Notes

Chapter 1

3. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 7.
7. Ibid., 3, 103.
8. Ibid., 107.
16. Veysey, Emergence of the American University, 455.
18. Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, “Toward a More Adequate Understanding of the State,” in Bringing the State Back In, ed. Peter Evans,
Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 360.


22. Along with Skowronek and Eisenach, Brian Cook details the importance of this era, in *Bureaucracy and Self-Government* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).


28. Ibid., 31.


31. Ibid., 13.

32. Ibid., 15.

33. Ibid., 31.

34. Ibid., 43.

35. Eisenach, *Lost Promise of Progressivism*.

36. Ibid., 1–2.

37. Ibid.


44. Skocpol, “Bringing the State Back In.”


47. Skocpol, “Bringing the State Back In”; Douglass North, *Institutions, Institu-


49. Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol, “More Adequate Understanding of the State.”


51. Eisenach, Lost Promise of Progressivism, 31.

52. Veysey, Emergence of the American University, ix.

53. Those familiar with the AAU will note that these categories do not include all of its founding members; they exclude Clark University and the Catholic University of America. Though not included in the typology for the sake of design elegance, these institutions are discussed at various points in this work.


57. Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol, “On the Road toward a More Adequate Understanding of the State”; Skowronek, Building a New American State.

58. The influence of these leaders has been addressed at length in histories of higher education, such as Veysey’s Emergence of the American University and Rudolph’s The American College and University: A History (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), as well as in contemporary considerations of universities’ societal role—most notably in essays by Harold Shapiro and Hanna Gray in Universities and Their Leadership, ed. William G. Bowen and Harold T. Shapiro (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

59. Justin Winsor to James Burrill Angell, November 24, 1887, James Burrill Angell Papers, box 3, folder 97, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.


61. Harry Pratt Judson to James Burrill Angell, December 5, 1906, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 225.

62. Hadley’s appointment in 1899 itself reflected the evolution of the university, as he was the first layperson to head Yale.


64. Virginius Dabney, Mr. Jefferson’s University (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1981).


66. Veysey, Emergence of the American University.

Chapter 2

the Nation’s Service,” address delivered at Princeton’s sesquicentennial celebration, October 1896.

2. Marsden, Soul of the American University, 181.
4. Ibid., 31.
5. Eisenach, Lost Promise of Progressivism, 7.
7. Evans, Rueschmeyer, and Skocpol, “On the Road toward a More Adequate Understanding of the State.”
8. Skowronek, Building a New American State; Eisenach, Lost Promise of Progressivism; Wiebe, Search for Order.
11. Benjamin Wheeler to Seth Low, October 6, 1899, Benjamin Ide Wheeler Papers, BANC MSS C-B 1044, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
17. A. F. Nightingale to James Burill Angell, April 22, 1899, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 173.
20. Rudolph, American College and University.
22. Biennial Report of the President of the University on Behalf of the Regents to the Governor, 1910–1912 (Berkeley, 1912).
30. Ibid., 188–89.
35. Skowronek, Building the New American State, 42.

Chapter 3

1. Bensel, Yankee Leviathan.
3. Roger Williams, Federal Support for Higher Education.
8. Andrew Dickson White to Daniel Coit Gilman, March 16, 1864, Daniel Coit Gilman Papers, MS 1, box 1.49, Special Collections, Milton Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University.
9. Andrew Dickson White to Daniel Coit Gilman, September 14, 1864, Gilman Papers, box 1.49.
10. Ibid.
11. Andrew Dickson White to Daniel Coit Gilman, November 14, 1864, Gilman Papers, box 1.49.
13. Ibid.
14. Andrew Dickson White to Daniel Coit Gilman, May 5, 1865, Gilman Papers, box 1.49.
17. Ibid., 189.
20. Report of the Regents of the University of California Relative to the Operations and Progress of the Institution (Sacramento, 1872). Prior to this time, California did have institutions of higher learning. In 1851, the Jesuits had founded Santa Clara College, and the Methodists had founded California Wesleyan College (which became the University of the Pacific) in San Jose. In 1853, the New Light Presbyterians founded the Contra Costa Academy in Oakland, which was to become the College of California.
21. Stadtman, University of California.
23. Inaugural address of Daniel Coit Gilman, November 1872, Gilman Papers, box 5.3.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Andrew Dickson White to Daniel Coit Gilman, October 7, 1874, Gilman Papers, box 1.49.
27. Andrew Dickson White to Daniel Coit Gilman, September 20, 1874, Gilman Papers, box 1.49. Ironically, the selection of Noah Porter, rather than himself, as president of Yale was one of the factors that drove Gilman to head to California.

