Chapter Five - The James Period, 1904-1919 -- "Those Qualities ... in all Great Centers of Learning"

Our desire is not for mere greatness..., nor for many departments..., but far more for those qualities of mind and heart which have been in all great teachers of mankind and in all great centers of learning to a greater or lesser extent, and most of all in the greatest...--Edmund James James, "Address to the People of Illinois," 1904

Men who knew President Draper intimately said he was the first to recognize that his work at Illinois was done, and that the University needed next a president who was also a scholar. Disagreements between Draper and the deans had developed in the final year, and after his resignation some members of the faculty openly expressed their preference for "a leader rather than a director or commander." Considering faculty opinion, the Board of Trustees agreed that the next president must be a man of "large experience in the operation and management of a university consisting of a large number of diverse departments..., of warm sympathy with the plan and aim of higher education by the state..., if possible, a native of Illinois...familiar with our constitution, our laws, our free school system, the temperament, character, and resources of our people and the history, traditions, scope, and possibilities of this great University...."

Some twenty candidates were considered. The well-informed local


4. ET, '04: 335.
press announced at the outset that the nomination of President Edmund James James of Northwestern University "would create no surprise." On August 23, 1904, after a first ballot gave Dean Davenport two votes, James was elected unanimously.

One may suspect that the qualifications were drawn to fit the man. Certainly no one could have met them more nearly. James had been born in Jacksonville, May 21, 1855, and when he came to Urbana he claimed Champaign County as the twenty-seventh Illinois county in which he had lived. The son of a Methodist preacher, he had moved from town to town every few years. He studied at the state normal university at Normal, at Northwestern, Harvard, and Halle, Germany—the latter the source of his doctorate and the place where he first met his wife. He had taught in a high school, the Illinois State Normal University, and University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Chicago before becoming president of Northwestern in 1902. His career had been such as to lead President Angell of Michigan to say at the Illinois inauguration that American educators had been kept busy congratulating him on his successive calls to higher honors.

Few men had broader interests. James was a recognized leader in teacher training, economics, political science, history, and university extension. The American Economic Association, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, the Municipal League of Philadelphia, and nearly a dozen other organizations counted him among their founders and early officers. Moreover, he knew intimately the background of the University of Illinois, claiming personal acquaintance with Jonathan Baldwin Turner, Newton Bateman, and their associates, Regent Gregory, and most of the early professors. More recently he
5. Ibid., 337.

6. Installation of Edmund James James... 372.

had been a guest at teachers' meetings and other campus conferences, and the trustees had once before, in 1892, considered him for the position to which they called him in 1904.

James arrived at Urbana in November after spending two months on a tour of inspection of eastern universities. His unusual energy and flair for publicity were at once evident. Within a week an "Address to the People of Illinois," soliciting support for higher aims than the University had yet achieved, was sent to every state newspaper and journal; widely reprinted and commended, the address showed him he could count on enthusiastic support. He was aware that the state was conscious of the University's progress in the previous decade, but also that it needed to become aware of the extent. This purpose was to be borne by an inaugural ceremony the like of which Illinois had not yet seen. It was announced in May, 1905, that the occasion would be "an elaborate civic demonstration, intended to emphasize the intimate organic connection of the University with the education and administration of the State and Nation... to call national attention to the marvelous progress which the principle of State supported education has made in the United States during the past few years, owing to the unparalleled generosity of State and Nation, and to point out how, on the one hand it has supplemented in a most happy way the great system of private endowed institutions... and on the other has become the handmaid of public administration in State and Nation to such an extent as to fully justify its designation as the scientific and educational arm of the government." Notices of the event were arranged for the press of Canada, Great Britain, France, and Germany. By the time of the inauguration an institute of technology as distant as Tomsk, Siberia, responded with greetings.
A glimpse of the times is given in "Law School Recollections" by Professor Frederick Green. "In 1904 Champaign-Urbana was said to have 17,000 people, nine churches, twenty-eight saloons and twenty-odd miles of brick paved streets." The two towns literally boasted four automobiles. Morgan Brooks was the only faculty man who had one. The University faculty was small and rather indigent, and there wasn't much to do, so that almost everybody went to any lecture, or concert, or athletic entertainment that came along. Though no newspaper printed the University salary list, it was easy in those days to find out other people's salaries, because on the last day of each month the checks were piled in alphabetical order on a desk in the Bursar's office, and everybody went there and thumbed the pile over until he found his own.
Nearly two hundred universities and colleges—English, French, German, Danish, Italian, and Indian as well as American—were represented by delegates when the inaugural week of October 15–21, 1905, was begun with special religious services in town churches and in the University Armory. An equal number of delegates represented learned societies and professional organizations, civic and trade associations, and state, county, and municipal government offices. The churches sent bishops and superintendents. Three conferences—on university administration, religious education, and commercial education—helped to fill the published record of the week. All classes were suspended; the students met in daily assemblies, held a torch-light parade with floats, and gave an old English play at the "Plains-House in Champaign." On one of the first days the Woman's Building was dedicated. On the inaugural day, Wednesday, twenty-four distinguished guests were given the orange and blue hoods symbolizing an Illinois honorary degree. Among those so honored were former President Draper, Professor Lowell of Harvard, President Holgate of Northwestern, Octave Chanute, the aeronautical pioneer, Norman J. Colman, the first secretary of agriculture, and Alfred T. Gregory, '78, the son of the first regent. Never before had Illinois seen anything like it—so big, so happy, so confused, and so successful. Nor has the event yet been matched.

The keynote address, the inaugural, was entitled "The Functions of a State University." More than the expected interest was shown by the audience, for Draper had been ill recently and had appeared in the early part of the week leaning heavily on two canes. The first clue to his thinking followed a lengthy historical introduction, when he defined a university as the agency affording "the ultimate institutional training...for all the various callings for which an extensive
11. J. Townsend, W. M. Stearns, C. H. Fisk, and S. S. Colvin, editors, University of Illinois. Installation of Edmund James James, Ph.D., LL.D., as President of the University (Urbana, 1906).
scientific training, based upon adequate liberal preparation, is valuable and necessary." He spoke next of German universities, of the supremacy they had won for Germany in science and scholarship. It became clear that the German university would be his inspiration. In the ideal university he would leave all preparatory study, even the first years of college, to others, and concentrate on professional study. Finally, he offered as the future course of the state university the prospect of its becoming a civil service academy giving trained personnel to government, a scientific arm of the state providing data necessary to the well-being and progress of the state, and a department of education giving direction to all education. In short, as he ended almost abruptly, the university would become the developmental agency of the state in fields "as universal as the American democracy—as broad, as liberal, as sympathetic, as comprehensive...."

The implications were, and still are, startling. But the same philosophy, lacking only the German inspiration and the highly developed expression, was evident in Draper's idea of a state university and the roots of the principle can be found in the land grant college tradition. Probably better understood by those from Illinois who heard James' address was the introduction Draper gave the new administration: "By common assent and intuitive impulse this institution is now to be made great as well as big."

The first five years of James' presidency may be set apart as the great mobilization of resources and talents. Burrill and Draper had expanded and refashioned the foundation; James added to and embellished the superstructure. Even more than his predecessors James brought the good-will of the state to bear on the progress of the University. Draper had offered to James the advice that the limit of the state's generosity

had been reached when the first million dollar appropriation was obtained in 1903. But James followed the inspiration of Dean Davenport, who had reached out farther than either of the presidents and in ten years had won the support of virtually every agricultural organization in the state. To win comparable solicitude for the University in all its departments became James' aim.

As never before, the aims, needs, and progress of the University were presented to the state's citizenry. The publicity program, begun by Draper in the form of a weekly press bulletin, was broadened. Inspections of the campus by civic organizations were encouraged and became common; associations with interests served by the University were invited to hold conventions on the campus, and many did. Industrial organizations, awakened to the benefits to be had from the Engineering Experiment Station, were rallied to the support of the college. The Illinois State Press Association was urged to interest itself in a new journalism course; the Bankers' Association, in the courses of Training for Business; and the teachers associations, already firm friends, rarely allowed an annual meeting to pass without furthering some aim. As lately as 1902 the State College Association, an organization of presidents of private colleges, had threatened to oppose the biennial appeal for funds but President James soon showed them that a strong University was to their advantage. In 1909 a group of Illinois college presidents met for the first time with James in a campus conference, beginning an era of understanding and co-operation.

In effect, the state civic and professional organizations became the patrons of departments and of the University itself.

New-found strength also arose from a reorganization and revival of alumni activities. At James' suggestion, a directory, the first to be

15. Alumni Quarterly, 3 (April, 1909), 90. President's Scrapbooks, 16 (General, 1908-1909).
more than merely a list of graduates, was published in 1906, and the Alumni Association was itself reorganized. John G. Wadsworth, the valedictorian of '32, headed a much stronger Association, and during his presidency there appeared in January, 1907, the first issue of The Alumni Quarterly. By April, when Governor Deenin was considering the University appropriation, there was reason to believe that the graduates were loyal to their alma mater: over a thousand letters had been sent to the governor alone by Illini in every state of the union and some from foreign countries in support of the University's request.

The weight of the agriculture and engineering colleges' patrons had been felt in Springfield before 1905; in that year the legislature learned that the state teachers could be equally insistent, in supporting a fund requested for improving the Graduate School. The improvement of this was one of the faculty's chief expectations from the new president. Less than a month after Draper's resignation the Senate had lined up solidly behind reports stating that "The University is an organization for teaching and the advancement of knowledge" and "We believe that graduate work is one of the most important lines...we should strengthen." No doubt was left that research in addition to that of the experiment stations must be encouraged. The fund asked in 1905 was not granted, but the opportunities for research were notably expanded by the establishment of a new state scientific survey.

The Illinois State Geological Survey created in 1905 was an outgrowth of ambitions for a "laboratory of economic geology" for which Professor Rolfe of the geology department had found support among mining and ceramic interests as early as 1894, although for reasons of University policy the proposal had not been presented to the legislature until 1903. Not being passed in the first attempt, the project was again
16. Franklin W. Scott, '01, editor, *The Alumni Record of the University of Illinois at Urbana* (Urbana, 1906). He was assisted by W. L. Fillsbury, registrar, who was also acting as alumni secretary.

17. *Proceedings at the Meeting of the Alumni Association of the University of Illinois, June 12, 1906* (Urbana, 1906).


introduced in 1905, when Professors T. C. Chamberlin and R. D. Salisbury of the University of Chicago also introduced a bill for a geological survey. Since the aims were similar, the ends of both were gained; the survey, as proposed by the Chicago geologists, was established and located at Urbana, while conformable to the original plan of the University and the demands of the Illinois Clay Workers' Association another fund was granted to begin instruction in ceramic engineering and chemistry under the auspices of the University's geology department. The closest of co-operation between the survey and the University existed from the beginning.

