1. BT 180: 240.
University were similar. Both men had much the same background; both
had been liberally trained in classical colleges and became high school
administrators before land grant colleges demanded their services. Like
Gregory, Peabody considered narrow technical training a fatal error,
agreeing in his own way that if a farmer's boy "unearths a Greek root,
phosphorescent with age, it will not destroy him." And although he had
little of the personal magnetism that distinguished his predecessor,
he was a sound scholar and scientist. Soundness was the quality which
the trustees hoped he could give the University.

The new regent was born in Vermont in 1829, a minister's son
related to a clan of Peabody's who carried the name with honor in ed-
ucational and public affairs. He had worked on a farm in his youth
and acquired a knowledge of surveying, carpentry, and shoe manufactur-
ing. It was an illness, the consequence of a foot injury, that turned
his attention to the physically less arduous vocation of teaching, for
which he prepared himself at the University of Vermont. On graduation
in 1852 his college president noted high scholarship, "especially in
the mathematical and physical branches... He is of a mild and gentle-
manly character." Five years later he was a clerk in the land office
at Eau Claire, Wisconsin, but he soon returned to teaching. After
several years in Wisconsin schools he moved to Chicago, where, at Central
High School he established a reputation as a general science teacher
and as an author of popular books and textbooks of science. This back-
ground suggested his suitability for a professorship in the insti-
tution getting under way at Urbana. The Chicago high school seemed more
attractive than the Urbana university in 1869, although when Massachusetts
Agricultural College offered a similar position in 1871 he accepted it,
only to have the unhappy experience of an early resignation. He was again
teaching in Chicago when Gregory invited him to the University in 1878.


During his two years as a professor he won friends, working quietly but effectively and demonstrating ability in whatever he was asked to do.

The problems Peabody was called to face as regent were a test of administrative genius, demanding qualifications beyond those of a successful classroom teacher. It was imperative that he should win the support of the legislature, the apathy of which was reinforced by the current hostility of farmers toward efforts to increase and improve production when their market was glutted. The decaying student government, the reappearance of fraternities, and the wounds left by the late military rebellion, and the necessity of rearranging courses to effect economies presented issues demanding resolute action. And whatever action might be taken, some quarter would be dissatisfied.

The reception of the new regent by the students was favorable. He later said, perhaps facetiously, that they looked at him carefully, some because he was not Dr. Gregory and others because he was not Dr. McCosh, Princeton's volatile Scoffman. The first year passed without incident. But at the beginning of the second an impetuous clique was ready to test the newcomer's mettle by openly organizing a fraternity. Although Peabody was himself an alumnus of Sigma Phi, he at once upheld the University policy and urged the boys to give up the attempt. He might have succeeded but for the emergence of another from the sub rosa existence taught its members by brothers in Indiana institutions. The gentle approach failing, the faculty was asked to take decisive action. An anti-fraternity pledge, a condition of admission and of graduation, was formulated and the trustees confirmed the ban.

   220. A sample pledge is pasted in the President's Scrapbook, 1867-1897, 43.
For several years the forbidden fruit seemed all the more tasty.
Sigma Chi, locally established in May, 1881, assumed the disguise of
an older club with the name "Tautological Tautogs" and its members
were received into the fraternity rolls on graduation. Fraternity
alumni living in Urbana and Champaign actively supported the sham,
opening their homes to secret meetings. With this help the Tautogs,
through a Sigma Chi representative, attempted in 1885 to force the
trustees to alter their policy. The board remained unmoved, while
impolitic threats to imperil the University's biennial requests from
the state legislature only had the effect of strengthening the deter-
mination to enforce the pledge. The victory of principle proved
unexpectedly costly, for although the number of students who favored
a more liberal policy was small, the controversy had the unfortunate
effect of creating a dissentient element among the students and
alumni which took every opportunity to discredit the regent.

As in the late years of Gregory, the student government continued
to be a point of chronic student-faculty controversy. It had been
effective once and was still sufficiently popular to warrant support,
though the cycle of its existence appeared to be one of strict enforce-
ment by the officers of the first term, "getting even" by the second,
and practical abandonment by virtue of a truce of desuetude during the
third. The assessment of fines had been held illegal by the attorney
general in 1880, but this difficulty was promptly obviated by reor-
gerization as a voluntary association. The want of enforceable sanctions
was less a weakness, however, than the growing apathy. One elected
student senate early in Peabody's administration proposed to end its
own futility by handing back all authority to the faculty; but the faculty,
strict in constitutional correctness, said that a vote of the electorate
was necessary before they could act. When the election was held in June,
7. BT, '86: 75-76, 81-82.

8. Ibid., '88: 205. The best description of the government is in an address, "An Educational Experiment," given by Peabody at the College Section meeting of the National Education Association at Nashville, 1889. Peabody Addresses, Illinois Collection.
1883, half the students failed to vote and the rest balloted for
dissolution. Next September the Illini announced with only mild
lament, "the college government of the Illinois Industrial University
has quit, collapsed, expired, gone to the sticks."

The passing of the government was unhappily associated with a
series of incidents which were a discredit to the students who per­
petrated them. An attempt to cause a fire or explosion in the empty
and haunted dormitory in May, 1881, was attributed to student prank­
sters although real responsibility was never ascertained. Not long
thereafter the building was taken down by a student labor gang, and
its bricks were used in a new heating plant. Tree planting, a cus­
tom by which the early classes memorialized themselves, became
occasions for rowdies of one class to uproot, cut down, or tar and
feather the trees of others. When guards were posted, the invitation
to outwit them or get into brawls with them was plain. The class of
'81 had to plant five trees before the excitement waned. No less an
opportunity was presented by the programs the classes sponsored once
each term, and the class parties and picnics. In June, 1883, two sen­
iors, daredevils then but later prominent alumni, were denied their
diplomas for issuing a "scurrilous" publication and reading insulting
papers at the class day exercises. A year later some others assaulted
a young instructor in the chemistry laboratory.