28. Andrew Dickson White to Daniel Coit Gilman, December 8, 1864, Gilman Papers, box 1.49.


31. Biennial Report of the President of the University on Behalf of the Regents to the Governor, 1894 (Berkeley, 1894), 10–11. In 1892, no report was issued; the report issued in 1893 covers three years; the 1894 report covers one year.

32. Roger Williams, Federal Support for Higher Education.

33. Andrew Dickson White to Daniel Coit Gilman, September 22, 1873, Gilman Papers, box 1.49.


35. Charles Kendall Adams to James Burrill Angell, July 19, 1885, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 86.

36. Moses Coit Tyler to James Burrill Angell, August 1, 1885, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 86.

37. Diary entry of Andrew Dickson White, December 1, 1885, quoted in Bishop, History of Cornell, 257–58.


39. Biennial Report of the President of the University on Behalf of the Regents to the Governor, 1884–1886 (Sacramento, 1886) 8.

40. Biennial Report of the President of the University on Behalf of the Regents to the Governor, 1880–1882 (Sacramento, 1882), 9.

41. Ibid.

42. Daniel Coit Gilman to James Burrill Angell, July 12, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 95.

43. John Swift to James Burrill Angell, May 24, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 94.

44. Ibid.

45. John Swift to James Burrill Angell, June 14, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 94.

46. E. W. Hilgard to James Burrill Angell, July 15, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 95.

47. John Swift to James Burrill Angell, August 7, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 95.

48. Ibid.

49. William T. Reid to James Burrill Angell, August 30, 1890, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 113. To contemporary observers, Reid’s move from university president to school headmaster might seem a step down, but given the political intrigue and uncertainty surrounding the University of California, such a move is not altogether surprising.

Chapter 4

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
11. Daniel Coit Gilman to Thomas Mortimer Cooley, November 16, 1880, Aa 2, box 7, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.
12. Ibid.
13. George Brown to Thomas Mortimer Cooley, December 16, 1880, Aa 2, box 7, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. In this era, the term postgraduate referred to all work done beyond the bachelor’s—what we today commonly refer to as “graduate work.”
14. Brown did not write simply to offer Cooley an opportunity to spearhead the Johns Hopkins program in historical and political science. He also wrote to express his support for Cooley’s potential appointment to the Supreme Court and to stress that such long-term prospects should not keep Cooley from accepting the Hopkins post in the short term.
15. Thomas Mortimer Cooley to Daniel Coit Gilman, February 15, 1881, Aa 2, box 7, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.
16. Herbert Baxter Adams to Thomas Mortimer Cooley, October 20, 1880, Aa 2, box 7, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.
19. Michigan’s plan called for a three year-course of study that would begin after a year of work in the university’s College of Literature, Science, and the Arts or after the completion of the sophomore year somewhere else. Over the three years, a student would take courses in the political history of Europe, including studies of Europe’s various peoples and nations; the constitutional history of the United States and Britain, including theories and methods of government; political economy and finance; application of social science; civil service in the United States and Britain; city government; management of prisoners and of the poor; taxation and revenue; public health; administrative law; modern diplomacy; and political ethics. Upon completion of these courses and a thesis, a student would earn a PhD.
21. Ibid.
22. Keeping the careers of all of the Adams’s straight can be confusing. Herbert Baxter Adams (1850–1901) helped found the American Historical Association and worked with Gilman to bring the seminar method and the “scientific” study of politics to Johns Hopkins. Henry Carter Adams (1851–1921) studied under Henry Baxter at Johns Hopkins, receiving one of the first PhDs granted in the United States. In
addition to his academic work, Henry Carter Adams served as chief economist for the Interstate Commerce Commission. Charles Kendall Adams (1835–1902) served as president of Cornell and the University of Wisconsin. These men were not related to one another, nor were they related to Henry Brooks Adams (1838–1918), the Harvard historian who, among these men, is the most well known in the popular imagination, for his work *The Education of Henry Adams*.