In 1905 and 1906 the schools of education and railway engineering were established, giving entity to fields in which much was already being done. Neither was an administrative unit, as were the schools of music and pharmacy, but both were designed to improve advanced types of instruction and to enlist the support of large occupational interests. The School of Education, directed first by the earnest and aggressive Professor Dexter, and then by William Chandler Bagley, was in its set-up comparable to Kinley's Courses in Training for Business (already informally called the School of Commerce) and appealed largely to teachers who wished to supplement their normal school training with a college course to qualify them for graduate work, though the prospective teacher was also an important element of the enrollment. Supported by teachers and school administrators, the School of Education was one step toward the improvement of the University's most advanced instruction—graduate study.

The Graduate School was far from well organized but it had grown steadily since its creation in 1892. Students had increased from four to eighty-eight in ten years, but half were still among the "non-resident" enrollment. Most were first-year students. The doctorate was


23. Education, ET, '06: 62; Railway Engineering and Administration, ibid., 314-315.

first granted in 1903, ten years after the announcement of the requirements. The reorganization expected from James and which had been foreshadowed in many a report was begun in 1906 with the transfer of Dean Kinley from the College of Literature and Arts to be dean of the Graduate School. More than once, Kinley had made himself a one-man committee to demand action, and the plan he now formed was largely his own, for he had demanded a free hand.

The reorganized Graduate School was formally opened in February, 1908, with a conference of Illinois college presidents and with addresses by President G. Stanley Hall of Clark University, Dean Andrew F. West of Princeton, and Professor Clifford M. Moore of Harvard. Study for the doctor's master's, and professional engineering degrees was restricted to fields in which the staff was considered capable and the facilities adequate—twelve fields for the doctorate and eight others for the master's degree. A fund of fifty thousand dollars a year from the legislature in 1907 allowed the establishment of thirty scholarships and fellowships; another portion was set aside for special equipment and to facilitate research. Regulations were made more strict and work in absentia was abolished, yet the effect on the enrollment was wholly favorable.

The Graduate School was, as President James often said it would be, "the leaven in the lump." How much it stimulated the faculty to do original work is shown by the growing annual lists of faculty publications, the first of which were issued at this time. The requirements of graduate study demanded planned development in laboratories, library, and staff, since few departments were adequate when judged by the new standard. One of the more notable developments was the

Some idea of the many duties of a dean in those days may be had from a letter written by Kinley the year before in which he said he was not only dean of literature and arts, but was also professor of economics, director of the business courses, secretary of the council of administration, editor of University Studies and of the University Catalogue, chairman of the committee on accounting, and custodian of University Hall. (Kinley to James, Dec. 13, 1905, L. As. Letters (1905-1906), 203.


27. Program for the Formal Opening of the Graduate School... February 4 and 5, 1906 (Urbana, 1906).

28. Blt., '06: 133.

"The regents of the University of Minnesota did not permit the establishment of a graduate school until they were assured that it would not cost anything," said E. E. Blossom in The Independent, Sept. 2, 1909. "President James explains... that a graduate school is going to cost a great deal... but that it is an essential part of a true university. This policy brings the University into political controversy and arouses a storm of incompetent comment... He [James] takes the public into his confidence when he does not have to."

29. Books and Articles Published by the Corps of Instruction, University of Illinois (Urbana, 1905--).
reorganization of the library, which in 1908 was removed from the control of the Library Committee—the president, business manager, librarian, and chairman of the Trustees' Committee on the Library—and placed under two new committees, the more important of which was one from the Senate.

For James' ambitions for the library the annual allowance of $25,000 was not enough. Had other funds been unavailable its growth would have been greatly retarded. But some of the academic departments more than doubled their quotas for books with funds that might otherwise have been spent for equipment and furnishings. Thus the Graduate School used for books nearly all of its first research fund, applying most of it to buying the library of the late Wilhelm Dittenberger, a foremost German philologist who had taught at Halle. Blocks purchases from the estates of other German professors were made in building up extensive holdings in library science, philology, and literature, and education. The great sets used in historical research, and the several thousand volumes of German theses and many of the lesser known scientific serials were secured. The library's contents were increased rapidly from some 75,000 volumes to 150,000 between 1904 and 1909. In 1912, when the collection had reached 250,000 volumes, James was already emphasizing the need for a million volumes and was planning for a new building.

The energy with which the president was able to proceed was in no small part due to the men to whom he gave subordinate responsibility. Dean Davenport, whom James is said to have called "a wise horse," was given his head. When the two oldest deans, Ricker and Forbes, relinquished their posts in 1905, Professors White and Townsend were asked to lead the colleges of engineering and science. Both were still in their thirties. Professor Greene, who succeeded Kinley as dean in the


32. See Annual Registers, under "Libraries," passim.

33. BT, "12: 694-697.

34. Ibid., '06: 104.
College of Literature and Arts in 1906, was only thirty-six, and Kinley, the most energetic of them all, was forty-five. In other appointments youth also won, but there was emphasis on scholarship, too. Rarely was anyone considered for even an instructor unless the ability to do research was shown by a competent doctoral thesis. And in the hope of making Illinois attractive to the best of the younger scholars of the country James also brought in some whose reputations were already established—men whose attainments stimulated their associates and students.

The enlargement of the faculty from 360 in 1904-1905 to 535 in 1909-1910 and 777 in 1914-1915 is itself an epic story, for in these years James recruited scholars who brought the attention of the learned world to Illinois. One of the first (1906) was Gustav Karsten, the founder of the Journal of English and Germanic Philology. But he died in early 1908, and a successor was found in Julius Goebel, a German philologist lecturing at Harvard. William Albert Neyes, chief chemist of the U. S. Bureau of Standards, came in 1907 to head the chemistry department, which had been without a leader since the sudden death of Palmer in 1904. In 1907, too, came Ernest Ritsron Dewanup, a prominent English railway economist, and in the next year William Freeman Myrick Goss, Purdue's eminent dean of engineering and railway specialist. Goss succeeded Dean White as the head of the College of Engineering in the most elaborate inauguration ever given a dean at Illinois. Director Dexter's departure from the School of Education to become commissioner of education in Puerto Rico in 1908, and the resignation of Lester Paige Breckenridge, once called by Draper "the man who makes the wheels go round at Illinois" with deeper appreciation than is apparent in the light-hearted words, became the occasion to appoint William Chandler Bagley from Oswego Normal School, New York, and Charles Russ Richards,
35. This was transferred to the University by Mrs. Karsten after her husband's death, and has since been published here.


The "younger men" came by the score each year. Most felt an air of infectious enthusiasm, the center of which was James himself. Meeting him for the first time, most of the new staff members gained some of his own confidence in "the ability and willingness of a democracy, properly led, to build up a real university." Some, like Stuart Pratt Sherman, who joined the faculty in 1907 to lend the strength of a creative talent to the English department, became apostles of the idea. Madison Bentley, the psychologist, noted that at his first meeting with the president he felt that James knew psychology well and would be an enlightened taskmaster. William Abbott Oldfather also learned that James would be his match. Not long after his coming, he attended one of the presidential Sunday afternoon receptions and delighted a circle of shatterers with an unusually fine display of smoke rings. For a time James looked on silently, then blew a big ring and with a calm gesture raced a small one through it. Big things or little, James won the confidence of his faculty circle.

As recruits they came from Harvard and Yale and California and Stanford, all points between, and from the classrooms of Illinois itself. James Wilford Garner, a Mississippian and graduate of Dunning's seminars at Columbia, came from Pennsylvania in 1904; Frederick Green, who became the Master of the College of Law, left a lectureship at Harvard. In 1906 Guy Stanton Ford, history, George Abram Miller, mathematics, and William Shirley Bayley, geology, came from Yale, Stanford, and Lehigh. In 1907 the list filled three pages of the October
issue of the Alumni Quarterly. Included were the names of Chester Hayes Greenough, Sherman, and Jacob Zeitlin, English; Edward Carey Hayes, sociology; Guy Allen Twomey, philosophy; Laurence Marcellus Larson and Louis John Pastow, history; Clarence William Balke and Clarence George Derick, chemistry; and Herbert Fisher Moore, Kelvin Lorenius Enger, '06 (later dean), Ellery Burton Paine, George Wellington Pickels, James Elmo Smith, and Albert Victor Bleininger, engineering. The list in 1909 was longer, including Phineas Lawrence Windsor, who came from Texas to become University librarian and director of the School of Library Science; the classicists Arthur Stanley Pease and Oldfather; John Archibald Fairlie, William Spence Robertson, and Ernest Ludlow Bogart—political scientist, historian, and economist; Charles Zelney, zoologist; Boyd Henry Bode, philosopher; John Driscoll Fitz-Gerald, philologist in Spanish literature; Harry Harkness Stock, and Fred B. Seely, engineers; and Jakob Kuns, physicist.

Picked for scholarship and research ability the "new faculty" brought Illinois the recognition which had been an ambition ever since Gregory held out the vision of a "fountain of learning." Notices of work done at Illinois, some of them in foreign languages, were duly pasted in the president's office scrapbooks, which showed the interest of European universities; and Dean Kinley, who was no boaster, wrote for the alumni in 1909: "There is no stronger evidence of the great educational progress of the University in her past five years than the increased estimation in which she is held by her sister institutions throughout the country." It is said that President Eliot of Harvard had lost so many of his better young men to Illinois in four years, that in April, 1908, he determined to see for himself the source of the attraction. For four days he was properly entertained. And when
James attended Harvard's inauguration of President Lowell in 1909. Eliot named his Illinois guest for an honorary degree with the citation: President of Illinois, "under whose inspiring touch it has risen to the front rank of American universities."

The rising enrollment during the years the University "found itself"—Nevine's designation for the Draper period in his history, Illinois, written in 1917—had already placed Illinois among the largest universities of the country. Growth in student numbers continued unabated up to the First World War, each year bringing an increase of some ten per cent, contributing to the total of 357 per cent gained during the sixteen years of the James presidency. The character of the student body was also changing. An Illinois contributor noted as early as 1904, "More significant of real University development, is the evident change of student standards and sentiments.... The University seems ten years older than it did ten years ago." The statement would have been even more applicable ten years later.

During the James presidency the University gathered the first fruits of Draper's policy to give systematic aid and direction to the state high schools. Not only were students more anxious to secure college education and were financially more able to do so, but they were also better qualified by a much improved high school system. The importance of the University's preparatory department, which under Draper had become known as the Academy, was passing; by 1905 any university still with a subcollegiate department was unusual. Another factor in the increase was the system of state scholarships that was taking form. In 1895 the legislature had established county and senatorial district scholarships, to which the Trustees added those in county agriculture, home economics, and, in 1905, ceramics. In the latter year the law of 1895 was modified, and the "General Assembly" scholarships came in.

41. *Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois, A Statistical Study of the Administration of President Edward J. James* (Urbana, 1923), 168.

42. F., "A Decade of University History," *Illio*, 1905, 317.

They were known as such because each member of the legislature was given the right to nominate a holder. In all, some five hundred scholarships remitting tuition were created between 1895 and 1905.

