Chapter Two - The Gregory Period, 1867-1880 - "Learning and Labor"

We shall effect the more formal and more perfect union of labor and learning.... The light which has heretofore fallen through occasional rifts, and on scattered hill tops, will henceforward flood field and valley with the splendors of a noon-time sun, and the quickened intellect of the race will bloom with new beauty and burst into a richer fruitage of industrial arts.—John Milton Gregory, Inaugural Address, 1867.

What the Illinois Industrial University would be like was an open question even after the passage of the organic act by the General Assembly in 1867, not to mention the more than fifteen years of continuous agitation. The law, its general language deliberately worded not only to give a large amount of freedom to the trustees but also to prevent argument endangering its acceptance, reflected a situation which prevailed in the industrial university movement since the conventions of 1852 and 1855, when discussions of details brought only dissension. The assumption had been that the institution would be placed in friendly hands which, if not Turner's own, could at least be dominated by the agricultural societies. For the error of this the day of reckoning was at hand.

There was little to indicate that thought was being given to the organizational details of the university after the time of the convention at Chicago in late 1852 which declared teacher training to be one of the
objects. In 1864, after seeing Farmers' College in Ohio, Bronson Murray had privately passed on to Turner a scheme that would have combined the features of a typical college and the simplest details of Turner's plan: There would be no "dead languages" until the limits of development had been reached in other departments; the patent models and demonstrational machinery were to be housed in a large public barn; and two farms, one experimental and the other model, were to be the means of discovering new methods and demonstrating their profit. Kennicott, in a horticultural society presidential address in 1861, was thinking in terms of three regional high schools; Turner himself, speaking and writing as much as he did on the subject, advanced no cogent thought in a period of more than ten years. A rare opportunity presented itself in 1864 when he was invited to prepare an essay on the specific subject of "Industrial University Education" for inclusion in the report of the commissioner of the new federal Department of Agriculture, but the result was in no way worthy of the occasion. It vaguely emphasized broad philosophical principles while the few details it contained were overshadowed by much that was polemic; and its highly caustic quality precluded publication by the commissioner. In the same year, however, appeared a pamphlet, The Illinois School of Agriculture, more to the point than anything that had yet appeared.

Willard C. Flagg, the author, a Yale graduate and horticultural leader of Morris, Illinois, suggested the best beginning would be a series of winter lectures and a central "high school of agriculture" with experimental plots in all parts of the state, the latter in time to develop into primary schools. There were also the sketchy ambitions of the educational associations which saw in the industrial university the plan for their long-hoped-for state university.


3. Privately published by Emery and Company (Prairie Farmer), Chicago, 1864. The commissioner had asked for "a comprehensive, plain, practical article" on "the best mode of organizing and conducting such institutions—whether the instruction should be combined with manual labor or only with personal observation thereof—whether by study of text-books, or by lectures in connexion with—whether the pupils should be lads, or persons of maturer years, including adults of any age—and what should be the qualifications for admission as pupils or for attendants on the courses of lectures," and pointed out that Turner was "the man to write it." Newton to Turner, Dec. 11, 1863, Turner Papers, University of Illinois.

4. Privately published [Alton], 1854.
By reason of the varied nature of the aims set for its institution, Illinois could not very well follow the precedents of other states. Almost all of the Eastern states used their grants to supplement instruction already being given in existing colleges. One of the exceptions was New York, which found a preliminary disposition unsatisfactory, and made an arrangement with Ezra Cornell leading to the establishment of the university bearing his name. Cornell, whose ideal university was one where any student could come for any subject, had Turner's blessing. In the west the principle of a "new dispensation" was strong enough to reverse the eastern trend, however, and to establish the presumption that the new colleges should be radical innovations. Michigan and Iowa already had state agricultural colleges, and to these were given the states' acreage. In Wisconsin and Minnesota, state universities took over the benefit but they were fundamentally reorganized. Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri had not yet acted in 1867; new institutions were eventually established in each, although only Missouri divided its fund. By the act of 1867 the state of Illinois was ostensibly committed to the idea of a new college unallied to any existing institution when it named Urbana as the location, but there was the possibility that the university might still be moved to either Bloomington-Normal or Jacksonville, where the State Normal University and Illinois College figured in the bidding, if the Champaign offer could not be made good to the satisfaction of the trustees. This would be among the first matters to be settled.

The law specified the appointment of the trustees within ten days of passage. Of the thirty-one who were named, twenty-six met at the call of Governor Oglesby in the hall of the House of Representatives—now a chamber of the Sangamon County courthouse—in Springfield on

6. Ross, Democracy's College, 68 et seq.
March 12, 1867. The oath of all civil servants was taken, to support the state and federal constitutions, to perform their duties conscientiously, and at great length to disavow dueling.

Among the twenty-seven appointees the majority had established reputations in agricultural and educational affairs. Willard C. Flagg was well known throughout the mid-west; Matthias L. Dunlap was a nursery man, pomologist and formerly editor of the Illinois Farmer; Thomas Quick, one of the sponsors of the Illinois Agricultural College at Irvington, and over half of the rest were men whose chief occupations and sympathies were agricultural. Five were lawyers or judges. The Rev. Jonathan C. Burroughs was the president of Chicago University and with him sat three others of ministerial background. A near majority happened to be Baptists, giving rise to the anecdote that Governor Oglesby's minister made a special call to ask him "When did you become a Baptist?" This circumstance had not been noticed by the governor, but it led Turner and others to believe the University had been betrayed into the hands of a sect. When it became known that the regent elected at the first meeting was also a Baptist and a minister, suspicion broke out into vituperation.

At that first meeting nominations for the office of regent—the president of the university and presiding officer of both the trustees and the faculty, so named to accent the break with educational tradition—were made the first order of business. The names of four men were brought forward: Daniel J. Pinckney, the head of a seminary at Mount Morris and a state senator; N. N. Wood of Morgan County, Josiah L. Pickard, the superintendent of the Chicago school system and later president of the University of Iowa; and John M. Gregory, then president of Kalamazoo College in Michigan, and of the National Teachers' Association, the predecessor of the National Education Association. Pickard and Pinckney
7. **First Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois Industrial University... to... June 13, 1868 (Springfield, Ill.), 18**, cited as **F1**, with the volume indicated by the year of closing entry.

8. **Joseph O. Cunningham, A Few Suggestions of Facts in Connection with the Early History of the University of Illinois, otherwise the Illinois Industrial University (1911), 22.**
were men of experience and popularity, but Gregory showed so much
support on a test ballot that only his name and Pinchney's remained
for the formal vote, which Gregory won with twenty-two votes to
Pinchney's four. It proved harder to elect a treasurer and corre-
sponding secretary, offices which after extended balloting were filled
by John W. Summ, the holder of the state agricultural society's purse,
and Flagg, the incumbent of a similar office in the state horticultural
society. C. B. Galusha, a former president of the state horticul-
tural society, was named recording secretary.

Against the minor officers no criticism of disinterest in agricul-
tural education could lie. But the election of the comparatively
unknown Michigan educator to the all-important office of regent raised
doubts and drew from the prophet Turner only a groan of anguish. "O
Lord, how long, how long! An ex-superintendent of public instruction
and a Baptist minister! Could anything be worse?" was the comment
reported by his daughter. Those who had been defeated in the contest
for the location took the cue and the complaint was widely echoed.

John Milton Gregory, it was true, had been a minister, but in
this respect he differed little from Turner himself. He was pri-
marily an educator whose formal training had been in the direction of
teaching and law. He was born at Sand Lake, New York, in 1822.
After graduating as one of the better students of an illustrious
class of 1846 at Union College, "the mother of college presidents,"
he studied law, preached, and taught schools in New York and Ohio.
His career was apparently determined when he went to Detroit as
principal of an academy in 1852; two years later he founded and be-
gan editing the Michigan Journal of Education. The magazine won public
recognition and for its editor the office of state superintendent of
public instruction, to which Gregory was twice re-elected after 1858.
John Milton Gregory, born at Sand Lake, N. Y., July 6, 1822, attended public schools and began teaching at age of 17. A. B. Union College, 1846, where he came under influence of the great educator, Eliphalet Nott, valedictorian. Studied law, Schenectady, 1845-47, but gave it up to become Baptist minister in Hoosick Falls, N. Y.; then Akron, O. Left ministry and took up teaching, Detroit, 1852; co-founder, and editor for five years, of the Michigan Journal of Education; state superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan, 1858-64; President, Kalamassoo (Mich.) College, 1864-67; Regent (President) University of Illinois, 1867-80. Supt. American Baptist Home Mission Schools, 1881-82; U. S. Civil Service Commissioner, 1882-86. Traveling, writing, lecturing in Europe, 1885-90; Resident of Washington, D. C., and suburbs until death in 1898. Author, Handbook of History, 1866; A New Political Economy, 1882; Seven Laws of Teaching, 1883. President National Education Association (then N. T. A.), 1866-68; President, Civic Center of Washington, 1895-96. Member Equitable Society (which later became Delta Upsilon); Philomathean. Married, 1848, Miss Julia Gregory, his father's cousin (died 1877); Miss Louise C. Allen, 1879. Children: Mary (Mrs. Albert Sterke), born 1850; Walter, born 1852 (died 1855); Alfred, born 1858; John born 1859 (died 1865); Helen, born 1859; Grant, born 1864; Julia, born 1866; Allene (Mrs. Dale Houghton), born 1867. Died Dec. 20, 1898, Washington, D. C.
College presidencies beckoned while he was the state's chief educational officer—Chicago University and the University of Michigan are mentioned by his biographer—and in 1864 he became the head of Kalamazoo College, an institution almost as old as the University of Michigan. Late in 1866 Thomas Quick hoped to lure him to the Illinois Agricultural College at Irvington but failed. Then, only a few months later, during the interval of twelve days which passed between the appointment of the trustees and their first meeting, Quick had on his own authority secured Gregory’s permission to enter his name as a candidate for the regency of the Industrial University.