24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
27. In 1914, Michigan again established a formalized program, the Institute of Public Administration, the progenitor of the university’s current school of public policy.
28. In 1894, for example, two PhD’s were granted in political economy—one with the subfields of sociology and statistics, the other with the subfields of administrative and constitutional law.
29. The American Social Science Association had been founded in 1865. However, more formal disciplinary associations, such as the American Historical Association, would not be founded until 1884; the American Economic Association followed in 1888, the American Political Science Association in 1903.
30. Andrew Dickson White to Daniel Coit Gilman, April 7, 1876, Gilman Papers, box 1.49.
31. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
42. Ibid., 69.
43. Andrew Dickson White to James Burrill Angell, January 7, 1891, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 117. In addition to Angell, White hoped to include in his appeal Timothy Dwight of Yale, Franklin Carter of Williams, and Merrill Edwards Gates of Amherst.
44. James Burrill Angell to Andrew Dickson White, January 8, 1891, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 117.
46. Erwin Mecates to James Burrill Angell, March 17, 1891, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 120.
50. George Miller to James Burrill Angell, February 14, 1889, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 103.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. William Melville to James Burrill Angell, September 23, 1890, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 114.
60. Andrew Dickson White to James Burrill Angell, March 27, 1880, Angell Papers, box 2, folder 48.
61. James Burrill Angell to Andrew Dickson White, April 15, 1880, Angell Papers, box 2, folder 49.
62. Henry Simmons Frieze to James Burrill Angell, October 8, 1880, Angell Papers, box 2, folder 54.
64. *Manitoba Record*, October 15, 1885.
65. Quoted in William Putnam to James Burrill Angell, February 8, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 91.
66. Ibid.
67. White served diplomatic missions to both Germany and Russia.
69. James Burrill Angell to Andrew Dickson White, October 5, 1885, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 87.

**Chapter 5**

2. Between serving as superintendent of St. Louis schools and commissioner of education, Harris assisted Bronson Alcott (Louisa May’s father) and Franklin Sanborn in managing the Concord (MA) School of Philosophy from 1880 to 1889.
3. Freize not only created the system of admission by diploma but also intro-
duced coeducation to the University of Michigan. He served as interim president during Angell’s diplomatic mission to China.

4. *University of Michigan President’s Report of the Board of Regents, 1889–90* (Ann Arbor, 1890). Interestingly, a modified version of such a system of admission returned in the late 1990s as a response to concerns about affirmative action and alleged bias on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). The most notable example occurred at the University of Texas, where finishing in the top 15 percent of one’s high school class granted one admission regardless of test scores.

5. Minutes of the Chicago Board of Education, February 18, 1891, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 120.


8. Ibid.

9. Dilbert Haff to James Burill Angell, May 14, 1889, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 105. Typical of other instances, Angell received letters in March 1891 from Ira Allen of the Allen Academy in Chicago asking for advice on replacing Latin with German and from Allan Marendorf of the high school in Helena, Montana, asking whether the next building constructed should be a gymnasium or a science laboratory.


11. A. F. Nightingale to James Burrill Angell, April 22, 1899, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 173.

12. *Biennial Report of the President of the University on Behalf of the Regents to the Governor, 1882–1884* (Sacramento, 1884).

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. *University of Michigan President’s Report to the Board of Regents, 1889–1890* (Ann Arbor, 1890).

19. S. S. Lows to James Burrill Angell, October 10, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 96.

20. William T. Reid to James Burrill Angell, August 30, 1890, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 113.


22. In addition to William T. Harris (the commissioner of education) and headmasters and principals from Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Illinois, the committee included Eliot of Harvard, Angell of Michigan, and the presidents of the University of Colorado, the University of Missouri, Vassar, and Oberlin.