The College of Agriculture showed striking increases, but so did all colleges and schools at Urbana (except Law) in spite of rising requirements of admission and graduation. The general enrollment trend may be shown by a simple table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divisions</th>
<th>1904</th>
<th>1909</th>
<th>1917</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate colleges and schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees granted: AB, BS, (EL), and B. Mus.</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate School</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees: MA, MS, CE, EE, ME, M.ARCH, and Arch, Eng.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of Law</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees: LL.B.</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Library Science</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees: M.L.S.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer Session, minus duplicates</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals, at Urbana</td>
<td>2417</td>
<td>3802</td>
<td>6278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees granted</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>1036</td>
</tr>
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There was thus not only the University's financial problem incidental to the higher requirements of improved instruction and research, but also one raised by the continued increase of the enrollment. To have met the need would have been impossible without the fullest support of the legislature and governor.

James' first experience in approaching the legislature followed his entrance into the presidency by only two months. With the aid of four experienced assistants—Deans Burrill, Davenport, Kinley, and Professor Breckenridge—and State Senator Dunlap—appropriations totaling $1,480,016 were secured, an increase of twenty-three per cent over 1903. Included was $100,000 for an auditorium, a building which had figured in the
Robert A. Millikan, who knew James well at the University of Chicago, and later when he was president of Illinois, said: "He told me repeatedly that the technique he found most effective in stirring up that institution and the legislatures on whom it depended was to tell them what a wonderful thing this great Rockefeller institution, as he called it, in Chicago was doing, and to upbraid them for letting the great state of Illinois be represented by such a wretchedly inferior place as its state university then was." University of Chicago Magazine, January, 1941.
budgets for more than ten years.

Originally planned as a $260,000 building with wings to house the School of Music, the Auditorium finally erected was partly a compromise. The design, by C. L. Blackall, '77, had to be readapted to fit the purse, and the site was the object of divergent opinions until F. L. Olmsted, the Boston specialist in campus planning, was called in. Some of the difficulty arose out of the hope of making the building the focus of the campus, when on the other hand the general topography and the location of other buildings precluded placing it anywhere but at the southern end, south of which were then only the agricultural experiment plots and barns. But the dedication was a grand event, which, had all gone well, would have overcome previous disappointments. A contest was held to name the greatest native-born American composer, and when Edward MacDowell was selected, part of the ceremony was devoted to a "feast of music" honoring the dying composer. The climax was a MacDowell program performed by Theodore Thomas's orchestra from Chicago. But a new difficulty had arisen. The architect had felt some misgivings about what the acoustics would be, especially after he found that thirty feet of the stage had been chopped off without his knowledge. Had he known of this, he said, he would not have allowed the plans to be used. He was not entirely unprepared, then, for the echoes and reverberations thrown back at the speakers when the building was opened. "The Auditorium is truly an acoustical wonder," said F. R. Watson, physics professor, who spent six years running down the echoes and subduing them. A whisper starting on the stage could eventually be heard 225 feet away, in the true St. Paul's manner. Large canvases hung in the dome were helpful but unsightly. A build-up of felt strips covered with a rep worked better. One result of all the unpleasantness was the emergence of Professor Watson as one of the foremost acoustical authorities in the country.

48. President's Scrapbook, 18 (Auditorium).
Then, later, there was the painting, The Return of Ulysses, hanging over the presidium for several years which some was called "Everybody Works but Father." But the Auditorium served the University well.

In 1907 the trustees at James' suggestion asked a million dollars for buildings, a daring demand. The amount allowed was $400,000, which was used for the Physics Building, also ceremoniously dedicated, and a large addition to Natural History. Senator Dunlap, who had entered the legislature at a time when the University was little appreciated, now reported his colleagues anxious to serve its interests, and the total sum granted in 1907—$2,387,826—was an increase of fifty-seven per cent. Congress, too, was finding the support of the land grant colleges a popular cause, passing the Adams Act in 1906 and the Nelson Act in 1907 which increased the federal aid per annum to agricultural experimentation by $15,000 and agricultural instruction by $25,000. Both acts were strongly championed by President James and Dean Davenport. Both state and country had reason to be aware of James and the University of Illinois by the end of his third year. By aggressive action his favorite adage, "Nothing succeeds like success," was being proved.

To gain his ends James made the world his audience and the country his stage. According to legend he was so seldom on the campus that when he returned he "noted its progress." But this was the character of the man. There can be little doubt that James believed his position gave the opportunity, if not actually imposed the duty, to lead and use his influence in every cause for civic and social betterment. Draper and he had made this a function of the University; he played to the full the part of the community-leading Herr D°ktor Direktor, and accordingly it was no dereliction of duty to sponsor any worth-while movement. In
49. Dunlap, Legislative History, 511.

50. 34 U. S. Statutes at Large, 63-64, 1281-1282.
the state. James was on the governor's commission on hard roads at a time when farmers emphatically did not yet see the advantages of them; on tax and educational commissions, and various scientific boards; and he headed teachers' societies. Nationally, he accepted membership in a wide variety of organizations, one of the more important being a federal commission on international conferences. The close educational relations between the United States and China after 1906 were James' doing, and he emerged from a memorable meeting of the National Association of State Universities as the champion of the national university project and of plans for a more vigorous military training program. Presidents and cabinet members were well aware of him, and offered diplomatic appointments. James was by 1909 a national figure.

As president he had nevertheless to defend his methods. He had outlined his policies to the trustees in 1905, and in April, 1906, he gave a review, projected new plans, and asked approval. There was a lengthy secret discussion; some opposition was evident. But the outcome was a reaffirmation of "approval of the general university policy thus far developed" and a vote of confidence. A few months later James also answered criticism in a faculty meeting, and what seems to have been an issue of extravagance was put to the legislature in 1909. The latter test appears to have had its origin in rumors of several impending resignations.

G. Huff was tempted by the more paying prospect of managing a professional baseball team; Dean Clark, by an offer from Leland Stanford, and Dean Davenport was worried about the possible loss of many of his staff to other institutions. James took the facts to Springfield. The response was a resolution in which the policies of the University were affirmed;
51. In the middle of March, 1906, James sent a Memorandum Concerning the Setting of an Educational Commission to China to President Theodore Roosevelt and the nation's newspapers. Beginning on Mar. 15, favorable comment was noted throughout the East and Midwest and a delegation of Methodists—the church of James' affiliation and one of the most active missionary churches in China—supported the proposal in a conference with President Roosevelt. Official approval was noted within the month. See President's Scrapbook 11 (General, Apr.-Dec., 1906). In 1908, shortly after Congress remitted the unclaimed portion of the Boxer Indemnity, Wu Ting Fan, the Chinese ambassador, gave the commencement address at Urbana, "Why China and America Should Be Friends," and astonished a meeting at the country club by predicting air travel between his country and ours. The decision of the government of China to apply the remittance to educational scholarships followed in July. See John V. A. MacKay, Treaties and Agreements With and Concerning China, 1894-1919, Vol. 1, Manchurian Period (1896-1911). Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (New York, 1921), 331-335. Also Arthur K. Smith, China and America To-day (New York, 1907), 213-220.


54. BE, '06: 436-437.


56. When the Chicago Illini Club sponsored petitions protesting what seemed to be Clark's impending resignation James told the signers to do more effective legislative work and bring in more money if they were so interested in holding high-class men.
Whereas, it is the evident will of the people of this commonwealth that the University of Illinois shall be made so complete in its organization and equipment that no son or daughter of this State shall be obliged to seek in other States or other countries those advantages of higher education which are necessary to the greatest efficiency of social service either in public or private station; and...

Whereas, the great progress of this institution in the last five years has attracted the attention of the whole country, and made other institutions desirous of drawing away members of the faculties in said university;... Resolved, By the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring herein, That it is the sense of this General Assembly that the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois should adopt such a policy as will in their judgment attract to, and retain in, the service of the University and the State, the best available ability of this and other countries. 57

That same year bills for an appropriation of a million dollars for buildings were placed before the legislature. The data presented showed that the request was extremely conservative. In all, nearly four million dollars was asked, nearly twice that allowed in the previous biennium. Critics of the University bills, ready with scissors and amendments to ignore the resolution they had lately helped to pass, found an unexpected ally among the trustees, Mrs. Carrie T. Alexander, one of the two women members, who went before the legislature to charge the University with willful and unnecessary extravagance. Although her trustees associates promptly censured her, the appropriation granted showed the influence of her criticism; the increase in the biennial fund from state sources for 1909-1911 was the smallest in twenty years, and of the four new major buildings asked, only one was allowed, a "new university hall" which was later named Lincoln Hall.

The incident had many aspects, one of which showed the need for an income less subject to the fluctuation which even the most temporary change of heart might cause. Also plain was a weakness in the internal
67. Laws... 1909, 496.

68. See President's Scrapbook, 27 (Legislative, 1909), BT, p. 135.

69. Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois, 17, 24-25.
organization of the University, and the need for consistent long-range plans. James made these facts the background of three attempted reforms which date from the 1909-1911 biennium. The first was constitutional, the second financial, and the third related to the plans for campus development.

Revision of the University statutes had been talked of as early as August, 1904, when several faculty members had proposed the drafting of a constitution defining their rights. An episode which became known as "the Kemp affair," involving James' refusal to renew the contract of Professor Kemp, raised the issue of faculty rights again in 1908, but the insubordination of the errant trustee in 1909 and the tightening political controls forced on universities in neighboring states also had a part. At James' suggestion, a Senate committee of fifteen members headed by Professor Ward was set to gathering data on the administration of the world's great universities to draw up a grand charter defining the functions of the University of Illinois, its members, and the legislature; their privileges, rights, and duties, all of which were to be studied first by the Senate, then the college faculties, the trustees, and finally was to be presented to the legislature. Beginning in March, 1911, the committee met fortnightly, and by 1915 its report was ready. But by that time interest had waned, some opposition was evident, and action was delayed until the cause was lost in the confusion of the war. During the five years the committee was at work more urgent problems had arisen.

In his plans for financial rehabilitation James had better success, though the benefits of a new system of state support proved to be only temporary. The weakness of reliance on funds from the general income of the state had long been apparent; Gregory as early as 1877 had impressed the trustees with the need of a special fund. Rarely forgotten
61. The incident had its beginning in 1907 when Kemp's department of physiology was excluded from graduate instruction. However, the issues soon involved personalities, and Kemp's continuation in the position seemed impossible. The case was laid before the trustees, where Kemp found energetic support from Mrs. Alexander, and before the public (by Kemp) in the magazine Science, N.S., 28 (Oct. 9, 1908), 433-438. Academic freedom thus became an issue wherein James had the support of the faculty (Senate Minutes, Oct. 15, 1908, 2: 5-8). See BT, '08; index; '10; index. Kemp Statements, 1908, Pres. Office, Basement File, Box 2. Albert Lee, Some University of Illinois Presidents I Have Known, "Edmund Janes James," 10 et seq.


thereafter was the possibility of obtaining a mill tax fund like Wisconsin's and Michigan's. James was studying the plan as early as 1905, and bills had been introduced in 1907 and 1909, but as they were not pressed, the legislature showed little interest until 1911 when James took up the battle in earnest. The need for a steady income was effectively shown, as was the fact that a tax of a mill on each dollar of the assessed value of property was just. In these contentions the University found wide popular support. State pride was touched when figures proved that the state of Illinois, with one of the largest university enrollments, was doing less for its own university than were neighboring states with smaller populations. In value of buildings, the Urbana campus ranked eighteenth but still had the most students. A barrage of figures told the story. Doubts of the constitutionality of the proposed legislation were overcome by Dean Barker, and a mill tax act providing revenue especially for the University was passed in the final days of the session.