At the end of the month of his election Gregory was on hand at Urbana to begin his duties. The prospect which greeted him could hardly have impressed him favorably. The University building, only a poorly constructed shell, unfinished and derisively called "the elephant" standing in what is now Illinois Field, was conspicuous for miles around, its five bleak stories towering above grounds barren but for the litter left by the builders. No draves or paths led to it except those made by trespassing wagons driven across the grounds to avoid the mudholes of the streets. Cows and other farm stock roamed at will, both in and between the two towns, ranging along a little creek which unlike the streams of other colleges evoked only irreverent traditions.

This was the scene of the second meeting of the Board of Trustees in May, but after assembling in one of the rooms of the unfurnished building they adjourned to the basement of the Congregational Church in Champaign. Gregory, when introduced, was found to be short and slight, by no means prepossessing in appearance, though he had a strong sense of dignity. His features, which did not suggest robust health, gave little hint of the magnetism of his personality and the energy and enthusiasm he gave to his work. Ably and modestly taking command, he
directed the trustees in their first important business, the acceptance of the real estate and bonds from the county.

There had been doubt even as late as the first week in April that the bid could be made good. Politics in Champaign and Urbana seemed for a time to imperil the fulfillment of the county offer because of personal differences between Dr. J. W. Scroggs and some of his neighbors, and the outlying townships were doubtful territory in the election which was necessary to ratify the contract locating the University. This embarrassing controversy was not overlooked by the other communities which were waiting to see if Champaign County had not after all promised more than could be performed. The entertaining "History of the Champaign 'Elephant', By One of the 'Ring'," appeared in a Chicago paper at this time. Although obviously a hoax it was still close enough to the truth and plausible enough to keep alive the animosities of the legislative campaign and to cast suspicion on those who were laboring to make good the county bid. This background was reflected in the board's attitude when the papers were formally presented. The finance committee, headed by Emery Cobb, a Kankakee banker, and its specially hired lawyer had no difficulty in attesting the correctness of the titles, but there were members who seemed anxious to find defects. The main difficulty was that the farms were too far from the grounds and the building. Nevertheless, after hemming and hawing and receiving the explanation that after all the legislature had acted with full knowledge, the issue was squarely put and an unanimous vote declared the University to be permanently located at Urbana. This cleared the air, and the board settled down to the problems of organisation.

The size of the board presented an early difficulty. Free debate proved to be so time-consuming that ten standing committees were named to digest all business and to present recommendations. A little later

an executive committee of nine, headed by the regent, was authorized to meet quarterly or oftener if necessary to do business between the sessions of the full board. This inner circle was given virtually all the powers of the larger body, and to it fell most of the details of preparing for the opening. To the regent, also, was delegated the duty to locate and sell some of the land scrip of the endowment. The committee to which all eyes were turned, however, was one on courses of study and faculty which had been provisionally established at the March meeting with instructions to report in May.

This committee faced the hardest task in the opening of the University. Fortunately its members were all able and broadminded men who could co-operate. Flagg represented the agricultural societies; two others, General Mason Brayman and Samuel S. Hayes, were lawyers; and Newton Bateman was the state superintendent of public instruction. Gregory, the chairman, himself brought the most experience, having been for six years on the board of the Michigan Agricultural College by virtue of his state office, and the report submitted by the committee appears to have been largely his work. That there was full agreement was evident. First considering the laws, federal and state, the report concluded that the "grand" idea was to create "a true University, organized in the interests of the industrial rather than of the professional pursuits, and differing from other Universities in that its departments are technological rather than professional." The negative clause of the federal act, "without excluding other scientific and classical studies," was by their interpretation as mandatory as the positive injunction to teach agricultural, mechanical, and military subjects. This was not the common view, they recognized, but "education must fit for society and citizenship, as well as for science and industry." A plan of six "departments" with fifteen courses and professorships, was outlined as the goal, though not all would be opened immediately and others might
16. Ibid., 44.

17. Ibid., 21.

18. Flagg had written Turner, April 3, 1867, that he would be ready with a suitable plan. "They will make a modification here and there of a positive man's opinion and then swallow the bulk of it." Quoted in F. H. Turner, the Illinois Industrial University, 716. It would be difficult to say that Flagg's "plan," which appeared in the Prairie Farmer, 35 (April 6, 1867), 238, was the one adopted, although it indicated Flagg's essential agreement with the adopted plan. See T. J. Burrill, "John Milton Gregory..." in 22nd. Bien. Rept. St. Supt. Pub. Instr., 1896-1898, lxxxi. Gregory's diary, in the entry of Jan. 3, 1870, quoted in his biography, p. 135, states, "The Board met the 7th of May, when I presented a plan of organization which was substantially adopted."

19. "Report of Committee on Courses of Study and Faculty for the Illinois Industrial University," BT, 1867; 47-65; also published separately under the same title (Springfield, 1867).
be added in time. Agriculture, "polytechnics" or engineering, and military science headed the list, first among equals which included chemistry and natural science, trade and commerce, and general science and literature. Courses would be outlined, but mature students could choose whatever subjects met their need.

Provisions were made for two kinds of students. Many, it was assumed, would come for some special technological courses; these could enter with the minimum legal requirements of age fifteen and a common school background. The regular University courses would require proficiency in the customary high school subjects, partly to weed out the drifters and more appropriately to meet the elevated standards of the proposed instruction. A manual labor system was promised, though the arguments in its favor were thin and it was undeniable that such systems had a record of consistent failure. That this policy was adopted was one indication of how closely allied were the conceptions of the practical and the manual. Turner had been able to distinguish between the two, but had the University done so it would have laid itself open to the criticism of the rank and file that it admitted only the theoretical in its studies.

This was the situation at the University in the summer of 1867. Scarcely anything was definite, however, except that the sessions would begin on the first Monday in March, 1868. The postponement was necessary on many counts, not the least of which were the want of available funds and the unfitness of the building. One trustee and member of the executive committee, the self-assertive Dunlap, wanted to hurry matters; as soon as work on the building got under way he proposed that a preliminary session be begun in late November and a course of lectures in December. The actual plan, adopted in November, on which the University was opened, called for a preliminary term of
fifteen weeks to begin on March 2, to be followed in the fall by
the first of three regular terms of twelve weeks each. Two courses
(curricula) were arranged: one was a general three-year agricultural
course and the other a four-year general course, the core around
which "industrial" specialties would be grouped. The latter was
especially rich in the modern languages, philosophy, history, and
Latin and Greek. For students not fully qualified, preparatory
classes were to be organized when demanded.

During the summer of 1867 the grounds around the building were
graded and contracts made for the completion of the interior and for
an ornamental portico entrance on the north front. On the first floor,
walls were removed to provide for a central hall flanked by a reception
room and the regent's office. Sixty-five unfurnished rooms ten by
fourteen feet—the occupants invariably swore they were much smaller—
were arranged for two students each on the two top floors. These were
rented for four dollars a term, but each scholar had to bring his own
equipment, even the small stoves used for heating and cooking.
A kitchen was set up in one of the basement rooms and later the first
chemistry laboratory was installed next to it. The dining room, for
students able to pay for their board, was opened on the second floor
in space later occupied by the library. This much was done by the
time the first students were admitted, but the portico was still
unfinished on Inaugural Day.

The improvement of the grounds, beyond the barest necessity, was
delayed pending the executive committee's negotiations for several
nearby tracts of land. The site had been described as being ten acres;
actually it was less, and to overcome the objection the county was
induced to add a number of lots to its previous gift. Others were
22. Ibid., '68: 87-93, 94.


24. ST, '68: 139-140. As a result, Wright Street was moved sixty-six feet west from its original location. A similar attempt to extend the campus eastward failed.
purchased, extending the campus southward. One was a forty-acre strip, now the major part of the campus, connecting the site of the building with the 160-acre field at the foot of Wright Street. Several streets were closed; Green Street was opened as a cross-campus thoroughfare, and the land holdings were improved in other ways. Fences, board walks, and landscaping effects were not added until the spring of 1868, and then largely by student labor--one of the first projects of the manual labor classes.

These improvements required money, of which there was little available. An effort was made to sell or rent the outlying farms--one was two and a half miles away--with only partial success. The federal endowment of itself brought no income until converted into interest-bearing securities or into land from which rents could be collected. The board accordingly authorized in 1867 the sale of over half its strip, the right to 280,000 acres, and received $160,192 for it. Of 100,000 acres which Gregory and M. C. Goltra were instructed to locate in timber lands near water communication, some 16,100 and 9,340 acres were selected in Minnesota and Nebraska but quick returns in rent or sales were not realized. Nevertheless by close financial manipulation the board tided itself over to the period when it received interest on its investments. At times Gregory dipped into his own pocket, as when he accepted engagements to explain the University and to arouse support for it. He spoke at county fairs in the autumn and at society meetings in the winter, urging students to come and arguing for a system of endowed county scholarships. Circulars were sent, released, giving encouragement to prospective students.

