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EDUCATING ILLINOIS

ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY, 1857-2007

JOHN B. FREED

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dedication

MY COLLEAGUES AND STUDENTS

foreword

On February 15, 2007, my good friend and colleague John Freed dropped a scholarly bombshell as he addressed the Illinois State Historical Society's twenty-seventh annual Illinois History Symposium, which, in celebration of our Sesquicentennial, was being held for the first time on the Illinois State University campus.

The title of Dr. Freed's plenary address was, "The Founding of Illinois State Normal University: Normal School or State University?" His presentation served as an oral preface to the first chapters of this book.

Through extensive research, Dr. Freed discovered that Illinois State was not merely intended to serve as a teacher preparation institution as earlier writings espoused and as popular thought suggests to this very day. He learned that the University's founders had a much more encompassing vision for Illinois State—a comprehensive university designed to meet the full spectrum of Illinois' growing educational needs.

Educating Illinois: Illinois State University 1857–2007, confirms that Illinois' first public university has more than achieved the goals of its founders as Dr. Freed expertly places their contributions in correct historical context. He brings to this work the same scholarly passion and precision that earned him the title of Illinois State University Distinguished Professor of History in 1991.

Those familiar with Illinois State University are treated to new information with greater detail and sharper focus. The uninitiated reader will discover how the seeds of higher learning were planted in the Central Illinois prairie and blossomed into a distinctive institution. His words evoke images and emotions that span fifteen decades, revealing periods of tranquility and times of turbulence.

The title of this book borrows from the University's strategic plan, *Educating Illinois*. The plan, developed and written with contributions from the entire University community, embraces the core values of Pursuit of Learning and Scholarship, Individualized Attention, Public Opportunity, Diversity and Civic Engagement. *Educating Illinois: Illinois State University 1857–2007* brings each of these values to life and positions the institution as its founders intended—the premier public university in Illinois.

On a personal note, I also want to thank Dr. Freed for yet another personal contribution to Illinois State University. His work on this book was done without compensation but with the respect and caring he has always shown to Illinois State University.

Al Bowman
President, Illinois State University

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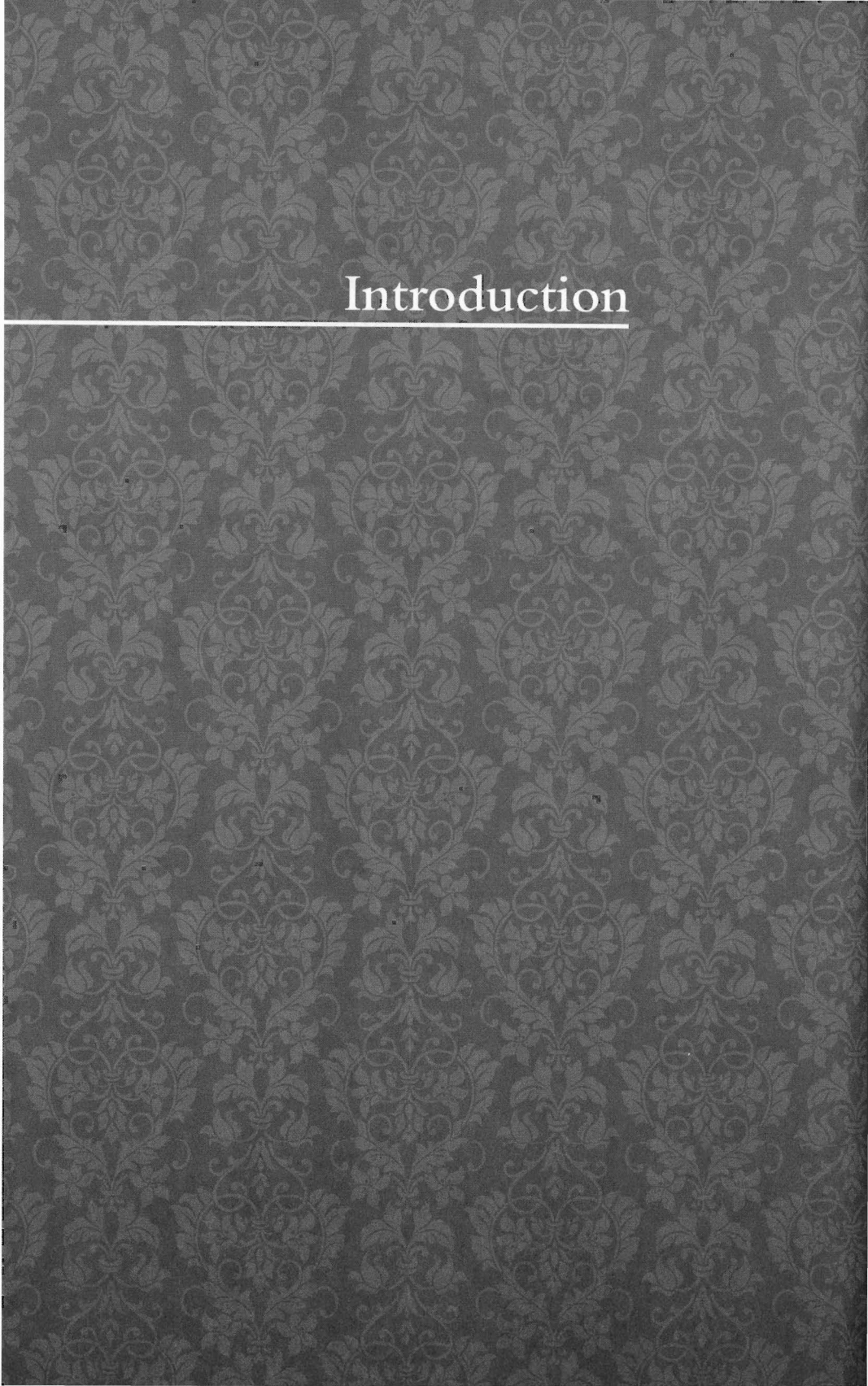
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Introduction

In 2000 Illinois State University adopted “Educating Illinois,” the strategic plan that has guided its destiny ever since. This document reaffirms the founders’ radical vision that Illinois State should become a university that provides all the citizens of Illinois, even African Americans, with both an academic and a practical education. Jonathan Baldwin Turner’s and Jesse Fell’s dream of establishing the nation’s first land grant institution in Normal failed, but after the Industrial University, the original name of the University of Illinois, was awarded to Urbana in 1867, the Normal University occupied a unique place in American public education. Since Illinois, unlike its neighbors, until the end of the nineteenth century lacked a real state university and since there were few high schools in the State before 1900, students, especially women, who wished to pursue an education beyond the eighth grade or to obtain a liberal arts education came to Normal, which advertised that it was a preparatory school for Harvard. During the 1890s the University became the conduit for the reception of the most advanced German pedagogical theories in the United States.

Normal’s longest serving president, David Felmley (president, 1900–30), a committed democrat with both a capital and a lower case *d*, believed that all students, not merely the college-bound, were entitled to a high school education and that normal schools were the appropriate venue to prepare them. Consequently, he led the fight, largely alone, both in Illinois and in the nation, to turn the normal schools into teachers colleges; and in 1907, fifty years after its foundation, Normal became a four-year baccalaureate institution. Raymond Fairchild (1933–55) broadened the school’s mission, in spite of the opposition of the College of Education at the University of Illinois, to include graduate education and the preparation of Special Education teachers, an area where the University is still nationally acclaimed, but failed to perceive that the Normal University needed to become a multi-purpose institution if it were to serve the educational aspirations of the World War II veterans and their children. It must be said in Fairchild’s defense and of faculty members like Helen Marshall, the author of the University’s centennial history, who concurred with him, that the demand for teachers, as the baby boomers swamped the public schools, exceeded Normal’s ability to prepare them.

The bitter battle to drop Normal from the University’s name was the symbolic issue in the arguments about the University’s future. The name change became official on January 1, 1964, just before the first baby boomers arrived that fall in Normal. Two years later the Illinois Board of Higher Education (IBHE) determined that Illinois State should become a liberal arts university, offering doctoral work

in the traditional academic areas where there was a great need for college-level teachers. It soon became clear, during the increasing turmoil of the late 1960s, that the State did not have the fiscal resources to implement that plan and that the IBHE had greatly overestimated the demand for new Ph.D.'s. Accordingly, the IBHE reasserted in 1971 Illinois State's teacher preparatory mission, at the very moment when the market for additional K-12 teachers was declining sharply. The University lacked for the next two decades a clear institutional mission, and the stagflation of the 1970s and 1980s and the State's recurring fiscal crises drained the school of resources. The faculty was badly demoralized during these decades, and the students sought "relevance" in vocational programs and escape in beer and drugs.

Thomas Wallace, the University's most controversial president (1988–95), recognized that Illinois State could no longer rely on state funding but had to seek external financial support and to raise tuition if it hoped to improve. The University has pursued that course ever since, and today tuition provides a greater share of the University's income than the annual state appropriation. The increasing reliance on tuition and the raising of admission requirements and academic standards, as the University positions itself to be the State's "Public Ivy," have transformed the school. It and the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana are the only two public universities with statewide missions. Illinois State enjoys today a degree of internal harmony that would have seemed inconceivable during the last three decades of the twentieth century, and it has gained the respect and support of the community. In the more than forty years since the name change, Illinois State has ceased to recruit most of its students, many of modest means, from the farms and small towns of Central Illinois and has become the school of choice for the affluent, better prepared children of the Chicago suburbs. The danger is that the "people's university" of the nineteenth century, the school that provided first generation college students in the twentieth century with the springboard for upward social mobility, will become in the twenty-first century an institution that is not representative, either racially or economically, of the people of Illinois.

When President Victor J. Boschini, Jr. (1999–2003) asked me in 2000 to write the sesquicentennial history of the University, I hesitated. I am a European medievalist who had done no work in American history, and several of my colleagues were clearly better qualified. I finally agreed because I needed something to do after I retired in June 2005, and a venture into a new academic area appeared to be a good way to enter this phase in my life. I was aware that there had been several earlier histories of the University, most notably Helen Marshall's oft-cited *Grandest*

of *Enterprises* (1956), and that she and then my colleagues, Roger Champagne and Mark Wyman, had written four supplementary decadal histories to continue the story after the centennial. My initial plan was to synthesize these earlier accounts, to bring the story up-to-date, and to situate the narrative in the broader context of the history of higher education and American history in general.

I soon realized that things would not be quite so easy. Neither Champagne nor Wyman had supplied any footnotes. Champagne explained why he had not included a scholarly apparatus: "I quickly discovered that the archives of the University's recent past are not in a strict sense archives at all, but rather the working files of various offices scattered over the campus. . . . Because of the dispersed and unorganized nature of the recent documentary record, therefore, it did not seem to me that the usual citations and references to sources would be a meaningful exercise."¹ I have tried to footnote everything I say—readers may well think I overdid it—so that future users will know where to look for additional information. I confess, however, that in the case of the 1960s I have often cited Champagne's undocumented account of the disruptions, much of which he witnessed personally, because I relied on his reconstruction of events and because a reader can easily consult *The Pantagraph* and *Vidette* on their own.

A more disturbing discovery was that there were deliberate distortions and omissions in Marshall's history and in Charles A. Harper's *Development of the Teachers College in the United States with special reference to the Illinois State Normal University* (1935), the latter, the first account of the University's history written by a professional historian. Marshall relied extensively on Harper's material but gave it a literary flair without correcting his tendentious narrative. (The University had previously published collections of historical materials in conjunction with the twenty-fifth and fiftieth anniversaries of its foundation in 1882 and 1907, respectively.) Harper and Marshall prevaricated, for example, about why the school had been called from its inception a university, the only normal school in the United States in the 1850s that bore such a designation. There were other unexplained or ignored incongruities, as well: the charge in the 1857 act that the school teach "agricultural chemistry, animal and vegetable physiology;" the grand scale of Old Main and the Quad; and the Board of Education's sponsorship of John Wesley Powell's expeditions to the Rocky Mountains and the Grand Canyon. None of these things made sense if the school's function was simply to provide men and women with sufficient training so they could teach reading, writing, and arithmetic in a one-room country school.

Here my training as a medievalist was, unexpectedly, invaluable. Medieval chroniclers were notorious plagiarists, and spotting what they chose to include and exclude from their narratives often reveals significant changes in the larger society and in the writers' agenda. For instance, both Harper and Marshall ignored an extraordinary off-the-cuff statement made by Samuel Moulton, the man who secured the passage of the 1857 act in the House and who then served on the University's governing board for twenty-four years. In 1897, at the fortieth anniversary of the school's foundation, Moulton revealed that: "The opposition to such a university was great. The great struggle was as to whether the colored people should receive any benefits of the school law and the university act. In the school act of 1854 [*sic*] the word 'white' was before 'children.' It remained in the normal act, and was only removed after the civil war."² Only abolitionists like Turner and Fell would have insisted in 1857 that African Americans were entitled to an education, and by 1897, a year after the Supreme Court's ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, upholding separate but equal facilities, Moulton's words were an "inconvenient truth." Some things, like the founders' radical commitment to equal rights for African Americans, were better left unsaid in Harper's and Marshall's laudatory histories that were intended to present the Normal University in the most favorable way.

Both members of the University's Social Science Department had good reasons to argue that the founders had planned from the start to establish a normal school and to suppress the evidence that the foundation of the normal school had been a stopgap measure until Congress provided the land grant that would make it possible for Illinois to open an agricultural and engineering school in Normal. Harper's history was a defense of the University's right to prepare high school teachers, which the University of Illinois was still challenging in the 1930s; and the aptly-named Felmley was, in Harper's telling, another David who had fought the Goliath in Urbana. It was important to prove that the preparation of secondary school teachers had been included in the 1857 mandate to train teachers for the common schools. By the time Marshall wrote her history in the mid-1950s, the Normal University was the only teachers college in Illinois and one of the last in the United States that still insisted that the preparation of teachers was its sole mission. She could hardly show that the founders had a broader vision without undercutting the University's official stance.

Finally, while nearly two hundred American state colleges and universities were originally normal schools—the others in Illinois are Southern (Carbondale), Northern, Eastern, Western, and the two successors of the Chicago Teachers College, Chicago State and Northeastern—historians of American higher

education have largely ignored these institutions where a sizeable portion of Americans obtain today their post-secondary education.³ The standard history of the American university begins with a glance back at its medieval precursors and then picks up the story with the founding of the colonial colleges, the post-revolutionary denominational colleges, the state universities, the land grant universities, the emergence of the research university, and the post-World War II expansion of higher education. Since normal schools were not four-year institutions and since most became teachers colleges only during the interwar period, they have no obvious place in such sweeping narratives. Besides, they were predominantly female institutions—Normal always attracted more men than most such schools; and many of their women graduates, if they even completed the four-year, baccalaureate program, taught school for only a year or two before they married and became housewives. It was hardly necessary to waste pen and paper on them or their schools.

Let me cite two examples of how the normal schools/teachers colleges have been treated in the standard accounts of American higher education. In his 516-page book, not counting the index, *The American College and University: A History*, Frederick Rudolph wrote: “Teachers colleges, outgrowth of onetime normal schools of high-school level, now moved toward full collegiate status.”⁴ That’s it, at least according to the index. In comparison, Christopher J. Lucas’ 375-page *American Higher Education: A History* is verbose.

The development of the normal school as an institution dedicated to teacher education affords a prime example. Teaching seminaries and normal schools had long concentrated their efforts on the training of classroom practitioners for the lower schools. Successive name changes over time pointed to their evolution in an entirely new direction, however. Thus, the “normal school” of the 1890s, which up until then had been little more than a glorified high school, became the “state teachers’ college” of the teens and twenties. A few decades later, it had become the “state college.” Eventually, much expanded, it took pride in being the “state university.”⁵

Since Illinois State Normal University was probably the most important and influential such institution in the United States—and I am not just indulging in filiiopieté—and since more currently practicing teachers in the United States, 4 percent, are graduates of Illinois State than any other college or university,⁶ a history of this school is paradigmatic for this crucial but neglected type of institution.

While I have been at times angry, especially at the follies of administrators, and at other times proud, I cannot be neutral about an institution where I have so

far spent nearly forty years of my life. As a medievalist I am accustomed to write about men who have been dead for eight hundred or one thousand years, but I cannot have the same objectivity about President Samuel Braden (1967–70), who took a keen personal interest in my professional development and who attended my father's memorial service. I witnessed and/or participated in some of the more recent events that I describe. It would be hypocritical to profess detachment, but I have indicated my personal feelings, where they are relevant—for example, that I opposed the attempts to unionize the faculty—so that readers can take into account my personal biases in making their own judgment.

Writing the history of a university involves choices about what should be included. It can easily turn into a multi-volume history. The first volume of Winton U. Solberg's monumental history of the University of Illinois, covering the period from 1867 to 1894, was published in 1968; the second volume that deals with the next decade appeared in 2000. At that rate I would not be done with this history in time for the bicentennial, assuming that I will still be of sound mind at the age of 113. If I was to finish the book in reasonable proximity to the sesquicentennial, I needed to limit what sources I read and what I recorded. For example, I have not spent much time on athletics. Since the book will serve as a reference work, I have tried to indicate, for instance, when specific buildings were constructed and at what cost. I have made extensive use of quotations so that a reader has a chance to hear the participants' own voices.

I have relied greatly, as will become readily apparent to anyone who glances at the footnotes, on the official proceedings of the University's successive governing boards (there have been six so far). I am probably the only person who has ever read 150 years of board records. (My hope is that an indulgence is attached to such an act of penance.) Inevitably, this has produced a history that focuses heavily on administrative, institutional history; but my choice of sources was not totally arbitrary. Until the Teachers College Board forced President Fairchild to establish the University Council in 1951, the faculty had no meaningful voice in the governance of the University. The president, subject to the Board's approval, ran the school. He was, ideally, an enlightened despot. Felmley's simplified spelling rules, for example, became normative in University publications. In the nineteenth century the Board of Education selected the textbooks, and the Board continued to micromanage the University's affairs until the 1950s. For instance, it approved in 1951 Fairchild's annual requisition of light bulbs; and as late as 1958 it authorized Robert Bone (1956–67) to spend \$1,452.36 for paper cups for use in the student union.⁷ Until the 1960s every hire, including biographical information, and the

annual salary of every employee were recorded in the Board proceedings. A lot of history is buried in the minutes. More fundamentally, it is impossible to understand the evolution of Illinois State after the name change without understanding the impact that the erosion in state funding has had on the institution.

One of the great pleasures in undertaking this project is that I have had the opportunity to work with many individuals, some of whom I might not otherwise have met. With a few notable exceptions, nearly everyone I asked was eager to help and, if they did not know the answer to my query, to steer me to someone who might know. I apologize if I have inadvertently omitted someone's name, and I ask your pardon.

The staff at Milner Library was always eager to assist me, and I want to single out for special mention the following individuals: Angela Bonnell, Maureen Brunsdale, Nancy Kauth, Sharon Naylor, and Bruce Stoffel. Jo Ann Rayfield, the University archivist, and James Cunningham, her assistant, were extraordinarily helpful. I have known Jo since 1969 and for more than two decades we had adjoining offices; she knows more about the University's history than anyone else. Jim spent countless hours tracking down and verifying obscure information, particularly in *The Pantagraph* and the *Vidette*. President Bowman provided the funds to hire three graduate students, David Frost, Jason Kaplan, and Dana Pertermann, who worked under Jo's directions, on such tasks as determining the gender profile of the faculty in the Normal University. Fortuitously, my daughter Jenny was assigned to the Illinois History and Lincoln Collections while she was enrolled between 2005 and 2007 in the master's program in Library Science at the University of Illinois, and I imposed on her repeatedly, as only a father can, to find information for me. In addition, she prepared the index. If Jenny was stumped, her boss, John Hoffmann, the director of the collections, was always ready to help out. I am grateful for the assistance I received from the following administrators, faculty, and staff members, some of whom are retired, and alumni: Jana Albrecht, Paul Baker, William Blomgren, Charles Boudreau, Stephen M. Bragg, Raymond Cohn, Anthony Crubaugh, Donna Eichstaedt, Robin Gould, Sharon Griffin, Jay Groves, Sandra Harmon, Rickey Dean Kentzler, Sandra Krumtinger, Louis Miglio, Kay Moss, Mark Plummer, Jonathan Rosenthal, Sara Schickel, Jayne Shindel, Rodger Tarr, Roberta Trites, and Cameo Wonnell. I owe a great deal to Faith Ten Haken, a secretary in the History Department, who solved many of my word processing problems and helped with the preparation of the final manuscript.

Others, outside the immediate University community, who were extremely helpful were: Robert Eckley, President Emeritus of Illinois Wesleyan University

and an expert on Lincoln's friend, Leonard Swett; Eric Fair, a former student who is now the Archives Librarian at the Champaign County Historical Archives; Gregory Koos, the Executive Director, and William Kemp, the Librarian-Archivist, of the McLean County Historical Society; John Muirhead of the Bloomington-Normal Black History Project; Carol Reitan, the former mayor of Normal; and Linda Unterman, the librarian of Moses Montefiore Temple in Bloomington. I am especially grateful to Constance K. Roudebush and her sister Joan Allen, who provided me with a copy of the unpublished memoir of their father John A. Kinneman, a longtime member and chair of the Social Science Department, and for permission to use it. A copy of the memoir has been deposited in the University Archives. They also supplied me with a copy of Andrew Dinniman's unpublished dissertation about the 1927 controversy at the West Chester Normal School in Pennsylvania that led to their father's dismissal and move to Normal.

My retired colleagues, Lawrence Walker and Mark Wyman, read and commented on the entire manuscript. Larry was my mentor when I came to Illinois State and has read nearly everything I have written over the years. Mark, the son of one of the Normal University's most distinguished graduates, grew up with a love for this school and is one of its most beloved and respected faculty members. President Lloyd Watkins (1977–88) and President David Strand (1995–99) read and provided useful additions to the chapters that dealt with their presidencies. Carl Kasten, a loyal alumnus, a member of the Board of Regents, and until this year the chair of the Board of Trustees, looked at the material that deals with the controversies that surrounded the transition between the two boards. President Bowman read drafts of the manuscript as I was writing the book and encouraged me to persevere. Lisa Huson, the University's General Counsel, Richard Dammers, Professor Emeritus of English and the retired assistant to the President, and Susan Blystone, the assistant director of University Marketing and Communications, read the final draft for accuracy and style. Finally, I want to thank my most critical reader, my wife Susan, who has taught at Illinois Wesleyan for more than three decades and who has been both an external and internal observer of Illinois State's recent history.

It is only appropriate that I dedicate *Educating Illinois* to my colleagues and students.

Normal, Illinois
January 2008

ENDNOTES

1. Roger J. Champagne, *A Place of Education: Illinois State University, 1967–1977* (Normal, 1978), p. vi.
2. Cited by Manfred J. Holmes, "The Celebrations of the School," in John A. H. Keith, ed., *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University 1857–1907* (Normal, 1907), pp. 187–88.
3. Christine A. Ogren, *The American State Normal School: "An Instrument of Great Good"* (New York, 2005), back cover. She offers a list on pp. 213–35.
4. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York, 1965), p. 464.
5. Christopher J. Lucas, *American Higher Education: A History* (New York, 1994), p. 187.
6. *Vidette*, August 31, 2006, p. 3.
7. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board of the State of Illinois*, December 17, 1951, p. 195; and September 19, 1958, p. 98.



Section One

THE NORMAL UNIVERSITY, 1857-1867

Upon the subject of education, not presuming to dictate any plan or system respecting it, I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we as a people may be engaged in. That every man may receive at least, a moderate education . . . appears to be an object of vital importance . . . For my part, I desire to see the time when education, and by its means, morality, sobriety, enterprise and industry, shall become more general than at present, and should be gratified to have it in my power to contribute something to the advancement of any measure which might have a tendency to accelerate the happy period.

Abraham Lincoln, March 9, 1832.¹

Introduction

On February 18, 1857, Governor William H. Bissell (1811–60) signed the act establishing Illinois State Normal University. The statute created a fourteen-member board known as “The Board of Education of the State of Illinois” as the legal entity that owned and governed the new institution. The board members, who were named in the act, were to serve without remuneration staggered six-year terms; and the Superintendent of Public Instruction, who was to report regularly to the legislature about “the conditions and expenditures” of the University, was to serve as its *ex officio* fifteenth member. At its first meeting the Board was to elect one of its members as president and to appoint a non-member as treasurer; these individuals were to serve two-year terms. The Board had the power to appoint and to remove for cause upon ten days’ notice “a principal, lecturer on scientific subjects, instructors and instructresses,” to fix their salaries, and to prescribe their duties. It also had the authority to select the textbooks, equipment, and furniture to be used at the new institution. The purpose of the University was:

to qualify teachers for the common schools of the State, by imparting instruction in the art of teaching, and all branches of study which pertain to the common school education; in the elements of the natural sciences, including agricultural chemistry, animal and vegetable physiology; in the fundamental laws of the United States and the State of Illinois, in regard to the rights and duties of citizens, and such other studies as the board of education may, from time to time, prescribe.

After an appropriate examination of the applicants, each county was entitled to send one “pupil” to the “normal university.” Each state representative district could also select the number of pupils equal to its representatives to attend the University. These students were to receive free tuition, provided that “he or she” signed a declaration that they would teach in the public schools of Illinois; if they failed to honor that commitment, the Board could seek reimbursement. Thus from its inception the faculty and student body of the University were expected to include both men and women.

To maintain the University, the state treasury would pay to it “(t)he interest of the university and seminary fund, or such part thereof as may be found necessary.” None of these funds could be applied to the purchase of a site for the University or for the construction of its buildings. Instead, the Board was to invite communities to compete and to locate the University in the town that offered “the most favorable inducements.”²

This curious act, which established the oldest public university in Illinois, was intended to supply the state with teachers for its common schools. After a thirty-year campaign Illinois had been in 1855 the last Free State to create a system of free public instruction reserved, after some debate, for white children exclusively.³ The passage of the School Law of 1855 caused an explosive growth in the number of schools and a concomitant need for properly trained teachers. At the end of 1854, 79 Illinois counties reported that they had a total of 4,215 schools; two years later, there were 7,694 schools in 95 counties.⁴ The Normal University was founded to meet that need; indeed, the 1857 statute stipulated that it was to “be published and distributed as an appendix to the school law.” But what kind of one-room country school taught “the fundamental laws of the United States,” or “agricultural chemistry” and “animal and vegetable physiology”?

Illinois had been equally slow in establishing a state university, and the founders hoped, when funds became available, to expand the new institution into a state university offering instruction in a variety of disciplines. By 1850 all of Illinois’ neighbors and sister states in the Old Northwest had established such institutions: Ohio (1802), Indiana (1828), Michigan and Kentucky (1837), Missouri (1839), Iowa (1847), and Wisconsin (1848).⁵ These universities were largely indistinguishable in their curriculum and faculty from the small, struggling, sectarian colleges that dotted the countryside and were in comparable financial difficulty. Their curriculum was based on the Yale Report of 1828 that emphasized the teaching of the classical languages and mathematics as instruments to train the mental faculties.⁶ Many of the presidents and professors were clergymen. Ohio University, Miami of Ohio, and Indiana were, for example, Presbyterian schools in all but name; and the regents of the University of Michigan sought initially to avoid such denominational control by appointing as professors a Methodist, a Baptist, a Presbyterian, and an Episcopalian minister and by having the presidency rotate annually among them. Daily chapel attendance was also compulsory for students at Michigan. (Illinois was thus unusual in 1857 in not appointing a single clergyman to the Board of the Normal University.) Indiana did not receive its first direct state grant until 1867, and Ohio University and Miami had to wait until 1877 and 1885, respectively, for their first state appropriations.⁷ Illinois may have been retrograde, but it had also lost little by being slow.

By the 1850s educational reformers in the North were criticizing the colleges, public and private, for not responding to the needs of a society that was being transformed by rapid technological changes, the construction of canals and railroads, urbanization, industrialization, the growth of commerce, and immigration. There were mounting demands that the colleges teach modern languages, the natural sciences, and engineering. The most outspoken critic of the antebellum colleges in Illinois was Jonathan Baldwin Turner (1805–99).^{*} Like an Old Testament prophet, he had aroused the state in an address on November 18, 1851, at Granville in Putnam County, calling for the establishment of an industrial university that would teach agriculture and the mechanical arts for the benefit of the productive classes of the State.⁸ His summons ignited a debate about the nature of higher education in Illinois and whether it was a public or private responsibility—indeed what public or private even meant in such a context.

^{*} Turner Hall was named for him in 1962.

The Act of 1857 was a product of that controversy. The founders projected upon the new University their own disparate visions for the future of higher education in the state. Writing in 1888 as the elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction and, thus, the *ex officio* secretary of the Board, Richard Edwards (1822–1908), who had been the second president of the Normal University (1862–76),[†] said:

At that time [1857] the idea entertained concerning the character of the institution was very vague. In some minds the notion was that it would be a high grade literary university. Others, and many belonged to this class, had a vague expectation that it was to be an agricultural school of high character. Until the establishment of the university at Champaign, it was indeed the general expectation that a department of agriculture would be inaugurated at Normal. Others still thought they were laboring for the establishment of a training school for teachers.⁹

John H. Burnham, Class of 1861 and the first director of the Illinois State Historical Society, enunciated an even more grandiose vision in 1882 at the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the University's foundation. "The intention was to gather around the new institution the different colleges,—classical, agricultural, industrial, law, medical, and the other departments of a university,—until, in the end, the State should have here a grand university, equal to any in the land. The full design has not been carried out, but there are many who still have hopes that the future may yet see its realization."¹⁰ Few shared such a dream in 1857 and it was a totally unrealistic hope by the 1880s, but Burnham was probably expressing the aspirations of Jesse W. Fell (1808–87),[‡] who was responsible for the location of the University in what was known in 1857 as North Bloomington.¹¹

Only if we realize that it was never the founders' intention to establish merely a normal school can we understand many of the peculiarities of the early history of Illinois State Normal University, among others: its designation as a normal university, the only normal school in the country that was called a university; the legislative mandate to teach "agricultural chemistry, animal and vegetable physiology;" the design of Old Main and the Quad; the first faculty hires; and the Board's sponsorship of John Wesley Powell's expeditions to the Rockies and the Grand Canyon. As the historian Jurgen Herbst has put it, the Normal University was from 1857 to 1867 "for all intents and purposes the state university of Illinois."¹²

I will relate in this section the story of the University's establishment, examine the founders' intention to make the normal school the nucleus for Turner's land grant university when federal funding became available, why they failed to execute their plan, and how that failure caused subsequent historians to rewrite the foundation narrative.

[†] The Industrial Arts Building, now the location of the Mennonite College of Nursing, was named for Edwards in 1962.

[‡] Fell Hall was named for him in 1918.

ENDNOTES

1. Abraham Lincoln, "To the People of Sangamo [sic] County," *Speeches and Writings 1832–1858: Speeches, Letters, and Miscellaneous Writings; The Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (New York, 1989), pp. 1–5. On May 7, 1999, the University named the West Gate to the campus "the Abraham Lincoln Gate because of the strong association of Abraham Lincoln with and his contribution to Illinois State University in its very early years." *Illinois State University Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, May 7, 1999*, p. 189.

2. "An Act for the establishment and maintenance of a Normal University," in *Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Twentieth General Assembly, Convened January 5, 1857* (Springfield, 1857), Public Laws, pp. 298–301. The act was reprinted in *The Illinois School Law: 1889–1895. An Act to Establish and Maintain a System of Free Schools, Approved May 21, 1889* (Springfield, 1895), pp. 105–108. This collection also contains the laws establishing the normal schools at Carbondale, Charleston, and DeKalb. The text of the act can also be found in John W. Cook and James V. McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Illinois* (Normal, 1882), pp. 2–3. This history is available on line at Milner Library, Illinois State University. This text of the statute was slightly modernized; for example, "county superintendent" was substituted for "school commissioner" in the original act.

There have been several fruitless attempts to find the original charter allegedly granted to the University, but there is no evidence that such a document ever existed. The source of the confusion may be the imprecise words in the "Autobiography of Gen. C. E. Hovey," originally published in the *Schoolmaster* in 1869 and republished in Cook and McHugh. Hovey said: "We had got a charter" (p. 40) and the legislature might "even repeal the charter itself" (p. 41). There is, however, another, perhaps farfetched, possibility. An act of February 28, 1867, declared that the University was "a state institution, and the property, real, personal and mixed, in the hands and standing in the name of the board of education of the state of Illinois, is the property of the state of Illinois. . ." *Public Laws of the State of Illinois, Passed by the Twenty-Fifth General Assembly Convened January 7, 1867* (Springfield, 1867), p. 21. In contrast, the 1857 act had vested possession of the University's property in the Board. It is thus conceivable that the Board as a quasi-public institution rather than the University obtained a charter, but if there was such a document, there is no evidence that it exists today.

3. Ninian W. Edwards, the first superintendent of schools, said on December 10, 1854, that every other Free State had such a system. *Illinois Office of Superintendent of Schools, Biennial Report 1855* (Springfield, 1855), p. 8.

4. John Williston Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois: Growth and Progress in Educational Affairs of the State from the Earliest Day to the Present with Portraits and Biographies* (Chicago, 1912), pp. 53, 78.

5. Winton U. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894: An Intellectual and Cultural History* (Urbana, 1968), p. 6.

6. On the Yale Report, see Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636* (San Francisco, 1977), pp. 65–72.

7. Jurgen Herbst, "The Development of Public Universities in the Old Northwest," in Paul H. Mattingly and Edward W. Stevens, Jr., eds. ". . . Schools and The Means of Education Shall Forever Be Encouraged:" *A History of Education in the Old Northwest, 1787–1880* (Athens, Ohio, 1987), pp. 116–18.

8. The classic work on Turner is the hagiographic biography by his daughter, Mary Turner Carriel, the second woman to serve as a trustee of the University of Illinois: *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner* (1911; reprint, Urbana, 1961).

9. "Report of the State Board of Education," *Seventeenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, July 1, 1886–June 30, 1888* (Springfield, 1889), pp. LV–LVI.

10. John H. Burnham, "Location and Construction," in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 17. On Burnham, see John A. H. Keith, ed., *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University 1857–1907* (Normal, 1907), p. 252.

11. The standard biography of Fell is Frances Milton I. Morehouse, *The Life of Jesse W. Fell, in University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* 5/2 (June 1916). See also Morehouse, "Jesse W. Fell," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* 21 (1915): 71–76; and Helen E. Marshall, "Jesse W. Fell: Friend of Education," *Teacher Education* 20/1 (1957): 3–35.

12. Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison, 1989), p. 112.



Section One

THE NORMAL UNIVERSITY, 1857-1867

Chapter 1

A NORMAL SCHOOL OR THE INDUSTRIAL UNIVERSITY?

Educational reformers in Illinois agreed on the need for more and better prepared teachers for the common schools but disagreed about whether they should be trained in the existing denominational colleges, at a state university, or at a separate normal school. Jonathan Baldwin Turner's call in 1851 for an industrial university, which would provide the industrious or working classes with a practical education in agriculture and engineering, altered the debate. His initial plan did not include a normal department, but Turner, in response to criticism from educators, soon added one to his proposed university. The problem was that Illinois had squandered the income from the sale of the public land it had received from the federal government to establish a secondary school and a university, so Turner proposed that Washington give each state a land grant to found an industrial university. When Congress failed to act, Turner and his supporters reluctantly agreed, as a stopgap measure, to use the State's limited resources to start a normal school, as the State's teachers were urging, because the common schools were in desperate need of qualified teachers. As the Normal University's designation as a university indicates, the school's founders intended to turn the normal school into a real university that taught, among other things, agriculture and engineering, as soon as the necessary funds were available.

1 COMMON SCHOOLS

The thirty-year campaign to establish a common school system in Illinois and a normal school to train teachers for the public schools was part of a national movement in the antebellum period (1830–60). Common schools referred in the nineteenth century to “a tax-supported, state-regulated, tuition-free system of schools.” They were common in the sense that all children in a particular area, regardless of their parents' economic and social status, were expected to attend the same school and to receive an education that inculcated republican morality. While the traditional account of the establishment of such schools in the Old Northwest has been told as a tale of New England immigrants, like Jonathan Baldwin Turner, bringing their appreciation for education to the Ohio valley, where they encountered opposition from the earlier settlers, like Lincoln's father who came from the Upland South and who did not share the New Englanders' values, the reality is that reformers in the Northeast and in the Middle West were laboring simultaneously to further their agenda and were in contact with one another.¹

Basic literacy was widespread among white men in colonial America because Protestants, especially the predominant Calvinists, stressed the reading of the Bible. By the Revolution most children, including an increasing number of women, received some schooling; but education was voluntary and a responsibility shared by the family and church as well as the schools. The New England colonies made some efforts to require the towns to operate schools, but these laws were not enforced. During the early national period (1780–1830) some rudimentary schooling became nearly universal in rural areas in the Northeast. Most girls obtained an elementary education because it was believed that it would make

them better wives and mothers. Children attended district schools run by the locality for two or three months a year when they were not needed to work on the farm. Teaching was a part-time occupation that required no training and that paid little. Pupils of all ages sat in the same room, used whatever books were available at home, and mainly memorized and recited the texts they studied. The schools were supported by a combination of property taxes, tuition payments, such contributions in kind as firewood, and some state aid.

While this emphasis on rural local control reinforced the children's parental culture, the purpose of the urban charity schools that provided a free education for poor and immigrant children was to introduce the children to a culture and values different from the ones they experienced at home, that is, to be an instrument in Americanization and, indirectly, bourgeois enculturation. Many immigrants who settled in the cities could not afford to send their children to school and resented such forced assimilation, so that literacy was not as widespread in the cities as in rural areas. Nevertheless, these charity schools provided the pedagogical and organizational model for the public schools, though they long retained the stigma of their charitable origins. In some cases these charitable institutions developed directly into the public schools. For example, in New York City the Free School Society became in 1825 the Public School Society after persuading the city council to stop providing financial support to denominational schools; and by 1835 the Society was running many primary schools and fifteen more advanced departments. Children from wealthier urban families attended private, church affiliated schools.²

Reformers, most famously Horace Mann (1796–1859), who in 1837 became the first secretary of the State Board of Education of Massachusetts, and Henry Barnard (1811–1900), who held a comparable position in Connecticut and Rhode Island in the late 1830s and '40s, attacked the poor quality of instruction in the district schools and castigated their ill-prepared teachers. (After the Civil War Barnard became the first United States Commissioner of Education.) Inspired by the model of Prussia, Mann and Barnard advocated the professionalization of teaching and a system of tuition-free schools for all children under centralized state control. Such common schools were deemed to be essential for the preservation of republican institutions of government and the strengthening of public morality based on non-denominational, evangelical Protestant beliefs.

Growing integration of the countryside into the commercial economy and the perceived growth of vice in the burgeoning cities, owing to urbanization and non-British immigration, aided the reformers' case. While both Whigs and Democrats favored the establishment of common schools, the movement fit better into the Whig program of government intervention in the economy and society, as manifested, for instance, in the building of canals and railroads and in the regulation of public morality through the promotion of temperance, than into the Democratic, Jacksonian ideology of limited government and individual freedom. The reformers' opponents included: defenders of local control of education; taxpayers who did not wish to pay for the education of other people's children; Southerners; immigrants, many of whom were Catholics, who perceived the public schools as a threat to their faith and ethnic heritage; and blacks, who were excluded or forced to accept inferior segregated schools. Despite such opposition,

northern states were by the late 1830s beginning to establish common school systems.³

Illinois was part of this national educational reform movement. Under the Articles of Confederation Congress had passed the Land Ordinance of 1785, which directed surveyors to set up townships, six miles by six miles in size, divided into thirty-six one-mile-square sections of 640 acres each. Section 16 in every township was to be reserved "for the maintenance of public schools within the said township." In the case of Illinois the land dedicated to education amounted to 985,066 acres, an area larger than the state of Rhode Island.⁴ This was a princely grant, but it was more a device to encourage settlement than a way to support schools. Few people were interested in leasing land in a vast wilderness, and the states mismanaged the congressional beneficence. Illinois began selling its land in 1831 without congressional authorization for a minimum amount of \$1.25 an acre. (Congress retroactively legalized the State's actions in 1842.)⁵ In the end property taxes rather than the income from the federal land grants provided the principal source of revenue for the schools.⁶ In 1890 Illinois spent more money, in absolute terms, than any other state except New York on the maintenance of its public school system; but the annual income from the permanent school fund derived from land sales covered only one-tenth of the expenses.⁷

Article III of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 famously declared: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged;" but this was a declaration of principles rather than a concrete plan.⁸ The Illinois constitutions of 1818 and 1848 were silent about the State's educational obligations.

In 1825 Illinois precociously established a short-lived system of free public education for all white children between the ages of five and twenty-one. Every township with at least fifteen families was required to maintain a school that was open for at least three months a year. The State appropriated five-sixths of the income from the school fund and 2 percent of its total revenue for the support of the schools. The preamble of the Act of 1825 was a ringing declaration that the safety of the Republic depended upon an educated and virtuous citizenry:

To enjoy our rights and liberties we must understand them: their security and protection ought to be the first object of a free people: and it is a well established fact that no nation has ever continued long in the enjoyment of civil and political freedom, which was not both virtuous and enlightened: and believing that the advancement of literature has always been, and ever will be the means of developing the rights of man, that the mind of every citizen of a republic is the common property of society, and constitutes the basis of its strength and happiness; it is therefore considered the peculiar duty of a free government like ours, to extend the improvement and cultivation of the intellectual energies of the whole.⁹

The General Assembly of 1827 effectively repealed the School Law of 1825. It permitted the voters of any school district to determine whether the whole or only half of the funds required to support a school were to be raised by taxation with parents paying the balance and, even worse, that no individual could be

taxed until he had first consented in writing.¹⁰ The consequences were predictable. According to the census of 1850 there were 41,283 persons over twenty in Illinois who were illiterate; seven-eighths were native born and five-eighths of them lived south of Springfield.¹¹

The Southern born settlers of Illinois have traditionally been blamed for Illinois' failure to establish a common school system. Already in 1888, William L. Pillsbury, a graduate of Andover and Harvard, who had been the principal of the University's high school in the 1860s and the assistant state superintendent of public instruction from 1879 to 1886, began his history of the Normal University, thus: "The early settlers of Illinois came from states which did not at that time maintain any public schools. . . . The people were poor; they did not look with favor upon taxation for any purpose; and had not come to consider schools suitable objects of taxation under any circumstances."¹² Settlers who came from New England in greater numbers in the 1830s, after the opening of the Erie Canal, furthered, according to Pillsbury, the cause of education at all levels. Yet even Pillsbury had been forced to concede "that with two or three exceptions the members of the Legislature [who passed the School Law of 1825] had come from the South."¹³ The reality is that while opposition to the establishment of a common school system was stronger in the southern portions of the State, it was animated by similar motives as elsewhere in the North: dislike of taxation and of state interference in local affairs and religious and ethnic resentment of the reformers' evangelical Protestant agenda.¹⁴

The evisceration of the 1825 law unleashed a lengthy battle to provide all the children of Illinois with a free education. Already in 1832 an ambitious young politician, in his first unsuccessful bid for public office and in his first recorded political utterance, promised the voters of Sangamon County that if they elected him to the Illinois House, he would support any measure that advanced education. In typical Whig fashion Abraham Lincoln (1809–65) linked education with "morality, sobriety, enterprise, and industry."¹⁵ Educational conventions were held in 1833 and 1834 at the state capital in Vandalia to lobby the legislature, and Stephen A. Douglas (1813–61), a Democrat, served as the secretary of the second convention, a reminder that the cause of public education was not exclusively a Whig project.

The most outspoken promoter of the common schools in Illinois was a Chicago merchant, John S. Wright (1815–74), a native of Massachusetts and the owner of *The Prairie Farmer*, a newspaper that addressed both agricultural and educational issues. He called in 1844 for another educational convention in Peoria. Its petition to the legislature led to the School Law of 1845 that made the secretary of state the *ex officio* superintendent of public instruction, charged with reporting to the legislature on educational matters. The 1845 law also provided for the election in every county of a school commissioner who was to examine persons who desired to teach in the common schools and to grant them certificates. The Act of 1857 assigned to the county school commissioner the primary responsibility for selecting the pupils who were to attend the Normal University tuition free.

The secretary of state, Horace S. Cooley (1806–50), in his capacity as superintendent, appealed to the citizens of Illinois in 1848 to establish a properly organized system of schools and a separate office of superintendent.

He estimated that in 1845 there were approximately 250,000 school-age children in the State. On the basis of forty children to a schoolhouse, their instruction would require 6,250 schools and teachers; but Cooley calculated, from the incomplete reports at his disposal, that there were at most 2,000 school buildings, many of them extremely crude structures.

On December 26, 1853, educators assembled in Bloomington and established the Illinois State Teachers Association, which became in 1936 the Illinois Education Association. They decided to agitate for an elected superintendent, a free school law, and a normal school.¹⁶ In February 1854 the legislature created the elected office of superintendent of public instruction, but because of an error of dates in the bill, the governor appointed Ninian W. Edwards (1809–86), the son of former governor Ninian Edwards (1775–1833), to serve as the superintendent until the elections of 1856.

Edwards was instrumental in drafting the School Law of 1855, though he had to accept a compromise version to secure its passage in the House. Under its terms every district was required to provide a free school that was to be in session six months a year; townships were obligated to tax themselves to operate the schools; and the State levied a two-mill tax (a mill is the tenth part of a cent) on all the property in the State, whose proceeds were distributed to the counties in a manner that had been designed to gain the votes of legislators from poorer, less populated counties. Only white children were guaranteed a free education, though townships were directed to return to “persons of color,” who were included in the formula by which state funds were apportioned, any taxes collected from them by the townships but not by the State to support their own schools.¹⁷ Very few of the 1,714 black children between the ages of five and twenty-one who resided in Illinois in 1858 attended school.¹⁸

The passage of the School Law made the need for properly trained teachers more pressing than ever. The reformers had been scathing in their critique of the teachers in the locally run schools. Writing in April 1842 in the *Union Agriculturalist*, the precursor of the *Prairie Farmer*, John Wright thundered: “at least four-fifths of the teachers in the common schools of Illinois would not pass an examination in the rudiments of our English education [the non-classical curriculum] and most of them have taken to teaching because they hadn’t anything in particular to do.”¹⁹ Pillsbury was even more colorful in 1888 when he summarized the received wisdom:

but more frequently an ignorant man, who had picked up a little ‘book larnin’ which he was willing to impart to the children in exchange for the parents’ wheat, pork, hogs, beeswax, tallow, deer skins, wool and young cattle. Too often he was a shiftless, drunken straggler . . . and with muscles and cunning, could keep some neighborhood school for its short term and then move on to another where he was not known.²⁰

Individual anecdotes abound. According to *Good Old Times In McLean County*, written in 1874:

During the winter of 1836 Shelton Smith commenced going to school. His first teacher was an Irishman who made the scholars study at the top of their voices. As they shouted their lessons, he stood in the middle of the floor slapping his hands and saying: ‘Whoop boys! I’ll take ye through the *arithmetic*

[sic] in four weeks!’ This Irishman taught school until the day after Christmas, and then suddenly disappeared and was never seen again.²¹

It is important to remember that reformers, whether of medieval monasteries or early twentieth-century packinghouses, have always exaggerated the conditions they sought to remedy.

But there was some truth to the accusations. The biographies of men who became distinguished educators reveal how ill-prepared they were when they first entered the classroom and how little support they received. Charles E. Hovey (1827–97), the first principal (president) of the Normal University (1857–62), started teaching in a school in his native Vermont at fifteen, even though some of the boys were older than he was.* In 1843 he was teaching in another village whose inhabitants were caught up in the Millerite mania, the belief that Christ’s second coming was imminent. According to Hovey, “(t)hese saints . . . were quite indifferent about the progress of their children in knowledge; nor am I aware that they made any great progress.” He was accused in yet a third school of lacking the “giftie” for teaching and “the young people waxed perverse in the school room . . . with ominous looks and whisperings, social ostracism followed, then confidence fled . . .” He became a lumberjack, but in 1848, at twenty-one, he enrolled at Dartmouth and supported himself by teaching three or four months each year during the vacations. Hovey was unusual because he remained in the classroom after graduating from college. After the Civil War he followed his original intent and became a lawyer who argued cases before the United States Supreme Court.²²

The University’s second president, the Welsh-born Richard Edwards, at ten immigrated with his parents to Ohio. When he was not helping on his father’s farm, Edwards attended part-time the district school, taught by a moonlighting farmer. At sixteen Edwards was apprenticed to a carpenter, but at twenty he began teaching in a district school near Ravenna, Ohio. In the autumn of 1844 he left for Massachusetts and supported himself by teaching school until in July 1845 he enrolled in the normal school at Bridgewater.²³ Since, unlike Hovey, most college graduates taught school only before they matriculated or to earn their way through college, the reformers naturally looked toward the normal schools to supply the teachers for the common schools.

2 NORMAL SCHOOLS

The movement to create specialized schools for the preparation of teachers occurred in tandem, both in the Northeast and in Illinois, with the agitation to establish a system of common schools. In 1823 a Congregational minister, the Reverend Samuel Read Hall (1795–1877), established a private school to train teachers in Concord, Massachusetts, the first normal school in the United States. He transferred the school in 1830 to Andover, where he assumed the principalship of the newly created English department at Phillips Academy. This seminary, which existed for a dozen years, offered a three-year curriculum in the non-classical subjects taught in colleges with special training in the art of teaching and also included a preparatory school for boys. Essentially, Hall applied the model of the seminary that trained ministers to the preparation of teachers,²⁴ and, as we shall see, the Normal University would also offer a three-year curriculum and run a preparatory school.

*Hovey Hall was named for him in 1959.

In 1825 the Reverend Thomas H. Gallaudet of Hartford (1787–1851), remembered today as an educator of the deaf, and James G. Carter (1795–1849), who as a legislator secured in 1837 the passage of the act creating the State Board of Education in Massachusetts, in widely disseminated newspaper articles, called for the creation of a public seminary or institution to train teachers. Carter wrote in the *Boston Patriot*: “An institution for the education of teachers would form a part, and a very important part, of the free-school system. It would be, moreover, precisely that portion of the system, which should be under the direction of the state Because we should thus secure at once, a uniform, intelligent, and independent tribunal for decisions on the qualifications of teachers.”²⁵

In calling for a state system of normal schools, Carter and Gallaudet were looking to Europe for models. The normal school, including its name and the linking of elementary education with the inculcation of republican morality, was a product of the French Revolution. On October 30, 1794, the National Convention established in Paris the *Ecole Normale* for the training of teachers, so called, because the school was to teach the standards or norms of pedagogy. Citizens, at least twenty-one years of age, who were “already trained in useful knowledge” and who combined “pure morals, proven patriotism, and the propensities necessary for receiving and imparting instruction,” were to be sent to the capital for a normal course lasting at least four months. Carefully chosen teachers were to instruct these citizens “on the art of teaching morals and of molding the hearts of young republicans in the practice of private and public virtues” as well as the methodology prescribed by the National Convention for the teaching of reading, elementary arithmetic, French grammar, etc. After they finished the prescribed course “in this republican school,” the graduates were to return home and establish normal schools in the chief towns of their districts and to instruct male and female citizens who wished to devote themselves to teaching.²⁶

The eminent scholars who were chosen to teach the aspiring teachers delivered lectures that were far too scholarly for elementary school teachers, and the *Ecole Normale* closed in May 1795; and no normal schools were established in the provinces. The *Ecole Normale* itself reopened in 1808, but France started only in the 1820s to establish normal schools in the rest of the country.²⁷

After Napoleon defeated Prussia in 1806—the magnitude of the defeat was comparable to Hitler’s defeat of France in 1940—the kingdom began an ambitious reform program, in which the abolition of serfdom, compulsory military service, and universal education were linked. Starting in 1819 Prussia founded some forty teacher training seminaries to prepare the sons of peasants and artisans as lifelong elementary school teachers in rural areas. Secondary school teachers, who were largely recruited from the bourgeoisie, received their education in gymnasias, secondary schools that offered a classical curriculum, and in universities. The training seminaries themselves were anything but republican. They were under the control of the Lutheran and Catholic churches, depending upon the confessional makeup of the region where the seminary was located, and their curriculum was designed to preserve the social and political order. However, Prussia made considerable progress in eradicating illiteracy. In 1816, 60 percent of school-aged children attended school; by 1846, 82 percent did.²⁸

The Prussian reformers were greatly inspired by the teachings of the Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827), who had worked with poor children and who believed that the school should be modeled after the home and that the trained teacher should follow the example of the loving mother. He frowned upon the use of corporal punishment and stressed that children should learn by observation and doing rather than by engaging in rote memorization.²⁹

There was, it should be noted, a direct link between Pestalozzi and Illinois' Normal University in the person of George Bunsen (1794–1872), one of the founding members of the Board of Education. Bunsen had studied with Pestalozzi and had taught for fourteen years in his native Frankfurt at a boys' school he had established. Because of his liberal political views, Bunsen was forced to immigrate to the United States and settled in St. Clair County, where he taught school, farmed, and became the county commissioner of education. At the Constitutional Convention of 1847 Bunsen proposed, unsuccessfully, that the state establish a system of common schools and seminaries to train teachers.³⁰

In his autobiography, Charles Hovey described Bunsen as a master of primary education, who even sought the former's removal as principal because he did not share as fully Bunsen's "hobby," that is, the education of small children.³¹ Later Hovey recalled "how the most learned man of the Board, Dr. Bunsen, used to sit for hours [in the model school], sometimes whole days, watching Mary's [Mary Brooks] work, as pleased as any of the children, and apparently unconscious of the lapse of time."³² Underlying the tension between Bunsen and Hovey was the uncertainty whether the Normal University would be strictly a Prussian-style seminary training elementary teachers for rural schools or something more.

American educators first learned about the Prussian school system in 1829 with the publication of Henry Edwin Dwight's *Travels in the North of Germany*, but their major source of information was the highly favorable report of Victor Cousin (1792–1867), a professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne, who was sent in 1831 to Prussia by the French minister of Public Instruction to investigate the Prussian educational system. Cousin was impressed by the seminaries' moral and spiritual qualities rather than by their academic standards or intellectual atmosphere. An English translation of Cousin's work was published first in London in 1834 and then in New York in 1835, and the reformers immediately adopted the term *normal school*, a literal translation of *école normale*, Cousin's designation for the Prussian seminaries.³³

Between 1835 and 1843 several American educators in turn visited Europe and wrote about continental educational practices. In addition to Henry Barnard and Horace Mann, Alexander Dallas Bache (1806–67), a great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin who became after 1843 the director of the United States Coast Survey, and Calvin E. Stowe (1802–86), an Ohio educator best known today as the husband of the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Harriet Beecher Stowe, made such tours to learn about public education, especially about elementary schools, orphanages, and the education of the poor.³⁴ Mann declared: "Arrange the most highly civilized and conspicuous nations of Europe in their due order of precedence, as it regards the education of their people, and the kingdoms of Prussia and Saxony, together with several of the western and south-western [*sic*] states of the Germanic confederation

would undoubtedly stand preeminent, both in regard to the quantity and quality of education.”³⁵

The reformers’ Prussiophilia, at least in educational matters, was shared by the founders of the Normal University. After Hovey and another Board member, Dr. George P. Rex, visited Eastern normal and high schools in the spring of 1857, they reported to the Board: “The work of preparing teachers should begin in preparatory normal schools and be completed in high or normal schools proper as it is done in Prussia and Germany.”³⁶

Leonard Swett (1825–89), a Bloomington lawyer who pledged \$3,000 to procure the location of the University in North Bloomington, spoke in his 1857 Fourth of July address about the Normal University that had just been awarded to the community. (Swett, along with Jesse Fell and Judge David Davis [1813–86], secured in 1860 Lincoln’s nomination for the presidency.) The orator pointed out that the only way the nation’s liberties could be perpetuated was by making the people intelligent. In Bloomington alone there were, Swett said, some eighteen hundred children between the ages of four and twenty, of whom only some eight hundred were attending the public schools. According to the Bloomington *The Pantagraph*, “Mr. S. spoke of the first organization of Normal Schools in this country; the visit of Horace Mann to Europe, under the authority of the State of Massachusetts; his finding in Prussia alone some 130 Normal Schools, and finding there in consequence, the best system of education and the most generally educated people; of the establishment of four schools of this character in Massachusetts . . .”³⁷

The irony of citing autocratic, Protestant Prussia as a republican model was not lost upon critics of the common and normal school movements; for example, the Catholic bishop of New York, John Hughes (1797–1864; later the first archbishop of the city), spoke in 1840 of the common-school idea spreading “from the dark regions of Prussia.”³⁸ But the reformers were not bothered by following the Prussian example. They believed that an educational system was autonomous from the society in which it was situated—a dubious proposition—and could thus be readily replicated elsewhere.³⁹ As former President John Quincy Adams (1767–1848) stated in 1838, during the campaign to rally public support for the establishment of normal schools in Massachusetts: “We see monarchs expending vast sums, establishing normal schools thruout [*sic*] their realms, and sparing no pains to convey knowledge and efficiency to all the children of their poorest subjects. *Shall we be outdone by kings?* Shall monarchies steal a march on republics in the patronage of that education on which a republic is based?”⁴⁰

Massachusetts became the first state to found a public normal school after Edmund Dwight, a Boston philanthropist who was a friend of Mann and a member of the Massachusetts Board of Education, offered in 1838 \$10,000 to establish a system of normal schools to prepare teachers if the state matched his gift. The commonwealth set up in 1839 and 1840, on a three-year trial basis, normal schools at Lexington, which subsequently moved to West Newton (1844) and then to Framingham (1853, today Framingham State College); at Barre, which moved in 1844 to Westfield (today Westfield State College); and at Bridgewater (today Bridgewater State College).⁴¹ Mann’s overblown words in 1846 at the dedication in Bridgewater of “the first normal schoolhouse ever erected in Massachusetts—in

the Union—in this hemisphere” provide an insight into the reformers’ perception of the normal schools’ role in society and their linkage of education, republicanism, and Christianity:

I believe Normal Schools to be a new instrumentality in the advancement of the race . . . Neither the art of printing, nor the trial by jury, nor a free press, nor free-suffrage, can long exist, to any beneficial and salutary purpose, without schools for the training of teachers . . . nay, the universal diffusion and ultimate triumph of all-glorious Christianity itself must await the time when knowledge shall be diffused among men through the instrumentality of good schools. *Coiled up in this institution, as in a spring, there is a vigor whose uncoiling may wheel the spheres.*⁴²

The Massachusetts normal schools had a profound influence on the Normal University because several of the men associated with it had ties to these Eastern institutions. Hovey was the principal of the Framingham Academy and High School when the normal school at Lexington–West Newton, a school exclusively for women, moved to Framingham. William H. Wells (1812–85), the principal of the new city normal school in Chicago and a member of the original Board of Education, was a former principal of the Westfield Normal. Richard Edwards was the first principal of Massachusetts’ fourth normal school located at Salem (today Salem State College), which opened in 1854.⁴³

However, it was Bridgewater that had the greatest impact. Five of the most influential faculty members at the Normal University in the nineteenth century were graduates of that institution. Besides Edwards, they included: Edwin Hewett (1828–1905), who joined the faculty in 1858 as a teacher of history and geography and who became the University’s third president (1876–90);[†] Ira Moore (d. 1897), who had subsequently attended Yale and who as Hovey’s first hire ran the school while the principal busied himself with the construction of Old Main; Albert Stetson (1834–1909), a graduate of Harvard, who headed the English department at Normal from 1862 to 1887; and Thomas Metcalf (1826–95),[‡] who was hired in 1862 to teach mathematics and in 1874 became the superintendent of the training department.⁴⁴ Since John Williston Cook (1844–1922), Class of 1865, the University’s fourth president (1890–99), was a student and associate of these men, the Bridgewater influence persisted at the University until the end of the century.[§]

This preference for faculty members who were graduates of Bridgewater may not simply be an example of academic chain migration. Unlike the principals of the other early Massachusetts normal schools who were college graduates and ministers, Bridgewater’s first principal, the revered Nicholas Tillinghast, was a graduate of West Point, the nation’s first engineering school; and this affected Bridgewater’s curriculum. In 1857 a special committee of visitors appointed by the Massachusetts Board of Education complained that “the study of language and literature and practical teaching exercises may be observed as made far too subordinate to the higher mathematics.”⁴⁵

[†] Hewett Hall was named for him in 1966.

[‡] The original Metcalf Hall, now Moulton Hall, was named for Metcalf in 1912; the name was transferred to the current building in 1957.

[§] Cook Hall was named for him in 1936.

If the Illinois Board of Education harbored after 1857 any hopes of turning the Normal University into a school that also taught agriculture and the mechanical arts, then it may have sought faculty members who came from a school that stressed the teaching of “higher mathematics.” Indeed, Edwards, who was virtually assured the principalship if he came to Normal in 1862, had obtained in 1847 a Bachelor of Science degree from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York. It had been founded in 1824 “to prepare teachers who would instruct the sons and daughters of local farmers and mechanics in the art of applying science to husbandry, manufactures, and domestic economy.” After graduating, Edwards completed a course at Rensselaer in civil engineering and worked briefly as an engineer.⁴⁶ Thus, the Board may have been so eager to hire Edwards because of his training as an engineer as well as his pedagogical expertise.