In coping with the exuberance the faculty did not show much in­
spiration. A demerit system, modeled on military practice, which was
instituted in the spring of 1884—was promptly greeted by derisive
posters entitled "Rules for the Illinois Industrial Training and Reform
School." Throughout the rest of the decade two hundred demerits were
cause for suspension. The commonness of demerits for violations of
chapel and military discipline indicate that morale in these activities
9. Faculty Record, June 1, 1883, 2: not paged. BT, '84: 193.

10. The Illini, 13 (Sept. 17, 1883), 4.


13. Faculty Record, Mar. 21, 1884, 2: not paged.

was low. Military drill had become a chore and chapel a wearisome daily incident which only the faculty could avoid. In 1885 the latter unexpectedly became the issue of a one-man rebellion—the Foster North episode.

North was within two months of graduation when he decided that the faculty could not compel his attendance at the daily fifteen-minute chapel service. He was not one of the rowdies, though they no doubt encouraged him to take his stand. His reasons were purely constitutional; he admitted attendance could do him no harm, for he had no religious convictions. His objection was that the faculty had no authority to conduct chapel exercises regardless of any right to compel or excuse his presence. Still persistent, after a considerate hearing, he was suspended. The decision was soon afterward confirmed by the Board of Trustees, who took the further precaution of consulting the attorney general. North then appealed to the courts, carrying his case to the state supreme court only to lose every proceeding. For a time it was feared the publicity aroused by the case, for it was vigorously advanced by North's attorney, would imperil the University's tenuous public relations, but in the end the effect was quite the opposite. The University appeared in the light of a defender of religion and morality against the encroachment of the agnosticism of Robert G. Ingersoll, and even found use for the facts of the case in its publicity, publishing a resume of the proceedings in a widely circulated pamphlet.

The unpleasant incidents of the early years of Peabody's administration were the activities of a small minority. Most students found a happier and more conventional outlet for their enthusiasms even though they were prone, as Katherine Peabody Girling, '83, says
15. North vs Board of Trustees, 157 Illinois, 296. Foster North vs Board of Trustees, University of Illinois (Urbana, 1891).
in the biography of her father, to campaign one moment to give a memento to a professor and to petition for his removal the next.

The YWCA flourished; its first handbook was published early in the decade and its Sunday afternoon home services were lustily supported. Its members made a project of helping Carlos Montezuma, '84, an indi- gent Indian youth who later attained an almost legendary reputation as a doctor, find support for his life both in and out of the class- room. The YWCA was reorganized in 1884 after a lapse of ten years.

Another trend of student affairs was seen in the organization of scientific clubs which had a professional outlook. In March, 1880, sixteen students formed the long-lived Natural History Club "to promote direct observation of nature and systematic reports on the same." Many of these showed genuine and highly developed interests. A chemical society was formed in 1881, and in the next year the twin societies of mechanical and civil engineers, the latter still in existence as a student chapter of the American Society of Civil Engineers. In 1887 this society published its first annual volume of Selected Papers, a collection of technical essays comparable in many ways to the best articles in professional journals. In 1891 this publication became the Technograph. A political science club (1883) and architects' society (1887) may also be noted.

Not outdone, the literary societies were the main extracurricu- lar fare. Debate and oratory grew in popularity, warranting in 1889 the formation of a campus Inter-Society Oratorical Association to arrange for the competitions with other colleges in the Illinois Inter-Collegiate Oratorical Association, which at this time included Monmouth, Knox, Blackburn, McKendree, and other Illinois colleges. Several times a year the societies offered professional entertainment for the whole community, sponsoring the appearance of widely known lecturers in the
16. Henry E. Wilson, The University of Illinois Young Men's Christian Association (19__), 15 et seq.

17. Faculty Record, June 6, Sept. 26, 1884, 2: not paged. The Illini, 25 (Apr. 10, 1896), 399.

18. Faculty Record, Feb. 9, 1880, 2: not paged. Sophograph, 1889, 30-31. The Natural History Society of the University of Illinois. Its Organization, History, Purpose, and Membership... (Champaign, 1901).


20. For the first time in many years an Illinois student, Grant Gregory, '87, a son of the former regent, won an intercollegiate contest. B&. '88, 80. Constitution of the Inter-Society Oratorical Association (Urbana, 1890), President's Scrapbook, 1867-1897, 85.
Walker (Champaign) Opera House-- programs which were the immediate predecessors of the Star Course.