The first books, eight boxes of government documents, came from Washington. By the time the University opened, 644 volumes more had been brought by Gregory for an even thousand dollars. History was


best represented in the first library, but acquisitions at the rate of a thousand volumes a year soon overcame the deficiency in the sciences and in agriculture. Nearly as much was done to provide "cabinets" of natural history specimens. The farms were taken into account by the appointment of Jonathan Periam, the state's first professional truck gardener and later editor of the Prairie Farmer, as head farmer and by the trustees' endeavors to assemble a collection of farm implements by donations from manufacturers. At the same time, in November, 1867, Bateman's assistant, William M. Baker, one of the mainstays of the state teachers' association and its magazine, the Illinois Teacher, and George W. Atherton, a teacher at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, were named professors with two thousand dollars salary. What classes they would teach remained to be decided.

On the morning of March 2, 1868, "the building being in readiness in all its interior arrangements, the University opened for students and the work of instruction was at once begun. About fifty students were present and within the next ten days another twenty joined them. Fifteen-year-old James Newton Matthews of Mason, whose intention it was to become a doctor, was the first to enter; his father had known Gregory. The big event, the inaugural exercises, followed ten days later, on March 11, with the president of the state board of education, Samuel W. Moulton, presiding.

The ceremonies were typical of the inauguration of colleges during most of the century. The day was disagreeable and threatened rain; the program was long and tiresome, beginning at nine and continuing without interruption until noon. The inaugural banquet which followed was made another extended occasion by fourteen responses to toasts. The attendance was large enough to crowd the chapel and to lead the trustees to
29. Ibid., 96-97.

30. Ibid., 97.

31. Glenn M. Hobbs, "James Newton Matthews, '72, the Singing Doctor," Illinois Alumni News, 18 (December, 1936), 1. Future references to this monthly publication (1922--) will appear under the abbreviation IAN.
inquire into the strength of the building. Would not wider stairs and halls and more doors lessen the fire hazard? On the chapel stage suitably decorated with a picture of Washington, the farmer-president, supported by two eagles with flags in their beaks and surmounted by the University motto in letters of evergreen, "Learning and Labor," sat the trustees, faculty, speakers, and a choir of fifty. Governor Oglesby, who was to give the first address, did not appear, but Newton Bateman talked for nearly two hours on the history, laws, and purposes of industrial education — so long, in fact, that Gregory who was to climax the program with the inaugural address put aside his manuscript and talked extemporaneously and briefly. A locally recruited choir and two pianos furnished the music. The celebratory ode of the poet laureate was to be found in Gregory's words to the choir anthem. It was an original creation, even in George F. Root's musical score, which had no title other than "University Anthem;" it was the most fondly remembered feature of the program.

We hail thee! Great Fountain of learning and light;
There's life in thy radiance, there's hope in thy might;
We greet now thy dawning, but what singer's rhyme,
Shall follow thy course down the ages of time?

There was also sung an "original ode composed for the occasion by a lady."

Thus was the University formally opened, though the spring term of 1868 was only a preliminary session. All students—there were seventy-seven by June—studied subjects which were intended to prepare them for the university courses scheduled to begin in the fall. There were three classes in algebra and Latin, and one each in geometry, natural philosophy, history, and rhetoric. By the middle of March the manual labor system was introduced on a compulsory basis, taking two early afternoon hours daily, and Professor Atherton, who had seen service in the Civil War, began drilling his awkward squad three hours weekly.
33. Bateman's address filled thirteen pages of fine print in the University report of that year. The list of books in the library took six pages.

34. "Inauguration of the University," BT, '68: 149-182. Champaign County Union and Gazette, Mar. 18, 1868, 16.

35. The score was too difficult for group singing, however, and the tune of Adeste Fideles was later adopted.


37. Faculty Record, Mar. 16, 1868, 1: 2.
A month later a fourth teacher was added to the staff: the young principal of the Urbana high school, Thomas J. Burrill, a recent graduate of the Illinois State Normal University, took over the regent's algebra classes.

For the fall term, with nearly twice the enrollment, three new professors, three assistant professors, and two special lecturers were employed. Classes in agriculture, one elementary, one advanced, were begun by Willard F. Bliss, a Harvard master of arts who had studied agriculture for two years in European schools and had been farming near Nokomis, Illinois. A. P. S. Stuart, late of Lawrence Scientific School, Harvard, began modestly in chemistry. Major John W. Powell, the explorer and natural history professor of the Illinois State Normal University, was also hired but he did little except to join in the inaugural exercises and contribute specimens found on his expeditions. Burrill, who had been Powell's botanist on an early expedition, took his place. Of the same rank as Burrill were two others: Samuel Walker Shattuck, a Civil War staff colonel who had taught at Norwich Academy, Vermont, and Edward Snyder, a well-educated Austrian Pole who had settled down to a quiet life of teaching in a southern Illinois town after an adventurous career as a professional soldier in the Austrian and Union armies. Dr. John A. Warder of Cincinnati, the best-known midwestern pomological expert and lecturer, came for a special course of lectures in vegetable physiology and horticulture; Edward Eggleston, of The Hoosier Schoolmaster fame, for lectures on literature.

During the second and third years, when the enrollment mounted to 180 and 276, the courses were more than proportionally expanded. Lecturers were brought in as before to break new ground which did not
yet warrant special professorships. Dr. Henry J. Detmers and
Sanborn Tenney began in this manner short "courses" in veterinary
science and geology and zoology which eventually became depart-
ments. Engineering subjects were first offered in the fall of
1869 when Shattuck began classes in civil engineering, and early
in 1870 when Stillman W. Robinson, a Michigan graduate, was made
professor of mechanical science and engineering. In 1871 the first
professorship of civil engineering was filled by J. Burkitt Webb,
another Michigan graduate, who distinguished himself professionally
with his mathematical exactness and socially with marriage to one of
Gregory's daughters. Art instruction was also begun in 1869 when
James W. Bellangée, a Belgian, became "teacher of architectural and
mechanical drawing," a title emphasizing the utilitarian direction
he was to give to his course.

By 1873 it was possible for Gregory to take public notice of
the success of the University in meeting the promises of the prospec-
tus of 1867; all the departments promised were to some degree estab-
lished, and there were some classes that had not been anticipated,
among them, music, which was provided on an extra-curricular fee-paying
basis under the direction of Miss Charlotte E. Patchen, a teacher
appointed by the trustees. No one of these instructors was teaching
his specialty, as does the modern professor. In a typical year, 1871,
the catalogue boasted eighteen "departments," including Greek, for
which there was no demand, though the teaching staff numbered only
thirteen, most of whom had also to teach the unlisted sub-collegiate
preparatory classes which accounted for about one-third of the enroll-
ment. These had to be regularly organized because few entering students
had the proficiencies expected.
39. The Fourth Annual Circular... 1870-71, listed the following "departments of study": agriculture, horticulture, mechanical science and engineering, civil engineering, mining, English, German, French, Latin, and Greek languages and literature, chemistry, architecture, natural history, pure mathematics, history and social science, commercial, military science and tactics, philosophy and logic.
Much about the University was of course experimental. In the so-called "industrial" subjects and even in the sciences the teaching was difficult because there were few texts or guides. There were, however, certain other aspects which gave a distinctive character to the early Illinois Industrial University. One of these was Gregory's theory that students should be free to select their own courses, basing their choice on their needs or on the courses offered at other institutions and such advice as the faculty could give. It was flattering to the student and the University to suggest that the courses of Michigan Agricultural College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Sheffield Scientific School (Yale), or the general course at Harvard could be followed with slight substitutions at Illinois. This system hardly got under way, however, before it broke down, partly as a result of the criticism that it was a subterfuge to wean students from agriculture but more because immature students knew little about what they wanted. After the second year the catalogues began to "recommend" courses which, by another two years, became rigid sequences, leaving to the student only the choice of which one of the thirteen he would take. As it was, the hardship was not great: the University offered between two to five times as many courses as the colleges with which it competed or could be compared.

It would be too much to say that the work in the industrial subjects was begun with understanding of the problems. Gregory's earliest ideas were as hazy as those of the men about him. One of his suggestions was that a shop be built and part of its space be rented to representative artisans in iron, brass, wood working, and printing, and to others with the understanding that they demonstrate their arts and help students acquire the skills of the trades. Fortunately, the professor of mechanical

41. This aspect of the University's development is discussed more fully in Chapter Seven.

42. BT, '68; 114-115.
science, Robinson, was more imaginative. Within the month of his coming he worked out a system of shop work for his students which met the unqualified approval of the trustees—chiefly because it promised to be self-supporting—and which was copied in several other land grant colleges. The essentials were a machine shop and a foundry used both as a laboratory and as a manufacturing shop. The same principle was also applied to a wood or carpentry shop, but no such good fortune fell agriculture, where, quite the opposite of mechanical science, there were experts on the Board of Trustees who were very definite in their opinions.