24. James Baker to the Committee of Ten, January 1893, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 130.

25. Ibid.

27. Nicholas Murray Butler to Charles Eliot, February 26, 1894, Presidents’ Papers, University Archives, Low Library, Columbia University.
28. Ibid.
29. Charles Eliot to Nicholas Murray Butler, March 1, 1894, Columbia University Presidents’ Papers.
30. Another early effort at formal coordination was spearheaded by Vassar College and its committee on certificate privileges for women in education. The committee’s chairman, William Dwight, wrote to Angell asking for his assistance. He explained that Vassar was often asked to accept certificates for the passage of other schools’ entrance exams and wondered if Michigan had a similar experience. In view of the frequency of such requests and “of the difficulty in making satisfactory decisions in such cases,” Dwight thought it “proper to suggest the possibility of finding some common ground on which the leading collegiate institutions which admit women to their courses, might base a uniform usage with reference to the mutual acceptance of certificates of entrance exams passed by them or accepted by them.” Dwight inquired if Angell was willing to join a committee with this purpose, along with presidents of other leading colleges (William Dwight to James Burrill Angell October 14, 1895, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 147). Dwight did not succeed in organizing a formal committee, but like the work of the Committee of Ten, his efforts did spark later discussion of coeducation and examinations for admission, among the Middle States Association and the College Entrance Examination Board in the early years of the twentieth century. Included in these organizations were members of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (Boston University, Bryn Mawr, California, Cornell, MIT, Michigan, Northwestern, Oberlin, Smith, Syracuse, Wellesley, Wesleyan, and Wisconsin) and representatives of Brown, Adelbert, Radcliffe, and Barnard.
33. For Columbia and Yale, the renaming was straightforward. Harvard had actually been chartered by the state of Massachusetts as a “university” in 1780. It was not until the creation of the Faculty of Arts and Science—through the combination, under Eliot, of the faculty of the College and the faculty of the Lawrence Scientific School—that the name “Harvard University” came into common usage. Princeton was officially chartered as the College of New Jersey and changed its name to Princeton University in 1896.
34. Kelley, Yale, 283.
37. Memorial of the Johns Hopkins University to the Legislature of Maryland, February 22, 1898, 5, Gilman Papers, box 1.62.
39. Eliot’s intelligence proved correct. Adams would soon leave to serve as president of the University of Wisconsin, where he served until his death in 1902. Adams’s Cornell successor, James Schurman, found the position far more tolerable, serving eighteen years, until 1920.

43. At the time of his honor, Bryce was a distinguished scholar. He would go on to achieve even greater renown as British ambassador to the United States from 1907 to 1913.

44. Martin Scott to James Burrill Angell, December 2, 1890, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 113.

45. James Schurman to James Burrill Angell, February 6, 1893, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 130.

46. Leland J. Stanford to Edward Holden, December 26, 1885, University of California (System), Office of the President, Records: Alphabetical Files, 1885–1913, CU-5, series 1, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

47. Edward Holden to Leland J. Stanford, December 29, 1885, University of California Presidents' Records.

48. The academics mentioned are Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Charles Henry Hull, and Andrew Dickson White. Wheeler would leave Cornell to become president of the University of California and would be the driving force behind the AAU. Hull was a professor of history who would remain at Cornell and serve as dean. Though receiving many offers, White never returned to academic administration, instead serving a variety of diplomatic missions.

49. Charles Kendall Adams to James Burrill Angell, December 19, 1891, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 125.


51. James Burrill Angell to Charles Eliot, October 2, 1890, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 114.

52. James Burrill Angell to Charles Kendall Adams, October 9, 1890, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 114.

53. May Cheney to James Burrill Angell, September 4, 1893, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 134.


55. *University of Michigan President’s Report of the Board of Regents, 1889–90* (Ann Arbor, 1890).


60. California was not the only state to encounter slight difficulties while such programs were in their formative stages. A couple years before California’s program was established, A. C. Horner, state examiner for northern Illinois, wrote Angell asking for a blank teacher’s certificate. Horner claimed to have been presented a fraudulent certificate in the past year and suggested that this approach would discourage such false claims (A. C. Horner to James Burrill Angell, July 13, 1894, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 141).