Theoretically, the income from the mill tax should have increased proportionally with the increasing value of property in the state. Viewed thus in 1911, the tax was hailed as the solution of the University's financial problems. Put into effect in 1912, half of the 1911-1913 appropriation of $5,399,300 came from it. It simplified the planning and presentation of budgets, as the legislature had now only to allocate the anticipated receipts. In this respect the act was most helpful in 1913, when a reversal of political sympathies placed a new governor and a three-way divided legislature in power at Springfield. Had it been necessary to put the University's request in competition with other demands on the general revenue, the contest in one of the most chaotic sessions of the General Assembly in years would have been sharp. Two years later there was a disposition to withhold some of the
64. College of Law, Annual Report, 1912-1913.


66. Dunlap, Legislative History, 432.
fund, but the attempt was quickly defeated. The fatal defect of
the mill tax, however, was its tendency to "degenerate," to diminish
in receipts when it should have increased. The collections justified
a $4,500,000 appropriation in 1913, but fell nearly $200,000 short of
the $5,000,000 promised in 1915, and in 1917 when the appropriation
was reduced by $200,000 the collections again fell $159,000 short.
The equalized assessment of all taxable property in the state was
decreased over two per cent in 1916, following an annual increase of
nearly three per cent in the preceding six years, and the University
suffered accordingly. Some years later a state sales tax was begun,
and a certain proportion of it was made available to the University.

The year 1915, the high point of the mill tax income, was also
important in the University's fiscal history in two other ways. In
March, Congress passed the Smith-Lever Act to aid the program of agri-
cultural extension activities. This act, introducing the "fifty-fifty"
principle requiring equal expenditures by the state, was followed two
years later by the Smith-Hughes Act, with similar financial provisions,
which promoted vocational education in agriculture and home economics
through a teacher-training program. The other event of 1915 was the
stabilization of the endowment established by the act under which the
University was founded--the Land Grant Act of 1862. With the completion
of the sales of the last tracts in Minnesota and Nebraska, the amount
of the endowment of 1862 reached $649,012.91, on which the state has
since 1915 paid the University an annual interest of $32,450.86. In
seventy-five years this endowment, for which Jonathan Baldwin Turner had
fought, secured the University an income of $2,141,108.69. In con-
trast, the annual income from this fund, once the brightest hope of the
University, was in 1915 less than two per cent of all the credits in the
budget.

Great men were of more importance in James' eyes than great build-

68. Lloyd Morey, '11, "Where we stand in University Finances," AGFE, 5 (Nov. 15, 1919), 40.

69. 38 U.S. Statutes at Large, 372-375. Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois, 8-9.

70. 39 U.S. Statutes at Large, 929.

71. Slater, History of the Land Grant Endowment Fund..., 11.
ings, but the latter were not being overlooked. Aside from the urgent need of them in a rapidly growing university, James saw in them also a significance to the average man which could stimulate his thinking about education and kindle in him a new respect for it when perhaps most other things would not.

Between 1904 and 1909 the trustees had been enabled to build only four major buildings and had seen the promise of an even larger number stricken from proposed appropriations by the legislature and by the governor’s veto. The great increase in buildings (from thirty-six to sixty) during the James period dates largely from 1910; by 1919 the amount spent on them during his presidency had doubled all previous expenditures for the purpose. Land holdings, which had even decreased by a third between 1867 and 1904, were trebled. The 635 acres of campus and adjacent farm land were enlarged by the purchase of twenty-three acres of city lots, twelve of which represented the extension of the lower campus to the Illinois Central tracks, and 560 acres of farm land, doubling the size of the south farms. In addition, by 1920 the College of Agriculture was using 105 acres purchased, 608 donated, and 350 leased in forty-two counties.

As early as March, 1909, in anticipation of the building program which the legislature unexpectedly failed to approve an advisory commission was appointed to study the locations. The original members named were W. C. Zimmerman, the state architect; D. H. Burnham of Chicago; and C. H. Blackall, ’77, of Boston, who had designed the Auditorium. Professors J. W. White, the University supervising architect, and Frederick Maynard Mann, who joined the architecture department in 1910, were added later. As its first task the commission tried to work out a master plan. This it was unable to do, but among the many plans considered there were common elements, which together with the requirements of the projected buildings permitted systematic
72. From James’ address at the dedication of the new Chemistry Building. The Dedication of the New Chemistry Building, University of Illinois. Reprint from Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry, 8 (June, 1918), 253.

73. Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois, 46-51.

74. Ibid., 52.

location. By 1912 it had been agreed that there would be a north-south axis through the center of the Auditorium, an agricultural "preserve" below it, and a military and athletic area in the undeveloped and lately enlarged western extension of the campus. Until the question of the general plan was again forcibly raised by the enrollment demands of the early 'twenties, the placement of buildings was after 1912 largely a matter of selecting sites in established areas. While far from definitive, the loosely outlined "plan" was satisfactory for the most immediate needs, and the commission became inactive.

Lincoln Hall, the only important building for which funds were obtained in 1909, became a monument to the Illinois president who had signed the land grant act, and was dedicated with impressive ceremonies on the centennial of his birth. It included classrooms, departmental libraries and seminars, museums, and offices for advanced instruction in liberal arts. Dean Greene spoke of Lincoln Hall as the "emphatic repudiation of the idea that the University of Illinois can serve the state only in the exploitation of material resources." After 1911 followed in rapid order the Transportation Building, ceramics and mining laboratories, a locomotive laboratory, a large addition to the Woman's Building, and the Commerce Building—the latter now identified as Administration East. All were designed by the state architect, W. C. Zimmerman. In 1915 an allowance of $1,500,000 for land and buildings—more than the total initial expenditures on these items between 1867 and 1905—permitted the erection of the Stock Pavilion, the great Armory, the Administration Building (West), and as many more important additions to existing buildings. The Chemistry Building, which at its dedication fourteen years earlier had been called the largest at any university, was doubled in size and fitted with the most modern equipment. In 1916 came Ceramics, the Vivarium, and a genetics laboratory; in 1918 another


77. *Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois* (Urbana, 1912).

large addition to the Library.

Yet by 1917 the need for space had advanced beyond all existing capacities and future prospects of construction under the mill tax. The race between the builders and the students had left the former far behind. Utility had been stressed at the expense of appearance even more than was evident in the buildings erected before 1904. Crowding was everywhere in evidence. It was necessary in 1917 to propose a special building program as a supplement to the $700,000 requested from the mill tax fund. In March James proposed to the trustees that

in the second Bill we ask for $2,000,000 on a projected program of $10,000,000, and that I be authorized to say that, if the University gets the $2,000,000, the first $500,000 will be spent acquiring a site and beginning the erection of a suitable agricultural plant; that the second $500,000 will be used to begin the erection of a suitable medical plant; that the third $500,000 will be used for beginning the erection of our new engineering plant, and the fourth $500,000 will be used on the erection of a new Library building; .... 79

In this proposition, approved by the trustees, may be seen the origin of the Ten-Year Plan which solved the post-war building problem. But James had hardly more than time to lay this before the legislature when the nation went to war and all peace-time ambitions were put aside. The suggested allotment from the mill tax revenue was even reduced to $500,000, half of which was used to begin the erection of the Education Building which was to house a model high school.

Anomalously, the end of a great era of campus construction brought larger needs than were seen at its beginning.

In shaping the expanding University, James' methods showed little
of the German influence that bristled in the inaugural address. Had he been a thorough-going Germanophile, he might have found reason to praise the Prussian order and system in Draper's organizational legacy; instead, it appears, he thought the statutes were "rather antiquated." He could easily have installed, with full faculty support, a system of his own in 1905; but the statutes survived his sixteen years without much change. To James, administrative details were usually a matter of small concern, but the plans of an absorbing new idea might keep him in his office far into the night. Carrying on conferences as he walked in the open air of the campus, and conceiving a grander University were much to his liking.

That the Board of Trustees would look warily on affiliations as a means of enlarging the University had been clear at the December, 1904, meeting. Recognizing the unstable relation with the Colleges of Medicine and Dentistry and still smarting from the unsuccessful negotiations with the Chicago College of Dental Surgery, the trustees vigorously said there would be no more affiliations unless the schools seeking them were ready to accept complete and unconditional absorption into the University. Against this background James projected his earliest and one of his more unusual ambitions: to associate with the University a series of schools of religion.

The idea received its fullest development at the conference on the relation of state universities to religious education held at the inauguration in 1905. In general, the plan was to have the various denominations build theological seminaries at Urbana. The Methodists of the Southern Illinois Conference, whose laity included Deans Burrill and Davenport and James himself, were interested and suggested a Wesley College. Hopes were high in 1906 when the Catholic order maintaining

St. Viator College inspected a site in Urbana, and two years later when Andover Theological Seminary, one of the better known eastern seminaries, was invited to found a new tradition in the West, but these two followed other plans. Lacking success, the idea of associated schools of religion was by 1914 transformed, first by the Methodists, into the plan of the now familiar foundations; a cause to which James gave no less enthusiastic support.

Another early project that aroused even higher hopes also failed. A group of Chicago meat packers promised in 1906 to provide a site and a $250,000 building near the Chicago stockyards if the University would open a veterinary college. James quickly took advantage of the offer, secured a $30,000 appropriation in 1907, and by the summer of 1908 had perfected plans based on the best practice of European colleges, but at the last moment the packers' offer was withdrawn. Disappointment also followed the hopes to establish a series of public service institutes—a German inspiration that had analogies in the state scientific surveys. In 1909 enthusiasm was aroused at a week-long conference for an Institute of Sanitary Science and Public Health. A plan to train state civil service employees at the University failed to get legislative support in the same year. Two years later the ambitions laid before the legislature included a department of sociological research, a legislative reference bureau, and a municipal reference bureau. All were years ahead of their time, but modest beginnings were made in some of these. A conference called in March, 1909, to discuss the opportunities of improving the life of the state's urban centers led to the establishment in 1913 of a professorship of civic design, the first in the country, and in the next year, the position of community advisor. The two appointees, Charles Mulford Robinson,
82. President's Scrapbook, 11 (General, 1905-1906); February, 1906.