Gregory, as regent, was given almost no control over the work in agriculture beyond the purely instructional, very likely because he was presumed to know nothing about farming and also because he found it wise not to interfere with several head-strong trustees who were inclined to run this activity in their own way. During the first year Jonathan Periam, the head farmer, worked alone, accomplishing hardly more than a discovery that the farms were in bad condition and needed extensive rebuilding of the soil, drainage, new fences, and new buildings. His experiments in vegetable growing in 1868 failed. Early rains rotted his seed and unfenced cattle foraged and trampled on what little did come up. The farming operations may more properly be said to have been begun late in 1868 when responsibility was divided between Bliss, the professor of agriculture and superintendent of farms, and Flagg, the corresponding secretary. Without knowing what his duties might be, Flagg had as early as December, 1867, circularized the farmers of the state for information on what crops were grown and how they were cultivated, and this information was printed at length in the trustees' first published report, but his effort was scornfully received. His
43. Ibid., '70; 110-113. For more details see chapter seven.
44. Ibid., '69; 45-46.
45. Ibid., '69; 46.
see and undertaking, the organization of a series of "Agricultural Lectures and Discussions" in January, 1869, was happily a success. Following a precedent established at Yale University in 1860, a program of twenty-four lectures in two weeks brought leading farm journal editors and other authorities to the campus and introduced the University faculty to an assembly of farmers, well-wishers, and 46 students. The venture was well received, warranting a similar, though shorter, course the following year, in the three cities of Centralia, Rockford, and Urbana; and by 1872 in five representative towns.

The program of experimentation got under way more slowly. Fields had to be laid out, tilled for drainage, and fenced; barns and outbuildings had to be erected. Some of this work was done by students in the manual labor classes, but what really made possible the development of the farms was the legislature's $25,000 appropriation for improvements and another $20,000 for horticultural work in 1869.

The largest farm, below the cemetery, was sowed with grass for a stock farm; another 130 acres, an area in which the library, Huff Gymnasium, McKinley Hospital, and most agricultural buildings now stand, became the horticultural grounds and experimental farms. At the west end were planted some three thousand apple trees of half as many varieties. At the east end nearly a hundred thousand forest trees, few larger than fingerlings then, were set in as an experiment in timber cropping. This was the beginning of the forestry or "forest tree plantation." Said President Gregory, "What we want to determine is the actual cost and profit of artificial forests, and the relative value of timber trees which may be grown in Illinois." This was the idea originally of Professor
46. *BT*, '69: 120-361, giving the proceedings and addresses.

47. Ibid., '70: 164; '72: 165.

48. Public Laws... 1869: 33. Flagg, a state senator, also introduced at this time an (unsuccessful) bill to establish an experiment station.

49. *BT*, '70: 46.
Burrill, who was especially interested in finding out what trees would grow best in prairie soils. He had some trees also in another collection called the arboretum which for two decades occupied most of what is now the engineering quadrangle. It contained many shrubs and trees indigenous to Illinois, but lost its identity in the early 'nineties and was not re-established elsewhere on the campus. On the experimental farm, in between, simple tests to determine best varieties among the more common vegetables and grains were begun. This was much the same kind of practical research advocated by the farm press and which filled its columns, but from it could hardly come the immediate and revolutionary results which were expected on every hand. So unpromising were the conditions under which this work was begun that Bliss was ready to resign all responsibility for experimentation at the end of the first season, and unable to do that, resigned his professorship as well at the end of the second. Flagg, who thought his office was to be responsible for both research and extension, found that he was to receive little encouragement, either morally or financially. Thus the work in the fields devolved largely on the hired hands—the head farmer and his assistants, on the orchardist, the gardener, and their help, all of whom might have justly complained that their work was without any direction except that which they themselves gave to it.

But even this beginning was overlooked by those who found fault with the University for failing to meet their ideas of an agricultural and industrial institution. Much of the antagonism to the University, and especially the regent, was unquestionably due to the illfeeling left by the campaign for location and the supposition that it had fallen into
50. Ibid. '70: 62, 125.
51. Ibid., 89.
the hands of an educational "old guard." But there was also a genuine difference of opinion on what industrial education really was. Of this the trustees became painfully aware as soon as they published the prospectus of 1867. One element in the agricultural societies and a minority of the trustees conceived the purpose to be vocational along craft lines, holding that the University should teach only those subjects commonly understood to be related to the "science of agriculture." To find the University offering traditional liberal arts subject matters, especially Latin and Greek, was to them a perversion of aims, an apostacy to responsibility, and they were quick to let it be known. Another view, more widely held but less volubly supported, was that the University should represent broad technological interests but the supporters of this view also assumed that the term industrial meant "popular," as indeed Turner had often implied. The trustee Bateman, representing this opinion, prophesied that the Illinois Industrial University was "surely destined to become the great State University of Illinois, and the acknowledged head of her system of popular education." Although the task was difficult, Gregory and the committee on courses of study and faculty had tried to average up the positive demands of both groups.

The objection to the trustees' policy came chiefly from the vocationalists. The most outspoken critic was one within the household, M. L. Dunlap, a member of the executive committee and the contributor of a widely-read farm column in the Chicago Tribune. In the fall of 1867 his column began to carry his half-anonymous complaints, under the pen name "Rural," on the "miscarriage" at Champaign. Sometimes his criticism was a result of his own impatience to begin on a larger scale or otherwise than the trustees determined, but his general themes were Gregory's "unfitness" to head an industrial university and his "perversion" of the trustees from their purpose. The authoritative air, even
52. The typical expression of this attitude is Jonathan Periam's *The Groundswell. A History of the Origin, Aims, and Progress of the Farmers' Movement* (Cincinnati and Chicago, 1874), particularly Chapter XLVII, "Agricultural College Education." Periam's association with the university during its first two years gives his opinion weight. The issue was, however, general to all the states; see Ross, *Democracy's College*, 69 et seq.

if his information was sometimes only half-truth, and his Champaign
date-line lent weight to his charges. Another Chicago paper, follow-
ing his cue, sent its reporter to the inaugural exercise only to ridicule
it and to tell its readers the University would serve no useful purpose,
it being "hands of a parcel of decayed or otherwise incapacitated
preachers." So much ill-feeling was aroused that the citizens of
Urbana called a mass meeting to show their support of Gregory.

Dunlap's actions were not overlooked by the trustees. On the
evening of the inaugural day a committee heard formal charges against
him. Finding him both guilty and recalcitrant, the committee was
ready to ask his removal from the midst when at length the personal
appeals of friends wrung an apology from him. In deference to his
promise to mend his ways the proceedings were expunged from the record.
Though he soon entered two sons as students, he did not markedly alter
his tune; within six months the familiar strictures were again in his
columns. Early in March, 1869, he argued at length the thesis of his
title, "Agricultural Colleges a Failure," and declared that the farmers
did not want "mental training" but merely "those branches of learning
relating directly to their industries."

Gregory, Burrill, and Bliss heard the same complaint when they at-
tended the meetings of the agricultural societies. They found they made
no progress by explaining the courses and experimental work to those who
were adamant in their demand for a "return" to the pristine ideal of
technical education or to those who were grieved that women were not
admitted. The dissatisfied groups generally felt that the trustees
were departing from the laws. This was also the tenor of the reso-
lutions passed by the legislature in 1869 at the instance of the societies
54. Chicago Evening Post, Mar. 12, 1868.


56. Chicago Tribune, Mar. 3, 1869. A nearly complete scrapbook collection of the columns, kept by Mr. Dunlap himself, is in the University Library's Illinois Collection.
bidding the trustees to provide for the "leading objects." Thus seemingly having won the support of the legislature, the critics were ready to unite with the Northern Illinois Horticultural Society's mass meeting at Bloomington in early 1870 to consider "the reforms needed in the management of the Industrial University."

The portent of the meeting was greater than its consequences. Its deliberations were inconclusive. Gregory and Professor Baker made a good impression, especially on the "old wheel horses" Turner who came to lead the discussions. Turner found fault with the University but also with those who failed to support it. The upshot was the appointment of a committee of five which came to the campus just after the fall term of 1870 opened. What they saw dissipated their fears and led them to report the University was "on the high road to accomplish all that its friends desire...." This report marked a turning point in the early public attitude, for during the months that followed many former critics found some pretext to extend their praise. E. S. Hull of Alton, a pre-eminent horticulturist, found the faculty well fit for their work. Turner paid the campus a visit in 1871, his first since the University opened, and while still not approving the location or facilities, gave his support to Gregory and his co-laborers. Even Dunlap shed his animosities in 1870, partly perhaps because the Tribune editors disavowed his opinions but more likely because some of the things for which he had been impatiently arguing were finding place.

Gregory interpreted the newly aroused sympathy for the University as the vindication of his views. He steadfastly held that his critics were misinformed, which was partly true, and needed only to visit the campus to see their error. He had, however, in the face of criticism and adverse conditions given up some of the principles he most staunchly
The Senate concurred on the following day.

58. *Prairie Farmer*, 41 (Mar. 12, 1870), 76.


advocated. One of these was the compulsory labor system. It was the first to fail. After the opening term it had to be reduced to a voluntary basis. The admission of women was another. Although the law was silent on the subject, their admission had been proposed by Dunlap as early as May, 1867, apparently without thought as to how they might be cared for. Gregory was one who opposed Dunlap, and his views prevailed when the same question was raised at later meeting. By March, 1870, however, the pressure from the agricultural societies coupled with local agitation in Champaign-Urbana for a female seminary was strong enough to cause the board to waver. At that time the first vote on the question was a tie, but when Samuel Edwards, a former president of the state horticultural society, modified the resolution to take into account the utter absence of facilities the issue was resolved in favor of admitting women. An unexpected shout of approval was heard from the floor above—several eavesdroppers around the stove-pipe hole were giving immediate vent to their pleasure at the ending of monastic days. But there were still no special accommodations when twelve women, among them the regent's own daughters, entered in the fall of 1870.