61. T. C. Chamberlin to James Burrill Angell, October 21, 1895, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 147.
Chapter 6

2. Hoyt recounted that George Washington was an active supporter of establishing a national university. As already mentioned in text, unfortunately for fellow supporters of this plan, Washington’s fifty shares of the Potomac Company, left for “the endowment of a university to be established in the District of Columbia under the auspices of the General Government” (Hoyt 1892, 42), turned out to be worthless (ibid., 945).
5. *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1870.
7. Ibid., 41.
8. As the leading proponent of the movement, Hoyt was made chairman of the committee. Among those included in the committee’s membership were Col. D. F. Boyd, president of the University of Louisiana, and Dr. Daniel Read, president of the University of Missouri. Seeking to incorporate all of the leading members of the educational policy domain, the committee also included the federal government’s commissioner of education, the president of the NEA, the head of the National Academy of Sciences, the president of the National Association for the Advance-
ment of Sciences, and the president of the American Social Sciences Association, as ex officio, but active, members.

9. *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1874, 73.
10. Ibid., 86.
14. In this era, it was Charles Eliot of Harvard, Timothy Dwight of Yale, Seth Low of Columbia, and Charles Harrison of Penn who most actively and publicly voiced their opposition to Hoyt’s efforts.
15. John W. Hoyt to James Burrill Angell, April 10, 1895, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 144.
16. Ibid.
21. Charles Kendall Adams to James Burrill Angell, October 23, 1899, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 176. Needless to say, Adams’s view can only be charitably described as a tad naive.
22. Benjamin Ide Wheeler to James Burrill Angell, October 24, 1899, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 176.
24. John W. Hoyt to James Burrill Angell, February 14, 1900, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 177.
25. John W. Hoyt to Arthur Twining Hadley, April 6, 1900, Records of Arthur Twining Hadley as President of Yale University, RU 25, series I, box 45, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.
29. Ibid.
30. John W. Hoyt to Arthur Twining Hadley, May 21, 1900, Hadley Records, series I, box 45.
31. Arthur Twining Hadley to John W. Hoyt, June 1, 1900, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., 34.

37. Benjamin Ide Wheeler to Seth Low, October 6, 1899, Wheeler Papers.

38. In addition to the institutions of the signatories (the University of California, the University of Chicago, Columbia University, Harvard University, and Johns Hopkins University), the invitees were the Catholic University of America, Clark University, Cornell University, the University of Michigan, the University of Pennsylvania, Princeton University, Leland Stanford Junior University, the University of Wisconsin, and Yale University.

39. Benjamin Wheeler et al. to James Burrill Angell et al., January 1900, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 177.

40. Arthur Twining Hadley to Benjamin Wheeler et al., January 19, 1900, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.


42. Arthur Twining Hadley to William Harper, February 5, 1900, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.


44. Arthur Twining Hadley to Benjamin Wheeler, February 24, 1900, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Arthur Twining Hadley to Benjamin Wheeler et al., March 22, 1900, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.


50. William Harper to James Burrill Angell, October 8, 1900, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 181.

51. Arthur Twining Hadley to John Simmons, March 15, 1901, Hadley Records, series II, box 98. Thankfully, Twining’s daughter, Laura, would survive her bout with the disease.


56. Ibid.

57. While not irrelevant to the process, state governments were largely subservient to the desires and standards of local universities. In states with strong public universities, such as Michigan, governors and legislators invariably followed the lead of the university in regard to education and the regulation of professions. In states with strong private institutions, there was little that governors and others could do. For example, in November 1908, the New York State Board of Regents
proposed rating college degree programs, but Columbia's Butler and Yale's Hadley vociferously opposed the plan and refused to provide information deemed necessary for such an effort. Without the support of two of the region's leading institutions, the plan was abandoned.


59. The merger failed that November, despite the efforts of NASU's chairman, University of Iowa president George MacLean, who had written Michigan's Angell explaining these efforts and asking for his assistance (George MacLean to James Burrill Angell, July 16, 1901, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 184).