A growing maturity of the student body could be partly explained by the nature of the enrollment. While the sources of the students remained unchanged--three-fourths came directly from farms and most of the rest from Champaign and Urbana, still rural communities--the average student now stayed longer in the University. In Gregory's time there had been marked differences in the number of freshmen and sophomores; now the greater difference was between the sophomores and the juniors. After declining in the early 'eighties, the total registration regained the ground lost by 1888. The class graduating in 1881, forty-six members, was the largest up to that time and became perhaps the most distinguished. It included two future trustees, James B. Armstrong and Francis M. McKay; Charles H. Dennis, editor of the Chicago Daily News; two noted botanists, Arthur B. Seymour and Herman S. Pepoon; and Arthur N. Talbot, on whom Illinois later looked as its greatest graduate. During the next year, the novel situation of a sophomore class larger than the freshman was noted. The sophomores nevertheless had a better claim to fame in the wearers of its numerals ('84). William L. Abbott, whose name led the list, was later for many years a valued trustee of the University and was remembered by it in naming the power plant, significantly representative of his profession; Thomas F. Hunt, professor of agriculture and dean at Ohio and California; Carlos Montezuma, the Indian, one of the great modern leaders of his race; George W. McCluer, who stayed on the campus to pioneer in corn hybridization; Samuel W. Farr, professor of chemistry, and Selon Philbrick, lawyer, who rose to leadership in their professions; and Samuel W. Stratton, first director of the United States Bureau of Standards and later president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
This same class also founded the **Sophograph**, the first year-book.

The **Sophographs**, the first of which appeared in 1882, were part literary annual and part a record of the growing class spirit of the sophomores. The first had a few cartoons; among its essays was one proposing that the Industrial University should be by right the University of Illinois and have law, medical, and pharmacy schools as befitted a real university. "Ninety-five" called its issue the **Saburnian**, but later classes perpetuated the name **Sophograph** until the members of '95, as juniors, replaced it with the first **Illini**. Some of the issues were designedly crude; but that of 1888, when Thomas A. Clark and James M. White, '90, were the editors, was more than usually ambitious and one of the best. The **Illini**, appearing twice monthly after Dennis's editorship in 1880-1881, was now of larger size and more definite editorial policy. Its management passed to an elective board of control under faculty supervision, after the end of the student government, but its editors remained free to express their opinions both sweet and sour. Even more than that first **Sophograph** the **Illini** vented ambitions for the improvement of the University. Later editors carried on campaigns for better gymnastic facilities, for broader liberal educational opportunities, and for recognition as the state university. The **Illini** was becoming a potent force.

Although the **Illini** gave such an impression, the aim of a well-rounded university was no student monopoly. It was shared also with the trustees, the regent, and the faculty. But the latter realized better than the students that the sentiments motivating the founders still ran deep. Distinctions between the old and the new education still had force, though the original enthusiasm for the new had abated. The main contact with other educational institutions was with the other land grant colleges, most of which were still arguing the issues of
22. Sophograph, 1884 (1882), 17.
narrow and broad foundations as vigorously as ever. And not least, the support of the agricultural societies, even though slight, was still to be clung to because the University had even fewer supporters elsewhere. Noting also the source of the enrollment, Peabody and the trustees could not afford to ignore the sentiments of a predominantly rural constituency.

Speaking before the students in 1882, Peabody discussed the questions of aims. The address, "The American University," was carefully and thoughtfully detailed, reviewing European universities as well as American and supporting the brief tradition the Industrial University had established. The University, he said, must respond to the real need—a matter to be determined not by immature students but by men of sound judgment—and it must never forget its origin. Like the railroads, the University would lay new tracks when needed. But in other addresses, notably one given at a meeting of land grant college leaders, Peabody also made it clear that he wished to be counted a champion of the broad view, offering as the legitimate aim "all forms of technical education, and in the wide scope of possibilities, every form of human learning which it has fallen to the fortune of mankind to devise or acquire."

But circumstances were not ruled by theory at Urbana. In the early 'eighties the ideal was narrowly limited by finances. Retrenchment was demanded rather than expansion. In 1882 the endowment brought only $19,000 interest—not even enough to cover faculty salaries—and the annual budget had to be balanced at $69,000 to preserve the modest reserve of $10,000. But Peabody pointed out that students at Illinois were obtaining for $105 the courses costing $300 at Cornell, $600 at


Sheffield Scientific School and Stevens Institute, and $800 at Columbia School of Mines and Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

To increase the interest-bearing endowment, the trustees in 1880 considered selling the land holdings in Minnesota and Nebraska, but inspections convinced a visiting committee that it would be wiser to wait. The Minnesota property, all choice land, was still too far from market, but that in Nebraska was rising in value so rapidly as to suggest doubled profits. In 1882 sales were inescapable, however, and large blocks of the Nebraska land were offered to buyers. None appeared. The method of sale was then revised in favor of small buyers and by 1885 the trustees wished they had located all their scrip in Nebraska, so favorable were the results. A few years later the coming of a railroad raised the value of the Minnesota land, and some of it was sold. By 1890 more than $130,000 had been added to the interest-bearing endowment fund, raising it from $319,178 (all from the sale of scrip) to over $450,000.

Declining interest rates nevertheless offset much of the gain; the added annual income amounted to little more than five thousand dollars, and that only at the end of the decade. Had the legislature not come to the rescue even this little would not have saved the University. A request for $20,000 for "general instructional purposes" was asked in 1881, when a total of $41,300 was allowed. The $11,400 allocated for general use was, however, the first appropriation of its kind in the history of the University. It marked a turning point in legislative policy, even though large appropriations were not to be expected. Peabody and the trustees were unable to secure more than an average appropriation of $55,000 a biennium—only one half of one percent of the sums granted in the 1920's—until 1889, when $10,000 was added to permit the construction of a drill hall. With these small sums, only the
27. Ibid., 9.
30. Laws.... 1881, 51.
immediate need could be met. But when Peabody went before the legislature his sixth and last time in 1891 he was able to secure the record amount of $135,200. Of this, $70,600 was for another building.