Even more fundamental changes were taking place in the curriculum. The elective system which Gregory had grandly hailed gave way as a result of criticism and of administrative difficulties. It could be defended as a part of Turner's plan, but was attacked when critics tried to narrow the scope of the University's course offerings. Scarcely a meeting of the Trustees passed in which some member did not propose a new plan of studies. In 1869 O. B. Galusha tried to reduce the departments to two, agriculture and mechanics—to cite only an extreme example. To get at these deep-seated differences the trustees decided to give the minority a full hearing. The opportunity came at the March, 1870, meeting, only a week after the protest convention
63. Faculty Record, Oct. 26, 1868, 1: 9.
64. ET, '68: 45.
65. Ibid., '70: 35; '71: 32, 117-118.
66. Ibid., '89: 90.
at Bloomington.

Only one member, Samuel Edwards, who at the same session provided the formula which brought about the admission of women, rose to advance a new plan. It was in some ways a compromise, and in others a development of tendencies already evident. The chief points were an arrangement of ten definite curricula to be called "schools," each a three-year sequence of courses. Edwards' plan was defeated four votes to eighteen, but it had features which were developed in the succeeding years. The next University catalogue, for 1870-1871, listed five colleges, each having one or more curricula called schools, as Gregory put it, "to exhibit more impressively the several courses of studies." Thus the colleges made their appearance: Agriculture, Mechanic and Engineering, Chemistry, Natural History, Literature, Science, and Art were listed that year. With the exception of Chemistry, which was reduced to the status of a school in the College of Natural Science the next year, these were the colleges forming the basis of the University organization. Within two years, too, thirteen of the schools had relatively rigid curricula.

To one principle Gregory firmly adhered, and it was the most important one. That was to hold the Industrial University to the high aim of equality with other collegiate institutions in spite of its obvious differences: "There must be no policy which implies a confession of inferiority of scientific or industrial education," was his counsel in answer to critics in early 1869. During the following summer he went to Europe to learn of the agricultural schools there at first hand. This was an important trip for the University, though in no sense was it official. Gregory observed that the successful schools were those organized on broad foundations. Baron Liebig, he reported, advised him that the agricultural college should be part of
67. Ibid., '70: 66-67.

68. Prairie Farmer, 40 (Mar. 27, 1869): 97.
a university. The old baron's advice was better than that given by the author of the land grant act to those who turned to him. With magnanimity, Morrill gave his blessing to one and all who approached him, disclosing at length that he had no opinion at all and only adding to the confusion in which some of the colleges found themselves. After the trip to Europe in 1869 Gregory saw clearly that, while there was room for the greatest improvements in details, the beginning made at Illinois was good and that it already compared favorably with some of its European prototypes. So far were the trustees won over to his views in the next two years that he was re-elected unanimously in 1871.

Gregory's resolution was tested once more, however. Since the first year the Board of Trustees had found the membership of thirty-two too large to do business promptly. After repeated representations, the law was revised in 1873 to create a new board of nine appointive members, three from each grand judicial division, and two ex officio, the governor and the president of the state board of agriculture. But the revised law failed to provide for the board's relations with the regent, now no longer a member. It was unfortunate that during the new board's first meetings Gregory was in Europe (acting as a commissioner to an exposition in Vienna) for the board showed as strong a disposition to take all responsibility as the previous boards had to leave matters to the regent. When Gregory returned he found himself virtually shorn of all power, though most of the members were still friendly. One new trustee, John P. Reynolds, an associate of Turner who had helped draft the industrial university bill in 1865, and was now the president of the state board of agriculture, was disposed to reopen the question of curriculum. His excuse was a curious section of the new law which seemed to him to compel all students to study agriculture or engineering.
69. Gregory to Halle, July 15, 1869 in Champaign County Gazette, Aug. 11, 1869, 4.


71. Public Laws, 1875, 16-17.

72. "All pupils attending the said university shall be taught, and shall study, such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, and as are adapted to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including, for all male students, military tactics." Public Laws, 1875, 14-16.
As interpreted by the Committee on Courses of Study—Flagg, Brown, and J. P. Slade, the law worked no hardship except on those who wished to take some course not already recommended. It marked, however, the passing of Gregory’s idea of freely elected courses and gave legislative authority to compulsory military training.

By this time it was evident in enrollment increases that the University was finding itself. From 180 students in 1869-1870, the number rose the next year to 276, and in 1871-1872, to 331. Most of those in the first years had lived in the county, but in the fifth year they came from sixty-nine counties, twelve states, and three foreign countries; Turkey (Armenia), Germany, and Greece. The building was by this time hopelessly outgrown. The chapel, "inconvenient, unsafe, and inadequate," incongruously doubled as a drill hall; the chemistry laboratory out-grew its quarters at the end of the second year; and by September, 1870, even the coal room had to be converted into a classroom to have space for a new veterinary science class. Early in 1871 the legislature was impressed by how much was being done with so little when its members inspected the University, and, returning to Springfield, voted $100,000 for two buildings; a main building to cost $150,000, for which $75,000 was granted, and $25,000 for a mechanical department building with a military drill hall. Further evidence of good will was $10,000 for the library, and $20,000 for additional chemical and engineering equipment and agricultural experimentation.

The new buildings were provided none too soon; they were hardly begun when a windstorm took off the tin roof, itself a replacement, of the old building. The Mechanical Building, which became the first relief for overcrowding, was completed for use in mid-winter, 1871-
Slade was a county school superintendent from Belleville who was later to become state superintendent of public instruction.

75. Ibid. 70: 75.
76. "Zural" (Dunlap), in Chicago Tribune, Apr. 10, 1871, as reprinted in Illinois Democrat (Dunlap Scrapbook).
77. Public Laws... 1871, 142-143.
78. Ibid. '72: 120.
1872. Standing just below Springfield Avenue at the foot of Romine, its two stories with corner towers and turrets reflected ideas of John M. Van Osdel, the trustee who had planned the earlier improvements on the old main building. The new main building, which was to be known as University Hall, by the same designer, was placed on the highest ground of the campus, north of Green Street, a good three blocks south of the old building. Johnathan Baldwin Turner came to help lay the corner stone and to say that he was there "to cast off and abjure all my former prejudices and prepossessions." For a time University Hall stood completed only to the second floor because at its next session the legislature adjourned without supplying the additional $75,000 promised, though it had appropriated record sums for other purposes, chiefly to relieve the distress of the Chicago fire. With misgivings the trustees had to dip into their capital of county bonds to advance the work. A little later the contractor quit because of rising prices and his inability to meet the demands of his creditors. By further financial improvisation the building was nevertheless made ready for dedication in December, 1873, by Governor Beveridge and John Eaton, the United States commissioner of education.

This four-storied structure and basement was an imposing "main" building throughout the sixty-five years it stood. Although at the end of its period it was both unsafe—reflecting the compromises of its erection—and an architectural anachronism, it was in its time a well-adapted university building, and its appearance and conveniences recommended themselves to the University of Arkansas, which duplicated it a few years later in Fayetteville. Vassar also had one much like it. In the central part were thirty classrooms and offices; one wing contained the chapel on the first floor and large laboratory rooms first used by physics and architecture; in the other wing, to the west, were
The Chicago fire had drained the labor market. The contractor who was erecting the building declared that he was unable to get carpenters or brick-layers; they had all gone to Chicago at premium wages.
a second floor library and spacious quarters for museums. Classes
were held in it within the month after its completion but it did not
become the real center of the University until the summer of 1874,
when the library was brought over wheelbarrow load by wheelbarrow load
across the Boneyard bridge until the nine thousand volumes were all
moved. With adequate space now for the first time for most departments,
the old building's dormitory facilities were expanded and it soon
accumulated the traditions characteristic of its use.

Somewhat unusual in the new building was the ample provision for
student activities. Large rooms on the top floor were set aside as
club rooms, a generous foresight of Regent Gregory's. This was but
one example of his deep concern for the development of student life.
In the first year, when there were scarcely more than a hundred students,
all boys, and strangers to college traditions, the faculty guided all
the daily routines in both the dormitory and manual labor system. The
organization was semi-military; many of the boys wore their uniforms.

Hall sergeants, marched their squads to and from chapel and classes.
who were the squad leaders in military drill and the labor groups.
To stimulate literary activities, the approved student expression of
the time, Gregory one day in late 1868 called the roll in chapel and
assigned the boys alternately into two literary societies, the Adelphic
and Philomathean. A year after their admission the women formed the
Alethanal Society—"the truthful ones"—to "better themselves in com-
position, elocution, debating powers and to enlarge their fund of
general intelligence. A free club, "A Pollothesists", was formed
as early as 1872.

The opportunities afforded by new University Hall brought the
societies to their full vigor. They met weekly, usually on a Saturday
night, in the assigned rooms on the fourth floor of the new building.
### The first daily schedule:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6:45-7:15 A.M.</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:15-8:15</td>
<td>Recitations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:15-8:30</td>
<td>Chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:30-9:30</td>
<td>Lecture and Drill alternately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:30-12:30</td>
<td>Recitations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30-1:00 P.M.</td>
<td>Dinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00-5:00</td>
<td>Labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00-6:00</td>
<td>Access to Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00-7:00</td>
<td>Supper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00-10:00</td>
<td>Study hours</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Faculty Record, Mar. 28, 1868, 1:1.**

---

81. Faculty Record, Sep. 15, 1868, L. 5, BT, "71: 274.


83. Sophograph, '39, 45-46.
The long climb up the stairs lent its name to the motto "Come Up Higher," adopted by the Philomathians. There were programs of orations, debates and music, and later, speakers. Adelphi introduced Henry Ward Beecher in 1876, who set the campus talking when he came in a private railway coach. In the same year the Philo's brought Will Carleton and Josh Billings. But the usual program was more modest, with student essay-orations such as "The Influence of Science," by J. E. Low, '74, or "The Illusive Future," by James R. Mann, '76, who probably did not foretell his own future in Congress or know that he would ever sponsor railroad legislation when he debated at another time the question "Resolved, That the government should own and control the railroads and telegraph lines." Serious declamations were no less characteristic of the meetings, however, than the interludes of descriptive vocal and instrumental music like "The Merry Chimes," "The Battle King," or "The Waves." Debating, the third main activity of the societies, led to competitions with other midwestern colleges and the formation of debate conferences. Illinois' first was the Illinois Collegiate Association, formed in 1874 after a Galesburg meeting in which Iowa State University, Iowa College (Grinnell), Beloit, and four Illinois colleges took part. As in later years of athletics, the teams winning the inter-society elimination contests made trips accompanied by their supporters to defend the honor of the alma mater.

