

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research," in *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 14.

2. Lawrence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

3. Ibid.

4. Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 42.

5. Eldon Eisenach, *The Lost Promise of Progressivism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 12.

6. Ibid., 7.

7. Ibid., 3, 103.

8. Ibid., 107.

9. George Marsden, *The Soul of the American University* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

10. Julie Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

11. Jon H. Roberts and James Turner, *The Sacred and the Secular University* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

12. Roger Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

13. Roger Williams, *The Origins of Federal Support for Higher Education* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991).

14. John Aubrey Douglass, *The California Idea and American Higher Education: 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2000).

15. Michael Dennis, *Lessons in Progress: State Universities and Progressivism in the New South, 1880–1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

16. Veysey, *Emergence of the American University*, 455.

17. Hugh Hawkins, *Banding Together: The Rise of National Associations in Higher Education, 1887–1950* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 13.

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.

19. Clyde Barrow, *Universities and the Capitalist State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

20. Michael Cohen, James March, and Johan Olsen, "A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 17 (1972): 1–25.

21. John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 1995).

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).

23. Richard Bense, *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859–1877* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

24. Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1968).

25. Robert Wiebe, *Self-Rule: A Cultural History of American Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 143.

26. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (New York: Random House, 1960).

27. Skowronek, *Building a New American State*.

28. *Ibid.*, 31.

29. Cook, *Bureaucracy and Self-Government*, 1.

30. Skowronek, *Building a New American State*.

31. *Ibid.*, 13.

32. *Ibid.*, 15.

33. *Ibid.*, 31.

34. *Ibid.*, 43.

35. Eisenach, *Lost Promise of Progressivism*.

36. *Ibid.*, 1–2.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Cook, *Bureaucracy and Self-Government*, 69.

39. Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of the Professional Social Science* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 33.

40. James March and Johan Olsen, *Rediscovering Institutions* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 105.

41. Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality," in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, ed. Walter Powell and Paul DiMaggio (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

42. March and Olsen, *Rediscovering Institutions*, 30.

43. Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, vols. 1–2 (1922; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Gianfranco Poggi, *The Development of the Modern State: A Sociological Introduction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978); Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In."

44. Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In."

45. John W. Kingdon, "Politicians, Self-Interest, and Ideas," in *Reconsidering the Democratic Public*, ed. George Marcus and Russell Hanson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 76–77.

46. Mary Douglas, *How Institutions Think* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986).

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

tional Change, and Economic Performance (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Robert Jackman, *Power without Force: The Political Capacity of Nation-States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993).

48. Douglas, *How Institutions Think*, 45.

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

50. Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, 15.

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.

54. Caroline Hazard to Charles Eliot, June 11, 1907, Records of President Charles W. Eliot, UAI.5.150, Harvard Archives, Harvard University Library.

55. V. O. Key, *Southern Politics* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1949); Jack L. Walker, “The Diffusion of Innovation among the American States,” *American Political Science Review* 68 (1968): 880–99; Richard Bense, *Sectionalism and American Political Development, 1880–1980* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

56. Jackman, *Power without Force*; Arthur Stinchcombe, *Information and Organizations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

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.

60. *Portland Oregonian*, February 28, 1909; *Wheeling (WV) News*, February 28, 1909.

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.

63. Quoted in Thomas Dyer, *The University of Georgia: A Bicentennial History, 1785–1985* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985).

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

65. “Virginia University Gets Rockefeller Gift,” *New York Times*, April 14, 1905, 6.

66. Veysey, *Emergence of the American University*.

Chapter 2

1. Earl D. Babst and Lewis G. Vander Velde, eds., *Michigan and the Cleveland Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948), 4; Woodrow Wilson, “Princeton in

the Nation's Service," address delivered at Princeton's sesquicentennial celebration, October 1896.

2. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 181.
3. Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, 14.
4. *Ibid.*, 31.
5. Eisenach, *Lost Promise of Progressivism*, 7.
6. Cook, *Bureaucracy and Self-Government*.
7. Evans, Rueschemeyer, 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*.
9. DiMaggio and Powell, "Iron Cage Revisited."
10. Robert Axelrod and Michael Cohen, *Harnessing Complexity* (New York: Free Press, 2000).
11. Benjamin Wheeler to Seth Low, October 6, 1899, Benjamin Ide Wheeler Papers, BANC MSS C-B 1044, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
12. Daniel Kevles, "A Time for Audacity: What the Past Has to Teach the Present about Science and the Federal Government," in *Universities and Their Leadership*, ed. William G. Bowen and Harold T. Shapiro (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
13. Benjamin Wheeler to Gifford Pinchot, April 3, 1901, Wheeler Papers.
14. "Urge Students to Camps," *New York Times*, November 18, 1915, 3.
15. "Drafting Our Universities," *New York Times*, October 20, 1918, 72.
16. Rudolph, *American College and University*; William Reese, *The Origins of the American High School* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
17. A. F. Nightingale to James Burill Angell, April 22, 1899, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 173.
18. Skowronek, *Building a New American State*.
19. Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine* (New York: Basic Books, 1982).
20. Rudolph, *American College and University*.
21. "Virginia University Gets Rockefeller Gift," *New York Times*, April 14, 1905, 6.
22. *Biennial Report of the President of the University on Behalf of the Regents to the Governor, 1910–1912* (Berkeley, 1912).
23. Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); J. Douglas Toma, *Football U.*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).
24. C. M. Woodward, comp., *Opinions of Educators on the Value & Total Influence of Inter-collegiate & Inter-scholastic American Football as Played in 1903–1909* (St. Louis, 1910).
25. Robin Lester, *Stagg's University* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).
26. "Columbia Begins a New Era," *New York Times*, October 2, 1894, 9.
27. "Ending College Labors," *New York Times*, July 2, 1880, 2.
28. "The Graduating Season," *New York Times*, June 26, 1880, 4.
29. Arthur Twining Hadley, *Baccalaureate Addresses and Talks on Kindred Themes* (New York: Scribner's and Sons, 1907), 180–81.
30. *Ibid.*, 188–89.
31. "Our Future University," *New York Times*, April 8, 1883, 8.
32. "Liberty in Learning," *New York Times*, June 21, 1885, 6.
33. "President Low's Problem," *New York Times*, February 9, 1890, 4.

34. "Talking about Colleges," *New York Times*, December 30, 1891, 5.
35. Skowronek, *Building the New American State*, 42.
36. "Columbia's Green Old Age," *New York Times*, April 14, 1887, 9.
37. "Advance in Education," *New York Times*, February 28, 1892, 11.
38. "Gov. Roosevelt at Cornell," *New York Times*, June 21, 1899, 5.

Chapter 3

1. Bensel, *Yankee Leviathan*.
2. Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 2:568–69.
3. Roger Williams, *Federal Support for Higher Education*.
4. Hofstadter and Smith, *American Higher Education*, 568.
5. Andrew Dickson White, *The Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* (New York: Century Company, 1905), 1:281.
6. Morris Bishop, *A History of Cornell* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962).
7. Bishop, *History of Cornell*.
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.
12. Bishop, *History of Cornell*.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Andrew Dickson White to Daniel Coit Gilman, May 5, 1865, Gilman Papers, box 1.49.
15. *New York Tribune*, March 20, 1868.
16. Brooks Mather Kelley, *Yale: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).
17. *Ibid.*, 189.
18. "Yale's Unproductive Branch," *New York Times*, March 10, 1893, 6.
19. Verne Stadtman, *The University of California, 1868–1968* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 24.
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*.
22. Fabian Franklin, *The Life of Daniel Coit Gilman* (New York: Mead and Company, 1910), 118–19.
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.

29. Daniel Carpenter, "The Corporate Metaphor and Executive Department Centralization in the United States, 1888–1928," *Studies in American Political Development* 12, no. 1 (1998): 162–203.