83. Ibid., 13 (General, 1906-1909); November, 1908.


85. President's Scrapbook, 17 (General, Feb.-May, 1909); April, 1909. Memorandum, Townsend to James, Dec. 18, 1908, Pres. Corr., 1908-1909.

86. Dunlap, Legislative History, 345.


88. James to (Mayors), Mar. 25, 1909, President's Scrapbook, 25 (Publications, 1908-1909); 17 (General, Feb.-May, 1909). ET, '14; 619, 780.
one of the pioneer city planners, and Robert Enoch Hieronymus, formerly president of Eureka College and secretary of the state educational commission, were like the first teachers of agriculture—more explorers than professors.

That only four new departments were created by the forward-looking president who was so actively mapping new fields and who in a later year anticipated a University with an "infinite number of departments" stands as an unexpected contrast. Moreover, not entirely new were sociology, established as a department in 1907, railway engineering, 1906, mining engineering, 1909, and ceramics, 1915. All were for many years among the smaller departments of the University although the three in engineering carried on extensive research and extension programs. In the Colleges of Science and Literature and Arts four consolidations in 1905 were forerunners of the union of the colleges themselves, which took place in 1913. Rhetoric, a department that had grown out of Brownlee’s professorship, was joined to English; chemistry, divided in 1890 because the subject needed two professors of full rank, had its theoretical and applied divisions reunited under Noyes; Greek and Latin were rejoined as Classics under Barton; and a short-lived department of modern languages was formed to give the Romance languages as well as German the inspiration of Karsten.

The magical touch was thus not to be found in new organizations, but in the rising quality of work done. Encouragement in research given by the Graduate School, the increased opportunities of the experiment stations and state surveys, and the acquisition of additional equipment were some of the basic factors. In equipment alone the inventories between 1904 and 1918 showed a gain of over three hundred per cent. Steadily increasing enrollments promoted the development of new courses. The variety listed in the catalogues was not to be bettered by many univer -
39. BE, '06: 75.

40. Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois, 99.
sities; old Norse, old Danish, old Swedish, and Sanskrit were being
taught in the University which less than thirty years before had been
scorned for offering Latin. It was generally agreed that the students
were earnest and able. But the catalyst making possible the reaction
was the peculiar qualities of the president—his dreaming, daring, and
insistence on high aims. By his actions, if not verbally, he could
include everybody in the advice he gave to Stuart Pratt Sherman in
1916: "Venture a little for the sake of your soul."

The faculty increased notably after James assured himself of the
confidence of the legislature in 1909. Henry Perly Rusk, a future
dean of the College of Agriculture, came as an associate in 1910. In
1913 the rosters included for the first time Charles Earl Bradbury, art;
Loring Harvey Provine, '08, architecture; Hiram Thomas Sevill, '08,
accountancy; William Trelease, the famous botanist; Arthur Cutts Willard,
heating engineer and future president; and Wilbur M. Wilson, civil
engineering. In 1915 came Robert Daniel Carmichael, mathematician
and future dean of the Graduate School; Kenneth McKenzie, the "Italian"
scholar; Harry Franklin Harrington, Journalism professor and later dean
at Northwestern; and Frederick Haynes Newell, specialist in dams and
irrigation projects. Employed the next year were Roger Adams, chemist,
and Robert Graham, veterinary scientist under whose guidance the am-
bition of a veterinary college was to be realized nearly thirty years
later. The lot of these men who became professors was better than that
of those before the coming of James. Their salaries were higher; the
average yearly salary for members of the teaching staff in 1904, $1,321,
was raised to $2,419 by 1919. The professor's average salary of 1904,
$2,166, was by 1919 the average of the lower-rated associate, a new rank
between assistant professor and instructor introduced by James in 1906,
91. James to Sherman, Nov. 24, 1916, Sherman Correspondence.

92. BT, '06: 328.
while professors in the latter year averaged $3,847. James had also hoped to bring in the benefits of faculty retiring allowances, but the application to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, for admission to the "accredited list," was rejected in 1909. The foundation would not lend its aid to a university having a sub-standard medical school and a preparatory academy. Later it did open its purse to Professor McIntosh, who retired in 1915 after thirty years as veterinary science instructor but he died only a few days later.

Until 1909 James had virtually ignored the Academy. It had hung on, a relic of earlier days, with an enrollment of some three hundred students who did not have enough credits to enter the University proper. The "preps" tried to build up their uncertain learning in the dim depths of University Hall. They had their own athletics and their HERMAN Literary Society meetings which few missed. About half of them came from communities having poor high schools, or none at all. Even in cases where they were good, the Academy still had the advantage of a combined preparatory-university course less costly and time-consuming. But it was a source of abuse, for as late as 1909 it was possible for a student to accumulate University credits giving senior standing before meeting the entrance requirements. And though James told the National Association of State Universities in 1906 that the University was discussing and planning the elimination of its freshman and sophomore "junior college" instruction, the Academy lingered on.

The Carnegie report jolted James into more direct action. Before another year passed the Senate voted that the Academy be discontinued by June, 1912, and plans to establish a model high school in its place were studied. The Academy was duly closed, with many of its older alumni and even some of the faculty sentimentally mourning the end of
93. Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois, 149.


95. James, "Would Close Co-ordination of the State University and Small Colleges by Which the Latter Would Do the First Two Years' Work, Be Desirable?" Nat. Assoc. of State Univs. in the U. S., Transactions and Proceedings, 1906, 67-68.

an era of happy memories. The opening of the practice school which
was to take its place, and which was expected by some to continue the
tradition, was delayed for nine years, pending the erection of a suit-
able building.

The Carnegie report needed no elaboration on the deficiencies of
the College of Medicine. President Draper had become aware of them
as early as 1902, while James and the trustees had wrestled with them
continuously since 1904. In its haste to get a college of med-
icine the University had made a bad bargain. The affiliation with the
College of Physicians and Surgeons provided one for the catalogue, but
the trustees had only the appearance of control. At the very time stand-
ards and expenses were rising, the income of the college was shriveling.
The contract with it which the trustees had signed several years before
put them in the position now of responsibility without power to lend
aid.

In seeking the easiest solution James met rebuff. Bills proposing
purchase of the property failed in both 1905 and 1907, in the latter
year by the narrow margin of the governor's veto. Later efforts to
raise standards were negated by financial conditions, and the college
failed to advance as rapidly as the standards it was expected to meet.
The Carnegie report rejecting the University's application for retire-
ment benefits was only the first of a series of criticisms. In the
next year four agencies interested in medical education called atten-
tion to the weakness of the College of Medicine. With much searching
of heart a new contract was made in 1910, under which the property of
the Chicago college was rented. In the new arrangement it was possible
to use state funds, but an appropriation of $120,000 secured in 1911
was rejected by the Supreme Court on a constitutional technicality.
The Illinois Homeopathic Association, supporters of a rival institution,

98. ET, '10: 540-542; 544.
had found a flaw in the passage of the bill. The College of Medicine corporation announced the dissolution of the contract in April, 1912. By the same stroke the College of Dentistry was also lost.

For a year the University had no colleges of medicine and dentistry, but the medical and dental alumni, some of the former faculty, and leading stockholders bought up the stock and the property was conveyed to the University as a gift in early 1913. For many of the donors the act was a sacrifice; a few of the faculty literally gave up lifelong savings. Amidst rejoicing the colleges were reopened as integral parts of the University in 1913. Some of the old faculty found places in the new, and the buildings were the same, but a large appropriation from the mill tax fund made possible the addition of much new equipment, an enlarged faculty, and a completely recast system of courses. Some of the deficiencies remained. The buildings were old and crowded, and hospital facilities were still makeshift. But an era of steady development on sound foundations was begun.

The colleges at Urbana fared better when the scrutinizing eyes of the surveyors were turned on them. Surveys were by no means new; one of the first to which Illinois was party had been made by the commissioner of education in 1881 and 1882 on the subject of industrial education. However, those of 1910 and later may be said to have been the early critical surveys because the main interest was in standards. But the tendency was to confuse standards with standardization, the latter being usually the only measurable result. The most obvious defect was a lack of standards, and comparisons were often attempted on the basis of data that did not admit comparison.

The survey made by the specialists of the federal Bureau of Educa-
tion in behalf of the National Association of State Universities was

100. Addresses delivered upon the re-opening of the Medical Department of the University of Illinois, March 5, 1913. (Chicago, 1913).
not remarkable for its influence, though it was one of the more important. Illinois was visited in March, 1910, and January, 1913, by Kendric Charles Babcock, education specialist, formerly president of the University of Arizona, who reported being "pleasantly surprised by the excellence of the present educational machinery, both in plans and specifications, and in the smoothness of its workings.... The personnel..., measured by training and experience, seems to be of unusually high quality." Thirty-seven per cent of the teaching staff had Ph.D. degrees or professional equivalents, permitting a favorable comparison with "another well-known State University" which had only nine per cent; or with the national average for colleges and universities, which was even lower. The Graduate School was administered with "firmness, vigor, and practical wisdom." Illinois emerged favorably from the investigation which, however, was rather cursory.

Babcock was sufficiently well impressed to return six months later, not as a visitor, but as dean of the combined Colleges of Science and Literature and Arts. The Union had been planned by James as early as 1905; his first attempt, in that year, had failed. Separation of the arts and sciences was one of the distinguishing features of Illinois; it dated from the organization of college divisions although it was from the beginning highly artificial. Through the years the College of Literature and Arts had been successively listed as Literature, Science, and Art; Literature and Science; Literature; and finally, when Kinley became dean, Literature and Arts. The College of Science had had almost as many variations: Natural History and Chemistry (once separate colleges); Natural Science, and finally Science. When James reopened the question of union in 1912 there was still opposition, but in the interest of curricular improvement the consolidation, was completed in 1913. Dean Babcock, appointed in March, 1913, aided in

102. ET, '14: 71.

103. Divisions of this kind were common among the land-grant colleges which aimed to teach more than agriculture. Cornell, where the original "colleges" were most similar to those of Illinois, had long since abandoned the distinction, but it has been maintained to the present in three institutions.

the preliminaries, and in September the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences was formally opened. In number of departments, faculty, and students it was the largest division of the University. The union did not resolve all the anomalies of departmental organization. Physics, normally associated with the sciences, stayed with the College of Engineering, and ceramics, an engineering subject, with the arts and sciences (until 1915). Economics, though nominally within the new college, remained virtually an independent division, with a building of its own; operating on separate appropriations, and functioning in other ways as the independent college it was soon to become.

The ambitions of the economics department to get the full status of a college gathered impetus after 1908, and a movement for a college of commerce appeared in full strength after 1912. One proposal would have included public administration within its departments. Possibilities of serving the commercial interests of the state as the College of Agriculture served the farmers were stressed, and with the outbreak of the war in Europe it appeared that America, if it was ready with trained personnel, could grasp world commercial supremacy from the continental powers. With Dean Kinley pressing the arguments for the new division with characteristic energy, the College of Commerce and Business Administration was established by the trustees in 1915. Three Departments were formed: economics, finance, and statistics; business organization and operation; and transportation. Kinley was offered the position of dean. On his refusal it was temporarily filled by Nathan Austin Weston, '89, pending a permanent appointment.