This same sober outlook was seen in voluntarily formed organizations. But for the nature of its activities, the I. I. U. Gymnastic Club would have become another literary venture, as did the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, later known as the Scientific Association, and the Y. M. C. A., formed in 1873, and the Y. W. C. A., 1874. Even the June commencement programs, held as early as 1869, before there were "graduates," were similar to those of the societies.
Numerous scrapbook collections of programs and other printed matter are in the files of the Alumni Association and the University Library. The society records, also in the hands of the Alumni Association, are nearly complete from the beginning. The illustrations given here are in the "Memory Book" of John L. Pierce, '74, among those of the Alumni Association.

86. The Illini, 3 (March, 1874), 32, 136-137.
87. The Student, 2 (July, 1875), (p. 2).
Orationes, and thesis abstracts after 1873, were delivered by sober youths about to receive a certificate that looked less like the usual college diploma than did the one given them when they matriculated. In 1876 twenty-two graduates had their say, although none appear to have relieved the tedium as did Ira O. Baker in 1874 when he kept the audience in laughter with "a valuable paper" entitled "Timber in Engineering."

It was not strange, therefore, that the first publication, The Student, a pamphlet-sized monthly appearing in the fall of 1871, should wrestle with ponderous subjects. Discontent with its weighty articles led to a reorganization in December, 1873, and in January it reappeared as the Illinois with departments of personals, exchanges, and a review of University affairs in which editors and contributors sometimes gratuitously advised the faculty on the management of the University. Civil engineering problems, highly statistical reviews of agricultural experiments, and essays of high moral tone continued to find place, but the magazine was larger and more attractive. After a few months its enterprising business manager, James Faulkner, '74, raised funds for a press and bindery, making it entirely a campus product. Throughout the 'seventies it remained a monthly, not changing much in either outlook or style.

With the official attitude favoring the serious, high purposed, and the creative, it was perhaps only natural that the streak of youthful irreverence should appear in sharp contrast. The printed program, a fetish especially of the societies, was an easy mark for parodies mocking the efforts of those who appeared in it. "Bogus" publications, usually no more than leaflets, appeared anonymously but it was generally easy to guess the authors, and to ridicule them in retaliatory pieces. With the exception of Gregory, the faculty was subject to the
88. H. Illini, 3 (June, 1874), 166-167; 5 (June, 1876), 237.
same lampoons of bucolic wits. Gregory was usually spared because he was to the students almost without exception the personification of the University. In later years the classes of his regency set themselves apart from the other alumni, calling themselves the Gregorians.

Gregory was fortunately all that the student thought him to be. He had difficulties with the faculty and also the trustees, but seldom with the students. When they found fault, it was with the faculty or the trustees. Doubtless part of the esteem of the students was due to their own immaturity and the awe with which they came to the University, but Gregory's popularity was well deserved.

There was as much truth as color in Dean Davenport's statement that the first students of the land grant colleges came "directly from the district schools, ungraded, unlettered and unwashed." That they were also highly impressionable is suggested by G. A. Zeller, '77, an Illinois pioneer in the movement for better treatment of the insane, when he reported on a typical student, himself: "I seemed to feel that every older boy and every one from a larger town was my intellectual and social superior—and I generally was." To many of these Gregory appeared as a wise father, a tribute of nostalgic memories but well borne out by contemporary evidence. They liked his chapel homilies and his longer inspirational talks at Sunday afternoon vespers. When the University was still in the old building, he had an organ installed in the chapel at his own expense. When he returned from Europe in 1873, he delighted student audiences with accounts of his experiences, descriptions of cities and universities, and with
69. Quoted in Ross, Democracy's College, 115.

70. The State University, 2. A copy of part of an autobiographical manuscript.

71. BT, '70, 51.
"phantasmagoric illustrations" (lantern projections) of European scenes and art objects. For the women for whom no special provisions had been made, he opened in 1872 a "White Hall" co-operative boarding house modeled on the Mount Holyoke plan. The idea nearest his heart, however, was the model student government he gave the student body in 1870.

In October, 1870, Gregory offered the dormitory boys the opportunity to undertake their own government. Calling an assembly, he told them "You are young Americans; you expect to govern yourselves and will be governors of the country by-and-by; why not begin now?" Hall sergeants, a building adjutant or prosecuting attorney, and a council of five members were elected and proceeded to fine offenders ten to twenty-five cents a violation. There was a cause célèbre in early 1872 when the choir was haled before the council for rehearsing—"making a noise"—during a study hour. Student politicians were quick to make the issue a test of the government, threatening even to abandon it if not upheld by the faculty. The choir was fined and all ended well.

In 1873 a reorganization was made necessary by changing conditions of student life. The University now had three buildings, and more than half of the students were living in off-campus boarding houses. The new government had a constitution, a president, supreme court, senate, assembly, and court officers to enforce the acts it adopted with the approval of the regent. Some of the opportunities the new organization afforded may be inferred from a contemporary advertisement in the Illini:

Legal—Messrs. Mackay & Wood, having been duly admitted to the bar, will plead cases in the I. I. U. Courts, and will receive in payment therefore, peanuts, pies or oranges, according as the charge may be of the first, second, or third degree. Office, Room 24, Dormitory Building.
IAN,


94. The Student, 2 (November, 1873), 123-124; The Illini, 4 (April, 1875), 204-207; (May), 232-236; (June), 269-270.

95. The Illini, 4 (April, 1875), 218.

Gregory sold "White Hall" to the Rev. A. N. Page, who renamed it "Student Home." (Letter from Hannah Page Curry to Mrs. G. Dunegan, given to authors March 11, 1942.)
It was a veritable French republic. The elections brought out the best and worst in the students' political instincts. In a typical year, parties emerged named Government, Reform, Illini, Enforcement, and Dress Reform (women's rights). In keeping with the best political practice a party in another year published a pamphlet newspaper called the University Reporter.

This venture in student government attracted attention; Gregory was frequently called on to explain it to other college heads. Yet it was at best only a qualified success, for it degenerated into election brawls and students lost their respect for it. Gregory attributed its decline to the rise of partisan spirit stimulated by the literary societies, and more especially to the rise of Delta Tau Delta, the first fraternity, which was believed to have as its main purpose the manipulation of the government. The students were aware of Delta Tau Delta soon after its founding in 1872, but it was not noticed by Gregory until 1876. In chapel talks he repeatedly warned against secret societies, and in 1876 he asked the trustees to ban them, which was done. That Delta Tau Delta went out of existence, even temporarily, is suggestive of Gregory's influence over his students.

The appearance of the fraternity was only one of several indications that the students were taking on collegiate tradition. Another was the gradual development of class organization and spirit. Students were at first listed as being in the first, second, third, and fourth years, but in 1876 they appeared for the first time in official lists as freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors. In the same year the preparatory students were listed separately. The seniors in 1877 adopted the plug hat as their symbol, a custom of eastern colleges, and the juniors, not to be outdone, appeared at their party in academic cap and gown. Gone by this time was the semi-military spirit which the faculty had fostered in the first years. The climax of the trend was reached in 1877, when...
96. Ibid., 4 (October, 1874), 19. Copies may be found in the Pierce "Memory Book."

97. BT, '76, 138-139. Faculty Record, Feb. 17, 1879, 1: 281. J. B. Turner was delighted with this innovation of Gregory.

"The government of the institution is most admirable. I have never seen but one institution in this respect equal to it and that was on the same sensible and truly American plan..." Prairie Farmer, 42 (Mar. 4, 1871), 66.

98. BT, '76, 163-164, 185.


100. Illini, 5 (May, 1876), 122; 6 (May, 1877), 313.
the four-year old Alumni Association induced the legislature to amend the University's organic act to allow the granting of degrees.

The question of degrees went as deep into the philosophy of industrial universities as did the arguments over the curriculum in the early seventies and they had no inclination to allow a new controversy to arise. Gregory and the faculty seemed to leave the decision to them but it was clear that the alumni had faculty support. The alumni argued that the absence of degrees put them and the University at a disadvantage, that "the world is educated to look upon this as the sign of having completed a course of study, and likewise expects of college graduates that they come out with the proper degree." The trustees' hesitation was resolved by deciding to ask the question to the other land grant colleges. However, at the Columbus, Ohio, meeting in December, 1877, the question was what degrees rather than the general issue, since all but Illinois had already adopted them and most schools were creating new ones with almost infinite variation. On receiving Gregory's report, the trustees yielded to the alumni demands and made provision for the B. A., B. S., and B. Litt. for qualified graduates.