61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. New York University Faculty to the Association of American Universities, December 9, 1902, Angell papers, box 5, folder 190. Twenty-three NYU faculty from such institutions as Chicago, Clark, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, Princeton, and Yale signed the letter. The authors also noted: "many other professors of New York University, who hold degrees from one or another of the universities included in the Association withhold their signatures from this letter solely because invitations to the dinner have failed to reach them. They have in every case heard from, cordially endorsed the position above taken."

64. Ibid.


67. As Arthur Powell and others discuss, schools of education would not become fixtures on many campuses for another twenty years or so, and even those established were often thought of as "second-tier" institutions. Additionally, university-wide lectures were seen as a significantly more prestigious undertaking than a simple departmental appointment. See Arthur Powell, The Uncertain Profession: Harvard and the Search for Educational Authority (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

68. When it was founded in 1817, the University of Michigan was modeled on the French system whereby the university incorporated not just education at all levels but public libraries and museums as well.

Chapter 7

1. The NEA had had a higher education division since 1870.


5. Arthur Twining Hadley to J. Howard Rogers, November 26, 1899, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.
8. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
16. Historians have generally referred to the organization as the College Entrance Examination Board. Butler and his colleagues tended to refer to the organization as the Middle States Board.
17. College Entrance Examination Board of the Middle States and Maryland Document 2, February 1, 1901, Hadley Records, series I, box 14. The founding members were Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Columbia, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, NYU, University of Pennsylvania, Rutgers, Swarthmore, Union, and the Women's College of Baltimore. Secondary school representatives from New York, Brooklyn, Newark, and Haverford were also present. Lehigh and Washington and Jefferson would join a little over a year later. The initial topics covered were to include botany, chemistry, English, French, German, Greek, history, Latin, math, physics, and zoology. Plans called for a conference to be held in December of each year, at which the board would name a chief examiner for each subject in addition to an established board of examiners. The exams were to be given in the first couple months of the following year, with exam books ranked (100–90, 90–75, 75–60, etc.). Students could have exams sent to any designated college upon request.
20. Arthur Twining Hadley to Nicholas Murray Butler, December 9, 1900, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.
22. Arthur Twining Hadley to Cromwell Childe, August 26, 1901, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.
24. The mission of the NCA was stated as follows: "The purpose of the association shall be the development and maintenance of high standards of excellence for universities, colleges, and schools, the continued improvement of the educational
program and effectiveness of instruction on elementary, secondary, and college levels through a scientific and professional approach to the solution of educational problems, the establishment of cooperative relationships between the schools and colleges and universities within the territory of the association, and the maintenance of effective working relationships with other educational organizations and accrediting agencies” (North Central Association, Articles of Incorporation, 1895), Angell Papers, box 4, folder 148.

25. Represented on the commission were the University of Chicago, Colorado, Iowa, Lewis Institute, Michigan State Normal School, Nebraska, Purdue, and Wisconsin, as well as the Chicago, Cleveland, and Indianapolis school boards.


28. R. H. Jesse to James Burrill Angell, February 27, 1905, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 211.


31. Ibid.

32. Daniel Coit Gilman to James Burrill Angell, March 21, 1906, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 220.

33. The AAU’s status is still apparent. An article in the Chronicle of Higher Education (February 4, 2000) describing the efforts of the University of Illinois at Chicago to recruit top faculty summarized an interview with UIC provost Elizabeth Hoffman as follows: “What kind of institution will UIC become? Something akin to the University of Michigan, she answers. In fact, she won’t stop until she lands an invitation to the toniest club of them all: the 61-member Association of American Universities.”


35. Though individual administrators and faculty may have expressed ambivalence about the university’s relationship with its benefactor, there was no such concern institutionally. School letterhead even stated “Founded by John D. Rockefeller” below the university’s name. Thus, the my use of the possessive in text does not seem excessive.

36. Henry Eddy to James Burrill Angell, July 8, 1905, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 214.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.