30. *Biennial Report of the University on Behalf of the Regents to the Governor, 1880–1882* (Sacramento, 1882), 26.

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.

34. Bishop, *History of Cornell*, 254.

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.

38. Bishop, *History of Cornell*, 258.

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

1. Woodrow Wilson to James Burrill Angell, November 7, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 97.

2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Woodrow Wilson to James Burrill Angell, November 15, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 97.
6. Woodrow Wilson, "The Study of Administration," *Political Science Quarterly* 2 (1887): 197–222.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. Frances Lieber, "An Inaugural Address Delivered on the 17th of February, 1858, on Assuming the Chair of History and Political Science in Columbia College, New York," in *Discipline and History: Political Science and History*, ed. James Farr and Raymond Seidelman (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 21–32.
10. "Rearing a Race of Statesman," *New York Times*, February 23, 1879, 1.
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.
17. Herbert Baxter Adams to James Burrill Angell, November 15, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 97.
18. *John Hopkins University, Annual Report of the President, 1890–91* (Baltimore, 1891).
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.
20. "Scientific Political Training," *New York Times*, July 23, 1881, 4.
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*.

23. Herbert Carter Adams to James Burrill Angell, July 15, 1885, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 86.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. *University of Michigan President's Report, 1889* (Ann Arbor, 1889), 5.

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.*

32. Attachment, Henry Carter Adams to James Burrill Angell, March 25, 1886, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 88.

33. Henry Carter Adams to James Burrill Angell, March 7, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 92.

34. Henry Carter Adams to James Burrill Angell, March 25, 1886, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 88.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Henry Carter Adams to James Burrill Angell, March 7, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 92.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. Henry Carter Adams to James Burrill Angell, July 1, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 95.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Skowronek, *Building a New American State*.

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.

45. White, *Autobiography*, 2:118.

46. Erwin Mecates to James Burrill Angell, March 17, 1891, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 120.

47. Andrew Dickson White, "Scientific and Industrial Education," *Popular Science Monthly*, April 1874.

48. Charles Kendall Adams to James Burrill Angell, June 23, 1888, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 100.
49. J. G. Wallace to James Burrill Angell, February 12, 1889, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 103.
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.
54. J. H. McGowan to James Burrill Angell, March 8, 1880, Angell Papers, box 2, folder 48.
55. Levi Barbour to James Burrill Angell, March 20, 1880, Angell Papers, box 2, folder 48.
56. James Burrill Angell to Daniel Evarts, March 11, 1880, Angell Papers, box 2, folder 48.
57. Eli Blake to James Burrill Angell, March 21, 1880, Angell Papers, box 2, folder 48.
58. Lerner Moss to James Burrill Angell, March 23, 1880, Angell Papers, box 2, folder 48.
59. Charles Stille to James Burrill Angell, March 23, 1880, Angell Papers, box 2, folder 48.
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.
63. James Burrill Angell to Henry Carter Adams, November 2, 1880, Angell Papers, box 2, folder 55.
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.
68. Wilfred Shaw, with assistance from James R. Angell, "James B. Angell," in *Michigan and the Cleveland Era*, ed. Earl Babst and Lewis Vander Velde (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948).
69. James Burrill Angell to Andrew Dickson White, October 5, 1885, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 87.

Chapter 5

1. William T. Harris, "The Necessity of Free Public High Schools," *New England Journal of Education* 11 (1880): 53.
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.

6. James Burrill Angell to Shatock Hartwell, June 2, 1891, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 123.

7. *University of Michigan President's Report to the Board of Regents, 1890–91* (Ann Arbor, 1891).

8. Ibid.

9. Dilbert Haff to James Burrill 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.

10. A. F. Nightingale to James Burrill Angell, May 17, 1894, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 140.

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.

21. Charles Eliot to James Burrill Angell, August 2, 1892, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 128.

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.