Still, the Normal University from its inception differed in very significant ways from Bridgewater. Until 1855, students at the Massachusetts normal school could graduate after completing a year’s course, consisting of two eleven-week terms, not necessarily taken successively; only in 1864 was the course of study extended to two years. It was several decades before Bridgewater had a functioning model school.⁴⁷

Hovey borrowed the concept of a model school and a three-year course of study from other Eastern institutions. David Perkins Page (1810–48), the head of the normal school that was established in 1844 at Albany (today SUNY, Albany), was the first person to recognize the distinction between a model school, in which prospective students could see a demonstration of good teaching, and a training school, in which they could apply what they had learned. William F. Phelps took charge of the training school at Albany, and in turn became in 1855 the first principal of the New Jersey State Normal at Trenton (today The College of New Jersey), where he stressed the importance of practice teaching.⁴⁸ Intriguingly, Dr. George P. Rex, who accompanied Hovey on his visit of the Eastern normals and high schools in the spring of 1857, had worked with Phelps in establishing the Trenton normal school; and in their report to the Board, Rex and Hovey mentioned their indebtedness to Phelps, the only principal of a normal school whom they specifically named.⁴⁹ The Normal University, unlike Bridgewater, had from the start a model school, first taught by Mary Brooks (d. 1867); but practice teaching developed more slowly, initially, of necessity, to handle the large number of children in the model school. The training department was formally constituted only in 1874.⁵⁰ As for the curriculum, Henry Barnard, who was the principal of the Connecticut normal school located at New Britain (today Central Connecticut State University), when it opened in 1850, introduced a three-year course of study, the program adopted by Hovey as well.⁵¹ Hovey and the Board thus drew upon the experiences of Albany, Trenton, and New Britain as well as Bridgewater in fashioning the Normal University’s initial training program and curriculum.

3 DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES

While Harvard had been in existence for more than two centuries when Massachusetts founded its first normal schools, advocates of public education in Illinois, whether they were fighting for the establishment of a state university or a normal school, were competing with struggling denominational colleges for the same scant, public and private resources. Congress had granted Illinois two

townships, seventy-two sections in all, to support a seminary, that is, a secondary school. Illinois had received the first township in 1804, when it was organized as a territory, and the second in 1818, when it became a state. These grants were the origin of the so-called Seminary Fund. In 1829 Illinois sold 67.5 of the sections, officially at a minimum price of \$1.25 per acre, but often for less. The total income from the sale of 43,200 acres was a measly \$59,838.72. The State then borrowed the proceeds in lieu of raising taxes. In 1835 Illinois lent the 6 percent annual interest it was paying on the loan to the common school fund. To place the magnitude of the State's fiscal folly into context, Illinois sold the remaining 4.5 sections in 1861 for \$58,000.

Upon statehood Congress also earmarked half a percent of the proceeds from the future sale of public lands in the State for the support of a college or university. Illinois squandered the income from this College or University Fund in the same way it misused the money in the Seminary Fund. No other state in the Old Northwest quite matched Illinois in its mismanagement of the Congressional largesse.⁵²

In 1857 the legislature conferred the annual income from these two funds, that is, the interest the State paid on the money it had borrowed from the Seminary and University Funds, to the Normal University as its sole source of state funding. It amounted in 1858 to \$9,754.74; however, in 1877 the State divided this revenue between the University and the new normal school at Carbondale.⁵³ Perhaps, nothing better illustrates the State's poverty, or at least its unwillingness to fund secondary and higher education, than that the private colleges and the proponents of public education contended for years about the final allocation of the depleted Seminary and College Funds.

At the eve of the American Revolution in 1776, there were nine colleges in the United States. In the decades after Independence a combination of sectarian exclusivity and local boosterism led, analogous to the mania for constructing canals and railroads, to a proliferation of colleges. As many as 700 colleges may have been founded before the Civil War; only around 250 of these survived in 1860.⁵⁴ Illinois, too, participated in this craze. It is difficult to come up with an exact number of schools that actually existed and functioned in a given year because the legislature chartered several colleges that never opened, while others soon folded; but an educated guess is that there were sixteen colleges in Illinois in 1857. Four of these subsequently closed.⁵⁵

A good example of such a failed institution is the first Illinois State University. It was chartered by the legislature in 1847 as the Literary and Theological Institute of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Far West, but was soon known as Hillsboro College. It moved to Springfield in 1852 and was re-chartered as Illinois State University. In 1860 Lincoln became one of its trustees. John Milton Hay (1838–1905), Lincoln's personal secretary and later secretary of state in the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations; and Robert Todd Lincoln attended its preparatory school. This Lutheran university never recovered from the financial Panic of 1857 and the Civil War, and doctrinal and ethnic conflicts among its native-born, German, and Scandinavian students and backers caused a sharp decline in enrollment. It went bankrupt and ceased operations in 1867.⁵⁶

It is estimated that in 1860 a total of 351 students attended private colleges in Illinois or, on average, 22 students per college.⁵⁷ It should be obvious why these small, financially strapped denominational schools were so desperate to obtain a share of the Seminary and College Funds and were so bitterly opposed to the establishment of a rival public institution of higher learning and why, even if college-educated men and women did become teachers, the private sector could not satisfy the need for thousands of common school teachers.

Private collegiate opposition and local rivalries blocked in 1833 a bill to establish a state university, Illinois University, in Springfield and to endow it with the Seminary and College Funds.⁵⁸ In October 1839, the same year that the first normal school opened in Massachusetts, John S. Wright, the major spokesman for the common school movement in Illinois, proposed in the *Union Agriculturalist*, the forerunner of the *Prairie Farmer*, that the two funds be employed to found a similar institution in Illinois. He linked in March 1842, in the same journal, the foundation of a teachers' seminary with the creation of a common-school system and the appointment of a state superintendent of schools, the familiar triad of the educational reformers.

In the 1840s teachers and so-called friends of education, that is, ministers, lawyers, and doctors who at some point in their pre-collegiate or collegiate careers had often taught school themselves, attended a series of educational conventions that floated various schemes to prepare teachers. Henry Barnard, who at the moment was working for the establishment of a normal school in Connecticut, was the principal speaker at the convention held in Chicago in 1846. George Bunsen's unsuccessful proposal to the 1847 Constitutional Convention to set up a system of common schools and seminaries to train teachers was another such plan. A measure, which passed in the state Senate but which was tabled in the House, would have distributed the income from the Seminary and College Funds among the private colleges for the purpose of educating teachers. But nothing substantive was accomplished until Turner electrified the State in 1851 with his call to found an industrial university.⁵⁹

✧ THE INDUSTRIAL UNIVERSITY

What made the Normal University truly distinctive from the other antebellum normals was the failed attempt to combine a normal school with Jonathan Baldwin Turner's proposed industrial university. Turner was a man passionately committed to his beliefs, no matter how unpopular or the personal cost. He was born on a farm in Massachusetts in 1805 and like Hovey began teaching school at fifteen. At the age of twenty-two in 1827 he went to Yale, where he first attended its preparatory school for two years and supported himself by doing odd jobs and then by teaching. While there he was converted to the temperance cause. In 1833 he answered the call to teach at the newly founded, joint Congregational-Presbyterian, Illinois College in Jacksonville. Ironically, he went with the blessing of Yale's president, Jeremiah Day (1773–1867), the author of the Yale Report that upheld the classical collegiate curriculum Turner later attacked. At Illinois College he taught every subject except chemistry, but concentrated on belles-lettres, rhetoric, Latin, and Greek.

Turner started in 1843 Illinois' second, short-lived abolitionist paper, an act of considerable personal courage since the editor of the first, Elijah P. Lovejoy, had

been murdered by a mob in 1837. Although Turner thought public agitation was preferable to the activities of the Underground Railroad, he assisted three fugitive slave women in escaping to Canada. Later, in September 1862, he visited the White House, apparently to urge the President to abolish slavery. Lincoln informed him, according to a letter Turner wrote his wife, that “he intended to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation,” after a Union victory. When Turner’s radical political views and abandonment of traditional Calvinist orthodoxy—he had been ordained as a minister and had been charged with heresy—led in 1848 to his resignation from Illinois College, he turned to farming and promoted the use of Osage oranges as hedgerows. In his commitment to education, temperance, abolition, liberal Protestantism, and horticulture, the zealous Turner was the soul mate of his more genial friend, Jesse Fell.⁶⁰

Turner delivered his famous address, “A State University for the Industrial Classes,” at the Putnam County Farmers’ Convention at Granville on November 18, 1851. The purpose of the convention was to promote the foundation of an agricultural university and to stop the private colleges from procuring the College and Seminary Funds. Society was divided, he said, into two classes: a professional class, at most 5 percent of the population for whose benefit the existing system of private seminaries and colleges had been created, and an industrial class that lacked a comparable system to meet its wants. He proposed that there be “a National Institute of Science, to operate as the great central luminary of the national mind;” this institution already existed, in Turner’s mind, in the form of the Smithsonian Institute. Every state was to have a “University for the Industrial Classes,” with its own subordinate system of secondary schools, that would cooperate with the Smithsonian in applying “existing knowledge directly and efficiently to all practical pursuits and professions in life, and to extend the boundaries of our present knowledge in all possible practical directions.” The implementation of this proposal would have created a highly centralized system of education, inspired by the Prussian model, in the United States.

Each university was, according to the plan Turner outlined at Granville, to possess adequate land and buildings to carry out its experiments, including a museum or “general cabinet, embracing everything that relates to, illustrates, or facilitates any one of the industrial arts, especially all sorts of animals, birds, reptiles, insects, trees, shrubs, and plants found in this State and adjacent States.” Instruction could occur in every discipline, “practical or theoretical,” but would not include the “...‘organized ignorance’ found in the creeds of party politicians and sectarian ecclesiastics” that was wrongly mistaken for knowledge. Turner was open to the question whether the classics should be taught at the industrial university or should be left to the existing colleges. However, he thought that the professors were to engage in experiments “in all other interests of agriculture and mechanic or chemical art, mining, merchandise, and transportation by water and by land, and [that] daily practical and experimental instruction [was to be] given to each student in attendance in his own chosen sphere of research or labor in life.” All of this knowledge would be shared with the larger community at commencement, which would double as an annual fair. “(E)very farmer’s and mechanic’s son,” he insisted, would gain more from a single day’s study at his proposed institution than from “six months of professed study [at a college] of things he will never need and never want to know.”

This grandiose institution was to be maintained with the income from the Seminary and College Funds. Turner was adamant that the industrial university was not to fall under partisan political or sectarian control, a not unreasonable concern given what had happened to the state universities in other states. The proposed university was to be governed by a totally independent board. The governor was to appoint with the consent of the Senate five members, who were to come from geographically dispersed areas of the state and who would select in turn twelve additional members; thereafter the board would be a self-perpetuating body. Turner said nothing about the training of teachers or common schools, except for the disparaging comment that “reading, writing, etc., are, properly, no more education than gathering seed is agriculture, or cutting ship-timber navigation.”⁶¹

There was nothing particularly new about Turner’s proposal. By the 1850s criticism of the collegiate classical curriculum had become commonplace, and reformers were demanding the inclusion of more practical subjects, including agriculture and engineering, in the course of study. A Wisconsin newspaper editorialized, for instance, in February 1850 about the new state university in Madison: “let them make it an institution that shall be useful to the masses . . . and establish those departments which shall be open to farmers and mechanics.” Indeed, other states were establishing colleges of agriculture; for example, instruction began in 1857 in East Lansing at Michigan State Agricultural College (today, Michigan State). The real importance of Turner’s proposal is that it initiated a discussion about the role and nature of public education in a state that was lagging behind its neighbors.⁶²

Turner’s plan pitted him not only against the sectarian colleges but also, potentially, against those who wanted to use the Seminary and College Funds to endow a normal school. While John S. Wright, who had been since 1839 the major spokesman for agricultural and educational interests in the State, favored the establishment of an agricultural university, he refused to publish the Granville Plan in the *Prairie Farmer* and insisted that the funds be used to prepare teachers. In response to such criticism, Turner abandoned his call for scientific research and proposed in March 1852 that Congress grant each state not the proceeds from the sale of public lands, as had been the case in 1818 when Illinois had been admitted to the Union, but rather the lands themselves to support his proposed universities. Winton U. Solberg, the historian of the University of Illinois, has called this part of Turner’s plan, the germ of the concept of the land grant universities, “his original contribution to the Morrill Act.”⁶³

An industrial convention met in Springfield on June 8, 1852, and approved a petition to the legislature, drafted by Turner, requesting that the funds not be granted in any guise to the private colleges but be employed for the benefit of the industrial classes. In addition, the petitioners asked that the legislature, in conjunction with other states, appeal to Congress to appropriate public lands “for the liberal education of the Industrial Classes in their several pursuits in each State in the Union.” They especially desired that in appropriating funds for the industrial university “a department for normal school teaching, to thoroughly qualify teachers for county and district schools...should not be forgotten.” They insisted “that *one* institution for the numerous Industrial Classes, the teachers and orphans of this State, and of each State, should be endowed...to the same relative extent as some *one* of the numerous Institutions now existing in each State for the more especial benefit of the comparatively very limited classes in the three learned

professions." A normal department to train teachers had thus been attached to Turner's original proposal, and in September 1852 Wright endorsed Turner's revised plan.⁶⁴

A call went out in October 1852 for a third convention in Chicago to be attended by "those who desire the application of the College and Seminary Funds to the immediate creation of a free University for the practical instruction of persons of all classes, but more especially the specific education of the great producing classes and the teachers of common schools (who are mainly charged with our instruction) and the substitution of useful knowledge for barren learning." The conventioners approved every feature of the Granville Plan, agreed that the proposed university would be coeducational and would include a normal department, and decided to establish an Industrial League to lobby the legislature and to arouse support within and outside Illinois for Turner's plan.⁶⁵ The name of Jesse Fell, who identified himself as a farmer, headed the list of members of the McLean County chapter of the Industrial League.⁶⁶

A fourth convention, held in Springfield on January 4, 1853, appealed to the General Assembly. Turner repeated in the memorandum his by-now familiar complaint that while there were 225 universities and colleges in the United States for the education of the professional classes, there was not a single one "designed for the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes." Even "monarchical Europe" had its polytechnic and agricultural schools. He deplored in particular that Illinois lacked a normal school and did not even have half the teachers it required for its common schools, which he described as "the great hope of our country." The University Fund, whose annual interest was now about \$9,000 (in this figure he was conflating the income from both the Seminary and College Funds), would be frittered away if it were divided among the ten or fifteen colleges in the state, but if it was "(c)oncentrated upon an industrial university, it would furnish an annual corps of skilful teachers and lecturers, through its normal school." Turner presented the normal school in this 1853 petition as the core of his proposed institution. As he put it: "The teacher is the first man sought, and the life and light of the whole thing, from the university downward." The heart of the memorandum was a petition to the General Assembly that it request Congress to appropriate public lands worth no less than \$500,000 to each state to found an industrial university.⁶⁷ This appeal indicates that by January 1853 Turner was prepared to assign some of the income from the College and Seminary Funds to the maintenance of the normal department—the memorandum is fuzzy about the distinction between the two funds—and to rely upon a Congressional land grant to endow the industrial university.

Representatives Cyrenius B. Denio (1817–87) and Samuel W. Moulton (1821–1905), who would later be members of the first Board of Education, introduced the Industrial League's petition in the General Assembly, where it passed unanimously in February 1853.** Members of the Illinois delegation presented the resolution to Congress more than a year later on March 20, 1854, but nothing further was done because President Franklin Pierce (1804–69) opposed any additional federal land grants. Representative Justin S. Morrill of Vermont (1810–98) finally introduced for the first time the act that bears his name on December 14, 1857,

** Moulton Hall was named for him in 1962.

ten months after the establishment of the Normal University. Both houses of Congress eventually approved the law, but President James Buchanan (1791–1868), ostensibly on constitutional grounds, but really to appease his Southern base, vetoed the College Land Grant Bill in 1859.⁶⁸ Thus the only financial resources Illinois had at its disposal in the 1850s to finance public education, unless it was willing to use general revenue income, was the badly mismanaged College and Seminary Funds.

The only real question for the advocates of public education in Illinois was whether the normal school they sought was to be a free-standing institution, similar to the first normal school in the Old Northwest, Michigan State Normal School (today Eastern Michigan University), which was founded in 1849 and which opened in Ypsilanti in 1853,⁶⁹ or the core department within the proposed industrial university. As we have already seen, the teachers who assembled in Bloomington on December 26, 1853, for an educational convention decided to press for a separate state superintendent of public instruction, a common school law, and the creation of a normal school. Bronson Murray (1817–1911), the president of the Industrial League, attended the meeting and thought that the teachers would accept Turner's plan for incorporating the normal school within the university. Turner himself was present at the next convention in Peoria in December 1854, but Superintendent Ninian W. Edwards argued for the establishment of a separate institution for training teachers.⁷⁰

The issue came to a head in January 1855 with the introduction in the General Assembly of a bill to incorporate "The Trustees of the Illinois University." The draft of the proposed statute appointed six trustees, including Turner and Murray, who were to designate their successors in perpetuity, a revised version of Turner's original plan. In addition, there were to be six elected trustees. The institution was "to impart instruction in all departments of useful knowledge, science, and art, commencing with those departments now most needed by the citizens of the state, to wit:" a normal school department, an agricultural department, and a mechanical department. The six trustees were required to raise at least \$20,000 in private donations before the State made any contribution. The Seminary Fund, specifically identified now as the "normal school fund," was "to be devoted exclusively to the seminary or normal school department," for such purposes as erecting buildings, purchasing equipment, and paying the salaries of professors and teachers. The College or University Fund was assigned to "the use of the agricultural and mechanical departments," but private donations were to pay for "all agricultural and horticultural experiments." Any funds that the State would get from Congress as a result of the petitions of the Industrial League were to be employed "in promoting the general object and purposes of the university."⁷¹

A three-member special committee of the Senate to whom the bill had been referred reported that "(i)n education . . . there are certain truths that are self-evident," one of which was "that the teacher must exist before the scholar can be taught, and that therefore the teacher is not only the foundation, but the only motive power, the life and light of the whole system." Since Illinois was "utterly destitute of a competent supply of even tolerable common school teachers," it was absolutely crucial that this lack be remedied first before the State attempted anything else. The first aim of the proposed Illinois University was to correct this defect. The second object, "though perhaps not equally pressing and urgent," was

the “diffusion of practical knowledge among our industrial classes.” “The general plan of this institution, so far as its theory of instruction is concerned,” the special senate committee stressed, was in accord with the principles of the foremost authorities on higher education in the United States: President Francis Wayland of Brown University (1796–1865), Secretary Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian (1797–1878), and President Henry Tappan of the University of Michigan (1805–81). The committee concluded that the bill was worthy of the serious consideration of the legislature and the people. If the statute had been submitted earlier in the session, the committee would have recommended the bill’s adoption, it said, but because of the late date it advised that consideration be postponed to another session. The real reason for the legislature’s failure to act may have been that the Industrial League and the teachers disagreed about the allocation of the University Fund.⁷² The General Assembly did pass, however, the Common School Law, which made the establishment of a normal school more urgent than ever.

The attempt to create a state university, Illinois University, which included a normal department, had failed. Accordingly, the teachers began an aggressive campaign to found a separate institution for training teachers. The State Teachers’ Institute, which had been established in Bloomington in 1853 and which was now officially renamed the Illinois State Teachers Association, met in Springfield in December 1855. The teachers decided they “did not wish to discuss any university question, but to occupy themselves with the interests of common schools and normal schools.” Hovey, who had moved to Peoria to become the principal of a private boys’ school, was chosen as president of the Association and as the editor of its new journal, the *Illinois Teacher*. The executive committee of the association was constituted, confusingly, as the State Board of Education, and charged with obtaining the establishment of the normal school. Newton Bateman (1822–97), who was to be the superintendent of public instruction from 1859 to 1863 and again from 1865 to 1875, was chosen to barnstorm the state.

The Association met again the following December in Chicago. The featured speakers were William H. Wells, the former principal of the Westfield Normal School in Massachusetts, and Henry Barnard, who shared with Mann the leadership of the national common and normal school movements. While the more than three hundred teachers were discussing a resolution to petition the General Assembly to establish a normal school, Bateman, who had been Turner’s student at Illinois College, read a letter from his absent professor. Turner repeated his contention that a single institution, containing both a normal school and an agricultural department, would be stronger and more prosperous than a free-standing normal school; but he was ready to defer to the teachers’ wishes so that the Industrial League and the teachers would no longer be operating at cross purposes. Unlike 1855, Turner was now prepared to assign the University as well as the Seminary Fund to the normal school because Congress had failed to act upon the State’s petition for a land grant. He ended the letter with the oft-quoted words: “It is high time, my friends, that you had your normal school whether we ever get an agricultural department to it or not. Let us all take hold and obtain it, in such form as you on the whole think best.” The teachers charged Hovey, Simeon Wright (d. 1876), the president-elect of the Association, and Daniel Wilkins (1820–94), like Hovey, a native of Vermont and the principal of a private secondary school for

women in Bloomington, to lobby the General Assembly.⁷¹ (Wright and Wilkins were members of the original Board.) William H. Powell (d. 1859), who had just been elected as the superintendent, was to assist them. The convention ended with a banquet and many rounds of toasts, not exactly the revival meeting to which Barnard likened the educational reform movement.⁷³

Turner's magnanimous concession gained the teachers the total support of the Industrial League; for example, Representatives Denio and Moulton, who had introduced the League's petition for a Congressional land grant in the General Assembly in 1853, were, as we shall see, instrumental in securing the passage of the 1857 act in the House. Helen E. Marshall presented Turner's words in *Grandest of Enterprises*, the centennial history of the University, as the end of the effort to establish a normal school in conjunction with the industrial university.⁷⁴

But was it? For all of his fierce rhetoric, Turner was a political realist: he had quickly made the normal school the central part of his plan, devised the land grant scheme when it became clear that at least the Seminary, if not the College Fund, had to be earmarked for the normal school, and had downplayed the research mission of the industrial university to gain popular support. After waiting nearly four years for Congressional action on Illinois' land grant proposal, he realized the necessity of using all of the inadequate funds that Illinois did have at its disposal to establish the normal school, which, all parties concurred, was crucial for preparing teachers for the common schools. The concluding words of his letter did not preclude the subsequent addition of an agricultural department to the normal school ("whether we get an agricultural department to it or not"), but did reflect the conclusion of the special committee in 1855 that a normal school was a higher priority than "the diffusion of practical knowledge among our industrial classes."

Supporters of the industrial university continued to think that the decision to establish the normal department first was simply a tactical move. On January 26, 1857, Simeon Francis, the corresponding secretary of the state agricultural society, wrote to William A. Pennell (1815–93), the president of the Buel Institute, the northern Illinois agricultural society that had invited Turner to deliver his 1851 address at Granville. After pointing out that Bronson Murray, the president of the Industrial League, was "making efforts in favor of the 'Industrial College,'" Francis continued: "I saw Mr. Turner a fortnight since. I understand him, now, to be in favor of a State Normal School, and when that was established to perfect it connecting with it our 'State Industrial University' project." A year later Murray, who had just attended the annual meeting in Decatur of the Teachers' Association, wrote Pennell that the meeting had been "a glorious triumph for the friends of the Industrial League" because "(w)e have concluded to rally around and support the Normal University and it is now understood and agreed on all sides that the institution is to be developed into a *University* and its nature shall be *normal* which will insure its being *Industrial* in its character." Murray also informed Pennell that he had received a letter from Turner the previous day urging Murray as a Democrat to assert pressure on Stephen A. Douglas and the Democratic Chicago *Times* to back Morrill's land-grant act in Congress.⁷⁵ For Turner and the Industrial League the establishment of the Normal University was a preliminary measure until Congress acted.

⁷¹ Wright and Wilkins Halls were named for them in 1962.

Moreover, Turner's fingerprints are on the 1857 act. His alma mater Yale had established in 1846 a professorship of "agricultural chemistry and animal and vegetable physiology," the very words that appear in the act.⁷⁶ Above all, Illinois' normal school, unlike the nine state normal schools that preceded it, was undoubtedly called a university because of Turner's ceaseless agitation for an industrial university and the widespread hope his dream would yet be realized. The future of the new institution was far from settled.

5 THE ACT OF 1857

The Senate approved the Act of February 18, 1857, establishing the Normal University with only four dissenting votes, but the vote in the House was thirty-nine to twenty-five, a margin of only one vote since thirty-eight votes were required for passage. The legislative record does not include a transcript of the deliberations, but the opponents offered at the last moment a substitute motion calling for the creation of a state university with a fifteen-member board of regents composed of the governor and other high state officials. This institution was to include "a practical agricultural and mechanical college, a normal college for the education of teachers of the common schools, a law college, a medical college, a college for arts and sciences, a college for ancient and modern languages and belles lettres." Military discipline was also to be taught in each department. While this motion anticipated what the University of Illinois would become at the beginning of the twentieth century and gained the votes of some of the representatives who then voted for the establishment of the Normal University, it appears to have been a parliamentary maneuver by the opponents to divide supporters of the 1857 statute. Certainly, there had been no previous discussion of such a scheme and the motion contained no indication how such a university was to be funded.⁷⁷

The twenty-nine Republicans in the House provided twenty-six of the thirty-nine affirmative votes.⁷⁸ Geographically, representatives, regardless of party affiliation, who voted yes came, in modern parlance, from north of I-80, such Central Illinois counties as Peoria, McLean, Logan, and Sangamon, and three of the counties east of St. Louis: Madison, St. Clair, and Randolph. Germans like George Bunsen who were familiar with the German teacher preparatory schools were settling in the last three counties. However, the representatives from such counties as McHenry, DuPage, and Champaign that voted solidly Republican in the 1858 Congressional elections did not support the bill. Except for Jefferson County, none of the representatives from Little Egypt, heavily Democratic southern Illinois, voted in favor.⁷⁹ Thus party affiliation and geography are major but not complete explanations for the vote. The man responsible for the passage of the bill in the House, Samuel Moulton of Shelby County, was in 1857 still a Democrat.

We have some other information that helps to explain the vote. The only extant speech by any legislator is that of Cyrenius B. Denio, the Republican representative from Jo Daviess County in extreme northwestern Illinois. Denio was responding, he said, to the insinuation by Representative John Dougherty of Union County in southern Illinois that the only reason men like Denio were supporting the bill was because they had been named to the Board of the proposed University. Denio explained that he had been "deprived of the advantages of even a common school education" and was always conscious of the lack. Perhaps, he said, if he had

been as fortunate in that regard as Dougherty, he might have been “found battling on this floor” on Dougherty’s side “against extending to others those privileges which are the freeman’s shield and the safeguard of the State.” A new age had dawned with the passage of the School Law of 1855, which Dougherty had also opposed; and school houses were being built in every part of the State, perhaps even in Jonesboro in Union County. Denio’s snide comments hint at some of the bitterness of the debate and the republican (with both a capital and a lower case r) agenda of the advocates of the 1857 bill.

Denio continued that the opponents objected to using the Seminary and College Funds for the purpose for which they had always been intended. The opponents were arguing, hypocritically, that the income from the funds should continue to be paid into the common school fund, even though “the gentleman from Union, and his political friends [had been] feasting on oysters by appropriations from this same ‘sacred’ fund” and had been perfectly willing to divert the funds from their legitimate purpose instead of taking “the responsibility of taxing the people.”

The object of the proposed bill was “to educate teachers for the people’s colleges,” a term that in the nineteenth century generally referred to secondary schools,⁸⁰ and thus, perhaps, an indication that Denio assumed that the Normal University would train secondary as well as elementary teachers. (This is a key point because opponents of turning the normal schools into teachers colleges in the early twentieth century argued that the schools had been established for the sole purpose of preparing elementary school teachers.) While Governor William Slade of Vermont (1786–1859) had sent young women, who became “good wives” as well as “good teachers,” to teach in Illinois, the State needed “western teachers, educated here at home.” Denio said that Dougherty had objected that the proposed University could not supply one-tenth of the teachers that were needed. True enough, Denio conceded, but it could “in a few years, furnish one, perhaps two, for every county.” While there was no guarantee, as Dougherty pointed out, that the men who attended the University would continue to teach after they graduated, they would persist, Denio thought, if “we are willing to pay them a reasonable compensation.”

Denio ended his speech by saying that the bill was not “in all respects the thing I am in favor of, or have been in favor of.” He had been and was still “of the opinion that something like an Industrial University, on the plan of Prof. Turner, was demanded and should be adopted.” Denio reminded the legislature that he had introduced in 1853 the resolution requesting the Congressional land grant to all the states. “But there were too many ‘old fogies’ in the Legislature, and too many men in Congress who preferred to attend to the interests of the railroad companies than the interests of the people and their education. So nothing was done. We now have a chance to do something to promote the welfare of the common schools, by furnishing them with competent teachers, educated at home.”⁸¹

We can infer from Denio’s words that opponents of the act like Dougherty were opposed to the use of the Seminary and College Funds for the support of a normal school, especially if it meant raising taxes to pay for the running of the common schools, and objected with good reason that a single normal school could supply only a small fraction of the needed teachers. Denio, who shared the Whig-Republican belief that a system of free common schools was essential for

the preservation of a republican and democratic polity, had reluctantly accepted, like Turner, that until Congress acted, a normal school was preferable to doing nothing.

There is another crucial, hitherto overlooked hint about the nature of the opposition to the 1857 act. At the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the Normal University's founding in 1897, Moulton, who had secured the passage of both the Common School and Normal University Acts and who had served on the Board from 1857 to 1881 and as its president from 1859 to 1865 and again from 1867 to 1876, made a revealing off-the-cuff remark. "The opposition to such a university was great. The great struggle was as to whether the colored people should receive any benefits of the school law and the university act. In the school act of 1854 [*sic*] the word 'white' was before 'children.' It remained in the normal act, and was only removed after the civil war [*sic*]."⁸² Unlike the Common School Act of 1855, the 1857 statute did not explicitly exclude blacks; but in so far as the act was to be "distributed as an appendix to the school law," the restriction was implicit in the measure and in the express purpose of the University to train teachers for the whites-only common schools. A bill drafted in 1863, after the passage of the Morrill Act, to establish the industrial university, it should be noted, still explicitly restricted admission to the white residents of Illinois.⁸³

However, on February 16, the day before the House passed the 1857 act, an interesting parliamentary maneuver occurred in that chamber. The legislature had received "sundry petitions of free white citizens of Illinois and of certain colored inhabitants thereof, asking that the colored race have the rights of citizenship, of suffrage, &c." To understand how radical these petitions were, the Supreme Court was to rule several weeks later in the infamous *Dred Scott Decision* that all persons of African descent, slave or free, could never become citizens of the United States. The legislature preferred to keep such politically charged petitions in committee, but Isaac N. Arnold of Cook County (1815–84), who had been in January the Republican candidate for speaker, moved to reconsider. The motion failed by a vote of twenty-eight to forty-two, with the Republicans casting all of the votes in favor; the next day twenty-six of them voted for the establishment of the Normal University. The only Republican who voted against the motion, Oliver L. Davis of Vermillion County, also voted in the negative on the seventeenth.⁸⁴ These Republican legislators who were ready to consider granting the rights of citizenship, including the vote, to Free Blacks were presumably also willing in principle to open the common schools and the new university to them. The price for obtaining the necessary Democratic votes, including perhaps Moulton's, to pass the Normal University Act was, if Moulton's later comment is true, the exclusion of African Americans.⁸⁵ This legislative background helps to explain why *The Jonesboro Gazette*—Dougherty's hometown—could declare on December 5, 1858: "The Normal School at Bloomington is most obnoxiously Radical—a negro equality, amalgamation concern."⁸⁶

The establishment of the Normal University was thus a product of the political realignments that were occurring in the 1850s. The new Republican Party was composed of Whigs, Democrats who opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which permitted the extension of slavery, Free Soilers, abolitionists like Turner, and even racists. It had held its first convention in Bloomington on May 29, 1856, and in the fall had elected the former Democrat William H. Bissell, who signed the act on

February 18, 1857, as the first Republican governor and William H. Powell as the first elected superintendent of public instruction, though the Democrats retained control of the General Assembly.⁸⁷ The twenty-six Republicans, who were the hardcore supporters of the bill, judging by their vote on February 16, had an inclusive vision for the future of the United States. It was a vision that was truly “most obnoxiously Radical.”

There are several contemporary explanations why the normal school was called a university in the 1857 statute. The word university was employed, it should be noted, very loosely in the antebellum period—witness the designation of Illinois Wesleyan, which was founded in 1850, as a university. In fact, the first real American university, defined as an institution that emphasized research and provided postgraduate and professional education, was Cornell, which was established in 1865.⁸⁸ Dr. Edward R. Roe (d. 1893), a Bloomington physician, who spoke along with Leonard Swett at the Fourth of July celebration in 1857, explained that the Normal University “was rightly named. A Normal school was a large enough idea for other States, but it was not large enough for the great Prairie State. We would have a model *farm* there as well as a model school;—we would train teachers to teach agriculture; we would train them to teach anything.”⁸⁹ Fell made similar comments at the laying of the cornerstone of Old Main on September 29. After saying that the institution had been founded to meet “the great educational want of the State,” *The Pantagraph* summarized Fell’s words. “It contemplated a wider scope than an ordinary normal school. He hoped to see it developed into a complete University, and to see an agricultural school made a part of its system, with a model farm connected with it and located on a part of the beautiful tract of land donated with the site.”⁹⁰ In the opinion of Roe and Fell, the new institution in North Bloomington was a university because it would soon have, they hoped, an agricultural as well a normal school, the core departments in Turner’s revised plan for an industrial university.

Murray, the president of the Industrial League, in his previously-cited letter to William A. Pennell of January 12, 1858, explained that Senator Joel S. Post of Macon County (1816–86), who had introduced the bill in the Senate, “condensed it—changed the title from Illinois University to Normal University and then pushed it through both Houses. The opponents of Turner voted for it to prevent the Industrial men from getting the fund [the College Fund] and the friends of Turner voted for it because they were let behind the scenes [presumably because they were told that the establishment of the normal school was simply a tactical move]. So all is well.” Murray’s letter is important because it indicates that the name that was first proposed for the normal school was the same as that of the industrial university in the Illinois University Bill of 1855 and that Post was responsible for the name change. This alteration had made the institution more palatable to Turner’s opponents but had also secured for the normal school the College Fund.⁹¹ The letter also underscores how much Turner’s followers saw the foundation of the normal school as a step toward the implementation of the revised Granville Plan.

Superintendent Powell in his biennial report to the General Assembly, dated December 15, 1858, placed the foundation of the Normal University in the context of the educational conditions in the state. The report was a reaffirmation of the reformers’ belief that a centralized system of tax-supported schools was at

at the heart of republicanism.⁹² Powell was brutal in his assessment of the future of the sectarian colleges. “It is deeply to be regretted that local pride, difference in religious belief, or whatever other causes have brought it about, should have resulted in the establishment of so great a number of Colleges in the State. In a field where not more than three or four can maintain a respectable standing there are not less than twenty or twenty-five struggling for a feeble existence. The future fate of at least half of these institutions is easily foretold.” After pointing out that the passage of the Common School Law was sweeping away the private school system, which Powell called, “the old feudal and anti-American system of educating the rich alone,” he deplored à la Turner that no provision had been made for educating the “laboring classes,” whereas ample provision had been made for the professional classes. Powell conceded that public opinion was divided about industrial education and that even many potential supporters felt that it was necessary first to put the common schools on a firm footing and to establish a normal school to train the required teachers. But he was optimistic that Congress would soon pass the land grant plan that had been devised by a few citizens of Illinois. The State, Powell insisted,

should furnish the means, free to all, of carrying the education of her children to the farthest limits of human investigation and thought. If it is the duty of the State to furnish the means for the education of the child of six, it is equally her duty to provide for his education at sixteen, and so on; the only limit being the ability of the State to furnish the means and the capacity of the child to be benefited thereby. And this duty is one that she owes to herself as well as to her children; for she, as well as they, are to be benefited by it. For to what other ends are States reared and governments established?

Upon becoming superintendent, he had, Powell explained, “immediately presented a bill, essentially embodying the views of those who favored a Normal School proper, at the same time that the bill was drawn, that, while the institution created under it would in the beginning be only a Normal School, it could readily be swelled into the full proportions of a University should the people of the State and the Legislature desire it.”⁹³ Powell’s words addressed to the men who had enacted the Normal University Statute were a call for educating all the people of Illinois in a state system of education, in which the new normal school would in due course become a university in fact as well as in name.

Finally, there is Hovey’s own testimony. When he attended in 1859 in Trenton the first annual convention of the American Normal School Association, he said: “It [the Normal School in Illinois] is located on a site of sixty acres, and adjoining it is another hundred acres given by the citizens of Illinois, on which we shall build an agricultural and mechanical department.” According to the minutes, the following exchange occurred when Hovey was questioned about the name:

The President [William F. Phelps of Trenton]—Will Mr. Hovey please state why it is called a University?

Mr. Hovey—There was a university fund unappropriated, and in order to get the proceeds of that fund, we had to establish a university. (Laughter.) But we do not contemplate that it shall be simply one department, so that it shall become, instead of a Normal School, the University of Illinois. We mean that it shall be a university in fact as well as in name.⁹⁴

Quite simply, Illinois State Normal University was designated a *university* in 1857 because everyone, with the possible exception of George Bunsen, who knew the difference between a normal school that prepared elementary school teachers and a German research university like Berlin, expected the new foundation to be Illinois' state university and that it would teach agriculture and engineering. The name was an earnest for the future.

Equally puzzling was the designation of its board of trustees as "The Board of Education of the State of Illinois," a peculiar name for the governing body of a single normal school and a source of endless confusion until the University was placed in 1917 under the jurisdiction of the Normal School Board. Charles A. Harper thought that the name was probably borrowed from the executive committee of the Teachers' Association that had been established in 1855 to campaign for the foundation of the normal school, but William L. Pillsbury had already suggested in 1888 that the real source of the name may have been the State Board of Education of Massachusetts that had oversight over both the common and normal schools of that state.⁹⁵ Certainly, Turner in the Granville Plan had envisioned each industrial university controlling the secondary school system in its state, and, more to the point, Hovey, in his report to the Board in 1858, stated: "(t)he Legislature meant to create such an Institution as should be fit to stand at the head of the great Common School interest of Illinois."⁹⁶ Perhaps, Hovey was employing *head* metaphorically rather than legally, but there may have been a belief that the Board through its oversight of teacher preparation in Illinois would exert influence on the common schools as well.

Whatever the origins of the name, the Board was unusual in its composition. In an era when ministers were heavily represented on collegiate governing bodies, the legislature, perhaps influenced by Turner's invective against sectarian control, did not appoint a single clerical member. The six men who had been identified in 1855 as trustees of the proposed Illinois University, for example, Turner, Murray, and Pennell, were also absent from the Board; but Representatives Denio and Moulton would have been spokesmen for the cause of industrial education and an invaluable link between the Board and the General Assembly. At least five of the Board's members—Simeon Wright, Wilkins, Hovey, Bunsen, and Wells—were professional schoolmen. For its era, the Normal University was a secular institution.⁹⁷

The initial mission of the Normal University was, thus, to prepare the urgently needed teachers for the common schools, but, as the institution's designation as a university indicates, the founders intended to turn the school into the state university of Illinois, with a special emphasis on the teaching of agriculture and engineering, as soon as the federal government provided the necessary land grant.

ENDNOTES

1. Carl F. Kaestle, "The Development of Common School Systems in the States of the Old Northwest," in Mattingly and Stevens, "... *Schools and The Means of Education Shall Forever Be Encouraged: A History of Education in the Old Northwest, 1787–1880* (Athens, Ohio, 1987), pp. 31–43. The quotation is on p. 31. For a brief overview of the national common school movement, see Jurgen Herbst, *School Choice and School Governance: A Historical Study of the United States and Germany* (New York, 2006), pp. 7–19.
2. Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York, 1983), pp. 3–61, esp. pp. 57–58.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 62–181.
4. John Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical Comprising the Essential Facts of Its Planting and Growth as a Province, County, Territory, and State* (Chicago, 1892), 2:988–90.
5. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, p. 73.
6. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, pp. 183–84; *idem*, "The Development of Common School Systems," pp. 32–33; and David Tyack, "Forming Schools, Forming States: Education in a Nation of Republics," in Mattingly and Stevens, "... *Schools and The Means of Education Shall Forever Be Encouraged*," pp. 17–18.
7. Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical*, 2:996–97.
8. Peter S. Onuf, "The Founders' Vision: Education in the Development of the Old Northwest," in Mattingly and Stevens, "... *Schools and The Means of Education Shall Forever Be Encouraged*," pp. 5–15.
9. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 27–35, esp. p. 32. He published the entire act. In addition, see Robert Gehlmann Bone, "Education in Illinois before 1857," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 50 (1957): 124–25; and John Pulliam, "Changing Attitudes Toward Free Public Schools in Illinois, 1825–1860," *History of Education Quarterly* 7 (1967): 191–92.
10. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, p. 38.
11. Arthur Charles Cole: *The Centennial History of Illinois, Vol. 3: The Era of the Civil War, 1848–1870* (Springfield, 1919), 3:230.
12. William L. Pillsbury, "Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities and the University of Illinois," *Seventeenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, p. LXXVII. Pillsbury served as the registrar of the University of Illinois from 1893 to 1911. On Pillsbury, see "Biographical Sketches of the Faculty," in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 48–49; and Keith, *Semi-Centennial History*, p. 350. Similar comments can be found in Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 25, 42; Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1857–94*, p. 16; and more recently and explicitly in Roger Biles, *Illinois: A History of the Land and Its People* (DeKalb, 2005), p. 61. Cook was even more dismissive about the descendants of the first French settlers: "(t)he latter was an interesting element of the population in retrospect, but next to worthless for the development of a State" (p. 24).
13. William L. Pillsbury, "Early Education in Illinois," *Sixteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, July 1, 1884–June 30, 1886* (Springfield, 1886), p. CVIII.
14. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, pp. 185–92; and *idem*, "The Development of Common School Systems," pp. 34–38.
15. See the quotation at the beginning of the chapter. On Lincoln as the quintessential Whig who became a Republican, see Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago, 1979), pp. 263–98, esp., p. 265.
16. Helen E. Marshall, *Gandest of Enterprises: Illinois State Normal University 1857–1957* (Normal, 1956), p. 13.
17. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 36–58; 105–113. See also Pillsbury, "Early Education in Illinois," pp. CII–CIII; *idem*, "Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities," pp. LXXVII–LXXXVII; Bone, "Education in Illinois before 1857," pp. 119–40; and Pulliam, "Changing Attitudes Toward Free Public Schools in Illinois 1825–1860," pp. 191–208.
18. *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report. 1857–58* (Springfield, 1859), p. 8. Chicago had passed ordinances in 1849 and 1851 that opened up its schools to black children. See Davison M. Douglas, *Jim Crow Moves North: The Battle over Northern School Segregation, 1865–1954* (Cambridge, UK, 2005), p. 33.
19. Quoted in Bone, "Education in Illinois before 1857," p. 131. On the Union Agriculturalist, see Marshall, *Gandest of Enterprises*, p. 9, n. 19.
20. Pillsbury, "Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities," p. LXXVIII.
21. Quoted in Greg Koos, "The Irish Hedge Schoolmaster in the American Backcountry," *New Hibernia Review: A Quarterly Record of Irish Studies* 5/2 (2001): 9. For many other examples, see Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 59–70.
22. Hovey, "Autobiography of Gen. C. E. Hovey," pp. 28–30. On Hovey, see Helen E. Marshall, "Charles E. Hovey: Educator & Soldier," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 50 (1957): 243–76.

She does not examine Hovey's legal career. On March 19, 1884, the Bloomington *The Pantagraph* ran a brief notice that Hovey had turned to the lucrative pension claims industry. He had been successful in the case of Augustus Ralph McDonald, but when the latter had "skeddaddled" before paying Hovey his commission, Hovey tracked McDonald to New York City and had him thrown into the debtors' prison. Hovey had covered, according to the paper, the cost of McDonald's room and board for five years and was quoted as saying that he intended to keep McDonald there "until he settles up or dies." I am grateful to William Kemp, the librarian and archivist of the McLean County Museum of History, for supplying me with this vignette that illuminates Hovey's character.

23. Marshall, *Greatest of Enterprises*, pp. 82–84. John Wesley Powell (1834–1902) provides a comparable Illinois example. He attended briefly a common school in Janesville, Wisconsin, and then taught in several schools in Illinois between spending semesters at Wheaton, Illinois College, and Oberlin. William F. Steinbacher-Kemp, "The Illinois Natural History Society: 1858–1871," unpublished master's thesis, Illinois State University (May 2000), pp. 76–82.

24. Mattingly, *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1975), pp. 28–33.

25. Charles A. Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education: The Story of the State Teachers Colleges as They Evolved from the Normal Schools* (Washington, 1939), pp. 15–17. The quotation is on p. 16. See also Mattingly, *The Classless Profession*, pp. 21–28; and Christine A. Ogren, *The American Normal School: "An Instrument of Great Good,"* (New York, 2005), pp. 9–23.

26. John Hall Stewart, *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution* (New York, 1951), pp. 614–16, no. 125, "Decree Establishing Normal Schools."

27. Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789–1820s* (New York, 1994), pp. 188–89.

28. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, pp. 39–50; idem, *School Choice and School Governance*, pp. 20–30, 47–62; and Thomas Nipperdey, "Volksschule und Revolution im Vormärz," in Kurt Kluxen and Wolfgang J. Mommsen, eds. *Politische Ideologien und nationalstaatliche Ordnung: Studien zur Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts: Festschrift für Theodor Schieder* (Munich and Vienna, 1968), pp. 121–22.

29. Paul R. Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt A Biography* (Columbus, Ohio, 1980), 2:22–40, esp. p. 22.

30. Pillsbury, "Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities," pp. LXXXII–LXXXIV.

31. Hovey, "Autobiography of Gen. C. E. Hovey," p. 36.

32. Letter of Charles E. Hovey to William L. Pillsbury, August, 27, 1882, published in "Address of W. L. Pillsbury, A. M.," in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 227. Mary Brooks (Mrs. James W. Wiley) taught in the model school from 1857 to 1860. She died in 1867.

33. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, pp. 32–39; and Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, pp. 14–15.

34. Karl-Ernst Jeismann, "American Observations Concerning the Prussian Educational System in the Nineteenth Century," in Henry Geitz, Jürgen Heideking, and Jürgen Herbst, eds., *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917*, in Publications of the German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C. (Washington, 1995), pp. 21–41. On Bache, see Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 34–35, 44–45.

35. Quoted by Jeismann, "American Observations Concerning the Prussian Educational System," p. 26, n. 11.

36. Quoted in Pillsbury, "Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities," p. XCVI.

37. *The Pantagraph*, July 7, 1857. On Swett, see Michael Alton Mattingly, "Lincoln's Confidant Leonard Swett of Bloomington, Illinois," unpublished master's thesis, Illinois State University (December 1984). Swett was not the only person who exaggerated the number of Prussian normal schools. Superintendent Powell, in his report to the legislature in 1858, said that there were three hundred normal schools in Prussia. *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction Biennial Report 1857–58*, p. 62.

38. Quoted in Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, p. 168.

39. Jürgen Herbst, "Introduction," in Geitz et alii, *German Influences on Education*; and Jeismann, "American Observations Concerning the Prussian Educational System," p. 38.

40. Quoted by Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education*, pp. 22–24.

41. Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education*, pp. 24–25; and Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, p. 16.

42. Quoted by Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education*, pp. 21–22. Hovey engaged in similar rhetoric. In the address he delivered in 1882 at the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the University, he placed that act into the context of the government's obligation to protect its citizens and, displaying his legal knowledge, the evolution of the English common law. He concluded this section of his speech with the statement: "The machinery of the common law was devised to maintain liberty among men. The machinery of the common schools does the same thing."

- As a medievalist, I should note that he made a complete hash of history. He placed the reign of King Henry II of England (1154–87) into the eleventh century and turned Article 39 of Magna Carta, which he quoted in Latin, into Article 29, though in fairness to Hovey, he may have been citing the abbreviated confirmations. Hovey, "Address by Gen. C. E. Hovey," in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 177–79.
43. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 15, 28, 86. For information on Edwards, see Burt Weed Loomis, *The Educational Influence of Richard Edwards*, in *Contribution to Education Published under the Direction of George Peabody College for Teachers 106* (Nashville, 1932). On Wells' tenure at Westfield, see Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, p. 89.
44. John Williston Cook, "History of the Faculty," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 93–105.
45. Mattingly, *The Classless Profession*, pp. 137–39, 145–46, esp. p. 145.
46. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1836–1976*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1976), p. 61; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 80–85. On Tillinghast, see Charles A. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States with special reference to the Illinois State Normal University* (Bloomington, Il., 1935), pp. 81–83.
47. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 80.
48. Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education*, pp. 43–47, 61–66.
49. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College*, p. 22; and Pillsbury, "Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities," p. XCVII.
50. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College*, pp. 137–43.
51. Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education*, pp. 51–58.
52. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 74–77; Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical*, 2:990–91; Burt E. Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, Vol. 1: *The Movement for Industrial Education and the Establishment of the University 1840–1870* (Urbana, 1918), 1:156–64; and Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, p. 17.
53. *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report 1857–58*, p. 6; and Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:164.
54. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York, 1965), pp. 47–48; and Christopher J. Lucas, *American Higher Education: A History* (New York, 1994), pp. 116–19.
55. Michael C. Brock, "Religiously Affiliated Colleges in the Old Northwest, 1800–1861," unpublished master's thesis, Illinois State University (1966), pp. 72–73. See also, Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 286–359.
56. William Furry, ed., *The Preacher's Tale: The Civil War Journal of Rev. Francis Springer, Chaplain, U.S. Army of the Frontier* (Fayetteville, Arkansas, 2001), pp. xiv–xvi; and Kalmer K. Klammer, "Illinois State University and the Early Lutheran Church of Springfield, Illinois," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 53/4 (1980): 146–65. Springer was the president of the college.
57. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, p. 20.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.
59. Pillsbury, "Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities," pp. LXXIX–LXXXVI; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 9–11.
60. Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner*, pp. 1–63, 247; and Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 40–41.
61. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 43–45. The text of the speech can be found in Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner*, pp. 69–85, where it is wrongly said to have been delivered at Griggsville on May 13, 1850; and in Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:382–400.
62. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 22–40, 45. See also Rudolph, *The American College and University*, pp. 221–40; and Mattingly, "The Development of Public Universities in the Old Northwest," pp. 119–22 (the quotation is on p. 119).
63. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 46–48, esp. p. 47.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49. The text of the memorial is in Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner*, pp. 95–99; and Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:31–37.
65. Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner*, pp. 102–08; Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:39–44, esp. p. 40; and Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 49–50.
66. Fell Papers, Container 6, Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois, Urbana. The papers are available on microfilm in Milner Library.
67. Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner*, pp. 108–15. See also Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:47–52; and Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 50–51.
68. Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner*, pp. 115–16; Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:53–54; and Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 53–56. Powell says that Moulton introduced the resolution in the Senate, but he was a member of the House. See Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical*, 2:1179

69. Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education*, pp. 73–80.

70. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 13–14; and Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 87–88, 109–112. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 14, attributed the failure of the bill to the refusal

71. The text of the proposed bill is in Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:138–44.
71. The text of the proposed bill is in Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:546–51.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 551–55. On Tappan and Wayland, see Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, pp. 106–09; and Rudolph, *The American College and University*, pp. 233–39; and *idem*, *Curriculum*, pp. 87–88, 109–112. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 14, attributed the failure of the bill to the refusal of the Industrial League to accept the subordination of the other departments to the normal school (she provides no source), but Turner had already identified in his memorandum of January 1853 the normal school as the core of the proposed institution. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, p. 52, said the “measure contained objectionable features and stood no chance of adoption,” but offers no particulars. Since Turner surrendered any claims to the University Funds in his letter of December 20, 1856, to the Teachers Association (see below), the Industrial League and the teachers may have disagreed in January 1855 about their allocation and thus hurt the chances of the bill’s passage.

73. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 15–17. The text of Turner’s letter of December 20, 1856, is in Pillsbury, “Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities,” pp. LXXXIX–XC. On Bateman, see Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 114–23, 126–40. On Barnard’s perception of the reform movement as a secularized revival movement, see Mattingly, *Classless Profession*, pp. 66–67. Wilkins, who moved at thirteen with his family to St. Clair County, graduated from the University of Michigan, taught languages there and at Illinois Wesleyan, and served as McLean County’s superintendent of schools. Like Turner and Fell, he was a prominent temperance advocate. On Wilkins, see the obituaries in *The Pantagraph*, January 3, 1894, p. 1; and January 4, 1894, p. 5. I am grateful to William Kemp for finding this information.

74. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 16, says that Turner “magnanimously concluded” his letter with the words quoted above. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, p. 53 concluded: “Turner gave in because he had no alternative, but he hoped to convert the normal school into an industrial university.” Solberg cites no proof.

75. The quotations are in Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:86–87. He references the Pennell manuscripts, which he indicates were lent by Pennell’s daughter, Mrs. Joseph Carter, to the University of Illinois (p. ix). There is no record where the letters are now, though they may eventually have been deposited in Springfield. However, Powell’s transcripts of the letters are in the University of Illinois archives: “Burt Powell’s Semi-Centennial History Transcripts & Source Materials, 1914–1918, Pennell Manuscripts, Series No. 39/1/26, Box 5.” Copies of these transcripts have been deposited in the archives of Illinois State University.

Pennell was one of the six individuals who were named as Board members of the proposed Illinois University in 1855. He was also a close associate of Fell. The two of them lobbied the General Assembly in 1866 on behalf of the Town of Normal for the inclusion of a prohibition clause in the town charter and were co-owners of a hotel in Normal (Morehouse, *The Life of Jesse W. Fell*, pp. 73–84). Pennell was also one of the fifteen citizens of Bloomington–Normal who joined Fell in the failed bid in 1867 to locate the Industrial University in Normal (Powell, p. 254). Mrs. Carter, Class of 1869, taught school, including in Normal and at the model school, and was for seven years the president of the Illinois Association of Domestic Science. Her sister Flora (Mrs. Flora Parr), Class of 1872, attended Vassar, and served as the preceptress, essentially the dean of women at the University, from 1877 to 1890. A third sister, Mary (Mrs. Barber), Class of 1867, taught at the Peoria County Normal and various high schools, including in Normal. Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 51; and Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 256, 258, 262–63.

76. Lucas, *American Higher Education*, p. 135.

77. The third vote in the Senate was taken February 4 and was sixteen to four; a member who had missed the vote voted in the affirmative on February 6. *Journal of the Senate of the Twentieth General Assembly of the State of Illinois at Their Regular Session, Begun and Held at Springfield, January 5, 1857* (Springfield, 1857), pp. 330, 358. The final vote in the House was taken on February 17. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Twentieth General Assembly of the State of Illinois at Their Regular Meeting, Begun and Held at Springfield January 5, 1857* (Springfield, 1857), pp. 970–71. On the procedural issue, see Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 18. None of the secondary literature has discussed this abortive motion, but it does sound like the intention Burnham attributed in 1882 to some of the founders. See the introduction to Section I.

78. The party affiliations were determined by the vote for the Speaker of the House on January 5. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Twentieth General Assembly*, p. 5. Davis of Vermillion County and Parker voted against the bill; Morris did not vote at all.

79. My graduate assistant David Forest superimposed the vote for the 1857 act on the 1858 Congressional electoral map in Cole, *The Era of the Civil War*, facing p. 178. It would be worth further

study to ascertain what happened in subsequent elections to representatives from solidly Republican counties who voted against the 1857 act. On German immigration to St. Clair County, see Biles, *Illinois*, p. 62.

80. See, for instance, William J. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School* (New Haven, 1995), p. 47.

81. Hovey included Denio's speech in the address he gave at the celebration in 1882 of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the University's founding. Hovey stressed that Denio's speech was the only one he had been able to locate. Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 188–91. On the women sent out by Governor Slade, see Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 6.

82. Manfred J. Holmes, "The Celebrations of the School," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 187–88. On Moulton's tenure on the Board, see Keith, p. 345.

83. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, p. 81.

84. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Twentieth General Assembly*, pp. 889–90.

85. Moulton's political career is a bit of an enigma, even in an era of major political realignments, and would warrant closer study. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War*, p. 336, n. 14 describes Moulton as "a prominent supporter" of the black laws of 1855 that barred free blacks from the state. Yet Moulton was elected to Congress in 1864 as the Republican representative at large, was in 1872 a member of the Liberal Republican Party that supported Horace Greeley rather than Ulysses Grant, served two terms in the 1880s as a Democrat in the House of Representatives in Washington, and returned to the Republican fold in 1896. Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical* 2:703, 811, 987, 1201–02. In a letter to Fell of January 9, 1884, in the Fell Papers, Moulton thanked Fell for defending him after *The Pantagraph* had attacked Moulton's loyalty to the Union during the Civil War.

86. Quoted in Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 45.

87. Biles, *Illinois*, pp. 91–92.

88. Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, pp. 158–64; and Lucas, *American Higher Education*, pp. 142–46.

89. *The Daily Pantagraph*, July 7, 1857. On Roe, see Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 38, 48. She attributes the words to Swett (p. 36), but Roe said them.

90. *The Daily Pantagraph*, September 30, 1857.

91. Quoted by Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:87. For a more complete text of the letter, see Powell's transcript cited above in n. 76. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, published in 1912, p. 94, states that Dr. Alexander Wilder of New Jersey, who had been visiting Springfield in 1857, had claimed some years earlier that he was responsible for recommending the name Normal University so that the school might be able to secure some unspecified funds in the future. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 18–19, n. 47, cites Cook and adds that Wilder was a contributor to the *Illinois Teacher* during Hovey's editorship. Since Murray's letter was written less than a year after the act was signed, I am inclined to give Post the credit for the name, though admittedly, Wilder could have suggested it to Post.

92. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School*, pp. 41–42.

93. *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report 1857–58*, pp. 15–16, 47–54. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 18, quotes Powell's words about why the institution was called a university, but adds, undercutting the significance of Powell's argument: "(t)he name too may have been something of a gesture toward the die-hards in the Industrial League."

94. *American Normal Schools: Their Theory, their Workings, and their Results, as Embodied in the Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the American Normal School Association, Held at Trenton, New Jersey, August 19 and 20, 1859* (New York, 1860), p. 103. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 46, ignores the statement about the plan to found an agricultural and mechanical department and introduces the statement about why the normal school was called a university with these words: "(i)n spite of the fact that the word university had been used, as mentioned before, partially to propitiate, or shall I say, confuse the friends of the Industrial University," but concedes "there was universally the feeling that the 'University' meant something." Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 18, ignores the exchange altogether.

95. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 20 and Pillsbury, "Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities," p. XCIII. See Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 264–65, n. 62, on the change to the Normal School Board.

96. "Principal's Report," in *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report 1857–58*, p. 381.

97. According to the University archivist, Jo Ann Rayfield, Wilkins identified himself in the census of 1860 as a teacher, but in 1870 as a clergyman. He became a Methodist Episcopal minister.



Section One

THE NORMAL UNIVERSITY, 1857-1867

Chapter 2 THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS: 1857–1867

The Normal University had been established on the cheap. Its endowment consisted of the interest, less than \$10,000 a year in 1857, that the State owed on the money it had borrowed from the University and Seminary Funds. This income was expected to pay for the yearly operation of the University. The cost of procuring the necessary land and constructing the required facilities was left, in a process of competitive bidding, to the community that offered “the most favorable inducements.” McLean County, under the leadership of Jesse Fell, a “friend of education,” made the winning bid, \$141,000; but the Panic of 1857 made it difficult for the citizens of Bloomington to honor their commitment. Since the new Republican Party had been the driving force behind the founding of the University, since Fell was one of Abraham Lincoln’s closest political confidants, and since the first president of the Board of Education, Ninian W. Edwards, was Lincoln’s brother-in-law, it was hardly coincidental that the future President served as the Board’s attorney.

The campus in North Bloomington, soon known as Normal, was designed to be the site of the state university. Old Main was built on a lavish scale, far larger than was required for a normal school. The final bill was an extraordinary \$187,000, nearly nineteen times the school’s annual operating budget. Fell hired William Saunders, who would become a prominent landscape architect, to lay out the Quad. A local farmer, Edwin W. Bakewell, and David Davis, a future justice of the United States Supreme Court, provided the land for the farm that would be needed by the agriculture department. Charles Hovey, the first principal, hired faculty members who could implement the plan, when the time came, to turn Normal into a full-scale university. He sent Dr. Joseph Addison Sewall to Harvard so that the physician could prepare to teach “agricultural chemistry” and, paradoxically, given Turner’s diatribes against the teaching of the classics, Hovey chose as a teacher of mathematics the man who may well be the most distinguished scholar who has ever taught at the University, Charlton T. Lewis, the author of what is to this day the standard Latin-English dictionary.

Turner’s hope that the faculty at the industrial university would engage in agricultural research seemed also to be within reach. In 1858 the Illinois Natural History Society, with Turner as its first president, was organized in Bloomington. The General Assembly charged the society with conducting a complete scientific survey of the State, and its museum was housed in Old Main. The Board’s sponsorship, after the Civil War, of the expeditions to the Rockies and the Grand Canyon led by the museum’s curator, John Wesley Powell, was a continuation of the Society’s research interest.

The Civil War was a decisive turning point in the University’s history. The students and many faculty members volunteered and formed their own unit under Hovey’s command: the Illinois Thirty-third Infantry, nicknamed by Hovey, the Schoolmasters Regiment. It was one of only two such units in the North and gave the new school a lasting reputation for patriotism. The departure of the

men for the battlefield contributed to the feminization of the teaching profession and, in the long run, to the declining prestige of teaching and the schools that prepared teachers. Secession finally allowed the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862. Although McLean County's bid of \$470,000 to transform the Normal University into the industrial university was considerably larger than Champaign's \$285,000, the General Assembly awarded the Industrial University to Urbana. It was widely suspected that the legislators had been bribed. The stopgap plan to establish, initially, only a normal school at the railroad junction north of Bloomington thus became the University's destiny for a century. Ironically, Sewall's student, Thomas J. Burrill, laid the foundations for the scientific eminence of the University of Illinois; and the most distinguished graduate of Normal's high school, Edmund J. James, the president of the University of Illinois from 1904 to 1920, was most responsible, at the beginning of the twentieth century, for the conversion of the latter institution, which had been until the 1890s basically an engineering school, into the real state university of Illinois. However, for the first decade of its existence, 1857–67, the Normal University was, as Jurgen Herbst said, "for all intents and purposes the state university of Illinois."¹

It served the interests of both the Normal University and the University of Illinois to obscure the real intentions of the founders of the Normal University and the circumstances surrounding the award of the industrial university to Urbana. Later historians of the Normal University were determined to prove that the school had been charged from its foundations with the task of training high school as well as elementary school teachers; and Bakewell's protracted legal actions to regain possession of the forty acres he had given for the University farm made it imperative to gloss over the implicit validity of his claim that the gift had been contingent upon its use by a department of Agriculture. As for the University of Illinois, it was not inclined to draw attention to the charges of bribery that accompanied its foundation.

