanding—emancipating it from the dark and leading it into the light.”**
>
> —President Woodrow Wilson, May 27, 1914, at the opening of American University

A parade walks passed the College of History, now Hurst Hall, toward the McKinley Building cornerstone-laying ceremony in 1902 (University Archives)

GROWING WITH WASHINGTON

If AU's Washington ties were evident from the start, so was its groundbreaking spirit. The first 28 students included five women, a notable figure at a time before women could vote, and an African American student won a fellowship in 1915 to pursue a doctorate.

Undergraduates were first admitted in 1925, by which time graduate students had shifted to a downtown campus on F Street, near the White House. It was there in the heart of downtown that in 1934, at the start of the New Deal, AU launched a program to help train federal employees in new methods of public administration. President Franklin Roosevelt, who spoke at the event launching the program, promised it would have the "hearty cooperation" of all branches of his administration. The program would evolve into today's School of Public Affairs.

During World War II, students shared the campus with the Navy, which used it for research and training. It wasn't the first time that war impacted AU directly. During World War I, the still largely undeveloped campus had been turned over briefly to the war department for use as a military camp, testing and training site.

The period after World War II was a time of growth and innovation. The Washington Semester Program, founded in 1947, began drawing students from around the nation-and ultimately, the world-to participate in what was then a new concept: semester internships in the nation's capital.

In 1949, the Washington College of Law merged with AU, adding its rich history-it was founded for women in 1896-to the pioneering spirit of the university. By that same year, though the nation's capital was still a segregated town, the AU community included over 400 African American students.

> **“...Among the universities of the land American University is yet young; but you have a great future–a great opportunity for initiative, for constructive thinking, for practical idealism, and for national service.”**
>
> —President Franklin D. Roosevelt, March 3, 1934, at Joseph M. M. Gray’s inauguration as chancellor of American University

The School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs located on AU's former downtown campus in 1950 (University Archives)

POST-WAR EXPANSION

The 1950s brought further expansion. By 1955, the business program launched in 1924 had grown so large it became a separate school, now known as the Kogod School of Business.

Ground was broken for the School of International Service in 1957 by President Dwight Eisenhower, who urged the new school to remember that "the waging of peace demands the best we have."

A few years later, President John Kennedy used the 1963 AU commencement as the occasion for a pivotal foreign policy speech calling on the Soviet Union to work with the United States on a nuclear test ban treaty. The speech became known as "A Strategy of Peace."

It was just the beginning of a news-making decade at AU. Like their peers around the country, AU students angry about the Vietnam War took their concerns to the streets-but here, that often meant blocking the cars of Washington's policy makers as they passed the campus on their daily commutes, or hosting students who came from around the country to join the protests in the nation's capital.

The next decades brought a quieter campus, but the issues of the day continued to engage faculty and students as new centers, institutes, and programs were born and schools and departments expanded. In 1984, the School of Communication was established, reflecting the growth of the journalism program from the first courses in the 1920s.

> **“This is a young and growing university, but it has already fulfilled Bishop Hurst's enlightened hope for the study of history and public affairs in a city devoted to the making of history and to the conduct of the public's business...I have, therefore, chosen this time and place to discuss a topic on which ignorance too often abounds and the truth is too rarely perceived–yet it is most important top on earth: world peace”**
>
> —President John F. Kennedy, June 10, 1963, at the 49th Commencement of the university

President Kennedy delivers his Test Ban Treaty Proposal for the first time at American University on June 10, 1963 (University Archives)

A NEW CENTURY

Academic programs continuously gained high national rankings, and the quality of AU's students was reflected in the high number of merit awards and prestigious national scholarships and fellowships, such as Fulbright awards and Presidential Management Fellowships.

The university's growing reputation in the creative arts was underscored with the opening of the 296-seat Harold and Sylvia Greenberg Theatre in 2003 and the Katzen Arts Center in 2005. With 130,000 square feet of space, the Katzen includes a 30,000 square foot art museum with three floors of exhibition space, the Washington area's largest university facility for exhibiting art.

In 2007, Neil Kerwin, SPA/BA '71, became the first alum to become president of AU. A noted scholar of public policy and the regulatory process, he has been part of the life of AU for 40 years, as student, professor, dean, and provost, and guided the university through the process of implementing its strategic plan, "American University and the Next Decade: Leadership for a Changing World," which expresses a conviction that AU's academic strengths are grounded in its core values of social responsibility and a commitment to cultural and intellectual diversity.