23. Charles Eliot to James Burrill Angell, April 11, 1893, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 132.

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

25. Ibid.

26. Charles Eliot to James Burrill Angell, December 8, 1893, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 138.

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.

31. A. F. Nightingale to James Burrill Angell, June 23, 1896, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 158.

32. James Burrill Angell to James Rowland Angell, April 6, 1896, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 154.

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.

35. "Her Twelfth President: Yale Installs Her New Head, Dr. Timothy Dwight," *New York Times*, July 2, 1886, 2.

36. "Our Future University," *New York Times*, April 8, 1883, 8.

37. *Memorial of the Johns Hopkins University to the Legislature of Maryland*, February 22, 1898, 5, Gilman Papers, box 1.62.

38. Arthur Twining Hadley to Charles W. Eliot, May 9, 1905, Eliot Records.

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.

40. Charles W. Eliot to Daniel Coit Gilman, June 2, 1890, Eliot Records.

41. Cited in Herbert Baxter Adams, *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia*, U.S. Bureau of Education Circular 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1888), 150.

42. Charles Smith, "Southern Colleges and Schools," *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1884, 548.

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.

50. Charles Eliot to James Burrill Angell, September 28, 1890, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 114.

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.

54. J. W. Anderson to James Burrill Angell, September 7, 1893, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 134.

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

56. Elmer Brown to James Burrill Angell, April 30, 1896, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 154.

57. Elmer Brown to James Burrill Angell, May 14, 1896, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 156.

58. Louis Webb to James Burrill Angell, June 6, 1896, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 157.

59. Louis Webb to James Burrill Angell, June 13, 1896, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 157.

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.

62. W. W. Campbell to James Burrill Angell, November 14, 1899, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 176.
63. Charles Eliot to James Burrill Angell, February 28, 1896, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 152.
64. Charles Harrison to James Burrill Angell, March 31 1897, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 163.
65. *University of Michigan President's Report to the Board of Regents, 1892–93* (Ann Arbor, 1893).
66. Hadley, *Baccalaureate Addresses*.
67. Charles Kendall Adams to James Burrill Angell, January 13, 1887, Angell Papers, box 3, folder 91.
68. *University of Michigan President's Report to the Board of Regents, 1885–86* (Ann Arbor, 1886).
69. Henry Wade Rogers to James Burrill Angell, March 18, 1885, Angell Papers, box 2, folder 83. Rogers would go on to serve as president of Northwestern University from 1890 to 1900 and as dean of Yale Law School from 1903 to 1916, as well as serving on the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second District, as an appointee of Woodrow Wilson.
70. *University of Michigan President's Report to the Board of Regents, 1886–87* (Ann Arbor, 1887).
71. *University of Michigan President's Report to the Board of Regents, 1887–88* (Ann Arbor, 1888).
72. *University of Michigan President's Report to the Board of Regents, 1888–89* (Ann Arbor, 1889).
73. *University of Michigan President's Report to the Board of Regents, 1889–90* (Ann Arbor, 1890).
74. *Biennial Report of the President of the University on Behalf of the Regents to the Governor, 1896–98* (Berkeley, 1898).
75. *Ibid.*

Chapter 6

1. *Annals of Congress*, 13th Cong., 3rd sess., 14.
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).
3. John W. Hoyt, *Reports on the London and Paris Universal Expositions*, 6:397–98.
4. *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1869, 23–25.
5. *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1870.
6. *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1871, 37.
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.

11. John Hoyt, *Memorial in Regard to a National University* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1892).

12. *Congressional Record*, 45th Cong., 2nd sess., 1878, vol. 7, pt. I, 7.

13. U.S. Senate, *University of the United States*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, S. Rep. 945, 20–21.

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.*

17. E. P. Powell to James Burrill Angell, November 28, 1895, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 148.

18. George Edmunds to James Burrill Angell, June 13, 1896, Angell Papers, box 4, folder 157.

19. U.S. Senate, *University of the United States*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, S. Rep. 945, 36.