7 BLOOMINGTON

Since the General Assembly insisted that the income from the Seminary and University funds could be employed only for the maintenance of the University and not for the purchase of a site or for the construction of buildings, the legislature directed the Board in the enabling act to receive proposals for locating the school and to select the place that offered "the most favorable inducements." The only other stipulations were that the site had to be easily accessible and not "detrimental to the welfare and prosperity of said normal university." Accordingly, the Board asked for bids, which were opened on May 7, after Board members had already investigated the proffered sites. The bidders were: Batavia (\$45,000), Washington (\$20,000), and the main contenders, Peoria (\$80,000) and Bloomington (\$141,000).²

The driving force behind Bloomington's bid was Jesse Fell. Nearly two hundred citizens of McLean County pledged \$71,000 in cash, land, or other services and goods such as nursery stock contingent upon the precise location of the University. Fell's own convoluted contribution was: a. if the University was situated within a mile of the corporate limits of Bloomington, \$500, payable in six and twelve months after the award was made, and ten acres located anywhere worth \$2,000; and b. if it was situated within three quarters of a mile, another \$1,500 in addition

to the \$500, payable in one, two, three, four, and five years, and a minimum additional donation of \$10,000 and eighty acres. The gift of Edwin W. Bakewell would prove highly contentious: forty acres located west of Main Street (the site today of Hancock Stadium) and worth an estimated \$8,000 that were to be used along with another forty acres pledged by Judge David Davis for the University farm that figured so prominently in the future plans for the institution.

McLean County pledged the \$70,000 it expected to receive from the sale of “swamp lands,” basically rich prairie land that was under water in the spring or after heavy rains and that needed to be drained. Congress had conferred this public land to the states in 1850—Illinois received 1,500,000 acres—and the General Assembly had in turn granted this land to the counties to pay for land reclamation. Any extra proceeds from the sales were to be applied to the county school fund or other internal improvements the county commissioners deemed expedient. The latter stipulation was the legal loophole that permitted the application of these funds to Bloomington’s bid.

Since it was dubious that the swamp lands could be sold in a timely fashion to pay for the construction costs, Hovey, who had sought the location of the school for Peoria, moved that the Board accept Bloomington’s bid on the condition that individual citizens guarantee the county’s subscription. Abraham Lincoln, as the Board’s attorney, drew up the bond, in which eighty-five men, most of whom had already subscribed individually to the bid, guaranteed on May 15 the payment of the county’s contribution in installments and assumed on a prorated basis the liability for the county’s obligations in case of a default. Several of them, like Fell and Bakewell, each provided surety for \$5,000.³ Ten of the guarantors, including Fell, had previously been members of the Industrial League.⁴

Lincoln’s personal involvement with the founding of the University was limited to this legal work. As one of the most prominent attorneys in the state, he was an obvious choice for the task. But there were other factors behind his selection. Lincoln was by 1857 the real head of the Republican Party in Illinois. He had deferred in 1856 to the selection of William H. Bissell as the Republican candidate for governor because he believed that the former Democrat could garner more votes than he could in southern Illinois, but in 1858 Lincoln was the party’s candidate for senator.⁵ The chair of the Board, Ninian W. Edwards, was married to the sister of Mary Todd Lincoln. Fell, who had known Lincoln since 1834–35 and who had often served as Lincoln’s host, subsequently became the secretary of the central committee of the Republican Party in Illinois and persuaded Lincoln to write the autobiography that figured prominently in his campaign for the presidency.⁶ Among the subscribers and guarantors were the two men who, along with Fell, procured Lincoln’s nomination in 1860: David Davis, whom Lincoln appointed to the United States Supreme Court in 1862, and Leonard Swett, who, like Davis, rode the eighth circuit with Lincoln for twelve years.⁷ Illinois State Normal University was the creation of Lincoln’s political and personal friends.

The new university was located north of Bloomington on 160 acres near the junction of two new, north-south rail lines: the Chicago and Alton (today the Amtrak line) and the Illinois Central (today Constitution Trail) that ran from Galena to Cairo. Indeed, the new settlement was known as North Bloomington or simply as the Junction until it was renamed unofficially after the school in

1858. Several of the subscribers, most notably Fell, were land speculators. Fell had been involved in real estate transactions in Chicago and Milwaukee, was the co-founder of Clinton, participated in the founding of Pontiac, Lexington, Towanda, LeRoy, and El Paso, made additions to Decatur and Bloomington, dealt in lots in Dwight and Joliet, and had acquired options along the rights-of-way of the two railroads. In fact, he had been instrumental in procuring their intersection north of Bloomington. Fell had plotted two hundred lots at the junction, the first of which had been offered for sale in June 1854, and planted thirteen thousand trees; but there had been few buyers. Fell thus had a considerable personal financial stake in securing the location of the new school.⁸ It was common in the mid-nineteenth century for rival groups of land speculators to compete over the location of colleges or such public institutions as normal schools or penitentiaries. Such colleges have been called “Booster Colleges” and their location coincided to a remarkable degree with the railroad grid.⁹

Among the arguments that Fell’s agent, John F. Eberhart, a former teacher and lecturer at institutes for teachers, adduced to the Board prior to its meeting on May 7 in favor of the junction was its moral and healthful atmosphere. Eberhart pointed out that “Peoria being a river and whiskey town, and all river towns were malarial districts.”¹⁰ Eberhart’s contention played on the agrarian mythology of the antebellum period that a rural setting was more conducive than a city to protecting students’ morality, a crucial concern in the preparation of future teachers at a coeducational school.¹¹

Fell did everything in his power to assure the preservation of Normal’s virtuous character. The deeds to the lots he sold prohibited the sale of liquor, and after every man, woman, child, and University student—901 people in all—at his instigation signed a petition, the General Assembly granted Normal in 1867 a town charter forbidding in perpetuity the establishment of saloons.¹² When Richard G. Browne, the executive officer of the Teachers College Board, reviewed in 1957 Helen Marshall’s centennial history of the University, he proudly pointed out that Normal had never permitted the sale of liquor nor for two-thirds of its existence cigarettes and still had neither a pool room nor a bowling alley.¹³ Normal has changed its laws since 1957, but in 1857 it was, as the legislature had mandated, an easily accessible site and conducive “to the welfare and prosperity of the said normal university.”

However, Fell was not simply a land speculator, but a “friend of education.” Before heading west from Pennsylvania in 1828 at the age of twenty, he had already taught school for two years. In a Fourth of July address he delivered in Clinton in 1833 or 1834, Fell had declared in good Whig fashion that it was “the first duty of our government” to establish a system of common schools and that he hoped “that the facilities of education may be multiplied and extended by the establishment of primary schools and all other institutions of learning—till not a part merely, but our entire population shall be intelligent and enlightened.” He was planning to found a seminary, a private secondary school, in North Bloomington, east of Broadway, before the passage of the 1857 act changed his plans.¹⁴ In 1853 he had sought the advice of President Francis Wayland of Brown University on how to organize the board of such a seminary and, more interestingly, he had asked for a copy of Wayland’s 1850 report to the corporation of Brown, a provocative and influential critique of the antebellum collegiate curriculum. Wayland contended,

in terms reminiscent of Turner's Granville Plan two years later, that the existing curriculum was becoming increasingly superficial as it tried to accommodate new subjects nor was it relevant to the needs of a rising middle class that was opening up a continent. Wayland called for new courses in applied science, agriculture, law, and teaching; and in 1850 Brown began offering courses in agricultural chemistry and civil engineering.¹⁵ Fell corresponded also with Horace Mann, though the extant letter from 1856, whose tone suggests some personal familiarity, deals with the health of Fell's son, who was a student at Antioch College, where Mann was serving as president.¹⁶ Fell was thus a man keenly interested in educational issues and in contact with prominent reformers prior to 1857.

The next major decision the Board faced was the selection of the principal. This title, which underscored the normal schools' character as secondary rather than collegiate institutions, referred to the head's role as the main or principal teacher.¹⁷ Ninian W. Edwards, whom Hovey disparaged for being "a little 'at sea,'" preferred the far more distinguished title chancellor employed at Oxford and Cambridge.¹⁸ Chancellor would have been, however, a more appropriate title for the presiding officer of a university. The Board changed the title in 1866 to president, which had already been used earlier unofficially, and specified that the male teachers were to be known as professors.¹⁹ (Not until 1874 did the Board contemplate the possibility that women could be professors, too.)²⁰

Fell's preferred candidate was Mann, with whom Fell negotiated privately about coming. Hovey used his position as the editor of the *Illinois Teacher* to orchestrate the opposition to Mann and to advance his own candidacy. Hovey appealed to the native xenophobia by declaring that the principal needed to be a resident of Illinois familiar with local conditions—an odd argument for a man who had settled in Illinois only in 1854. His supporters hinted loudly that Peoria needed to be appeased after losing the bidding for the University and that Mann, unlike Hovey, was an abolitionist. Once Mann withdrew, the only other candidate was William F. Phelps, the principal of the Trenton Normal, who obtained the votes of five of the Board members. On June 23, 1857, the Board by a majority of only one vote chose Hovey as the first principal.²¹

The University opened on October 5, 1857, on the third floor of Majors Hall, the site of Lincoln's Lost Speech, at the corner of Front and East Streets in downtown Bloomington. A circular had been sent out during the summer stating the requirements for admission: a man had to be at least seventeen and a woman sixteen; the applicant had to submit a certificate signed by a responsible person that they were of good moral character; they needed to sign a declaration that they intended to teach in Illinois; and they were required to pass an examination in reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography, and elements of English grammar.²²

The first student to arrive was the twenty-three-year-old Enoch A. Gastman, Jr. (1834–1907), a resident of nearby Hudson in McLean County, who had already taught school and attended briefly both Illinois Wesleyan and Eureka. He subsequently became the superintendent of schools in Decatur (1862–1907) and was for more than thirty years a member of the Board (1871–1907) and later its president (1887–89, 1902–07). Gastman was the first graduate of the University to attain these posts.²³

Nineteen more students, six men and thirteen women, showed up on the morning of October 5; at the end of registration a week later there were forty-three. By October 1858 there were 127 students, fifty-three men and seventy-four women. At admission, the average age of these 127 students was slightly over twenty; forty-nine had already taught an average of two years; forty-two relied solely upon themselves for their support; and fifty-five were the children of farmers. The Class of 1860, the first to complete the three-year program and the last to finish before the outbreak of the Civil War, consisted of four women and six men. In short, the first students were a remarkably mature group, many of whom had prior teaching experience; and women and individuals from a rural background predominated. However, few students completed the course—the Class of 1861 had only eight students, two women and six men—and unlike the matriculants, men outnumbered the women among the graduates. These statistics may present the first inkling that the teaching profession was being feminized but that men were more likely to complete the course, perhaps because they perceived graduation as a way to advance their careers.

The model school, with Mary Brooks as the teacher, opened with seven pupils on November 2 on the second floor of Majors Hall. By 1858, thirty children were enrolled.²⁴

Hovey's first hire was, as has already been pointed out, a Bridgewater and Yale graduate, Ira Moore, who had been the head of the normal department at Chicago High School. He actually ran the University while Hovey was preoccupied with the financing and construction of Old Main. After leaving Normal in 1861, Moore became a professor of mathematics at the University of Minnesota, the founding principal of the normal school at St. Cloud, Minnesota (1869–75; today St. Cloud State University), and after a stint at the normal in San Jose (today San Jose State University), the principal in 1883 of the now defunct normal school in Los Angeles.²⁵

Two other Hovey hires provide some revealing insights into his understanding of the University's long-term mission. Hovey's and Moore's colleague in the fall of 1857 was Charlton T. Lewis (1834–1904), who taught mathematics and who left already for reasons of health in January 1858, but who was remembered for his erudition. Lewis, a Yale graduate, subsequently became a lawyer, insurance company actuary, classicist, and an instructor at Harvard, Columbia, and Cornell; but he is best known today as the co-author of the standard, one-volume, Latin-English dictionary published by Oxford University Press—it has more than two thousand pages of small print—that is referred to simply as Lewis and Short.²⁶ Lewis is probably the most eminent scholar and polymath who ever taught at the University, but one wonders what members of the Industrial League who attacked the study of dead languages thought of the hire.

Even more intriguing was the choice of Dr. Joseph Addison Sewall (1830–1917) as a faculty member. He had read medicine in Maine, but had abandoned his practice and had moved in 1854 to Illinois, where he taught school and opened a drug store in Tonica in LaSalle County. During a visit to Bloomington in 1858, Hovey asked Sewall to teach the natural sciences. When Sewall objected that he was not qualified to do so, they agreed that Sewall should prepare himself. He attended lectures in agricultural chemistry at the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale and then

entered the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard, where he studied with some of the leading scientists in the United States: the botanist Asa Gray (1810–88), the chemist and discoverer of baking powder, Eben N. Horsford (1818–93), and the zoologist and geologist Louis Agassiz (1807–73). Upon his return in 1860, Sewall joined the faculty and taught at the University until 1877, when he assumed the presidency of the new University of Colorado. He subsequently became the superintendent of the United States Department of Agriculture's Grass Experimental Station at Garden City, Kansas.²⁷ Hovey clearly intended to fulfill the legislative mandate to teach agricultural chemistry at the Normal University. The Board itself was uncertain what precisely that mandate entailed and how to implement it. At the Board meeting on December 21, 1859, Judge Joel S. Post, who had introduced the 1857 act in the Senate and who had just joined the governing body, persuaded the Board to appoint a committee to consider the establishment of an agricultural professorship. A subcommittee composed of Post, Cyrenius B. Denio, the impassioned defender of public education in February 1857, and Simeon Wright reported back the following day that it was the University's mission to prepare competent teachers and that the school would be unable to furnish the thorough and extended course of studies desired by the agriculturalists. Even if the University could offer the instruction, it lacked the financial means to improve the one hundred acres that had been designated for the model farm and to build the necessary buildings. However, since the subcommittee realized how much the Board wanted to further agriculture, it recommended that when the University Building was completed, there would be ample space in it for lectures and laboratory rooms and that the Board should allow the use of the building and the school's lands for agricultural purposes as long as such use did not interfere with the University's primary purpose. The Board agreed.²⁸ This report, prepared by two of the men who had secured the passage of the 1857 act, shows that while the University was, as Superintendent William H. Powell had said, for the time being a normal school, it was everyone's hope, when the financial resources became available, to expand the University's mission. In the meantime the University would provide the agricultural interests in the State with as much assistance as it could.

Whether or not an agricultural school was founded in association with the normal school, it was crucial, Superintendent Powell stressed, in his report to the legislature in 1858, that the University include in its course of study "a theoretical knowledge of the science of agriculture in all its branches." This was a necessity in a predominantly agrarian state because a "boy in our common schools, destined to the life of a farmer, should be taught the scientific admixture of soils, and the principles of practical horticulture and arboriculture, as it is that he should be instructed in the art of framing sentences . . ." ²⁹ It is doubtful that the University could have conveyed to the sons and daughters of farmers who were preparing to teach in rural schools any agricultural knowledge that they and their young charges had not already learned at home. In fact, the College of Agriculture at the University of Illinois was a failure until the 1890s because farmers derived little economic benefit from the knowledge it disseminated; as late as 1893–94 only three students were enrolled in the College's regular course.³⁰ Agricultural education in the 1850s was a chimera.

2 THE ILLINOIS NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The desire to assist the agricultural interests in Illinois lay behind the University's association with the newly formed Illinois Natural History Society. The Society was the creation of Cyrus Thomas (1825–1910), a former minister, lawyer, and entomologist, who worked after the Civil War as an entomologist for the United States Geological and Geographical Survey in the Territories. He is most famous, however, for his twenty-eight-year association with the federal Bureau of Ethnology, where he proved that Native Americans had built such earthen mounds as Cahokia in the eastern half of the United States. Thomas proposed in a letter to the State Teachers Association that was meeting in Decatur in December 1857 that they join in the formation of a society to study the flora, fauna, geology, and mineralogy of Illinois and that the society's collection should be housed at the University, which would also host its meetings. Interested educators and naturalists met in Bloomington on June 30, 1858, and organized the Illinois Natural History Society. Turner was elected president, Hovey secretary, and Charles D. Wilbur, who taught geology at the University in 1861–62, the society's general agent.

In his after-dinner speech on "Microscopic Insects," Turner spoke about the millions of dollars of damage that insects caused agriculture every year and the need for entomological research, which could be carried out in a partnership between the University and the Society. He said:

We need here a score of the best minds in the country, under some central head, like this society, or the Normal University, provided with the best microscopes and other needed apparatus . . . We, the people of the State, look to this institution, this Normal University, and this scientific association, to arouse as well as instruct the masses of the Great West, and turn their millions of eyes toward the solution of these mighty mysteries of matter and of nature, toward the ultimate conquest of mind over these elemental atoms, these moving forces of earthly destiny.³¹

Turner, who had been forced to downplay the importance of research to obtain popular support for his proposed industrial university, had returned to this theme.

When the General Assembly chartered the society on February 22, 1861, it specified that:

The object and purpose of the said society shall be to conduct and complete a scientific survey of the state of Illinois, in all the departments of natural history, and to establish a museum of natural history at the State Normal University, comprising every species of plants, insects, quadrupeds, birds, fishes, shells, minerals and fossils, within state limits as far as can be obtained, comprising also such other collections of natural history from various parts of the world, as may be deemed necessary by said society.

The legislators stipulated that the museum was for the use of the Society's members and the citizens and schools of Illinois and was to be accessible to the University's students. In addition, the Society was to maintain a library of scientific works.³²

The provision that the Society could procure "collections . . . from various parts of the world" provided the legal authorization for the Board's postwar sponsorship

of John Wesley Powell's explorations of the Rockies and Grand Canyon. Turner's call at Granville for "a general cabinet [at the industrial university], embracing everything that relates to, illustrates, or facilitates any one of the industrial arts, especially all sorts of animals, birds, reptiles, insects, trees, shrubs, and plants found in this State and adjacent States" had been realized. The new University Building—Old Main—was designed to include a museum with over fifteen hundred square feet allotted to it.³³

3 OLD MAIN AND THE QUAD

The University Building was intended to be the highly visible symbol of the founders' aspirations for the University and the belief that universal education was the foundation of republican government. Superintendent Powell was quite explicit on this point in his report to the legislature in December 1858, at a moment when the Panic of 1857 had caused construction to come to a halt. It was to be, he said, "the largest and finest Normal School building in the Union" because it needed to accommodate three hundred students in the normal department and two hundred pupils in the model school. Its location "at the junction of two of the greatest railroads of the State, sufficiently removed from the city to be clear of all contaminating influences," would make it more visible to the citizens of Illinois and to "the countless throng from all parts of the world" who traveled on the railroads than if it had been built at any other place in the State. Powell concluded with a ringing peroration:

Its bold and commanding appearance will thus be a perpetual advertisement to the whole world, that Illinois, not only recognizes universal education as the first necessity of republican government, but has made ample provision for the special preparation of those upon whom the primary education of the people must depend. Truly, if every school in the land be a watch tower of liberty, this beautiful structure, when completed, will be an impregnable fortress, against which the wild waves of ignorance and tyranny might eternally beat in vain.³⁴

Powell was not unique in seeing the propagandistic and symbolic value of school architecture. In Northern cities in the mid-nineteenth century high schools were "cathedrals of learning," whose impressive dimensions and elaborate architecture were intended to demonstrate the cultural authority of their builders and the special role of the high school—in this case, the normal school—as the crown of the centralized system of common schools.³⁵

The plans for the building were certainly grandiose enough. In the spring of 1857 Hovey and Dr. George P. Rex made a special point of studying school architecture in such places as Philadelphia and New York during their tour of Eastern normals and high schools. The physician thought that the normal school in Trenton provided the best model, but Hovey considered it or any existing school unsuitable to the peculiar needs of the University: namely, how to assemble five hundred adults comfortably in one place and then to move them quickly into separate rooms. The Board accepted on July 14, 1857, the plans drafted by the Chicago architect G. P. Randall in accordance with Hovey's specifications.³⁶

Hovey rejected the collegiate model, in which students studied in private rooms and could easily assemble in a chapel or in a classroom for recitations. The "graded"

model, in which each teacher had their own room, was appropriate for the model school; and the first floor of Old Main had, in addition to the reception room and the principal's office, four classrooms, each with seating for fifty pupils, for the primary, intermediate, grammar, and high schools, respectively. Hovey adopted for the normal school proper the "Lancastrian Model," named after a widely emulated system devised by the English educator, Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838), for the instruction of large numbers of poor elementary school pupils. A single master in this scheme could teach as many as five hundred children with the assistance of the older pupils who drilled their younger charges in smaller groups. The second floor, sixteen feet high, had, accordingly, a central normal school room, 3,960 square feet in size that sat three hundred students, and eight classrooms: two lecture halls, each 1,632 square feet in size; four rooms, each containing 690 square feet; and two smaller rooms with 405 square feet. According to Hovey in 1858, students would be able to move under his plan between the assembly hall and classrooms in two minutes.

The schizophrenic intentions of the founders were on display on the twenty-foot-high third floor. Besides the museum, it included Normal Hall, a 4,875 square-foot room that could seat one thousand people, a library, a music room, and a gallery for paintings and statuary—the latter intended presumably for plaster casts of ancient and Renaissance works of arts as can still be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (the University's museum was never furnished). No one explained how plaster casts, say, of the Laocoon or Michelangelo's David, fit into the preparation of a teacher in a one-room, country schoolhouse. The basement housed the janitor's apartment, the furnace or boiler room, a laboratory, chemical lecture room, and playrooms for the boys and girls of the model school in inclement weather.³⁷

After receiving bids, the Board hired contractors on August 18; the contract specified that the building would be completed by September 1, 1858, in time for the opening of the second school year. Work was sufficiently advanced on the foundation so that the cornerstone could be laid on September 29 in a festive ceremony. Then the Panic of 1857 hit and the value of land plummeted. The subscribers could not honor their commitments, and the county's swamp lands, which could have been sold a few months earlier considerably above their assessed value, were unsalable at that price, the price the commissioners were legally mandated to charge. Work on the building came to a complete halt in December because the Board lacked the funds to pay the contractors, though Superintendent Powell took care to point out in his report of December 1858 that every measure had been taken to protect from the elements the stone and lumber that had been assembled at the construction site.³⁸

The tale of how the funds were procured to build Old Main is a story of such skulduggery that the perpetrators, most notably Hovey, would be indicted today on numerous counts. The Board considered the possibility of taking legal action to force the guarantors to pay the amounts for which they had provided surety, but such a measure was rejected because it would have ruined the institution's friends. Hovey was especially bitter that Judge Davis, a man reputedly worth four million dollars, refused to make any payment until the building had been completed and thus set a bad example to the other subscribers. Finally, in June 1859 the Board

gave the Building Committee *carte blanche*; as Hovey put it: “our Board made its Building Committee dictator, and decreed that it should take care that the University received no detriment; in other words, that the building should be constructed anyhow and now—and said committee should do it.”

The key was to find a buyer in the East for the swamp lands. When no experienced businessman was willing to undertake the venture, the committee hit upon an exceedingly unlikely choice, Chauncy M. Cady (d. 1889), the instructor of vocal music at the University, whom Hovey described as “not afflicted with any serious tenderness” about trying to sell the land. Cady did identify a buyer, but to complete the transaction Cady needed deeds to the land that could be transferred to the buyer. Since the county commissioners would issue the deeds only if they were paid, Hovey himself purchased 7,000 or 8,000 acres by giving the county notes, payable in installments, for \$25,000 or \$30,000—he is vague on the specifics in his account. The county then turned over the notes to the Board as part of its subscription.

The deeply indebted Hovey had the deeds, but Cady had lost the buyer in New York. Hovey, who had acted without the Board’s authorization, was now liable for the payment of the notes as they came due. Then rumors spread—almost certainly spread by Hovey himself—that a single party had purchased \$25,000 worth of county lands; the land had to be worth something after all. Superintendent Powell got his colleagues in Springfield—the state auditor, treasurer, and secretary of state—to make purchases as well; and the market in McLean County swamp land improved noticeably and construction resumed. Work was sufficiently advanced that the Class of 1860 was able to hold its commencement in Old Main in June. The building was finally completed during the spring and summer of 1861, nearly three years late and at the very moment that the faculty and students at the University were marching off to war.³⁹

However, a full accounting of the costs of the building remained. The Board indicated in December 1860 that the University Building, “the very best building of the kind in America, and perhaps in the world,” had cost approximately \$145,000, of which \$76,000 had been paid. It had expected to receive \$103,475 from the subscribers and McLean County, but due to the Panic, it had collected only \$84,000. The bottom line was that it had \$65,000 in unpaid bills, and no way to meet its obligations.⁴⁰

The only alternative was to appeal to the General Assembly for assistance. With the help of Richard J. Oglesby (1824–99), the local state senator and future three-time governor of Illinois, the Board invited the members of the legislature and their families and Governor Richard Yates (1818–73), another of Turner’s former students at Illinois College, to attend the dedication of the building on January 24, 1861. The Chicago and Alton provided free transportation from Springfield to Normal. The guests toured the building—they were especially impressed by “the highly polished brass cuspidors that lined the lower halls,” were served a cold lunch, listened to student exercises, one of which dealt with the timely theme of the fortifications of Fort Sumter, and heard speeches by the governor and other dignitaries. In the evening there was a banquet in Bloomington with ninety-six items on the menu and “a sparkling fluid, which gave spirit to their wit and sparkle to their sentiments,”—a meal, arranged, ironically, by the teetotaling Mrs.

Fell—and a ball.⁴¹ The lobbying worked. On February 14 the State agreed to pay the \$65,000; officially, the General Assembly stated that it was rectifying the State's previous misuse of the interest on the College Fund.⁴²

But that was not the end of the story. It turned out that the Board owed its creditors another \$42,000. The Board managed to raise \$10,000 from the sale of the county's swamp land, but in 1865 the General Assembly appropriated \$31,214.91 to cover the balance. The legislature conducted a thorough inquiry and determined that the Board and General Hovey had acted honorably and had committed no fraud, but the University was advised to live within its means in the future.⁴³ The total cost of Old Main and its furnishings was thus an unbelievable \$187,000, approximately nineteen times the University's operating budget in Fiscal Year 1858! During a case involving one of the Board's creditors, the Illinois Supreme Court had ruled that the University was the Board's property, so that its assets could be seized and sold to pay the debt.⁴⁴ To clarify the University's legal status, the General Assembly on February 28, 1867, declared that the University was "a state institution" and that the Board held its property in trust for the State to whom all its assets belonged.⁴⁵

In 1935 the proud Charles A. Harper, an associate professor at the University, wrote about Old Main, the usual name by the end of the nineteenth century for the chief building at normals across the country:⁴⁶ "(i)t stands today, the oldest building in use for Normal School purposes in America and still maintains its dignity. Even today it is impressive and gives its effects of size, permanence and solidity."⁴⁷ Yet, in February 1946 the State's Division of Architecture and Engineering determined that the tower was leaning and that the third floor was unsafe. All offices and classrooms on the second and third floors had to be emptied in forty-eight hours, and by the end of the summer the cupola and third floor had been demolished.⁴⁸ The sadly truncated building, now with a flat roof, survived little more than a decade. The remaining two stories were torn down in 1958.⁴⁹

In this era of historical preservation, it seems incredible that such a venerable building would have been destroyed with so little thought about saving it. After all, another of Randall's buildings, the three-story, neo-Gothic University Hall, completed in 1869 at a cost of \$125,000, still graces the campus of Northwestern. Clearly, there were already in 1865 apparently unfounded suspicions that fraud had been involved in the construction of Old Main; and it cannot have helped that many of the materials, especially the lumber employed to frame it, no matter how well protected against the elements, were exposed to the weather for a year and half while work was suspended. Hovey may have laid his finger on the real problem in his autobiography, when he wrote that one of the two blunders in the design was that "the center tower has nothing to roost on but a bridge."⁵⁰

The present University architect, Rickey Dean Kentzler, examined plans from the 1940s, when some structural steel columns were installed to support the wood frame, and was surprised by the "rather small framing beams that the new steel was supporting." In addition, in his view, the tower "was somewhat out of scale with the rest of the building, likely resulting in problems with wind, eccentric loading, proper support, etc."⁵¹ Another architect and historical preservationist also concluded that the tower may have been part of the problem, particularly if the foundation built on swampy land was not adequate to bear the load.⁵² Old Main

was probably unsalvageable, but for decades, like Watterson Towers today, it had been a beacon of education, visible for miles around on the flat prairie.

The grounds were also intended to advertise the new University's mission. The Board hired a distinguished landscape architect, William Saunders (1822–1900), who later drew up the plans for the national cemetery at Gettysburg, to devise a plan for fifty-six acres located in the immediate vicinity of Old Main. He recommended that a flower garden, with native species that could be studied for botanical purposes, be placed immediately north of the building with space for buildings to the east and west (where Felmley and Schroeder now stand) or in the interim for grassy lawns. To the south of Old Main, he recommended the planting of "as great a variety of trees as would be sufficiently hardy to withstand the climate. Further to add to the ready comparison of species, they have, as far as is consistent with a suitable landscape disposition, been grouped in separate sections, with walks somewhat regularly disposed, for the more convenient inspection of the various parts."⁵³ In a letter to Fell, who had hired Saunders to design the gardens for his own home, he wrote that he had considered that "an arboretum of all hardy trees would be desirable surrounding and in connection with an educational character of the institution." Saunders charged \$65, seemingly paid by Fell, for his efforts.⁵⁴ This concern with landscaping may have been inspired by Turner's Granville Plan as well as by Fell's love for trees. Turner had proposed that: "(t)here should be grounds devoted to botanical and common gardens, to orchards and fruit-yards, to appropriate lawns and promenades, in which the beautiful art of landscape-gardening could be appropriately applied and illustrated . . ."⁵⁵ Saunders, perhaps in homage to Turner, even proposed a hedge of Osage oranges at the southern end of the grounds.

The delays in the construction of Old Main and then the outbreak of the Civil War prevented any actions on Saunders' plan, but after the war Fell implemented it. He arranged in 1867 for his appointment to the Board for that express purpose and procured an appropriation of \$3,000 from the legislature to landscape the campus. He supervised the undertaking and in the spring of 1868, 1,740 trees were planted. He even established, as Saunders had recommended, a small nursery to grow stock.⁵⁶ The Quad, the crowning glory of Illinois State University, is the living monument to the founders' vision for the future of the University.

4 THE CIVIL WAR

As a product of the Republican ascendancy in Illinois, it was hardly surprising that the faculty and students of the Normal University responded quickly and enthusiastically to the summons to arms. Looking back nearly fifty years later, John H. Burnham, Class of 1861, who admitted that he had voted for Stephen A. Douglas, remembered that "(t)he year 1860 was one of great political excitement," though none of the students had understood at the time the real significance of the election of 1860. On the morning of April 15, 1861, the day after the surrender of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers to serve for three months. That evening, after a rally at the courthouse in Bloomington, 113 men, including Joseph G. Howell, a member of the first graduating class, who was the principal of the model school, and four students enlisted in the Bloomington Company, part of Illinois' initial contribution of six regiments. First Lieutenant Howell was killed on February 15, 1862, at Fort Donelson, Tennessee, the first

graduate of the University to die for his country. At the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the University's founding, his friends placed a commemorative marble tablet in the room where he had taught. (It is now located outside Hayden Auditorium in Metcalf.)

To prevent the other students from enlisting immediately in a war that everyone assumed would be of short duration, Hovey advised them to remain in school and to train in case they would be needed. If they were, Hovey would join them. He hired Captain John W. White to drill the students after school and on Saturdays. While the Normal Rifles marched and practiced the manual of arms, the women collected old linens and made bandages. At a ceremony in Normal Hall on June 5, the women presented the men with a banner they had prepared. Sophie Crist (d. 1863), a member of the graduating class, said in her presentation that it was to be the "talisman" of their "holy mission." After the term ended on July 2, Hovey and Fell went to Washington to see Lincoln about organizing a schoolmaster's regiment. They arrived in time to witness on July 21 the Union's defeat at the first Battle of Bull Run. Characteristically, Hovey went out to the battlefield, while Fell tended to the wounded in an improvised hospital. The President authorized subsequently the formation of the Illinois Thirty-third Infantry, Hovey's Schoolmaster Regiment, and commissioned Hovey as its colonel.

Within three days in August, 171 men from McLean County enlisted in the regiment. Several faculty members became officers: Burnham, Julian E. Bryant (d. 1864), Ira Moore, Leander H. Potter (d. 1879), and Dr. Edward R. Roe. Two Board members also joined: Dr. Rex became the regimental surgeon and Simeon Wright the quartermaster. According to Burnham, every able-bodied male graduate of the classes of 1860, 1861, and 1862 eventually served; he thought that the same was also true of the men who did not complete the three-year program. Altogether, eight faculty members, ninety-four students in the normal department, and fifteen pupils in the model school enlisted in the Thirty-third or another unit. Ten died. The only other student regiment was the Forty-second Ohio, commanded by the president of Hiram College, Colonel James A. Garfield (1831–81), the twentieth president of the United States. Burnham was insistent that the Schoolmaster's Regiment gave the University an enduring reputation for patriotism.⁵⁷ No doubt, the faculty's and students' response also legitimized the new institution.

Hovey resigned officially as principal on June 16, 1862, and became a brevet major general and a Washington lawyer. It is hard to imagine that Old Main would have been built without his willingness to use ethically and perhaps legally questionable means, but his ambitions and abrasive personality were also a liability. In spite of its jocular tone, it is clear from Hovey's autobiography that his relations with several board members—Ninian W. Edwards, George Bunsen, and Flavel Mosley, the president of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago—and the powerful Judge Davis were tense.⁵⁸ During Hovey's absence in 1861–62 a Board member, Perkins Bass, a Chicago attorney and former principal in that city, had served as acting principal.

Hovey's successor, Richard Edwards, had been since 1857 the principal of the St. Louis Normal School. The outbreak of the war had disastrous financial consequences for that school, and slave-owning Missouri was not a safe home for an abolitionist. So Edwards was quite eager to come to Normal.⁵⁹ Still, if

Hovey had stayed, he might have been prepared, unlike Fell and Edwards, to fight Champaign County, perhaps even with dubious means, for the location of the new industrial university that was to teach agriculture and the mechanical arts.

5 THE FEMINIZATION OF TEACHING

Burnham contended that the male students' departure for the battlefield permanently altered the gender ratio at the University, from one of near equality between the sexes to one where women predominated.⁶⁰ The figures bear him out only in part. Initially, as we have already seen, women outnumbered men; and in the school year that ended in June 1859, there were only 50 men (38 percent) compared to 81 women. The balance shifted noticeably in favor of men on the eve of the war: in June 1860 the number of men and women was equal (61), and in June 1861, when Burnham graduated, there were more men than women (84 to 77). Understandably, the number of men declined, relatively, though not in absolute terms, during the war: by June 1863 men were down again to 38 percent of the student body (78 to 127) and in June 1865, they were only 28 percent (78 to 204). So the war did provide more women with new opportunities, but men returned to the University in growing numbers after 1865. By June 1867 men once again composed 38 percent of the student body (121 to 206) and by June 1871 they were 45 percent (208 to 256) and in June 1875, 46 percent (216 to 251). The relative decline in the number of men came later in the century; for example, in 1880 men were once again only 31 percent of the student body (133 to 299) and in 1890, 33 percent (224 to 453).⁶¹ The real story is that the number of both male and female teachers increased but that proportionately more women than men joined the profession.

If we look at the State as a whole, there were in 1860, 3,638 schools, presumably one-room schools, taught exclusively by men; but women were by themselves in only 1,961 schools; women and men taught together in 758 schools and alternately in 4,435. While men predominated in 1860, the gender ratio had shifted dramatically by 1890. At that point 1,380 men taught in graded schools and 5,600 in ungraded schools versus 6,658 women in graded schools and 9,451 in ungraded schools, i.e., men formed by the late nineteenth century about 30 percent of the teaching force in Illinois.⁶² If anything, the University was attracting slightly more men than the profession at a whole.

The real explanation for the feminization of teaching was that it was cheaper for a school district to hire a woman than a man. In 1860 the average monthly salary of a male teacher was \$28.82 and for a female teacher, \$18.80; in 1890 the salaries were, respectively, \$48.35 and \$36.68.⁶³ If the students' patriotism in 1861 had raised the University's prestige and visibility, its feminization had the opposite effect as the ambiguities in the status of teachers, especially women teachers, who were never considered the equals of men in the learned professions, were transferred to the institutions that prepared them.

6 THE MORRILL ACT

Secession removed Southern opposition to the Morrill Act, which had been first introduced in Congress in 1857; and Lincoln signed the bill on July 2, 1862. Turner and Lincoln were hailed in Illinois as the real fathers of this act that established the

system of land grant universities, the most important piece of federal legislation in the field of higher education in the nineteenth century. An extreme expression of this view was put forth by Burt E. Powell in his 1918 semi-centennial history of the University of Illinois. "It [the idea for the Morrill Act] was proposed by an Illinois man, Jonathan B. Turner; it was advanced, fought for and developed by a faithful group of Illinois men; in 1862, more than a decade after its first proposal [that is, the Granville Plan], it was made the basis of an act known as the Land Grant Act, signed by an Illinois man in the president's chair, Abraham Lincoln."⁶⁴

Powell's formulation of Turner's and Lincoln's roles is overblown. Turner deserves the credit for first proposing that the federal government grant public lands directly to the states to endow universities, but he was hardly alone or the first to demand a more practical curriculum geared to the needs of a society in the first throes of industrialization. More important, there is no evidence for any direct contact between Turner and Morrill or that Turner had a hand in the drafting of the legislation.⁶⁵ While it is true that Turner procured Lincoln's promise in 1860 to sign the act if he was elected, Turner obtained similar assurances from Stephen A. Douglas.⁶⁶

However, Winton U. Solberg probably goes too far when he states: "Lincoln, however, had no special concern for or understanding of industrial education, and it is unwarranted to treat him as another Illinois architect of the College Land Grant Act."⁶⁷ Such a conclusion is possible only if the Normal University is dismissed as simply a normal school, but Lincoln's closest political associates hoped, like Turner, to transform it into a "real" university as soon as Congress passed the land grant bill. As the leader of the Republican Party in Illinois and as the Board's lawyer, the future president could hardly have been oblivious to their plans. His signature was a foregone conclusion.

The Morrill Act required that at least one institution in each state, without excluding other classical or scientific studies, provide instruction in agriculture and the mechanical arts. The states implemented this provision in a variety of ways. For example, Michigan turned an existing agricultural college into an A&M school (Michigan State); Wisconsin converted its state university into a land grant university; Ohio created a new state university with these added responsibilities (Ohio State); Rhode Island, New Hampshire and four other states charged a private college with the task (Brown and Dartmouth); and New York and Indiana combined private munificence with the federal largesse (Cornell and Purdue).⁶⁸ Thus, there was no reason to preclude the long-planned expansion of the Normal University into a full-fledged university.

The passage of the act set off a fierce scramble in Illinois between the sectarian colleges, various communities, and rival organizations and interests like the Illinois State Agricultural Society to obtain some or all of the federal land grant for themselves and their purposes. After several years of acrimonious debate and maneuvering in and outside the legislative chambers, the General Assembly authorized towns and counties on January 25, 1867, to tax themselves and to issue bonds so they could bid for the establishment of the industrial university. Until then McLean County, unlike Champaign County or Turner in Morgan County, had remained quiescent—a fatal miscalculation that Hovey might have avoided.⁶⁹

Fell led the frenzied effort to secure the industrial university for Normal. By February 1 Fell and fifteen other prominent citizens were prepared to submit McLean County's tentative bid of the county's contribution, subject to a final approval by the voters on February 5 (it passed). They explained that they had not acted earlier because they felt it was improper to proceed until the legislature had passed the necessary enabling act authorizing communities to assume such a heavy burden of taxation. The proposed bid was for \$500,000: \$100,000 in bonds issued by Bloomington, an equal amount provided by Normal, \$200,000 in bonds offered by the county, and \$100,000 in real estate (over 7,000 acres had been subscribed), and other unspecified valuable property. It is unclear whether the unspecified property consisted of Justice Davis's offer of 20,000 acres of land in Missouri and Fell's promise of \$15,000 in cash or whether these pledges were additional donations. It was important, the signatories said, that four-fifths of their bid was in cash because it would be a long time before the State would realize any income from the sale of its land script and thus would require liquid assets to defray the initial costs.

The proposed site for the University was the one hundred acres adjacent to the Normal University that the State already owned and that had been "donated with the distinct understanding of being used for this purpose," i.e., the land Edwin W. Bakewell and Judge Davis had given in 1857 for the University farm. The bidders stressed the benefits of having the industrial university in close proximity to the Normal University with its "extensive museum of Natural History." Normal was, they pointed out, situated at the center of the State's population, close to its geographical center, and at the junction of two of its most important railroads. Other advantages were Normal's "health, pleasant and attractive surroundings, [the] high moral tone of society, the absolute and unqualified prohibition of the liquor traffic . . ."

To counter any allegations that they had not honored the commitments they had made in 1857, Fell and his associates reminded the legislators that a select committee of the House had acquitted McLean County of such charges at its last session. They concluded with the hope that "the noble band of co-workers who for the last twenty years in defiance of many obstacles have so freely spent time and money to bring it [the industrial university] into existence" would rally around and support the proposed institution.⁷⁰ In addition to Fell, eight of the signatories had been among the subscribers and guarantors of the 1857 offer, and a ninth, William A. Pennell, had invited Turner to deliver his speech at Granville. Justice Davis, who was presumably in Washington, was not a signatory; but he was prepared once again to make a substantial contribution. The bid of 1867 was the culmination of the effort to establish an industrial university in conjunction with a normal school.

A joint legislative committee visited the four communities that had submitted bids, made its own appraisal of their value, and issued its report on February 16. The bids were ranked in the following order: Morgan County (Jacksonville), \$491,000; McLean County, \$470,000; Logan County (Lincoln), \$385,000; and Champaign County, \$285,000. In the case of McLean County, the legislators indicated that the \$100,000 in real estate and other valuable properties consisted of \$50,000 in the carriage of freight on the Chicago and Alton, whose cash value they estimated at

\$35,000; forty-three and one-half acres adjoining the Normal University, valued at \$15,000; and the one hundred acres that had been donated for the farm, worth \$20,000.⁷¹ It should be noted that Fell and his fellow citizens had specifically excluded the one hundred acres in their bid and had talked about subscriptions of over seven thousand acres, not to mention Davis' twenty thousand acres in Missouri and Fell's \$15,000 in cash. It is impossible to explain the discrepancies, but a circular subsequently sent to the General Assembly by McLean County, signed by Fell and nine other citizens, accepted the accuracy of the joint committee's appraisal of the proffered real estate.⁷²

Nevertheless, the General Assembly awarded the industrial university to the lowest bidder, Champaign County, and Governor Oglesby signed the act on February 28, 1867. Predictably, the decision caused an uproar and charges of bribery by the corrupt "Champaign ring."⁷³ Mary Turner Carriel, who became the second woman trustee of the University of Illinois, commented that the legislature's choice of Urbana was the only time that she ever saw her father "discouraged or disheartened" "(t)hrough all the years of arduous work in establishing this Industrial University."⁷⁴

We will never know for certain what really happened, especially behind closed doors, but a few things are clear. Turner and Fell were laboring at cross purposes for their respective communities, Jacksonville and Normal; McLean County had entered the contest very late; and the problems with fulfilling the 1857 bid may have left lingering suspicions about the county's reliability.

However, the bottom line was that Champaign had outmaneuvered its rivals. Land speculators in that county had built a seminary building, the Urbana-Champaign Institute, the so-called "Champaign Elephant," between the two cities and were desperate to find a use for it to rescue their investment. The county and the two communities provided their representative in the House, Clark Robinson Griggs, with ample funds to secure the location of the industrial university. The County Board of Supervisors supplied Griggs with \$5,000 in his capacity as the executive agent of the local committee charged with the task and with another \$40,000 to cover the committee's expenses in Springfield, and the two towns gave several thousand more. Griggs and his associates entertained legislators lavishly, and he made promises about securing state appropriations for projects beneficial to their communities, while reminding them that McLean County already had the Normal University. Above all, Griggs procured his appointment as the chair of the Committee on Manufactures and Agriculture, the committee through which all bills about the location of the industrial university would be routed, with the right to name the committee's other members. When Griggs introduced the measure in the House on January 12, two weeks before communities were authorized to bid for the university's location, the statute already specified that Urbana would be the site of the industrial university.⁷⁵ It hardly matters whether individual legislators were bribed as well.

Both John H. Burnham and John W. Cook, who knew Fell personally, said at the dedication of the Fell Memorial Gateway in 1916 that the major disappointment of Fell's life was his failure to secure the location of the University of Illinois, as the Industrial University was renamed in 1885, at Normal.⁷⁶ We get some sense of Fell's bitterness from a memorial he sent on January 31, 1870, on behalf of the State

Teachers' Association to the state constitutional convention. While the Normal University was ably carrying out its mission of preparing teachers, Illinois, unlike all of its neighbors and even newer states like Minnesota and Kansas, still lacked a state university, though, Fell added, "Ann Arbor only have at present any just claims to the high rank." Illinois needed "not a University in name—another pretentious high-school—but what has not been fully organized on this continent, a University in fact."⁷⁷ He devised a scheme to establish such a university in Chicago with affiliated institutions in other parts of the State, most notably in Normal. It was to have an initial endowment of one million dollars, and he was prepared to give \$100,000 and had identified nine other benefactors who were prepared to make similar contributions. But Fell was unsuccessful in including a provision in the 1870 Constitution for the institution's permanent maintenance, and the plan, if it ever was a realistic one, failed.⁷⁸ Burnham may have been expressing in 1882 Fell's secret longings when he stated that the original intent of the founders in 1857 had been to establish a university with several different colleges, including law and medical schools, such as still did not exist anywhere in the United States.⁷⁹

7 THE NORMAL UNIVERSITY'S SCIENTIFIC LEGACY

Still, the full implications of the General Assembly's decision were not immediately apparent. In fact, the University gained national recognition as a sponsor of Major John Wesley Powell's expeditions and as a center for scientific research. The Illinois Natural History Society had published its first and last volume of transactions in 1861, when the outbreak of the war had disrupted further activities. The collection in its museum was in disarray because the curator had left, and there were allegations that he had misappropriated funds. The Society had put Professor Joseph Addison Sewall in temporary charge of the collection in June 1866, but Powell, who joined the faculty at Illinois Wesleyan that year, soon emerged as the museum's chief advocate. He drafted a memorandum to the legislature requesting the appointment of a full-time curator with a salary of \$1,500 and an additional \$1,000 to improve and enhance the collection. The General Assembly passed the measure unanimously, and Governor Oglesby signed the measure on February 28, 1867, the same day he approved the statute establishing the Industrial University.

The Board of Education was responsible for the appointment of the curator and the administration of the funds. It selected Powell as the curator on March 26 and agreed that \$500 of the state's appropriation be employed to finance Powell's expedition to the Rockies for the purpose of expanding the museum's collection. The expedition's botanist was Thomas J. Burrill (1839–1916), Class of 1865, Sewall's most famous student and at the time the superintendent of schools in Urbana. Powell did not return at the end of the summer, but the Board, greatly impressed by Powell's accomplishments, voted at its December meeting to pay him \$300 for the expenses he had incurred in making his private collection available to the museum and to give him \$600 to continue his explorations in the Rockies in 1868. Powell himself paid for assistants to unpack and classify the specimens he had sent to the museum.⁸⁰

In June 1868, before leaving for his second expedition, Powell gave the Board members a personal tour of the museum; and it voted to give him \$400 to purchase equipment for his explorations. Unbeknown to the Board or Illinois Wesleyan, the Industrial University, in a harbinger of where the future scientific leadership of

the State would lie, unanimously elected Powell as its professor of natural history. The botanist on the expedition to the Rockies was Dr. George Vasey (1822–93), who became in 1871 the acting curator of the museum and then in 1872 the chief botanist of the United States Department of Agriculture. One student, Samuel W. Garman (1843–1927), Class of 1870, also went along. After graduating, Garman studied with Louis Agassiz as a special student at Harvard and in 1873 became the longtime assistant director of herpetology and ichthyology at Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology; Harvard granted him honorary bachelor and master's degrees. Powell's exploration of the Grand Canyon in 1869 made him a national celebrity.

But the Museum, inundated with specimens (Edwards proudly reported that Powell had sent back from the 1869 expedition parcels of specimens weighing more than half a ton), was in even greater disarray. The assistants Powell hired in his absence were at best a stopgap measure. Powell performed his duties as curator for several months at the beginning of 1870, but there was a growing realization that he was not serious about staying or studying the flora and fauna of Illinois, especially after word leaked out that he had resigned the position at Urbana he had never filled. In December 1870 the collection was valued at \$95,000. There was no space to store, let alone display, the 100,000 botanical specimens, 15,000 fossils, 15,000 shells, and the 1,000 books. Sewall's teacher at Harvard, Louis Agassiz, toured the collection and was duly impressed but pointed out that a fire would be a disaster. A committee, consisting of Powell, Vasey, and Sewall, recommended the construction of a fireproof building with exhibition halls, a library, and laboratories at an estimated cost of \$75,000. The General Assembly, reluctant to allocate funds for a collection it did not legally own, made its annual appropriation of the curator's salary contingent upon the transfer of the title to the State. The moribund Illinois Natural History Society did so on June 22, 1871, and disbanded. A year later Powell officially resigned, and the Board appointed Stephen A. Forbes (1844–1930) as his successor.⁸¹

Forbes was the beneficiary of only an intermittent education, including a term at the Normal University in 1871 where he studied with Sewall, though Indiana University awarded him an earned Ph.D., his only academic degree, in 1884. As curator of the museum, officially renamed in 1876 the Illinois Museum of Natural History, Forbes focused on collecting Midwestern specimens, adding 12,000 specimens, predominantly from Illinois, to the collection each year, and shifted the museum's mission to scientific education and research. He helped organize in 1873 the School and College Association of Natural History, based at the museum, conducted in 1875 a summer school in natural history, taught by him, Sewall, and visiting faculty from Cornell and Urbana, and taught zoology at the Normal University. The legislature in 1877 established the State Museum in the west wing of the capitol, and duplicate specimens in the museum's collection were transferred there.

The museum in Old Main, which was legally under the jurisdiction of the Board but not technically part of the Normal University, was turned into the Illinois State Laboratory of Natural History with Forbes as its director. Between 1875 and 1882 Forbes did important research, some of it in the laboratory in Old Main, in the field of aquatic biology, and then shifted his work to entomology. He was appointed as the state entomologist in 1882. Three years later Forbes assumed the

professorship of zoology and entomology at the University of Illinois, and the State Laboratory of Natural History and the office of the state entomologist went with him. Forbes served as the dean of the College of Natural Science at Urbana from 1888 to 1905. There he did pioneering work in ecology and was still at his death the head of the Illinois Natural History Survey, the successor organization to the State Laboratory.⁸² Forbes' research at Normal was a realization of Turner's initial vision for the industrial university as a research institution, but Forbes' departure signified the end of its implementation at the Normal University.

The other product of the University's momentary scientific eminence was Sewall's student Thomas J. Burrill (1839–1916), the acting regent (president) of the University of Illinois from 1891 to 1894, whom Winton U. Solberg, its most recent historian, credits with laying the foundation for its development into a modern research university. After graduating from Normal in 1865, Burrill taught school in Urbana and joined the faculty of the Industrial University when it opened in 1868. He took Powell's place as the school's professor of natural history and botany. Burrill gained international renown as a plant pathologist when he demonstrated that fire blight, which attacked fruit trees, was caused by bacteria rather than fungi.⁸³ In short, Hovey's appointment of Sewall to teach agricultural chemistry and animal and vegetable physiology bore rich fruit in Urbana, but Illinois' new Industrial University might have developed more quickly into a full-fledged research university if it had not been tainted with the bitter recriminations surrounding its foundation and with Richard Edwards, a civil engineer, rather than John Milton Gregory, a classically trained minister, as its first regent.

§ THE FINANCIAL AFTERMATH

However, the financial implications of the award of the Industrial University to Urbana were immediately apparent. Edwards commented in the Board proceedings for June 26, 1867:

The appropriations of last winter were obtained under very great disadvantages. Had it not been for the contest about the Industrial University, a much larger sum might have been secured with less labor than was actually expended in getting the little that was given to us. The moral power of the University is sufficiently strong, and there seems to be no valid reason why other forces should not be so adjusted as to secure for us the funds that are essential to its highest success.⁸⁴

Six months later Edwards indicated how grim the University's finances really were. The annual state appropriation was \$12,445.99, of which \$9,900 was spent on faculty salaries. That left \$2,545.99 for heating the University Building, the janitor's wages, stationery, the personal expenses of Board members, and other contingencies. Heating Old Main alone cost \$2,300 a year. The school's expenses exceeded its state appropriation by \$3,485.07. Only the tuition paid by the pupils in the model school, approximately \$5,000 a year, kept the University afloat.⁸⁵ Complaints about under funding have been a constant refrain in the history of an institution that was endowed with the interest paid on non-existent funds and that nearly failed during the Panic of 1857.

9 REWRITING THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY'S FOUNDATION

After 1867 it was hard to justify a normal school's designation as a university. Already in 1888, William L. Pillsbury, the assistant superintendent of public instruction, who had been the principal of the model school in the 1860s, called the appellation "a misnomer," but explained:

There had long been talk of an 'industrial university,' in which there should be a normal department; and there was undoubtedly some thought when the normal school was established that it might sometime be the center for the other schools of agriculture and mechanic arts, the 'university' was retained in readiness against their coming. It will hardly be disputed that 'normal' is as apt a modifier of 'university' as 'industrial.'⁸⁶

Hovey resorted in 1897 at the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the school's foundation to a flight of nineteenth-century medievalism to explain the choice. He recalled that he had been asked in 1859 at the first meeting of the association of normal schools in New Jersey about the astonishing designation. The minutes that have already been quoted indicate that Hovey had explained, to the merriment of his hearers, that the founders wanted to procure the income from the University Fund and that they hoped to establish a university in fact as well as in name. Hovey remembered in 1897, however, that he had pointed out that the very first university in Salerno, a thousand years earlier, had been a medical school and the second one at Bologna a school for lawyers. So he concluded: "(i)n the early days, therefore, the term university was applied to professional schools. Now we were getting up another school for another profession, so we called it a university."⁸⁷ Harper, writing in 1935 after a bitter battle to preserve the University's right to prepare high school as well as elementary teachers and deeply resentful of Eastern elitism, linked, minus the medievalism, the school's name with its leadership in making education a profession.⁸⁸

Turner was marginalized in this rewriting of the University's history and, with him, his vision for the future of the University. In his autobiography, written in 1869, Hovey had been effusive in his praise, hailing Turner as the inspiration for the Morrill Act. "True, there was the great-brained Turner . . . whom all delighted to honor. This man we [the teachers] could follow. He was of us—had been a life-long teacher. He was the orator whose tongue uttered, at Granville, in Putnam County, the outline of an Industrial University, which was the origin of the magnificent institutions now springing up in every State by the munificence of Congress."⁸⁹ But by 1912 John Cook could write that Turner's Industrial League had "coquetted with the Normal contingent by proposing to make the Normal school a department of the University."⁹⁰ Harper went so far as to say: "the word university had been used . . . partially to propitiate, or should I say, confuse the friends of the Industrial University scheme. . ."⁹¹ Marshall writing in 1956, when the future of the teachers' colleges in the United States was already in doubt, was more diplomatic but the meaning was the same: "The name too may have been something of a gesture toward the die-hards in the Industrial League. . ."⁹² Turner had been a bit of a dupe.

However, it was the Bakewell case that made it imperative to disassociate the Normal University from any suggestion that the normal department was ever

intended to be merely the core of an institution that would provide instruction in agriculture and engineering. Edwin W. Bakewell had given the University in 1857 forty acres west of Main Street with the understanding that it would be the site of the model farm. Fell referred to the farm in 1857 at the laying of the corner stone of Old Main; Hovey told his fellow normal school principals at Trenton in 1859 that the land given by the citizens of Bloomington would be the site of the agricultural and mechanical departments; and Fell and the other signatories of McLean County's 1867 bid for the industrial university proposed that the acreage Bakewell and Davis had given in 1857 would be the location of the industrial university.

When the land was not employed for this purpose but was simply rented out to nurseries, Bakewell asked the Board in 1875 to return the land to his wife Julia on the grounds that it had not honored the conditions of the gift. The Board countered that since no such condition was stated in the bond and deeds with which Bakewell had conveyed the land to the Board, it was under no such legal obligation. Three years later he brought suit in the court of claims, but the court invoked the statute of limitations and rejected the claim. Bakewell then turned twice to the General Assembly for redress. He asserted that since the legislature had declared the University in 1867 to be a state institution, the disputed land was state property, a contention the Board denied. In 1885 the General Assembly directed the Board to return the land, but it rejected the legislature's jurisdiction and refused to comply. Two years later the General Assembly went so far as to threaten to make the University's appropriation contingent upon the Board's compliance. The Illinois Supreme Court ruled in 1887, after Bakewell brought suit, that the 1867 statute had not altered the University's legal status as a private corporation and that it was up to a court and not the legislature to determine whether Bakewell's gift had been conditional or not. Litigation continued until at least 1899. Ironically, the University's first farm was built at the site in 1912.⁹³

Regardless of the legal merits of Bakewell's case, he had every reason to believe that the farm would be built on his land, but that was not a point that later historians associated with the University could readily concede. Cook even suggested that Bakewell, misled by the phrase "including agricultural chemistry" in the 1857 statute, had conceived the "original idea" to establish "an agricultural experiment station" on the land he had donated and that Hovey, who was Cook's brother-in-law, might have hired Sewall to teach agricultural chemistry "to satisfy the conditions of the Bakewell gift."⁹⁴ Cook's interpretation was a deliberate distortion of the 1857 statute.

Indeed, by the early twentieth century, the teaching of agricultural chemistry was treated as a joke. In introducing a tale about a lecturer in chemistry who taught at "a galloping pace" (Sewall?), Sarah E. Raymond Fitzwilliam (1842–1918), Class of 1866, the former superintendent of schools in Bloomington and the first woman to hold such a position in the United States, reminisced: "One of our early peculiarities was the possession of ninety acres of land for a model farm, and the existence of the idea that agricultural chemistry, if no more, was to be taught in the institution. With the laudable desire to spread a little agricultural knowledge over as large a surface as possible . . ."⁹⁵

Cook professed in 1916 that he did not know why Fell's attempt in 1867 to procure the location of the industrial university at Normal had failed.⁹⁶ If Cook, an alumnus, a long-time faculty member, and the University's fourth president, did not know the story of the 1867 bid, it was willful ignorance. Burt Weed Loomis in his 1932 biography of Edwards merely hinted that "(t)here was some danger that the school would be changed to an industrial or State University, or abandoned altogether. . ."⁹⁷ A lost opportunity had been transformed into a threat to the school's mission. Harper did not mention the failed attempt, but Marshall touched on it briefly and concluded, correctly, in *Grandest of Enterprises*: "Illinois State University dedicated its future solely to the training of teachers."⁹⁸ Harper and Marshall, who were defending that institutional mission in their narratives, saw no advantage in remembering that the University's founders had harbored grander hopes.

Likewise, historians of the University of Illinois gained little by dwelling on the abortive attempt to establish the first land grant university in the United States in Normal. Such an admission would have drawn only greater attention to the shameful circumstances surrounding the award of the Industrial University to Urbana. Both universities profited from historical amnesia. Ironically, Illinois State Normal University, the "mother of western normals,"⁹⁹ may have been until the 1890s a more influential institution than the Industrial University. The late nineteenth century was the golden age in the University's history as a teacher preparatory school.

ENDNOTES

1. Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison, 1989), p. 112.
2. Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Biennial Report 1857–58*, p. 54.
3. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 23–29; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 19–25. The complete list of the subscribers and their contributions and the text of the bond and the list of the guarantors can be found in "Report of the State Board of Education," December 23, 1858, in Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Biennial Report, 1857–58*, pp. 371–76; and in John H. Burnham, "Normal University: Its Location and Construction," in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 17–24.
4. Fell Papers, Container 6, List of Members of Industrial League in McLean County.
5. Biles, *Illinois*, pp. 92–94.
6. Morehouse, *The Life of Jesse W. Fell*, pp. 50–62.
7. Mattingly, "Lincoln's Confidant Leonard Swett," pp. 15–16.
8. Marshall, "Jesse W. Fell," pp. 10–11, 16–18; idem, "The Town and the Gown," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 50 (1957): 141–52; and Morehouse, *The Life of Jesse W. Fell*, pp. 22–35, 85–91. On railroad construction, see Biles, *Illinois*, pp. 73–75.
9. Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, pp. 59–60; and Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, pp. 26–28.
10. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College*, p. 29; and Morehouse, *The Life of Jesse W. Fell*, pp. 42–43. Eberhart, as the school commissioner of Cook County, was the father in 1860 of the Cook County Normal School, and then served as the superintendent of schools in Cook County from 1865 to 1869. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 197, 262–64.
11. Lucas, *American Higher Education*, p. 126.
12. Marshall, "The Town and the Gown," pp. 152–53.
13. Richard G. Browne, Review of Marshall's *Grandest of Enterprises*, in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 50 (1957): 204–06.
14. Marshall, "Jesse W. Fell," pp. 3, 6–7 (quotation is on these pages), 18.
15. Fell Papers, Letter of Francis Wayland to Jesse Fell, January 29, 1853. On Wayland's report, see Rudolph, *The American College and University*, pp. 237–39; and idem, *Curriculum*, pp. 109–11.
16. Fell Papers, Letter of Horace Mann to Fell, June 23, 1856.
17. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, pp. 124–25.