In the midst of discouragement Peabody once remarked that if any of the eastern schools had been obliged to "rely on a Western public, and especially to seek support from a Western Legislature... they would quite likely have been snuffed out before they got started." The situation, however, was not unique; most of the land grant colleges were in a similar plight. But the Illinois Industrial University judged itself to be the state university, and as such its lot was a sorry one. Wisconsin and Michigan, states with far smaller populations, gave their universities far more money. Indeed, no state bordering Illinois did less for its university than did Illinois during the 'eighties. "If the University could have the equivalent of but one ear of corn from each acre of the state crop the amount would be acceptable," was another plaintive note Peabody was heard to utter, and he often said that field mice alone annually destroyed more wealth in grain that the state allowed its University.

In the midst of these difficulties the University passed one of its greatest milestones. In 1885 the name was changed from Illinois Industrial University to University of Illinois. It had been Gregory's ambition from the beginning to have the Industrial University recognized as the state university, and the alumni and students heartily agreed. The first attempt to effect the change had been made in 1879, but the bill introduced by Dr. Sorogga had been tabled late in the session. The word "industrial" was taking on new meanings, particularly one suggested by the legislature itself when it named its new reformatory

32. Nathaniel Butler to Edmund J. James, July 21, 1916, President's Correspondence, 1915-1916.

"industrial schools." This confusion of the purpose of the University was reflected in popular misconceptions. As the years went by Gregory and Peabody received more and more letters requesting them to admit incorrigible boys and to teach orphans a trade. The Illini lost no opportunity to urge the change.

It was the alumni, however, who were most effective in bringing about the new name. In January, 1884, G. R. Shawhan, '75, chairman of an Alumni Association committee, quoted twelve letters recently received by Peabody as proof of the immediate necessity for the change. An active group in Chicago, which had once before organized to obtain the right to degrees, immediately organized the Chicago Association of State University Alumni (Chicago Illini Club) and headed a vigorous publicity campaign. With the backing of the trustees an alumni-sponsored bill to change the name to the University of Illinois was presented to the legislature. The bill, framed by Judson F. Going, '83, passed easily in the lower house, but when it reached the Senate much pressure was brought to bear against it by A. B. Turner and others who had earlier fought under the industrial university banner.

It was passed, though not without a minority's declaration that the act was a "robbery of this labor school" and "un-American, indorsing a pernicious sentiment, and pandering to a false pride." Friends of the bill pointed out that the new name would not alter the aim; indeed the dominance of the technologies had increased from sixty per cent to eighty-five in the latest five-year period. Three out of every four graduates were in industrial pursuits.

The new name proved to be a harbinger of better fortune. After the enrollment declined to 332 in 1885-1886, a low unmatched in twelve years, it began to rise again. Among the colleges, however, only the College of Engineering showed a consistent annual increase. By 1887
34. *Illini*, 13 (Jan. 28, 1884), 12-14.


forty-two per cent of all students were in engineering. The technical predominance had been pointed to proudly by the trustees when appearing before the legislature. But it was a cause of concern to the faculty, for with all available funds necessarily being channeled to the departments showing the greatest needs, the liberal arts were suffering. Their weakness did not escape student notice; the Illini was soon demanding a restoration of the balance.

The only new members of the faculty during Peabody's first five years were replacements. A faculty wife, Mrs. Melville A. Scovell (Nancy Davis, '78), was pressed into service as calisthenics instructor and preceptress of the women, but the School of Domestic Science, which Mrs. Gregory had left, remained closed. Even this modest provision, for the need was cut short when Professor Scovell was dismissed from the faculty in 1882. A member of the class of '75, he was one of Illinois' most capable graduates and Gregory had raised him rapidly to the rank of professor of agricultural chemistry. Scovell had found, in working with Professor Weber of the chemistry department, a process which seemed to promise the possibility of obtaining sugar from sorghum. With some pride the University prepared to issue a bulletin on their process, only to discover at a late moment that the two men had taken out patents and planned to establish a commercial refinery. Peabody was quick to see the portent of their bad judgment; the University, founded for the very purpose of affording the public the benefit of such experiments, could easily be shaken to its very depths by this breach of faith. The trustees, of like mind, consulted the governor and attorney general and summarily discharged the two. Before long the hapless professors were also to find that their experiment had been misleading.
37. BT, '62: 162.
38. Ibid., 209.
39. Ibid., 219, 235.
During the same year Taft, the professor of geology and zoology, was replaced by Benjamin Jillson, an experienced teacher who had taught in several other midwestern universities. But Jillson’s appointment was not meant to be permanent, and he was displaced in January, 1883, by Stephen Alfred Forbes. Forbes brought with him to Urbana the State Laboratory of Natural History, which he had directed since 1872 at Normal, and also the office of state entomologist, another position he was holding. He was the outstanding appointee of the Peabody period.

Forbes, one of the giants of the early University, was a native Illinoisan, born in 1844 near Freeport, in the same county to which Burrill was brought as a youth four years later. He had entered the Civil War a private, and after four and a half years' service was mustered out a captain. After the war he began the study of medicine at Rush Medical College in Chicago, but he was soon diverted to school teaching, which gave him freedom to follow an inclination toward natural history. When he became director of the state laboratory in 1872, the Normal University made him its professor of natural history, a duty which pertained to the directorship, although he was entirely self-trained. And though he also became dean of the College of Science at Illinois in 1888, serving in this capacity until 1905, Forbes was primarily an investigator. He was no undergraduate favorite—rather an indefatigable director of research. Within a few years he became Illinois' second figure of international reputation. He was, moreover, like Burrill, interested in the aspects of his sciences which affected the economic life of his state. An important characteristic of Forbes was his masterly command of English, seen in all his writings.
Among the earliest problems to which Forbes turned his attention were the chinch bug, the corn root louse, the bark beetles, grub-worms, the Hessian fly, and the plum borer—all sources of diminishing farm returns. His chief assistant, Harrison Garman, who also taught University classes, produced a standard reference on Illinois reptiles and amphibians. Much of the work which served agriculture most directly, however, was to pass under the control of the experiment station in 1880.