The department of education, which had been organized much like that of economics, was transformed three years later from its intermediate status of a school to full college standing. This had been the aim of
106. BF, '14: 762.


107. Senate, Minutes, June 1, 1914, 5; 161. BF, '16: 244.
the department and the president since 1905, but the necessary funds were not obtained until 1917. Meanwhile the department had gained wide recognition through the activities of Professors Dexter, Bagley, Lotus Delta Coffman, and Charles Hughes Johnston, with whom were associated from time to time several other well-known educators. The appointment of Merrett Wallace Charters, dean of education at Missouri, as director in 1917, when Bagley resigned to join the Columbia faculty, was followed by the creation of the College of Education before the academic year had ended in June, 1918. With the new college was associated a research division, the Bureau of Educational Research, to which was given the purpose of "investigating the problems of teaching and school administration, collecting information concerning the best educational practices of this and other countries, and placing the results obtained before the schools." But 1918 was a war year; the college was opened in the most confusing month the University had known. Both Education and Commerce awaited the peace to find a firm footing.

In all this there is little suggesting a pattern or policy reaching out to a definite end. One was most nearly in evidence, in the early plans for a series of "institutes," but the attempts were premature and unsuccessful with but one exception. At the time there was nothing like the straightforwardness and determination to overcome odds and opposition which characterized Draper, but rather a highly disciplined opportunism. The result was a development that was far from symmetrical, though all departments and colleges had made notable advances in organization and standards. Agriculture, stimulated early by liberal appropriation, grew rapidly, developing a comprehensive teaching, research, and extension program. Engineering had begun extension activities and broadened its research. Extension work for the University in general was being considered. President James' interest in this was more than incidental;

as a pioneer in the university extension movement in the country, he had been director of it at the University of Chicago and president of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. The School of Library Science raised its instruction to the graduate level; after 1911 it required four years of college of its students. The need for at least a million books in the Library had been in James' mind for several years. He pointed out that in number of volumes Illinois was twelfth on a list of university libraries; in fact the ranking was even more uncomfortable when it was remembered that Columbia, for instance, could also draw upon 5,250,000 volumes in neighboring libraries, but Illinois was isolated downstate with perhaps 34,000 within reach in surrounding towns. A new Library building was first shown in the White plan of 1915. The School of Music was about to enter a new era on the eve of the war. In 1914 a former member of the Board of Trustees, Captain Thomas J. Smith, a Champaign lawyer, offered property valued at $215,000 for the erection of a building to house the music instruction. Tina Weedon Smith Memorial Music Hall, named for his wife, the largest single gift thus far received by the University, was raised as far as the cornerstone by 1917.

The path of the University between 1904 and 1918 had its pitfalls. When the niggardly legislative support given Gregory and Peabody was succeeded by the larger appropriations of the Draper and Hames periods the attitude of officials in Springfield also changed. The interest was no longer perfunctory, and no longer could governors and legislatures ignore the popular mandate to favor the University. The legislatures were, indeed, often more friendly than the governors. Governor Deneen (1905-1913) did not spare his veto though he regularly commended the legislature's generosity. His successor, Edward J. Dunne, more chary
with his praise, also spared the University the sting of the veto, for under the mill tax act which took effect in the final year of Deneen's term the governor's discretion was not taxed. The principle of the University's responsibility directly to the people of the state had been firmly established by the law of 1867 providing for the popular election of trustees and by an even longer tradition of non-interference from Springfield officialdom.

With state spending for all kinds of government increasing markedly in each biennium in the early years of the new century, economy and efficiency were issues in almost every election. Neighboring states were meeting these by adopting central boards of education and by unifying their colleges, though the success of the various plans was debatable. In Illinois an educational commission, established in 1907 to study the school system, soon recommended greater centralization.

From private headquarters in Chicago, R. T. Crane, a plumbing fixture manufacturer, carried on a war against expenditures for higher education, particularly against the University, 1909-1912. The charges of extravagance made by Mrs. Alexander at the legislative session of 1909 added fuel to the fire.

One indication that the state's political officers intended to bring the University under their purview took place in 1907, when the state architect, an officer created by the legislature in 1899, gave notice that he would design the University buildings provided for by the current appropriation. Hoping to avoid controversy, the trustees agreed. Though the arrangement was satisfactory to neither, co-operation was not entirely impossible until a later state architect failed to meet the University's building requirements within the biennium of the appropriations and prevented the necessary advanced planning. Anyhow, after twenty-nine years of alumni architects the University was not


Memorandum in re Administrative Control of the University of Illinois from Springfield as a Center, 1916, 8-12.

114. Memorandum in re Administrative Control..., loc. cit. BT, '16; 42, 105-106.
inclined to trust the planning of its buildings to political appointees, capable as some of them undoubtedly were. Later the state efficiency and economy committee said: "Neither the state architect nor his staff have been permanent... The method of payment by commission has not worked well... The state architect should be a non-political official; both he and his staff should be selected and retained on a basis of merit and efficiency." In 1911 the provisions of a revised civil service law were extended to include the University in spite of protests that the merit system already in effect was better. When the bills for it came up in the legislature, James asked Senator Dunlap to have the University exempted. Dunlap saw the chairman of the commission and apparently everything was arranged. Unfortunately, however, James had written to the Civil Service League of Chicago, saying that he thought civil service would be of "great service in the state institutions." If it was all right for them, why not also for the University, argued the committee, and the chairman, reporting back, said he could do nothing more about the matter. Eventually the University was authorized to set up and conduct its own civil service, as a branch of the state system. A little later the state Board of Prison Industries required the purchase of prison-made products whenever possible, though it was clear that they were shoddy and no bargain. For a time the order stood that all printing be done in the shops of a reform school where youthful offenders were being taught typesetting. The University was also one of the victims of the prison-made furniture, a pile of which appeared mysteriously one day outside the door of Morrow Hall labeled "Prison-made furniture, inferior in materials, workmanship and design, but forced on the University at full retail price for standard goods." Emphatic protests were of no avail, but with the reorganization of the state administrative departments in 1917 the conflicts were largely set at rest.


The power of state fiscal officers over expenditures was also extended. Before 1911 the custom had been to send the governor and state auditor detailed semi-annual reports, and to print itemized accounts of all receipts and expenses, no matter how small, in the biennial reports of the trustees, but the appropriation bill passed in that year required duplicate vouchers for the governor and state auditor on each disbursement. Two years later the new governor, Dunne, called in a Chicago accounting firm to inspect state fiscal policies, and a proposal followed to require the University to deposit all its income in the state treasury. That was vigorously opposed by James and the trustees, but they were unable to prevent the naming of the state auditor as the disbursement officer for all funds from the state treasury. More was heard of the proposal to interpose the control of the auditor over the income from fees, gifts, and incidental revenue, but a compelling argument drafted by Dean Barker prevailed against the opinion of the attorney general. When the issue was reopened under comparable conditions twenty years later the University did not fare so well.

Under the new system the University treasurer lost much of his previous importance, yet the election of one in 1913 opened the way for the first controversy among the trustees since the opening years. After an almost unbroken succession of Republican governors for fifty-six years, Edward F. Dunne, Democrat, was elected in 1913, and Capt. J. R. Trevett, Champaign banker, also a Democrat, was elected to the Board of Trustees of the University. The two could reasonably have been expected to agree—but they disagreed on who should be the new University treasurer. Traditionally the governors had enjoyed the privilege of naming the treasurers; but Trevett had other ideas. Three candidates were nominated, and the vote showed the existence of three factions; friends of the
118. Laws... 1911, 43. ET, '12; 94.


120. Laws..., 1913, 94.
former treasurer, friends of the governor's nominee, and a group anxious to elect a local banker, M. W. Busey, who won out, much to the delight of his friends who serenaded him in his home and forecast a revival of local business. The governor's political associates were greatly displeased. An announcement came out in a few weeks saying that University funds would be taken from the University treasurer and turned over to the state treasurer; and to some extent this was done, largely through a new financial routine objected to vigorously by President James who insisted that the University couldn't be run like a penitentiary or insane asylum, and who suspected "political influences of the very worst kind." However, as it turned out, the University was allowed to keep its own funds -- the receipts from student fees, from sales of products, etc. But the state appropriations for it were thereafter kept in the state treasury until time to be used.

In the election of Busey as treasurer, the point had been made by the opposition that he was a relative of one of the trustees, for at that time James' denouncements of nepotism (appointment of relatives) were attracting wide attention. The matter also came up a few months later when the "Busey tract" of land was sold to the University. Governor Dunne and President James protested, but Dean Davenport and the state horticulturists thought it important that the land be acquired-- and acquired it was.

Other dissensions had flared up, but by far the most violent of the nepotism controversies between the president and some of the trustees, especially one of them, occurred in 1913 when James refused to reappoint an assistant professor partly because he was a relative of another member of the faculty. One of the trustees led a movement to override the "autocratic" president and make the appointment anyway, and in try-
122. "The present board of trustees, overriding precedent, elected a Champaign banker treasurer of the board and thereby clashed with the governor. Heretofore the governor has had this appointment, and a Chicago man invariably has been the recipient. The local interests wanted the honor and the money. The result was that the governor turned over all the University funds to the state treasurer." Chicago Tribune, Feb. 13, 1914.

123. President E. J. James, Statement of the Proposals, Pamphlet, Urbana, 1915.

124. In 1933 the ruling was extended to include most of the other University monies. Today the University treasurer handles only certain federal grants, the endowment or trust funds, and a working cash fund. (BIT, '54, 561.)

125. BIT, '14: 606, 657, 668.

126. In 1908 the trustees had been split on the resignation of Professor C. C. Kemp, following his sensational article in Science. In all of the trustee voting, Mrs. Carrie T. Alexander (Bahrenburg) led the unsuccessful movement to retain him. He returned to his native Baltimore and was a physician there until his death in 1925.

Mrs. Bahrenburg, who was trustee from 1880 to 1912, had also been conspicuous for her opposition to the University at various other times. She had refused to vote for James as president in 1909; in that same year she appeared before the House appropriations committee in Springfield and said that the University had no need for more money. She aroused the attention again of J. T. Crane, Chicago manufacturer and arch enemy of universities, who had said that the University buildings should be burned and salt spread in the ruins. James noted that the answer to this was a larger University appropriation than ever.
ing to do this was able to muster enough aid to rescind the nepotism rule in the statutes. But the motion to make the appointment in question still received only one affirmative vote. An effort was then made to repeal the by-law defining the duties of the president—an effort which, if successful, would have taken all initiative from him, including the right to recommend appointments.