18. Hovey, "The Autobiography of Gen. C. E. Hovey," pp. 36–37. Hovey added that Edwards' "ideas and words were as two kernels of wheat to two bushels of chaff."
19. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois Held at Normal, June 27 and 28, 1866* (Peoria, 1866), p. 3. For an earlier usage of president, see the Proceedings for June 22, 1865 (Peoria, 1865), p. 13. Edwards was the first head of an American normal school to be called a president. See Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, Preface, unnumbered p. 2.
20. *Proceedings . . . Held at Normal, June 24th and 25th, 1874* (Peoria, 1874), p. 14.
21. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College*, pp. 29–32; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 20, 25–26.
22. "Principal's Report," in *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report 1857–58*, p. 387.
23. Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 251, 346.
24. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College*, pp. 57–58, 90; Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 251–52; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 34–35, 38–40. The feminization of the teaching profession was more advanced in Massachusetts. Already in 1837, 60.2 percent of all teachers in Massachusetts were women; by 1860, 81.5 percent were. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, p. 61.
25. "Principal's Report," *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report 1857–58*, p. 392; Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, p. 92; and Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 349.
26. Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 252; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 40–42. John Williston Cook, "History of the Faculty," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 94, refers to the "erudite Lewis."
27. Cook, "History of the Faculty," pp. 99–100; and Steinbacher-Kemp, "The Illinois Natural History Society," p. 46. Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 48, say that Sewall graduated from Harvard in 1852; but he is not listed among the Harvard graduates of that or adjacent years.
28. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois Held at Bloomington, Dec. 1858 and 1859* (Peoria, 1869), December 21 and 22, 1859, pp. 4, 8–9.
29. *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report 1857–58*, pp. 64–65.
30. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 132, 233, 237; and idem, *The University of Illinois 1894–1904: The Shaping of the University* (Urbana, 2000), p. 120.
31. Steinbacher-Kemp, "The Illinois Natural History Society," pp. 23–27, 109–16. The quotation is on p. 27.
32. *Private Laws of the State of Illinois, Passed by the Twenty-Second General Assembly, Convened January 7, 1861* (Springfield, 1861), pp. 551–52.
33. *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report, 1857–58*, p. 61. It was thirty-two feet by forty-eight feet.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 56–58.
35. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School*, pp. 81–82.
36. Hovey, "The Autobiography of Gen. C. E. Hovey," pp. 37–38; and "Report of the State Board of Education, December 23, 1858," in *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report, 1857–58*, pp. 368–69.
37. "Principal's Report," in *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report, 1857–58*, pp. 393–94. The plans for the individual floors with the dimensions of the rooms can be found on pp. 58–61 of the Superintendent's Report. On Joseph Lancaster, see Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, pp. 40–44. John Milton Gregory, the first regent (president) of the University of Illinois, created such a gallery filled with plaster casts at the Industrial University. See Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 171–73.
38. "Report of the State Board of Education, December 23, 1858," in *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report, 1857–1858*, pp. 360–61, 368–69; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 36–38.
39. "The Autobiography of Gen. C. E. Hovey," pp. 39–46; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 42–43, 51–56.
40. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois, December 20, 1860* (Peoria, 1868), p. 5. As far as I can figure out, the board had \$69,000 in outstanding debts.
41. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 64–69; and Mark A. Plummer, *Lincoln's Rail-Splitter: Governor Richard J. Oglesby* (Urbana, 2001), pp. 49–60.
42. *Public Laws of the State of Illinois, Passed by the Twenty-Second General Assembly, Convened January 7, 1861* (Springfield, 1861), pp. 147–48.
43. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 38–40. Harper says the claims amounted to \$32,000, the amount appropriated by the legislature in 1865; but Richard Edwards indicated in 1882 that the claims against the Board had amounted to \$42,000 and that it had raised \$10,000 from the sale of the swamp lands. "Address of Richard Edwards, LL.D." in Cook and McHugh,

A History of the Illinois State Normal University, pp. 193–96.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 39. Harper, p. 36, says the building cost \$200,000. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 64, says it cost \$145,000.

45. *Public Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Twenty-Fifth General Assembly Convened January 7, 1867* (Springfield, 1867), pp. 21–22.

46. Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, pp. 63–65.

47. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 34.

48. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 313–14. In 1932 the floor in the corridor on the second story had dropped three inches overnight. Steel supports were installed from the foundation to the tower to prop up the tower which was leaning badly. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

49. Helen E. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade: Illinois State University 1957–1967* (Normal, 1967), pp. 29–30.

50. “The Autobiography of Gen. C. E. Hovey,” p. 38.

51. E-mail communication from Rickey Dean Kentzler to author, March 13, 2006.

52. E-mail communication from University archivist, Jo Ann Rayfield, to author, March 20, 2006. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 145, 155 states that the “inadequately supported,” great weight of the lead water towers in the attic, which lasted for fifty years, “took heavy toll of the structure.” Around 1880 iron supports had to be installed “to relieve the strain in the floors and walls.” She provides no citation.

53. “Principal’s Report,” December 1858, p. 394; and William Saunders, “Normal University Grounds,” *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report 1857–58*, pp. 403–08, esp. p. 403. It includes the specific plantings.

54. Fell Papers, Letters of William Saunders to Jesse Fell, October 15, 1858, and October 29, 1858.

55. Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner*, p. 75.

56. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 114.

57. John H. Burnham, “The School and the War,” in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State University*, pp. 18–31; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 69–77. Burnham provides the list of the faculty members and students who served. The same list can also be found in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 155–58.

58. “The Autobiography of Gen. C. E. Hovey,” pp. 36–37, 40.

59. Loomis, *The Educational Influence of Richard Edwards*, pp. 58–61; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 76–81, 87–88.

60. Burnham, “The School and the War,” p. 28.

61. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 90–91.

62. *Third Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois 1859–60* (Springfield, 1860), p. 6; and *Eighteenth Biennial Report . . . July 1, 1888–June 30, 1890* (Springfield, 1891), p. XI.

63. *Third Biennial Report*, p. 7; and *Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. XI.

64. Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:2.

65. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 22–23, 54.

66. Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan B. Turner*, p. 143.

67. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, p. 57.

68. Rudolph, *The American College and University*, pp. 252–253.

69. Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:178–247; and Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 59–77.

70. Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:247–54. Powell includes the complete text of the bid in his discussion. There is no indication that Richard Edwards was involved in the formulation of this bid, and I could find nothing in his papers in the University archives that deals with the issue. However, the archives do have a certificate, dated January 1858, shortly after Edwards moved to St. Louis, and signed by Turner, making Edwards an honorary member of the Industrial League. Thus, he presumably favored the establishment of an Industrial University, though not necessarily at Normal. On July 3, 1865, he wrote a letter to the *Chicago Tribune* in response to its editorial of June 25 criticizing reports that “the management of the school” was “committed . . . to make it an [sic] University in fact as it is in its charter title” by establishing departments of law and medicine. Edwards denied that there were any such plans and insisted: “(w)e have just one purpose here, and one only—to prepare teachers for the schools of Illinois.” The editor thanked Edwards but said that “others in authority” were involved in such plans. I am grateful to my daughter for providing me with this information. Edwards’ own position is thus unclear.

71. Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:255–59; and Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 77–78. Powell includes the complete text of the legislative report.

72. Powell, *Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois*, 1:259.

73. *Ibid.*, 1:260–71; and Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 78–80.

74. Carriel, *The Life of Jonathan Baldwin Turner*, p. 189.

75. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 68–77.

76. "Dedicatory Service of the Jesse W. Fell Memorial Gateway, Monday, June 5, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixteen at three o'clock, Illinois State Normal University," *Alumni Quarterly of the I.S.N.U.* 5 (August 1916, No. 3), pp. 9–25.

77. *The Pantagraph*, February 1, 1870.

78. Morehouse, "The Life of Jesse W. Fell," p. 76, n. 8.

79. Burnham, "Location and Construction," p. 17.

80. *Public Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Twenty-Fifth General Assembly*, pp. 21–22; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 118–24; and Steinbacher-Kemp, "The Illinois Natural History Society," pp. 44–57.

81. Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 260; Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 124–28; and Steinbacher-Kemp, "The Illinois Natural History Society," pp. 57–65, 116–22.

82. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 129–30, 157; Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 248–54; idem, *The University of Illinois 1894–1904*, pp. 92–115; and Steinbacher-Kemp, "The Illinois Natural History Society," pp. 66–71, 131–47.

83. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, passim, esp. p. 331; and idem, *The University of Illinois 1894–1904*, passim, esp. pp. 111–12. Burrill was also the Dean of the College of Science at Urbana (1878–84), Dean of the General Faculty (1894–1901), and Dean of the Graduate School (1894–95).

84. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois, Regular Meeting, Held at Normal, June 26 and 27, 1867* (Peoria, 1867), pp. 4–5.

85. *Ibid.*, *Regular Meeting, Held at Normal, December 17th and 18th, 1867* (Peoria, 1868), pp. 4–5.

86. Pillsbury, "Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities," p. XCIII.

87. Holmes, "The Celebrations of the School," pp. 186–87.

88. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, prefatory note and pp. 46–51.

89. "The Autobiography of Gen. C. E. Hovey," pp. 33–34.

90. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, p. 91.

91. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 46.

92. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 18.

93. *Seventeenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, pp. 110–13; Charles L. Capen, "A Sketch of the Illinois Normal University," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society, Bloomington, Illinois* 2 (1903): 182–83; David Felmley, "The General Development of the School," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 45–46; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 166–68, 192–93, 257–58. Harper, writing in 1935, in *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 50, raised the possibility that there might yet be additional lawsuits in the Bakewell case. On the farm, see Clyde W. Hudelson, "The University Farm," 1857: *A Century of Teacher Education*, in *Teacher Education* 19 (December 1956), pp. 22–24.

94. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, p. 97; and idem, "History of the Faculty," p. 99.

95. Sarah E. Raymond Fitzwilliam, "The Heroic in Student Life," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois Normal State University*, p. 232. On Raymond-Fitzwilliam, see Monica Noraian, "Sarah Raymond Fitzwilliam—The Nation's First Female School Superintendent (1874–1892): A Biography of One Woman Learning to Dare and Daring to Lead," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Illinois State University, 2007).

96. Cook, in "Dedicatory Service of the Jesse W. Fell Memorial Gateway," p. 9.

97. Loomis, *The Educational Influence of Richard Edwards*, p. 175.

98. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 113.

99. Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, preface, unnumbered page 2.



Section Two

"A GENUINE NORMAL SCHOOL," 1867-1900

It may be fairly claimed that the State Normal University has been always a genuine Normal School; that it has had a faithful and able corps of instructors; that for more than twenty years its halls have been filled to overflowing with earnest and diligent students; that, judged by the results it has accomplished, it has been eminently successful; and that if it shall receive the support which the State can well afford to give—it cannot refuse to give it without gross disregard of the interests of our common schools—there is promise of continued increase of usefulness for the future.

*William L. Pillsbury,
November 1, 1888.¹*

Introduction

Historian Christine A. Ogren has called the period between 1870 and 1910 the heyday of the state normal school in the United States. On the eve of the Civil War there were a dozen normals in the United States (the Normal University was the tenth to be founded); by 1870 their number had grown to 39, by 1879 to 69, by 1889 to 97, and by 1900 to 139. A decade later 170 normal schools were operating in 44 states or territories. Total enrollments in all public normals—state, county, and city—increased from 25,700 in 1879–80 to 111,100 in 1909–10 and in state normals alone from 60,300 in 1899–1900 to 94,100 ten years later. More important, normal schools served a unique educational purpose. Besides their stated mission to train teachers for the common schools, the state normals provided individuals of limited means, in particular women and the rural population, and to a far lesser degree, depending upon the specific region and locality, racial and ethnic minorities, with their best chance to continue their education and to rise into the middle class.² (The Normal University remained an overwhelmingly white, Protestant institution. Indeed, it may have deliberately concealed, as we will see, its admission of a black woman.) In that sense the normals were the community colleges of the late nineteenth century.

To put these statistics into perspective, it is important to realize that most Americans before World War I had little hope of obtaining a college education. As late as 1900, only 4 percent of the cohort aged eighteen to twenty-one was enrolled in a college; and only 26,533 baccalaureate degrees were awarded in 1914.³ Even a high school education was inaccessible, at least until the 1890s, for most teenagers living in the countryside. In 1904 William T. Harris (1835–1909), the United States Commissioner of Education (1889–1906), estimated that there had been in the United States in 1850 only eleven high schools, which he defined as an institution offering two to four years of secondary education; their number grew to 160 in 1870, 800 in 1880, and 2,526 in 1890.⁴ Total high school enrollments increased exponentially from 72,156 students in 1870 to 519,251 in 1900.⁵

The normal school was thus after the Civil War the only way that many children with eight years of rudimentary schooling, often in an ungraded country school, could continue their formal education. It was precisely the emergence of the high school by 1900 as an educational alternative to the normals that called into question their curriculum, their admission standards, their right to train secondary as well as elementary school teachers, and, above all, the normals' broader, unstated societal role as a vehicle of upward social mobility. The one-year presidency of Arnold Tompkins (1849–1905; president 1899–1900), in which more changes occurred in the curriculum

than in the preceding four decades, was the Normal University's first response to the challenge the higher schools posed to the normals' unspoken societal *raison d'être*.

The award of the industrial university to Champaign in 1867 ended the plan to turn the Normal University into the state university of Illinois. It became, as William L. Pillsbury, the assistant state superintendent of public instruction and the former principal of the Normal University's high school, put it in 1888, at the conclusion of his history of the institution, "a genuine Normal School." He also sounded presciently, in this first attempt to write the University's history as a single narrative, the recurring refrain in the institution's story: its chronic underfunding. However, it was not just any normal school; the Normal University was probably the largest and certainly the most influential institution of this type in the United States. It is impossible to measure influence, but a comparative study of seventeen normals in 1873 by the Normal School Board of Minnesota determined that the Normal University ranked first in the number of pupils (460) and expenditures (\$31,369) and last in per capita costs per student (\$68). (The cost at the most expensive comparator, Fredonia, New York, was \$170.) President Richard Edwards (1862–76) even contended that the real cost at Normal was only \$40 per student.⁶ Edwards was the first in a long line of University administrators to argue that cost effectiveness was an unalloyed virtue.

In part the Normal University owed its preeminence to Edwards, arguably the foremost American schoolmaster in the 1860s and '70s. Then in the late 1880s and '90s Normal became the national center of Herbartianism, a pedagogical revolution in elementary education that "systematized psychological theories into concrete approaches to teaching based on engaging and fostering children's interests."⁷ But the University also enjoyed until the 1890s a position in the structure of public education in Illinois that was unlike that of any other normal school anywhere else in the country. Charles DeGarmo (1849–1934), Class of 1873, a former faculty member and the leader of the American Herbartians, who had been the first professor of pedagogy and psychology at the University of Illinois (1890–91) and the president of Swarthmore College (1891–98), wrote in 1907, when he held the chair in the Science and Art of Education at Cornell:*

The early educational situation in Illinois gave to the Normal school a broader influence than could otherwise have been expected. It was the only institution of the kind in this State, the high schools were in their infancy and the State University was just beginning as a School of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. The result was that thousands of students who now go thru the high school and into college or university, then came to the Normal school, the only institution to which they could gain admission and which would give them education under the auspices of the State.⁸

In contrast to Normal's solitary place in Illinois, Massachusetts had ten normal schools by 1897; New York had six by 1870, eleven by 1890, and a dozen by 1897; and Wisconsin had, besides the antebellum University of Wisconsin, two normals by 1868 and seven by 1896. Iowa and Michigan had state universities, separate land grant schools, and normals at Cedar Falls (today the University of Northern Iowa) and Ypsilanti (today Eastern Michigan University). While Carbondale

*DeGarmo Hall was named for him in 1972.

(today Southern Illinois University) did open its doors in 1874 to meet the needs of the extreme southern part of the State, instruction did not begin until 1899 at Charleston (today Eastern Illinois University) and at DeKalb (today Northern Illinois University).⁹ Until the end of the century the Normal University was thus, as DeGarmo pointed out, the only public institution where most citizens of the State, especially women, could continue their education, however basic it may seem today.

The University aroused its students' pride in their school and profession, answered its critics, celebrated its accomplishments, and publicized its achievements in a variety of ways. A newspaper favorably disposed to the school had criticized it, in fact, in 1873 for not "letting the people know what it is doing, just how efficient it is and what especial public need it fills" and attributed the General Assembly's underfunding of the institution to this failure.¹⁰ In response to such criticism, commemorative histories were published in 1882 and 1907 in conjunction with the twenty-fifth and fiftieth anniversaries of the University's establishment. These contained accounts of the school's founding and subsequent history; the story of the faculty's and students' response to the call to arms in 1861; discussions of the evolution of the curriculum, the science department, the model school, the summer school, and above all, the two student literary societies; the addresses of former and current presidents at anniversary celebrations; the reminiscences of alumni; and long lists of the faculty and of the graduates and their later careers.¹¹ The message was that the University had fulfilled its legislative charge, contrary to what critics said, to provide highly qualified teachers for the common schools of the State. The subtext was that thousands of students, personally, and the community as a whole, had benefited from their stay in Normal.

There were special festivities at the twenty-fifth and the fortieth anniversaries of the University's founding in 1897, the last time that the first four presidents and the long-serving president of the Board, Samuel Moulton, could all be present. The latter celebration was a two-day event. On the first day, June 22, such prominent alumni as DeGarmo and Enoch A. Gastman, Class of 1860, the first student who had registered in 1857 and the first alumnus to serve on the Board, spoke in Normal Hall in Old Main about the early faculty and students and about the administrations of Presidents Edwards and Edwin Hewett. The celebrants assembled the next day in a tent that had been pitched on the lawn south of Old Main. The speakers were Presidents Charles Hovey, Edwards, and Hewett, Judge Moulton, Sarah Raymond Fitzwilliam, Class of 1866, the former superintendent of schools in Bloomington, and Professor Thomas J. Burrill, Class of 1865, who had been for three years the acting regent (president) of the University of Illinois. There were musical selections between the speeches. In the afternoon the two literary societies, the Philadelphians and Wrightonians, held separate celebrations in Normal Hall and the tent, respectively. At least twenty-five individuals spoke at the latter's gathering. The celebration ended with a banquet attended by 375 guests and made more convivial by at least twenty toasts—I presume the banquet was not held in teetotaling Normal. The nineteenth century had a capacity for oratory and alcohol we have, regrettably or not, lost.¹²

By the time of the 1897 celebration, the Normal University's standing in the pedagogical world was widely known. For example, the school sponsored in 1876 a special exhibit at the festive celebration of the nation's centennial in Philadelphia.

The display, arranged by President Edwin Hewett (1876–90), featured the figures that the Minnesota Normal School Board had compiled in 1873 about the University's cost effectiveness; photographs of Old Main depicting the rooms of the literary societies, classroom instruction, and male and female students exercising, separately, of course; selected student work showing the high level of scholarship that was expected of students in all departments and courses; and assorted specimens from the natural history museum. We gain a somewhat truer picture of the University's real condition from the fact that the faculty and students contributed \$108 to cover the cost of sending the exhibit to Philadelphia. There was an even bigger display, twenty-seven by twenty-nine feet, at the Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893, financed this time by a \$2,000 appropriation from the State. Eight glass cases highlighted the achievements of each department.¹³ The purpose of such self-representations was to convince the students and the public that the Normal University was engaged, as Edwards had said in 1867, in "the grandest of enterprises," namely, the "education of the children of the state."¹⁴ This assertion was the source of the title of Helen E. Marshall's centennial history of the University.

But what exactly was "a genuine Normal School"? Hewett delivered a seemingly blunt answer to that query in the address he delivered in 1882 at the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration and directed at the "enemies" of the normals who still questioned the need for them. He said:

Now, the exact work and methods of a Normal School have never been settled, and perhaps they will not be settled for a long time to come, if ever; but the aim or purpose of a Normal School is simple and single, *vis [sic]*, to prepare prospective teachers for their work. Any school which has this for its sole aim, and does work which accomplishes this purpose to a reasonable degree, is a Normal School. Any school which aims at something more or less than this, or at something different from it, is not properly a Normal School, no matter how much incidental help for his future work the candidate for teaching may get there.

Hewett went on to excoriate "a whole brood of Normal Schools" in the West that had wrongly appropriated the designation, even though they were no more normals than "'business colleges,' or 'schools of telegraphy,' or 'classical schools,' or 'music schools,' or what not."¹⁵ While Hewett like most professional schoolmasters perceived a normal school as exclusively a teachers' preparatory institution—the University stated in its bulletins that the preparation of teachers was its sole purpose—the schools he attacked were responding to community pressure that expected them, in the absence of other educational opportunities, to be "people's colleges" that would prepare their graduates for a wide range of professions. By the 1890s the Normal University was beginning to take on such collegiate trappings as participation in extramural athletic competitions. This sensitivity to community expectations was the first step in the normals' eventual transformation into state colleges and universities, in what historian Jürgen Herbst has called "one of . . . [the] great triumphs" of "the American democratic revolution in higher education."¹⁶

In fact, Hewett's stance was inherently contradictory. Edwards, Hewett, and their protégé, John Williston Cook, the University's fourth president (1890–99), adhered to what they took to be the Bridgewater tradition of training elementary school

teachers as well as offering advanced professional studies for administrators and high school teachers; whereas many normals, including those in Massachusetts, sought to leave the preparation of elementary teachers to city or county normals and to concentrate on the education of secondary teachers, specialists, and administrators.¹⁷ Normal's continued commitment to elementary education may explain why it became the national center of Herbartianism. However, since most students, especially those who intended to teach in rural schools, arrived so poorly prepared, the University was required to offer not only professional classes in teaching but also remedial instruction in the subjects taught in the common schools as well as more advanced course work. In doing so, the University provided the broader educational opportunities that attracted, as DeGarmo said, "thousands of students" and made it in Herbst's words, the quintessential example of "the people's university." Beyond that, the University's high school that prepared the sons of the local elite "for the best colleges in the country and for business," as Edwards proudly asserted in the University's 1868 biennial report to the General Assembly, was far removed from the institution's supposed teacher preparatory mission but was a wise concession to community wishes.¹⁸

This section will examine, therefore, the history of the Normal University between 1867 and 1900, the heyday of such institutions, when it was the most influential normal school in the United States. Most of its graduates taught, at least briefly, in the schools of Illinois as they were required to do in exchange for free tuition. Several achieved state and national prominence as educators: for example, DeGarmo; Edmund J. James (1855–1925), High School, 1873, the first director of the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania and President of the University of Illinois (1904–20); Elmer Ellsworth Brown (1861–1936), Class of 1881, United States Commissioner of Education (1906–11) and Chancellor of New York University (1911–33); and Francis G. Blair (1864–1942), Class of 1892, Illinois Superintendent of Public Instruction (1906–34).

For many more students, the University was their best chance to further their education at minimal expense. Silas Y. Gillan, Class of 1879, who became the superintendent of schools in Galena, a high school principal in Danville, and a faculty member at the Milwaukee Normal (today the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) and whom DeGarmo described as the University's "most noted journalist in the educational field," explained in 1907 his reasons for attending the school. He was not attracted by its "'professional' work," which "never seemed to me to be strong," and which he increasingly disliked but rather by the "academic features of the course. . ." Above all, he said, it was:

The democratic spirit of the student body, the absence of sham, the freedom from inquisitorial control on [the] part of the teachers, the evidence on all hands that it was a school of the people existing for and representing the masses and not the classes, the earnestness of the students, most of whom were going to school, not sent,—these were the facts that appealed to me. . .¹⁹

Yet, implicit in DeGarmo's words in 1907 about the University's influence in the early days of its existence was the recognition that it had lost its preeminence. Why that happened will concern us in more detail in the third section, but the presidency of Arnold Tompkins, who in Helen Marshall's words "wrought a revolution" in ten months,²⁰ was a tocsin.

ENDNOTES

1. William L. Pillsbury, "Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities and the University of Illinois," *Seventeenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, July 1, 1886–June 30, 1889* (Springfield, 1889), pp. CXV–CXVI.
2. Christine A. Ogren, *The American State Normal School: "An Instrument of Great Good"* (New York, 2005), pp. 1–2, 53–61.
3. Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study since 1636* (San Francisco, 1977), p. 210.
4. William J. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School* (New Haven, 1995), pp. 209, 221.
5. Rudolph, *Curriculum*, p. 212.
6. Charles A. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States with special reference to the Illinois State Normal University* (Bloomington, IL, 1935), p. 92. Harper, Preface, p. ii, says: "By 1870 the Normal University was probably the largest and most respected in America." The less biased Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, p. 57, refers to Normal as "(o)ne of the biggest."
7. Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, p. 131. For similar comments about Normal's role, see Henry C. Johnson, Jr. and Erwin V. Johanningsmeier *Teachers for the Prairie: The University of Illinois and the Schools, 1868–1945* (Urbana, 1972), pp. 68–69.
8. Charles DeGarmo, "The Influence of the School upon Education," in John A. H. Keith, ed., *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University 1857–1907* (Normal, 1907), p. 210.
9. For a list of all the normal schools and their successor institutions, see Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, pp. 211–35.
10. Quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 93.
11. John W. Cook and James V. McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Illinois* (Normal, 1882); and Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*.
12. Manfred J. Holmes, "The Celebrations of the School," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 182–91.
13. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois. Regular Meeting: Held at Normal, June 21st, 1876* (Springfield, 1876), p. 7; Stephen A. Forbes, "The State Laboratory of Natural History," in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 243; and Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises: Illinois State Normal University 1857–1957* (Normal, 1956), pp. 151–52, 184–85.
14. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois. Regular Meeting: Held at Normal, June 26 and 27, 1867* (Peoria, 1867), p. 4. Characteristically, the second clause of the sentence was a plea for greater funding: "and the legislature ought freely to grant whatever is necessary to render efficient the preparation of teachers for the common schools." If I am not mistaken, Marshall never cited the specific source of this quotation.
15. Edwin C. Hewett, "Address of Edwin C. Hewett, LL.D.," in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 213–14.
16. Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison, 1989), pp. 5–6.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 112–18. Edwards' statement is in the *Seventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, 1867–1868* (Springfield, 1868), pp. 364–65.
19. Silas Y. Gillan, "How the School Appealed to Me as a Student," in "Personal Reminiscences," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 202; DeGarmo, "The Influence of the School upon Education," p. 212; and Keith, "Alumni Register," *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 273.
20. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 226.



Section Two

"A GENUINE NORMAL SCHOOL," 1867-1900

Chapter 3

THE BRIDGEWATER ERA, 1862–1899

The post-bellum period in the University's history is known as the Bridgewater Era because graduates of that Massachusetts normal school—Richard Edwards, Edwin Hewett, Thomas Metcalf, and Alfred Stetson—and their student, John Cook, set the University's course. They turned the Normal University into "a genuine normal school" that emphasized the professional preparation of teachers. Under Metcalf's leadership the model school became a training school, in which student teachers practiced their pedagogical skills. Since many of the students had received only a rudimentary education in ungraded rural schools, much of the normal school's curriculum consisted of remedial instruction in such elementary school subjects as spelling. The normal school faculty was expected to model in the classroom, as part of the students' professional education, the correct way of teaching the so-called common school branches, the subjects taught to elementary school children. Rather lamely, Hewett insisted that such instruction was the equivalent, at least in its ability to train the mental faculties, of the traditional collegiate curriculum.

However, the University also offered course work at the secondary school level and, in some instances, even collegiate-level instruction, for students who planned to teach more advanced subjects. The University, befitting the founders' original intentions, was especially strong in the natural sciences. The establishment of a preparatory high school in 1862, in order to gain the community's support, highlighted the contradiction between the University's ostensible mission to train teachers for the common schools and its *de facto* role as one of the state's foremost secondary schools. High school students, many of them the sons and daughters of the local elite, did much of their course work, especially in the sciences, in the normal department; while ambitious normal school students took in the high school the classical and modern languages they needed for admission to a college. In 1895 Governor John P. Altgeld demanded the closing of the high school because he viewed its activities as incompatible with the University's teacher preparatory mission. Its closure was one of the first signs that Normal was losing its unique status in the educational hierarchy and becoming, exclusively, an institution that trained teachers.

Governor Altgeld was one of many critics who insisted that Normal was not carrying out its responsibilities as a normal school and who used the threat of a loss of state funding to impose their will upon the University. The admission of African Americans to the model school in 1867 and to the normal department in 1871 was especially controversial, so controversial, in fact, that the University may have deliberately concealed in 1876 the graduation of the very first black student, Rosanna P. Lindsey. The expunging of her name from the University's memory may have been the school's reluctant response to the changing political climate as the nation abandoned, at the end of Reconstruction, any pretense of granting African Americans equal rights. The University, which was completely dependent on the General Assembly's totally inadequate appropriation for its survival, could not afford to antagonize the legislators or the State's citizens. Normal was the

“people’s university” precisely because it shared the values of white, Protestant, rural and small town America.

7 EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN ILLINOIS

To understand both the Normal University’s unique position in the educational hierarchy of Illinois after the Civil War and the inadequacies of its curriculum, it is necessary to know something about economic and educational conditions in the state. The population of Illinois more than quadrupled between 1850 and 1890: 851,000 in 1850; 2,540,000 in 1870; and 3,819,000 in 1890. While 90 percent of the inhabitants had lived on the land before the War, half the population was urbanized forty years later. Industrialization began in the 1860s and by 1890 Illinois ranked third in industrial production in the nation. In large measure this demographic explosion is the story of Chicago, which was the fourth largest city in the United States in 1880 and second only to New York a decade later. The population of Chicago increased from 500,000 in 1880 to over a million in 1890 and 1,700,000 in 1900. There were 550,000 children in Illinois in 1860 aged six to twenty-one; 472,000 of these were enrolled in 9,162 public schools taught by 14,708 teachers. Thirty years later there were 1,163,000 school-aged children, of whom 778,319 were enrolled in 12,259 schools, taught by 23,164 teachers. In addition, by that date more than 115,000 children attended nearly 2,500 private schools, mainly parochial schools run by the Catholic and Lutheran churches.¹ Parochial schools enrollments, non-enforcement of the compulsory school attendance laws, and students dropping out of school after the eighth grade explain the discrepancy between the number of school-aged children and actual enrollments in the public schools.

These school enrollment statistics are somewhat deceptive, as far as the Normal University is concerned, because Chicago and Cook County have been described as “a law unto themselves both politically and educationally.”² The city established in 1856 a high school with a normal department to prepare women to teach in the Chicago schools. Half of Chicago’s three hundred teachers in 1867 were its alumnae.³ John F. Eberhart, who had assisted Jesse Fell in obtaining the Normal University for Bloomington and who had been elected in 1859 as the school commissioner of Cook County, founded in 1867 a normal school at Blue Island in rural Cook County. It moved in 1870 to the town of Lake and became in 1896 the Chicago Normal School when the city took charge of the school.⁴ It was not until after World War II that the State became a provider of public higher education in the Windy City. In 1965 the State assumed control of Chicago Teachers College (today Chicago State University and Northeastern Illinois University) and turned the undergraduate two-year program the University of Illinois had been offering since 1946 at Navy Pier into the University of Illinois at Chicago. While graduates of the Normal University could go to Chicago to teach, their primary employment was in rural downstate Illinois.

The task the University faced both in preparing future teachers and in improving the skills and knowledge of in-service teachers was staggering. As late as 1874, the majority of children in Illinois attended poorly equipped, ungraded schools, which in nearly 800 cases were log schoolhouses. In 1882, the year the University celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation, barely half of the teachers in Illinois had received a secondary education. Another 13 percent had attended a

normal school, but the remainder, approximately 38 percent, were the beneficiary of neither a secondary nor a normal education. An incredible 1,500 teachers were minors. The situation was not much better in the mid-1890s. Nearly half the children still went to ungraded schools, which in 51 instances were log cabins. The average daily attendance of pupils in such rural schools was a dismal 83.9 days a year. Attempts to impose a standardized curriculum under such circumstances were futile.⁵ It is hardly surprising that much of the course work the University offered to the graduates of such schools was remedial work in the subjects they intended to teach.

While there were 239 public high schools in the state in 1894—up from 108 in 1870—only 54 were housed in their own buildings. The gender ratio, 15,165 women to 8,508 men (36 percent), among high school enrollees in 1894 was comparable to that at the Normal University, where 33 percent of the student body in 1890 was male. Few students actually graduated from high school—3,073 in 1894. Of these, only 890 or 29 percent were male; in contrast the graduating class of 1894 at the University consisted of fourteen women and sixteen men.⁶ These statistics suggest that both the high schools and the University were serving a comparable clientele: women whose career options before marriage were limited. Men could procure acceptable employment without continuing their education beyond the eighth grade, though more men than women actually graduated from Normal.

It was hardly necessary, however, to attend either a high school or a normal to be certified to teach in Illinois. Since 1865 the county superintendents had been issuing a first-grade or second-grade certificate that authorized common school attendees who passed rather perfunctory examinations to teach for two years or one year, respectively. Even so, in 1877–78 only 2,702 persons qualified for a two-year, first-grade certificate. The State also issued lifelong certificates to those who passed an exam based on prescribed readings, but only 513 individuals had qualified for these by 1892.⁷ In short, if educational reformers like Horace Mann in the antebellum period had thought that a centralized system of public common schools and normals was the solution to the nation's educational shortcomings, the postwar situation in Illinois revealed how little progress had been made in that regard, in part because education remained very much a local prerogative. As John Cook pointed out in 1912, there were counties in Illinois at that late date with as many as eight hundred elected school officers because the School Law of 1855 had vested authority in the individual school district rather than in the township.⁸ Such local officials were often more concerned about their pocketbook than the quality of instruction.

If, to use a biblical metaphor, the educational field was white unto harvest, the laborers were indeed few. The new Industrial University in Urbana, after 1885 the University of Illinois, was not a competitor. Although the first two regents (presidents) of that University, John Milton Gregory (1867–80) and Selim H. Peabody (1880–91), were professional educators—Gregory had been, for example, the superintendent of public instruction in Wisconsin and the president of the Michigan Teachers' Association—they considered the preparation of teachers to be the preserve of the normals. As Gregory once put it, such institutions were the “West Point of our school system,”⁹ that is, Normal trained teachers just as West Point prepared officers. The University of Illinois was in the late nineteenth

century essentially an engineering school and the mirror image of the Normal University in its gender ratio. In 1894–95, 309 of the 525 undergraduates in Urbana (59 percent) were enrolled in the College of Engineering; and 465 of the 525 undergraduates who attended in 1894–95 were men (87 percent) and only 60 (13 percent) women—only two of them enrolled in engineering. Of these 525 students, 64 percent were freshmen and sophomores, an indication that a sizeable percentage never finished. Nor were they, like their counterparts at Normal, prepared to do university-level work when they arrived in Urbana. For example, 114 out of 388 students were engaged in preparatory work in 1876–77, so they could be admitted to the University. Some graduates, especially women, did teach—33 members of the classes of 1872 to 1876 were employed in this fashion in 1876—but the University of Illinois was not a major source of teachers or a very attractive place for women.¹⁰ The Normal University had its very distinct niche.

In 1869 the General Assembly authorized the establishment of Southern Illinois State Normal University, and it opened its doors in 1874 at Carbondale. It was not meant to compete with Normal, but was designed to meet, as its proponents asserted in 1868, the needs of the southern portion of the state, which had finally recognized the importance of education. Indeed, Richard Edwards was a major supporter of the undertaking and delivered in 1870 the address at the laying of the cornerstone. Southern's opening had no effect upon enrollments at the Normal University.¹¹

Some schoolmasters, for example in Wisconsin, favored the creation of county normals to prepare mainly women to teach in the rural schools, so that the state normals could concentrate on the education of administrators and high school teachers.¹² Charles E. Hovey appears to have favored this two-tiered approach. After visiting the Eastern normals and high schools in 1857, Hovey and Dr. George P. Rex reported to their fellow Board of Education members: "The work of preparing teachers should begin in preparatory normal schools and be completed in high or normal schools proper as it is done in Prussia and Germany."¹³

Hovey and Rex may have been echoing the opinions of William F. Phelps of Trenton, the only principal of a normal school whom they specifically named in their 1857 report. At the meeting of the American Normal School Association in 1870, Phelps, by then the principal of the normal in Winona, Minnesota (today Winona State University), called for two separate normals: "for the preparation of elementary teachers, and another for school officers and instructors in the higher departments." Samuel Holmes White (1830–82), the principal of the county normal that had been organized in Peoria in 1868, backed Phelps. White felt that teachers did not need a course of study that lasted two or three years—most students who came to Normal clearly agreed and did not graduate from the three-year program; instruction in the subjects taught in the common schools with some exposure to methods and school management were, White thought, sufficient preparation.¹⁴

The Illinois General Assembly on March 15, 1869, authorized counties to establish their own normal schools and retroactively legalized the actions of the three counties, Cook, Bureau, and Peoria, that had already done so. As we have seen, only the Cook County Normal School survived. The Peoria Normal met with some success—its enrollment reached eventually 116 students—but it closed in

1879, apparently when ill health forced White to resign. The county normal in Bureau, which had been established in 1868, ceased operations after a year and merged with the new high school in Princeton. The latter was the first secondary school established under a law that authorized school districts to found a common township high school. The county normal school statute was thus a dead letter.¹⁵ By default, then, the Normal University was until 1899 the only public institution in the northern two thirds of the State, except for the Cook County Normal, that prepared teachers and that offered most people, in particular women, a chance to continue their education. It was very much, as Silas Y. Gillan expressed it in 1907: “a school of the people existing for and representing the masses and not the classes.”

2 RICHARD EDWARDS AND HIS PROTÉGÉS

The presidencies of Richard Edwards (1862–76), Edwin Crawford Hewett (1876–90), and John Williston Cook (1890–99) comprised the Bridgewater Era in the University’s history. Edwards graduated from the Bridgewater Normal in 1846 and taught there from 1848 until 1853. Hewett (who came to Bloomington in 1858 to teach geography and history), as well as Thomas Metcalf and Alfred Stetson, who followed Edwards to Normal in 1862 (teaching mathematics and English, respectively), had been Edwards’ students at Bridgewater.¹⁶ Cook, who graduated from Normal in 1865, was the student of all four men, but especially of Edwards, to whom, Cook said, he was more indebted than to any other man.¹⁷

John H. Burnham, Class of 1861, who was, among many other things, the editor of the Bloomington *The Pantagraph* in the mid-1860s, expressed the view that Edwards’ arrival in 1862 marked a new beginning for the University:

[he] brought with him a knowledge of Normal methods of training, which has changed the whole character of the institution from 1862 to the present time. Great attention has been given to imparting a knowledge of correct methods of teaching. Previous to that date almost the whole strength of the teaching force had been given to the acquirement of a most complete and thorough knowledge of the subjects to be taught, leaving the pupils to adapt their future methods of teaching mainly as exigencies and contingencies might confront them in actual experience.¹⁸

Although Edwards was five years older than Hovey, Burnham put his finger on a crucial generational shift in the leadership of the normal school movement. The first generation of schoolmasters before the Civil War, many of them college trained, was more concerned with awakening their students’ call to teaching than imparting pedagogical techniques; the second, postwar generation of leaders was closer to their students in their social origins, less likely to be college graduates, and more interested in professional methods of teaching.¹⁹ For Hovey, a Dartmouth college graduate, teaching was only an interlude before he became a Washington lawyer. It is noteworthy that higher mathematics and Latin, fixtures of the classical curriculum of the antebellum colleges, which had been required subjects under Hovey, became optional, according to Burnham, after Edwards took charge.²⁰

While Edwards had attended Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute as well as Bridgewater and Stetson was a Harvard graduate, Hewett’s, Metcalf’s, and Cook’s formal education ended at Bridgewater or Normal. Edwards, unlike Hovey, already

had a national reputation as an educator when he arrived at the University. He had taught at and been the acting principal at Bridgewater and was the first principal of both the Salem, Massachusetts, and St. Louis normals. In 1863 Harvard conferred upon Edwards an honorary master's degree, as Thomas Hill, the president of Harvard (1862–68), wrote to Edwards: "in recognition of your long, valuable, and successful labors in the cause of education."²¹ As a member and as the president of the National Teachers Association in 1863–64, Edwards lobbied successfully for the establishment of the Federal Bureau of Education in 1866.²² Neither Hewett nor Cook enjoyed Edwards' national stature.

Edwards became Normal's principal—the title was changed to president in 1866—in the middle of the Civil War. Many faculty members and all the able-bodied male students had enlisted; their departure allowed Edwards to hire Metcalf and Stetson, and women took the men's places as students. Creditors pressed the Board about the unpaid bills for the construction of Old Main. One creditor opined that the only thing that prevented foreclosure was "that nobody wanted the elephant;" a non-creditor hoped "to buy the house for a corn crib." The school was saved, as we have already seen, when the legislature appropriated more than \$31,000 to pay the debts.²³ When it became apparent that the income from the Seminary and College Funds was no longer sufficient to run the University, Edwards obtained in 1869 an additional appropriation of \$9,000 per year.

The inadequacies in the construction of Old Main soon became apparent. It was impossible to heat the building above fifty degrees in extremely cold weather, and the air was stifling when the windows could not be opened. The legislature provided \$4,000 in 1871 to remedy the problems, but when this amount proved inadequate, the General Assembly refused in 1873 an additional appropriation. It was an unpropitious request in the middle of a financial panic. Through curtailing other expenditures the Board managed to make the necessary repairs for \$8,500. In spite of all of these difficulties, by the end of Edwards' presidency the state appropriation had risen from \$12,500 to \$27,200 and the tuition income from the model school from \$1,778 to \$4,488.²⁴

The economic repercussions of the first national railroad strike in 1877 and the worldwide agrarian depression had serious consequences for the University. Salaries, which remained essentially unchanged for a generation, had been fixed in 1868 at amounts identical to those paid at the new Industrial University: \$4,000 for the president and \$2,000 for the professors. The pay scale shows the parity between the two institutions. The Board was forced in 1878 to reduce Hewett's salary from \$3,500 to \$3,150—he was always paid less than Edwards—and the pay of the five male professors was set at \$1,800. Since women faculty members received only half the men's recompense, their salaries were lowered by only \$100 and restored three years later. The men had to wait a year longer. The length of the school year was also shortened in 1878, so that the male students could help with the harvest.²⁵ The annual average appropriation during the 1880s was \$29,000, not much more than it had been at the end of Edwards' tenure, and rose to nearly \$43,000 during the 1890s. The General Assembly never cut Cook's requests for general expenses, not even during the serious panic of 1893.²⁶

To put these appropriations into some sort of perspective, the General Assembly's annual appropriation to the University of Illinois for all expenses in the period

from 1869 to 1893 averaged \$30,000, though it also received the income from the land grant endowment created by the Morrill Act. However, in 1893 the legislature appropriated \$120,000 for operating expenses, and from that year, the disparity between the two universities grew geometrically. For example, the University of Illinois received in 1899 \$494,000, though that included \$150,000 for an agricultural building.²⁷ If money speaks, then the record of state appropriations reveals when the Normal University lost any claim to educational leadership in Illinois.

In addition to chronic underfunding and periodic financial crises, Edwards and his successors had to respond to critics who questioned the University's mission and how well it fulfilled its purpose. Edwards reported to the Board in 1870 that a survey sent to the county superintendents indicated that 116 of the 145 graduates—2,084 students had attended the University sometime between 1857 and 1869—were still teaching, and he estimated that, including the 2,360 model school pupils, approximately a thousand Normalites were employed at the time in the schools of Illinois. However, a census taken in 1873 by Newton Bateman, the state superintendent of public instruction and the ex officio secretary of the Board, reported that only 120 graduates and 489 non-graduates were still in the classroom. Edwards protested that 4,000 students had taught at some time or other. The reality was that only about a third of the individuals who graduated in the 1860s spent their careers in teaching. Most of the women graduates among the career teachers remained in the classroom, whereas the men became school administrators and normal school faculty members. Hewett conceded that conditions in the schools precluded most Normalites from a lifelong commitment to teaching.²⁸

There was a stormy debate in the General Assembly in 1873, a year of financial difficulties, when the University's appropriation bill was introduced. Opponents asserted that the students did not teach and that the faculty were broken-down, radical New Englanders—accusations that were not totally off the mark. One senator proposed turning the University into a self-supporting school that charged tuition. The *Chicago Times* led the attack in 1875. It had opposed the Chicago school system's adoption of Edwards' *Analytical Series of Readers*. The paper claimed that the University was subject to less scrutiny than the local common schools and that:

Those in charge have been employed in devising new 'methods,' in order to create a demand for new appliances in the shape of textbooks, charts, etc. invented by its president. Nearly all the faults and wrongs of the school system have originated in, or have been intensified by normal schools. In all essentials where they differ from an ordinary school, they are worse than useless.

Bills were introduced in the legislature to abolish the two normal schools and to convert the buildings at Normal and Carbondale, respectively, into an insane asylum and a home for feeble-minded children. While the *Times'* accusations were not the last time that normal schools and their successor pedagogical institutions have been blamed for the failures of the public schools, Edwards and Bateman were able to refute the allegations and the University was never again subjected to such a direct challenge to its very existence.²⁹ However, Hewett still found it necessary in his address at the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the school's founding to explain why normals should exist and be supported at public expense.³⁰

Another contentious issue was the overrepresentation of students from McLean County at the University. The 1857 Act had included a complicated formula for

allocating free tuition to students from each county and representative district, but the provision had never been strictly enforced. Residents of McLean County comprised until 1865 about 17 percent of the student body and about 11 percent for the next twenty-five years. In 1880 the Board restricted free tuition to those local residents, beyond the number fixed by the statute, who scored 85 percent on the entrance exam; and this discriminatory regulation remained in effect until the end of the century. To answer, perhaps, charges of local favoritism, the University began publishing in 1874, in its catalogs, lists by counties of currently enrolled students. Seventy-nine counties and seven states were represented in 1890.³¹ *Educating Illinois* is not simply a twenty-first-century slogan.

3 THE FACULTY

The size of the faculty gradually increased from ten to eighteen between 1858 and 1890. Teaching loads were heavy. Faculty members taught five or six hours a day, five days a week, and were also expected to participate in the activities of the literary societies and to lecture around the state. Classes could be large. A psychology class in 1873 had fifty-five students and a class on the theory and art of teaching, ninety-eight.³²

In his 1882 commemorative address Hewett pointed with pride to the stability of the faculty. “No other Normal School on the continent,” he insisted, “has had, or has now, such an accumulation of teaching experience in its faculty.”³³ The Bridgewater contingent, the hard core of the professoriate, had remarkably long tenures: Hewett and Metcalf stayed thirty-two years, Stetson twenty-five, and Cook thirty-three. Henry McCormick (1837–1918), Class of 1868, professor of geography and history, who became in 1891 the University’s first vice-president, taught an astonishing forty-nine years (1869–1918)! *

However, most of the faculty had briefer careers. One hundred and sixty-one individuals, ninety men and seventy-one women, taught in the nineteenth century in the normal department proper, high school, and/or model school. Not surprisingly, mirroring the gender hierarchy in the schools, women predominated at the lower echelons, whereas the men were the administrators and professors. Thirty-nine of the women, 55 percent of the total, and forty-three men, 47 percent, taught in the model school; but twenty-eight of the men and only nineteen of the women served as principals in one of the four school levels. Like Mary Brooks, the very first woman faculty member, who taught in the model school from 1857 to 1860, only two model school teachers, both male principals, stayed more than five years.³⁴

In 1866 when the Board changed the title of the principal to president, it conferred the rank of professor to several *male* faculty members; but it decided in 1874, in a first but unsuccessful venture at affirmative action, that since “(a) majority of the students attending the Normal University are female,” and since “(w)omen have demonstrated their ability to compete with men in the work of the school-room,” it would serve the interests of the University to fill “at least three of the nine regular professorships with female teachers, at as early a date as is practicable.”³⁵

The Board’s decision may very well reflect Edwards’ personal views. In 1868, in a debate before the Illinois Teachers’ Association, he had argued in the affirmative

*McCormick Gymnasium was named after him in 1930.

for coeducation and women's rights in general. He had asked rhetorically: "In view of what these [he named, among others, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Harriet Beecher Stowe] and a hundred other women have done, is it not the acme of absurdity for you and me, because we happen to grow beards, to step forward, with our little measuring strings, and attempt to fix, beforehand, the scope of women's investigation of truth?"³⁶

In 1876 Martha D. L. Haynie (1826–1913), a widow and working mother who had been teaching since 1866 English grammar, French, rhetoric, and composition in the high school, became the University's first woman professor.[†] She had been hired at the express request of her brother, William H. Green, a member of the General Assembly from 1859 to 1867 and of the Board from 1861 until his death in 1902. Haynie taught modern languages until her resignation in 1886.³⁷

Only two other women attained the rank of professor in the nineteenth century. Ruth Morris, a graduate of the normal in Oswego, New York, who had been teaching since 1864, joined the faculty in 1888 as an assistant training teacher in the primary department. To counter an offer from Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, Cook arranged her appointment in 1890 as professor of English and preceptress (the dean of women), but she resigned in 1891.³⁸

The third woman, June Rose Colby (1856–1941), had the most impressive academic credentials of the three, more impressive in fact than those of most of her male colleagues.[‡] She had been an undergraduate at Michigan, had attended Radcliffe, and in 1886 was possibly the first woman to receive a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. She succeeded Morris in 1892 as professor of literature and as preceptress and taught at the University until 1932. Helen Marshall described Colby as "an ardent feminist. Regardless of fashion she always had pockets in her skirts, insisting that pockets were as useful to women as to men. She entered into the teaching of Shakespeare with all her soul. No one would ever forget the way she read poetry. She made her students love literature and she did not believe in examinations."³⁹ Coincidentally or not, in response to mounting pressure from women's rights advocates, the University of Illinois also hired in 1892 a woman as an assistant professor of English literature and preceptress; but she had just completed her master's at Radcliffe.⁴⁰ So the Normal University was ahead of the University of Illinois in this regard, but until the end of the century Normal never had more than one woman professor at any one time.

We can only speculate why the University failed to implement the Board's 1874 directive about hiring women professors: was the cause the financial exigencies of the 1870s or an inability to find properly qualified female faculty members? Certainly, the academic credentials of such male hires as Hewett and Cook, who did not even have a bachelor's degree, were not always stellar. The first male faculty member with an earned Ph.D. was Edmund James, the future president of the University of Illinois (1904–20), who had received his Ph.D. in 1877 from Halle in Germany and who became the principal of the high school in 1879.⁴¹ There is another disturbing possibility. Hewett had debated Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906) in 1870 before a standing-room-only crowd in downtown Bloomington on the topic: "Is it best for the women of America that they should vote?"⁴² Were

[†] Haynie Hall was named after her in 1962.

[‡] Colby Hall was named after her in 1960.

Hewett's negative arguments merely debating points or his personal views? If the latter was the case, then there may have been a change in policy when Hewett succeeded Edwards.

The faculty's influence extended beyond the classroom. During the antebellum period educational reformers, most notably Henry Barnard, had promoted local institutes for teachers as the best way to awaken their commitment to their profession and, almost incidentally, to improve their pedagogical skills.⁴³ Not surprisingly, Edwards with his New England background was a proponent of such outreach efforts. As early as December 1862 Edwards proposed:

Even when the halls of the University are filled to the utmost capacity and hundreds of graduates go forth annually to their appointed work, still there will not be enough for one in a hundred of common schools of the State. In the meantime what are we to do? Local institutes should be organized as far as practicable in every county of the State. These cannot do the work of the Normal University—they don't pretend to—but they can do much in the same direction. . . Illinois is far behind her sister states in the matter.⁴⁴

A decade later Edwards reported that the faculty had conducted 349 county institutes and delivered 503 addresses. He himself had visited 58 counties, led 138 institutes, and given 300 speeches. Somehow, Edwards also found time during his presidency to participate in institutes and meetings of teacher associations in Kansas, Michigan, Indiana, and Rhode Island.⁴⁵

Even more important were the institutes held on campus for in-service teachers. The first, a four-week institute in September 1863, was advertised as a "(t)horo [sic] drill in the philosophy and methods of teaching the common branches of study." Only fifteen teachers appeared, but after the Illinois Teachers' Association supported the venture, attendance increased to 128 in 1864. At the next institute in 1867, 255 teachers from sixty-three counties were present. During the following five summers an average of 259 teachers attended two-week sessions at the University. Prominent educators served as the instructors, but most of the work was done by the regular faculty, "voluntarily and without compensation," according to Edwards. After the State mandated in 1872 that applicants for a teaching certificate be examined in physiology, chemistry, zoology, and botany, the institutes under the leadership of Stephen A. Forbes focused on the natural sciences and attendance declined.

The faculty was reluctant, understandably, to teach for free during the summer. Hewett reduced the school year, therefore, in 1880 from forty to thirty-six weeks; and four-week summer sessions were held the next four years. The General Assembly required in 1883 that instructors at the county institutes be properly qualified, and the Board in response lengthened the regular school year to thirty-nine weeks and stipulated that faculty members were to teach during their vacations for one week at a county institute without additional recompense. After a decade's hiatus, summer institutes were again held on campus for several years in the mid-1890s. Finally, in 1900 under President David Felmley (1900–30), the Board adopted a school-year of three twelve-week terms with a six-week summer session for which credits were given. Tuition for the summer term was fixed at \$6. Four hundred and forty-six students from sixty-three counties attended the first summer. The campus summer institute had evolved into the summer school.⁴⁶

Educational journalism in Illinois was until the 1880s largely the domain of the Normal faculty, who owned and edited a succession of publications. Hovey, Hewett, and Edwards were among the twelve editors of *The Illinois Teacher*, which had been founded by the Illinois Teachers Association in 1855. Hewett and Aaron Gove, Class of 1861, who was the superintendent of schools in Denver from 1874 to 1904, purchased the paper in 1872. They merged it with the *Chicago School Master*, which they had bought the preceding year, to form the *Illinois School Master*. They sold their interest in the latter to Cook, but by 1877 the paper had ceased publication. In 1881 Edmund J. James and Charles DeGarmo began a new publication, *The Illinois School Journal*. Cook bought DeGarmo's share in 1883 when the latter left for Germany, and the following year Rudolph R. Reeder, Class of 1883, the principal of the grammar school, who subsequently earned a Ph.D. from Columbia's Teachers College, became the co-owner. They sold the journal in 1886, and the faculty's involvement in journalism ceased.⁴⁷

In spite of their heavy teaching and service loads, some of the faculty members were active publishers. Edwards set the example. His *Analytical Series of Readers*, whose adoption by the Chicago School Board aroused the ire of the *Chicago Times*, sold between 1867 and 1875 nearly eighty thousand copies a year.⁴⁸ Cook's massive *Educational History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1912) is a goldmine on the nineteenth century, and the University is at the heart of Cook's story. During the Bridgewater Era the Normal University dominated the educational landscape of Illinois.

4 THE CURRICULUM

In devising a curriculum for prospective teachers, nineteenth-century schoolmasters faced the problem of striking the proper balance between academic and professional course work. There was the additional question whether the academic component should simply be remedial work in the common branches, the subjects taught in the lower grades, or should also include the higher branches that would equip the prospective teacher to teach at the secondary level. However, the more the curriculum focused on the academic disciplines, the more attractive the normal schools became to people who were not interested in a professional career in teaching but who viewed the schools as a "people's college" that prepared them for other vocations and even for admission into colleges. After all, Edwards, Ira Moore, and Alfred Stetson themselves had gone, respectively, to Rensselaer, Yale, and Harvard after attending Bridgewater. The failure of the normal school graduates to teach opened the schools to the charge, which, for example, Edwards confronted, that they were not carrying out their primary mission.

The initial assumption of the New England reformers had been that the normal schools would provide the students with instruction in teaching techniques—hence the one-year course of study at the first normal school that opened in Lexington, Massachusetts in 1839. Its principal, the Reverend Cyrus Peirce (1790–1860), a Harvard graduate, was soon bitterly disappointed by his poorly prepared pupils. Already in 1840 he wrote: "They [the women students] have come to learn the Common Branches rather than how to *teach* them." Peirce's views were shared by William H. Wells, a founding member of the Board, who, as the principal of the normal at Westfield (1854–56), stressed the academic aspects of the curriculum and substituted "mutual instruction," in which students pretended to teach each

other, for practice teaching after the model school at Westfield had closed.⁴⁹

Hovey, who had been the principal of the private academy in Framingham, when the Lexington normal moved there from West Newton in 1853, was personally familiar with conditions in Massachusetts; and Wells would have backed him, presumably, in Board discussions. It is thus not surprising, as John H. Burnham noted in 1907, that Hovey emphasized “the acquirement of a most complete and thorough knowledge of the subjects to be taught” rather than pedagogy. Already in June 1857, after his tour of the Eastern normals, Hovey reported to his fellow Board members that a prospective teacher needed to master the subjects taught in the public school; to study the “principles of education, including teaching properly . . . [and] the development of the moral and physical powers;” and to apply “his knowledge . . . in the model school.” “The first logical step in his course of preparation,” Hovey conceded a bit condescendingly, was “(t)o understand *what* to teach.”

Our Normal University should not be required to take this step, but it will be compelled to do so by reason of the defective superficial teaching in our primary schools. Could our Normal University be supplied with pupil teachers already qualified in regard to mere scholarship, the labors of our institution would be vastly abridged and simplified, and it would be far more efficient and useful. But we will be obliged to take things as they are, and make the best of them.⁵⁰

In Hovey’s view pedagogy was very much subordinate to the subject matter. At the first convention of normal school principals in 1859, he asked his colleagues rhetorically: “If there is now or ever has been a normal school where four-fifths of the time was not spent in teaching the branches of learning and only about one-fifth in teaching the art of teaching?” He answered his own question: “To get methods of teaching is not the thing that takes students to these schools. They want not only to know how to teach but what to teach and why such a thing is taught in a particular way . . .”⁵¹ From the start Hovey recognized the students’ true motives for matriculating.

Hovey envisioned in June 1857 that the normal school would consist of two distinct strata. The first was a preparatory normal school “in which the thoroughly elementary training of the pupil should be accomplished” and where the faculty would ascertain “his *adaptation* for the profession of teaching.” It would prepare teachers for the “primary and smaller schools.” The normal school proper was for graduates of the preparatory normal and high schools who would “be led on to the mastery of the higher studies; to the knowledge of education as a *science*; and its methods as an *art*; and to a continuous practice and observation in the model school.” Its graduates would find employment in “the larger schools, grammar schools, urban schools, and high schools of our larger towns.”⁵² Since the University of Illinois, among others, challenged at the beginning of the twentieth century the right of the normals to prepare high school teachers, it is worth stressing that Hovey and his colleagues assumed in 1857 that the University had been charged at its foundation with the preparation of both elementary and secondary teachers.

A year later in his annual report to the Board, Hovey indicated that while he had hoped simply to review the branches taught in the schools, it had turned into “almost an *original* investigation” of such topics as the elementary sounds

of the English language because of the students' totally inadequate preparation. He proposed a tripartite curriculum: language, "including all means of communication," such as English, Latin, music, and drawing; mathematics; and the earth, "embracing its products and relations," comprising, among other subjects: geography, geology, botany, astronomy, history, and lastly theology, which would lead "to the contemplation of the First Cause." It would take a student three years to complete the course of study, but since many students would lack the time and resources to remain in school for so long a period of time, Hovey proposed that the school offer three different diplomas: for those who had completed two years, three years, and three years with two subsequent years of successful teaching.⁵³ Hovey thus foresaw, correctly, that few students would actually complete the program.

It was not until 1860 that the curriculum appeared in print in the first catalog the University published. The year was divided into three terms of fifteen, thirteen, and twelve weeks. Students were required to take three years of instruction in the following subjects: English language (seven terms); vocal music and penmanship and drawing (three terms in each area); and Latin (five terms). Arithmetic, algebra, and geography were taught during the first year; metaphysics, geometry, history, chemistry, botany, and advanced algebra during the second year; and the constitutions of the United States and Illinois, natural philosophy, bookkeeping, physiology, zoology, and higher mathematics in the third. As for the professional courses, they consisted of four terms in the history and methods of education taught in the second and third years and an examination of the school laws of Illinois in the third year.⁵⁴

Professional education was very much subordinate in Hovey's curriculum to what was in many ways a modified reiteration of the antebellum pre-collegiate and collegiate curriculum with its emphasis on Latin and mathematics. It also included, however, a considerable scientific component in anticipation of the University's expansion into an agricultural and mechanical school. Even theology probably lurked in the curriculum in the guise of metaphysics. It was an Eastern college graduate's prescription for the educational ills of Illinois.

Students saw instruction in vocal music, penmanship, and drawing as a farce, according to the recollections of Sarah Raymond Fitzwilliam, Class of 1866. Describing herself as a member of the group of "birds that couldn't sing, and that could never be made to sing," the future superintendent of the Bloomington schools recalled that "the birds" "finally graduated from the pursuit of knowledge under these difficulties, by rising in a body and leaving the hall when the music hour arrived,—no permission being asked or given,—it being tacitly conceded that the pet theory of universal musical training had broken under the strain." As for the class in penmanship taught by an Episcopalian clergyman, "(h)istory compels me to remark that several of his pupils had attained such proficiency that they certainly were fully worthy of taking rank with second-class sign painters..."⁵⁵ Clearly, many students failed to see the practical value of either singing or calligraphy.