It's a vision for the twenty-first century, but it's grounded in ideals that go back to John Fletcher Hurst and the dream of a university that makes a difference in the lives of its students, its community, and the world.

Sylvia Matthews Burwell, AU's 15th and first female president, addresses the AU community during her announcement ceremony on January 30, 2017

In 2017, Sylvia Mathews Burwell, who was most recently the Secretary of the United States Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) under former President Barack Obama, was named the 15th President of American University. She is the first woman to hold the highest leadership position at AU.

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Washington, DC 20016
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EXHIBIT E13

The American University of Beirut
Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education

Betty S. Anderson

University of Texas Press Austin

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parentis regulations that had circumscribed student activities throughout his father's presidency. In the 1904–1905 academic year, Bliss set up a special sophomore class to provide general training to those students who wanted to go on to study in SPC's professional schools, although students could still enter them by passing a series of examinations. Bliss found, however, that as late as 1912 the number of students studying in those two years was still relatively small, as students had not yet come to see value in this type of general education.

> But the numbers will grow, slowly in all probability, but surely, for more and more the desire to secure an education preliminary to professional studies that is sufficiently broad to put one in touch with "the best that has been thought and said" will send men to this School of Arts and Sciences, for here they can find to-day a thorough and varied course of elementary studies conducted by competent men who supervise the students' choice of electives, who are alive to the dangers of superficiality and intellectual dissipation, but who believe that a man who has not had a cultural training has lost a large opportunity for gaining happiness, efficiency and intellectual vitality.[146]

At the same time, the school's leaders made attempts to make the courses more intellectually stimulating for their students. In the July 1906 annual report, Robert H. West, the first dean of the Collegiate Department (1905–1906), soon to be renamed the School of Arts and Sciences, saw a dramatic change among the students in the junior and senior years because of the introduction of an extensive array of elective courses: "The result has been marked: the dilettante, desultory work which formerly was almost universal in these two years has largely disappeared, and has been replaced by an eager appreciation of the opportunities offered."[147] Starting in the 1908–1909 course catalogue, the school's leaders defined the method of instruction as follows:

> The primary aim of the college programme throughout all departments is to develop the reasoning faculties of the mind, to lay the foundations of a thorough intellectual training, to free the mind for independent thought. The permanent influence upon character exerted by the persistent requirement of thoroughness, seriousness, and diligence is more highly prized by the College than a brilliant show of a mechanical mastery of detailed information. In this sense, no course in the institution is

considered to be an end in itself; it is rather the aim of all instruction to train the individual student to meet the highest requirements of his life in society.[148]

Even this early in Howard Bliss's tenure, the school's faculty members were beginning to emphasize the element of freedom of inquiry that called on students to discuss and debate, with tolerance and respect, differing political, ideological, and religious views. As Howard Bliss wrote in his last published article, in 1920, "In all our classes, and especially in our Bible classes, there is a tradition of absolutely untrammeled inquiry; and woe be to the teacher who gives the impression that he is suppressing or fumbling question and answer, however blunt, embarrassing, or indiscreet the inquiry may seem to be."[149] In this atmosphere, the knowledge, per se, was not as important as instilling the tools needed to critically analyze the information received.

Howard Bliss's introduction of liberal education's curricular elements came to fruition with the school's name change in 1920; new programs were expanded and a research agenda was inaugurated. As Edward Nickoley wrote in his annual report for that year, "To the members of the Faculty the new name constitutes a twofold challenge: first, to a broadened field of work, to the branching out into new departments; second, and far more important, the new name imposes the obligation of producing a higher grade and better quality of work."[150] Echoing the discussion scholars had conducted in the Protestant American universities of the nineteenth century, Nickoley wrote, "As a university it not only becomes the duty of the institution to impart instruction but also to conduct and encourage research and investigation in new and original lines."[151] He hoped that "the American University of Beirut may become a university in fact and in deed as well as in name."[152] The name arose, as the faculty explained, because "it is the name the people use. They have taught us to think of ourselves as 'The American University,' although catalogs, handbooks, and stationery print 'The Syrian Protestant College' on almost every page. It has not been assigned by any ceremonial act. It has grown out of a half-century of educational ministry."[153]