The successor to Weber and Seovell was found in William McMurtrie, a chemist for the U. S. Department of Agriculture. For studies in agricultural chemistry before his coming to Illinois in 1882 McMurtrie had been decorated by the French government. At Illinois he was soon to succeed Burrill as the dean of the College of Science. McMurtrie, however, remained at Illinois for only six years, the fourth being marked by the appearance of a remarkable study of wool fibers which is still a standard reference after more than fifty years. In finding his successor the University was handicapped by its financial misfortunes. J. C. Jackson, the first to fill the position, could not teach; Albert George Manns, '85, who had gone on to Berlin for a doctorate, was also unsuccessful; the third, Arthur William Palmer, '83, was reached by cable in Gottingen, Germany, and was promptly installed in the position. Palmer mastered the situation and at the end of a year was made professor of chemistry. Samuel Wilson Parr, '84, who joined the department in 1891, noted that when he came to the relief of Palmer the latter was teaching eight hours a day, five days a week. Palmer was a "driver," both of himself and his students. By 1904 he had literally worked himself to death.

Of the few new courses added in the 'eighties, one reflecting concern for the development of general aims was a professorship of rhetoric
41. Report, State Laboratory of Natural History, BT, '90: 243-245.

42. William McMurtrie, Report upon an Examination of Wools and Other Animal Fibers (Washington, 1886).

43. S. W. Parr, "Historical Sketch of the Chemistry Department," Circular of Information of the Department of Chemistry (Urbana, 1915), 22-25.
and oratory in 1885. Partly as a result of student pressure, but also because Peabody and the faculty noted the absence of formal training in expression, one of the gravest deficiencies in the curriculum, James H. Brownlee of the Southern Illinois Normal University was made professor of rhetoric and oratory in September, 1885. The mining curriculum was reopened in the same year when Theodore B. Comstock joined the faculty of the College of Engineering, but he found little opportunity to teach mining and resigned in 1889 to take advantage of a better opportunity.

Nevertheless it was the College of Engineering which showed most progress. Architecture, Ricker's course, had fourteen students in 1880; in 1890, sixty-nine. Mechanical and civil engineering doubled their enrollments during the decade, raising their combined number from eighty-two to a hundred and fifty, while the College of Agriculture attracted only twenty to twenty-five, a bare six per cent of the University enrollment. The latter could claim only fifteen graduates with degrees during the twelve years between 1878 and 1890, and six of them were in the classes of '78-'80. The number of women remained about stationary, at seventy. In the late 'eighties the indications were that the University of Illinois, contrary to the implications of its new name, was becoming an engineering school and little else.

Peabody and the faculty saw the trend and groped for means to offset it, but they were hardly aware of the larger, dominating aspects of the situation. The farmer-partisan economy of the pre-Civil War period to which the University owed its existence no longer prevailed. The state had changed in character and the University's difficulties were not purely financial, as was imagined. The population of the state in 1870 had reached 2,559,000 and it increased by a fourth each decade
44. ET, '86: 45, 51, 95.

until 1900. The significant change, however, was the growth of cities, which accounted for only a fifth of the population in 1870 and nearly half by 1890. And the industrialism preached by Turner was not the industrialism of 1880. Engineering, servant of the new industrialism, was to Turner's followers a tool of agriculture and of secondary importance to the land grant college, but to most of the young men who came to the University it was the avenue of escape from the farm. How true this was is well shown by the fact that while about all the students came from rural communities, the center of alumni activity was Chicago. Peabody, feeling the weight of his responsibility as regent, was determined to preserve the tradition that had passed to his keeping. Moreover, he had promised the legislature in 1885 that the University of Illinois would remain an industrial institution.

Also important for its bearing on the problems of the University was the educational renaissance of the late nineteenth century. As much as any man, Turner had unleashed its forces. The public library movement was entering small communities as well as large, bringing educational opportunities non-existent in the 'fifties. Art galleries followed in the larger cities after a notable display at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876. Educational displays at Philadelphia and the fairs that followed demonstrated the advantages of college education. Illinois was a regular contributor, showing the work of its classes and laboratories. The lyceum and Chautauqua programs reached even larger numbers of the population, suggesting John H. Vincent's imaginary soliloquy of the woman who, enrolling in Chautauqua, turned her parlor, sitting room, and kitchen into college halls, recitation rooms, and laboratory because she was now "going to college." Many if not most of the community improvement promotional schemes, such as the book agent ventures which attracted students in summer vacations, were crassly commercial, but they enlisted noble motives which emphasized the
opportunities awaiting if education were made an active force. For this awakening the universities had a ready answer. Gregory offered in 1867 as advice to the young men and women of Illinois the arguments that "while not one out of every ten educated men makes a comparative failure, not one out of every ten of uneducated men achieves success," and "in the long run ignorance costs more than education." The state itself paved the way for enrollment in college by improving the school laws, notably the township high school act of 1874 and the compulsory education act of 1889. Between 1880 and 1890 the number of high school students increased from about eight thousand to fourteen thousand annually, creating a reservoir of prospective students which the University of Illinois had not yet touched. The interest generated was no longer narrowly technical, as it had been when the land grant college movement leaders made their appeal, but was broadly liberal and included all the objectives of education.