20. *Ibid.*, 36–37.

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.

23. Henry Wade Rogers to James Burrill Angell, October 28, 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.

26. Charles W. Eliot to Daniel Coit Gilman, January 1, 1896, Gilman Papers, box 1.13.

27. Daniel Coit Gilman to Charles W. Eliot, January 3, 1896, Gilman Papers, box 1.13.

28. Arthur Twining Hadley to John W. Hoyt, May 15, 1900, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.

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.

32. U.S. Senate, *University of the United States*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 1902, S. Rep. 945, 29.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*, 34.

36. *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations Held at Washington, DC, November 12–14, 1901*, Experimentation Station Bulletin 115, 1902.

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.

41. Arthur Twining Hadley to Charles Eliot, 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.

43. Arthur Twining Hadley to William Harper, February 21, 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.

48. Association of American Universities, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses* 1 (1900), 13.

49. William Harper to James Burrill Angell, March 25, 1900, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 178.

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.

52. James Burrill Angell to William Harper, October 10, 1900, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 181.

53. Hawkins, *Banding Together*, 13.

54. Nicholas Murray Butler to James Burrill Angell, July 16, 1901, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 184.

55. Association of American Universities, "Report of the Executive Committee of the Association Concerning the Scope of Membership Thereof," 1902, Hadley Records, series I, box 3.

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.

58. Association of American Universities, "Report of the Executive Committee of the Association Concerning the Scope of Membership Thereof," 1902, Hadley Records, series I, box 3.

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).

60. Association of American Universities, "Report of the Executive Committee of the Association Concerning the Scope of Membership Thereof," 1902, Hadley Records, series I, box 3.

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.*

65. William Rainey Harper to Nicholas Murray Butler, October 3, 1904, Columbia University President's Papers.

66. Nicholas Murray Butler to William Rainey Harper, October 8, 1904, Columbia University President's Papers.

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.

2. Hugh Hawkins, *Banding Together*, 141.

3. Benjamin Wheeler to James Burrill Angell, February 5, 1901, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 191.

4. Levi Barbour to James Burrill Angell, January 23, 1903, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 191.

5. Arthur Twining Hadley to J. Howard Rogers, November 26, 1899, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.

6. Gifford Pinchot to Arthur Twining Hadley, January 30, 1905, Hadley Records, series I, box 69.

7. Charles Eliot to James Burrill Angell, May 22, 1903, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 192.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Michigan Alumnus*, May 1907, 2–3.

10. *Ibid.*

11. James Burrill Angell to Arthur Twining Hadley, July 10, 1909, Angell Papers, box 7, folder 247.

12. James Munoz to James Burrill Angell, December 7, 1908, Angell Papers, box 7, folder 238.

13. Nicholas Murray Butler to Arthur Twining Hadley, October 16, 1899, Hadley Records, series I, box 14.

14. Arthur Twining Hadley to Roger Sullivan, November 29, 1899, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.

15. Arthur Twining Hadley to Herbert Beecher, January 22, 1899, Hadley Records, series II, box 98. On a personal note, I faced a similar choice in the spring of 1987. Growing up in Los Angeles and choosing between Yale and the University of California at Berkeley, I chose to attend Yale.

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.

18. Statement of Princeton faculty to the College Entrance Examination Board of the Middle States and Maryland, May 30, 1901, Hadley Records, series I, box 14.

19. Nicholas Murray Butler to Arthur Twining Hadley, December 7, 1900, Hadley Records, series I, box 14.

20. Arthur Twining Hadley to Nicholas Murray Butler, December 9, 1900, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.

21. Nicholas Murray Butler to Arthur Twining Hadley, December 9, 1900, Hadley Records, series I, box 14.

22. Arthur Twining Hadley to Cromwell Childe, August 26, 1901, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.

23. Nicholas Murray Butler to Arthur Twining Hadley, November 27, 1901, Hadley Records, series I, box 14.

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.