Structurally, by this point, the concept had been accepted that in the first year or two of the students' educational experience, AUB provided pre-major and pre-professional training. As of the 1923–1924 academic year, the administration scheduled general education courses in the freshman year, with students then entering the School of Commerce, Pharmacy,

Dentistry, Pre-Medicine, or any major within the School of Arts and Sciences.[154] The concept of training students in general skills remained true to the Yale Report of 1828; as the faculty minutes report, students received "a broad foundation of culture" in that freshman program.[155] In the 1927–1928 academic year, the school introduced a sophomore orientation course entitled "Introduction to the Social Sciences"; "as the name implies, this course is intended to offer a comprehensive study in the various branches of social study for those students who plan to specialize in these studies in the last two years of the Arts course. Inasmuch as it is required of all sophomores, it serves also to provide a course in Citizenship and Social Relations for those students who plan the following years to take up the more highly specialized studies of the professional branches."[156] In fall 1927, *al-Kulliyah* reported that the course opened with six lectures by William Van Dyck; having resigned in 1882, he had resumed teaching at SPC in 1915. The lecture series was titled "The Biological Background of Man," and in it he "pictured the epic of the human animal, aided by charts, diagrams, bones, and fossil remains."[157] Not only had Darwin been admitted to campus, but the study of biological evolution had become a requirement for all students attending the sophomore class. Later topics covered in the course included psychology, religion and ethics, economics, political science, and sociology.

In the 1950–1951 and 1951–1952 academic years, the school revised its curriculum to more formally establish first the freshman and then the sophomore year as the stage for general, or liberal, education so that students would be prepared for their more specialized studies in the junior and senior years.[158] Changes to the later named Civilization Sequence Program over the years notwithstanding, AUB has held to the view that the first years of the collegiate experience must be devoted to a general education so that students can cover a broad range of topics and acquire the analytical skills necessary for any successful completion of the full university program.

Conclusion

The first hundred years of the school's existence took the educational process at SPC and AUB from the old unity of truth, delineated by a prescribed curriculum in Arabic and wrapped in evangelical Protestantism, to a new pedagogical orientation with the American liberal education system, taught in English and based in a Western civilizational coda. Daniel Bliss held tight to the reins of the curriculum and refused to initiate

the wholesale changes implied by an acceptance of Darwin's ideas. While Bliss wielded the greatest power in this process, other professors and even the students held some degree of agency. Professors such as Edwin Lewis and Cornelius and William Van Dyck initiated their students into the new scientific methods gaining ascendancy in America. They struggled to continue to teach in Arabic so the students could integrate the new ideas into their own linguistic and societal structures. The students, for their part, took the message of American education, especially as transmitted by their favorite professors, and demanded that the administration grant them agency over their educational lives. The students did not win this battle, but they succeeded in setting a precedent for student protest in the generations to come.

EXHIBIT E14

THAT THEY MAY HAVE LIFE

The Story of the American University of Beirut 1866-1941

BY STEPHEN B. L. PENROSE, JR.

NEW YORK 1941
The Trustees of the American University of Beirut

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1941

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The start of the joint financial campaign gave him little opportunity to relax.

3. FROM S.P.C. TO A.U.B.

At the same meeting at which the cooperative venture with Robert College was accepted, the Trustees voted unanimously to change the name of the institution to "The American University of Beirut," applying to the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York for an amendment to the charter which should comprehend the enlargement of function implied in the change of title. This amendment was granted on November 18, 1920. (Appendix F.)

The proposal to call the institution a university was not new. As far back as 1901 the Board of Managers had voted to change the corporate name to "Syrian Protestant University." To this proposal the Trustees had replied that "in the opinion of this Board it is desirable to postpone for a somewhat longer period the taking of the necessary steps to assume the title of 'University.' "[3] Daniel Bliss in his final report had spoken of the College as being on "the threshold of a university career." The faculty had brought the matter up in 1910, and consideration was then given by the Trustees to the actual title to be used. Howard Bliss, however, had not submitted specific recommendations until 1912, when he reported that the faculty, after long consideration, "would recommend that the term University be adopted to designate the character of the institution, the word to be used upon the occasion of the celebration of the semi-centennial anniversary of the founding of the College."[4] He noted that there was some reluctance felt about taking that step because of a feeling that the resources of the College were as yet inadequate for a university program. However, with four years to go before the fiftieth anniversary it was hoped that additional funds might be secured. In this recommendation the Trustees concurred.