The granting of degrees after 1878 brought no educational changes. Curricular questions had been largely settled by 1873, five years before, when Gregory won his fight to create a university as well as a technical school. Thereafter the task of the faculty was to do what had been promised.

Most of the students as well as the limited facilities of the first years were scarcely encouraging to the faculty man who did not share the regent's enthusiastic ambitions. A third and sometimes more of the enrollment was in preparatory classes taught until 1876 by the regular
101. Laws..., 1877, 216.

102. (Graduates) To The Honorable Legislature of the State of Illinois, in Pierce "Memory Book."

faculty, including Gregory himself as a teacher of the beginners in American history. Of course this was high school work, a drain on the University's finances but an unavoidable necessity. Nevertheless Gregory and the faculty raised the entrance requirements as early as 1872 in an effort to put the collegiate work on a higher level. At the same time they undertook missionary work to promote improved and extended secondary education. Gregory, because of his experience in Michigan, was in demand as a speaker at teachers' institutes, and even in his first year in Illinois was prominent in the normal school movement resulting in the establishment of Southern Illinois Normal University.

In the hope that the preparatory classes might soon be dropped, the faculty devised a system of accrediting high schools qualified to enter their students without the customary entrance examinations. The school at Princeton, the first township high school in the state, was also the first to be accredited. In another category were placed the schools which could give the University's entrance examination, a step which stimulated them to make the improvements raising them to the fully accredited status. The same year, 1876, saw the preparatory students separated from those of the college in a special department supervised by seven recent graduates who had stayed on as assistants and post-graduate students. This system was followed for fifteen years, in spite of repeated attempts to abandon it. The general preparatory work, the "Academy," continued for 20 years more before being finally dropped.

A thorny problem demanding an early solution related to the special courses for the women. One idea, suggestive of its source, was that they should be taught churning, vegetable gardening, poultry raising, and the like. Gregory thought differently, but he was slow to make up his mind. For three years a course in household arts was promised but he found no teacher. Music and elocution were added in

105. *Catalogue...* 1876-7, 65-66. In the first ten years not half of the thirty-five accredited schools had sent students to the University. The status was nevertheless regarded as a distinction and contributed to higher standards at even that early date. See "The University of Illinois," Peabody Addresses, No. 9, Illinois Collection.

106. BT, '76; 172, 175, 206.

1872 as a partial solution. For the fall of 1874, however, "Miss
Louisa Caterine Allen was employed, a young woman not much older
than the girl to teach but with a reputation as an intelligent
agiter for domestic science instruction. She also had been assistant
principal in the Peoria high school. In addition to domestic science
she began calisthenics instruction and was preceptress, with duties
similar to those of the deans of women of more recent times.

Miss Allen had prepared herself well. She had studied botany and
chemistry with Cook and Gray during the summers at Harvard, and was
familiar with the activities of women's colleges in the east. The scope
of the course she developed is seen in the term subjects: food and
dietetics (two terms), domestic hygiene, household aesthetics, house-
hold science (heating, ventilation, illumination, etc.), domestic
economy (home management), and home architecture. This was no
sequel course for the dilettantes. It was fully as technical and as scientific
as any other course in the University and was unquestionably the most
thorough and complete of its kind in the country. On the strength
of it Miss Allen was made a professor in 1879, establishing her as the
equal of the best among the faculty and a note of personal triumph.

On their honeymoon to Europe—which the celebrants remembered the University
by bringing home a fine collection of Delft china for the bride's de-
partmental museum. Good fortune in 1879 quickly turned into misfortune
in 1880, however, when Gregory's resignation took his wife into retire-
ment too, bringing a premature end to the venture in domestic science.
The course had been developed in spite of financial difficulties and
when the time came to consider hiring a new teacher its failures and
successes were weighed. This time the vision of the Gregorys' was not

in the balance, the new regent and the faculty found the enrollment had never been greater than thirteen and that the girls thought the course "too scientific," so it was suspended.

While domestic science was the most striking of the later developments, other courses gained stability and even expanded. The arts courses, taught for a time by Peter Baumgras, a painter who had done an excellent portrait of Lincoln, were arranged into a curriculum called the School of Art and Design in 1876 under Peter Roos, a Swedish landscape painter prominent in art education in the east. Architecture, hardly existing in more than name before 1873, was organized in that year by Nathan Clifford Ricker, '72, after he had managed it nearly a year as both instructor and prize student. Ricker, older than the average student by nearly ten years, was sent off to Europe as soon as he graduated to see at first hand how the subject was taught there. He came back full of ideas and arranged a pioneer course which was especially noted for the library and laboratory work. The engineering courses prospered and students under Robinson and Webb, enrolling for most of the 'seventies nearly half of the men on the campus. A notable attempt of Robinson and Ricker to extend the usefulness of the College of Engineering was an eight-week summer session opened in Chicago in 1876 at their own expense. With University equipment they offered six hours daily instruction in iron and wood working. But Robinson, unfortunately, was lost to the University that fall after eight years of fruitful service. It was a sad commentary on the financial condition of the institution that he went to Ohio State University for a slight but well-deserved increase in salary. To succeed him, Gregory named Selim Hobart Peabody, who had been considered for the position in 1869.
110. Faculty Record, Dec. 5, 1880, 2; not pagd.

111. BT, '76: 183, 194.

112. Ricker, The Story of a Life (MS autobiography, 1922), 12 et passim.

113. BT, '78: 36, 96. Chicago School of Mechanic Art (Urbana, 1878), in President's Scrapbook, 1887-1897, 25a. This venture was not repeated. In the following year there was a six-week summer school in the Sciences and Languages announced, but no more of it is known. Ibid., 53a.
In the natural sciences Burrill was finding time for research in botany. As early as the spring of 1869 he was using a microscope and a laboratory in his instruction, and from his after-hours investigations came his definite discovery in 1871 that plant diseases could be caused by bacteria. Chemistry, once it had room to expand in the quarters vacated in the old building when most classes were transferred to University Hall, became one of the strongest departments in the University. In 1878, Professor Henry A. Weber, a Liebig student who succeeded Stuart in 1876, moved his laboratories into the new $30,000 chemistry building; in more recent times given the name Market Hall, and used for the College of Law and later the entomology department. Designed in the architectural drafting rooms by Professor Ricker with student assistance, it was enthusiastically described as "unsurpassed in regard to size and facilities by any other building of its kind in the whole country." The only major addition to the campus between 1873 and 1890, it came at a time when the University was in its deepest financial depression. It provided laboratory space for three hundred students and special mineralogical milling and assaying facilities, besides pharmaceutical and photographic laboratories, and a private laboratory for the instructors.

Museums claimed as much attention as the library in the early days. The natural history collection, which Professor Don Carlos Taft supervised, had its inception in an expedition of a half-dozen students led by Burrill in the summer of 1869 through the by-ways of the state to assemble specimens of Illinois plant life. By the time of its formal dedication at the tenth anniversary exercises in 1877 it was already one of the most popular show places of the University. Its rival was the Fine Arts Gallery, two floors above, containing reproductions of famous sculptural works, mostly of Greek and Roman origin. This was

115. BT, '70; 51-53. Champaign County Gazette, July 21 and Aug. 11, 1869.
peculiarly the pride of the students, for it was truly unusual. It was an idea conceived by Gregory while traveling in Europe in 1873. When he returned he was armed with a projector and slides for illustrated lectures on art. One of his most enthusiastic auditors was a young man not yet of college age—Lorado Taft, '79, the son of the geology professor. During the winter of 1873-1874 Gregory thus raised about two thousand dollars and sent to Europe for the reproductions. As one by one the large crates arrived and were opened, almost all the statuary was found cracked or broken. With painstaking care the regent, his daughters, Professor Taft, and his son glued together the chips of the full-sized Laocoon group and other marvels. Young Taft was a student by the time the collection was set up, and to him it was "the finest thing of its kind in all the West; a wonder of countless visitors and an inspiration to generations of students."

But for all the promise shown in other departments, agriculture lagged during most of the 'seventies. Burrill, professor of horticulture as well as botany after 1870, had few students in his agricultural classes and gave most of his time for this subject to the work in the greenhouses, orchards, and garden vegetable plots. When Bliss left in 1870, an attempt was made to replace him with Professor Manly Miles of Michigan Agricultural College but without success. During the next four years the department was badly disorganized, though the catalogues gave it an imposing appearance with nine professors, listing Robinson of the College of Engineering as "professor of agricultural machinery"—to cite only one strained example. The model farm was operated hopefully for a profit and the experimental farms were nominally directed first by Willard C. Flagg and later by E. H. Johnson as superintendents of farm operations, but their every move was subject to the control of the agricultural committee of the board of
trustees. Well-intentioned experiments ambitiously begun were seldom carried to conclusion. Even the winter farmers' institutes were abandoned when financial difficulties intervened in the middle seventies.

Divided responsibility and indirection were faults to be traced to the trustees' assumption of administrative responsibility. Gregory, who was presumed to know nothing about farming and therefore not consulted, had almost no authority except in instructional matters. But neither he nor the faculty could find a teacher of agriculture who could be appointed with confidence, so they tried to make one. On his graduation they sent Charles W. Silver, '78, to the University of Halle in Germany to study in its famous agricultural department, and he returned to become instructor in agricultural chemistry in 1874. Too much was expected of him, however, and he was glad to give up his duties at the end of the year. In the following year Manly Miles, "the only professor of agriculture worthy of the name" according to contemporary popular opinion, came to Illinois amid great expectations. But Miles was headstrong and openly criticized Gregory's objectives and management of the University. Before the year ended Gregory offered his resignation, apparently attempting to bring a showdown. The regent was sustained and Miles' employment was terminated. Finally the work was taken up by George Espy Morrow, a man of wide experience as a lawyer, farm paper editor, and teacher of practical agriculture at Iowa Agricultural College. He was gradually given full authority to direct all agricultural activities.