26. A. S. Draper to James Burrill Angell, April 1, 1902, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 187.

27. James Burrill Angell to A. S. Draper, April 3, 1902, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 187.

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

29. *Yale Alumni Weekly*, May 26, 1911, 4.

30. Nicholas Murray Butler to James Burrill Angell, March 28, 1901, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 178.

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."

34. Arthur Twining Hadley to Henry Walcott, February 6, 1901, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.

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.*

39. Cyrus Northrop to James Burrill Angell, July 11, 1905, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 214.

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

41. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *Private Power for the Public Good: A History of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), 14.

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 (Grinell), 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.

50. Henry Prichett to James Burrill Angell, June 11, 1909, Angell Papers, box 7, folder 245.

51. Nicholas Murray Butler to Arthur Twining Hadley, October 5, 1905, Hadley Records, series I, box 14.

52. Association of American Universities, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses* 17 (1915), 22.

53. Report on university nomenclature, presented at the annual meeting of the Association of American Universities, Ithaca, NY, January 1909, Hadley Records, series I, box 3.

54. Report of the Committee on Academic and Professional Degrees, presented at the eighteenth annual conference of the Association of American Universities, Clark University, Worcester, MA, November 9–11, 1916, Hadley Records, series I, box 3.

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.

66. “Drafting Our Universities,” *New York Times*, October 20, 1918, 72.

67. “Technical Training for Needs of War,” *New York Times*, August 25, 1918, 77.

68. “Theories of Education,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1918, 37.

69. Arthur Twining Hadley, *The Moral Basis of Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University 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 Professors, the National Council of Normal School Presidents and Principals, the Institute of International Education, the Rhodes Scholarship Trust, the Western Electric Company, and the British Educational Mission (list of delegates and guests, annual conference 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,

series I, box 69. 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.

16. Gifford Pinchot to Arthur Twining Hadley, November 9, 1900, Hadley Records, series I, box 69.

17. Arthur Twining Hadley to William H. Taft, January 9, 1901, Hadley Records, series II, box 99.

18. C. R. Edwards to Arthur Twining Hadley, June 20, 1901, Hadley Records, series I, box 29; Arthur Twining Hadley to C. R. Edwards, June 29, 1901, Hadley Records, series II, box 99.

19. Arthur Twining Hadley to C. R. Edwards, August 26, 1901, Hadley Records, series II, box 99.

20. George Edmunds to James Burrill Angell, May 27, 1903, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 192.

21. James Burrill Angell to George Edmunds, June 3, 1903, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 192.

22. Paul Freer to James Burrill Angell, July 20, 1903, Angell Papers, box 5, folder 193.

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).

25. Arthur Twining Hadley to William H. Taft, February 2, 1900, Hadley Records, series II, box 97.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. Arthur Twining Hadley to William H. Taft, September 26, 1901, Hadley Records, series II, box 99.

29. Arthur Twining Hadley to Nicholas Murray Butler, November 9, 1905, Hadley Records, series II, box 108.

30. Nicholas Murray Butler to Arthur Twining Hadley, December 15, 1905, Hadley records, series I, box 14.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Nicholas Murray Butler to Arthur Twining Hadley, January 21, 1906, Hadley Records, series I, box 14.

33. *Report of the President of Yale University* (New Haven, 1906), 17–18.

34. Gifford Pinchot to Arthur Twining Hadley, September 23, 1905, Hadley Records, series I, box 69.

35. Charles Curtis to James Burrill Angell, August 19, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 237.

36. James Warren to James Burrill Angell, March 15, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 233.

37. *Ibid.*

38. L. S. Rowe to James Warren, April 27, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 234.

39. James Warren to James Burrill Angell, July 1, 1908, Angell Papers, box 6, folder 237.

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.

44. "Yale Head Advocates Credit for Army Work," *New York Times*, October 22, 1915, 3.

45. Programme and list of delegates, eighteenth annual conference of the Association of American Universities, Clark University, Worcester, MA, November 9–11, 1916, Hadley Papers, series I, box 3.