The war, of course, interfered with the realization of this hope, but it was taken up again at the Trustees' meeting in May 1919. In view of the changed political situation in Syria it seemed pos-

[3] Trustees Minutes, January 30, 1902.

[4] Annual Report, 1911-12, p. 25.

sible to make the name "The American University of Beirut," rather than simply "Beirut University" or "Beirut Christian University," as had earlier been suggested. "Syrian Protestant University" was undesirable for two reasons. The institution was no longer Syrian, for its students came from all the countries in the Near East. It was inadvisable to continue the term Protestant because students and faculty now represented nearly every religious form in the Near East and there was no point in needlessly emphasizing sectarian distinctions. Likewise, although there was never any intention to weaken in any way the original principles of the founders, the inclusion of the term "Christian" in the title seemed to provide unnecessary emphasis on religious differences which might prove unfortunate. As a matter of fact, the University is accepted all over the Near East as being a Christian institution but one to which Moslems may safely send their children without risk of any direct proselytizing being attempted. The fact that nearly half the present enrollment of almost 2,000 students is Moslem is an indication of the trust placed in the school by the Moslem world.

The proposal to broaden the charter and change the name was submitted to the New York State Board of Regents, but though they approved of the charter change they objected to the name. Their position was that they had no right to grant the use of the term "American" to an institution in a prominent location where diplomatic relations might be delicate, and furthermore, to call it the "University of Beirut" might cause misunderstanding with the French or local educational organizations in the city. As it was deemed advisable to change both name and charter at the same time, the matter was referred back to the faculty for other suggestions as to title.

A flood of letters from Syrians insisting upon the name "American University of Beirut," was the result of this reference, and as it was apparent that this name was the overwhelming choice of those who might be expected to object, the Board of Regents reconsidered its action. The charter amendment was granted incorporating the name which the institution has since borne. The Syrian Protestant College was now the American University of Beirut.

APPENDIX E

UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Amendment to Charter of Syrian Protestant College

Having received a petition, made in conformity to law, and being satisfied that public interests will be promoted by such action, the Regents, by virtue of the authority conferred on them, hereby amend the Charter of the Syrian Protestant College by changing the number of Trustees from six to twelve.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Regents grant this amendment to Charter, No. 1,783, under the seal of the University, at the Capitol in Albany, June 28th, 1906.

(Signed)
St. Clair McKelway
Vice-Chancellor

(Seal) (Signed)
A. S. Draper,
Commissioner of Education

Recorded and took effect, 4 P.M., June 28, 1906.

APPENDIX F

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Amendment to Charter of the Syrian Protestant College

THIS INSTRUMENT WITNESSETH That the Regents of the University of the State of New York have amended the charter of the Syrian Protestant College, which was incorporated by a certificate executed on the 14th and 18th days of April 1863, and filed in the office of the Secretary of the State of New York, by changing the corporate name of said college to American University of Beirut and by making and enlarging its educational powers to be both college and university in character and scope, and to comprehend sanctioning, subject in all things to the rules, requirements and restrictions of the said Regents of the University, the establishing and maintaining of under-graduate and graduate college departments, professional, technical, vocational and other departments; the designation of any departments of the University as schools and with appropriate distinguishing names; the placing of any such departments under special directing management, auxiliary and subordinate to that of the University trustees; the affiliation with other approved organizations in educational work within the jurisdiction of the University; the conferring of suitable degrees, which or whose symbols are then registered by the Regents, upon duly qualified graduates from courses of instruction given by or under its supervision and directing control; the awarding of attesting certificates for meritorious edu-

cational work done under such supervision and control; and the giving or supervising of elementary and secondary instruction, preparatory for or in connection with higher grades of its educational work.

Granted November 18, 1920, by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, executed under their seal and recorded in their office. Number 2932.