The Miles incident, although disagreeable, brought about important administrative improvements. After it demonstrated how completely helpless, yet responsible, the regent was, several changes in the


University by-laws gave him increased powers, especially in nominations to the faculty, and delineated the function of the trustees, regent, and faculty. A year later the faculty by-laws were radically revised, defining, as adopted in September, 1877, the organization of schools and colleges, giving the faculty the power of determining the curriculum, and providing for deans in each of the colleges. The first of these were Morrow in Agriculture, Robinson in Engineering (after one term, Ricker), Burrill in Natural Science, and Snyder in Literature and Science. Burrill, the senior faculty member, became vice-president of the faculty by virtue of the same laws. This made him second in command in educational matters though not in administration; during the periods of Gregory's summer travels in Europe the duties of acting regent regularly fell to Shattuck, business agent of the University since 1875 and professor of mathematics.

In all, during his regency Gregory spent five summers in Europe and each time the University profited in some way. The first, in 1869, established in his mind the ideal toward which he would direct it; on the second he introduced Ricker and Silver to the progress of Europe in architecture and agriculture; on the third he procured the casts for the Fine Arts Gallery; on the fourth he represented the state at the Paris exposition of 1878 and brought back valuable additions to the museums and library. The last, in 1879, had a special significance aside from its being a honeymoon. It provided the occasion to view the University from a distance and to give it once more the vision of its true educational objectives. The picture was painted against a background of dark financial prospects. For more than a year the trustees had been pressing economies in every way possible;
121. BT, '76: 189-190.

122. Ibid., '76: 44-45.

123. Faculty Record, Feb. 16, 1878, p. 249.
in 1878 all salaries had been reduced ten percent; and when Gregory's letter was read, they were considering curtailing the courses and releasing some of the faculty. In an almost plaintive tone Gregory asked them to remember the grander aims and the future of the University.

A true university must be a fountain of learning as well as a school of instruction. It must be a place where knowledge and science are discovered and perfected, as well as a center for dissemination. It is the presence of great masters, men of genius and learning and leaders of thought, which everywhere makes and marks the true university. Great numbers of students prove nothing unless they are attracted by the presence of great teachers. 124

Though Gregory in this letter set forth his ambitions for the University in clearer terms than ever before or later, a tone of discouragement could not be hidden. The trustees had faith in him, but were uncertain and hesitant. They thought him visionary and impractical, even when they were ready to follow him. But he found it impossible to acquiesce in their unduly cautious attitude toward financial matters. This was doubtless the chief reason for his resignation in 1880.

The difficulties had begun at the time of the depression of 1873 and continued to grow worse throughout the remaining years of the decade. Support promised by the agricultural societies in 1871 did not materialize; they became engrossed in the injuries done the farmers by railroads and large corporations. Several of the older societies went out of existence and new ones had little place for the University in their programs. The death in 1876 and 1879 of W. C. Flagg and A. H. Brown, both trustees and agricultural society leaders who maintained what little liaison there was in the later 'seventies, deprived the University of its two chief supporters. The teachers' associations, in spite of Gregory's and the faculty's activity in them, showed little concern. Occasional praise of Gregory and his University, which, said
the "Illinois Schoolmaster," "should inspire all with a sensation of pride," was weak balm for the deliberate and unjustified slights directed to it by leaders of other colleges in the state. And finally the state government at Springfield seemed to bear out the comment of an early governor by whom Gregory was refused aid with the comment that the State washed its hands of the whole thing.

The beginning of the financial reverses had been seen in the legislature's refusal to provide for the completion of University Hall. To do this the University had to dispose of more than half of the bonds given by the county. Even before the building was completed it appeared the county might default the remainder as a result of a court decision that such bond issues might be illegal. When new bonds were voted, the situation was further complicated by the discovery that $2,000 worth had been fraudulently issued. While this controversy was in progress Kankakee County defaulted the interest on another $30,000 of bonds held by the University, further diminishing its income. By 1880, with interest rates declining, the annual income from the endowment was $10,000 less than in the early seventies. State appropriations, due partly to the depression and continued decline in the value of agricultural products, remained negligible. It was only in the spirit of "nothing ventured, nothing gained" that the trustees obtained the $69,000 appropriation of 1877 which made possible the chemistry building and other additions to the equipment.

Gregory repeatedly proposed more aggressive policies but the board hung back. He was ready to raise student fees in 1875. Not meeting with success, he suggested in 1876 that the legislature be asked for a twentieth-mill tax such as provided for the state universities of Wisconsin and Michigan. Term fees were at length raised from $15 to $22.50.
125. Vol. 8 (August, 1875), 277.

126. Burrill to James, May 16, 1914, "In re resignation of Dr. J. M. Gregory," President's Correspondence, 1913-1914.


129. ET, '82: 165.

130. ET, '73: 11; '80: 168. Gregory at one time also suggested the application of the seminary funds to the Industrial University, but the trustees thought such an appeal impolitic.
year in 1880 but for the rest the trustees determined that the University must try to live within its meager income rather than press the legislature more vigorously. Gregory foresaw the inevitable result: the courses would be reduced to a minimum by combining some and dis-continuing others. He resigned in June, 1880.

That Gregory's health, never strong, was also suffering under the strain was evident after 1876. He did not complain, but it was clear that neither the faculty nor the trustees caught his progressive spirit or shared his courage to face adversity and criticism. He also became aware, at least by early 1880, that there was concealed opposition to him in one faculty quarter. To see the students losing their attitude of reverence toward him and the faculty was a deep disappointment, although he seemed not to mind the thoughtless criticism of the University which Illini contributors and editors offered as "student interest in the institution" and "responsible journalism." Boisterousness in pranks was beginning to exceed the bounds of fun and the student government showed itself unable to cope with the situation. When the faculty began to intervene, a controversy arose which was hastily colored by the students as a faculty attempt to overthrow the government. There were both students and faculty men who questioned the legality of the student government, his favorite project, during 1879 and 1880 until at length Gregory appealed to the attorney general for an opinion and was upheld. All this formed a background of an incident in January, 1880, which climaxed the student unrest.

"The Military Rebellion," as it was called, came about as a result of the faculty's revision of the conditions under which students who had taken military drill for four years were to be nominated to the governor for commissions in the militia. In January, 1880, the faculty decided to restrict their nominations to five graduation stu-
131. Ibid., '80: 237.


ents of high scholarship and good conduct and similarly to regulate
advancements within the battalion. When the new rule became known
the junior and senior officers refused to report at drill, and soon
the sophomores joined them, bringing all military instruction to a
standstill. Half the student body met in a sympathy meeting at the
Hochberg Opera House in Champaign to support the rebels but the
faculty remained adamant. At the end of a noisy month all except
six of the student officers returned to their posts under threat of
expulsion; the six preferred a fleeting martyrdom and left the cam-
pus with the open commendation of their fellows. Then, order had
been barely restored when Nature added to Gregory's woe by unleashing
a spring gale which ripped off the roof and a corner of the dorm-
itory, damaging it beyond repair. After thirteen years again an empty
shell, the building must have seemed to Gregory to symbolize a founda-
tion on sand. For himself he saw but one course.

The trustees had no plan but accepted his resignation without
question, giving Gregory the generous praise he well deserved. To
the faculty the announcement came as a surprise. Gregory notified
them one evening at a reception in his home a week before the board
meeting, thanking them for their co-operation and mentioning his
"staggering often under too heavy load of cares, and (being) irritated
by what has sometimes seemed needless opposition..."

In 1880 Gregory was nearing sixty years, and in poor health, but
his career was by no means over. Within a year he was made president
of the state board of health and appointed to the National Council of
Education. His lectures to the seniors at the University on politi-
cal economy were revised and appeared as a textbook in 1882. In
1885 he was named one of the three commissioners who organized the na-
tional civil service, remaining in that office throughout the term of
Military up to that time had progressed without undue incident, and in general was highly regarded by everyone, including the people of the state who were especially impressed by the prompt and effective response of the cadets to the governor's call in 1871 at the time of the Chicago fire, when 157 of them went up at midnight to help preserve order. (See also chapter eight.)


137. Faculty Record, June 5, 1880, 2; notpaged.

President Arthur, who appointed him. Then followed an extended trip through Europe, during which he attended lectures at the College de France and discussed socialism with Anne Besant and her circle in London, of whom he could only comment, "The Fabians will never set the world on fire." Once more back in America (Washington, D.C.), he became president of the Washington Civic Center. The University remained his first love throughout and when he died in 1898 one of his last requests was to be buried on its campus. This was done, and in June, 1914, the grave was marked with a granite boulder found in the ground at the site of Lincoln Hall. In ceremonies elaborate even for that later period of the University's history, nearly seventy-five Gregoriands and others who knew him did homage to his memory.

Within two months of Gregory's death the University mourned also the passing of Jonathan Baldwin Turner, the prophet, who, like the founder, had struggled almost single-handedly to create an institution worthy of the state. Kind fates allowed both to see the University begin to achieve the aims they set for it.
139. Gregory, Gregory, 345.

140. Alumni Quarterly, 3 (July, 1914), a commemorative issue.