46. Hawkins, *Banding Together*, 141.

47. Herman Ames to Arthur Twining Hadley, May 1, 1917, Hadley Records, series I, box 3.

48. Ibid.

49. Herman Ames to Wilbur Cross, November 12, 1917, copy, Hadley records, series I, box 3.

50. Armin Leuschner, Ray Wilbur, and Arthur Kennelly to Newton Baker, November 17, 1917, and attachment, Herman Ames to Arthur Twining Hadley, May 1, 1917, Hadley Records, series I, box 3.

51. Ibid.

52. Newton Baker to Ray Wilbur, November 21, 1917, and attachment, Herman Ames to Arthur Twining Hadley, May 1, 1917, Hadley Records, series I, box 3.

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.

56. Gifford Pinchot to Arthur Twining Hadley, September 25, 1918, Hadley Records, series I, box 69.

57. Arthur Twining Hadley to Gifford Pinchot, September 29, 1918, Hadley Records, series II, box 97.

58. Gifford Pinchot to Arthur Twining Hadley, November 26, 1918, Hadley Records, series I, box 69.

59. Attachment, Alvey Adee to the National Board of Farm Organizations, October 10, 1918, Hadley Records, series I, box 69.

60. Attachment, Gifford Pinchot to Robert Lansing, October 15, 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.

63. James Rowland Angell to Arthur Twining Hadley, May 14, 1918, Hadley Records, series I, box 3.

64. Arthur Twining Hadley, "The Colleges and the Nation," *Harper's Monthly*, June 1919.

65. Ibid.

Chapter 9

1. Cook, *Bureaucracy and Self-Government*, 157.
2. *Ibid.*, 156.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, 158.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, 159.
7. Nicholas L. Henry, "Root and Branch: Public Administration's Travail toward the Future," in *Public Administration: The State of the Discipline*, ed. Naomi B. Lynn and Aaron Wildavsky (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1990).
8. Cook, *Bureaucracy and Self-Government*, 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.
10. James Twitchell, "Higher Ed., Inc.," *Wilson Quarterly*, summer 2004, 50.
11. Arthur Twining Hadley to Herbert Beecher, January 22, 1899, Hadley Records, series II, box 98.
12. Eyal Press and Jennifer Washburn, "The Kept University," *Atlantic Monthly*, March 2000, 39–54.
13. *Ibid.*, 40.
14. *Ibid.*, 41.
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.
16. Jonathan Cohn, "Irrational Exuberance: When Did Political Science Forget about Politics?" *New Republic*, October 25, 1999, 26.
17. "Scientific Political Training," *New York Times*, July 23, 1881, 4.
18. Frank H. T. Rhodes, "The University and Its Critics," in *Universities and Their Leadership*, ed. William G. Bowen and Harold T. Shapiro (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998). Rhodes's essay is published along with pieces by Harold Shapiro, Hanna Gray, and Daniel Kevles as part of an interesting collection that offers a comprehensive overview of various leaders' and academics' visions for contemporary universities and their relationship to American society.

19. Beginning with William F. Buckley's *God and Man at Yale* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1951), the modern conservative movement has made almost a cottage industry out of critiquing the university. In this tradition, Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal Education* (New York: Free Press, 1991) and Martin Anderson's *Impostors in the Temple* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992) have been among the most well known. However, that conservatives are not alone in their negative appraisal is demonstrated by a quick perusal of current writings on higher education and of the writings of Rhodes's selection of critics—that is, Allen Bloom's *Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), Charles Sykes's *Profscam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education* (Washington, DC: Regnery Gateway, 1988), Thomas Sowell's *Inside American Education* (New York: Free Press, 1993), and Page Smith's *Killing the Spirit: Higher Education in America* (New York: Viking Press, 1990).

20. Rhodes, "The University and Its Critics," 4–5.

21. *Ibid.*, 5.

22. Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, 18.

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.