(Seal) (Signed)
Pliny T. Sexton
Chancellor

(Signed)
John H. Finley
President of the University

APPENDIX G

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Amendment to Charter of American University of Beirut

THIS INSTRUMENT WITNESSETH That the Regents of the University of the State of New York have amended the charter of American University of Beirut,—which was incorporated under the name of the Trustees of the Syrian Protestant College by a certificate of incorporation executed on the 14th and 18th days of April, 1863, and filed in the office of the Secretary of State of New York, which certificate of incorporation was amended by action of the Regents taken at their meeting on June 28, 1906, increasing the number of trustees from six to twelve, and again amended by the Regents on November 18, 1920, by changing the corporate name of said college to American University of Beirut and by making and enlarging its educational powers to be both college and university in character and scope,—by increasing the number of trustees of the corporation from twelve to fifteen, so that paragraph "Third" of such certificate of incorporation as amended will read as follows:

"Third: The number of the Trustees of said Society to manage the same, shall be fifteen, four of whom shall be citizens of the State of New York."

Granted May 16, 1941, by the Regents of the University of the State of New York executed under their seal and recorded in their office. Number 4754.

(Signed)
Ernest E. Cole
President of the University
and
Commissioner of Education

(Seal) (Signed)
Thomas J. Mangan
Chancellor

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EXHIBIT E15

American University of Sharjah

Signature of Quality

Sharing the Vision

Institutional Self-Study Report / © December 2008

AUK001954

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Reviewed by workgroup chairs and members of the Self-Study Steering Committee, AUS students, faculty, staff, senior adminstrators and members of the Board of Trustees.

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Executive Summary

American University of Sharjah was founded in 1997 to embody the vision of His Highness Sheikh Dr. Sultan Bin Mohammad Al Qassimi of establishing an American model institution of higher education that is grounded in the history and culture of the Arab gulf region. The university first achieved full accreditation by MSCHE in 2004.

AUS has an appropriate mission that characterizes the university and guides its planning and assessment processes. However, the mission was developed without the participation of university constituents. A new mission is currently being developed, with constituent participation, as part of a new strategic plan, the formation of which has been the first priority of the university's new Chancellor, who joined in Fall 2008.

AUS has a highly qualified, diverse and active Board of Trustees that operates using established bylaws. It also has a body of diverse and qualified administrators who work within a clear organizational structure. Formal procedures need to be established for recruiting, hiring and evaluating senior administrators with the involvement of a variety of constituents.

Following the formation of a Board of Trustees-approved strategic plan in 2002, AUS achieved— earlier than planned— financial sustainability without government support, except for infrastructure and utility operating costs. In 2006 the Board of Trustees approved a new mission. In response, a planning structure was developed; however, this happened without the involvement of constituents. Nevertheless, the planning structure provided guidance and formed a basis for performance assessment for the different units, and linked units' performances to the mission. A variety of mechanisms are used by units to monitor performance and elicit feedback. Interviews carried out by a self-study team showed that the feedback results in improvements. However, the communication of these improvements to stakeholders remains ineffective. In addition, the budget allocation process seems to be linked only vaguely to the planning structure, and to involve little input from administrative units. Nevertheless, AUS has solid financial, physical, information technology and human resources to achieve its objectives with the current number of students. Some staff issues need to be addressed, in particular the provision of on-campus accommodation or a more realistic housing allowance program.

The Faculty Senate, Student Council and AUS Alumni Association provide working structures for shared governance practices. However, a representative body for staff is needed to adequately address staff issues. It is also important that procedures to assess and improve the effectiveness of the representative bodies are established.

AUS has four academic units offering 21 bachelor's degrees, 41 minors and 13 master's degrees. All AUS programs have received accreditation or initial accreditation from the UAE Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, using rigorous standards and highly qualified international evaluators. Professional programs are either accredited or in the process of being accredited by appropriate professional accrediting bodies in the US. Faculty, students and alumni are fairly satisfied with the current general education program, with the exception of grounding in Arab culture. This is a particularly

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Chapter 1 INSTITUTIONAL OVERVIEW

1.1 THE GENESIS OF THE UNIVERSITY

American University of Sharjah (AUS) was founded in 1997 by His Highness Sheikh Dr. Sultan Bin Mohammad Al Qassimi, Supreme Council Member, Ruler of Sharjah and President of American University of Sharjah, who envisioned the university as the institution of educational preeminence in the Arabian Gulf Region.