Edwards, the professional schoolmaster, was the product of Bridgewater, where, unlike the other Massachusetts normals, there was from the start a better balance between the academic and the practical;⁵⁶ and, as Burnham pointed out, Edwards

set the basic structure of the curriculum at the University for the rest of the century. “Theoretically,” he had argued already in 1859, “only the science and art of teaching should engage the attention of the student in such a [normal] school. It is a professional institution, and should properly only be held responsible for professional work.” However, he continued, an institution had to be “adapted to the wants of our community,” and if it became “divorced from the interests and sympathies of the community... then it is a shell without a kernel, a form without substance...”⁵⁷ When Benaiah G. Roots (1811–88), a prominent educator from southern Illinois and a longtime Board member (1865–88), proposed in 1868 that the University become “strictly a *professional school* for teachers” and admit to a two-year course of study only those individuals who were qualified for a first-grade teaching certificate, the Board politely tabled his proposal. While Roots correctly pointed out that few students had completed the University’s existing three-year program and that more students would be likely to finish his proposed shorter course, he totally misjudged educational conditions in Illinois when he claimed that the common schools were producing students who were sufficiently prepared academically to teach before they arrived on campus.⁵⁸ Edwards and the other Board members had a better grasp of educational realities in Illinois than Roots did.

In response to proponents, like Roots, of a narrowly focused, professional curriculum, Edwards included in his 1874 report on the University a section titled: “Academic Instruction Ought Not to Be Excluded.” It would be impossible to recruit, he insisted, “the right kind of student for a school purely devoted to pedagogics and methods.” A person who already had the requisite academic preparation might desire a better education... but it will be a culture that enlarges his field of actual knowledge, an education that puts him in possession of new treasures in science and art. Such persons as these, if they desire to improve themselves in methods of teaching, or to study the philosophy of education, will be quite content with what they can get out of books. A volume is not so costly as a term at school.

In fact, Edwards insisted, such a strictly professional school “would become an institution for teaching people to do precisely that thing which they are by nature unfitted to do...” But the more important reason for teaching the academic subjects was that such “studies are needed in illustrating the professional instruction.” The future teacher would see how the subject should be taught properly.⁵⁹ Edwards realized, unlike Roots, that normal schools had to accede to the interests and needs of the larger community, including its desire for non-vocational education, and that academic and professional instruction were inseparable.

By the end of Edwards’ tenure, the curriculum was a curious mixture of elementary and secondary, and even collegiate-level, work. A first-year pupil took three terms of spelling, two terms of reading, grammar, arithmetic, and geography, and one term of American history and of the history and method of education. (Hovey’s 1860 curriculum had not included something as basic as spelling.) During the second year a single term was devoted to each of the following subjects: metaphysics, rhetoric, criticism, algebra, geometry, geography, European history, chemistry, and botany. The few students who remained for a third year took, again for a single term each, the history and method of education, the constitutions of the United States and Illinois, the school laws of Illinois, English literature, natural philosophy, astronomy, bookkeeping, drawing, and physiology. According to the 1874 catalog

fifty-three weeks were devoted to teaching. Optional course work was offered in vocal music, Latin, Greek, algebra, trigonometry, analytical geometry, calculus, and zoology. Some of the components of the traditional antebellum curriculum, for example, Latin and analytical geometry, which had been encompassed, presumably, in Hovey's "higher mathematics," had become electives.

By the end of the century, less time was devoted to geography and spelling and more was spent on reading, grammar, and arithmetic. German, French, astronomy, surveying, advanced science, political science, and advanced pedagogy had been added to the list of electives. In 1877 the professional component of the curriculum consisted during the first year of two terms of mandatory observation in the model school and attendance during the third at the president's lectures on the theory and practice of teaching. The second-year student studied psychology for a term, and during the first term of the third year, the future teacher learned about both the history and the philosophy of education. There were also four terms of supervised practice teaching in the model school.⁶⁰ The barely literate product of an ungraded rural school could thus do remedial work in spelling and arithmetic, whereas a college-bound student, whether enrolled in the normal department or high school, could do preparatory work in Greek and calculus. This look at the curriculum reveals why DeGarmo could say at the fiftieth anniversary of the University's foundation that thousands of people who would have gone by 1907 to high schools, colleges, and universities attended the Normal University during the early years of its existence. By insisting that it could not be simply a narrowly focused professional school, Edwards had transformed "a genuine normal school" into "a people's university" without abandoning its teacher preparatory mission.

The story of the curriculum is not one of the most exciting topics, but it is worth pondering the words of Frederick Rudolph: "For the curriculum has been an arena in which the dimensions of American culture have been measured, an environment for certifying an elite at one time and for facilitating the mobility of an emerging middle class at another. It has been one of those places where we have told ourselves who we are."⁶¹ For all its inadequacies, the curriculum of the Normal University provided thousands of poor men and women with the education they needed to enter the middle class. That truly has been the greatest achievement of the University, then and now.

5 THE QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION

Much of the course work was, admittedly, simplistic. Hewett conceded as much in 1882. He said, perhaps in a riposte to defenders of the traditional collegiate curriculum who maintained that the study of the classics and mathematics trained the mental faculties:

. . . our main strength has been given to the elementary studies. We believe in reading, arithmetic and map-drawing, and have some faith in spelling, as a worthy subject of school study, especially for teachers. . . We believe that work rightly done on the elementary studies can be made as efficient for training the mental powers, the essential part of an education, as any work in the whole field of scholastic pursuit.⁶²

DeGarmo, who described "the atmosphere of the school" as "electric" and Cook's teaching of reading or Henry McCormick's recitation of the prime factors of

numbers as mesmerizing, concurred that the real strength of the University was not what was taught but how:

Higher institutions depend in large measure upon the subjects taught, upon the liberalizing character of advanced learning, for their ultimate influence upon the world, but the curriculum at the Normal embraced little more than elementary, and the beginnings of secondary studies. What the ultimate results should be depended, therefore, not upon the thing taught, but rather upon the intensity and thoroness [*sic*] of the teaching.⁶³

How pedantic such instruction could be is demonstrated by Hewett's own classes in geography. Hewett's students were expected to be able to draw from memory on a blackboard accurate maps of each continent by learning between thirty and fifty points of latitude and longitude for each and then to fill in the coast lines, rivers—always to be drawn from their source to their mouth—mountains, cities, and state and national boundaries. They were also required to know, for example, the principal towns on the Rock River, the area of Patagonia in square miles, or the width of the Titicaca valley in Bolivia. Edwards was a stickler for spelling. He made students learn twenty-five words every day, and anyone who missed more than one word failed for the term.⁶⁴ Presumably, Hewett's and Edwards' students, having witnessed the correct way to teach geography and spelling—the *raison d'être*, according to Edwards for teaching the common branches at a normal—then applied the same methods in their own classrooms. (I now understand why in the early 1950s my fifth-grade teacher who had graduated from a normal school more than forty years earlier required us to draw maps of all the states, showing the chief products of each, and to know which two rivers converged at Pittsburgh to form the Ohio. Hewett would have approved.)

Such instruction had some unexpected consequences. Hewett insisted that Robert A. Bower, who came to Normal in 1863 but did not graduate, draw maps. The reluctant cartographer became interested in spite of himself and subsequently founded the map department at Rand, McNally & Co. and was said in 1907 to be worth over half a million dollars.⁶⁵ Bower's career is a good example how a normal education opened the door for very different vocational choices.

Instruction was perhaps most advanced in the natural sciences. To fulfill the 1857 legislative mandate to teach "agricultural chemistry, animal and vegetable physiology," Hovey had hired, as we have already seen, Dr. Joseph Sewall; and two of his students, Thomas J. Burrill and Samuel W. Garman, went on to distinguished scientific careers at the University of Illinois and Harvard. Stephen A. Forbes had succeeded John Wesley Powell as the museum curator and did important research in the laboratory in Old Main. The focus on scientific research ended when Forbes left for Urbana in 1885.⁶⁶

In the meantime the General Assembly had assigned the Normal University a new scientific mission. In 1872 the legislature mandated the teaching of physiology, chemistry, zoology, and botany in the public schools and stipulated that all holders of a teaching certificate were to be examined in these subjects. Zoology, which had been made optional in 1867, perhaps when it became clear that Normal would not be the site of the industrial university, was again made in 1876 a required course. To help teachers meet this requirement, Forbes organized in the summer of 1875 an institute to teach "(s)ystematic and structural botany of the flowering

plants; cryptogamic botany, with especial reference to mosses and fungi; systematic and structural zoology, illustrated by mounted skeletons and other preparations, and by a series of dissections made by the students under the eye of competent instructors." Registration was limited to fifty teachers, though there were over seventy applications from forty-two counties. The instructors were: Forbes; Sewall; Burrill; Cyrus Thomas, the state entomologist and organizer of the Illinois Natural History Society; Burt. G. Wilder, a professor of neurology and vertebrate zoology at Cornell and later the president of both the American Neurological Association and the Association of American Anatomists; and William Stebbins Barnard, an entomologist.⁶⁷

The 1876 catalog declared: "The advantages offered for the study of science at this institution are unusual and deserve the attention of all who wish either thoro [sic] general instruction in science or opportunities for special study of the natural history of Illinois." For a fee of \$3 students could undertake independent study with Forbes—perhaps the first documented case at the University of undergraduate research in a professor's lab. The unusual advantages included, according to the catalog: the museum's collection of 150,000 specimens; Forbes' zoological laboratory furnished with dissecting tables, stools, and sinks that could accommodate fifty to sixty students; and Sewall's fully-equipped chemical laboratory for "practical work in analytical chemistry" with facilities for forty students. The 1885 catalog indicated that the museum had been turned into a classroom and had been refitted with nine microscopes and a "new automatic Schanze microtome, imported from R. and J. Beck, London." The library contained "some of the best works on embryology, histology, pathology, comparative anatomy, and microscopic techniques."⁶⁸

After Forbes' departure in 1885 and the resignation of Minor Lawrence Seymour, who had replaced Sewall in 1878, the University hired in 1888 as its biologist Buel Preston Colton (1852–1906). Colton was an 1874 graduate of Amherst, where he had been introduced to the revolutionary work being done in the natural sciences by, among others, Charles Darwin and Thomas Henry Huxley in England and Ernst Heinrich Haeckel in Germany. Colton had studied from 1881 to 1883 with Huxley's students at Johns Hopkins University, the nation's first research university, but without earning a Ph.D. As a faculty member Colton took seriously Edwards' contention that University faculty model the best teaching techniques in the classroom. Colton was careful to conduct "his elementary courses with no more expensive equipment than any high school might reasonably be expected to provide," so that a young science teacher would not believe "that science teaching without a well-equipped laboratory is well-nigh fruitless." Students were required to dissect a cat or rabbit in his physiology course. He was the author of two widely read textbooks, each of which went through multiple editions: *Elementary Course in Practical Zoology* (1886) and *Physiology, Experimental and Descriptive* (1898). The latter contained more than a hundred engravings, many in color. The underlying principle of the zoology textbook was that children were to obtain scientific knowledge by assembling data about animals in their own environment. Although Manfred J. Holmes probably exaggerated in his memorial when he hailed Colton as being "in the true line of the apostolic succession from Darwin, Huxley, [Louis] Agassiz, [Edward Livingston or his younger brother William Jay]

Youmans and others,” the crucial point is that Darwinism was at the heart of the biology curriculum for prospective teachers.⁶⁹ The Normal University may have ceased being a center of scientific research with Forbes’ departure in 1885, but scientific education remained its special domain.

Edwards was in the vanguard in his promotion of physical education. Eastern colleges, starting with Amherst in 1860, began requiring such instruction in the 1860s.⁷⁰ Already in his 1859 address to the convention of normal school principals, he had insisted that physical training was as essential in the common schools as instruction in orthography and that teachers had to be prepared to provide such training. After Edwards arrived in Normal, all students were required to engage in “free gymnastics accompanied by music;” and William Pillsbury, the Harvard graduate who was the principal of the high school, was soon employed in teaching light gymnastics.

Edwards proposed in 1865 that the State build a dormitory for 150 students that would include a gymnasium, but he made his major argument for a separate gymnasium the following year. The students did not participate, Edwards said, in sufficient physical activities; and part-time manual labor or ball-playing were not adequate substitutes. What they needed was regular exercise because, as the example of ancient Greece showed, “gymnastic exercises promoted strength, grace, and health of body.” He advocated the construction of a gymnasium, like “all the principal colleges” had or were doing—Edwards cited Dartmouth, Harvard, and Vassar as examples—but conceded that no other normal school had such a facility. The main hall of the proposed gymnasium was to be 40 x 80 feet and would hold 160 persons. There were to be two smaller halls with adjoining dressing rooms: one 35 x 40 that would contain heavy apparatus for men to use; and another, 25 x 30, where women could engage in unspecified private activities. Edwards estimated that the building would cost \$10,000 with another \$1,000 for the furnishings, including a piano. The General Assembly did not share Edwards’ enthusiasm for either a dormitory or a gymnasium, and the project languished for a generation.⁷¹ Perhaps, the most intriguing aspect of the whole story is that in this instance Edwards’ comparator institutions were the foremost Eastern colleges. The Normal University was no ordinary normal school.

Hewett pressed in the 1880s for the construction of a gymnasium, but the General Assembly continued to balk. The students’ gymnastic exercises in the large halls on the third floor of Old Main were straining the building—one more sign how badly it had been constructed—and the activities were moved to the basement after the janitor’s quarters were vacated. Cook continued the campaign for the gymnasium.⁷² The legislature finally appropriated \$40,000 in 1895 for the construction of the building, known today as Cook Hall. Governor John P. Altgeld (1847–1902; governor 1893–97) rejected the proposed plan as cheap and unsightly. Inspired, apparently, by the castles in his native Germany, he opted for a neo-Gothic stone structure, now the oldest building on campus. (The since demolished North Hall was built in the early 1890s.) This change in plans added an additional \$21,000 to the final cost.⁷³ The University of Illinois may have been the chief beneficiary of Governor Altgeld’s beneficence, but the Normal University was not totally neglected. With the construction of the long-desired gymnasium, like “all the principal colleges” had, the University was beginning to assume in the 1890s some of the outward trappings of a college.

Perhaps, it says something about the University's priorities that the building of a gymnasium took precedence over a library. In fact, during the first years of its existence the University's own library was inferior to those of the two literary societies, which were of far more use to students than the school's collection. The University was made in 1858 a depository for federal government documents and 107 volumes were delivered to Majors Hall, but the shipments ceased during the Civil War and did not resume until 1877. Old Main included space to house the collection of the Illinois Natural History Society, which was rated in the late 1860s as the third largest collection of this type west of the Allegheny Mountains and which was available for student use.

In 1864 the University's own holdings consisted of 450 volumes, mainly textbooks, which were stored in locked bookcases because, as Edwards noted, books were expensive. The faculty selected the books to be purchased, but all expenditures, including the rebinding of an old encyclopedia, required Board approval. Edwards reported in 1872 that \$417.21 had been spent on books and that there were 1,021 volumes in the reference library. It was open four hours a day. A student, who was paid \$150 a year, served as the head librarian. In contrast, in 1863 the combined holdings of the two literary societies numbered already 856 titles, many of them works of literature. These volumes were kept in the societies' meeting rooms and could be checked out for two weeks. Each society had its own elected librarian.

The students pressed the administration for improvements. The Wrightonians, one of the societies, requested in 1880 that its holdings and those of the Philadelphians be combined in a single room and that the Board appoint a half-time librarian; but the Board rejected the request saying there was no space for a library. In the spring of 1888 the new monthly student paper, the *Vidette*, began a campaign for better library facilities; and in May 1889 Hewett proposed that the Board appoint a permanent librarian. At the urging of Jesse Fell's daughter, Fannie C. Fell, High School 1879, who was teaching at the high school, and of Stephen Forbes, for whom Milner had worked, the Board appointed in February 1890 Angeline V. Milner (1856–1928) as the University's first full-time librarian, a position she held until her death.⁵ The collections of the literary societies were transferred, as the students had offered in 1880, to the University.

Cook moved the library in 1890 from a narrow hallway on the second floor of Old Main to what had been the reception room on the first floor, and Milner began the task of cataloging the collection that now numbered 4,000 volumes. The library was open eight hours a day, five days a week; and she received an annual appropriation for the purchase of books. By 1892 Cook reported the reference library contained more than 7,000 volumes and 15,000 pamphlets. Milner was paid \$1,500 a year. She began offering classes in 1892 on using the library, and by 1899 she was advocating to the National Education Association Convention that such courses be made mandatory. After Cook Hall was completed, the library moved in 1898 to the third floor above the gymnasium and then in 1913 to what had been the training school building, North Hall.⁷⁴ (North Hall stood to the north of Old Main between Felmley and Schroeder at what is now the southern end of the pedestrian bridge over College Avenue.)

⁵ The original Milner Library was named for her in 1940, and the name was transferred to the present structure when it opened in 1976. Old Milner was renamed Williams Hall in 1981 in honor of Arthur R. Williams (1857–1952), the first head of the department of Business Education. Williams taught at the University from 1914 to 1952.

The University of Illinois is famous today for its library, but while its library was considerably larger than Normal's—12,550 volumes in 1880 and 19,000 in 1890—it did not acquire a separate library building until 1897. The cause for the slow growth of the Urbana library, as at Normal, was the unwillingness of the State to appropriate money for the purchase of books.⁷⁵ The disparity between the two institutions was not as great in 1890 as it would become by the beginning of the twentieth century when the University of Illinois really became the state university of Illinois and high schools assumed the responsibility for providing students with a secondary school education.

6 THE MODEL SCHOOL

A model school was the heart of any normal school, the place where aspiring teachers had the opportunity to observe good teaching and, more importantly, to teach themselves. While there was in the antebellum period a general recognition of the centrality of the model school for the normals' mission, the early normals were less successful in turning that vision into practice. Bridgewater itself did not have a model school from 1850 to 1880.⁷⁶ Hovey in his June 1857 report to the Board talked, as we have seen, about how the student teacher would need to apply their knowledge in a model school. The model school, with Mary Brooks as its teacher, opened in Majors Hall on November 2, a month after the first students had arrived at the normal department; and the original plans for Old Main called for primary, intermediate, grammar, and high school classrooms. However, Hovey conceded in 1882 that the model school "was intended at that time [1857] as a model, and not as a school of practice for pupil-teachers;"⁷⁷ and it fell to Edwards, as Burnham pointed out, to incorporate both observation and professional practice into the curriculum.

The model school opened and functioned during the first years of its existence, it should be said in fairness to Hovey, under very difficult conditions, as John A. H. Keith explained at the University's semi-centennial. (Keith was in 1907 the head of the training department.) The facilities at Majors Hall were totally inadequate, and the children at the intermediate level had to be farmed out to Gilbert Thayer, who ran a private school on the north side of the square in downtown Bloomington. By the third year four of the normal students, including Burnham and Joseph G. Howell, Class of 1860, were assisting Mary Brooks with the teaching. After she resigned in 1860, Howell took charge, only to leave after he enlisted in April 1861; and Burnham finished out the school year. There had also been a momentary drop in enrollments in the fall of 1860, when the University moved from Bloomington to the still small village of Normal. The disruptions in staffing continued during the 1861–62 school year. The new teacher, Henry B. Norton (1836–85), Class of 1861, who taught later at the normals in Emporia, Kansas (today Emporia State University) and in San Jose, California (today San Jose State University), left after a term.

Perkins Bass, the Board member who was serving as the acting principal of the University in Hovey's absence, charged the new model school teacher, Charles F. Childs (1830–66), a former student of Horace Mann at Antioch College and, previously, the principal of the Franklin School in St. Louis, with establishing a high school. Bass believed that such a school would induce children in the lower grades to remain at school and might attract students who did not feel ready to do the work in the normal department itself. Childs stayed only eighteen months.

This was the chaotic situation that Edwards found upon his arrival in Normal in 1862. The next year Edwards hired William L. Pillsbury, a Harvard graduate, to be the principal of the high school, a position the latter held for seven years (1863–70).⁷⁸

Besides the revolving door in the classroom, Edwards was confronted with burgeoning enrollments in the model school due to the rapid growth of the town of Normal. The University and town had agreed in 1860 that the model school would double as the town's district school and would receive the latter's tax revenue. Enrollments in the model school grew from 123 in June 1861 to 411 in 1865 to a peak of 630 in 1868. To deal with this influx, separate grammar and intermediate departments were added in 1864 and 1866, respectively, so that the model school could offer instruction at all grades from the primary level through high school. After 1866 each department was autonomous. The Board decided in 1865 that only the primary department and high school would remain in Old Main, while the other two departments would move to the school the town was constructing at the corner of Ash (now College Avenue) and School Streets. The University would retain responsibility for the instruction of the pupils in the town's schoolhouse because the connection between the district school and the University was a major reason people were settling in Normal.⁷⁹

However, in June 1867 the Board directed Edwards to negotiate the terms of a new contract under which the University agreed to teach the town's children for no more than one year at a time. In December the Board terminated the arrangement, effective the following June. Enrollments in the model school were immediately halved. They dropped from 630 in 1868 to 317 pupils in June 1869 and to 229 in 1877, rebounded slightly to 352 in 1885, and reached a respectable 503 in 1890. As a consequence of this reduction in enrollments, the intermediate and grammar departments were merged from 1868 to 1894. Since Edwards interpreted the Act of 1857 as prohibiting the Board from incurring any expenses in conjunction with the running of the model school—the statute is silent about a model school—the Board charged until 1901 an annual tuition fee of \$15 for pupils enrolled in the lower grades and \$25 for high school students (raised to \$39 in 1891). Tuition was waived for the children of the faculty and of the janitors and increasingly for their extended kin as well. The General Assembly appropriated in 1891 \$23,000 for a training school building, later known as North Hall, to house the model school. It was criticized from the start as cheaply and poorly constructed, and it was demolished in 1965 after it had been declared a hazard in 1960.⁸⁰

In December 1862, at the end of his first semester as principal, Edwards emphasized in his report to the Board that the model school needed to be not only a place where students observed good teaching but also a practice school where they conducted their own classes under the critical supervision of the staff of both the normal and model schools. At the beginning of each term, Edwards explained, he assigned to members of the higher classes their own class in a specific subject, which they taught for an hour a day and for whose progress they were responsible. Besides receiving suggestions from him and the other teachers, the student teachers were required, as frequently as possible, to teach the class before the faculty and their peers; and their performance was subjected to a critical review after the children were dismissed. The model school provided instruction in all grades from the primary level through the high school.⁸¹

Edwards supplied more specific information a decade later about his supervision of practice teaching the previous term. Seventeen men and an equal number of women—it is worth noting that men were disproportionately represented among the student teachers—had been assigned their own classes at the beginning of the term: two in the high school; twenty-three in the grammar school; and nine in the primary school. He visited each class as often as possible and sometimes stayed for the entire recitation. He kept a written record of the problems he had observed and subsequently discussed his concerns with the student in a private session. In addition, Edwards held separate weekly meetings for the students who were teaching in the primary grades and for those who had been assigned to the grammar and high schools. At these sessions he offered general criticisms and suggestions. Each student was also required to keep a daily diary, in which they recorded and analyzed what had happened in each class, so that they could reflect upon their own performance. He called upon the students randomly at their weekly meetings to read their diary entries. Edwards graded every student after each visit on a scale of ten, and a student had to maintain an average grade of seven to receive credit for their student teaching. Graduating seniors were expected to complete four successful terms of student teaching.⁸² Anyone who has done student teaching will recognize how little the experience has changed.

Edwards noted in this report that he had been able to devote more attention during the fall of 1872 than previously to the model school, and it is hard to imagine how he was able to fit any regular supervision into his busy schedule of teaching, writing, and administrative and outreach duties. Perhaps, he had deliberately laid out the magnitude of the work involved in supervising student teachers because in June 1873 the Board accepted his recommendation that a more suitable system be devised. The result was the appointment in 1874 of Edwards' longtime colleague, the beloved Thomas Metcalf, as the full-time head of the new training department, who then relinquished his position in mathematics.

Supervising student teachers had become a daunting task. During Metcalf's first year in his new position, 145 students, 79 men and 66 women, taught a total of 202 classes, including 100 in the grammar school and 83 in the primary department. To accommodate such large numbers, two student teachers were assigned to teach a class, each teaching and observing the other for half a term. The regular faculty in the model school became assistant training teachers, who critiqued the students' individual performances, whereas Metcalf conducted the group meetings. Starting in 1877, all entering students were required during their first year to observe and record every week what occurred during four hours of teaching in the model school. To graduate, students after 1885 had to make under the president's personal supervision a "faithful, experimental study in their senior year of methods of presenting various subjects to children with special reference to illustration and use of apparatus." The president and the students' classmates observed and critiqued these pedagogical experiments—the first hint that the model school was beginning to be conceived of as a laboratory school.⁸³

There had always been an expectation that the faculty in the normal department would also be involved with the work of the model school, and in 1886 the Board mandated that they, and not just the "special training teachers," should supervise on a regular basis the training in the model school. The Board went so far as to assert: "(t)he academic work of the school, should be subordinate to the training work."

Cook and Henry McCormick, in arithmetic and geography, respectively, proved especially apt at this task.⁸⁴ If Hovey had emphasized the academic rather than the professional component, the Board, at least in this instance, was resurrecting the older vision of the normal school as a professional school.

7 THE PREPARATORY HIGH SCHOOL

In direct contradiction to this view of the University's mission, the high school was a model school committed to the highest academic standards and only very peripherally a practice school; for example, in 1872 only two of Edwards' thirty-four student teachers taught in the high school—classes, it should be noted, in algebra and geometry. Student teachers might teach mathematics and history, but never English literature or languages, classical or modern.⁸⁵ The purpose of the high school, as Edwards bluntly put it in 1882, was to raise the school's visibility and academic reputation. "One principal object aimed at in the management of the model school during these years [his presidency], was the thorough fitting of boys for the best colleges of the country. This, it was thought, would help to give character to the institution in all its grades. A high reputation for sound scholarship, it was believed, would induce students to come..."⁸⁶ And one might add, win community support for the new University. In fact, the University announced in the catalog: "(t)he Classical Course is very thorough and is more extended than that of some colleges. Our young men enter Harvard and Yale without conditions."⁸⁷ The connection to the University's teacher preparatory mission was nowhere apparent.

Since the high school was a college preparatory school, its principals were, like Charles Childs and William Pillsbury and unlike Hewett and Cook, college graduates—a peculiar acknowledgement that academic standards were higher in the high school than in the normal department itself.⁸⁸ President Edmund James of the University of Illinois, the high school's most famous graduate (1873), wrote to David Felmley in 1913: "I was a student there under the first three principals, and succeeded the fourth as principal. It was a great school under the early principals and was doing a more advanced grade of work than nine-tenths of the colleges in the United States."⁸⁹ By 1870 the school was offering Latin, Greek, French, and German. Pillsbury took pains to note in 1882 that the catalogs from 1863 to 1871 had erroneously listed only a year's course in Greek, when "(n)o pupil has ever graduated from the classical course of study without doing three full years' work in Greek."⁹⁰

The high school recruited students statewide and was highly selective. The principal, Orson Leroy Manchester (1854–1928), announced in the 1893 catalog:⁹¹ "(i)t is our wish to have not a large school, but a select one of high grade. Many of our students are graduates of high schools offering less favorable opportunities." Besides the graduates of such village high schools, it admitted students without an examination from the grammar department of the model school, teachers who held first-grade certificates, and the top two graduates of the Bloomington grade schools. The high school and normal students intermingled in the literary societies

⁹¹Manchester Hall was named for him in 1966. He served as the principal from 1890 to 1895, was a professor of economics, history, and foreign languages from 1895 to 1911, dean of the University from 1911 to 1928, and mayor of Normal from 1907 to 1917. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, p. 86, n. 33.

and in the classroom. The high school students received much of their instruction, for example, in mathematics, science, and history, in the normal school (Felmley estimated it at 44 percent of the high school students' total instruction). In return, the high school faculty taught the optional courses in the classical and modern languages to normal school matriculants. Both the normal department and the high school profited from this arrangement. The former enhanced its academic reputation and received the tuition paid by the high school students, whereas the high school had at its disposal the faculty and facilities of the University. Comparable instruction by an ordinary high school or private academy would require, the catalog boasted in 1893, "a payroll amounting to between fifteen and twenty thousand dollars a year."⁹¹

Not surprisingly, the graduates of a highly selective high school, in an era when few adolescents had a chance to attend such a school, let alone to graduate, did exceedingly well. For example, the first graduating class in 1865 consisted of seven individuals: Gertrude Case, who taught in the model school from 1872 to 1875; Jesse Fell's daughter Clara; Charles L. Capen (1845–1927), a Harvard graduate and Bloomington lawyer, who served on the Board of Education and its successor from 1891 until his death and who was also the last president of the Board of Education (1913–17);^{††} William McCambridge, who edited *The Pantagraph* for twenty-six years and who became the confidential secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission; an accountant with the Wabash railroad; a physician; and a lawyer who lived in 1907 in Fort Worth.⁹²

However, the conflation of the high school with the normal department meant that it was possible for a student to graduate simultaneously from both or for a normal student to do the necessary preparatory work in the high school to be admitted to a college. John Calvin Hanna, who became a principal in Columbus, Ohio, and Oak Park, Illinois, graduated in 1876 from both the high school and normal department.⁹³ Five Normalites, including John A. H. Keith (1869–1931), Class of 1894, the editor of the University's semi-centennial history, were studying in 1896 at Harvard. Keith, who taught at both Normal and DeKalb, became the president of the normals at Oshkosh (1907–17; today the University of Wisconsin–Oshkosh) and then at Indiana in Pennsylvania (1917–26; today Indiana University of Pennsylvania). Keith ended his career as Pennsylvania's Commissioner of Education (1927–31). Several other high school/normal department graduates went to Swarthmore after Charles DeGarmo became its president in 1891. Among them was Francis G. Blair, Class of 1892, who served as Illinois' Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1906 to 1934.⁹⁴ While these individuals did not teach in the common schools, they enjoyed illustrious careers as educators.

Nevertheless, by the 1890s it was hard to justify the maintenance of a college preparatory school that functioned only marginally as a practice school for future teachers, when it was becoming increasingly possible to attend local high schools. In fact, Perkins Bass, the Board member who had served as acting principal in Hovey's absence and who had started the high school, had expressed his reservations already in 1863. He told Edwards that the latter was overrating the importance of the classics department at the high school because "so very few of the Normal students are qualified to teach the classics they would get very little good from

^{††} Capen Auditorium in Edwards Hall was named for him in 1928.

that Dept. of the Model School,” and indicated that he would favor its abolition if the other departments in the model school could be maintained without it.⁹⁵ The *Illinois School Journal* attacked the University in 1887 for running an elitist institution: “so little does the Normal University esteem our public high schools or our own colleges, that the Normal high school is made a recruiting station for eastern colleges.”⁹⁶

Governor John P. Altgeld shared these views and appears to have made the funding of the new gymnasium contingent upon the abolition of the high school. The governor was unable to attend, as he had originally planned, the Board’s meeting in June 1895; but in a sharply worded letter that he ordered Cook to share with the Board, Altgeld reminded the president that the two of them had discussed the abolition of the high school on several occasions. The governor insisted that the student body of the University should consist only of individuals who agreed to teach and a sufficient number of children to maintain a model school. It was “not the business of the State to run neighborhood schools,” but to “(t)each everything that is necessary to be taught in a perfect Normal University.” Altgeld continued, quite emphatically: “As you are aware this is not a new idea, but has been the policy of this administration from the beginning and I shall now have to insist upon its being carried out and that without any attempt to compromise.” He closed by saying that he was not criticizing the management of the University, but he was insisting “upon the change” because he wanted “the institution to have more of a pronounced reputation as a Normal University,” that is, as a teacher preparatory school.

After Cook indicated to the Board that Altgeld was adamant, it reluctantly abolished in June 1895 the high school by a vote of seven to six.⁹⁷ The Governor was highhanded, but by the 1890s colleges, around the nation, were abolishing their preparatory schools because the emerging high schools were making them unnecessary.⁹⁸ The incident was a warning that the University would need to rethink its own position in the educational hierarchy.

Students already enrolled in the high school were allowed to finish. There no longer was a preparatory school, but by 1898 the catalog was asserting that a practice department, consisting of twelve grades, was a necessary adjunct of the normal department, that is, the high school continued its *de facto* existence.⁹⁹ In 1905 the General Assembly passed the Lindly Act that granted a free scholarship to one eighth grader in every township to attend one of the State’s normal schools. Since the minimum age of admission to the normal department was sixteen, the University reconstituted the high school in 1905 to accommodate the younger students and to serve as a model high school. President David Felmley reported in December 1906 that 62 scholarship winners had enrolled at the University, forty of them in the normal department. “The remaining twenty-two, together with thirty-six others admitted on payment of tuition, have been organized into the high school department” and were assigned to the old high school room.¹⁰⁰ A practice oriented high school had replaced the elite collegiate preparatory school.

More fundamentally, the Board’s 1885 mandate that the faculty in the normal department participate in the supervision of the student teachers in the model school because the students’ academic work was subordinate to their professional

training had been the first sign that the University's mission was narrowing. Governor Altgeld's 1895 command to the University that it abolish the preparatory school because it was incompatible with the University's role as a normal school was an even clearer directive. The University's unspoken charge was no longer the education of the people of Illinois but strictly the professional preparation of teachers with an emphasis upon the imparting of the correct pedagogical methods rather than the mastery of the subject matter. These developments, a response both to the ascendancy of the high school and political pressure, were a harbinger of the University's transformation into a teacher's college at the beginning of the twentieth century. The new direction was a disaster for the University, its students, and education in general.

8 THE COLORED STUDENT CONUNDRUM

The history of the model school is linked to one of the finest, and possibly one of the ugliest, moments in the University's history: the admission of the first African American students to the model school and the normal department. I do not have all the facts; all I can do is to present the information we have and to let each reader draw their own conclusion about what occurred.

The Common School Act of 1855 explicitly restricted a free public education to white children, and black students were excluded, implicitly, as well from the Normal University, which was charged with preparing teachers for the whites-only schools. As we have already seen, Samuel Moulton, who had been instrumental in securing the passage of both acts, indicated in 1897 that these exclusionary provisions had been added to the statutes to obtain the necessary votes. (The 1857 Act is, in fact, silent on the issue of race.) The admission of black children to both the common schools and the University thus became an issue after the Civil War.

The Superintendent of Public Instruction and ex officio Board member, Newton Bateman (superintendent 1859–63; again 1865–75), made an eloquent plea in his biennial report in 1868 for providing colored children with a free public education, though not necessarily in integrated schools. There were, he said, approximately 9,000 "persons of color" under the age of twenty-one in Illinois, compared to 1,256,718 whites; officially, 6,210 black children were in 1868 of school age (six to twenty-one), though Bateman estimated that the true number was at least 7,000. Some cities and larger towns were making provisions for colored schools—as early as 1849 and 1851 Chicago had passed ordinances opening its schools to black children¹⁰¹—but at least half the African American children in Illinois were too widely dispersed to receive any education at all. In theory, the 1855 law authorized the return of school property taxes that had been collected from African Americans to support their own schools but that rarely, if ever, occurred.

The superintendent thus supported the resolution of the Teachers' Association that the word *white* be stricken from the 1855 act because he regarded the exclusion of blacks as "the opprobrium and shame of an otherwise noble system of free schools." No state could defend such a provision "and least of all the State that holds the dust of the fingers [Abraham Lincoln] that wrote the proclamation of January first, 1863 [the Emancipation Proclamation]." Whether colored children attended separate schools or not was a matter of local control, but Bateman proclaimed "in the name of God, and the Declaration of Independence, that *all* the school-going

children of the State, without distinction, shall be equally entitled to share in the rich provision of the free school system.” With good reason, historian Davison M. Douglas has called Bateman “probably the most influential proponent of black education in the Midwest” after the Civil War.¹⁰²

Bloomington was one of the cities that had made provisions for the education of African American children. A black Methodist minister, Reverend P. H. Ward, supported by contributions from his own people and by nearly \$100 in donations from whites, had opened in 1860 a school in the city. It was taught by a Mrs. Howard, who had been a missionary in Burma. *The Pantagraph* reported in 1864 that while the State supplied no funds, the Bloomington school board felt obligated to use a share of the proceeds from the local school property tax for this purpose. The average attendance was twenty-five, but very irregular; and not all eligible children were availing themselves of the opportunity.¹⁰³

As early as April 7, 1863, Edwards, an abolitionist, indicated in a letter that he saw no reason why blacks should not attend the normal school.¹⁰⁴ The issue came to a head in April 1867 over the admission of a colored girl to the model school that the University ran in conjunction with the Normal district school. The district school board had passed a resolution “excluding all colored children from the public schools of this village and district.” In response, a town meeting was held on the evening of Wednesday, April 24, in Old Main to consider “the educational rights of colored citizens in the district.” While Edwards, Hewett, and Edwin W. Bakewell discussed how the meeting would be conducted, “the audience was refreshed,” according to *The Pantagraph*, “by some soul stirring music from a number of the Normal students present under the direction of Mr. Cook [Cook was at the time the principal of the grammar department] . . .,” namely, the *Battle Hymn of the Republic* and *Equal Rights for All*—hardly neutral selections.

Edwards began by saying that it was the function of the public schools to educate everyone, and if the 1855 School Law compelled him to exclude the colored child, he would do so “under a strong and earnest protest” because “when the law bears upon the weak and despised, and there should appear to be a doubt in regard to that law, that doubt should ensure to the benefit of the weak and despised.” To the concern that real estate values would fall if colored pupils were admitted, he replied: “I don’t believe it,” and “I don’t care if it does.” Bakewell, who would become infamous for embroiling the University in decades of litigation over the land he had given in 1857 for the farm, responded in the negative. (Was Bakewell’s opposition to integration the real source of his hostility to the University?) He was, he insisted, “an abolitionist—not one run *mad*, however” nor was he “opposed to the cultivation of the colored mind;” but he disagreed with the proposition “that colored children should have *all* things in common with white.” There were “(l)oud cries of ‘I! I!’” from the audience.

Hewett was then called upon to speak. It was his unequivocal opinion that “the black child should be educated *exactly* like the white; first, because it is *right*, and second, because it is *expedient*.” The agitation would cease as soon as the word *white* was stricken from the 1855 statute, which he would obey, but which he argued was internally inconsistent. Regardless of what the law said, Normal’s town charter gave it the right of self-government; and it should follow, Hewett maintained, the example of Chicago, Bloomington, Galesburg, and Quincy that “educate their

colored children on the same basis as the white.” Just because black and white children were brought together did not mean that they would necessarily associate with one another, “but if they should where would be the harm?”

After several men, most notably members of the clergy, refused to commit themselves when asked to do so, Bakewell spoke again “amid cheers” and said that the law was quite clear about the exclusion of blacks. He would regret Normal following the example of “Chicago the very *hotbed* of superlative radicalism” but the town should rather set a higher example for others. The colored population, he pointed out, had their own school in Bloomington “and he would seriously object to having his little daughter go through all the exercises and manipulations of the school in the same room with colored children.” Edwards replied that Bloomington’s colored school was the equal of the white ones, both in regard to funding and the qualifications of its excellent colored teacher. Bakewell, greeted by “a volley of cheers,” then recounted how many “classic volumes” he had read and “referred to the distinction made by nature between the black and the white man.” The farmer was not going to be bested by some professors.

At that point Professor Albert Stetson, as chairman of the committee on resolutions, read a letter from Jesse Fell, who was regrettably absent, protesting:

in the strongest possible terms against the crying injustice of excluding from our Public Schools any child of the district, no matter what the color of his or her skin. Indeed, I feel deeply mortified as a citizen of Normal—a town distinguished no less for its schools than for its devotion to human rights—that the exigency should have arisen requiring such a protest. In view of what we have all seen during the last five years, and what is now being done throughout the whole country for the elevation of the African race, I am not only mortified but astonished at the cruel and anti-Christian effort that is now making, to drive a poor, defenceless [*sic*] girl from our public school. To my mind, acting as we are under our new charter, it is not only in our power, but it is made our duty to educate all the children of the district . . .

Bakewell delivered the closing speech in which he asked some of the “radicals” to stand up so he could “chastise them.” There were three of them: a Mr. Hawley, Metcalf, and the Reverend Jonathan B. Harrison of the Free Congregational Church of Bloomington, the congregation Fell, Metcalf, and Cook attended. Bakewell asked: “whether negroes should have *all* the rights and privileges of white men;” and Hawley responded “I most assuredly do.” Bakewell then queried them whether that meant a colored man had the same right as a white man to court “a good looking white lady” and Hawley once more replied in the affirmative. At that point Bakewell’s time expired.

Stetson then introduced resolutions “that colored children are entitled in law and justice to all the privileges of the public schools of the Normal district;” that if there was any ambiguity in the law, the “colored children shall have the benefit of that doubt;” and that the necessary signatures of as many legal voters as possible be procured. The resolutions passed by a vote of sixty-five to one. *The Pantagraph* ended its account with the words: “(t)he meeting now adjourned, all feeling in good humor—the radicals feeling some inches taller after their signal victory over Error and Injustices.”¹⁰⁵ Every member of the Bridgewater contingent—Edwards,

Hewett, Stetson, Metcalf, and Cook—played a part in the evening’s events. To steal Winston Churchill’s words about the Battle of Britain, the night of April 24, 1867, was the finest hour in the University’s history.

In the community referendum on May 4 there were ninety-two votes for retaining the pupil, two against retention, and seven in favor of a separate school for blacks. *The Pantagraph* added that the *McLean Journal* had hinted before the election that it would be student votes that would carry the resolution, but 75 of the town’s “bone fide” residents out of a total of 120 to 130 eligible voters had cast a ballot. The paper stressed that students were legally entitled according to State law to vote in town elections.¹⁰⁶ The twenty-six student votes were probably a sizeable percentage of the male students who were old enough to participate.

A week later *The Pantagraph* ran a rambling letter to the editor signed Justice, almost certainly Bakewell’s pseudonym, under the heading, “Abolitionism Run Mad at Normal.” Recent reports in the paper gave the erroneous impression, he said, that citizens favored the “Caucasian and Ethiopian races mingling.” The issue had not been the exclusion of the pupil because “(t)he truth is there are no colored children in the public schools to exclude, there being but one, and that one under protest.” Nor had the question been the right of colored children to an education, which everyone admitted they were entitled to receive, but rather “(s)hall the colored children in the town of Normal be educated in a building separate from the building where the white children attend school?” Indeed, it would be an issue in Bloomington, too, because “some of the said [superlative] Radicals have expressed a preference for and a determination that the tender and pliable buds of the two races shall be educated and mingled in the social circle of the school class.” Justice believed that that if the ninety-two voters had voted “their honest preferences” “and not let a few dollars for taxes for school purposes prevent them from doing so,”—undoubtedly, the additional funds required to run a separate school for blacks—there would have been far fewer than ninety-two votes in favor of the resolutions. He ended by saying that he hoped that “Mr. Edwards and his coadjutors” would disappoint him about their true motives. The editor, John Burnham of the Class of 1861, added the postscript: “(w)e can not see for the life of us what nail the writer seeks to drive—he talks so much at random.”¹⁰⁷

The *Chicago Republican* reported on May 11, in a positive tone but in language that would not be deemed acceptable today, that the child had taken her place in the classroom:

The other morning a little girl of color was found sitting in her right mind in the Model School . . . The world didn’t hear of the circumstance or it would immediately have come to an end; but the one and a half Democrats of the place had a regular old-fashioned conniption . . . However, Topsy stuck to her seat. The teachers taught her; the president treated her as he thought the Savior would have treated her if she had come to Him to be taught. All is now quiet at Normal.¹⁰⁸

But was everything really quiet at Normal? Helen Marshall linked the “storm” over the girl’s admission to the Board’s decision in June to review the continued union of the model school with the district school, a relationship the Board had reaffirmed two years earlier but proceeded to terminate in December 1867.¹⁰⁹ There are two problems with this explanation for the Board’s decision: the voters had overwhelmingly supported the integration of the joint school and the Board

Proceedings do not even mention the incident. Of course, the events of April and May would have been very much on the minds of the Board members, and there was more opposition to the integration of the school than the narrative in *The Pantagraph* suggests on first reading. After all, even if the vote on April 24 was sixty-five to one in favor of Stetson's resolution, Bakewell was repeatedly cheered and several clergymen feared to express their opinion. Separating the two schools was a way to maintain both an integrated and an all-white school in Normal.

Whatever the truth is, Edwards was vilified in execrable racist language for his views on black equality. When he participated in the summer of 1867 at the laying of the cornerstone of the Indiana Normal School at Terre Haute (today Indiana State University), the *Wabash Valley Times* of Paris, Illinois, thundered:

Of course this representative of Illinois (Radical) intelligence went to the celebration with the negro on his heart, negro in his head and a huge bunch of negro wool in his teeth. When laying the foundation of our educational institutions what higher theme can employ the pen, or engage the orator than that of the negro. After much thought and careful investigation this learned white sneak has abandoned all hope of his family ever climbing up to an equality with the negro. . . This slander of the white race by this Puritan beast of Bloomington deserves rebuke at the hands of the State of Illinois.¹¹⁰

The *Chicago Times* was even more outrageous, if that is possible, on February 22, 1868, in its condemnation of the University's stance:

Here is an institution supported at great expense by the taxpayers of Illinois, and run in the interest of nigger-radicals and radical niggers. Our hope is that if ever white people have a voice in controlling the affairs of Illinois again, they will blot out of existence this, and all similar institutions, that are carried on for the benefit of the radical party and niggers, at the expense of the people. They are of no benefit, save only as miscegenation and money-squandering establishments.¹¹¹

Edwards' stance had an impact on at least five of his students. Charles L. Capen, High School 1865, who served on both the Board of Education and the Normal School Board from 1891 until his death in 1927, inquired whenever there was not a Negro child in every grade at Metcalf.¹¹² Nellie Forman, Class of 1867, taught at Booker T. Washington's alma mater, Hampton Institute. Before pursuing in 1873 a scientific career at Harvard, Samuel W. Garman, Class of 1870, served for a year as the principal of the first state normal school in the South for black students that opened in 1870 at Holly Springs, Mississippi (it no longer exists). His classmate, Margaret E. Hunter (Mrs. Levi T. Regan), who joined him in Mississippi, succeeded Garman as principal in 1871, even though the supervising board had reservations initially about a woman holding such a position of leadership. (Hunter may very well have been the first woman principal of a normal school in the United States.) She served as principal until her marriage in 1874.¹¹³

In 1872 Sarah E. Raymond (afterward Fitzwilliam), Class of 1866, the daughter of abolitionists active in the underground railroad, who in 1874 became Bloomington's superintendent of schools, allowed black students to attend the city's school No. 5, where she was the principal. The superintendent ejected them, but circuit court judge Thomas Tipton ruled that they had to be admitted. She subsequently wrote: "The old prejudices of anti [*sic*] -bellum days soon disappeared

and our young friends seemed to be very happy in the new relations.”¹¹⁴ Justice, i.e., Bakewell, was not totally wrong when he accused Edwards of seeking more than the admission of a single black child in the model school.

The Constitution of 1870, unlike those of 1818 and 1848, obligated the State to provide “all children” with a free, common-school education, but not necessarily in an integrated school. In 1874 the Illinois Supreme Court ruled in a case that had originated in 1872 in Danvers, in McLean County, that it was a misuse of state funds to run a segregated school for only four children; and the Republican controlled General Assembly prohibited and imposed a fine on any local school official who excluded a child on the basis of their race. In 1882 the State’s high court interpreted the 1870 constitution and the 1874 act as forbidding segregation, but the anti-segregation laws were not enforced and segregated schools survived for another eighty years in the State’s twenty-six southern counties. As late as 1949, about ten thousand black children were attending officially segregated schools in twenty-nine districts in Little Egypt. (Many more attended schools that were unofficially segregated because of residential segregation and gerrymandering.) The threatened loss of state funding finally forced East St. Louis to integrate in 1949, Edwardsville in 1950, and Alton and Cairo in 1952; but one community in Madison County held out until the mid-1960s.¹¹⁵

In the period of uncertainty following the passage of the 1870 constitution, Edwards reported to the Board in December 1871: “Applications have been made by a number of colored persons for admission to the University. I respectfully ask that some order may be taken on this subject by which I may hereafter be guided.” Newton Bateman, who as superintendent had argued so eloquently in 1868 for African Americans’ right to an education, and Enoch Gastman, Class of 1860, the University’s first matriculant, responded on behalf of the Committee on Officers and Teachers:

That, in our opinion, neither the Board nor the Faculty of the University has any right to recognize distinctions of race or color in determining who shall or who shall not be admitted to the several departments of the University, the equal rights of all the youth of the state to participate in the benefit of our system of public education, of which the Normal University is a part, being, as we think, fully established and guaranteed by the organic laws of the state [the Constitution of 1870].¹¹⁶

Edwards’ query and the Board’s reply would appear to imply that African Americans were admitted to the University shortly thereafter, but the University’s records are silent. However, the *Champaign County Gazette* reported on July 19, 1876, under the heading McLean County, following brief notices about a planned new prison and open-air concerts in Bloomington, a teacher’s institute at Illinois Wesleyan, rehearsals by the Bloomington band, and a police warning to prostitutes:

Rosanna P. Lindsey, who graduated at the state normal school, last commencement, is the first colored graduate of that institution. She is reported to have maintained herself well throughout the course and her closing exercise is very creditable.¹¹⁷

I have not been able to find any trace of Lindsey’s existence in the University’s records: unpublished student records in the Registrar’s office; the annual lists of students attending the University published in the catalogs; the list of graduates

in the Board *Proceedings* for June 1876 and in the biennial report of the state superintendent of public instruction for 1875–76; and the alumni register of the Class of 1876 in the *Semi-Centennial History*. Both *The Pantagraph* and the *Chicago Tribune* printed the names of the members of the class of 1876; Lindsey's does not appear among them. The easiest answer to this dilemma is that the *Gazette's* report is wrong, but it would be easier to explain such a report if it had been critical rather than laudatory.

Before we apply Ockham's razor and adopt the simplest solution, namely, that the *Gazette's* report is erroneous, there are two other curious facts to consider. *The Pantagraph* reported on June 22, 1876, that "nineteen [italics added] young ladies and gentlemen" would graduate that day from the University and that twelve of them would speak. It then listed *twenty* names, but indicated that *two* of them, Charles A. McMurry and Arabella D. Loer, were graduating from the high school. There was a comparable report in the *Chicago Tribune*.¹¹⁸ In other words, both papers named *eighteen* graduates of the normal department and *two* from the high school (one person graduated from both but was listed among the normal department graduates), not *nineteen* graduates from the University. Either both newspapers were mistaken about the number of normal department graduates and did not notice the discrepancy, or Rosanna P. Lindsey was the *nineteenth* graduate of the normal department. The *Gazette's* interest in her may indicate that she was a resident of Champaign County.¹¹⁹

However, the latter conclusion, if true, leads to a far more troubling question: was every reference to her deliberately omitted from all University records because of her race? Such a conclusion seems inconceivable given Edwards' and Hewett's stance on racial matters (Hewett became acting president in January 1876), but there is no reference to the controversy over the admission of the black girl to the model school in 1867, which appears in retrospect such a high point in the institution's history, in any contemporary record, besides the newspapers, or in the early histories of Illinois State by people who were at the town meeting on April 24: the Board *Proceedings*, the biennial report of the superintendent, the 1882 and 1907 commemorative histories that contain accounts of the model school, Pillsbury's 1886 narrative, or Cook's 1912 *Educational History of Illinois*. Harper, who found a reference to the fight in the *Chicago Republican*, but curiously did not cite *The Pantagraph*, was the first to mention in his 1935 history the 1867 incident.

Yet there was no comparable attempt to hide the presence of African Americans at Carbondale. Robert Allyn, the first president of Southern (1874–92), reported in 1874 that when that school opened in September there were 154 students "among whom were two of African descent."¹²⁰ Cook in his 1912 history said: "Colored students are admitted, as they are required in many of the schools [presumably, the segregated schools of southern Illinois]."¹²¹ Can we draw the inference that, in spite of the 1871 Board decision, African Americans were not admitted to the Normal University, just as the 1874 mandate to hire women professors was ignored, or no longer needed to be admitted after 1874 because Carbondale was responsible for the training of African Americans who taught in the segregated schools in southern Illinois? An African American, John J. Bird, served on the Board of Trustees of the Industrial University from 1873 to 1882. He was probably the first black to hold such an office at a white institution in the United States. Bird's

presence is all the more surprising because the first African American enrolled at Urbana only in 1887, and the first black man graduated from there in 1900 and the first black woman, with honors in mathematics no less, only in 1906.¹²²

So we are left with the conundrum posed by Rosanna P. Lindsey. Did she graduate from Normal and if so, why was she assigned to oblivion? Had the repercussions from the admission of the black girl to the model school in 1867 so frightened Edwards and Hewett that they felt a need for silence, if not perhaps for themselves then for the sake of the institution they headed? Certainly, the University was subject, as we have already seen, to a barrage of criticism in the 1870s that threatened its very existence. Manfred Holmes, a professor of education, who joined the faculty in 1897 and who thus would still have known both men, noted years later that Edwards' championship of the colored pupil had harmed him and that some students had left when blacks were admitted. It is not clear from Holmes' comment whether the black students in question had enrolled in the model school, the normal department, or both.¹²³ It is also worth noting that by 1876 the state superintendent of public instruction was no longer Jonathan Baldwin Turner's student, Newton Bateman, but Samuel M. Etter, who had ordered, as superintendent of schools in Bloomington, according to Sarah Raymond Fitzwilliam, the forceful ejection of colored students who had tried to attend the school where she was the principal.¹²⁴ Perhaps Etter had indicated his displeasure at Lindsey's presence, and if that was the case, Edwards may have resigned as president not only because he wished to become a minister but also for reasons of principle. Racial lines were hardening by 1876 as Reconstruction was about to end at the national level and any pretence of granting African Americans equal rights was abandoned for nearly a century. I leave it to the reader to decide whether Rosanna P. Lindsey was not only the first colored graduate of the Normal University but also of any state institution in Illinois. Whatever the truth is, the founders' hopes for integrated schools in Illinois, like their plan to establish the industrial university in Normal, had been thwarted.

ENDNOTES

1. Roger Biles, *Illinois: A History of the Land and Its People* (DeKalb, IL, 2005), pp. 124–26; Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 11–13, 16; and John Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical Comprising the Essential Facts of Its Planting and Growth as a Province, County, Territory, and State* (Chicago, 1892), 2:1139

2. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, p. 354.

3. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School*, p. 250.

4. John Williston Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois: Growth and Progress in Educational Affairs of the State from the Earliest Day to the Present with Portraits and Biographies* (Chicago, 1912), pp. 262–70; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 15. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* ran a notice on September 16, 1857, announcing the opening of the Normal University. William L. Greenleaf, the school commissioner of Cook County, expressed the hope "that Cook County will avail itself of its rights, and send the full number of students allowed by statute," i.e., one per county and one for each of its representatives. That quota hardly satisfied Chicago's need for teachers. I am grateful to my daughter for providing me with this reference.

5. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 14–16.

6. Winton U. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894: An Intellectual and Cultural History* (Urbana, 1968), p. 130; and idem, *The University of Illinois 1894–1904: The Shaping of the University* (Urbana, 2000),

p. 38; and Keith, "Alumni Register," pp. 304–06. One possible explanation for the discrepancy between the number of high schools in Illinois in 1870, 108, and the statement by William T. Harris quoted in the introduction that there were only 160 such schools in the nation as a whole is differing definitions of what constituted a high school. As late as the 1920s, there were high schools in Illinois that offered less than three years of instruction.

7. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, p. 15.

8. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 55–56.

9. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 19–43, esp. pp. 26 and 29.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 36; Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 130, 254; and *idem*, *The University of Illinois 1894–1904*, pp. 46–47, 156–57.

11. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 228–42; Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 90–91; and Eli G. Lentz, *Seventy-Five Years in Retrospect: From Normal School to Teachers College to University: Southern Illinois University 1874–1949* (Carbondale, 1955), pp. 1–21.

12. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, pp. 5, 123–28.

13. Quoted in Pillsbury, "Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities," p. XCVI.

14. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, pp. 98–100. The quotation is on p. 99.

15. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 262, 281–85. Cook calls White, Samuel Holmes White, whereas Herbst identifies him as Samuel W. White.

16. Burt Weed Loomis, *The Educational Influence of Richard Edwards*, in *Contributions to Education Published under the Direction of George Peabody College for Teachers 106* (Nashville, 1932), pp. 14–76.

17. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, p. 166. See his appreciation of Edwards, pp. 162–66.

18. John H. Burnham, "The School and the War," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 28–29.

19. Paul H. Mattingly, *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1975), pp. 62–63, 136–37.

20. Burnham, "The School and the War," p. 29.

21. Quoted by Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 102.

22. Loomis, *The Educational Influence of Richard Edwards*, pp. 121–23, 184.

23. Richard Edwards, "Address of Richard Edwards, LL.D.," in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 193–94. On the discharge of the debt, see Chapter Two, pp. 00.

24. Edwards, "Address of Richard Edwards," pp. 200–01, 206.

25. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 97–98; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 118, 153–54.

26. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 210–11.

27. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1894–1904*, pp. 21–25.

28. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, pp. 114–16.

29. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 92–94 (the quotation is on p. 94); and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 140–41. On Edwards' *Analytical Series of Readers*, see Loomis, *The Educational Influence of Richard Edwards*, pp. 97–102.

30. Hewett, "Address of Edwin C. Hewett, LL.D.," pp. 213–17.

31. Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 94–95.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 95–96.

33. Hewett, "Address of Edwin C. Hewett, LL.D.," p. 212.

34. Sandra Harmon, "Assistants, Training Teachers, and Preceptresses: Nineteenth-Century Women Faculty at the Illinois State Normal University," unpublished paper presented at the Illinois History Symposium, Springfield, December 6, 2002, pp. 2–4. I am grateful to Dr. Harmon for allowing me to use her work. Her figures are based on the faculty lists published in the school catalogs from 1860 to 1899 rather than the faculty register published in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State*

Normal University, pp. 349–57, which lists 141 faculty members for this period.

35. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois Held at Normal, June 27 and 28, 1866* (Peoria, 1866), p. 3; and *Proceedings . . . June 24th and 25th, 1874* (Peoria, 1874), p. 14.

36. Richard Edwards, “Co-Education of the Sexes,” *The Schoolmaster* 12 (April 1869): 181.

37. Letter of William H. Green to Richard Edwards, June 21, 1866, University Archives; and John Williston Cook, “The History of the Faculty,” in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 113–14. On Green, see Keith, “Board of Education Register,” *Semi-Centennial History*, p. 346; and Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical* 2:1172. Keith says Green was a member of the legislature that established the University, but he entered the House only in 1859. Green was the president of the Board from 1877 to 1879 and again from 1889 until 1902.

38. Harmon, “Assistants, Training Teachers, and Preceptresses,” pp. 7–8. Harmon’s source is the Board’s *Proceedings* for 1889, 1890, and 1891. An interesting examination of Colby’s family background—focused on her mother, Celestia Rice Colby (1827–1900), who struggled with feminism in a world of narrow gender roles—can be found in Tina Stewart Brakebill’s “*Circumstances are Destiny*”: *An Antebellum Woman’s Struggle to Define Sphere* (Kent, Ohio; 2006). The book is a revised version of Brakebill’s 2002 Illinois State University master’s thesis in history.

39. Keith, “Members of the Faculty,” *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 354; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 185. Marshall cited an article in the *Alumni Quarterly* as her source, though Marshall, who joined the faculty in 1935, after Colby’s retirement, presumably knew Colby personally. John A. Kinneman, who taught at the University from 1927 until 1962, recalled in his unpublished memoir, “It Occurs to Me: Incidents of Academic Experience,” that the only time President Felmley was ever speechless occurred when Colby asked if his appointment of an ad hoc committee consisting of four men and three women, “meant ‘discrimination against the women of the faculty’” (p. 159).

40. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, p. 352.

41. Keith, “Alumni Register,” p. 265.

42. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 169.

43. Mattingly, *The Classless Profession*, pp. 61–72.

44. Quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 152–53.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 156; and Loomis, *The Educational Influence of Richard Edwards*, pp. 106–07.

46. Edwards, “Address of Richard Edwards, LL. D.,” p. 195; Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 153–56; and George H. Howe, “The Summer School,” in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 121–23.

47. J. Rose Colby, “Journalism and the Illinois State Normal University,” in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 169–72; Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 517–22; and Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 157–58. On Gove and Reeder, see Keith, “Alumni Register,” pp. 252 and 279.

48. Homer Hurst, *Illinois State Normal University and the Public Normal School Movement*, in Contribution to Education No. 390, George Peabody College for Teachers (Nashville, 1948), p. 27. Hurst, pp. 114–15, provides a partial list of books written by faculty members between 1857 and 1927. He also has lists of the approximate sales of twenty-nine books written by selected graduates and faculty members in the same period (pp. 116–17) and how many teachers colleges had fifty selected books written by ISNU authors in their libraries in 1947 (pp. 118–19).

49. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, pp. 65–70, 89. The quotation is on p. 69.

50. Quoted in Pillsbury, “Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities,” p. XCVI.

51. *American Normal Schools: Their Theory, their Workings, and their Results, as Embodied in the Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the American Normal School Association, Held at Trenton, New Jersey, August 19 and 20, 1859* (New York, 1860), p. 49.