In collegiate education the renaissance was characterized by a new popular appeal and a growing emphasis on scholarship. Character and the mastery of a textbook were no longer sufficient qualification for the professor. Gregory had told the faculty as early as 1879 that the times, and the University, demanded mastery of subject matter and active research. When Peabody interpreted the function of the professor to be the teaching of the known truths, with research only after that was done, he stressed a concept to which most of his own staff and universities in general did not subscribe. Literally scores of professional societies were formed during the 'eighties to stimulate scholarship and research. The American Chemical Society, begun in 1874, was already well established; the newer organizations included the American Society of

Naturalists, the Modern Language Association, the Institutes of Mechanical Engineers and of Electrical Engineers, the American Mathematical Society, the Academy of Political and Social Sciences, and, by Congressional incorporation in 1884, the American Historical Association. Burrill, a member of more than a half dozen societies in this country and abroad, was president of the American Microscopical Society in 1855-1856.

The specialization which these organizations encouraged was also making itself evident in the general college course. Political science, economics, sociology, and history emerged as separate disciplines and developed new internal specializations as knowledge was increased by research. The professional attitude, which the land grant college movement had encouraged in engineering and agriculture, began to pervade all collegiate departments. Even the classical studies, strongholds of conservatism, felt a breath of new life and new possibilities of usefulness with the advent of archeology, more knowledge of ancient history, and a better orientation to modern issues. Curriculums were being revised; the elective system, which Illinois had hopefully espoused in 1868 but abandoned, was finding widespread adoption. And universities which were most rapidly adapting themselves to the new conditions were finding unparalleled prosperity.

Among the land grant colleges, however, the leaders were bitterly contesting a three-cornered issue of teaching, research, and practical education. In the early days Illinois had led the movement for an active research program. As early as 1871, at the first meeting of the Friends of Agricultural Education, an organization called into being by Gregory and which was the precursor of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, W. C. Flagg and the Illinois regent...
48. "Convention of Friends of Agricultural Education," BT, '71: 215, 300. It is interesting to note in passing that Gregory also called the second meeting, in 1877, which discussed degrees. When the land grant colleges formally organized in 1887, the first president was George W. Atherton, a member of the first faculty under Gregory and later president of Pennsylvania State College.
had led in the adoption of a resolution urging Congress to establish experiment stations. Though the leadership passed to others, the project was a live one and was pushed until the Hatch Act was passed in 1887. Strained finances, however, prevented the establishment of an experiment station in anticipation of the act. Indeed, financial considerations and the attendant conservatism almost completely checked any response to the demands presented in the 'eighties. Gregory's costless system of graduate study, introduced shortly before his resignation, was all too quickly followed by the curtailment of courses. But there were also other reasons. The College of Literature and Science languished, Peabody reported, because the professors tended "to temper the vigor of their work to the feebleness of the lambs," the latter being identified as the women students for whom the University had only makeshift provisions. The College of Agriculture was weakened because the promises to push agriculture, given when the legislature consented to the change of name, had "driven the professors into the lecturing field." Such instruction as there was in the college's own courses was largely given by T. F. Hunt, '84, an assistant, while Morrow met with farmers at institutes and other meetings.

As in the founding of the University, help came from the federal government before it came from the state. Two acts of Congress, the Hatch Act of 1887 and the second Morrill Act of 1890, were the first sources of relief. The earlier act, "to promote scientific investigation and experiment respecting the principles and applications of agricultural science," set at rest the old arguments against research by providing $15,000 annually for the maintenance of an experiment station. When the money became available in February, 1888, the trustees made plans
49. Ibid., 345.
50. BT, '88: 54.
51. Ibid., 32, 54.
52. Ibid., 139.
53. 24 U. S. Statutes at Large, 440-442.
in consultation with the leading officers of the state board of agriculture, the horticultural society, and the dairy-men's association. Sixty-one experiments were outlined, a good collection of standard German and French treatises on the work of foreign experiment stations was purchased, and laboratories were hurriedly installed before the first appropriation expired in July. A board of direction of nine members representing the trustees, the faculty, and the associations was created, and also a technical staff of four assistants. By August, the first Bulletin had been franked to the mailing list of over six thousand farmers and editors in the state. That the station work got under way so quickly was due largely to the man who was appointed secretary and executive officer, William Low Pillsbury, one of the state's ablest educational administrators. Attaching Pillsbury to the staff of the University itself was an instance of more than ordinary good fortune; he had been for years chief clerk of the state superintendent's office and was regarded as the best informed man on education in Illinois.

The second Morrill Act, also known as the College Aid Act, passed in 1890, doubled the endowment income by providing sums annually increasing from $15,000 to $25,000 for instruction in agriculture, engineering, and the auxiliary subjects, and by implication refuted the arguments that the land grant colleges should teach only narrowly technical matters. Thus augmented, the income from the endowment almost covered the salaries of the faculty, giving Peabody reason to fear that the state legislature might now be led to withdraw its support unless the new fund were immediately used for expanding facilities and staff! Accordingly he proposed adding new professors of chemistry, mining engineering, pedagogy and psychology, French, and Greek, and instructors

55. Ibid., 114. Pillsbury was also elected recording and corresponding secretary of the board of trustees. Later he became first registrar of the University, and was the first alumni secretary.