40. R. S. Woodward to James Burrill Angell, July 28, 1905, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 214.


42. Henry Prichett to James Burrill Angell, October 30, 1905, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 215.

43. The original forty-six schools included two institutions in Canada (Dalhousie and McGill) and forty-four in the United States: Amherst, Beloit, Carleton,
Case (School of Applied Sciences), Clark, Clarkson, Colorado College, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, George Washington University, Hamilton, Harvard, Hobart, Johns Hopkins, Knox, Iowa College (Grinnell), Lawrence, Lehigh, Marietta, MIT, Middlebury, Mt. Holyoke, NYU, Oberlin, Pennsylvania, Poly (Brooklyn), Princeton, Radcliffe, Ripon, Smith, Stevens Institute, Trinity, Tulane, Union, Stanford, Vassar, Vermont, Wabash, Washington University, Wellesley, Wells, Western Reserve, Williams, the Western University of Pennsylvania (now the University of Pittsburgh), and Yale.

44. Announcement of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, July 9, 1906, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 215.
45. W. E. Stone to James Burrill Angell, October 9, 1906, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 230.
46. Charles Van Hise to James Burrill Angell, January 27, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 231.
47. Andrew Carnegie to Henry Prichett, March 31, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 234.
48. Charles Van Hise to Henry Prichett, April 16, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 234.
49. Announcement of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, May 27, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 235.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid. The Juris Doctor, or JD, also stems from this tradition.
57. Ibid.
58. Aaron Segerhamm to Arthur Twining Hadley, January 15, 1907, Hadley Records, series I, box 77; Phillip Twiling to James Burrill Angell, September 27, 1900, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 180.
59. Charles Van Hise to James Burrill Angell, April 19, 1906, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 220.
60. As discussed earlier, the letter of invitation issued by Wheeler et al. is quite clear in terms of invitees and prospective invitees. Northwestern is nowhere mentioned.
61. A. W. Harris to James Burrill Angell, February 26, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 232.
62. James Burrill Angell to A. W. Harris, February 26, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 232.
63. A. W. Harris to James Burrill Angell, March 2, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 233.
64. Edwin Alderman to Henry Higginson, February 18, 1909, available at
http://www.virginia.edu/publichistory/courses/readings/ald2hig1.html. At the
time of the letter, Virginia had not been added to the list, but Alderman had
received assurances that it would be added within “the next year or so.”
65. “Criticises Universities: Dean Russell Says Standard of Scholarship Is Too
German,” New York Times, April 5, 1918, 8.
69. Arthur Twining Hadley, The Moral Basis of Democracy (New Haven: Yale Uni-
versity Press, 1919), 10.
70. Among those who sent attendees were the U.S. Bureau of Education, the
American Council on Education, the National Association of State Universities, the
Association of American Colleges, the American Association of University Profes-
sors, the National Council of Normal School Presidents and Principals, the Institute
of International Education, the Rhodes Scholarship Trust, the Western Electric Com-
pany, and the British Educational Mission (list of delegates and guests, annual con-
fERENCE of the Association of American Universities, New York, November 17–19,
1920), Hadley Records, series I, box 3.

Chapter 8

1. Gifford Pinchot to Arthur Twining Hadley, November 29, 1899, Hadley
Records, series I, box 69.
2. Gifford Pinchot to Arthur Twining Hadley, December 6, 1899, Hadley
Records, series I, box 69.
3. Arthur Twining Hadley to Gifford Pinchot, December 9, 1899, Hadley
Records, series II, box 97.
4. Arthur Twining Hadley to Gifford Pinchot, March 6, 1900, Hadley Records,
series II, box 97.
5. Gifford Pinchot to Arthur Twining Hadley, March 22, 1900, Hadley Records,
series I, box 69.
6. Arthur Twining Hadley to Herbert Myrick, December 3, 1900, Hadley
Records, series II, box 97.
7. Gifford Pinchot to Arthur Twining Hadley, June 12, 1903, Hadley Records,
series I, box 69.
8. Gifford Pinchot to Arthur Twining Hadley, June 23, 1900, Hadley Records,
series I, box 69.
9. Filbert Roth to James Burrill Angell, June 12, 1903, Angell Papers, box 5,
folder 192.
10. James McLaughlin to James Burrill Angell, January 21, 1909, Angell Papers,
box 7, folder 241.
11. Joint agreement of Cobbs & Mitchell, Mitchell Bros., Cadillac Handle Co.,
and Murphy & Diggins to James Burrill Angell, January 26, 1909, Angell Papers, box
7, folder 241.
12. Gifford Pinchot to James Burrill Angell, February 16, 1909, Angell Papers,
box 7, folder 242.
13. Gifford Pinchot to James Burrill Angell, March 5, 1909, Angell Papers, box
7, folder 243.
14. Gifford Pinchot to James Burrill Angell, March 10, 1909, Angell Papers, box
7, folder 242.
15. Gifford Pinchot to Arthur Twining Hadley, June 17, 1909, Hadley Records,
Topics for the conference included the objects and methods of forestry, the organization and standards of educational work, the coordination of work of different institutions, and the needs of the Forestry Service and other employers.