Figure 1.1 AUS Main Building

AUS was planned and operates as a multinational and multicultural institution within the framework of a university that is "American" in its formal academic and organizational characteristics. AUS is the first coeducational university in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and remains one of the few coeducational institutions among larger universities in the Arabian Gulf region. At the inception of AUS, the Founder entered into partnerships with American universities; a team from the American University of Beirut was engaged to serve as the planning body in 1996, and an educational consultation and assistance agreement was also signed with the American University (AU), Washington, DC. Later a similar contract agreement was made with Texas A&M University to cover the School of Engineering. Under these contracts American University and Texas A&M University recruited and nominated the senior management team and guided the initial development of AUS policies and programs. The contract with Texas A&M University was terminated in 2004. The contract with AU ended effective August 31, 2007. The view of both parties was that the kind of management advice and direction envisioned under the agreement in effect since 1997 was no longer needed by AUS. In place of the old agreement, AU and AUS entered into a long-term agreement based upon an endowment fund of $2,400,000, the income of which will be used to support faculty, staff and student exchange relationships between the two institutions, as mutually agreed upon by the president of AU and the Chancellor of AUS. The two institutions are equal partners in the relationship, and AU no longer plays a mentoring role.

Chancellor Dr. Peter Heath has led the university since Fall 2008, following Dr. Winfred L. Thompson, who headed the university beginning in August 2002. Dr. Thompson succeeded the first Chancellor, Dr. Roderick S. French. In its opening year AUS had 31 faculty and 282 students. These figures have grown steadily each year. As of Fall 2008, AUS has 354 faculty and 5,192 students, made up of 4,722 undergraduates, 254 graduate students and 216 Intensive English Program students.

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1.2 FOUNDER'S VISION

In 1997 His Highness Sheikh Dr. Sultan Bin Mohammad Al Qassimi expressed his vision of AUS as an institution that would equip students to take a full role in the advancement of society. AUS was therefore mandated to:

- reinforce the efforts of the leaders of the UAE "to ensure that science and education regain their rightful place in the building and advancement of our society and shaping the lives of our children"
- join other institutions of higher education in seeking "to reshape fundamentally the minds of our youth to enable them to address the challenges of life using the scientific method"
- become a "center of research for educational development and the solution of social problems"
- become "organically linked" to the economic, cultural, scientific and industrial sectors of society in "productive cooperation"
- exercise the "independence and objectivity in teaching and research" necessary for the achievement of these goals

This vision continues to guide AUS and forms the basis of its mission.

1.3 ENVIRONMENTAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

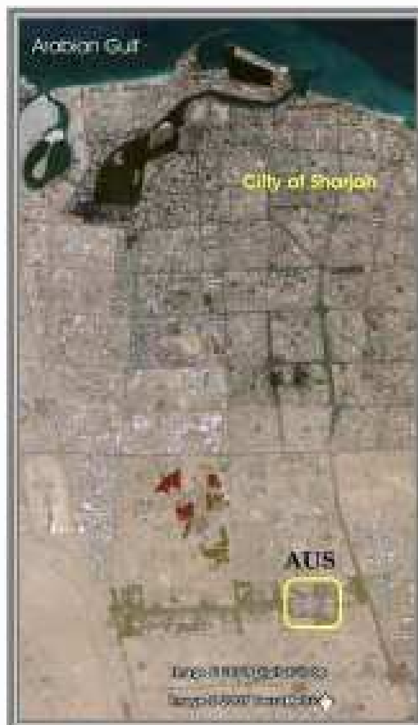

Figure 1.2 Location of AUS in Sharjah
(Latitude: 25°18'35.84"N, Longitude: 55°29'28.79"E)
(Courtesy of Google Earth)

AUS should be viewed within the cultural and environmental spheres it occupies— locally the emirate of Sharjah, nationally the UAE, regionally the Arabian Gulf and, more broadly, the Middle East.

The emirate of Sharjah is one of seven independent states that make up the federation of the United Arab Emirates, the country occupying an area along the east central coast of the Arabian Gulf. Sharjah is the third largest of the emirates, having an area of 1,000 sq. miles (2,600 sq. kilometers), and is the only one to span the breadth of the UAE, having coastlines on both the Arabian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. The emirate contains a wide variety of vistas—from palm-fringed sandy beaches to and level plains, from gently rolling dunes to rugged mountain ranges. The university is located 10 miles (16 kilometers) from the city of Sharjah, the emirate's capital, which is situated on the shores of the Arabian Gulf. Under the leadership of Sheikh Dr. Sultan, Sharjah has developed as a city of

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EXHIBIT E16

BAZAAR Magazine
May 2004

AUK – the new face of education in Kuwait

By Emma Staples

I met with Dr Samih K Farsoun who is the Dean, Academic Affairs and the College of Arts & Sciences, but don't let the long title put you off. This is one of the most approachable men I have met, I only wish there was a Dr Farsoun at the university I attended.