56. 26 U. S. Statutes at Large, 417-419.
in gymnastics, rhetoric, philosophy, and other subjects. All these
were brought in the next year and a half, increasing the faculty to
thirty-nine members as compared with the twenty-one when Peabody be-
came regent in 1880. A new chair of psychology and pedagogy was filled
by Charles DeGarmo, the European-trained Herbertian educator who had
made the state normal university a center of national influence. The
art and design course was revitalized by the appointment of Frank For-
rest Frederick. The "ancient languages," which had been attached to
Crawford's professorship of history, were given new emphasis by Her-
bert Jewett Barton, who had taught Latin and Greek at the normal uni-
versity, in 1890, and Charles Melville Moss, who came from the
neighboring Wesleyan university at Bloomington. Arthur Newell
Talbot, '81, who had been an assistant, was raised to professor of
municipal engineering. But Peabody still hesitated to approach the
legislature for a natural science building to relieve the congestion
in University Hall caused by the growing space requirements of the
science professors.

Peabody had for years kept the biennial requests below the actual
need lest a larger demand cause a complete denial. The ten thousand
dollars for a drill hall, asked in 1889, was obtained, it is said, be-
cause it would allow the expansion of the machine shops in the old
Mechanical Building into the second floor quarters previously reserved
for drilling and gymnastic activities. Placed at the southeast corner
of the "old campus;" the armory designed by Professor Ricker still
stands under the name Gymnasium Annex. Its dedication, an event of
the June commencement in 1890, climaxed a series of construction diff-
iculties, for just as Thomas Arkle Clark was about to give his oration,
57. ST, '92: 19-25.
58. Ibid., '92: 63. Edgar W. Knight, Education in the United States (Boston, 1929), 518.
60. Ibid., 47.
61. Ibid., 32, 70.
62. Ibid., 22.
"The Moulder of the Mind," a sudden cloudburst clattered on the tin roof. The exercises had to be abandoned, leaving unspoken orations. Clark's, others entitled "A Unit, Not an Aggregate," "Plato, the Divine," "The Theory of Evolution," "God in Government," and "Lotteries in the United States," the latter the effort of James McLaren White who was in the fall to take a place in the architecture department.

In the next year, Peabody's last as regent, the legislature again proved the Trustees' fears unwarranted by allowing $70,600 for the science building. Peabody, who had single-handedly planned for this since 1886, had ready a plan of his own design, a modified copy of the museum of the Jardin des Plantes he had lately seen in Paris, but his architectural ambitions were wasted. Earlier in the same day on which he presented his plan the trustees had divided on his re-election.

Five years earlier, in 1886, Peabody had been offered the presidency of Rose Polytechnic Institute, but had been dissuaded by the entreaties of the students, faculty, and trustees. His salary was raised from $3,000 to $4,000, the latter sum being what Gregory had received in his earliest years. Peabody was then at the height of his popularity. He had gained for the University its new name; by dint of economy he had been able to restore most faculty salaries to the original $2,000 a year level; the fraternity question and the chapel case, problems in 1885, seemed to be solved; and the Chicago alumni were beginning a campaign for donations to increase the endowment. The most recent student disturbance was the Carter Harrison "funeral" in November, 1884, but since that time the students had quieted.

In 1887, however, Peabody aroused animosity by ineptly opposing the plans of the alumni to change the law regarding the selection of the
The incident grew out of student interest in the election of 1884, which aroused great enthusiasm in Champaign and Urbana, after a visit by Blaine, the Republican presidential candidate. J. E. Wright, '85, was as storey a Republican editor of the Illini that fall as he was later of the St. Louis Times. His highly partisan stand, unusual for student editors, proved irritating to the Democratic mayor of Champaign, also an editor.

After the Democrats' defeat in the gubernatorial race, "the boys" planned a mock funeral for the rejected Harrison. The high point was to be a "service" at the Champaign mayor's editorial office but apparently he had been forewarned by Peabody, and was ready with police and a crowd of sympathizers to arrest the student leaders. A brawl ensued and one student was arrested; he was released when the students talked of storming the jail. The students had the sympathy of the towns and were ably defended by the Urbana Republican state senator, also an editor, in the magistrate's court, adding no doubt to the Champaign mayor's discomfort. A few days later the students hired the Richberg Opera House to present gold-headed canes to the Republican attorneys. Wright, taking his cue from Republican dissatisfaction with the mayor's acts, "heated his ink on a red-hot stove and poured it over some type" on the Illini editorial page, and a bitter editorial contest ensued. This ended as election interest waned the following month. The University authorities had fortunately avoided intervention, so the issue did not entangle the institution. Champaign Daily Gazette, Nov. 13, 24, 1884. Champaign Times, Nov. 16, 1884. The Illini, 14 (Nov. 2, 1884), 5-7; (Nov. 14); 6-7, 14-15; (Dec. 1), 6, 12-13; (Dec. 15). 12. R. Bix Harwood, "History of the Illini," The Daily Illini, Nov. 2, 1934, 16.
The aggressive alumni, particularly the Chicago club, argued that popular election of the trustees would be good advertising for the University. A deeper motive appears to have been to make way for more vigorous leadership, and possibly to override Peabody on the fraternity question and expansion into new phases of education. A bill was introduced in the General Assembly in 1887 and was resisted almost single-handedly by the regent, who presented statements from Senator Gallow, Congressman "Uncle Joe" Cannon, President Angell of the University of Michigan and its most prominent regent, Judge Cooley, and others in support of his contention that popular election would mean political embroilment. But the bill passed, became a law without the signature of the governor, and was accepted by Peabody, though not gracefully. He felt himself on the defensive and attempted to justify himself. He had always been cautious in his actions; now at times he seemed apologetic. Leadership was slipping from his hands.