23. Ibid.
24. For example, toward the end of Freer’s tour of duty, Angell heard from Government Laboratories chief botanist E. D. Merrill, who reported that his office was preparing a series of “decades” cataloging Philippine plants and trees for the various forestry schools in the United States and that Michigan could expect to receive theirs within the next few months (U.S. Government Request form, seven endorsements, February 9–May 4, 1904, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 207).
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
35. Charles Curtis to James Burrill Angell, August 19, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 237.
37. Ibid.
38. L. S. Rowe to James Warren, April 27, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 234.
40. Charles Curtis to James Burrill Angell, August 19, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 237.
41. Charles Curtis to James Burrill Angell, September 8, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 237.
42. James Warren to James Burrill Angell, January 22, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 231.
43. James Burrill Angell to James Warren, January 29, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 231.
46. Hawkins, Banding Together, 141.
48. Ibid.
49. Herman Ames to Wilbur Cross, November 12, 1917, copy, Hadley records, series I, box 3.
51. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Pennsylvania law forbade Pinchot from succeeding himself as governor in 1926. In the interim, he ran for the Senate in 1926, again losing a highly disputed contest.
55. Pinchot was planning on visiting England, France, Holland, and Switzerland.
59. Attachment, Alvey Adee to the National Board of Farm Organizations, October 10, 1918, Hadley Records, series I, box 69.
61. In the war period, debates raged over academic freedom and the proper relation of the university to the wartime government. As I discussed earlier, many academics would complain that research universities had not subjugated themselves enough.
62. James Burrill Angell had passed away in April 1916.
65. Ibid.
Chapter 9

2. Ibid., 156.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 158.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 159.
9. I must confess that my thinking has changed on Cook’s call for revitalization. Upon completing much of the work presented herein for my dissertation in 2000, I characterized these hurdles as barriers that could not be overcome. However, upon further reflection, my thinking has evolved to recognize that university service will be more convenient at some times than at others, depending on how it maintains and maximizes its societal position and how effective its leaders are as policy entrepreneurs.
13. Ibid., 40.
15. One might characterize Press and Washburn as given to hyperbole. However, they offer the case of Petr Taborsky as an example of the depth of their concerns. As an undergraduate at the University of South Florida (USF), Taborsky worked as a research assistant on a project sponsored by the Florida Progress Corporation. Some time into his work, Taborsky pursued an approach different from that which his sponsors suggested for removing ammonia from wastewater. He met with success. The commercially viable nature of his discovery led both USF and Florida Progress to lay claim to his discovery, and USF pressed charges of grand theft when Taborsky went to its laboratory and removed his notebooks detailing his discovery. Though there certainly is dispute over whether Taborsky had received formal permission to pursue his alternative method and whether such permission, even if he had received it, would free him from his obligations to his corporate sponsor, there is no dispute over the fact that Taborsky himself made the crucial research discovery and intellectual breakthrough. In 1996, Taborsky found himself on a prison chain gang, having been convicted, by a jury, of grand larceny.


21. Ibid., 5.


23. Ibid., 15.

24. This duality—the intermingling of general acceptance of higher learning with attacks on its ideas, institutions, and individuals—can be traced throughout the history of education. Richard Hofstadter’s *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963) offers the seminal discussion of the social forces driving this phenomenon.