It was the first time I had a chance to look around the campus, which is set on what used to be a kindergarten, but there are major new buildings being reconstructed as well as adapting the standing classrooms. Bearing in mind that it was due to open in 6 months, I had to ask Dr Farsoun whether it would be finished on time, but everything is well on its way and is indeed running to schedule. There will be a state of the art library with a heavy emphasis on on-line services, as well as plans to house around 15,000 books. They will start with 2,000 for the first semester and then build from there. A Library Director and 4 other staff have already been hired and are on board. 30 fulltime faculty staff are also present, around 20 of which are multi-disciplined, with 10 heading the intensive English program. They are mostly American academics – either Arab Americans or trained in the American education system, with a mixture of women and men.

The range of academic degree programs at AUK is extensive: communication and media, sociology and anthropology, history and international studies, computer science and information systems, economics, English and Comparative Literature (this entails reading Arabic, French, Spanish and possibly Russian literature translated into English. Phew!)

There is also the School of Management and Business Administration. This is 1 degree with 4 areas of specialty: accounting, marketing, finance and banking, and management. Within these there are courses in entrepreneurship, change management, leadership studies, international business – all cutting edge areas of management in the US. There will also be a training center (The Continuing Education Center) for professionals, dealing with corporate management issues, which is part of AUK's continuing education programme.

The style of education reflects the American philosophy of spending the first 2 years getting the university graduation requirements, which means that there is a broad base of education. It's only in the 3rd and 4th years that the students start to specialise and focus. This is unique; different to anything else offered in Kuwait. In the Graduation Requirements for all students, the student will acquire a strong foundation in writing English and Arabic, in logic, quantitative and scientific reasoning and in General Education that covers the humanities and the social sciences. Everyone at the university has to have a total of 54 credit hours taken over the first 2 years in this broad based set of Graduation Requirements.

Every student has to take these requirements, even students participating in the business program.

What is also exceptional about AUK is that when the students graduate, they will have skill sets that make them employable. The liberal arts degree programs are professionally oriented. So in a sociology and anthropology degree, for example, students will have to learn methodology of the social sciences which includes varieties of research techniques, including survey, polling, etc. ; all relevant to jobs in private or government businesses.

Another exciting initiative by AUK is the memorandum of understanding they have with Dartmouth College in the US. (This is Ivy League – very prestigious; think Harvard, Yale, Princeton, etc). There are many advantages to this arrangement; consulting opportunities, the fact that Dartmouth will evaluate, assess and monitor the current academic programmes at AUK and the progress of the University as a whole, which means the students here are getting the best. Hopefully some AUK students will qualify to go to Dartmouth College to study during the summer breaks and maybe eventually a junior year abroad. AUK leadership isn't resting on its laurels. Dr Farsoun has many ideas about how to take the university further, whether it's to develop ideas to introduce a Gulf Studies programme (Arabic, Islam, economics and politics of the region; studies especially on the energy sector) or an agreement with a Spanish university to provide faculty who will teach Spanish culture and language.

I asked Dr Farsoun whether recent tensions between Arab counties and America would cause any problems in university life. He explained that the university has nothing to do with the American government, it is just an academic style that is recognized as being the first in education. It has nothing to do with politics, just with bringing the best education to Kuwait; developing a US style education in the local community. He also pointed out that had been no problems with the American universities in Cairo and Beirut. Hopefully there will be no problems in the future; at the end of the day it is a Kuwaiti university, licensed and run by Kuwaitis and for Kuwaitis.

Another question I asked Dr Farsoun was why the current location in Salmiya was chosen. It seems a small space for a university which is usually associated with large campuses and playing fields. But I must say, the space feels bigger than it looks. With all the construction in process you can see where the buildings will be, where the basketball and volleyball courts and running tracks will be. There are ample places left for parking, and the walkways through the campus, which will be landscaped, will give a sense of openness and greenness. Just right for sitting down and reading through a course in literature.