James, thoroughly aroused, in a surprise move carried his case to the faculty. On Feb. 2, 1914, he called a meeting of the Senate plus the associate and assistant professors and associates. He told the members that according to rumors he was without their confidence and support, and he wanted to find out for himself. He asked for a secret vote, and left the room. It was 188 to four, and two qualified votes, in his favor. The widespread favorable newspaper comment on this unusual action of a university president could hardly be viewed as anything but a serious rebuke to senseless trustees.

Trevett would not be quieted, however. A new dispute in April, 1915, reopened the old wounds. James lost his temper, and castigated Trevett so sharply that the latter left the room and avoided all future meetings for the rest of his term. James apologized, and affairs ran smoother.

Some of the University's difficulties were due to the condition of Illinois government at the time. A multiplicity of state administrative boards and agencies had grown up and vied for places in the sun, trebling state expenses between 1905 and 1915. Public opinion, noting only the cost, charged the administrators with inefficiency. Governor Deneen had already begun to consolidate some of the agencies, he sponsored a review of the state tax structure which was directed by Professor Faddei and in his parting message to the legislature in 1913 he recommended a general overhauling of the administrative system. A committee on
President James requested that the minutes be recorded as showing his disapproval.

Nepotism is no longer mentioned in the constitution, but is still referred to in the blanks filled out by applicants for positions. Except in the years of World War I, when the scarcity of help sometimes interfered, relatives have not been allowed to hold trustee appointments. There may have been no rule, but the practice under James, Kinley, Chase, Daniels, and Willard has been as good as a rule. James dramatically asked for and obtained the resignation of the comptroller when he became engaged to his daughter.

Minutes of the Senate 3 (Feb. 2, 1914), 146.

efficiency and economy was created and was asked to recommend improvements. For technical assistance the committee relied on the direction of Professor Fairlie and other members of the University political science and economics departments. The report, made in 1915, recommended the union of the nearly 150 boards and agencies under ten departments; in 1917, soon after Frank O. Lowden became governor, a civil administrative code following the recommendations was enacted.

Among the recommendations concerning the University, one suggesting a reconstitution of the Board of Trustees failed to find favor. It was proposed that the trustees be appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate and that none be residents of the Congressional district of the University. Accepted was the suggestion that a commission on natural resources (the governor, the president of the University, and three appointive members) be appointed to supervise the scientific surveys. This proved to be advantageous, for it relieved the trustees of responsibilities for an essentially administrative function of government.

One of the happiest results of the reorganization was wholly unexpected. Among the ten departments created was one of Public Welfare, the director of which was to maintain the state’s penal institutions and charitable hospitals. Charles H. Thorne, the appointee, a Chicago business executive named by Governor Lowden, was at once struck by the fact that all the state’s effort was being directed toward the custodial care and treatment of terminal cases, while almost nothing was done to discover the causes and cures of the diseases. On learning that the needs of his department could be met by the staff of the College of Medicine and that the latter in turn needed the hospital facilities of his department, Thorne suggested a program of co-operation.

Report of the Efficiency and Economy Committee, 40-49.

The project, approved in July, 1919, became a turning point in the history of the College of Medicine and in Dentistry and Pharmacy as well. There were delays, but the hospitals finally built by the Department of Public Welfare overcome the defect of the College of Medicine which had seemed incurable. The lack of hospital facilities, and the impossibility of securing them, seemed until 1918 to destined the University's medical education to a feeble semi-state effort. James did not live to see the fruition of what he and Thorne began; his own health collapsed before the agreement was signed.

As late as 1918 there were men of the faculty who had been associated with the University in its earliest years. Most of these professors emeriti; a few of them were lately dead. Retirements because of age only rarely touched campus life until the James period.

One of the first to pass was a stalwart of the Board of Trustees, Alexander McLean, who had been on the board continuously since 1877. Thirty years of enlightened service ended with his death in 1907. William Low Hillsbury retired in 1910. He had come to Urbana in 1868 after a long and distinguished career in the office of the superintendent of public instruction. Two years later honorary LL.D. degrees were given Thomas Jonathan Burrill and Samuel Walker Shattuck, fore-shadowing their retirements in September, 1912. Medals were struck to honor those men who had served the University no less than its most distinguished presidents. Throughout all the years of financial hard-ship Shattuck more than any other man was responsible for the wise use of the meager allowances. Burrill was to be remembered not only as one of the builders of the University, but as a founder of the modern science of botany. And one wonders what Burrill couldn't have done in that science if his working days had not been crowded with studying the football situation, the use of caps and gowns, the powers and duties of the president,

133. 124, Et. '10: 584.

134. _Alumni Quarterly_ 6 (July, 1912), 211-212; 7 (January, 1913), facing p. 24. Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois, 144-145.
the registration of graduate students which he insisted on doing himself, and the promotion of the YMCA and Gregory Memorial campaigns. With the deaths of these two men in 1915 and 1916 an era seemed to close.

In 1915 retirement ended the work of Donald McIntosh, for nearly thirty years the professor of veterinary science, whose fearful and wonderful pasteboard horse, illustrating all the equine afflictions, was known to many students. The next year brought retirement to Nathan Clifford Hickey, and the next to Charles Wesley Rolfe. Ira Osborn Baker had also once retired, but had again been brought into service. Another of the elders, Stephen Alfred Forbes, was well over seventy but was still active. All had seen the University come the long way. Supposed at first, it went on to win the respect of the great scientists and educational leaders of the nation, even the world.

The passing of the familiar faces brought new men to the fore. Pillsbury, who had been registrar and secretary of the Board of Trustees, was succeeded by Charles Maxwell McConn, who had come to Illinois as English instructor in the Academy and later became principal. As registrar he was given an assistant, Harrison Edward Cunningham, who had held a similar position at the University of Vermont. Cunningham became in 1914 secretary of the Board of Trustees and in 1918, when the University began to do its own printing, director of the University Press. In Shattuck's position as comptroller—the title of the business manager had been changed in 1908—the succession went to George Enfield Fraser. But Fraser was young and unmarried, and he soon faced the choice of remaining in his position or becoming James' son-in-law; he chose the latter and a new comptroller was found in
136. *Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois*, 143-146.
137. BT, '12: 24.
138. Ibid., 27; '14: 689; '20: 49.
139. Ibid., '14: 169.
A year and a half later the position was again opened, and Lloyd Morey, '12, who had become auditor in 1913, became comptroller, beginning a career that rivaled Shattuck's in length. Burrill's vice-presidency passed to Kinley, the senior dean, on whom James was increasingly relying for aggressive leadership. With James' absences from the presidency during periods of recuperation from a recurrent stomach ailment becoming more frequent after 1913, the vice-presidency became a position of more responsibility in the day-to-day administration.

With the changes came reorganizations. Registrar's records, once sufficient for the purpose of a record, were expanded in new forms as the data was put to new uses. With the introduction of accounting procedures made necessary by the new relation to the state auditor the volume of fiscal data began its trend toward gargantuan proportions with which only the specialists could grapple. If some old-timers are to be believed, only Morey and the Deity understood the complex accounting system so adequately fitted with checks and double checks. The trustees' minutes took on new form; the long lists of vouchers and accounts showing where every penny went were left out and indexing was much improved. Entries became more brief, but still the volumes steadily became larger. The board itself met often; monthly meetings were already becoming the custom. The business of the Council of Administration and the Senate also expanded.

By 1916-1917, when there were about seven thousand students and 840 faculty members the University had already become the largest single enterprise of the state government. The growth was itself alarming to some who inquired into the progress of institutional standards in 1916, raising doubts as to the University's ability to maintain efficiency.
140. Ibid., '16: 187, 222, 247.
141. Ibid., '18: 68.
142. Ibid., '14: 596.
in the face of continued expansion. But James, refusing to share an opinion of so little faith, replied that a university organized on "sound democratic self-governing lines" need never fear its own growth. A few years later Sherman, the apostle of the state university among the literati, was to add about the president himself: "The great thing about President James...is that he combined a sound administrative theory with perfectly sound democratic feeling...." Nothing could have come closer to breaking James' heart than to doubt his central principle that a state university open to all and having democratic objectives could also become a center of learning of the highest type. Indeed, James had proved it could be done.

During James' presidency the older tradition of the European university--the community of scholars--was successfully grafted on the University without blighting its land grant college tradition of teaching, research, and extension in the practical arts. And while the attempts to introduce German forms of organization were almost always failures, Illinois did become a leader among the American universities profiting from the German example of research in the pure sciences and scholarly arts. That atmosphere of academic freedom the Germans called lernfreiheit, the right to investigate without censorship, blossomed to an extent rare in the hundred-year annals of American state university education, and James won sincere public support for the principle. Then it appeared in early 1914 that politics might enter the administration of the University, the Chicago Daily Tribune, the largest and most influential paper in the state, hastened to affirm: "The people of Illinois may quickly rebuke the trouble makers....It should be understood at once, without any doubts, that the public will not tolerate for an instant the utilization of the resources of the university for community politics or any other purpose than the promotion of the educational interests of the state, for which the university stands."
143. Report of the Special Senate Committee on Standards of Scholarship in the Student Body (Urbana, 1916), 8-9, passim.

144. Introduction, Powell, Semi-Centennial History, xviii.


James was well aware of the meaning of academic freedom to a state university. "In the first place," he wrote the president of the land grant college in a neighboring state in 1903,

it is vastly easier to crush the life out of an educational institution by developing non-expert administrative control, than it is to instill the real life principle of spontaneity and opportunity for growth. I have always felt that one of the dangers of our state universities lay in the development of the purely routine administrative control on the part of public officials over the conduct of such institutions. This is nearly sure to deal a vital blow at what after all is the most essential feature of higher institutions, and that without which they cannot perform that service for the community they are intended to perform, namely, a certain autonomous, independent, spontaneous life of their own.

The "autonomous, independent, spontaneous life" came into flower at Illinois during the James presidency. It was a subtle spirit—an enthusiasm, a sense of direction, and a consciousness of meaningful existence. It was many things. Close to a description of it was Babcock's concluding remark in his survey of the state universities in 1913:

My examination of the University of Illinois gave me a clear and distinct impression of an unusually vigorous institutional life, an almost contagious enthusiasm and purposefulness. The desire to promote advanced work, recognition of the need for research, emphasis on productive activities of the faculty, determination to keep the University in close touch with the educational system of the state, farsighted planning to make the institution serviceable to all parts of the state and to its every interest—all these spiritual qualities are developing in combination to a degree approached by only two or three other state universities which I have visited.

One catches obliquely the reflection of the same spirit in the remarks of President Andrew Murphree of the University of Florida to the assembled presidents of the National Association of State Uni-

versities in 1913 to the effect that when President James finished telling the Harvard alumni association about the aims and claims of such universities as Illinois, former president Eliot closed the meet-
ing with the remark: "Men of Harvard, there is your competitor of the future."