Worry doubtless brought on the attack of nervous indigestion which necessitated a year's leave of absence in 1889-1890. He traveled in Europe while Burrill took charge in Urbana, and the year passed quietly. During the year before his leave he had led the trustees in an important review of the University's policy of allowing graduation by certificate and succeeded in providing for an early end to the practice. The certificate had become a side exit for those who had completed four years of study but had deficiencies which kept them from receiving degrees; it was, Peabody said, the refuge of the drifters. On his return he was heartened by the increased funds of the second Morrill Act and a unanimous re-election to his office. In the fall, however, he found a new student problem. The county grand jury had indicted six students for illegal voting in the spring city elections. They had been freed

70. Ibid., '88, 213.

71. Ibid., '90, 14-15, 51-53.
but were bringing suits of $10,000 each charging malicious prosecution. Peabody saw to it that the charges were dropped, but there was much ill-feeling.

In early 1891 matters went from bad to worse. Chapel disturbances increased; the breaking of vials of "eye water" (a volatile bromine compound inducing tears), stomping, excessive clapping, and other disorders. One night late in January the freshman social in the town opera house was broken up by the "eye water" and a ruffian crowd of upperclassmen and local hoodlums, and the next day there was a "rush," a brawl in which the two lower classes attempted to snatch the class symbols from each other. But it was a second "military rebellion" which showed how little control was had by the regent and faculty and which set the number on Peabody's days.

Since 1880 commissions at graduation in the student battalion and in the National Guard had been determined by scholarship and examinations. In January, 1891, the faculty found in their routine checking of the previous term grades that W. G. Miller, '92, had failed in an engineering course and that his general average was below the standard for recommendation as a battalion officer during the following term. Miller was allowed to take another examination in his failed subject but was unable to bring up his grades enough. He accepted the consequences cheerfully and without rancor, but twenty-two other officers of the junior and sophomore classes petitioned the faculty to set aside their decision. The arguments were trivial and were rejected.

On the following morning, February 3, at the time they should have lined up the companies for entry into chapel, eighteen officers presented their resignations and hastily disappeared. Chapel and drill
72. The Illini, 20 (Oct. 11, 1890), 11; (Oct. 25, 1890), 14.

73. Ibid., 20 (Mar. 7, 1891), 13.

74. ET, '92, 81-85.
had to be suspended entirely. That afternoon a long faculty session with the resigned officers brought no change. Calling themselves "representatives of the students," they came to the next faculty meeting to ask whether the administration was ready to back down. The faculty, considerably perturbed by this time, ordered an immediate return to duty, a demand with which all but two meekly complied. The two who did not, James Steele and George L. Pasfield, were suspended for the rest of the year. The issue should have been settled, but the sprightly campus politicians would not have it so. An indignation meeting was held in a hired hall at which "indictments" were drawn against Peabody and the faculty for presentation to the trustees. The latter, now including three alumni elected since 1887 who were reputedly hostile to the regent, heard a curious case, virtually a trial of Peabody and the faculty in which Charles H. Shamel, '90, Charles A. Kiler, '92, and several other students were prosecutors. Although the faculty had obviously acted within their rights, the decision was a compromise which gave the students all they asked while still seeming to uphold the faculty. The Allini ran a picture of a soldier and a crowing rooster in celebration; otherwise its columns reflected a caution which its staff must have found hard to maintain.

After this incident the students showed little respect for their regent. Most realized they had carried matters farther than they had at first intended. They had for years made him the principal butt of increasingly bitter ridicule in the bogus publications, but now pranks were proliferated to discomfit him in chapel and elsewhere. Once the chapel Bible was wired or glued shut; at another time the webbing of the dias chair was cut and he went on through it when he sat down. Disorders at drill became so frequent and the demerits were assessed so regularly that more than a dozen student officers were at the point
75. Ibid., 80-87. The Illini, 20 (Mar. 21, 1891), 5-6.

76. Looking back on the events, one of the student leaders of the time wrote, "The student radicals turned themselves into goons and ruffians, and I can't find words strong enough to express the revulsion that was felt by every right-minded student." C. A. Kiler, On the Banks of the Bonn Yard (Urbana, 1942), 54.
of suspension from the University during the final term of 1891. The Illini dolefully reported long lists of names of those who had decided to go elsewhere to finish their education. The implication was obvious; either the regent or the students would go. Taking these facts into account, the trustees divided when considering his re-election in the following June. On learning he would not be re-elected, Peabody resigned.

It had fallen to him to see the University through its period of deepest financial distress and though he was allowed a taste of its brighter future it would not be his privilege to share in it. The connection was severed quietly and Peabody turned to an interesting career in the administration of exposition, serving successfully in directorial capacities at Chicago, Paris, Buffalo, Charleston, and St. Louis.

Recognition of his services by the faculty and alumni was belated; the traditional resolutions of appreciation served his memory only after his death in 1903. To Jonathan Turner, who asked an account of the circumstances, Peabody replied, "I strove to do the right thing, though the heavens fell. As to me, they fell." How difficult his task had been was indeed little appreciated until the comparison with a later University could be drawn. Then could be recounted the contribution which laid foundations for a new era of broader usefulness—the groundwork which brought about a more just policy of support, a rededication to the broader aims of a true state university, and the elevation of standards.