52. Quoted in Pillsbury, "Historical Sketches of the State Normal Universities," p. XCVI
53. Hovey, "Principal's Report to the Board of Education of the State of Illinois," in *Illinois Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Biennial Report. 1857–58* (Springfield, 1859), pp. 382–86.
54. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 56–57.
55. Sarah E. Raymond Fitzwilliam, "The Heroic in Student Life," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 233–36.
56. Mattingly, *The Classless Profession*, pp. 144–45. For information on the curriculum in general at normal schools in this period, see Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, pp. 85–106, and at the Normal University in particular, see David Felmley, "The Development of the Course of Study," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 54–62; and Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 118–36.
57. *American Normal Schools . . . Proceedings*, p. 76.
58. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois. Regular Meeting: Held at Normal, June 24th and 25th, 1868* (Peoria, 1868), p. 12; and *Proceedings . . . December 16th, 1868* (Peoria, 1869), pp. 3–7. Quotation is on p. 5. On Roots, see Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 531–33. Roots, who was called "Father Roots of Egypt," was the president of the Board from 1879 to 1883.
59. "President Edwards Report," *Tenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, 1873–74* (Springfield, 1874), pp. 137–40.
60. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 124–27.
61. Rudolph, *Curriculum*, p. 1.
62. Hewett, "Address of Edwin C. Hewett," p. 213.
63. DeGarmo, "The Influence of the School upon Education," pp. 208–09.
64. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 134–35.
65. E. F. Baldwin, "He Drew Maps," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 201.
66. See Chapter Two, pp. 00.
67. Stephen A. Forbes, "The State Laboratory of Natural History," in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 240–43. Barnard, a native of Canton, Illinois, received his B.S. from Cornell in 1871 and his Ph.D. from Jena in 1873. He had served in 1870 as an assistant geologist on an expedition in Brazil and had lectured in 1874 at Cornell. In the 1880s he worked as an entomologist at the United States Department of Agriculture.
68. John G. Coulter, "Development of the Science Department," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 74–76.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 71–73; Manfred J. Holmes, "Buel P. Colton: Pioneer Science Teacher in Illinois," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 114–17; and Harper, *Development of the State Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 373–75.
70. Rudolph, *Curriculum*, p. 123.
71. *American Normal Schools . . . Proceedings*, p. 79; *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois, Held at Bloomington, June 21st and 22d, 1865* (Peoria, 1865), p. 7; *Proceedings . . . Held at Normal, June 27 and 28, 1866*, pp. 4–5; and Harper, *Development of the State Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 124–26.
72. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 154–55, 182–83.
73. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 180–81.
74. David Felmley, "The General Development of the School," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 43–45; Eleanor Weir Welch, "A Library Grows Up," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 50 (1957): 176–86; and Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 182.
75. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, p. 372.

76. Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, pp. 40–42.

77. Letter of Charles A. Hovey to William L. Pillsbury, August 27, 1882, in “Address of W. L. Pillsbury, A. M.” in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 227.

78. John A. H. Keith, “The Development of the Model School,” in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State University*, pp. 78–79; and Pillsbury, “Address of W. L. Pillsbury, A. M.,” pp. 219–20, 225.

79. Edwards, “Address of Richard Edwards, LL. D.,” pp. 196–97; Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 90, 137; Keith, “The Development of the Model School,” p. 80; Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 79; and *Proceeding of the Board of Education . . . Held June 21st and 22d, 1865*, p. 6.

80. Edwards, “Address of Richard Edwards, LL. D.,” p. 197; Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 90–91, 137, 180; Keith, “The Development of the Model School,” pp. 80–81; Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 193; idem, *The Eleventh Decade: Illinois State University 1957–1967* (Normal, 1967), p. 42; Pillsbury, “Address of W. L. Pillsbury, A. M.,” pp. 221–22; and *Proceedings of the Board of Education . . . Held June 21st and 22d, 1865*, p. 5; *Proceedings . . . June 26 and 27, 1867*, pp. 10–11; and *Proceedings . . . Regular Meeting: Held at Normal, December 17th and 18th, 1867* (Peoria, 1868), p. 7.

81. Richard Edwards, “Report of the Principal,” in *Fourth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, 1861–62* (Springfield, 1863), pp. 76–78.

82. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois, Regular Meeting: Held at Normal, December 3d, 1872* (Peoria, 1872), pp. 5–6.

83. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 140–42; the quotations is on p. 142. For Edwards’ own account of the decision to appoint Metcalf, see “Address of Richard Edwards, LL. D.,” p. 198. To get a sense of the affection Metcalf inspired, see Cook, “The History of the Faculty,” pp. 102–05.

84. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois. Regular Meeting Held at Normal, June 23, 1888* (Springfield, 1888), p. 14; Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 142–43.

85. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 139.

86. Edwards, “Address of Richard Edwards, LL. D.,” p. 197. See also Pillsbury’s own recollections of Edwards’ words to him about his expectations for the high school in “Address of W. L. Pillsbury, A. M.,” p. 223.

87. *Catalogue of the State Normal University for the Academic Year Ending June 27, 1867* (Bloomington, 1867), p. 43.

88. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College*, p. 138 states: “Its principals were carefully selected young men usually from Harvard.” That statement and a similar one on p. 189 are not accurate. The principals and their colleges were: Charles F. Child (1862–63), Antioch College; Pillsbury (1863–70), Harvard; Elish Washburn Coy (1871–73), Brown; Lester L. Burrington (1874–79), Tufts; Edmund James James (1879–82), who attended Northwestern and Harvard, but who received his Ph.D. from Halle in 1877; J. D. H. Cornelius (1882–83), whose college is unknown but who left to become a professor of Latin at Adrian College; Herbert Jewett Barton (1883–90), who became a professor of Latin at the University of Illinois, Dartmouth; and Orson Leroy Manchester (1890–95), Dartmouth. Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 49–50; and Keith, “Alumni Register,” p. 265; and idem, “Members of the Faculty,” pp. 351–54.

Mary Elizabeth Horton (died 1918), the only woman principal (1870–71), was not a college graduate; but she became the first professor of Greek at Wellesley College, when it opened in 1875 and taught there until 1887. At her death the president of Wellesley said: “Miss Horton had the nature of a true scholar,—precision, enthusiasm, a keen and original mind, and power of intense application.” Jean Glasscock, ed., *Wellesley College 1875–1975: A Century of Women* (Wellesley, MA, 1975), p. 88.

Sandra Harmon brought to my attention that there was some reluctance about hiring a woman as principal. According to the Board *Proceedings* for December 6, 1870, Edwards said: “It was thought by some that the experiment of placing a lady in a position of so much trying responsibility was attended

with no little risk. But the present indications are that she is fully competent, not only in scholarship and character, but in ability to organize and govern.” (p. 10). She was paid \$1,500 (p. 20). The Board authorized Edwards at its meeting on June 28 and 29, 1871, to engage “the services of a gentleman of thorough classical qualifications, as Principal of the High School, at a salary not exceeding \$2000 per annum” (*Proceedings*, pp. 19–20). Since Horton was not a college graduate, this rather than gender discrimination may have been a factor in determining her lower salary.

89. Quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 138–39. On Edmund James, see Richard Allen Swanson, “Edmund J. James, 1855–1925: A ‘Conservative Progressive’ in American Higher Education,” unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Illinois, 1966). See pp. 28–36 on James’ tenure as principal of the high school. Swanson states, as have others, that the distinguished historian James Harvey Robinson graduated from the high school while James was principal (p. 30), but I have not been able to find any evidence that this is true.

90. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 138; and Pillsbury, “Address of W. L. Pillsbury, A.M.,” p. 226.

91. Felmley, “The General Development of the School,” p. 48; and Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 139, 189–90. Harper took the quotations on pp. 189–90 from the 1893 catalog, pp. 63 and 55, respectively.

92. Keith, “Alumni Register,” p. 254. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 194–95, mentions several other successful graduates.

93. Keith, “Alumni Register,” pp. 269–70.

94. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 191–2; and Hurst, *Illinois State Normal University*, p. 95.

95. Letter of Perkins Bass to Richard Edwards, August 9, 1863, in the University Archives. In a subsequent letter, dated August 25, 1863, Bass also indicated his opposition to the hiring of Pillsbury as the principal of the high school. Bass gave no reason, but he may have felt that a graduate of Harvard’s classical curriculum was a further step in the wrong direction.

96. Quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 189.

97. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois at a Regular Meeting Held at Normal, June 19, ’95* (Springfield, 1895), pp. 10–11, 13–14, 16–17; Felmley, “The General Development of the School,” pp. 48–49; Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 190–91; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 193–96.

98. Rudolph, *Curriculum*, pp. 160–61. The University of Illinois closed its preparatory school in 1911. See Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 163–75.

99. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 191; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 196–97.

100. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois at a Regular Meeting Held at Normal, June 7, 1905* (Springfield, 1905), p. 8; and *Proceedings . . . December 19, 1906* (Springfield, 1907), p. 8. Keith, who was the head of the training department in 1906, wrote in “The Development of the Model School,” pp. 85–86, that the Board at its meeting in June 1906 organized a department, the “Illinois State Normal University High School,” to accommodate “graduates of the eighth grade who come with scholarships and who do not wish to take the pledge to teach.” However, the Board records are explicit that the issue was students who were not yet sixteen when they arrived in Normal, not those who were allegedly unwilling to teach; and I can find no indication in the *Proceedings* for June 1906 that the Board established a high school as Felmley had already recommended in June 1905. Instead, it reconstituted a training department consisting of a kindergarten and an elementary school of eight grades after the State Supreme Court declared the 1901 union of the model school with the village schools of Normal illegal. See the *Proceedings . . . June 6, 1906* (Springfield, 1906), pp. 9–10, 18. However, the catalog for 1906–07, p. 24, does say that since the act creating township scholarships required the University to offer four years of study to those who did not want to teach or who were too young to enroll in the normal

school, it had decided to reestablish the high school that had been discontinued in 1895. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 238, is very vague about what occurred and supplies no footnotes.

101. Davison M. Douglas, *Jim Crow Moves North: The Battle over Northern School Segregation, 1865–1954*, in *Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society* (Cambridge Eng. and New York, 2005), p. 33. In 1861 two Chicago schools had a black enrollment of 5.2 percent and 3.8 percent, respectively.

102. Newton Bateman, “The School Law and Persons of Color,” in *Seventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois. 1867–68*, pp. 18–21; and Douglas, *Jim Crow Moves North*, p. 67.

103. *The Pantagraph*, January 9, 1860, and February 10, 1864; and Sarah Raymond Fitzwilliam, “History of the Public Schools of Bloomington (Part I. From 1852 to 1892),” *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society* 2 (1903): 58. I am grateful to John W. Muirhead of the Bloomington–Normal Black History Project for providing me with this information.

104. Cited by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 111. I could not find the letter in the Edwards papers in the University Archives. The archives do have two items that reveal Edwards’ abolitionist and egalitarian views. The first is a handwritten essay, dated February 1841, “Abuses of the Negroes,” in which he answered the rhetorical question: “Have the Negroes a better right to complain of ill treatment from the whites than the Native Americans?” The Indians had lost their property but not their liberty, whereas the Negroes had been deprived of both. The second essay, which is undated, is titled: “On Slavery in the Southern States.” Edwards defined slavery as an institution, “which makes one human being entirely subject to the will of his fellow being, who is in no way superior to himself except that he has a different complexion, he is abused, flogged, and even murdered at the will of his master for no other reason than that he is desirous of assuming those rights which were given to him by nature . . .” There was no doubt, he thought, that those who sought the abolition of slavery would eventually be victorious.

The University archivist, Jo Ann Rayfield, brought to my attention an “Address to Colored People,” that Edwards delivered to an unspecified audience on September 22, 1886, perhaps in conjunction with his campaign for superintendent of public instruction of Illinois. He described the “overthrow of slavery” as “the removal of an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the colored man’s progress,” and reminded his hearers that “there is absolutely nothing to prevent your success in any legitimate business in which you may engage.” He added, rather naively, that there was, in his opinion, “not even a prejudice that interferes with your success.”

105. *The Pantagraph*, April 26, 1867. Neither Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 110–11, nor Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 131, mention the town meeting in their accounts of the controversy. I suspect that Harper, whose account Marshall followed closely, derived his information not directly from the out-of-town newspapers he cites but from Edwards’ scrapbooks of newspaper clippings that are in the University Archives. I could not find a volume for the 1860s, but the item from the *El Paso Journal* of May 8, 1873, Harper cites on p. 93, is in the scrapbook. My guess is that Edwards did not clip the account in *The Pantagraph*, but I cannot explain why Harper and Marshall did not look at the paper themselves or, if they did, why they did not use its account of the town meeting in their books. The entry for April 24, 1867, is blank in Edwards’ diary, but it is mainly a log of his out-of-town trips and expenses. It, too, is in the archives.

The *Chicago Tribune* reported on April 27, 1867, that the indignant population of Normal had held a town meeting caused “by the arbitrary and unjust action of the School Directors, in excluding colored children from the public schools.” Their actions were “severely denounced in speeches by President Edwards and Prof. Hewett, and in strong resolutions drawn by Prof. Stetson.” I am grateful to my daughter for finding this article in the *Tribune*.

Fell’s letter is consonant with his beliefs and behavior in racial matters. Cook related at the dedication of the Fell Gate in 1916: “I have seen him rise in a crowded street car and offer his seat to a poor negro woman with the irresistible grace that was his wont.” “Dedicatory Service of the Jesse W.

Fell Memorial Gateway, Monday, June 5, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixteen at three o'clock, Illinois State Normal University," *Alumni Quarterly of the I.S.N.U.* 5 (August 1916, No. 3), pp. 9–10. This was an extraordinary gesture by the leading citizen of Normal in an increasingly racist and segregated society.

The Pantagraph did not identify Harrison's congregation, but William Kemp, the librarian and archivist of the McLean County Museum of History, was able to identify him as the pastor of the Free Congregational Church from 1866 to 1870. It became the Unitarian Church of Bloomington in 1885. Seven buildings on campus are named after members of this congregation, which Fell helped to found: Fell, Cook, Metcalf, Felmley, Schroeder, Stevenson, and Whitten. John A. Kinneman, *One Hundred Fifteen Years of Churchmanship: (A History of Unitarianism in Bloomington-Normal)* (Bloomington, 1975), p. 47. Kemp was unable to find any reference to a Hawley in this time period. I am grateful for his assistance.

106. *The Pantagraph*, May 7, 1867.

107. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1867. I assume that the letter writer was Bakewell, who had referred on April 24 to Chicago as "the very hotbed of superlative radicalism," whereas Justice talked about "superlative Radicals." I wish to thank John W. Muirhead for bringing *The Pantagraph* reports of May 7 and 13 to my attention.

108. Quoted by both Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 111; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 131.

109. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 131.

110. *Wabash Valley Times*, August 16, 1867, quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 71–72.

111. *Chicago Times*, February 22, 1868, quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 111; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 131–32.

112. John A. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me: Incidents of Academic Experience," unpublished memoir (1966), in the University archives, p. 219.

113. Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, p. 60; Keith, "Alumni Register," pp. 256, 259–260; and letter of Levi T. Regan, Class of 1870, in *The Alumni Quarterly*, August 19, 1930, pp. 17–19. I am grateful to Sandra Harmon for locating the references to Forman and Hunter. As far as I know, the University ignored in later histories its connection to Holly Springs.

114. Fitzwilliam, "History of the Public Schools of Bloomington," p. 61; and *The Pantagraph*, April 1, 2007, A-5. For more information on her, see Monica Noraian, "Sarah Raymond Fitzwilliam—The Nation's First Female School Superintendent (1874–1892): A Biography of One Woman Learning to Dare and Daring to Lead," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Illinois State University, 2007).

115. Douglas, *Jim Crow Moves North*, pp. 67, 80, 85–86, 98, 115–21, and 245–55. The Constitution of 1870, Article VIII, Paragraph 1 states: "The general assembly shall provide a thorough and efficient system of free schools, whereby all children of this State may receive a good, common school education." Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical* 2:1105–34, esp. pp. 1120–21. Loomis, *The Educational Influence of Richard Edwards*, p. 81, states that Edwards was a member of the constitutional convention, but he is not listed as a member of the Convention in Moses, pp. 1133–34. On the segregated schools of Illinois after World War II, see Emily Gertrude Dunn, "The Segregated Secondary School for Negroes in Illinois," unpublished master's thesis, Illinois State Normal University, 1947. Ms. Dunn, who subsequently became a professor of sociology at Illinois Wesleyan, was the daughter of board member Richard F. Dunn.

116. *Proceedings of the Board of Education. . . December 5th and 6th, 1871*, pp. 4, 10. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 132, gives the text but does not cite the committee's ruling on p. 10. She added that Bateman's and Gastman's report "has ever since been one of the guiding principles of the Normal University relative to admissions." She may have misjudged the situation. I was unable to find in the Edwards' papers any inquiries by blacks about admission to the University, but his letters contain very little information in general about the University.

117. *Champaign County Gazette*, July 19, 1876. I am grateful to John W. Muirhead for informing me about this notice and to my daughter for procuring a copy of the paper.

118. *The Pantagraph*, June 22, 1876; and *Chicago Tribune*, June 22 and June 23, 1876. I am grateful to John W. Muirhead for supplying me with the reference to the item in *The Pantagraph* and to my daughter for finding the articles in the *Tribune*. The *Proceedings of the Board of Education. . . June 21st, 1876*, pp. 18–19, provides the same list of twenty names, but indicates that John Calvin Hanna graduated from both departments. It is this list that appears in Keith, “Alumni Register,” pp. 269–70.

119. Eric Fair, B.A. 1993 and M.A. 1995, the Archives Librarian at the Champaign County Historical Archives, was unable to find any other reference to Ms. Lindsey.

120. *Tenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, p. 183.

121. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, p. 234.

122. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, p. 120; and idem, *The University of Illinois 1894–1904*, pp. 48–49.

123. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 133. She cites as her source Manfred Holmes’ undated personal notes in his papers. Marshall’s note cards for the book, which are in the University Archives, provide no more precise reference; and it would require a reading of Holmes’ extensive and not very legible papers at the archives to ascertain if the comment is there and if he provided any more precise information.

124. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 140–44; and Sarah Raymond Fitzwilliam, “History of the Public Schools of Bloomington,” p. 61.



Section Two

"A GENUINE NORMAL SCHOOL," 1867-1900

Chapter 4 THE STUDENT BODY

The University offered men and women of modest means, often fresh from the countryside, a chance to obtain an education and to better their position both socially and economically. For many their arrival in the Twin Cities was their first prolonged exposure to urban and middle-class life, however modest. In 1870 the population of Bloomington was 14,590 and Normal's, 1,116; two decades later Bloomington had 20,484 inhabitants and Normal, 3,459.¹ The two towns were hardly Chicago or even Peoria, but for a farm boy or girl, they were a bustling metropolis.

While classroom discipline was strict, the students who lived off campus probably enjoyed more personal freedom than their twentieth-century successors who lived in dormitories with parietal rules and who could thus be more easily and closely supervised. Victorian middle-class gender roles were highly prescriptive, but the normal schools allowed women more social space than was customary because many faculty members and students were of lower-class rural origins and could not afford to observe the restrictions that the prevailing bourgeois ideology of domesticity imposed upon middle-class women. The heart of campus social life at Normal was the two literary societies, the Philadelphians and Wrightonians, which provided students with more intellectual and cultural stimulation than the arid curriculum supplied. Ironically, the students adopted in the 1890s many of the customs of late nineteenth-century collegiate life, most notably a preoccupation with athletics, at the very moment when the boundaries between the normals and the colleges were being more sharply delineated.²

7 DEMOGRAPHICS

Contemporaries recognized that the University was a school for students of relatively humble origins who had to support themselves. In 1874 the Bloomington Antimonopolist editorialized:

Interested parties have endeavored to create the impression in some parts of the State, that the Normal is a sort of aristocratic institution, and that farmers, mechanics and laboring men get little benefit therefrom [*sic*]. There can be no greater mistake. The Normal is preeminently the school of the farmer and the poor man... Out of the 294 in the Normal department, 135, or nearly half, board themselves, or work for their board. Many others come to school for a term, and then go out to teach until a little money is earned, which is spent in more schooling.³

Statistics bear out the newspaper's assertions. Edwards reported to the Board in December 1874, that out of the 3,258 students who had attended the school since its foundation, 1,474 (45 percent) were the children of farmers, 259 had widowed mothers, 219 were the sons or daughters of mechanics (a generic term for anyone who worked by hand), and 375 were self-supporting; while only eleven had bankers as fathers. Most of the children of widows and most of the individuals who were on their own had also been born in the countryside.

Edwards attributed the students' sobriety and work ethic to their social origins:

In its social standing, therefore, the school reflects the sound common sense and healthful morality that characterizes that portion of our population. As a consequence, we observe a general disposition to industry and a rightful use of time. College tricks are absolutely unknown. All the vigor and energy of youth is turned to the channel of study.

The students came to the University, Edwards stressed, upon their own volition and not because some anxious parent had sent them.⁴ While Edwards' egalitarian rhetoric was clearly aimed at critics who questioned the State's obligation to educate teachers at public expense, the evangelical belief of the antebellum reformers that teaching was a divine calling still pervaded the institution.

Admission standards, as the remedial character of the curriculum indicates, were low. Besides signing a pledge to teach in the State, men had to be at least seventeen and women sixteen. Most were considerably older. The average age of the entering class in 1880 was nearly twenty-five, though it had fallen to a little over twenty by 1890. Greater maturity is probably a better explanation than agrarian origins for the students' resolve. To be admitted, students had to pass an examination in the common branches. For example, in 1871 applicants were required to have acquired "a thorough knowledge of decimal notation, the fundamental rules [of arithmetic], fractions, and tables of weight and measures" and to be able "to call at sight the different parts of speech in a given paragraph, and to state their most important relations and functions." A grade of 65 percent was sufficient to pass.

Students who had a first-grade teaching certificate, which authorized individuals who passed a perfunctory exam administered by the county superintendent of schools to teach for two years, were admitted without an examination. Holders of a lesser second-grade certificate, which permitted the recipient to teach for a year, were granted a type of probationary admission. Approximately 35 percent of the applicants were accepted because they had been certified. Most of the graduates had taught before they matriculated. For instance, all fifteen male members of the class of 1874 as well as fifteen of the eighteen female graduates had taught before they entered the University.⁵ No doubt, savings from their meager wages as teachers helped to finance, as the Antimonopolist said, the stay of many in Normal.

As has already been indicated, women predominated after the Civil War, though the percentage of women fluctuated between 57 percent and 69 percent in the period between 1865 and 1890. These percentages were in accord with national norms outside the South, where only 25 percent of the enrollees at normal schools were women, and the Northeast, where more than 90 percent of the new entrants were female. Few students actually graduated. Only 1,760, or 7.33 percent, of the 24,013 students who entered the University during the first fifty years of its existence completed the three-year course. The graduates were disproportionately male. The percentage of women among the graduates varied from a low of 17 percent in 1876 to a high of 76 percent in 1898 and averaged 52 percent in the 1860s, 47 percent in the 1870s, 55 percent in the 1880s, and 57 percent in the 1890s. The best explanations for the greater persistence of men are that teaching was more likely to be a lifelong career for male graduates and that men were more likely to use a normal school diploma as a stepping stone to another career.

Hewett deplored in 1882 that less than 10 percent of the matriculants earned a diploma, but ascribed the low graduation rate to the extended length of the school's course of studies, its high academic standards, and the students' need to support themselves. To recognize the accomplishments of the non-graduates, the Board instituted in 1869 special certificates for students who had completed either one or two years of work. These non-graduates, more than 90 percent of the student body and overwhelmingly women, are the real unknowns in the first fifty years of the institution's history because most of our information about the students concerns the graduates. We must assume that many of the women who did not stay for three years taught for a few years after leaving Normal, as Edwards' and Bateman's surveys show, and then married and raised their families who benefited educationally and culturally from their mothers' extended schooling.⁶

We have no certain information about the ethnic and religious composition of the student body or faculty. However, 69.5 percent of the parents of the class of 1896, 110 students in all (18 were women), at the University of Illinois were native born, 11.5 percent were German, 6 percent English, and 3.5 percent Irish. In 1898, 633 of the 1,045 students enrolled at Urbana reported their religious affiliation: Methodist, 188; Presbyterian 126; Congregational, 48, Baptist, 44; Disciples of Christ, 32; Episcopal, 24; Lutheran 11, Unitarian, 10; and Roman Catholic 7.⁷ It may be that the children of recent immigrants were less inclined to reveal their religious identity, but the immigrant churches, Catholic and Lutheran, were clearly underrepresented—there were in Illinois in 1890, 700,000 Catholics and 90,000 Lutherans.⁸ I take some comfort that comparable information was not, seemingly, collected in Normal, but since the gender ratio at Urbana was the mirror image of Normal's, it is an educated guess that there was a similar demographic pattern.

It is worth remembering that both the Catholic and Lutheran churches ran parochial school systems for their largely Irish and German flocks, so that the normal school was not a likely route to a teaching position for one of their parishioners. Edwards lost his campaign for reelection as the state superintendent of schools in 1890 because the usually Republican, German Lutheran clergy perceived him, rightly or wrongly, as hostile to parochial education.⁹ Beyond that, the evangelical promotion of temperance, epitomized by Jesse Fell at Normal, was aimed at Irish and German immigrants. After all, in one of the most famous political gaffes in history, supporters of James G. Blaine, the Republican candidate for President in 1884, identified the Democrats as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." In short, the demographic profile of the University was that of a white, reformed Protestant institution. It was not until 1924 that Catholics organized the Newman Club; Lutheran students formed their own club in 1926.¹⁰ Neither denomination had its own church in Normal until after World War II. Blacks were not the only group that was noticeably absent from the campus.

2 LIVING CONDITIONS

While tuition was free for those who signed the pledge to teach, the University catalog provided yearly estimated ranges of the cost of room and board: \$62 to \$135 a year in 1861 and \$103 to \$196 in 1890. In the latter year, the cost of board for 39 weeks was placed at \$78 to \$156, washing at \$15 to \$25, and books and stationery at \$10 to \$15. Edwards saw the lack of affordable, decent housing as a major obstacle to recruiting students. In 1865 and again in 1868 he proposed that

the legislature appropriate \$25,000 to build a dormitory to house 150 students that would contain cooking facilities, baths, study rooms, and a gymnasium. To further his campaign, he had the preceptress, Emaline Dryer, who also taught grammar and drawing, write a detailed report about the students' squalid living conditions in badly furnished rooms, located in cellars and attics, where they breathed foul air filled with coal dust. Dryer noted that awful as the women's housing was the men's was even worse because of "their inexperience in cooking and in cleaning and tidying rooms."¹¹ The legislature was unmoved by this Dickensian narrative, and it was not until 1918 that the University opened its first dormitory for women, Fell Hall.

Hovey designed his house in Normal with space for sixteen women and encouraged his faculty to build similar accommodations; for example, Hewett's house on Broadway had space for twenty-four.¹² Such daily personal contact with the faculty was itself an invaluable learning experience and in the students' enculturation into middle-class values and decorum. Lida Brown McMurry, Class of 1874, who subsequently taught at Normal and DeKalb, and her brother Isaac Eddy Brown, a double graduate of the high school and normal school in 1874, who became the long-serving secretary of the YMCA in Illinois, boarded themselves. Decades later she recalled:

I cooked our meals, my brother running the errands. On Friday evenings he helped me do the washing, and on Saturday, I ironed. . . Saturday was baking day also—a very full day. A year or two later, clubs were formed. The students who belonged to a club, rented rooms in a large house and engaged a woman to cook for them. One of the boys was appointed steward and did the buying. This method of living was more or less unsatisfactory, but it gave more time for study and recreation than boarding oneself.¹³

By the 1880s the majority of students boarded in such coeducational clubs. Elmer Warren Cavins, Class of 1892, who studied afterwards at Wesleyan and the University of Chicago, indicated that the students preferred the clubs, not only because they were cheaper, but "on account of the larger social opportunities." In the early 1890s the rate at the Wells Club was as low as \$1.87 a week, though most clubs charged around \$2.10. By 1907 inflation had raised the price to \$2.50 to \$2.75 a week. The number of students in a club varied between ten and fifty, though the average was about twenty.¹⁴

Students were expected to be in their rooms during the week by 7 in winter and 7:30 in other seasons; curfew on Saturdays was at 10 and 9 on Sundays.¹⁵ Edwards noted in 1869 that while seventeen hundred students had attended the University by that date, he did not know of a single case of students marrying while they were at school or leaving to do so. Some couples became engaged while they were in Normal and subsequently married, in all instances, Edwards said, happily.¹⁶ Freedom was not, seemingly, synonymous with promiscuity. The University finally terminated in 1898 coeducational housing but not dining because as Cook explained: "I believe the presence of young men and young women at the same table to be advantageous to both. Rooming in the same houses is attended by so many objections, however, that it has been thought best to discontinue it."¹⁷ This triumph of Victorian propriety is one more example of the restrictions, moral or educational, that were beginning to guide the University in the 1890s as it became

more professional in its orientation. Nevertheless, housing arrangements during the Bridgewater Era afforded the students considerable autonomy or, as Silas Y. Gillan, said in 1907: they had been free “from inquisitorial control on part of the teachers.”¹⁸

3 THE CLASSROOM

The same lack of oversight did not apply to the classroom. Old Main had separate entrances, dressing rooms, and stairways, so that men and women would meet only in the classroom under the watchful eyes of the instructors. Until paved sidewalks were laid, male faculty members guarded the entrances and made men exchange their shoes for slippers, so they would not track mud into the building and not make too much noise. When students were not in the classroom, they were expected during school hours to be in the library or Normal Hall. Congregating in the hallways or stairs or walking the streets was prohibited.¹⁹ Hewett’s words in 1882, inspired perhaps by his own training at Bridgewater by a retired West Point officer, Nicholas Tillinghast, offer a glimpse into the atmosphere in the classroom:

The efficiency of West Point is due largely, no doubt, to its rigid training and discipline. . . . Now the severity of West Point is not practicable in our common schools, nor is it desirable perhaps, but something of the same rigidity in imposing tasks and insisting on their performance, must always be found in every school where there is right training. If something of this rigidity is required in all good schools, much more is it necessary where the teachers of these schools are themselves trained.²⁰

Nathan A. Harvey, Class of 1884, who taught at Ypsilanti, the University of Illinois, and Superior, Wisconsin, and who became the vice-principal of the Chicago Normal School, recalled: “There was little of the milk of human kindness wasted upon us by the faculty in those days. Mr. Metcalf was recognized as the one man who had a soul in him.”²¹

There were limits, however, to the students’ forbearance. After twenty-five students complained about Ira Moore’s “unwarrantable bitterness of reproof and gross injustice in recording undeserved demerit marks,” the Board subcommittee that was charged with investigating the allegations reported in 1861 that while it was “unwilling to interfere with the discipline of the school by ordering the removal of the said misdemeanor marks, at the same time they were clearly of the opinion that the treatment of the students was much more harsh than the circumstances required or justified.” The next year the Board refused to renew Moore’s contract.²² Adult men owed their teachers only so much deference.

4 THE LITERARY SOCIETIES

The students, women as well as men, were freer to express their opinions in the rooms of the literary societies in Old Main that were furnished in proper middle-class style. Such societies were a fixture at nearly all antebellum colleges. They provided the intellectual stimulus that was so sadly lacking in the colleges’ rigid classical curriculum and aroused the same competitive rivalries as intercollegiate athletics inspired a generation or two later. The Greek Revival temples of the American Whig and Cliosophic Societies still grace the campus of Princeton.²³ The centrality of the Philadelphians and Wrightonians to the life of the

Normal University is shown by the number of pages both the 1882 and 1907 commemorative histories devoted to them: excluding the lists of graduates and faculty and Board members: fifty-three of 209 pages in 1882 and eighteen of 244 in 1907. The fact that both societies were established during the first year of the University's existence reveals how much the students perceived the school as a quasi-collegiate institution.²⁴

At the end of the first week of school in October 1857 a group of men met to form a debating society, known initially as the Normal Debating Society, and drafted a constitution that called for numerous officers and short terms of office, so that all could participate. Sometime during the first term women were admitted as well. Shortly after the second term began in 1858, the club divided over the right of the president to fine a member who left the meeting without the president's permission. Those who remained reconstituted themselves as the Philadelphians because they could live in "brotherly love" without the recalcitrants. The latter invited the new students who arrived for the spring term to join them in a new society. Hovey was reluctant to give his approval, but one of the Board members, Simeon Wright, backed the dissidents who then adopted his surname as their own.

By the end of the first school year, the societies had added essays, musical numbers, and literary papers to their repertoire; and Wright procured a library for each. These libraries, as we have already seen, proved more valuable than the University's own collection. Every student, including after 1862 those enrolled in the high school, was assigned by lot to one of the societies; and the faculty became active participants. The annual competition between the societies was the high point of the year. Initially the societies only debated at the contests, but papers were added in 1859, vocal numbers in 1862, instrumental music in 1866, orations in 1869, and dramatic readings in 1888.²⁵ The General Assembly chartered both societies in 1867.²⁶

Two literary societies were also established at the Industrial University five days after it opened, but women formed their own group after Regent John Milton Gregory prohibited them from belonging to a male organization. Moreover, unlike Normal, only about a third of the student body in Urbana belonged to the literary societies, which were already becoming slightly *passé* after the Civil War.²⁷ These differences in the composition of the societies at the two institutions are indicative of the greater freedom women enjoyed in Normal.

The Philadelphians and Wrightonians competed in furnishing their rooms in Old Main. For example, toward the end of the spring term in 1861, when some men were heeding the call to arms, the Wrightonians learned that the Philadelphians were raising more than \$200 to purchase a Brussels carpet in New York to be delivered at the end of the term. Not to be undone, the Wrightonians raised \$225 and had their carpet shipped by express freight. It arrived first and caused at Normal "a flutter of excitement to which the first gun at Fort Sumter. . . was a tame and inconsiderable matter."²⁸ The Wrightonians replaced it in 1883, whereas the Philadelphians bought a new carpet already in 1872 and another in 1881 for \$300. In the 1880s the Wrightonians spent \$75 for painting their hall, \$150.22 for curtains, and \$100 for books. Both societies purchased at great expense in the late 1880s grand Steinway pianos and spent about \$450 each for new opera chairs for

their halls.²⁹ The students' preoccupation with furnishing the societies' quarters with the accoutrements of bourgeois life, which contrasted so sharply with the Spartan furnishings of their own rooms, was a sign of their social aspirations.

In 1891 the societies joined forces to build a Society Hall at an estimated cost of \$15,000 to replace their cramped quarters in Old Main. The plans drawn up by the noted local architect, George Miller, called for a brick and stone structure with a steep slate roof, gables, and turrets. Students, faculty, and the alumni pledged thousands of dollars, but many faculty members and some students were ruined financially when a bank in Normal failed in 1893 and they could not honor their commitments. The hall was never built, and it was not until 1956 that the campus acquired its first student union (now the Old Union Building on the Quad). After the gymnasium was completed, the societies were able to move in 1900 into enlarged remodeled quarters in Old Main.³⁰ Once again, as had happened in 1857 and 1873, a national financial crisis had serious repercussions for the University.

While Edwards was preoccupied with spelling lists and Hewett with the square mileage of Patagonia, the students debated serious political, social, and educational issues. During the Civil War students debated such topics as: "Has a State the right to secede? Should Jeff. Davis be hung? Should the slaves be freed? Was Lincoln's proclamation [the Emancipation Proclamation] unjust and impolitic?"³¹ The debate topics at the annual contests are highly revealing: for instance, "That public opinion ought to restrict a teacher from expressing his political sentiments freely on public occasions" (1859); "Should the congress of the United States regulate suffrage in the States?" (1867); "Is the policy of making land grants by general government, in aid of railroads, a wise one?" (1871); "That the bill known as the Civil Rights Bill, recently passed by the Senate of the United States, should become the law of the land" (1874); "That Chinese immigration to the United States should be prohibited by Congress" (1876); and "That the Irish people ought to accept the land bill as a solution of the Irish land question" (1881).³² Not all the debates were quite so serious. On one occasion Stetson and Metcalf argued in the affirmative and Edwards and Sewall in the negative that the sentiment in the ditty, "The difference I ne'er could see/Twixt Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee," impaired the morals of the community.³³ The students probably learned more from such interactions with the faculty than they did in the regimented classrooms.

Women played an active role in the societies, but Victorian gender expectations assigned men and women separate spheres. Debating was reserved for men until 1899. In 1905 both societies sponsored for the first time a man and a woman debater. Men also delivered orations, but on less weighty topics such as the "Growth of Whiskers" or the "Gloomy Prospects of the Bachelor Wrightonian for Leap-Year." Oratory contests between the societies began in 1869, but women did not compete until 1902. Instead, women, starting in 1859, edited and read at the contests the societies' literary papers: the Philadelphian Ladies' Garland and the Wrightonian Oleastellus.* When the *Vidette*, the student newspaper, began publishing in February 1888, essay contests and recitations replaced these literary papers. A man first appeared in an essay contest in 1905. Men spoke in public; women read aloud.³⁴

*Oleastellus is the Latin diminutive for a species of Calabrian olive tree, the oleaster. My guess is that since the olive was an attribute of Athena/Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, the name of the paper was a learned classical allusion to wisdom.

We can only speculate why this rigid gender distinction broke down around 1900, but there may have been both internal and external causes. As we will see, Arnold Tompkins revolutionized the curriculum in 1899; and in 1904 or 1905 the faculty, in the belief that every teacher should have practice in public speaking, made rhetorical work compulsory for all students. This requirement is another sign of the new stress on professional training as the school focused more narrowly on the preparation of teachers. Students were admitted to the societies at the beginning of the twentieth century only after they had demonstrated sufficient rhetorical skills in the classroom. Externally, women in Illinois gained in 1891 the right to vote in school board elections and in 1909 to be elected to non-statutory school offices; in 1913 Illinois became the first state east of the Mississippi to allow women to vote in municipal and presidential elections.³⁵ In this context, it was anachronistic not to allow women to debate or to declaim in public.

Both sexes participated in musical contests, but such skills were more highly prized for women than men. Vocal music appeared in the program for the first time in 1862 with both men and women competing (Cook was one of the competitors), but by the 1870s singing had become an exclusively female event. However, in 1885 there was a vocal contest between a man and a woman and in 1892 two men competed. Women represented the societies at their instrumental contest in 1866 (both societies purchased their first pianos in 1864), but in 1869 women competed against men. Like singing, playing the piano was largely a female preserve, though in 1876 two men appeared on the program.³⁶ Such gendered contests helped to reinforce middle-class conventions.

Women were able to hold office in the societies but not in proportion with their numbers in the school. The Philadelphians elected in 1870 their first woman president, Alice Emmons (d. 1871), but not without considerable controversy about the legitimacy of her election. The Wrightonians followed suit with the election of her classmate Louisa C. Allen, Class of 1870.³⁷ Altogether, by 1882, eleven of ninety-six Philadelphian presidents and fourteen of ninety-five Wrightonians had been women.³⁸ Office-holding in the two societies mirrored conditions in the schools: women were more likely to be the teachers and men the administrators.

After the foundation of Carbondale, the Normalites challenged in 1878 their counterparts at Southern to an inter-normal, literary contest because they recognized “the importance of the culture to be derived from what is known as literary work,” and, revealingly, “on account of our relative stand as Normal Schools, being debarred from participation in the Inter-Collegiate contests.” Only two contests, in 1879 and 1880, were held.³⁹ To provide normal students with an opportunity to compete in such a venue, President Reynolds Taylor of Emporia in 1895 invited the normals in Missouri, Kansas, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin to form an Inter-State League of State Normal Schools. In the winter of 1887–88, student Charles Beach had organized an oratorical contest at the Normal University; and in 1896 Beach, having prospered financially, began offering a \$100 prize and a gold medal, soon named in Edwards’ honor, to the winner, who represented the University at the inter-normal contests. After DeKalb and Charleston opened in 1899, the Inter-Normal Oratorical League of Illinois came into being in 1902 to select the state representative at the Midwestern competition. (Carbondale did not join the league.) To get some sense of the enthusiasm these oratorical contests

engendered, special railroad cars were engaged in 1899 to take 111 students and five faculty members to the contest at Cedar Falls.⁴⁰

The Normal contingent may not have gone to Iowa, however, just to listen to speeches because it occurred to the founders of the Inter-State League that the day of the oratorical contest could also double as a competition in field and track. One of the founders explained the rationale for this coupling: “who can estimate the beneficial effect such a contest would have on local normal school athletics, which are usually most deplorably neglected?”⁴¹ In other words, at the very moment that the normals were being reminded of their inferior status in the educational hierarchy, they were adopting one of the most distinctive features of late nineteenth-century collegiate life: a preoccupation with athletics and intercollegiate rivalries, which replaced the literary societies after the Civil War as the focal point of college students’ loyalties.⁴² Philadelphia and Wrightonia disbanded in 1952 because they were no longer able to recruit students.⁴³

5 ATHLETICS

Baseball, as was the case elsewhere, was the first game to be played on campus; a game between the faculty and students began the closing exercises at the end of the school year. There were also occasional intramural games, and Normal’s “White Stockings” played Wesleyan, Eureka, Lincoln, and Minonk. Football arrived in 1884, and by 1893 games were being played both with local colleges and high schools in Peoria and Gibson City, an indicator of Normal’s indeterminate status. Basketball reached the campus in 1896, and twenty women teams were competing in an intramural league by the end of the school year. Lawn tennis also became extremely popular during the 1890s, and students set up nets between the trees on the Quad. Women soon preferred the game to croquet. The first annual field day, including not only field races, but tennis matches and bicycle and potato sack races, was held in 1895. Local businessmen provided prizes worth \$65. At the beginning of the twentieth century Normal competed with Illinois Wesleyan, the Bloomington YMCA, Bloomington High School, and Normal High School in track meets.

There was some student grouching about the move to more organized teams. One of several letters in the *Vidette* in 1890 complained:

All of us want to play football, not the game with a first eleven, scrimmages, downs, fouls, referees, bounds and all that; but a good game that we don’t have to learn and can play without any more trouble than choosing up each evening and starting the game. . . In this way every fellow, large and small, could get a chance; and every evening nearly two hundred boys would be out to play football.

To supervise athletics, an Athletic Association, consisting of students and some faculty members, was established in 1897. Cook gave his blessing to such competitions, which he linked in a statement to the Board in 1896, to the University’s professional mission:

In order to keep up the athletic spirit to such a degree as will lead young men to daily exercise during the season, it is necessary to arrange games with other educational institutions. . . The whole matter of athletics, while important in all schools of secondary or higher grade, is especially important in a normal

school. . . we deem it of great importance that they [the students] should be so conditioned here to prepare them to conduct athletics properly in their own schools.

To pay for such extracurricular activities, the Board approved in December 1898 a fee of two dollars per term. Cook justified this break with the tradition of free tuition by citing the examples of other normals, including Carbondale, and the policy of the University of Illinois, and declared that “absolutely free accommodations of all kinds has been overdone and in some instances it has tended to develop a spirit of parsimony unfavorable to the production of the best results in the growth of character.”⁴⁴ Becoming more collegiate had its drawbacks.

However, athletics were hardly central in student life. The semi-centennial history of the institution devoted only a page to the topic of athletics but eighteen to the literary societies. The problem was a lack of men, made worse by the “discontinuance” of the high school—apparently both high school and normal students played on the same teams, which explains how the University could compete against both colleges and high schools—and by the drop in enrollments after the opening of Charleston and DeKalb. The brief 1907 account of sports in the semi-centennial history closed with the comment: “(i)n short, athletic sports, considering the small number of men in school, are fairly prosperous.”⁴⁵ Men did not come to Normal to play ball.

However, the enthusiasm for sports may have opened the door for African Americans at the University. The board of control, the managing body of the new Athletic Association, hired George Green in 1897 to coach the baseball team; and a Roy P. Williams was a member of the football team in 1905. I have identified these men as African Americans from the team photographs in the *Index*, the school yearbook. The 1905 *Index* also has a picture of a graduating senior, Anna Amelia Smith, a teacher in Quincy, who appears to have been an African American and who returned to Normal and earned a bachelor of education degree in 1923.⁴⁶ While it may be distasteful to use photographs to identify individuals’ race, such pictures may be the only way to ascertain the presence of African Americans at the University because the extant student records do not indicate race in this period. Even if we exclude the problematic Rosanna P. Lindsey, we cannot thus say with certainty whether Smith was the first African American graduate, but she and Green and Williams were certainly pioneers in the long path to equality.

6 RELIGIOUS LIFE

Athletic competitions were one of the ways that students interacted with the townspeople of Bloomington-Normal, but the students’ earliest and most important contacts with the community were in the churches. For an antebellum school the University was a remarkably secular institution; not a single clergyman sat on the first Board. Unlike the University of Illinois, where attendance at daily chapel service was mandatory until 1894,⁴⁷ there was no such requirement in Normal. However, the dominant evangelical Protestant culture, like prohibition in the town of Normal, pervaded the University. At the laying of the cornerstone of Old Main, the Reverend H. J. Eddy of the Baptist church in Bloomington placed in the cornerstone a Bible “as a testimony that the christianity [sic] of the Bible was the foundation of this edifice, and the foundation of the education to be given here.”⁴⁸ Hovey began the first commencement in 1860 with the recitation of the

Lord's Prayer. (As late as the early 1950s, we were required to say the Lord's Prayer at the weekly school assemblies at the public elementary school I attended. One of the Psalms was also read.) Edwards was ordained in 1873 and during his last years in Normal preached most Sundays at various churches. He left the University in 1876 to become the pastor of the Congregational church in Princeton, Illinois. Hewett was a licensed, lay Baptist preacher.⁴⁹

Until churches opened in Normal in 1867 (four were built in the next six years), students could attend services on Sunday afternoons in Normal Hall, where ministers from Bloomington took turns preaching. Many students joined local congregations and taught Sunday school, including at the Soldiers' Orphan Home that opened north of town in 1869.⁵⁰ Besides receiving religious edification and spiritual consolation, church attendance among people of different, often non-farm backgrounds, was a way that students of rural origin were exposed to urban life.

The most important Christian institution for many students while they were in Normal was the Y. During the fall of 1871 several men met for devotions in the Presbyterian chapel, and in January 1872 organized the first student chapter of the YMCA in Illinois and the fifth in the nation. Isaac Eddy Brown, who would later become the long-serving secretary of the Y in Illinois, was elected the first president. In November 1872 six women students convened for prayer in the room Isaac shared with his sister Lida A. Brown (McMurry), and they invited other women to join them the following week at the Congregational church. They constituted themselves in January 1873 as the Young Ladies' Christian Association, the first collegiate chapter for women in the nation. It was renamed the Young Women's Christian Association in 1881. Under the auspices of the YMCA, there was a notable revival in the winter of 1873, in which some sixty students were converted to the Christian life, and a similar awakening occurred the next year. In the following decades men and women met jointly on Sunday afternoons in one of the churches, though there were also separate Bible studies taught by one of the professors and evening prayer meetings. For many years the two associations donated several hundred dollars each year to support five or six indigenous preachers in China, India, and Armenia.⁵¹ The YWCA, at least, survived until around 1955, when it disbanded for lack of student interest.⁵²

The Y'ers soon clashed with students who were reading and discussing the latest scientific and philosophical writings. During the fall of 1874 a group of men constituted themselves as the Liberal Club, so called because they sought to express their opinions frankly "upon questions of education, politics, science, morals, or religion." Besides Darwin, they read, among others: Darwin's popularizer, Thomas Henry Huxley; the English physicist John Tyndall (1820–93); the English philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903); the English author Samuel Butler (1835–1902), who was involved in the Darwinian controversy; the American Unitarian minister and Transcendentalist, Theodore Parker (1810–60); and *The History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* by John William Draper (1811–82), a professor of chemistry and physiology at the University of New York. While some outsiders interpreted the club's beliefs as antagonistic to orthodox Christianity, the members' heterodox conclusions were basically a byproduct of their exploration of controversial topics, although all of them inclined toward a liberal Protestant position. Over the objections of the Y'ers, the Liberals argued that the literary

societies were “secular institutions” and that there was thus no impropriety in turning them into forums for candid discussions of theological issues. They proceeded to express their opinions at the societies’ meetings.

The Liberals arranged for each society to have a program devoted exclusively to a presentation of their views. At the instigation of the YMCA, the Wrightonians censured their president for agreeing to this program, but after several evenings of “heated discussion” the censure was unanimously struck. There was a similar brouhaha among the Philadelphians. The issue in both cases, we are told, was not the program per se, which was “in every respect commendable and worthy to be offered in the society hall,” but “to the privilege granted to the Liberals.” The two sides then clashed in the spring of 1875 over the election of the president of the Philadelphians. The candidate of the Liberals, though not himself a member of the club, Charles McMurry, a student in the high school and later a professor at Columbia’s Teachers College, was elected. The Y’ers charged fraud and after days of strife, there was a new election. Philadelphians who had failed to pay their dues quickly paid them so they could vote and McMurry was elected again.⁵³

The Board was perturbed by the ruckus. At its meeting in June 1875 it first considered a motion that it was “injudicious” to discuss religious and theological issues in the University building and “unwise” to hold religious exercises except as part of the school’s devotional exercises. It adopted instead a substitute motion offered by William H. Wells that the Board had granted the societies the use of the rooms because the

Board is desirous to give all advantages for improvement of the members of said societies; but when the exercise becomes of such a nature as to be derogatory to the good name and usefulness of the University, it is the request of this Board that the President...shall deny the use of said rooms...until such time as they can be assured that the exercise will be of a proper character.

The societies were notified accordingly. More wisely, Hewett remarked to some faculty members: “It [the dispute] will...have no permanent effects. It’s like the chicken pox, they [the students] will get over it.”⁵⁴

The intriguing aspect of this dispute between the Y’ers and the Liberals is the curious inversion between the curricular and the extracurricular: real intellectual dialogue occurred outside the classroom. It was a student-run lecture board that arranged in the 1890s for Edmund James to deliver a lecture on Bismarck and for the New York Philharmonic to perform in Old Main.⁵⁵ For all the limitations of the curriculum, students were transformed by their stay at Normal. Frank S. Bogardus, Class of 1896, who was the dean at Terre Haute (today Indiana State) from 1904 until his death in 1931, wrote in 1907:

The peculiar, distinctive thing that the Normal did for me, the thing of greatest value was bringing me in contact with the great, rich personalities of my teachers and some of my fellow students. The intense stimulus to scholarly effort furnished by them was of immense value to me. The inspiration of their example and precept seized hold of me as it has hundreds of others and made the old life no longer possible.⁵⁶

7 SUBSEQUENT CAREERS

Our knowledge of what happened to the students after they left Normal is, as has been pointed out, almost entirely limited to the small minority, less than 10 percent, who actually graduated because their names and careers are recorded in the alumni registers in the commemorative histories. The histories of the University have focused on those, like Bogardus, Cook, DeGarmo, James, and the McMurrays, who went on to distinguished careers as educators, most notably, as state and city superintendents of schools and normal school and teacher college presidents and professors.⁵⁷ Their success was a vindication of the University's mission, even if they did not teach in the common schools. It would have been impolitic for men like Edwards and Hewett, who were responding to accusations that the graduates of the school did not teach, to admit anything else; and Charles Harper and Helen Marshal, who were defending the University's teacher preparatory mission, were hardly inclined to present any evidence to the contrary.

An 1880 survey of the graduates indicates that the surviving members of the class of 1864 had taught by 1880 an average of eight years and of the class of 1869, seven; the class of 1865 did best with an average of nearly eleven years.⁵⁸ This raises the question what the non-teachers did. I have selected the eighteen graduates of the class of 1876, Rosanna P. Lindsey's class, for closer scrutiny, even though it is the one that has the smallest percentage of women graduates. Fifteen of the eighteen honored their pledge to teach. The three women had taught by 1907 an average of eleven years: one taught for nine years in Chicago until she married; the second taught six years and died three years later; and the third taught for nineteen years in Champaign, Kansas, and Missouri. Twelve of the fifteen men taught, at least briefly. One of the three men who did not teach died already in 1876, and should be excluded from consideration. Another non-teacher was identified in 1882 as the secretary and treasurer of the Plano Manufacturing Company in Plano, Illinois. Six of the twelve men who did teach were still in the classroom or school administrators in 1907, thirty-one years after graduation; and a seventh was a school principal in St. Louis when he died in 1902. All but one of the seven male career educators became administrators.

What happened to the five men who left the classroom before 1907? One taught for thirteen years in five different towns, then became a businessman and traveling salesman, and had been, as of 1907, a farmer for nine years. A second taught for two years, then studied law in Bloomington, and became a nurseryman in Montana. A third also taught for two years until ill health forced him to enter the hardware business, and he died in 1882. A fourth taught for ten years and was in 1907 in the real estate and insurance business in Santa Barbara, California. After teaching for three years, a fifth became a physician in Kansas.

The most interesting case is Claudius Bligh Kinyon, the third graduate who never taught school. He graduated from the Chicago Homeopathic Medical College in 1878 and became in 1897 a professor at the University of Michigan; he was described as the author of over two hundred articles in medical journals.⁵⁹ So Kinyon became eventually a teacher, too, but hardly in a common school. In short, for approximately half the male graduates of the class of 1876 Normal was a stepping stone to a career in business and in two instances, medicine. Whatever

Edwards and Hewett may have said for public consumption, the Normal University was never simply a teacher preparatory institution.

Historian Sandra Harmon studied the careers of the 524 women graduates who are named in the alumni registers between 1860 and 1899. Excluding five who died shortly after graduation, 94 percent of the remaining 519 taught for at least three years. Many remained in the classroom for a comparatively long time: two-thirds taught for at least six years, 40 percent more than ten years, and at least 88 or 17 percent spent over 25 years in the classroom. Increasingly, as educational opportunities for women became more available, they sought additional education after leaving Normal; seven (12 percent) who graduated in the 1860s versus 94 (45 percent) who completed their work in the 1890s. Altogether, 151 women graduates sought such opportunities; forty-one earned bachelor's degrees, thirteen master's degrees, and five obtained an MD. Most stopped teaching after they married, but 35 percent continued to work or did so after they were widowed. While about 90 percent of all American women eventually married in the late nineteenth century, only around 60 percent of the Normal graduates did.

Teaching was thus a real career choice for many women, but, with such notable exceptions as Sarah Raymond Fitzwilliam or Lida Brown McMurry, women were far less likely than men to become administrators or normal school teachers. Approximately eighty women pursued careers other than or in addition to teaching: among others, physicians, nurses, business owners, missionaries, and librarians. Eight single and eleven married women were identified as farmers. Perhaps, the most famous non-teacher was Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson (d. 1904), Class of 1863, a Chicago physician who became the first woman member of the American Medical Association.⁶⁰

The late-nineteenth-century Normal University was thus far more than “a genuine normal school.” It provided a large number of mainly white, native-born Protestants of relatively humble origins with an introduction to urban and middle-class life and an opportunity to improve their station in life. The graduates certainly did. Their most valuable instruction occurred not within the classroom but in their interactions with the faculty and their fellow students outside the classroom, most notably in the literary societies, which were the intellectual, cultural, and social heart of the University. The Normal University may have advertised that its sole purpose was the education of teachers, but Normal was until the end of the century the “people’s university.”

ENDNOTES

1. I wish to thank William Kemp of the McLean County Historical Museum for this information.
2. For a general discussion of these issues, see Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, esp. pp. 151–200.
3. *The Antimonopolist*, October 2, 1874, quoted in Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 100–01. Harper's source was Edwards' scrapbook of newspapers clippings.
4. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois. Regular Meeting: Held at Normal, December 16th, 1874* (Peoria, 1875), pp. 10–11. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 100, publishes the full list of parental occupations contained in the Board report.
5. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 102–04 and 121–22. Quotations, taken from the *Proceedings* for June 1871, are on p. 122.
6. See above, Chapter Two, pp. 00; Sandra D. Harmon, “‘The Voice, Pen and Influence of Our Women Are Abroad in the Land:’ Women and the Illinois State Normal University, 1857–1899,” in Catherine

- Hobbs, ed., *Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write* (Charlottesville, VA, 1995), pp. 88, 94–95; Hewett, “Address of Edwin C. Hewett, LL.D.,” pp. 209–10; Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, p. 66; and *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois. Regular Meeting: June 23d, 1869* (Peoria, 1869), pp. 6–9, 11; a copy of the two-year certificate is on p. 7.
7. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1894–1904*, pp. 48, 280. As for the faculty at Urbana, a census taken in 1898 indicated that it numbered thirty Congregationalists, twenty-eight Presbyterians, twenty-five Methodists, nineteen Episcopalians, five Baptists, four Universalists, three Unitarians, two Christians, one Lutheran, eight unaffiliated, and, seemingly, not a single Catholic. Ibid, p. 279. President Andrew Draper asked candidates for faculty positions their church affiliation. Ibid, p. 43. As president at DeKalb, Cook believed that all faculty members should be active church members. Earl W. Hayter, *Education in Transition: The History of Northern Illinois University* (DeKalb, 1974), p. 129. I have found no evidence for a similar policy during Cook’s tenure at Normal. Northern’s registration records retained until the mid-twentieth century information on students’ religious identity. Ibid, p. 379. A check of Illinois State’s records in the registrar’s office indicated that this University never asked for this information.
8. Moses, *Illinois Historical and Statistical*, 2:1075, 1080.
9. Cook, *The Educational History of Illinois*, pp. 156–57. Sandra Harmon brought to my attention the case of Mary Ellen Sullivan (Sister Mary Sullivan, O.S.D.), Class of 1898, who got bachelor’s and master’s degrees from the University of Wisconsin. She was an elementary school teacher in Bloomington before entering a convent in Wisconsin and subsequently taught in a Catholic academy. See Keith, “Alumni Register,” p. 317.
10. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 274.
11. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 104–06. The full text of Draper’s report is in the *Seventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, pp. 349–54.
12. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 62–63, 111.
13. Letter of Lida B. McMurry to T. J. Lancaster, March 10, 1932, quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 104–05. On the Browns, see Keith, “Alumni Register,” pp. 266–67.
14. Elmer Warren Cavins, “Student Life in the Town,” in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University*, p. 167.
15. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 100.
16. Edwards, “Co-Education of the Sexes,” p. 179.
17. Harmon, “The Voice, Pen and Influence of Our Women Are Abroad in the Land,” p. 89.
18. Gillan, “How the School Appealed to Me as a Student,” p. 202.
19. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 107; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 100–01.
20. *Fourteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, July 1, 1880—June 30, 1882*, (Springfield, 1883), p. LVIII.
21. Nathan A. Harvey, “My Early Impressions of Normal,” in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of Illinois State Normal University*, p. 205; and Keith, “Alumni Register,” p. 281.
22. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois, Held at Bloomington, July 1861. Together with Reports of Committees and Officers* (Peoria, 1861), pp. 4–5, 9; and *Proceedings . . . June 1862* (Springfield, 1862), p. 4. For other such instances, see Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 109.
23. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636–1976*, Third Edition (New York, 1976), pp. 47–48; Christopher J. Lucas, *American Higher Education: A History* (New York, 1994), p. 130; and Rudolph, *Curriculum*, pp. 95–98.
24. The chief sources on the societies are Evans W. Thomas, “Philadelphian Society” (pp. 102–16); John H. Burnham, “Wrightonian Society” (pp. 116–41); James V. McHugh, “Inter-Society Contests” (pp. 142–48); and no name, “Inter-Normal Contests” (148–55) in Cook and McHugh, *A History of*

the *Illinois State Normal University*; and Orson L. Manchester, Elizabeth Mavity Cunningham, Irene Blanchard, and Olive Lillian Barton, "Student Organizations," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 135–53. These contain, among other things, lists of debate topics, officers, and intercollegiate contests; and the following discussion is derived from these sources.

25. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 113; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 41–47, 135.

26. *Private Law of the State of Illinois, Passed by the Twenty-Fifth General Assembly of the State of Illinois, Convened January 7, 1867* (Springfield, 1867), 2:273–75.

27. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 193, 296–97.

28. Burnham, "Wrightonian Society," p. 128.

29. Manchester, "Student Organizations," pp. 141–42.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 142–43; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 181–82.

31. Manchester, "Student Organizations," p. 139

32. McHugh, "Inter-Society Contests," pp. 142–48.

33. Burnham, "Wrightonian Society," p. 130.

34. Harmon, "'The Voice, Pen and Influence of Our Women are Abroad in the Land,'" p. 90; and Manchester, "Student Organizations," pp. 140, 143–53.

35. Biles, *Illinois*, pp. 157–58; and Manchester, "Student Organizations," p. 144.

36. Harmon, "'The Voice, Pen and Influence of Our Women Are Abroad in the Land,'" p. 90; and Manchester, "Student Organizations," pp. 145–53.

37. Allen became a victim of gender politics at the Industrial University. After women were admitted at Urbana in 1870, Regent Gregory instituted a School of Domestic Science, one of the first in the country, to provide women with a liberal education (in spite of its name, it taught more than home economics), and in 1874 hired Allen as a teacher and preceptress to organize the program. She married the widowed Gregory in 1879. After his forced resignation in 1880, the Domestic Science School, perceived as the Gregorys' hobbyhorse, was abolished. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 160–63, 242–43.

38. Harmon, "'The Voice, Pen and Influence of Our Women Are Abroad in the Land,'" pp. 91–92.

39. Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 148–55. The quotations are taken from a letter of December 4, 1878, by the organizing committee to the students at Carbondale, p. 148.

40. Manfred J. Holmes, "Relation to Other Normal Schools," in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 124–34.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

42. Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, pp. 131–36; and Lucas, *American Higher Education*, pp. 176–78.

43. *The Index*: 1952, p. 122. Membership had become voluntary in the interwar period.

44. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 194–97; quotations from the *Vidette* and the Board *Proceedings* for December 1896 and 1898 appear here; Manchester, "Student Organizations," p. 164; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 183–84, 199–200.

45. Manchester, "Student Organizations," p. 164.

46. *The Index*: 1897, pp. 95–96; and *The ISNU Index* 15 (1905), p. 104. I am grateful to John W. Muirhead of the Bloomington-Normal Black History Project for the references to Green and Williams and to Cameo Wonnell of the Registrar's Office for checking the transcripts of Smith and Williams, who attended the University in 1904 and 1905 and returned again in 1927. The University's records do not indicate either Smith's or Williams' race. However, Ms. Wonnell discovered that a student who matriculated in 1934 checked that he was a Negro, so the identification of race may have become part of the admissions process only later.

47. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 178, 303–04, 375–76.

48. *The Pantagraph*, September 30, 1857.
49. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 58, 141–42, and 148. The Edwards Papers in the University Archives contain many of his sermons.
50. Cavins, “Student Life in the Town,” p. 167.
51. Manchester, “Student Organizations,” pp. 157–61. The section on the YWCA was written by Olive L. Barton, Class of 1898, a graduate of the University of Illinois (1905) and a teacher in the training department, who later became the dean of women. Barton Hall was named for her in 1951.
52. Carol Reitan, the former mayor of Normal, who arrived on campus in 1954 as a dorm director and was the faculty sponsor of the YWCA, recalls that the students tried to revive the organization; but it could not compete with denominational religious groups and the emerging Campus Religious Center, and so they reluctantly decided to dissolve the chapter.
53. George Hoffman, “The Liberal Fight,” in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 164–66; and E. W. Thomas, “Philadelphian Society,” pp. 114–15.
54. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois. Regular Meeting: Held at Normal, June 29th and July 1st & 2D, 1875* (Springfield, 1875), pp. 25–26. Hewett’s words are in Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 150. Hoffman places the events leading up to the election in 1874 or 1875, and Thomas says the election occurred in 1876 (see the preceding footnote); but the Board motion dates the controversy to the 1874–75 school year.
55. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 201.
56. Frank S. Boardus, “What the Normal Did For Me,” in Keith, *Semi-Centennial History of Illinois State Normal University*, p. 207; and Hurst, *Illinois State Normal University*, p. 95.
57. See, for example, DeGarmo, “The Influence of the School Upon Education,” pp. 211–13; Hurst, *Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 81–97; and John A. Kinneman, “The School Extends its Influence,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 50 (1957): 168–75.
58. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 145–46.
59. John W. Cook, “Normal Alumni Register,” in Cook and McHugh, *A History of the Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 92–94; and Keith, “Alumni Register,” pp. 268–69.
60. Harmon, “The Voice, Pen and Influence of Our Women,” pp. 95–98.



Section Two

"A GENUINE NORMAL SCHOOL," 1867-1900

Chapter 5

PEDAGOGICAL LEADERSHIP

The University reached the apogee of its influence around 1890 when it became the national center of Herbartianism, a movement to reform teaching in elementary schools based on the principles allegedly advocated by Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841), the so-called “father of the scientific study of education.” The Normal Herbartians—Charles DeGarmo, Class of 1873, Charles Cecil Van Liew (1862–1946), and the brothers Charles (1857–1929), High School, 1876, and Frank McMurry (1862–1936), High School 1879, and their sister-in-law Lida Brown McMurry (1853–1942), Class of 1874—were interested in the practical applications of Herbart’s theories as they had been simplified and revised by his German disciples, Tuiskon Ziller (1817–82) and Wilhelm Rein (1847–1929).

The best explanations for the University’s association with Herbartianism, besides the obvious fact that the three leading American proponents of the doctrine, DeGarmo and the McMurry brothers, were graduates of the normal department or high school, were the school’s continuing interest during the Bridgewater Era in the preparation of teachers for the common schools and the encouragement the University’s leaders, most notably President John Cook, gave its graduates to continue their education. By 1900 all five of the Normal Herbartians had left and by 1901 Herbartianism had lost its national importance. The story of Herbartianism is thus another example, like the closing of the high school in 1895, of the rapid change that occurred in the University’s fortunes during the 1890s. Cook’s resignation in 1899 and the brief presidency of Arnold Tompkins (1899–1900) thus marked the end of the Bridgewater Era and of Normal’s educational preeminence.

7 HERBARTIANISM

Johann Friedrich Herbart succeeded Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) in 1809 as professor of philosophy and pedagogy at the University of Königsberg in East Prussia (today Kaliningrad, Russia). Very simply put, Herbart taught, in a tradition going back at least to Socrates, that the purpose of education was to make men morally good. To realize this end, a child’s will, which was at birth a blank slate, needed to be manipulated through the selection and presentation of information. Since in Herbart’s psychology the mind did not consist of faculties or any other inherent attributes, it had to be built through the presentations or ideas the child received, which had to be integrated in turn with knowledge the child had previously acquired. This process came to be known as *apperception*, a term frequently associated with Herbart, but which was used more frequently by his followers than by Herbart himself. DeGarmo defined *apperception* as “the subsumption of a notion, usually newly given and more or less individual, under a predicate which is more complete in content and extent, and which is usually older and more familiar.” Herbart talked about instruction as a four-step process, though he was often vague and contradictory about the terminology. The steps were most frequently listed as clarity, association, system, and method.

To test his hypotheses, Herbart conducted a pedagogical seminar at Königsberg; but it offered highly individualized instruction for students in a gymnasium, the classical German secondary school that prepared the sons of the elite for a university education. Thus Herbart advocated, for example, that instruction should begin with Greek, specifically with the reading of the *Odyssey*, rather than with Latin. This approach was of no relevance to Prussian elementary schools in the early nineteenth century, and the seminar closed after Herbart left Königsberg in 1833. Still, Herbart's seminar could be invoked as proof that he had been a practicing teacher, writing from experience, as well as a theoretician and provided a philosophical legitimization for model schools. Herbart had little influence in Germany in his lifetime because of the turgidness of his style, which was dull and convoluted even by the standards of German academic prose; the complexity of his philosophical system, in which his pedagogy was embedded; and his opposition to the dominant philosophical idealism of Kant, his own teacher Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), and Georg Hegel (1770–1831).¹

Tuiskon Ziller, a professor at the University of Leipzig, who had studied with one of Herbart's students, published in 1865 *Foundation for the Doctrine of Educative Instruction*, a book that resurrected Herbart's ideas, albeit in a considerably modified but clearer form. Ziller introduced three crucial changes, which Wilhelm Rein later called the chief characteristics of Herbartianism. These were: greater emphasis on the four steps which Ziller reconceptualized as five; the development of "concentration centers" as the focal point of each year's work; and the arrangement of these centers in a chronological sequence of "culture epochs" that allegedly recapitulated the intellectual development of the human race. Some version of these ideas could be found in Herbart's work, for example, the study of Greek before Latin because the Greeks preceded the Romans; but Ziller gave these concepts far greater prominence, and the belief in recapitulation was a commonplace in nineteenth-century thinking.

To make Ziller's views on "concentration centers" and recapitulation slightly more comprehensible, it is worth looking at his proposed curriculum for Prussian elementary schools. The "concentration centers" for grades three to eight followed the narrative of the history of salvation: biblical patriarchs (grade 3), the judges (four), the kings of Israel (five), the life of Christ (six), the Apostles (seven), and the Reformation (eight). Since biblical history was a bit too alien to young children, first graders began with the epic fairy tales of the brothers Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm and second graders read *Robinson Crusoe*, a kind of Adamic precursor to the biblical narrative. If this curriculum appears to be highly religious, it is important to remember that German elementary schools were under the control of the Lutheran and Catholic churches. Ziller himself established a pedagogical seminar in Leipzig in the winter of 1861–62 and organized in 1863 a school for poor children where the students in his seminar could practice teach. The focus of the German Herbartians thus shifted from the secondary level to the elementary schools.²

Ziller's student Wilhelm Rein obtained the chair of pedagogy at the University of Jena in 1885 and turned Herbartianism into an international movement, probably because all rapidly industrializing countries with new systems of compulsory

education needed better ways to prepare their elementary school teachers and to equip them for the realities of the classroom. Rein provided more precise names for Herbart's four stages of instruction, which Ziller had expanded to five: preparation, presentation, association, generalization, and application. American Herbartianism was, as historian Harold B. Dunkel has said, "Reinism." For example, DeGarmo saw apperception as occurring in three phases: the acquisition of knowledge, which was involved in preparation and presentation; thinking, which utilized association and generalization, required building the individual presentations into systems; and the last stage, application, entailed the use of that knowledge. If all this sounds dimly familiar, it is because Herbartianism has lived on in the lesson plan.

Rein also provided German elementary school teachers with fully worked out curricula, which could be adapted to American needs. For example, Rein shifted from the biblical "concentration centers" to a focus on German history, which *mutatis mutandis*, could become topics in American history.³ While Neo-Herbartianism bore little resemblance to Herbart's theories, the name of Kant's successor was a powerful cachet for the movement. John A. H. Keith wrote, for instance, in his 1907 history of the model school: "Frank and Charles McMurry, fresh from the study of education under the famous Dr. Rein—the successor of Herbart in Germany—brought their rich ideas regarding the materials and methods of elementary education into the Model School."⁴ Keith's statement was a remarkable truncation of the intellectual genealogy.

Nineteenth-century Germany was the birthplace of the modern research university and of most academic disciplines, and an estimated ten thousand Americans, like the McMurrys, went there in the century before World War I to obtain an advanced degree.⁵ Approximately forty Americans studied pedagogy in Germany, and that meant in the late nineteenth century, above all, at Leipzig and Jena, the only two universities that had separate chairs of pedagogy, both of which happened to be occupied by Herbartians.

Thus, it was accidental rather than deliberate that Neo-Herbartianism arrived in Normal.

The first Normalite to obtain a German Ph.D. was Edmund James. After studying for a year at both Northwestern and Harvard, he obtained a doctorate in political economy from Halle in 1877; and after a two-year stint as a high-school principal in Evanston, he returned to Normal in 1879 as the principal of the University's high school. According to a letter Frank McMurry wrote in 1932, James then persuaded his classmate DeGarmo to follow his example; and James and DeGarmo in turn persuaded Frank's older brother Charles, who had attended the University of Michigan, to go as well. Both DeGarmo and Charles McMurry worked with James' professor at Halle, Johannes Conrad; but he let them write their dissertations in education rather than in economics. Frank was the first to go directly to Jena to work with Rein, and he persuaded Charles to join him there for a year of postdoctoral study. Altogether, twenty-one men associated with the Normal University, including the future United States Commissioner of Education, Elmer Brown, Class of 1881, made the trek to Germany.⁶

Cook encouraged his students to continue their education abroad and even supplied them with funds. He wrote, for example, to John J. Wilkinson, Class of

1885, who studied at Jena and Berlin and who obtained a Ph.D. from Leipzig in 1898:

I am greatly interested in what you boys are doing over there, and I am now casting about for some good fellows to take your place when you shall have left. I have in sight a splendid young fellow who will get to Jena after a while. I trust that Dr. Rein will take him in his pedagogical family within the course of three or four years.

Cook corresponded with Rein, who learned English from his American students, and both men talked about Rein visiting Normal.⁷

DeGarmo returned to Normal in 1886 as professor of modern languages. (The fact that so many Normalites were able to do so well at German universities speaks highly about the language preparation they had received as students.) A faculty club was formed that year, where faculty members presented papers and discussed pedagogical issues at biweekly meetings. These discussions soon had an impact on instruction. A student wrote in the *Vidette* in 1891:

The philosophic spirit which for some years has been taking strong hold of leading members of the faculty, is working great improvement in the instruction given here. The study of philosophy has been with them not a purely speculative study of airy nothings, but a search for vital principles to guide them in the practical every day work of the classroom.

DeGarmo introduced American educators to Herbartianism in a series of articles, "Glimpses of German Pedagogy," which appeared in the *Illinois School Journal* in 1886 and 1887, and in his book, *Essentials of Method* (1889), which sold a phenomenal 33,240 copies. He personally translated or persuaded others to translate various books written by Herbart and his German adherents. DeGarmo left in January 1891 to become the first professor of pedagogy and psychology at the University of Illinois and after only a semester in Urbana assumed the presidency of Swarthmore.⁸

Frank McMurry took DeGarmo's place in 1891 as the resident Herbartian in Normal. He spent two years at the University as professor of pedagogy and as a training teacher in the model school before leaving for an additional year of study in Geneva and Paris. On his return he took the chair of pedagogy in Urbana; he subsequently became the dean of Teachers College at the University of Buffalo and a professor of elementary education at Columbia's Teachers College. Charles, who had been teaching at Winona, succeeded his brother at Normal; and when Metcalf retired in 1894, Charles became the superintendent of the practice school. He accompanied Cook to DeKalb in 1899.

While DeGarmo's *Essentials of Method* had been aimed largely at his peers, Charles McMurry's *Elements of General Method Based on the Principles of Herbart* (1892) was designed to introduce Herbartianism to ordinary American teachers. As he put it in the preface: "The following chapters cannot be regarded as a full, exact, and painfully scientific account of Herbartian ideas, but as a simple explanation of their leading principles in their relation to each other and in their application to our own school problems." Such chapter titles as "Concentration," "Apperception," "The Will," and "The Formal Steps," reveal the debt to Ziller and Rein. With

the help of the teachers in the training department, Charles published in 1895 his widely read *Course of Study for the Eight Grades of the Common School*. It was an Americanized version of Ziller's proposed elementary school curriculum and contained appropriate references to "concentration centers" and "culture epochs."

Perhaps, the most influential of all the American Herbartian publications, at least as far as the ordinary teacher was concerned, was Charles' and Frank's coauthored *The Method of Recitation*, which was first published in Bloomington in 1897 and dedicated to Cook. They were careful to point out that while it was based on the pedagogical principles of Herbart, Ziller, and Rein, it was thoroughly adapted to American conditions. To provide some insight into the McMurrays' influence, the publishers printed seventy-five thousand copies of the 1903 edition of *Elements of General Method* and twenty-three thousand copies of the last edition of *The Method of Recitation*.⁹

The other two Normal Herbartians were Charles Cecil Van Liew and Lida Brown McMurry. Cook hired Van Liew, who had obtained his Ph.D. at Jena and who was teaching at St. Cloud (today St. Cloud State University), to teach reading and pedagogy and he served as the acting superintendent of the training department during Charles McMurry's absence in 1896–97. Van Liew then assumed a similar position in Los Angeles (the normal school there closed in 1919) and in 1899 became the president of Chico (1899–1910; today California State University at Chico). Charles Harper described Van Liew as the most Germanic in his thinking; he was, in fact, the translator of Rein's *Outlines of Pedagogy* (1893).

The last in the group was Lida Brown McMurry, who taught in the primary department of the training school from 1891 to 1900. She was a gifted teacher and the author of such children's books as *Stories for Little Ones*. She published a highly revealing article in 1895 in the *First Yearbook* of the National Herbart Society: "Correlation of Studies of First and Second Years." It is Ziller in American guise. She recommended that children in the first year read "fairy tales, nature myths, and Bible stories." Even *Robinson Crusoe* made his appearance in the second grade, but was preceded by an American representative of an even earlier cultural epoch, *Hiawatha*. She followed her brother-in-law to DeKalb in 1900, the last of the major figures to leave Normal.¹⁰

It should be evident why the United States Commissioner of Education, William T. Harris, could write in 1895: "A new day in American education was dawning. The early morning light of this new day was Herbartianism. Massachusetts was the center of the common school revival . . . but the center of educational dynamics now moved westward to Illinois, and especially localized at the Illinois State Normal University."¹¹ The teachers of Illinois benefited directly from Normal's pivotal role in the movement. At a three-week summer institute held that year on campus, Charles McMurry conducted roundtable conferences on the "Value of the Classic Myth for Lower Grades, Fairy Tales in Lower Grades, *Robinson Crusoe*," and "Culture Epochs, Concentration, Parents' Meeting."¹²

The University's national leadership was institutionalized in 1892 with the formation of the Herbart Club, which became in 1895 the National Herbart Society. DeGarmo was the president of both until 1897. The names of the members of the Society's executive council reads like a *Who's Who* of American education in

the 1890s: DeGarmo; the McMurrays; Van Liew; the Normal graduate and future United States Commissioner of Education, Elmer Brown; and, most significantly of all, two highly influential non-Herbartians: John Dewey (1859–1952), and Nicholas Murray Butler (1862–1947), the first president of Teachers College and later the long-serving president of Columbia. The University of Chicago Press published the Society's yearbooks (1895–1900), edited by Charles McMurry, the Society's secretary. The first volume, which contained articles by DeGarmo, Frank McMurry, Van Liew, and Lida Brown McMurry, was an exclusively Normal affair. But the fourth volume reveals the waning interest in Herbartianism. It contained a reprint of the famous article by Frederick Jackson Turner, the "Significance of the Frontier in American History," which stressed the formative role of the frontier in shaping American society but whose connection to Herbartianism is hardly apparent. In 1901 the National Herbart Society changed its name to "The National Society for the Scientific Study of Education." With the rise of experimental psychology, Herbart had become *passé*.¹³ As for the Normal University, the new president Arnold Tompkins was a Hegelian who viewed Herbartianism as old-fashioned and as a passing fad.¹⁴ It is not known whether Tompkins' philosophical orientation was a factor in his selection in 1899.

However dubious the intellectual underpinnings of Herbartianism may have been, it did revitalize teaching in the elementary schools. When the McMurrays took charge of the model school, the impact was most apparent, Keith wrote in 1907, in "literature, history, geography, and science. For a time, this led to a slighting of spelling and arithmetic and penmanship, but no serious harm resulted." Instead of memorization and the rote recitation of facts, exemplified by Hewett's insistence that students learn hundreds of geographical coordinates so they could draw maps from memory, there were "(e)xcursions to planing mills, houses in process of construction, the city hall, the campus, the cupola of the main building; work in sand and clay to reveal what was known and to learn new things; fairy stories, myths, legends, heroes of pioneer times..."¹⁵ The school field trip was one of the Herbartians' lasting contributions to elementary education, and while the theory of "cultural epochs" has long been discredited, the curriculum was enriched by the reading of poetry, including Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, and by the introduction of biographical vignettes of eminent Americans. (I read *Hiawatha* in elementary school.)

The efflorescence of Herbartianism at the Normal University in the fourteen years between DeGarmo's return from Halle in 1886 and Lida Brown McMurry's departure for DeKalb in 1900 was the culmination of the Bridgewater contingent's commitment to the preparation of teachers for the common schools and of Normal's unstated role as a "people's university" that encouraged its graduates to continue their education and to pursue careers outside the classroom. These contradictory tendencies—after all a student who arrived in Normal intending to teach in a rural school was hardly likely to contemplate pursuing a Ph.D. in Germany—are exemplified by Cook's words and deeds in the 1890s. He justified the faculty club's study of Herbartianism as a way to strengthen the professional training of teachers. Cook informed the Board in 1891:

We are endeavoring to strengthen the PROFESSIONAL FEATURES of our work all of the time. To this end . . . we are spending two evenings each month in discussing ways and means to promote the general welfare of the school,

and especially to formulate a distinct body of educational doctrine that may be kept before our classes and illustrated in the ordinary work of instruction. We hope to merit the name of a Normal School.¹⁶

Yet by 1897 the University had formalized its role as a preparatory school for the University of Illinois. Students who completed the three-year course of study at Normal were admitted as juniors in Urbana and could obtain a B.S. after two more years of study, while those who had entered Normal with a high school diploma could transfer to the University of Illinois after two years and obtain either an A.B. or B.S. Cook himself took groups of students, ranging in number from forty to four hundred and dressed in Normal's school colors of cardinal and cream, to Urbana for a tour.¹⁷ In effect, Normal had become, in modern parlance, a junior college for the senior state University; and Cook's encouragement of his very best students to study at Harvard or Swarthmore or at Jena or Leipzig was simply an extension of that role. No one expected such students to teach in a one-room country school.

Cook's and Charles and Lida Brown McMurrys' departure for DeKalb in 1899 and 1900, respectively, was thus not only a sign that Herbartianism's allure as a cure for the ills of elementary education was fading but also that the rise of the high school was making Normal's dual function as a preparatory school for elementary school teachers and as a "people's university" untenable, an improbable pairing. The University transformed itself under the leadership of David Felmley (1900–30) into a teachers college that concentrated on the preparation of specialized subject matter for teachers and administrators rather than schoolmarm for country schools, who had been the intended audience of the bowdlerized version of Herbartianism. Moreover, ambitious and bright young men could increasingly obtain the preparation they needed to study at Harvard at their local high school or earn a Ph.D. at the modern research university that was taking shape in Urbana. To justify the continued existence of a specialized teacher preparatory institution for matriculants who arrived with a high school diploma, the focus shifted at Normal from the study of the academic disciplines to professional training.

Already in 1907, Felmley perceived Cook's departure as a caesura. Felmley wrote:

In 1899 the retirement of President Cook marked the close of what may be called the Bridgewater regime. It had been characterized by its earnest spirit, its thoroughness [*sic*] in the common branches, and in later years by a great development of interest in German philosophy as related to education. But many of the younger members of the faculty [Felmley included] had not themselves been reared in the institution and were eager for certain changes. During the year of Dr. Tompkins' presidency the faculty meetings were almost wholly devoted to discussing the course of study, and at the end of his term came a complete reorganization.¹⁸ Herbartianism ended at Normal with the Bridgewater Era.

2 ARNOLD TOMPKINS, 1899–1900

The ten-month presidency of Arnold Tompkins (1849–1905), the first president who was a native of Illinois, was a prologue to the thirty-year reign of David Felmley. The latter wrote in his memorial for Tompkins: "No year in the last thirty witnessed more radical changes in the organization, the administration and the

spirit of the Illinois State Normal University than the year of Arnold Tompkins' administration."¹⁹

The impetus for institutional change was the increasing number of students who were graduating from high school. The emergence of the high school posed two distinct though related questions for the Normal University: how would the course of study be altered to accommodate matriculants who arrived with a high school diploma rather than with an often insufficient eighth-grade education, and who would be responsible for the preparation of high school teachers? Tompkins and later Felmley asserted the right of the University to train secondary school teachers, which the University of Illinois and the colleges were challenging, but in the on-going debate about the balance between the academic and professional components of teacher preparation, the two presidents emphasized the professional aspect as the distinctive feature of a normal school. In that reworking of the University's mission the elementary schools, especially the rural schools, and the women who taught in them were subordinated to the high schools and to the men who administered and taught in them.

The 1890s saw a dramatic increase in the number of matriculants who had a high school diploma. Forty-one of the 289 students who matriculated in 1891, or 14 percent, were high school graduates; in 1898, 288 out of 483 or 60 percent, arrived with such credentials. There were debates about making high-school graduation mandatory for admission, but Cook argued that there were not enough high school graduates in Illinois to meet the demand for teachers, even if they all taught. Moreover, capable individuals with only an eighth-grade education would continue to be certified to teach even if they were excluded from the University; and such individuals who had studied in Normal for two years had proven to be, Cook said, better teachers than high school or even college graduates without such professional training. It was an amazingly anti-academic argument, especially because Cook conceded: "Our normal schools are of low grade, but they are like the schools for which they prepare teachers."

Nevertheless, the University took steps during the decade to respond to the new reality. As early as 1888, the Board had created a special one-year course of study for college graduates and more than twenty-five college graduates enrolled in this program in the 1890s. More significantly, the Board authorized in 1893 a two-year course of study for graduates of accredited high schools, in which the required work in such subject areas as reading and geography was reduced from two terms to one but the professional requirements remained the same. The Board added a four-year program in 1896, partially to enable students to study the foreign languages that had been eliminated with the closure of the high school but primarily to provide the graduates of the district schools with more time for remedial work.²⁰ Like the 1897 arrangement with the University of Illinois that allowed Normalites to obtain a bachelor's degree in Urbana, these measures indicate that Cook and the Board were grappling with the new educational situation in Illinois.

Still, Cook, a Normal graduate who had spent all but one year of his professional career at the University, was not the man to make dramatic changes. He confided in December 1898 in a letter to Board member, Peleg R. Walker, Class of 1861, the superintendent of schools in Rockford and later the president of the Board from 1907 until his death in 1913, that he felt that he had done all that he could in

Normal and that he would welcome new challenges. After Cook decided to accept DeKalb's offer, he hinted to Ben C. Allensworth, Class of 1869, a businessman who had been the superintendent of schools of Tazewell County and the editor of the *Pekin Times*, that he had lost the confidence of the faculty:

I feel that I am sundering a good many ties and yet the old school has been changing from week to week so that you would hardly know it. The school that I see around me here is now very different from the school of thirty-five years ago and do you know that I have come to think that the school at DeKalb will not seem too strange after all. I realize that I have not the "boys" [among others, Felmley and Manchester who were not Normal graduates?] behind me and that everything is in the future. That I shall miss more than anything else.²¹

When Illinois authorized the normal schools in 1907 to grant bachelor of education degrees, Normal availed itself of this opportunity; while DeKalb under Cook's leadership remained committed to the teaching of elementary rather than secondary teachers. The preparation of the latter, Cook believed, belonged to the University of Illinois with its superior library and academic departments.²² Cook's refusal to respond to the challenge posed by the increase in the number of high schools is probably the real reason he left in 1899.

Arnold Tompkins, who had been since 1895 the professor of pedagogy at the University of Illinois and who had no personal commitment to Normal or the Bridgewater tradition, was prepared to act. While he had attended the normal school at Terre Haute, he had earned a master's degree from Indiana University (he was the first president with a post-baccalaureate degree) and had studied for two years at the University of Chicago with, among others, John Dewey. Tompkins was highly regarded as an educational philosopher, but there were doubts about his administrative abilities. He had presented his views on teacher preparation in an article he wrote in 1891 in response to an earlier piece by Nicholas Murray Butler. The latter had argued that the program at the New York College for the Training of Teachers, later Columbia's Teachers College, was different from that at the normal schools because it was designed exclusively for high school graduates who needed only such professional courses as philosophy of education and practice teaching. Tompkins concurred about the need for adequate prior preparation and the importance of practice teaching, but he insisted that cultural studies, such as reading and history, needed to be part of the program as well because the teacher had to know both the subject and how a person learned the subject.²³ Revealingly, during Tompkins' brief tenure as the president of the Chicago Normal School, graduation from high school, which Cook had opposed at Normal, became a prerequisite for admission.²⁴

The revised curriculum that emerged after months of faculty discussions in 1899–1900 required all students to take the same five professional courses: an inductive study of the method of the recitation, psychology, general method, philosophy of education, and school management and administration. The special methods required to teach a specific academic discipline were to be taught in the appropriate department: for example, method in mathematics or method in sociological science, which was broken down in turn into method in sociology and economics, method in geography, and method in civics and history. The philosophy of education and

the principles of general method had to appear in each special method course. The underlying assumption was that every professor at a normal school was an expert in the teaching of their specific academic discipline.

Students, depending upon their prior preparation and ability, proceeded through the curriculum at their own pace. There was a two-year course of study for graduates of high schools that had been accredited by the University of Illinois; a three-year program for the graduates of other high schools; and a four-year program for those who had completed only eight years of school. The number of courses in the common branches, the remedial work that had been a major component of the old curriculum, was sharply curtailed; but every student had to study natural science during the first year. Instruction in spelling and penmanship was limited to those with marked deficiencies. The 1900 catalog described this course work as the theoretical part of the course of study.

The practical part of the program occurred in the model school. In accordance with the 1886 Board directive that the faculty in the normal department were to be involved with supervision in the model school, the 1900 catalog declared: "there must be a direct back and forth connection between this faculty [the model school faculty] and the preceding [the faculty in the academic departments], especially with the departments of special methods. The professors in the latter must shape, in general, the course of their respective lines through the Practice School." Practice teaching was reduced from four terms to three, but eight expert critic-teachers, one for each classroom in the practice school, replaced the ordinary teachers in the classrooms who had reported to supervisors. These critic teachers were to be real model teachers. Tompkins said in a report to the Board:

Pupils should spend much time in this definite and scientific observation and interpretation of teaching. This requires that there should be a master teacher in each room having regular schoolroom work in order that the pupil may study not only the art of the recitation but also the art of managing a room while the recitation is in progress; and also the general condition of the schoolroom which makes successful recitation and study possible.

A single supervisor was placed in charge of the critic teachers and a separate principal was put in charge of the practice school.²⁵ In spite of Tompkins' insistence in 1891 that cultural studies needed to be part of a teacher's professional preparation, the academic disciplines had clearly been subordinated to the professional component because the program was designed for the graduates of the accredited high schools who apparently already knew all the biology or history they needed to know to teach.

Tompkins insisted in his report to the Board in December 1899 that the preparation of teachers for the high schools was part of the University's mission. "Many of our students expect to teach in high schools and there is no school in the State outside of the Normal Schools for giving the necessary training for that purpose." For that reason, he insisted, the practice school needed to offer a four-year curriculum, but unlike the disbanded high school "(i)t must not be advertised as a school designed to prepare for college. This must necessarily be done; but such preparation must be purely incidental."²⁶ As we have seen, such a high school was subsequently established in 1906 under Felmley's leadership.

In one momentous year the University had shifted its focus from the preparation of teachers for the common schools, in large measure women who had themselves attended only such schools, and from its role as a “people’s university” that provided students with the academic preparation they needed to continue their education or to pursue non-teaching careers, to a narrowly-defined teacher preparatory mission, in which professional competence was more important than mastery of the academic subject matter. With the benefit of hindsight, it can be judged a disastrous decision because it separated the teachers colleges and their faculties from the rest of the academic world. Moreover, the emphasis on methods rather than content reinforced the view that teacher preparatory institutions, even if they offered a bachelor’s degree, and their graduates were not the equals of the colleges and the recipients of a degree in the liberal arts, the prerequisite in the twentieth century for admission into the professional schools that prepared individuals for careers in the learned professions. Paradoxically, the emphasis on professional training denied teachers professional status in the community at large.

On June 30, 1900, less than a year after he had arrived, Tompkins informed each Board member why he had accepted the presidency of the Chicago Normal School. His explanation was a damning indictment of conditions at Normal:

The Chicago school has so much more adequate equipment to carry out the plans I have projected here. Chicago has double the faculty for the same number of students; and a large practice school. We have no Kindergarten [a kindergarten teacher]; Chicago has four. . . They have two teachers in music; we can have none. They pay, when necessary \$3000 salaries. They will soon have a new school building. Briefly I would say that equipment and opportunity to carry out my plans is my reason.²⁷

In less than a year Normal had lost two presidents: one to the new normal that had opened in DeKalb in 1899, the other to the reorganized Cook County Normal School, which had passed under the control of the city of Chicago in 1896. The Normal University was no longer, to borrow again Jurgen Herbst’s telling phrase, the “people’s university.” Ambitious young men and women could receive the necessary college preparatory work at their local high schools; those interested in a teaching career could attend by 1900 other normals at Carbondale, Chicago, Charleston, and DeKalb; and the University of Illinois was in the process of being transformed from an engineering school into a real state university, ironically under the leadership of two Normal graduates, Thomas Burrill and Edmund James. Normal’s unique place in the State’s educational hierarchy during the Bridgewater Era (1862–99) had ended, and it was forced after 1900 to defend its right to prepare high school teachers.

Amidst the celebratory symphony of the University’s semi-centennial celebration in 1907, there was one loud discordant chord; and it came from an unlikely player, Charles DeGarmo:

The old order changes and with it the needs of yesterday. Now we have high schools everywhere and there are many institutions of higher learning, at the head of which stands the great University of Illinois, now presided over by one of Normal’s most distinguished sons [Edmund James]. Other Normal schools have been established and new agencies for the training of teachers have been founded in the universities. With these new conditions there will arise new

duties, new opportunities for our *alma mater*. But the work of the first fifty years has the security of history.²⁸

Finding those new duties and opportunities would be far more difficult than DeGarmo imagined.

ENDNOTES

1. The best introduction to Herbart is Harold B. Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism: An Educational Ghost Story* (Chicago, 1970). See pp. 19–54 for Herbart's biography, pp. 55–74 for an explanation why Herbart himself had little influence in Germany, and pp. 55–207 for an exposition of Herbart's philosophy. The DeGarmo definition of apperception, taken from his *The Essentials of Method*, is on p. 253. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 199–239, provides a detailed exposition of Herbartianism at the Normal University.
2. Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism*, pp. 209–28, esp. pp. 212–17.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 229–39, esp. pp. 229–30, and pp. 250–51.
4. Keith, "The Development of the Model School," p. 83. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 176, mention Rein but calls him William Rien.
5. Konrad H. Jarausch, "American Students in Germany, 1815–1914: The Structure of German and U.S. Matriculants at Göttingen University," in Henry Geitz, Jürgen Heideking, and Jürgen Herbst, eds., *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917* (New York, 1995), pp. 195–96.
6. Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism*, pp. 245–48; and Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 199–201.
7. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 200–01; the quotation from Cook's letter to Wilkinson is on p. 200.
8. Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism*, pp. 249–51, 271; Felmley, "General Development of the School," p. 42; *idem*, "The Development of the Course of Study," p. 60; Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 201–04, 217 (quotation is on this page); and Johnson and Johannngmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 67–73.
9. Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism*, pp. 253–56, 278, quotation is on p. 254; Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 205–10; and Johnson and Johannngmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 75–78.
10. Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism*, pp. 256–58; and Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 211–13.
11. Quoted in Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 199.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 194–95.
13. Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism*, pp. 270–71, 278–83; and Hurst, *Illinois State Normal University*, pp. 75–80.
14. Walter Philip Krolkowski, "Arnold Tompkins: Midwest Philosopher and Educator," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois (Urbana, 1965), pp. 235–36.
15. Keith, "The Development of the Model School," p. 83. On the impact that Herbartianism had on the teaching of geography, see E. Joan (Wilson) Miller, "Teaching Methods, the Herbartian Revolution and Douglas Clay Ridgley at Illinois State Normal University," *Journal of Geography* 102 (2003): 110–20.
16. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois. Regular Meeting Held at Normal, December 9, 1891* (Springfield, 1891), p. 9. Also quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 218.
17. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 192, 197.
18. Felmley, "The Development of the Course of Study," pp. 61–62.
19. Quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 248.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 187–89; quotation is on p. 187.
21. Letter of Cook to B. C. Allensworth, May 17, 1899, in the University Archives. On Allensworth, see Keith, "Alumni Register," p. 258. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 248, cites the letter to Walker; but it is not in the carbon copies of Cook's outgoing correspondence in the University Archives. On Walker, see Keith, "Alumni Register," p. 252. On Cook's departure, see Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 211–13.
22. Hayter, *Education in Transition*, pp. 145–47. Whereas Normal granted its first two bachelor's degrees in 1908, DeKalb awarded only one bachelor degree during Cook's presidency. *Ibid.*, p. 504, n. 57. DeKalb offered only a two-year program until 1921.
23. Johnson and Johannngmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 87–108, esp. pp. 92, 98–100. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 215, stated that Tompkins received a doctorate from the University of Ohio in 1895; but neither Johnson and Johannngmeier, p. 92, nor Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 248, in their presentation of Tompkins' academic credentials, mention any such degree. In a letter to President Andrew Sloan Draper of the University of Illinois, dated May 28, 1895,

in which Tompkins outlined his educational credentials, he made no references to any association with the University of Ohio. Quoted by Krolikowski, "Arnold Tompkins," p. 127. Since Tompkins was studying at the University of Chicago between 1893 and 1895, I suspect that the Ohio doctorate was an honorary one.

Krolikowski's dissertation does not deal with Tompkins' tenure at Normal or subsequently at Chicago. In fact, Krolikowski, p. 324, n 172, refers the reader to Harper and Marshall on this topic. He dismisses Tompkins' decision to accept the Normal presidency with these words: "For Tompkins, however, his departure was a reluctant but definitive trip back into the nineteenth century" (p. 306).

24. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, p. 150

25. Felmley, "Development of the Course of Study," p. 62; and Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 253–58; quotations are on pp. 255 and 257–58.

26. Quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 258.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 259. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 227, also quotes this passage from the *Board Proceedings, for July 1900*, p. 7. Tompkins' tenure at the Chicago Normal School was not a happy one. The *Chicago Tribune* reported on April 19, 1903, that the Chicago Superintendent of Schools, Edwin G. Cooley, was conducting an inquiry into complaints against Tompkins. He was accused of being arbitrary in his dismissal of faculty members and of teaching the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, which Catholic students considered to be hostile to their faith. More significantly, enrollments had dropped from 275 students the preceding year to 66 in 1903. I wish to thank Jo Ann Rayfield for this reference. The drop in enrollments coincided with the introduction of high school graduation as a prerequisite for admission. See Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, p. 150.

28. DeGarmo, "The Influence of the School upon Education." p. 213.



Section Three

A TEACHERS COLLEGE, 1900-1963

The real issue of the teachers college was fought out on the question of preparing high-school teachers. The enemy was the growing power of the state universities. The fight was direct, bitter, and relentless. Most of the advantage was with the state universities. It was to a certain degree the prestige of the Illinois State Normal University, her long history of educational leadership in her own state, the national reputation of her former presidents . . . the fact that she had always held herself to be the head of the state educational system . . . and most of all the aggressive combative nature of her president, David Felmley, which placed the Illinois State Normal University at a crucial position in the success or failure of the general movement.

Charles A. Harper, 1935¹

Introduction

Historians Henry C. Johnson, Jr., and Erwin W. Johanningsmeier described Illinois' normal schools as being "at the nadir of their existence in the early 1920s."² Enrollments had plummeted during World War I and wartime inflation had further eroded the already precarious financial condition of the chronically underfunded normals. In 1920, in his characteristically colorful, often intemperate language, David Felmley (1857–1930), the University's sixth president (1900–30), informed the state superintendent of public instruction, Francis G. Blair (1906–34), Class of 1892, that "[t]he older members of our faculties have been caught like rats in a trap" by inflation. Using 1913 as a base, Felmley estimated that retail prices had risen 140 percent in seven years but that faculty compensation had gone up only 21 percent. Twenty-one faculty members had left in the preceding two years for better paying positions, and three recent graduates of the two-year program for elementary school teachers were earning more than thirty-seven of the forty-two women on the faculty. Enrollment in the biennium 1918–20 was the lowest in ten years (there were 131 students in the senior college and 389 in the normal department in 1919–20); and all but thirteen of the male students had left in the fall of 1918 for institutions with a military training corps.³

Conditions improved during the twenties but by the early thirties the University was in even worse financial shape. In 1932 the University lacked the funds to publish Charles A. Harper's vigorous defense of its right to prepare high school teachers (cited above), a commemorative history that had originally been commissioned to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the University's foundation.⁴ World War II had a less disastrous impact because the University's facilities were used for military purposes, but with hindsight it is clear that the first half of the twentieth century, the period when the University's two longest-serving presidents, Felmley and Raymond W. Fairchild (1889–1956; president 1933–55), presided, was the low point in the University's one-hundred-fifty-year history.*

Clearly, the era of the two world wars and the Great Depression was a difficult one for the nation as a whole, but the problems of the normal schools, not only in Illinois, but elsewhere as well, antedated the American declaration of war in 1917. Already in 1910 Felmley had complained bitterly about the state funding the University of Illinois had received at the expense of the normals.⁵ The underfunding of the normal schools was a symptom of a more fundamental problem. The antebellum

*Fairchild Hall was dedicated in 1951 and named in the president's honor after his resignation in 1955.

structure of education had been transformed in the decades after the Civil War. As historian Christine A. Ogren pointed out, the normal schools had originated “when the curriculum and functions of academies, high schools, and colleges overlapped considerably and there were no research universities; in short, higher education lacked stratification and hierarchy.”⁶ The establishment of the great research universities—Cornell (1865), Johns Hopkins (1876), Chicago (1890), and Stanford (1891)—introduced the United States to a German-style system of post-baccalaureate and professional education and German concepts of academic disciplines and scholarship. At the same time the number of high schools in the United States increased from 2,500 in 1890 to 10,000 in 1910 and 24,000 in 1930. Total high school enrollments doubled every decade, growing from 519,251 students in 1900 to 3,757,466 in 1926. The percentage of adolescents aged fifteen to eighteen enrolled in secondary schools rose from 20 percent in 1915 to 50 percent by 1928. To put it another way, the population of the United States grew by 60 percent between 1900 and 1940, while secondary school enrollments rose an incredible 1200 percent.⁷

The existing, traditional English-style colleges were forced either like Harvard and Northwestern to become research universities or like Illinois Wesleyan and Knox to find a distinct niche between the high schools and the graduate and professional offerings of the new universities. Indeed, the fate of the smaller colleges was far from certain. In 1900 William Rainey Harper (1856–1906), the president of the University of Chicago, expected that a quarter of the colleges would survive, that another quarter would become academies, and that the other half would be turned into a combination of college preparatory schools and two-year colleges. (Harper was an early advocate of the junior college.) As late as 1934, John W. Burgess, the founder of the political science department at Columbia, declared: “I am unable to divine what is ultimately to be the position of colleges which cannot become universities and which will not be gymnasia [the German secondary schools that prepared students for admission to the universities]. I cannot see what reason they will have to exist. It will be largely a waste of capital to maintain them, and largely a waste of time to attend them.”⁸

Under the leadership of two Normal University graduates, Thomas J. Burrill, Class of 1865, and Edmund J. James, High School 1873, the University of Illinois, which was until the 1890s essentially an engineering school, was transformed between 1891 and 1920 into a real state, multi-purpose, research-oriented university.⁹ James thought that as Urbana concentrated increasingly on professional and graduate work, the colleges would be left “to care for the distinctly undergraduate work as they may be able to...” He even managed to procure in 1907 a \$30,000 grant from Andrew Carnegie for Illinois Wesleyan, which he perceived, in effect, as a preparatory school for Urbana.¹⁰

The normal schools, whose curriculum consisted of remedial work in the common branches, a mixture of high school and college-level courses, and professional training in pedagogy, could not be fitted easily into this evolving educational structure. Already in 1908 Elmer Ellsworth Brown, Class of 1881, the United States Commissioner of Education (1906–11), observed:

The chief difficulty of adjustment from the side of the normal school arises from the fact that the normal school seems to be out of the main current of

our scholastic life, which flows from the elementary school through the high school directly into the university, or the other way round, from the university to the secondary and elementary school.¹¹

Brown, referring to the dispute between the normal schools and the universities about the preparation of teachers, continued: “The chief difficulty of adjustment from the side of the university arises from the fact that it has been found impossible as yet to organize in the university any system of training in the actual practice of teaching that can be compared in efficiency with that to be found in our best normal schools.”¹² As Charles A. Harper’s 1935 statement indicates, the real issue was whether the universities and colleges or the normal schools would prepare secondary school teachers because everyone agreed that a two-year education at a normal was sufficient preparation for an elementary school teacher. It was not until July 1, 1943, that Illinois required a person seeking certification as an elementary school teacher to have four years of college and a bachelor’s degree.¹³ This dichotomy between the preparation of elementary and secondary school teachers persists to the present day: prospective elementary school teachers are enrolled in the College of Education, which stresses pedagogy, whereas most future high school teachers major in an academic discipline in the College of Arts and Sciences.

The universities’ instrument of control was the self-bestowed right of the state universities to accredit high schools. In 1876 the Industrial University, as the University of Illinois was called until 1885, followed the earlier example of the University of Michigan and began inspecting and certifying high schools whose graduates could be admitted to the Industrial University without an entrance examination. When Urbana determined, in effect, the content of a secondary education, it replaced Normal as the de facto head of the State’s educational system in spite of Harper’s 1935 statement to the contrary. To regulate the transition between the high schools and the private colleges as well as with the state universities, the Midwestern post-secondary institutions established in 1895 the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.¹⁴

Since the colleges and universities insisted that college preparatory courses were to be taught by individuals with a bachelor’s degree and with knowledge of the subject matter, the normal schools were threatened with exclusion from the preparation of high school teachers, even though many normals had always done so. After all, the very first student to enroll at the University in 1857, Enoch A. Gastman, had served as the principal of the high school in Decatur from 1862 to 1870 and had been the superintendent of Decatur’s schools until his death in 1907.¹⁵ Yet, as Commissioner Brown pointed out in 1908, the state universities and private colleges lacked the staff or facilities to prepare secondary teachers, let alone to meet the ever increasing demand for them.

The solution was the conversion of the normal schools into teachers colleges. In 1930 the American Association of Teachers Colleges, which was organized in 1917, provided this definition of such institutions:

A teachers college . . . is a state, municipal or incorporated private institution, or an independent unit of a recognized college or university which has at least one four-year unified curriculum; *which is devoted exclusively to the preparation of teachers* (italics added); which has legal authority to grant a standard bachelor’s

degree; which has granted and continues to grant such degrees; and which requires for admission the completion of a standard four-year secondary school curriculum, or equivalent training approved by this association.¹⁶

Only a few normals, including the Normal University in 1907, after a vigorous campaign by Felmley, made the transition before 1920. The majority of schools, including the normal school systems in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and California, became teachers colleges in the 1920s; but Massachusetts and Maryland waited until the 1930s and New York did not convert most of its schools until the 1940s.¹⁷ No wonder Eastern academics, as can be seen in their histories of American higher education, held teachers colleges in such disdain.

Since the *raison d'être* for the normals was that they, unlike the liberal arts colleges, offered professional training, the teachers colleges, in spite of their new collegiate designation, subordinated the academic component to professional education. Felmley insisted in 1913 that providing normal students with a general education was a secondary purpose:

The normal school is specifically a professional school. The training which it gives, if it performs its proper function, is distinctive in character and different in kind from that implied in general education. Only incidentally, not primarily, is a general education acquired in a normal school. The converse of this proposition is equally true, that adequate training for teaching as a profession can not be merely a feature of a course whose leading aim is general education. The recent action in Wisconsin setting up in the state normal schools junior colleges for general education is false to this professional ideal, and must in the end prove harmful to the normal schools. It means a divided aim, not merely a larger aim.¹⁸

Perhaps the most extreme example of such misguided professionalization occurred in Massachusetts where after 1909 each normal was assigned a specific specialization: for example, kindergarten instruction at Worcester, domestic sciences at Framingham, commercial subjects at Salem, and junior high school training at Bridgewater. The State Board of Education even rejected in 1913 Bridgewater's appeal to preserve a collegiate course.¹⁹

At Normal such professional specialization occurred within the University itself. During Felmley's presidency, the University offered, at one time or another, thirty-six distinct curricular options to prepare teachers for specific teaching fields. For example, there were two-year programs in Manual Arts, Art and Design, Lower Grades, Kindergarten-Primary, and Physical Education for Women; and four-year curriculums leading to a bachelor's degree, for instance, in Teachers College Curriculum, Home Economics, Principals and Supervisors of Elementary Education, and Industrial Arts. Any semblance of a common general education disappeared as the elective principle, which Charles William Eliot (1834–1926) had initiated as the president of Harvard in 1869, was introduced at Normal as it had been earlier at numerous colleges and universities. Students could choose from 20 elective courses in 1900, 90 in 1910, 126 in 1920, and a staggering 230 by Felmley's death in 1930.²⁰ Normal thus focused on training its students to teach such specific subjects as manual arts rather than on preparing individuals who had received a fairly broad general education and who could pursue non-teaching

careers as their predecessors had done in the nineteenth century. It was a deliberate rejection of the concept of the “people’s university.”

The consequences of such professionalization were in the long run deleterious for teachers colleges like Normal. The curricular disarray was matched by a concomitant proliferation of such special interest extracurricular activities as the still flourishing Gamma Phi Circus, an impressive display of gymnastic skills that was started by the physical education fraternity in 1928. The literary societies, which had dominated the intellectual and social life of the campus, declined in the 1920s as students joined clubs related to their future vocational specializations. For example, mathematics majors organized a Euclidean Circle and future French teachers founded *Le Cercle Français*; in addition, there were the Hopkins Agriculture Club, the Kindergarten Club, the Latin Club, the Nature Study Club, the Manual Arts Club, the Geography Club, and the list goes on and on.²¹ Any semblance of a shared intellectual experience, curricular or extracurricular, disappeared.

The emphasis on professional work as the distinguishing characteristic of teachers colleges alienated them and their faculties, most of whom had at best a master’s degree, from the disciplinary specialists at the universities and the learned scholarly societies the latter controlled. The example of History Education is informative. In 1896, at the request of the National Education Association (NEA), the American Historical Association (AHA) commissioned the “Committee of Seven” to report on college entrance requirements in History. The committee was composed of seven prominent historians, four of whom subsequently became presidents of the AHA. In its final report in 1898, the committee broadened its mandate into a comprehensive study of the teaching of History in the schools. Its proposal for a “four-block program”—ancient, medieval/modern European, English, and American history—became the basis of the 9 to 12 high school curriculum.

This alliance between academic historians and educators disintegrated during the 1920s for a number of reasons. In 1922–23 the various social science associations attacked the centrality of History and demanded their own disciplinary places in the school curriculum, and social studies replaced History in the high school curriculum. One of the few historians who sympathized with the social scientists’ desire for a greater role in the curriculum was James Harvey Robinson (1863–1936), who had attended the University’s high school.²² Concurrently, education officials and the faculty in schools of education, whom the historians labeled, derogatorily, “educationists,” declared, as the NEA’s Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education put it in 1918, that the mission of the high school was not “to engender ‘intellectual power’ but...to fit the student for democratic life ‘through activities designed for the well-being of his fellow members and society as a whole.’” The study of History was subordinated in this model to the promotion of “citizenship.”

The schools’ acceptance of this curricular philosophy separated the high schools, which focused on the socialization of all their students, from the liberal arts colleges that fostered the intellectual development of the minority that pursued a post-secondary education. By the late 1930s the AHA had disassociated itself from History Education at the elementary and secondary levels. In an act fraught with symbolism, the AHA turned over to the National Council for the Social Studies

editorial control of *The History Teacher's Magazine*, which was duly renamed *Social Education* in 1937.²³

The teachers colleges with their commitment to teacher education found themselves on the non-collegiate side of this curricular divide—it was not until 1966 that the Department of Social Science, which offered a bachelor of education degree in the social sciences, was divided at Illinois State into its four constituent academic disciplines: Economics, History, Political Science, and Sociology and Anthropology. In fact, President Fairchild insisted that faculty members in the department be identified in the catalog not by their academic specialties, say, History or Economics, but simply as Social Science. The designation was in the singular because members of the department were expected, just like a high school teacher, to be able to teach courses in any of its constituent disciplines.²⁴

Worst of all, professionalization was synonymous, paradoxically, with the exclusion of women from administrative positions, even as the student bodies of the teachers colleges and teaching as a vocation became overwhelmingly female. At Bridgewater, which had always attracted more men than its sister institutions in Massachusetts, the percentage of male graduates dropped from 26 percent in the 1870s to 9 percent by the first decade of the twentieth century.²⁵ Nationally, the percentage of women elementary school teachers increased between 1901 and 1910 from 71 percent to 81 percent and in the high schools from 50 percent to 55 percent. An article published in 1908, “Why Teaching Repels Men,” offered four reasons why the number of male teachers in the United States had dropped 24 percent in the preceding seven years: teaching was a “hireling occupation;” the community looked down upon teachers; teaching “belittle[d] a man;” and the occupation rewarded bad manners.²⁶ Yet the opposite trend prevailed at the administrative level. In 1905 men held all the district superintendencies in the United States and filled 94 percent of the high school principalships, but 62 percent of the elementary school principals were still women. However, by 1972–73 women had even been displaced from leadership positions in the elementary schools as school districts were consolidated. In that year 80 percent of the elementary school principals were men.²⁷

For Felmley the cure for the feminization of teaching was to turn it into an attractive profession for men—the dramatic increase in the number of male elementary school principals indicates that his remedy succeeded in part. He explained in 1913:

The normal schools of Illinois enroll a large number of men. These men become village principals, principals of ward schools, county and city superintendents, teachers of agriculture, manual training, physics, biology, and other high school subjects. . . . To limit the activity of the normal schools of the Middle West to the preparation of elementary teachers will cut off the attendance of men as completely as it has in New England.²⁸

The conversion of the University from a normal school into a teachers college in 1907 was, in other words, an attempt, among other things, to recruit men. Women who did not intend to make teaching a permanent career were trained in the two-year program and granted a diploma; men and those women who wanted to be high school teachers or administrators received a professional bachelor's degree in education. The gender imbalance in the field of education was even

more pronounced at the doctoral level. Men received 81 percent of the liberal arts Ph.D.'s awarded in the United States between 1911 and 1929 but an astonishing 99 percent of the advanced degrees in education, even though teaching itself was a female occupation.²⁹

The linkage between masculinity and professionalism extended to the composition of the faculty at Normal. When Felmley complained to Superintendent Blair in 1920 about how badly the forty-two women faculty members were paid, there was only a single woman, June Rose Colby, among the eighteen professors. Only five of the professors had earned doctorates. There were no associate professors, but eight of the nine assistant professors, only one of whom had a doctorate, were women. The other women were instructors or taught in the model school.³⁰ It did not disturb Felmley that Colby, who had been hired with a Ph.D. in 1892, earned less than ten of her male colleagues (\$2,430 for a thirty-six-week contract), not all of whom had doctorates, and that the single male assistant professor earned more than his women peers.³¹ The gender hierarchy of the University replicated that of the schools: male administrators and senior faculty, with women teachers at the lower ranks.

While the University's problems in finding its place in the changing educational structure were common to all the normal schools and teachers colleges, it had one problem that was distinctly its own. Until the 1890s it had been, as we have seen, the only significant public educational alternative in Illinois to the predominantly male, engineering school at Urbana. That unique status changed with the opening of the normals in Charleston (today Eastern Illinois University) and DeKalb (Northern Illinois University) in 1899 and in Macomb (Western Illinois University) in 1902.

Normal's loss of status was institutionalized in 1917 when the Civil Administrative Code dissolved more than a hundred state bureaucracies, including the Board of Education, and placed the five teachers colleges under a single nine-member Normal School Board appointed by the governor. (It became the Teachers College Board in 1941.) The *ex officio* director of the new Board was the Director of Registration and Education, one of nine department heads who served in the governor's cabinet. The elected state superintendent of instruction continued to serve as the Board's secretary.

Under the Board of Education the president had been permitted great flexibility in the administration of the University's state appropriation. In addition, many of the Board members had been alumni with a deep personal commitment to the University. (The last three presidents of the Board of Education were Enoch A. Gastman [1902–07], Class of 1860, Peleg R. Walker [1907–13], Class of 1861, and Charles L. Capen [1913–17], High School 1865.) Starting in 1917 the General Assembly itemized the salaries and wages of all employees, so that the president was no longer free to adjust salaries. Every purchase needed the authorization of the Finance Department and every repair of a building the approval of the Department of Public Works. The University was required to hand over to the state treasury any tuition or other income it collected, and the Department of Registration and Education rather than the president's office issued paychecks. Ironically, Felmley, who had advocated as early as 1911 the establishment of a common board for the five normals to assure uniformity, was arguing by 1922

that the Board be granted autonomy in overseeing the schools' expenditures. The Board became an autonomous body only in 1951, when the Director of Registration ceased to be its chair.³² In short, although Normal continued to be the most important teachers college in Illinois, it lost both its institutional preeminence and administrative and fiscal autonomy.

After the brief presidency of Harry Alvin Brown (1879–1949; president 1930–33), who was forced to resign after it was discovered that he had hired a faculty member whose credentials Brown had falsified,³³ Raymond W. Fairchild took charge at the depth of the Great Depression. The first president with an earned doctorate, Fairchild was a graduate of a special program at Northwestern for training administrators for teachers colleges. The topic of his 1932 Ph.D. dissertation had been "Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges," and as president he implemented several of its recommendation: for example, raising admissions standards, encouraging faculty to obtain advanced degrees, and forging closer ties between the University and the public schools.³⁴ Since the University had lost its accreditation as a full-fledged college in 1930 for, among other things, the inadequate preparation of its faculty,³⁵ Fairchild's appointment was clearly an attempt to rectify such deficiencies and to modernize the school's administration after Felmley's long and idiosyncratic presidency.

However, while Felmley's emphasis on professionalism had been leavened by his fierce commitment to academic freedom, Fairchild equated professionalism with conformity to middle-class values and conduct. His rigidity and arbitrariness led in 1935 to the establishment of a chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and in 1951 to the creation of the University Council, the first time the faculty obtained a formal say in the governance of the University.³⁶ The negative recollections and perceptions of Old Normal that many older faculty members had in the 1960s and '70s were shaped, perhaps, by memories of the Fairchild administration rather than by knowledge of the University's older rich history.

While Felmley had fought to allow teachers colleges to prepare high school teachers, Fairchild took on the College of Education at the University of Illinois over the right of the teachers colleges to offer graduate work, which began at Normal during the summer of 1944. The University broadened its mission in response to the North Central Association's ruling that principals of accredited high schools possess at least a master's degree and to the school boards' increasing insistence that secondary school teachers obtain such a degree as well.³⁷ Like the undergraduate course of study, graduate education at Normal was intended exclusively for teachers. Simultaneously, Fairchild recognized the need to prepare special education teachers for the State's schools, and in 1943 the Board approved the organization of a Division of Special Education at the University, the first such program in the State.³⁸ Unlike World War I, the University began to move during World War II in directions that have marked its course ever since.

As had been the case in 1917, civilian enrollment dropped dramatically during World War II. There were 1,820 students at the University in the fall of 1940 (already down from a prewar high of 1,973 in 1938), and enrollments declined even further before Pearl Harbor as a result of the introduction of the first peacetime

draft in September 1940 and the greater opportunities for employment as the nation slowly prepared for war. Only 779 civilians attended in the fall of 1943 and by the following spring only 56 male civilians registered.³⁹

The GI Bill, officially the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, and two decades later the arrival of the baby boomers triggered a geometric postwar expansion in enrollments, with which the University had difficulties coping. Nationally, resident college enrollments increased from 1,494,000 (15 percent of the cohort aged 18 to 21) in 1939–40 to 2,659,000 (19 percent) in 1949–50, to 3,216,000 (33 percent) in 1959–60, and to 8,498,000 (48 percent) in 1969–70.⁴⁰ In September 1946, 855 men and 945 women, 1,800 in all and just twenty shy of their level in the fall of 1940, registered. The percentage of men in the student body increased because there was a growing demand for teachers and school administrators in postwar America as the veterans' children began their schooling. By the fall of 1950, attendance had jumped to 2,449 students (1,177 men and 1,272 women).⁴¹ At the University's centennial in 1957 there were 3,001 undergraduates and 210 graduate students. The following fall the University established a Committee of Nine on Long Term Planning which projected a total enrollment of 6,000 students in 1968, a decade later. This projection proved to be totally wrong. Registration reached 6,015 by September 1962, and by 1968 enrollments had soared to 13,000, more than double the committee's informed estimate.⁴² All planning for this explosive growth had proven inadequate.

Nevertheless, the University was outstripped by its sisters in Carbondale and DeKalb. Already in 1947 Carbondale, Charleston, and Macomb dropped the reference to their teacher preparatory missions in their names and became Southern Illinois University, Eastern State College, and Western State College, respectively. The two latter institutions were elevated to university rank in 1957. The State promoted the development of Carbondale as a way to spur the economic growth of a region that lagged behind the rest of Illinois.⁴³

DeKalb was slower to change because its president, Karl L. Adams (1929–48), remained firmly committed to its original mission. It was thus not until 1955, under the leadership of President Leslie A. Holmes (1949–67), who had been one of Fairchild's administrative assistants, that Northern became a state college and two years later a university. Northern was the beneficiary of the postwar population explosion in the twenty-one counties in northern Illinois. While 1,986 students, compared to Normal's 2,449, enrolled at Northern in 1950, DeKalb's numbers had increased by 1957 to 4,744 (4,278 undergraduates and 466 graduate students) in contrast to Normal's 3,211 and by 1968 to 20,719 (16,370 undergraduates and 4,349 graduates) versus Normal's 13,000. Illinois State, which had always been the largest normal school or teachers college in Illinois, had slipped by 1965 to eighth place in size among the state universities.⁴⁴

In an address in Chicago to the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education in February 1957, the very month that Normal was proudly celebrating its centennial, Karl W. Bigelow, professor of higher education at Teachers College, Columbia, declared bluntly: "the teachers college as we knew it twenty years ago is on the way to oblivion. It is proving to have been a way-station between the normal school and a multi-purpose institution for which teacher education is only one among several functions."⁴⁵

The *Daily Pantagraph* quoted Bigelow's prophecy in an article, "Teacher Training Still Primary Goal of ISNU: Hewett-Felmley-Fairchild Philosophy Guide to Bone," which appeared in its special centennial coverage, "A Century of Teacher Education." The paper noted in confirmation of Bigelow's prediction that the other state colleges in Illinois "have strayed beyond the pale. **The exception: Illinois State Normal University, which today enters its second hundred years.**" The article invoked Fairchild who had "**guided ISNU through its greatest period of growth on the strength of the single abiding rule.** . . . 'Illinois State Normal University shall remain a professional school for the preparation of teachers.'" The reporter quoted the chairman of the board, Lewis M. Walker, Class of 1913:[†] "I believe I can speak for the board. We intend that ISNU shall continue to be a school of quality in teacher education." The University's new, and probably Normal's most beloved, president, Robert G. Bone (1906–91; president 1956–67),[‡] concurred a bit vaguely: "The right teacher training program is not narrow or restricted. Education to teach is good for anyone. If only the person who would be a better parent." *The Pantagraph* concluded:

In years ahead, demands on the colleges will pressure ISNU "to branch out" as the other Illinois state schools have done. **But the pressure of demand for more and better teachers should** have an opposite effect. Perhaps the single aim of "a grand enterprise" [presumably a reference to the title of Helen Marshall's history which had been published in December] will remain straight after all. Perhaps the dour clouds of a Columbia professor's prophecy will pass over, leaving Old Normal verdant in the sun.⁴⁶

We can only speculate why Walker was so confident that the University would remain exclusively a teacher preparatory institution. Certainly the demand for teachers was great—*The Pantagraph* in its editorial on the centennial on February 18, 1957, spoke about "[t]he great bulge in enrollments" in the public schools. The oldest baby boomers—Bill Clinton and George Bush—were just turning eleven in 1957. But the need for teachers hardly explains why Normal and not the other schools retained this exclusive mission. After all, a 1953 report, "Teacher Shortage: Crisis in Northern Illinois," estimated that DeKalb would have to expand its enrollment by three thousand students to meet the need for a 150 percent annual increase in its production of teachers.⁴⁷ A better explanation is that while the conversion of Northern and Southern into multi-purpose universities was designed to promote the development of their respective regions, there was no such compelling reason in the case of Normal situated fifty miles northwest of Urbana. If North Bloomington's location at a railroad junction had led to its selection as the site of the University, Normal's location worked to its disadvantage a century later.