Illinois was moving ahead. To its commencements came cabinet members and ambassadors. Secretary Cortelyou gave the address in 1905. Baron Speck von-Sternburg, the German ambassador, in 1906; later the ambassadors of China, Japan, and Argentina. President Taft twice visited the campus, once as secretary of war, and in February, 1911, when president. Lecture series bringing to the campus world-famous scientists and scholars were established; few weeks lacked the attraction of some distinguished speaker-visitor. Changes in the constitution of the enrollment similarly reflected the widening of horizons. "Foreign" students, those who came from other states and countries, increased from fifteen per cent in 1904 to thirty in 1918. In the latter year among every hundred students at Urbana there were twenty-six from other states and four from foreign countries. Illinois graduates were to be found in thirty-nine foreign countries.

Vigor, spontaneity, and growing maturity were as characteristic of student social life as of the academic life of the campus. Organizations were formed to express the widest variety of intellectual and social interests. Student institutions which in 1904 were distinguished by their adolescence had gained by 1918 stability in purpose and program. High-schoolish boisterousness came to a climax in the first decade of James' presidency and quickly passed; the cosmopolitanism of the academic life soon pervaded student social life. By 1918 only a trace was left of the provincial spirit that had been evident in rivalries with other institutions.
149. A. A. Murphree, in Nat. Assoc. of State Univs., Transactions and Proceedings, 1912, 221.


151. Man's capacity for listening to speeches was of course much greater than today; few walked out on Senator La Follette, the elder, when he made one lasting two and one half hours in 1907.

152. Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois, 168.
By 1918, too, the University which fifty years before had been placed in one of the least developed and least accessible parts of the state had become a center of influence in the daily life of the people. A great network of agricultural extension activities spread from Urbana to the farthest counties, and through it passed information on all details of rural life. The state high school system, giving the highest education received by most of the population, was also closely related to the work of the University. The standards of high school courses were largely set and enforced by its high school visitors, and the annual conference of teachers at Urbana was one of the more important means of stimulating scholarly ideals among educational leaders even in the state's smallest communities. As specialists, the faculty of the University were also aiding the processes of government itself. A survey of the school system directed by L. D. Coffman, to which Director Bagley also contributed, hastened a reorganization which came about in the adoption of the civil administrative code in 1917. Professor Ricker was called on in the drafting of a new building code. Dean Kinley, and Professors Weston, and Robinson of the department of economics were frequently asked to prepare data on economic legislation. James himself, besides being on many temporary committees, was for fifteen years president of the State Historical Library board, for seven, the president of the State Highway Commission, and was also the secretary and executive officer of a special state tax commission which in 1910 surveyed the state revenues. Valuable services were given the Committee on Efficiency and Economy by Fairlie, Garner, John Hrabry Mathews, Walter Fairleigh Dodd, Quincy Wright, Ph.D., '18, and Alfred Chester Hanford, '12, who later became dean of Harvard College; by Robinson of economics; and Fraser, the comptroller. The conclusions of their investigations were closely followed by the committee and by the legislature.
This almost unique record for service was reflected in mention (1916) of the desirability of James' candidacy in the presidential election. The idea originated not in Illinois as one might have supposed, but in the East, where some of his former faculty associates in the University of Pennsylvania started a boom. They pointed to James' consistent record as a Republican, his eminence in political science, and his sound ideas on military training. His response publicly was perfunctory interest, but there was no doubt that he had been rather impressed by various letters, especially those from Wharton Barker of Philadelphia who described himself as having been active in several presidential campaigns, and who was confident that the Republicans could win in 1916 if they united on the right man, obviously James himself, who was persuaded to begin work on a declaration. After Charles Evan Hughes was nominated, James' friends then proposed that he run for governor. Though strongly tempted, he declined, saying that the University had first claim on him. He did feel that as governor he "could do certain things for the University in a comparatively short time which I may never be able to accomplish in my present position."

Of the direct cultural contributions, none were more worthy than the volumes of state history which celebrated the rounding out of a century of statehood. They originated as part of the research program of the Graduate School, begun in 1910 by a specially created division, the Illinois Historical Survey. Three years later the legislature planned a state-wide celebration for the centennial year, creating a commission which sponsored eight official observances. President James and Professors Greene and Garner were members. The work already begun by Professor Alwold and associates in the departments of history, political science, and economics was taken over by the commission and led to the


appearance of six comprehensive volumes representing the most thorough research in the history of any state undertaken before.

The state's centennial year was also the University's semi-centennial, and plans for a celebration were made as early as 1913. Like the state, the University had no adequate record of its years of progress, though its rise was most striking. A five-volume semi-centennial history was proposed, and in 1916 a program of festivities and pageants was agreed upon. President Wilson was to be invited, and the history of the institution was to be presented in drama as well as in books. There were to be great scholarly convocations and commemorative volumes containing the addresses of the nation's foremost scientists and educators. But with the outbreak of the war in April, 1917, all was uncertain.

The plans which were carried out showed that the University had given itself wholeheartedly to the war effort. The pageants and the convocations were war pageants and convocations. The historical masque prepared by the specially employed pageant master, W. C. Langdon, was never given, but one was staged on Thanksgiving Day, 1917, "The Sword of America," and another, "A Christmas Mystery of the War," in early January, 1918. On Memorial Day was "Titans of Freedom." In all, five were given, some of them twice. The first volume of the semi-centennial history, The Movement for Industrial Education and the Establishment of the University, 1840-1870, on which Burt E. Powell, the University historian, had been working since 1912, was published in the summer of 1919. Another history summarizing the institutional growth within the limits of a single small volume, by Allan Nevins, '12, appeared in early 1917 under the auspices of a commercial publisher in a series devoted to the best known American colleges and universities. A new alumni directory, the Semi-Centennial Alumni Record, edited by Professor

159. NE, '14; 936; '18; 45-66.

160. Ibid., '18: 196, 257.

Scott, was issued.

Also to be linked up eventually with the semi-centennial was a proposed Gregory Memorial building. As conceived several years before, it was to be in honor of the first president, was to house the art collection he acquired in the 'seventies which had been shattered through various buildings, and was to be the home of the Alumni Association. The trustees assigned the site just south of Lincoln Hall, a professional solicitor was brought in, and a campaign to raise $150,000 was begun. The response was generous at first to this first large-scale alumni money-raising project; up to early 1916, $80,000 had been given or promised by three hundred alumni, and the University was ready to add more. But the death of Burrill, who had taken the lead, was a serious interruption, and the war was the final blow.

The biography of Gregory, written by his daughter Allene, was delayed in publication and did not appear until later.

James was in 1916 sixty-three years old. The celebration which would have climaxed his presidency was denied him. But his own heart for drama, which had found expression in the dedication of new buildings and new schools and colleges, was gone. During the past five years his vigor had been gradually sapped by recurring illnesses. The death of Mrs. James in 1914, and the outbreak of war with the foreign country of his closest associations, were deep personal tragedies which left their marks. In memory of Mrs. James the president placed a bronze tablet in the Auditorium and set up a student loan fund. The only campus memorial to James himself, aside from one of the bells in the chimes, is a lectureship on government, established by his daughter, Helen James.
162. The other James children are Anthony (deceased), who spent most of his life in the U. S. Navy, and Herman, '06, until 1943 president of Ohio University. A son died at the age of four.
The closing years of President James' work were disappointing to him. Ambitious plans had to be laid aside because of the war. More and more he seemed destined to advance to the verge of accomplishments but no further. His military plan was widely commended and in the main was adopted but he received little credit for it. He tried to get into direct war service but had to be content with an honorary colonelcy in the state national guard. His friends tried to make him governor and even president. Then his health failed. He offered to resign, but was given leaves of absence until it was plain that he would be able to carry on no further. His final resignation in 1920 was accepted and he went to California where he spent most of his remaining years.

During the sixteen years of the James era (1904-1920) the total available income increased from $956,472.80 to $3,725,746.18; land holdings from 633.69 acres to 1959.48; faculty from 351 to 943; books in library, from 66,239 to 420,000; enrollment, from 1,692 to 9,249; number of buildings, from twenty-three to seventy-one.

Such statistics might tend to give the impression that the main growth in the James years was material and physical, but it also was intellectual and spiritual. It rose to a higher level of scholarship, and came to lay greater emphasis on unselfish service. Performed with notable success was the task of building up an able staff of men and women with genuine teaching ability, with high ideals of scholarship, capable of carrying on important investigations themselves and of directing others.

The presidency of the University of Illinois is a large undertaking,
163. Sixteen Years at the University of Illinois, 256-258.
but it was never too large for James; indeed there were times when he felt that it was not large enough, and he reached out for more fields to conquer. As he rode horseback up and down the campus walks and peered through class room windows, and as he sat in the solitude of his office he saw visions and dreamed dreams of an Illinois far greater than he or his successors in many years would see. Though interested in almost everything, he was impatient with little matters; he liked to think in large units, in the grand style, both in his writing and speaking, sometimes coming close to the platitudinous and theatrical. He had a flair for building up and dramatizing an otherwise pale event by combining it with others and by decorating it with speakers of national eminence. To the older faculty men who held assured places in the society of scholars he brought the encouragement of generous appreciation and steady support. To the younger men he brought even greater service by his personal interest in their work, and by stirring in them something of his own discontent with mediocre standards. He had infinite faith in the ability and willingness of a democracy, properly led, to build a real university.

He was not only an educational statesman in thought and action, but he also looked the part, especially in his later years. His smile was friendly and disarming, but he could be hard and unsparing, and there was little doubt on the campus as to who was master. The faculty respected him because of his deep learning and sympathy for their problems. He was their leader. The few trustees who meddled with appointments or otherwise opposed him did embarrass him but they never stopped him, or even slowed him down. The only force that could do that was his failing health.
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He was a good blend of the dreamer and the practical man of affairs.
He could see around corners and over the heights, in a way that seemed almost uncanny at times. He was the champion of air castle builder around the campus. But in all his dreams, his forecasts of the future, he never floated so far above actualities that he couldn't get back to the ground quickly, and right side up. If the University pulse skipped a beat, the castles faded, and he was back at the helm. As David Kinley pointed out, James planned largely, asked largely, and received largely. "Over and over again he skilfully turned hostile criticisms to the accomplishment of the very purposes against which they were directed."

He had emphatically great qualities as a university educator and statesman in general—his skill in judging and picking men, his ability to get along with them, and to say "me" and still keep their loyalty. One of the great educators himself, he knew where the best ones in the country were located, and the salaries they were getting. And he spoke their language.

The introduction he wrote for the semi-centennial history in early 1918 was his parting message. Looking back, he found the "prophecies of the men who labored to secure the foundations... were large and far reaching, but none of them equalled the reality...." Looking forward, he saw the Illinois of the next fifty years "still more a great center of light and life and leadership for the whole community in an ever-increasing number of direction."

"Let Illinois become one of the holy places in the history of the human spirit...."

"Let it be counted one of the very greatest because it has ministered most to the welfare of mankind."
IAN, 3 (July, 1925), 814.