However, the real message of the centennial issue of *The Pantagraph* was that neither the community, the senior faculty, nor the new president (at least publicly in Bone's case) were prepared to contemplate a change in what, ironically, they had come to see as the University's historic mission from its foundation—an interpretation of the University's past given canonical authority in Helen Marshall's just published

[†] Walker Hall was named for him in 1955. He taught after graduation for two years at Mahomet to meet his teaching obligation and then entered the grain business in Gilman. He joined the Board in 1945.

[‡]The Bone Student Center was named for him in 1982.

Grandest of Enterprises. Arthur W. Watterson (1914–66), Class of 1937,⁵ chairman of the ISNU Centennial Committee and head of the Geography Department, “reflected,” according to *The Pantagraph* at the Founders’ Day Convocation, “that the greatest gift the faculty can bestow to the university is to remain as it had been and continue to demonstrate ‘love and enthusiasm for the teaching of people.’”⁴⁸

“The dour clouds” did not “pass over,” and Illinois State became after a heated debate a multi-purpose institution in 1966 when it began granting non-teaching degrees.⁴⁹ The symbolic issue in that battle, which divided the faculty along gender and generational lines, was changing the school’s name from Illinois State Normal University to Illinois State University. The new name became official on January 1, 1964, but for a generation of faculty members who had arrived in the 1950s and early ’60s the acrimonious dispute was emblematic of the institution’s failure, unlike Northern and Southern, to take full advantage of postwar educational expansion. Rightly or wrongly, they blamed recalcitrant older faculty members, a conservative community, and shortsighted presidential leadership.

The memoir of Earl A. Reitan, who taught at the University between 1954 and 1990 and who became chair of the History Department, expresses, fairly or not, the feelings of some of them:

I respected and admired Dr. and Mrs. Bone very much, but, unfortunately, Bone’s eleven years as president (1956–67) were years when ISNU began to grow but failed to develop into a real university...He disliked controversy... He bent over backward to avoid creating tensions in Bloomington-Normal, a community whose social conservatism and negative feelings about the university could only be aggravated by the effects of growth...At ISNU, the teachers college ethos...was very powerful. Many of the faculty were passionately devoted to the mission of a teachers college, and Bone was reluctant to offend them. One of our senior professors remarked:

“We survive by glorifying our limitations.”

We made progress during the Bone years, but it was patchy and lacked the sense of direction that only strong presidential leadership could provide.⁵⁰

Northern and Southern acquired professional schools, multiple Ph.D. programs in the liberal arts, and university presses; Illinois State did not.

This section will examine in greater detail how Presidents Felmley, Fairchild, and Bone dealt with the impact that the two world wars and the Great Depression had on the University and at the tumultuous battles to retain the right to educate high school teachers, to offer graduate work, and to become a multi-purpose university. It is the story of how educational opportunities, which had once been reserved for an economic and social elite, were expanded, first by the exponential growth in high school enrollments, and then, after World War II, by the transformation of the old normal schools and teachers colleges like Illinois State Normal University into multi-purpose state universities. The approximate terminal dates are 1907, when the General Assembly authorized Normal to grant professional degrees in education and when the University became in fact but not in name a teachers college, and 1964, when it changed its name redolent of its perceived earlier single

⁵Watterson Towers was named in 1967 for Watterson, who taught at the University from 1946 until his death.

mission and when the first baby boomers, born in 1946, arrived on campus. They would transform the University in a way that no one could have foreseen.

ENDNOTES

1. Charles A. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States with special reference to the Illinois State Normal University* (Bloomington, Illinois, 1935), Preface, unnumbered pp. iii–iv. Harper toned down the language in his *A Century of Public Teacher Education: The Story of the State Teachers Colleges as They Evolved from the Normal Schools* (Washington, 1939), pp. 129–30, which was commissioned by the American Association of Teachers Colleges, but the sentiment was the same.
2. Henry C. Johnson, Jr. and Erwin V. Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie: The University of Illinois and the Schools, 1868–1945* (Urbana, 1972), p. 245.
3. *Thirty-Third Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, July 1, 1918–June 30, 1920* (Springfield, 1920), pp. 489–95; quotation is on p. 493.
4. Helen E. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises: Illinois State Normal University 1857–1957* (Normal, 1956), p. 300. Harper's history was belatedly published in 1935 to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of the graduation of the first class.
5. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 326.
6. Christine A. Ogren, *The American State Normal School: "An Instrument of Great Good"* (New York, 2005), p. 202.
7. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636–1976*, 3rd edition (New York, 1976), pp. 376–77; Jessie M. Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, in Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 500 (New York, 1932), p. 10; and Frederick Rudolph *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study since 1636* (San Francisco, 1977), p. 212.
8. Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, pp. 174–97, 250–53 (the Burgess quotation is on pp. 250–51); Christopher J. Lucas, *American Higher Education: A History* (New York, 1994), pp. 139–82; Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), pp. 264–86; and idem, *Curriculum*, p. 173 (on Harper's views).
9. Winton U. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894: An Intellectual and Cultural History* (Urbana, 1968), pp. 327–92; and idem, *The University of Illinois 1894–1904: The Shaping of the University* (Urbana, 2000). Regrettably, Solberg has not yet published his work on James' presidency (1904–20). However, Richard Allen Swanson, "Edmund J. James, 1855–1925: A 'Conservative Progressive' in American Higher Education," unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Illinois, 1966), which was written under Solberg's direction, offers extensive coverage of James' presidency (pp. 150–261).
10. Swanson, "Edmund J. James," p. 192 (quotation is on this page) and p. 196.
11. Quoted by Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, p. 53.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, May 17, 1943*, p. 57. In 1930 California became the first state to require an elementary school teacher to have four years of college work, whereas New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts required three years. Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, p. 6.
14. Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, pp. 244–45; and Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 130–31.
15. John A. H. Keith, "Alumni Register," in Keith, ed., *Semi-Centennial History of the Illinois State Normal University 1857–1907* (no place, 1907), p. 251.
16. Quoted by Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, p. 36.
17. Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, p. 202. The General Assembly approved on June 1, 1907, the act amending Section 6 of the Act of 1857, which authorized the Normal University "to confer such professional degrees as are usually conferred by other institutions of like character for similar or equivalent courses of study." *Laus of the State of Illinois Enacted by Forty-Fifth General Assembly at the Regular Biennial Session* (Springfield, 1907), pp. 527–28.
18. David Felmley, "The New Normal School Movement," *Educational Review* 45 (April 1913): 412. See Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison, 1989), p. 147.
19. Paul Mattingly, *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1975), pp. 166–68.
20. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 339–40. See Ogren's comments in *The American State Normal School*, pp. 204–05, how such a proliferation of separate curriculums contributed to a general intellectual decline. On Eliot's promotion of electives, see Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, pp. 111–16; Lucas, *American Higher Education*, pp. 165–74; Rudolph, *Curriculum*, pp. 135–37; and idem, *The American College and University*, pp. 290–95.
21. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 272–74.
22. Robinson, who obtained his Ph.D. from the University of Freiburg in 1890, taught at the

University of Pennsylvania and Columbia and was the co-founder of the New School for Social Research in New York. He served as president of the American Historical Association in 1929. A native of Bloomington, *The Pantagraph* reported in its obituary on February 17, 1936, that Robinson had “attended the Illinois State Normal University.” He was attracted initially to Edmund James, who served as the principal of the high school from 1879 to 1882, but then latched on to Stephen A. Forbes at the natural history museum. Howard W. Odum, ed., *American Masters of Social Science: An Approach to the Study of the Social Sciences through a Neglected Field of Biography* (New York, 1927), pp. 323–24. Since Robinson was not listed as an alumnus of the high school or the normal school in the 1882 and 1907 histories, the best guess is that he attended the high school but never actually graduated. I am grateful to Maureen Brunsdale of Milner Library and my daughter for tracking down information on Robinson’s career.

23. Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro, “From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education,” *The American Historical Review* 110 (2005): 727–51; the quotation is on p. 742.

24. John A. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me: Incidents of Academic Experience,” unpublished memoir (1966) in the University archives, pp. 285–86.

25. Mattingly, *The Classless Profession*, pp. 164–66.

26. C. W. Bardeen, “Why Teaching Repels Men,” *Educational Review* 35 (April 1908): 351–58.

27. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, pp. 147, 191. On p. 191, Herbst says that women constituted 98 percent of the elementary school teachers in 1905. He does not explain the discrepancy in his statistics.

28. Felmley, “The New Normal School Movement,” p. 414. See Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, p. 148.

29. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, p. 184.

30. *Thirty-Third Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, pp. 489–90.

31. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board of the State of Illinois at Springfield, June 21, 1920*, p. 19.

32. Roger Biles, *Illinois: A History of the Land and Its People* (DeKalb, 2005), pp. 150–51; Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 282–85; Earl W. Hayter, *Education in Transition: The History of Northern Illinois University* (DeKalb, 1974), pp. 114–16; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 265–66.

33. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 279–91.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 294. The full citation to the Fairchild dissertation is: Raymond Wilber Fairchild, “Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges,” unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Education, Northwestern University (Evanston, June 1932). There is a copy in the Illinois State University Archives.

35. George F. Zook, “Proceedings of the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education,” *The North Central Association Quarterly* 5 (1930): 67.

36. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 284–350.

37. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 268–69, 308.

38. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 310–13; and Theodore Sands and Rose E. Parker, “Special Education—Then and Now,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 50 (1957): 190–203. Dr. Parker was the first director of the Division of Special Education. Sands, a professor of History, was instrumental in establishing both the honors and international studies programs at Illinois State.

39. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 305.

40. Brubaker and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, p. 378.

41. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, January 20, 1947*, p. 6; and *January 22, 1951*, p. 20.

42. Helen Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade: Illinois State University 1957–1967* (Normal, 1967), pp. 13, 25–27, 55; and Roger J. Champagne, *A Place of Education: Illinois State University, 1967–1977* (Normal, 1978), p. 2.

43. On the development of Southern Illinois University in the 1940s and 50s, see George Kimball Plochmann, *The Ordeal of Southern Illinois University* (Carbondale, 1959).

44. Hayter, *Education in Transition*, pp. 226–29, 299–301, 518.

45. Karl W. Bigelow, “The Passing of the Teachers College,” *Teachers College Record* 58/8 (May 1957):

411. Bigelow, who had been in 1939 on the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education in Washington, was a member of the committee that sponsored the publication of Harper’s *A Century of Public Teacher Education*, p. 4.

46. *Pantagraph*, February 18, 1957. Boldface is in the original.

47. Hayter, *Education in Transition*, p. 300.

48. *Pantagraph*, February 18, 1957. Another indicator of the community’s opposition to the conversion of the teachers colleges into multi-purpose institutions is that only a single senator voted in 1957 against Northern’s conversion into a University, Bloomington’s own David Davis. Hayter, *Education in Transition*, p. 312.

49. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, p. 81.

50. Earl A. Reitan, *Time Is—Time Was—Time Nevermore Shall Be: An Historian’s Journey from Lake Wobegone to Academia* (Normal, 2005), pp. 128–29. Reitan may have been echoing the sentiments of Kinneman, who had hired him in 1954 and who blamed the University’s administration in his memoir, written in 1966, “It Occurs to Me,” p. 155, for its unwillingness to expand the University’s functions.



Section Three

A TEACHERS COLLEGE, 1900-1963

Chapter 6 “THE UNFORGETTABLE MR. FELMLEY”¹

The decades around 1900 were an era of long-serving, imperious college presidents who answered normally only to a compliant board.² The most notable national examples are Charles William Eliot of Harvard (president 1869–1909) and Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia (1902–45). Similar strong leadership could be found at the normals and teachers colleges. A presidential dynasty ruled Bridgewater: Arthur Gardner Boyden (1860–1906) and his son and successor Arthur Clarke Boyden (1906–33). Closer to Normal, David Felmley’s associates in the fight for the normals’ survival were Homer Horatio Seerley of Cedar Falls (today the University of Northern Iowa) and John R. Kirk of Kirksville (Truman State University), who presided over their respective institutions from 1886 to 1928 and from 1899 to 1925.

Felmley, a man with strong convictions, dominated the Normal University for three decades; and he set its course as a teachers college until the 1960s. He was the first Democrat to serve as the president of an institution that can be described as the Republican Party at school. He was also a democrat who believed that everyone, not just the college-bound, was entitled to a high school education and that teachers colleges, which he likened to the military service academies, rather than elitist private colleges and state universities were the proper venues for preparing future teachers. Since the latter institutions argued that only people who were themselves the recipients of a college education were qualified to teach secondary school students who intended to continue their schooling, Felmley led the fight in Illinois to convert the normals into four-year baccalaureate institutions. Until the 1930s the majority of students, especially women, did not receive a bachelor’s degree; and Felmley thought that a four-year program was wasted on women who planned to marry and become housewives after teaching for only a few years. A four-year professional education was intended primarily for men who would become high school teachers and administrators.

Although Felmley was a polymath, he subordinated general education to professional preparation. The Normal University offered multiple curriculums of varying lengths that prepared men and women to teach a particular subject or age-level or in a specific type of school or to become administrators. While the names of other teachers colleges reflected their upgrading from normal schools, the teachers college at Normal, which prepared high school teachers and administrators, was itself a school within the University. Since the school’s focus was on pedagogy, Felmley was not overly concerned about the academic credentials of the faculty, many of whom were only normal school graduates. By the end of his presidency, Felmley’s conception of teacher preparation was outmoded; and in 1930 the University lost its accreditation as a teachers college. Like Winston Churchill in his second premiership, Felmley had stayed too long.

1 A DEMOCRAT AND POLYMATH

David Felmley was the first president since Hovey who was not himself a graduate of a normal school. A native of New Jersey, Felmley grew up in Illinois and, after studying at Blackburn College in Carlinville, obtained in 1881 a bachelor’s degree

from the University of Michigan, his highest earned degree. After graduation he became the superintendent of schools in Carrollton, Illinois. He replaced Cook in 1890 as the University's professor of mathematics and in 1900 succeeded Arnold Tompkins as president.

Charles Harper, who knew Felmley personally, described him as a man with an inquisitive mind and a great range of interests. As a faculty member Felmley explained, for example, how weather forecasts were made and organized clubs for the study of economics and astronomy. He was an expert on the geography of Java, and in 1920 he read widely about pipe organs, so that he could test the University's new organ, which he disassembled and whose inner workings he described to the student body at school assemblies.³ In large measure an autodidact, Felmley's abiding passion was the sciences. He took candidates for a faculty position, regardless of their field, for a stroll around the Quad and asked them to identify the trees.⁴

Felmley was singular among teacher college presidents for the diversity of his intellectual interests. Raymond Fairchild's 1932 study of seventy presidents revealed that most had little time for either professional or general reading—some relied for their information on the *Journal of the National Education Association* and the *Reader's Digest*. Like Felmley, the great majority had not themselves studied at a normal school, though twenty of them, especially members of Felmley's own generation, had been on the staff of the normal school they were chosen to head. However, by 1932, most of the presidents had more than a bachelor's degree; forty-one had earned a master's and eighteen a doctorate.⁵ The presidents' own lack of advanced degrees and indifference to scholarship help to explain why it was so difficult for the normal schools to gain recognition as collegiate institutions, let alone to obtain parity with the liberal arts colleges.

Felmley was the first Democrat, in a State that was overwhelmingly Republican between 1860 and 1932, to serve as the University's president; and he made no attempt to disguise his partisanship. He wrote in 1920 to the superintendent of public instruction, Francis G. Blair: "I would say that during the greater part of my life I have been what some people consider a radical in my views upon political and social questions. I have nothing to apologize for in that respect. My attitude in that regard . . . is a part of my religion."⁶ Felmley favored free trade; he supported farmers who joined the Granger movement to procure state regulation of the railroads and grain elevators; he backed the advocates of free silver who demanded the return to a bimetallic coinage to increase the supply of specie in circulation; and he promoted Henry George's proposed single tax on unimproved land as a way to break monopolies and redistribute wealth. George's radical *Progress and Poverty* was the textbook in a course on economics Felmley taught on Saturday mornings.

In 1896–97 Felmley's outspokenness nearly cost him his job at the University. He campaigned openly in 1896 for William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate for President and a proponent of a bimetallic coinage, and spoke on October 22 in favor of bimetallism to a large crowd at the Bloomington armory. Felmley's actions angered Governor John R. Tanner (1897–1901), who defeated in 1896 the Democratic incumbent, John Peter Altgeld.⁷

Fortunately for Felmley, President John Cook, although a staunch Republican, was a firm believer in the faculty's freedom to hold and express its political views. When the central committee of the Republican Party in McLean County had tried in 1892 to force the faculty to donate to its campaign, Cook had vigorously rejected the attempt as impertinent and as an inappropriate political interference in the University's internal affairs.⁸ He wrote to William H. Green, a former Republican legislator and the president of the Board (1889–1902), on April 26, 1897, about Tanner's attempt to remove Felmley "because he is a Democrat:"

It is quite clear that a fight is on against Mr. Felmley. It has been on in fact for over three months. I thought I had succeeded in stamping it out of existence but it is popping up again in a new place . . . If it should happen that politicians are really to come into our school and determine our teachers on the basis of their connection with political parties it will be the most lamentable thing this institution has ever encountered.⁹

As it was, memories of the affair prevented Felmley's selection as president in 1899, when Cook resigned. Cook subsequently wrote: "Had it not been for a situation I need not discuss, David Felmley would have been president a year earlier than he was . . . there was a governor and a lot of Republican politicians who had been scared out of their wits a few years before. Happily in 1900 matters were properly adjusted."¹⁰ It should be stressed that Cook's defense of academic freedom was extraordinary in the 1890s. President William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago dismissed a faculty member for criticizing the railroads, and there were similar incidents at Brown and Stanford.¹¹

Not surprisingly, when Felmley became president, he, too, defended the faculty's rights. He wrote to F. W. Sheppardson, the director of the Department of Registration and Education and the ex officio chairman of the Board, on February 27, 1919, during the Red Scare when Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer was rooting out radicals in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia:

As the phrase "academic freedom" is commonly used in college circles I think it may be said that teachers in Normal have complete freedom. We rely on their good sense to cause them to refrain from making intemperate utterances or from using their position as teachers as a means of propaganda. On the other hand it is very important that young people know what is going on in the world, what is being thought and expressed, not only by conservatives but by the radical press and radical speakers as well.¹²

In 1927 Felmley hired, sight unseen, John A. Kinneman (1895–1985), who had been fired that spring by West Chester State Normal School (today West Chester University of Pennsylvania), in a case that was widely reported in the national media. Kinneman had supported the right of the students who belonged to the Liberal Club and their faculty sponsor to discuss controversial social and political questions, specifically, the sending of American marines to Nicaragua. He was not, it should be noted, even a member of the club and had simply defended in the local paper the right of the faculty member and the students to express their opinion.¹³ According to Kinneman, Felmley's only comment to him about the affair at their first meeting was: "we are liberal—even more radical here"¹⁴—surely, an extraordinary statement for a teachers college president to make in Calvin

Coolidge's America. Kinneman taught at Normal until 1963 and served as chair of the Department of Social Science from 1951 to 1961.*

Regrettably, Felmley's successors did not share his and Cook's courageous commitment to academic freedom. In 1931, during Harry Brown's brief presidency, Kinneman as the chair of the University's Committee on Public Exercises, which was responsible for arranging the program at the student assemblies that were held in Capen Auditorium, had invited, with the president's approval, Karl Borders to speak on the topic, "The Russian Revolution in the Village." Borders, a settlement house worker in Chicago, had spent a year in Russia aiding in the Quakers' famine relief. Brown capitulated to anonymous community pressure against permitting a "Red" to speak, and Kinneman was forced to withdraw the invitation. Herman Schroeder (1870–1950),[†] the dean of the University (1928–43), even suggested that Kinneman should resign.

A few weeks earlier the Entertainment Board had arranged for Norman Thomas (1884–1968), the perennial Socialist candidate for President, to speak on campus. Bloomington's representative on the Normal School Board, William R. Bach, forced the cancellation of the address. Both Borders and Thomas eventually spoke at community forums sponsored by the Unitarian church, and Thomas quipped: "I am glad to come to Bloomington since it is the closest I'll ever get to Normal." Bach pressed the Board to adopt a restrictive policy on extending invitations to speakers, but the Board, expressing its confidence in the judgment of the normal school presidents, merely mandated that all such invitations receive the presidents' approval in advance.¹⁵

Such attacks on the free expression of ideas on campuses tend to occur in periods of extreme social and economic unrest and/or fear—the 1890s, the Red Scare of 1919, the Great Depression, and the late 1960s. Kinneman, who idolized Felmley and vilified Fairchild in his memoir, hints that the latter was less respectful of academic freedom than his hero. Fairchild was almost certainly the unnamed president who proposed to the Board that Milner Library cease acquiring the allegedly radical national magazines, *The Nation* and *The New Republic*.¹⁶ Similarly, the General Assembly in 1955, at the height of the Cold War, required all state employees as a condition of employment to swear that they were not members of the Communist Party or one of its front organizations that advocated the violent overthrow of the federal or state government. (I signed the oath in 1969.) The requirement was abandoned after the Supreme Court declared such oaths unconstitutional.¹⁷

Besides his vigorous defense of free speech, Felmley argued for adoption of the metric system and for reform of the calendar; but his best known quirk, which he shared with such luminaries as Theodore Roosevelt and Mark Twain, was his advocacy of simplified spelling, which promoted such reforms as the dropping of silent e's or unpronounced double letters. Simplified spelling appeared in university publications and in most of his correspondence. The 1919 catalog declared that:

This catalog includes only a brief description of the courses offered in the various departments. The catalog of 1917, containing a detailed account of the courses, will be furnished upon application. Whenever two spellings of a word

*The College of Arts and Sciences Conference Room in Stevenson Hall was named for Kinneman in 1987.

[†]Schroeder Hall was named for Herman Schroeder in 1955, while it was still in the planning stage.

ar authorized by the New International or the New Standard Dictionary, it is the practis of the State Normal University to use in its publications the shorter form.

Felmley underwrote, for example, the publication of a cookbook by the University's first home economics teacher, Carrie Alberta Lyford, on the condition that she employ his system. Readers were treated to "breds," "egs," and "merings," and parsley and onions that were "chopt" and "minst." His poor secretary was forced to employ two systems of spelling for internal and important external use. He hoped that teachers trained in the normal schools would popularize reformed spelling in their schoolrooms.

Not everyone shared his enthusiasm. Ella Flagg Young, a long-time member of the Board of Education and the first woman superintendent of schools in Chicago (1909–15), wrote in 1909 about "translating" his "deformed spelling into my own vernacular."¹⁸ Felmley's idiosyncrasy may in fact have undercut his stature as an educational leader. A dissertation written in 1965 at the University of Illinois may reflect the thinking of its College of Education as well as its author.

The voices heard and the movements that gathered large followings of teachers were those that came out of the great universities, Columbia in the East, the University of Chicago in the Middle West. The "great" project, doomed to failure from the start, that the Illinois State Normal University originated was a project to get the American people to adopt a simplified spelling system.¹⁹

2 ENROLLMENTS AND INADEQUATE RESOURCES

When he was not tilting at windmills, David Felmley dealt with the chronic problems of enrollments and inadequate resources. The establishment of the new normal schools at DeKalb, Charleston, and Macomb, which the University's leaders had long favored, caused a drastic drop in enrollments. (It is difficult to study enrollment trends because the figures sometimes combine the normal department and the high school and on other occasions also include the model school. In other instances, enrollments in all three terms were combined.) Total enrollments, not including summer school, dropped from 860 in 1898–99 to 387 in 1903–04, but began to rise thereafter, especially after the University reopened its high school.²⁰ Registration had jumped to 1,230 in the 1904–05 school year, and in the fall of 1905 there were 88 men and 283 women preparing to be teachers in the normal department proper. Felmley reported in December 1910 that 2,120 students had attended the normal department or high school during 1909–10 and that 178 men and 507 women were enrolled in Fall, 1910, in these two units. On the eve of World War I, in 1914–15, total enrollment had reached 2,830; and there were 313 men and 643 women in the normal department and high school.²¹ Registration at the five normals peaked in the fall of 1916. However, as Felmley explained in 1918, Illinois required 3,500 new teachers each year; but the normals supplied only one-sixth of them because normal school training was not mandatory for employment.²²

By the fall of 1918 enrollment in the normal department had plummeted to 366 students; only fourteen were men because the University lacked a training unit. Civilian war service replaced most extracurricular activities since 97 percent of the women students and all women faculty signed up to aid the war effort, for

effort, for the most part under the auspices of the Red Cross. The women ran canteens at the Alton Railway station, folded surgical dressings, sewed, and knit. By May 1918 students and faculty had made nearly four thousand surgical dressings, nearly eleven thousand hospital supplies, and over four hundred items for French and Belgian refugee relief, and had knit over three hundred garments. Some changes were made in the curriculum so that the University could prepare such civilian war workers as stenographers and mechanical draftsmen.²³ These wartime activities were essentially an extension of women's traditional household work.

Enrollments recovered quickly after World War I because the State in 1915 had required holders of a teaching certificate to receive professional training in a recognized institution of higher learning and began providing greater funding to school districts that employed teachers with normal school training. By 1926, 1,482 students were enrolled in the college proper during the regular school year, and registration during the two summer terms was 2,836 and 1,091 students, respectively. In response to an inquiry by the Board why Normal was the preferred school for prospective teachers, Felmley responded in 1925 that 28.1 percent of the students surveyed indicated that they had selected the University because it was the teachers college most accessible to their homes and 11.8 percent cited the low cost of attending Normal. The question may have arisen because by 1926 the supply of teachers in Illinois outstripped the demand. That year 7,431 new recipients of teachers' certificates were competing for slightly more than 4,000 openings.²⁴ The rise in enrollments, especially after World War I, was thus the result of the tightening of certification criteria, the dramatic increase in high school attendance, the concomitant demand for more high school teachers, and the University's 1907 conversion into a four-year college.

Another factor in the rise in enrollments was the demand for special subject teachers. Felmley informed the Board of Education in 1904:

The normal school must grow with the development of public education. The last four years have witnessed the advent into our schools of manual training, gardening and household arts... They will be taught in the lower grades by the regular teachers, in the upper grades by special teachers... Such special teachers should be educated at the normal school. They need the broad foundation in mathematics and general science that the normal school affords; they need the same knowledge of child study and general method, of the philosophy and history of education, of school organization and administration. They need to breathe the same atmosphere and acquire the same professional spirit as other teachers.²⁵

Accordingly, the University began two-year curriculums in Manual Arts in 1908, Domestic Science in 1909, in Agriculture in 1912, and in Commerce in 1914. Four-year programs were introduced in Home Economics in 1918 and in Industrial Arts in 1928.²⁶

Special facilities were required, however, to teach these subjects. In 1907 the General Assembly appropriated \$100,000 for the construction of a Manual Arts Building (today Edwards), but it cost an additional \$30,000 before it was completed in 1909. It and later the new training school (today Moulton) were linked by bridges to Old Main at the suggestion of Ella Flagg Young.²⁷ The first farm buildings were begun in 1912 on what is now the site of Hancock Stadium

on the land that Edwin Bakewell, Judge David Davis, and others had conferred in 1857 to the University for that purpose.²⁸

The facilities in the first training school, north of Old Main (after 1940 North Hall), which had been built in the early 1890s, had always been inadequate; and the need for better space became even more pressing after the high school was turned into a practice school. Thomas Metcalf Training School, built at a cost of approximately \$140,000, opened in 1913 and housed for more than four decades the kindergarten, elementary school, and high school. The library moved into North Hall,[‡] and the space the library vacated in the gymnasium (now Cook Hall) was turned over to the commerce department to prepare teachers of typing, stenography, bookkeeping, business methods, and commercial law.²⁹

Fifty years after Richard Edwards had first recommended that the State appropriate money to build a dormitory, the General Assembly authorized in 1915 the expenditure of \$95,000, instead of the \$150,000 the Board had requested, to construct a residence hall for women. Fell Hall opened in 1918, but the architect's design called for the expansion of the building when additional funds became available. Room and board was \$6.50 a week. The south wing of Fell was finally completed in 1953.³⁰

In spite of these appropriations, Felmley was angered by the State's underfunding of the normal schools. When he learned that President Edmund James of the University of Illinois (1904–20) was trying to establish a school of education at Urbana and had garnered the support of the State High School Association in seeking an appropriation of \$300,000 from the legislature for this purpose, Felmley exploded because he perceived the proposed school as infringing on the normal schools' mission and precarious financial resources. Felmley wrote to James on November 21, 1910:

This resolution [of the High School Association] filled me with deep concern for I feel that it is likely to work serious injury to the normal schools. The question is, just what do you propose to do in the school of education?...As it is, the normal schools find it extremely difficult to get funds enough for their proper development...The reply to our petition [in the last legislative session] for funds was, "The amount of funds in the state treasury is practically limited...The State University especially is seeking for so much that we cannot spare you any more"...During the administration of President Draper [1894–1904] when the State University was getting on its feet and needed the unstinted support of all the educational interests of the State, we were assured that the University was not a rival of the normal schools, that it did not propose to invade their field...But now the State University proposes to define the field of the normal school, limiting it to elementary education, and to take over the task of training all except the rank and file of rural and grade teachers.

Felmley, who continued his attack in letters to *The Pantagraph*, received little support from professional educators in Illinois, in part because they perceived him

[‡]The training school building was known as the library until 1940, when the original Milner Library was opened (today Williams Hall). The old library was named North Hall from its location rather than after a person because it was the long range plan to tear the building down. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, February 19, 1940*, pp. 40–41.

as opposing the improvement of public education in the State and, in part, because the presidents of the other normal schools did not share his sense of the relative decline of their institutions vis-à-vis Urbana.³¹

After World War I, in December 1919, Felmley sent his detailed ten-year building plan to F. W. Shepardson, the chairman of the Board. It called for the construction of eleven buildings, including the completion of Fell Hall, a second women's dormitory, a new library, and a home for the president. Only three of Felmley's proposals were implemented in his lifetime at a far higher cost than he had estimated. These were: a greenhouse; a gymnasium for men, completed in 1925 (it cost \$201,886 instead of Felmley's estimated \$88,000); and a science building (it cost \$251,542 rather than Felmley's \$170,000). The Board had originally intended to name the gymnasium after Felmley, but as he lay dying, it decided that it would be more fitting to place his name upon the science building. The gymnasium was named instead after Henry McCormick, Class of 1868 and professor of history and geography, who had taught at the University for forty-nine years. The University's total appropriation increased from \$39,495 in 1900 to \$563,320 in 1930. Since retail prices rose 98 percent during these three decades, the fourteen-fold increase in the University's budget, in spite of Felmley's complaints, greatly outstripped inflation.³²

3 FACULTY SALARIES

Wartime inflation was a far more serious problem, however. As we have seen, in making his plea in 1920 for higher faculty salaries, Felmley pointed out that retail prices had risen 140 percent between 1913 and 1920—102 percent is more accurate but prices did rise 138 percent between 1900 and 1920.³³ He had already indicated in 1918 that low faculty salaries were making it increasingly difficult to attract qualified teachers and that the problem antedated the war. Felmley stressed in 1918 the disparities in compensation between the normal schools and the University of Illinois. In the 1915–16 school year, 149 deans, professors, associate professors, and assistant professors at Urbana had earned an average salary of \$3,173 for thirty-five weeks of work; whereas the dean and the fourteen highest paid faculty at Normal received \$2,200, an amount that had not changed two years later. Presumably, the disparity would have been even greater if Felmley had not included Urbana's associates and assistants in his calculation. Moreover, the average salary of twenty-one high school principals in Chicago was \$4,098, forty-two city superintendents outside of Chicago earned \$3,350, and thirty-nine downstate high school principals made an average \$2,718. In the preceding twenty years, the salaries of the forty-two superintendents had increased 83 percent and those of the thirty-nine principals 109 percent; whereas the compensation of department heads, that is, the professors, at Normal had risen only 16 percent.³⁴ The failure of faculty compensation at the normal schools to keep pace with that of other educators is another indicator of the normals' relative decline after 1900 in the educational hierarchy.

In 1921 the dean of the Normal University (1911–28), Orson L. Manchester, an economist, emphasized that "the humiliation of the Illinois normal schools" had started at the turn of the century. In the 1880s and '90s professors at Normal had earned more than the city superintendents and as much as department heads at Urbana. (In 1868 the pay scales at both Normal and Urbana had been

fixed at \$4,000 for the presidents and \$2,000 for professors.)³⁵ To make faculty salaries commensurate with those at normals outside Illinois and with those of public schools teachers within the State, Manchester estimated that the faculty's compensation would have to be raised at least 50 or 60 percent if Illinois' normals were to be truly competitive with the best schools.³⁶ Felmley was not being unduly pessimistic in 1921 when he wrote the president of the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, in arguing for state scholarships for prospective teachers: "The feeling that normal schools are not of as great importance as they formerly were has some basis of fact behind it . . ."³⁷

In 1928 the Normal School Board finally addressed the problem of faculty compensation. It established a hierarchy of academic ranks with minimum requirements for promotion, a pay scale, and quotas for each rank. The new system was to go into effect on July 1, 1931:

Group I.

Professors \$3420 to \$4275 a year

Doctor's degree, or equivalent in training of a type not leading to a degree, plus well established evidence of teaching ability. Increments in this class shall be given only on recommendation of the President, approved by the Normal School Board. Fractional part of the total [faculty] allowed—1/8.

Group II.

Associate Professor \$2745 to \$3465 a year

Two years graduate work, or equivalent in a type of work not leading to a degree, plus well established evidence of teaching ability. Annual increments \$90. Fractional part of the total allowed—2/8.

Group III.

Assistant Professor \$2250 to \$2790 a year

Master's degree, or equivalent in a type of work not leading to a degree, plus well established evidence of teaching ability.

Annual increment \$90.

Fractional part of the total allowed—3/8.

Group IV.

Instructor \$1755 to \$2295 a year

Bachelor's degree plus evidence of teaching ability.

Annual increment \$90.

Fractional part of total allowed—2/8.

Faculty members with more than ten years of experience in the normal school system were grandfathered in if they did not have the requisite degrees. The head librarian of each school was granted faculty rank. Promotions were not to be automatic with attainment of the necessary credentials but were dependent upon the president's recommendation and the Board's approval. Salaries were based on a thirty-six-week work year and were payable in nine installments. In case of serious illness, faculty members were to receive full pay for two weeks, half pay

the following two weeks, and no pay thereafter. They would also receive a leave of absence for one week at full pay in case of a serious illness or death in their family. (In 1908 Professor Douglas C. Ridgley of the Geography Department was docked two days pay because he had been absent on account of his wife’s illness, but on the motion of Ella Flagg Young the cut had been restored.)³⁸ Continuity of service entitled a faculty member to an automatic annual advance in their salary. Gender was not to be a factor in either salary increments or promotions. A faculty member who had taught two years was entitled to “security of tenure during his continuance of satisfactory service and professional growth,” unless his position was discontinued. (Intriguingly, while the section on tenure employed the masculine pronoun, the one on illness used the feminine. Perhaps, it was assumed that women were more likely to get sick and men to consider college teaching as a permanent career.)

The Board also authorized sabbaticals for faculty members who wanted to attend an institution of higher learning. Each teachers college could grant one such leave each year for every twenty-five faculty members or major fraction thereof. Such leaves would be for one year at half pay but were not to exceed \$1,500. To be eligible, faculty members had to have taught at least five years at the school and had to agree to teach at least two more years after their return. To assure compliance with the latter obligation, they had to leave a promissory note with the proper security, which would be cancelled after two years.

Finally, the Board authorized for the first time pensions for any president or teacher who had served thirty years at any of the institutions under its control. These were: \$3,000 per year for presidents; \$2,400 for professors and associates; and \$1,200 for assistants and instructors.³⁹ The State University Retirement System (SURS), which with subsequent modifications is currently in place, was established in 1941.⁴⁰

Eighty years later, the inadequacies of the Board’s 1928 plan are painfully obvious, but it was the first attempt to provide the faculty of the teachers colleges with a measure of financial security and to foster their professional development. Compared to the faculty’s dire situation in 1918–20, after wartime inflation and two decades of inadequate raises had eroded their salaries, conditions had improved noticeably during the last decade of Felmley’s presidency, in part because he was such a vigorous defender of the faculty’s rights.

Regrettably, the onset of the Depression threatened even these modest gains. A story Helen Marshall relates offers a revealing, perhaps apocryphal, insight into Felmley’s parsimony and the University’s poverty.

When a passenger train was wrecked near Normal President Felmley obtained permission to have the plush ripped off the broken seats, and had the manual training students nail layers of the plush on blocks of wood and thereby save the price of new felt erasers. As late as 1936 [after she arrived] some of these erasers were still in use in Old Main.⁴¹

✍ PREPARING HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

At the heart of Felmley’s confrontation with the University of Illinois, even when he was complaining about the perennial underfunding of the normal schools, was, as his 1910 letter to Edmund James shows, his defense of their right to prepare

high school teachers. There was a real danger that the Illinois normals would be relegated, as was the case with the schools in the East, to being almost exclusively female, two-year preparatory schools for elementary school teachers. The battle was triggered by the explosive growth after the 1890s in the number of high school graduates. The chief question was whether the teachers of college preparatory courses should receive their education in liberal arts colleges that focused on the subject matter or in normal schools that stressed professional training. Since the colleges lacked the staff or facilities to supervise student teachers or to meet the demand for secondary school teachers, the long term solution was the conversion of the normal schools into teachers colleges, even though some educators, like John Cook at DeKalb, did not recognize that reality. Normal was, thanks to Felmley's leadership, one of the first schools in the nation to make that transition; and 2007 was not only the sesquicentennial of the University's foundation but also the centennial of the establishment of the teachers college.

Harper in his 1935 history of the University cast Felmley in the role of David fighting the Goliath in Urbana, but like the Philistine giant, the School of Education, which never enjoyed the complete support of the central administration of the University of Illinois, was not as strong as it appeared. Since the state universities like Illinois and the accrediting agencies they controlled set the accreditation standards for both the high schools and the colleges in their states, the universities were in a strong position to enforce their will. Nevertheless, the Midwestern teachers colleges won the fight to prepare secondary school teachers because they could supply more teachers more cheaply than their collegiate rivals and because they were better able to satisfy the need for teachers in non-academic subjects like typing or the manual arts that appealed to the majority of students who were not planning to continue their education beyond high school.

The number of high schools in Illinois had increased from 108 in 1870 to 239 in 1894 with an enrollment of 15,165 women and 8,508 men. Most of the teachers in these schools were inadequately prepared. In 1898 only 464 of the 841 secondary school teachers in the State were college or even normal school graduates, and only 22 of them had received their degree at Urbana, which was not a major player in the field of education.⁴² By 1900 there were slightly more than 300 high schools with a total enrollment of less than 50,000 students, but by 1920 their number had increased to over 800 schools with 127,000 students in attendance. However, nearly 300 of the 800 schools did not offer a complete four-year program, and only two-thirds of the 6,000 teachers were college or normal school graduates. More than 400 of the teachers were themselves only high school graduates.

A decade later, at the end of Felmley's tenure in 1930, there were nearly 1,000 high schools and more than 300,000 students, about 50 percent of their age cohort, almost all of them enrolled in high schools that offered a four-year program. Few of the students graduated, however. There were 136,000 students in ninth grade but only 40,000 in twelfth. The lack of employment opportunities during the Depression had a positive effect in this regard. By 1935, 70 percent of high school aged adolescents were continuing their schooling. They were taught by 11,000 teachers, of whom more than 9,000 had received degrees from liberal arts or teachers colleges. The preparation of elementary school teachers lagged far behind. As late as 1935, only 27,000 of the 48,000 elementary school teachers

had obtained either a college degree or even a two-year diploma from a normal school.⁴³ The need for properly educated teachers during the first decades of the twentieth century is thus readily apparent.

Normal school graduates, like the University's first student, Enoch A. Gastman, had always taught in high schools in Illinois. Indeed, Felmley was emphatic in 1913 on this point:

The normal schools of Illinois were established "to train teachers for the common schools," and they are the only schools established by the state for this distinct purpose. By their charters it becomes their duty to educate teachers for every subject taught in the common schools. The courts of the state have held that "common schools" means public schools including the high school. During all their history these normal schools have trained high school teachers, principals, and superintendents, as well as elementary and rural teachers. The eldest of these schools [Normal] has sent half of its graduates into these advanced positions. Of its 2169 alumni, 608 have taught in high schools, 659 have served as principals and superintendents, 194 have been members of faculties of state normal schools, 101 of colleges and universities.

As we saw, these nineteenth-century graduates had been disproportionately men. Consequently, as Felmley proceeded to explain: "To limit the activity of the normal schools of the Middle West to the preparation of elementary teachers will cut off the attendance of men as completely as it has in New England."⁴⁴

By the beginning of the twentieth century, most high school teachers in the East were, in fact, college graduates. For example, 56 percent of the teachers in New England in the early 1890s and 65 percent of their colleagues in New Jersey in 1906 had bachelor's degrees. According to a 1904 survey of nineteen states, the District of Columbia, and the Indian Territory (Oklahoma), 70 percent of their male and 53 percent of their female secondary school teachers were college graduates; whereas only 15 percent of the men and 12 percent of the women were recipients of a normal school diploma.⁴⁵ The Massachusetts and New York normals did not become teachers colleges until the 1930s and '40s, respectively, precisely because they were not major producers of secondary school teachers. The Midwestern states were different because their normal schools were established only a few years after the state universities and the private denominational colleges, and in the case of Illinois, the foundation of Normal antedated Urbana by a decade. Normal, in particular, thus met from its foundation a need for high school teachers that did not exist to the same degree elsewhere; and Felmley was defending the University's traditional role as a preparer of teachers for all grades.

The opponents of the normal schools argued that the teachers of college preparatory courses had to be college graduates themselves. In 1890 a meeting of high school teachers in Massachusetts declared, for example, that it was "the high school teacher's task to prepare his pupils for a liberal course of training, and therefore he should himself have passed through that training."⁴⁶ Many college graduates were skeptical that teachers required any professional training. As is the case today with prospective college professors, knowledge of the subject matter and observation of a good role model were deemed sufficient preparation. No less an authority than President Charles Eliot of Harvard stated in 1891:

The faculty [of Harvard] in common with most teachers in England and the United States feel but slight interest or confidence in what is ordinarily called pedagogy, but they believe that skillful teachers should be able to give some account of their methods for the benefit of those who are beginning to teach; or, in other words, that experienced teachers can advantageously convey to beginners some of the results of their experience. . . the accomplished teacher of Latin must show how to teach Latin; the accomplished teacher of chemistry how to teach chemistry, and so forth...⁴⁷

Underlying the dispute about the proper venue for preparing secondary school teachers was a fundamental disagreement about the mission of the high school in American society. Was the high school, like the German Gymnasium, an elite college preparatory institution or an egalitarian one that outfitted a diverse student body for a variety of occupations and for life in general as educated citizens in a democratic polity? Felmley answered this question in 1912 at a meeting of the National Education Association:

If the one function of the high school is to fit for college, what is more sensible than to secure as teachers men and women who have been through college and know what preparation will be needed... The first need of the high school is a change in aim. It must front the actual needs of life as found in shop and store, in farm and home. This does not mean that all instruction shall be vocational; the physical, social, and cultural needs of men and women are facts of life. But it does mean that we must access the actual educational value of every study in the curriculum, of every detail of organization and method, and conduct our schools in such a way as to secure the maximum of useful knowledge, skill, power, appreciation and character.⁴⁸

Normal was, in Felmley's view, the proper place to prepare high school teachers because it was better suited than any liberal arts college to provide for the educational needs of all the people of Illinois. Democracy won.

The instrument for forcing high schools to employ college graduates as teachers was the power of the state universities, starting with Michigan in 1870, to certify those high schools whose graduates would be admitted to the university without a prior entrance examination. The Industrial University began certifying high schools in 1876. (Princeton's high school was the first.) By 1900, 42 state universities and land-grant colleges and at least 150 private institutions were maintaining such lists. In 1902 the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, which had been founded in 1895, stipulated that, to obtain accreditation, the teachers of a high school had to be graduates of one of its member colleges or of an equivalent association; but North Central also mandated that the teachers have a minimum of eleven hours of course work in education.⁴⁹

While this decision put enormous pressure on the normal schools to become accredited colleges, it was also difficult, as Commissioner Elmer Brown pointed out in 1908, for the liberal arts colleges to provide the requisite professional training as efficiently as the normals did. In 1890 a report of the United States Commissioner of Education had concluded:

. . . it may be said that an intelligent graduate of a thoroughly taught high school who has attentively read Compayre's *History of Pedagogical Ideas*, a

book on methods and management, and Sully's *Psychology*, for example, might graduate immediately, and with honor, from the great majority of the normal departments or teachers' courses of our colleges and universities.⁵⁰

Such perfunctory reading hardly constituted adequate pedagogical preparation.

To remedy this deficiency in professional training at the state universities, the University of Iowa established in 1873 a chair in the Philosophy of Education; and Michigan and Wisconsin followed in 1879 and 1881, respectively, with chairs of Pedagogy. By 1892, thirty-one institutions had professors of Pedagogy and another forty-five, including the University of Illinois, combined Pedagogy with another discipline such as Philosophy or Psychology.⁵¹ Normal's own Charles DeGarmo was hired in December 1890 as the first person to teach Pedagogy and Psychology at Urbana, but it was not until the arrival of Arnold Tompkins in 1895 that the University of Illinois became seriously interested in teacher preparation and the scientific study of education.

As far as President Andrew Draper of the University of Illinois was concerned, the main task of the holder of the chair of Pedagogy, which had been separated from Psychology in 1893, was to oversee Illinois' high school visitation program and to turn the State's high schools into preparatory schools for Urbana. For his part, Tompkins wanted to teach Pedagogy at a "higher level," but there were too few college graduates in Illinois who were interested in such a program. Tompkins' successor, Edwin G. Dexter (1900–07), was concerned with the empirical study of the problems of the common schools. He was prepared to leave the preparation of elementary school teachers to the normals, but the University of Illinois was to assume responsibility for training the secondary school teachers. Dexter feared that if Urbana did not act, the "normal schools inspired by our evident apathy" would do so to the detriment of both elementary and secondary education because they would spread their inadequate resources too thinly.⁵²

Edmund James, who became the president of Illinois in 1904, supported Dexter's plans; and some of Felmley's bitterness may have been due to his sense that Normal was being "betrayed" by one of its own. The new president made clear his position on the relative importance of knowledge of the subject matter and professional training in the preparation of teachers in a letter James wrote in December 1904 to Manfred J. Holmes, the professor of Education at Normal.

I have stood for professional pedagogical training for secondary teachers in our colleges and universities now for more than twenty years, but I have never thought for an instant that that was in any sense a substitute for scholarly training in the subject matter which one is teaching, and I think that of the two that the lack of knowledge is a far more serious difficulty today than lack of method.⁵³

James favored the organization of a School of Education at Urbana in the belief that the appropriate place to train teachers was at the next level in the educational hierarchy, that is, high school teachers were to be prepared in the universities. The trustees and the faculty did not share James' enthusiasm, and he was forced to settle in 1905 for a School of Education that was merely an umbrella administrative unit for faculty who retained their existing departmental affiliation. The colleges retained the right to approve the educational policies formulated by the school.

The Carnegie Foundation objected in 1909 to Urbana's operation of a pre-collegiate preparatory school similar to the high school Normal had maintained until 1895, and the University of Illinois closed the school in 1911. James proposed in September 1910 that Urbana ask for an appropriation of \$250,000 to construct a separate building for the School of Education that would contain a practice high school that would also serve as a laboratory school for the School of Education. It was this proposal that aroused Felmley's ire in November 1910. The building finally opened in 1918, but the new University High School did not occupy it until 1921. The University of Illinois thus lacked for a decade the facilities to run a practice teaching program.

A separate College of Education was finally established at Urbana in 1918, but James' successor David Kinley (1920–30) was dubious about its mission. He said in 1924:

There have been certain fields pushed into public attention, the substantiality of which is an open question in the minds of some thoughtful people. Consider, for example, the field of education...When one reads the literature of this field he is tempted...to wonder whether after all the so-called field of study did not emerge into public attention largely because its devotees invented a terminology and then thought they had a science.⁵⁴

Urbana was a far less formidable foe than Felmley feared.

5 FELMLEY'S CASE FOR THE NORMALS

In 1913, when James' plans for a School of Education appeared to pose a real threat to Normal, Felmley offered in "The New Normal School Movement" his most succinct arguments why normal schools that granted professional degrees were the appropriate venue for preparing high school teachers. As we have already seen, he pointed out that Normal had always trained such teachers, that the courts had interpreted the mandate in the 1857 charter to train teachers for the common schools to encompass the high schools, and that the normals' assumption of this responsibility was the only way to prevent their feminization.

Illinois needed, he said, six hundred new high school teachers a year and thus required a model high school with two thousand students, so that prospective high school teachers could practice teach. The Lindly Act, which provided fifteen hundred eighth graders annually with four-year scholarships to study at one of the State's normal schools, imposed upon each normal the obligation to maintain a high school. It would be an enormous waste of the State's resources, Felmley insisted, if it restricted the normals to the preparation of elementary school teachers and established duplicate, secondary school facilities elsewhere, presumably at Urbana, to train high school teachers, though he did not explicitly draw the connection with James' proposed high school.

The heart of Felmley's argument was that Illinois' normal schools, which had received authorization in 1907, "to grant professional degrees to students completing a four-year course of study beyond the accredited high school," inculcated the "spirit of consecration" demanded from teachers. "High school teachers should be trained," he said,

in the same environment as elementary teachers. They need the same love of children, the same knowledge of the problems of childhood. To train them in a separate school with different standards and ideals results in a serious break in spirit, in method, and in the character of the work as the child passes to the high school. Furthermore, this separate training begets an exclusive educational caste. Our schools are already suffering from this cleavage between the professional aristocracy of the high school and the commonality of the grades.

Similarly, principals and superintendents were to be taught in the same "professional atmosphere" as "the teachers who are to work under their leadership."

The "highest devotion, patriotism, and altruistic endeavor" expected of teachers could "not be developed," he said,

in a school which is merely an adjunct of an institution whose chief interests are economic and industrial [like the University of Illinois] and where callings are ranked according to the prospects of financial returns, nor yet in an institution whose leading aim is personal culture. Schools of education connected with universities are successful in developing professional spirit in almost exact proportion to their success in separating their students and their work from other departments of the university.

There is more than a whiff of anti-intellectualism and class warfare in Felmley's comments about the baneful influence of college-educated teachers upon the high schools.

The evils that have crept into our high schools—fraternities, club smokers, excessive devotion to athletics and to social functions—can in many cases be traced directly to college-bred teachers who have transplanted these features of the college to the high school. Our great universities especially set a social pace not favorable to the plain living and high thinking, out of which grows the spirit of the consecrated teacher.⁵⁵

Or, as Felmley had put it in 1909:

Now the high schools are chiefly taught by college fledglings, inexperienced, untrained, with scant resources in the way of method except to imitate their own college teachers. For this reason there has come into the high school the source method in history, botany that is mainly histology, and formal lecturing of boys in knickerbockers and girls in braids. Along with this has come into high schools, fraternities and inter-school athletics, classes with class pins, class yells, class stationery, baccalaureate sermons and cap-and-gown commencements.⁵⁶

Intriguingly, William Chandler Baxter, who succeeded Edwin Dexter in 1909 as the director of Urbana's School of Education, turned Felmley's social class argument on its head. The majority of new teachers, he pointed out in 1911, came from families with at least six children (the national average was four),

...the average income of which is less than eight hundred dollars a year; and that most of them enter the work of teaching with no intention of making a life career but merely because it offers opportunity to obtain a little badly needed money without involving the expenditure of much time in preparing themselves for the work.

Women from such a background, Baxter said, taught until they married; the men procured administrative positions in and outside of education.⁵⁷ For Felmley teaching was a vocation for poor but ambitious young men who would be role models for their pupils, whereas for Baxter it was a social obligation undertaken by an educated elite to uplift the less fortunate.

Today, when the History Department, for example, stresses to its history education students the centrality of primary sources in the teaching of history, Felmley's critique of "the source method in history" sounds bizarre. Felmley took the Wisconsin normals to task in "The New Normal School Movement" precisely because they were offering "general education" rather than professional training—an ironic stance for a man with Felmley's diverse interests. He was hardly alone in that attitude. For example, in 1920 the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching criticized the Missouri normals, in a report commissioned by the governor, for offering non-professional work. Cape Girardeau (today Southeast Missouri State University), the commissioners declared, could not be "a good normal school and a 'great college' on the same appropriation."⁵⁸

In a telling analogy, Felmley likened the normals to the service academies:

We train our military and naval officers in distinct schools, and realize the close connection between this separate instruction and the fine sense of honor and devotion that pervades the profession of arms. Teachers too are the servants of the state—summoned to a calling no less arduous, needing the same sustaining enthusiasm.⁵⁹

His words are the expression of a fortress mentality, a view of the normal schools and teachers colleges as set apart from society and the mainstream of intellectual and academic life. After all, Felmley believed that there was an inverse relationship between the quality of a school of education at a state university and its proximity to the rest of the institution. Felmley's system of simplified spelling was the symbolic manifestation of that intellectual isolation.

6 THE TEACHERS COLLEGE ACT OF 1907

Yet Felmley was one of the first normal school educators to realize that the normal schools needed to become four-year, degree-granting collegiate institutions if they were to survive—this is what he meant by "The New Normal School Movement." The first two normals to make the transition were Albany (today the State University of New York at Albany) and Ypsilanti (Eastern Michigan University). The New York Board of Regents changed Albany's name in 1890 from the State Normal School to the State Normal College and authorized it to grant Bachelor's, Master's, and doctoral degrees in Pedagogy. Its catalog stated explicitly: "(t)he subjects of the usual college course are not taught in the normal college, but only methods of teaching those subjects." However, in 1905 Albany ceased preparing elementary school teachers and expanded its mission to include "a four-year course of study in Liberal Arts and Pedagogics." All students were required "to pursue such subjects of study as are deemed essential to a liberal education," in addition to "such professional courses as are considered to be fundamental in the training of teachers..." Two years later the Albany catalog explained that the liberal arts requirement had been instituted because "nothing less than college graduation and the possession of a degree in arts and sciences" were increasingly

deemed acceptable preparation for a high school teacher. After 1905 Albany offered a Bachelor of Arts degree to its own matriculants and a Bachelor of Pedagogy to college graduates who had completed a year of postgraduate study. In 1897 Ypsilanti became Michigan State Normal College, and in 1903 it received authorization to grant a Bachelor of Arts in Education.⁶⁰

Richard Edwards had already realized the need for providing teachers with professional credentials. He informed the annual meeting of the National Education Association in 1876 that the normal schools should grant professional degrees comparable to those bestowed in law, divinity, and the other learned professions. In 1901 Taylor C. Clendenen, the superintendent of schools in Cairo, wrote to Felmley, that "many alumni and friends of Old Normal" thought "that it should have been made a purely professional university with authority to confer degrees back in 1895 when the two new Illinois normals [Charleston and DeKalb] were created. Its central location would favor this plan."⁶¹

Felmley took up this suggestion and in December 1906 recommended to the Board of Education that the University should add two years of advanced study to the existing course of study required for graduation and confer a degree to those individuals who had completed this "graduate work." (Since a graduate of an accredited high school received a diploma after two years of work at Normal, Felmley's proposal amounted to a four-year collegiate program for high school graduates.) Felmley explained to the Board in language that was nearly identical with the words he employed seven years later in "The New Normal School Movement" why the normal schools rather than the state universities were the appropriate institutions to educate future high school teachers. He pointed out that Albany, Cedar Falls, Emporia, Ypsilanti, and the Missouri normals had already moved in this direction.⁶²

The other Illinois normal school presidents, especially John Cook at DeKalb and Livingston C. Lord at Charleston, offered little or no support for starting four-year programs; and the liberal arts colleges initially opposed Felmley's proposal. Francis Blair, the state superintendent of public instruction, who was also unfavorably disposed, wrote Felmley in April 1907 that one of his unnamed colleagues (Cook?) believed that the normals' "function was to prepare elementary school teachers" and "that it would be unwise to take on a new function." However, if such a right were to be conferred upon one school, it needed to be bestowed, the unnamed president thought, upon all the normals lest one school obtain an advantage.⁶³ The General Assembly authorized all the normals, except Macomb, on June 1, 1907, a half century after Normal's foundation, "to confer such professional degrees as are usually conferred by other institutions of like character for similar or equivalent courses of study."⁶⁴ Normal thus became a baccalaureate institution in 1907.

Felmley was emphatic that the degree was a professional degree and not one in the liberal arts. He wrote in 1924: "If we grant such degrees as Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science we simply ape the liberal arts colleges, even if we do add the phrase, in a small voice, 'in Education.'"⁶⁵ On this point Felmley differed emphatically with Albany and Ypsilanti, which granted a Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Arts in Education, respectively.

The presidents of the Illinois normals adopted in 1908 a common policy for granting degrees, based on guidelines that had already been approved by the faculty

at Normal. They agreed to confer a bachelor of education degree to any graduate of an Illinois normal or a normal school of equivalent rank who had completed “two years of graduate study” or to any graduate of an accredited college, that is, a college whose students were admissible to graduate work at the University of Illinois, the University of Chicago, or Northwestern, who had finished a one-year course of study at the normals. Each year’s work was to consist of four, year-long courses that met five hours a week. Normal school graduates could take three of the eight required courses in absentia, provided they worked under the direction of a normal school faculty member and took the final exam on campus. Alternatively, they could take four of the eight courses at an accredited college, but the remaining course work had to be done while the student was in residence at the normal conferring the degree.

The Normal University proposed to offer the following year-long courses, each subdivided into three units of sixty lessons each, that is, for each of the three terms during the regular school year: American History, Modern European History, Sociology and Economics, Educational Physiology, School Administration, History of Education, German, Latin, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Physiology and Sanitation, Zoology, Higher Mathematics, Geography, and Art Instruction, and two-year courses in Manual Training, Home Economics, and Literature. The courses were organized into related groups and students could select one or more courses from a group, but every student had to take at least one of the education courses.⁶⁶

Only Carbondale and Normal actually instituted degree programs in 1907. Macomb waited until 1917, when it was authorized to do so; and Charleston and DeKalb initiated theirs in 1920 and 1921, respectively. Western, Eastern, and Northern were formally renamed State Teachers Colleges in 1921.⁶⁷ Nationwide only eight schools, including Normal, granted bachelor’s degrees prior to 1910, while 138 of the 185 normal schools in the country in 1930 starting doing so only after 1920.⁶⁸ Thanks to Felmley’s leadership and vision, Normal was thus far ahead of most normal schools in transforming itself into a degree-granting, four-year-college that prepared high school teachers and school administrators. Indeed, Felmley had waged the battle in Illinois to procure the right to award bachelor’s degrees almost singlehandedly.

But if the other normal schools eventually merely changed their names to reflect their new status and mission, a school that had been designated a university since its foundation a half century earlier could not undergo such a titular demotion. The administrative solution to this problem, a sleight of hand, was the establishment of the teachers college as a school within the University.

7 A TEACHERS COLLEGE WITHIN A UNIVERSITY

Besides the dilemma of accommodating a teachers college within an institution that was ostensibly a university, the General Assembly’s 1907 authorization of Normal’s right to bestow degrees raised other issues as well: the requirements for admission to the University; the need to provide curricular alternatives for students with very different levels of preparation and career goals; the relationship between the normal school that continued to educate the majority of the students at the University and the baccalaureate teachers college; the balance in the curriculum between the academic disciplines and professional course work; the place of the

new teachers colleges in the State's educational hierarchy, specifically their parity with the liberal arts colleges; and the requisite academic credentials for faculty who taught students enrolled in a collegiate program. There was a gender dimension to these problems as well. The faculty and students in the normal school or junior college, as the first two years were renamed in the mid-1920s, and in the training school were overwhelmingly female; the senior faculty and the graduates of the teachers college proper were disproportionately male.

Questions about the University's multiple curriculums and the professional credentials of its faculty became crucial issues in the late 1920s when the North Central Association determined that teachers colleges had to meet the same standards for accreditation as other colleges. The University was thus forced during Felmley's presidency to adapt both its admissions standards and curriculum to the increasing number of matriculants who entered with a four-year high school diploma, while continuing to accommodate students who were less well prepared, and simultaneously to meet the increasingly rigorous accreditation requirements devised by the University of Illinois and imposed upon Normal by external agencies. It proved hard to serve multiple masters.

Under the heading, "Graduate Courses," the University announced in 1907-08: "The demand for teachers who shall combine the thoro [*sic*] training of the normal with broader scholarship than the regular normal course affords has led the State Board of Education to establish a teachers' college as a department of the State Normal University. Only graduates of the State Normal Schools will be admitted to this department." The University added, reflecting the disparate prior preparation of its students, that its two-year, three-year, and four-year programs "agree(d) in the strictly professional courses required; they differ in the amount of time devoted to the different branches."⁶⁹

The 1917 catalog indicated that the University was "comprized" of four schools: the normal school, the teachers college, the elementary training school, and the university high school. The normal school was "intended to prepare teachers for graded elementary schools, rural schools, and village schools." It offered high school graduates a two-year curriculum that prepared them to be primary teachers, upper-grade teachers, and "special teachers of art, manual training, household science, household art, agriculture, commercial branches, public school music, and the kindergarten." It also had one- and two-year curriculums for country school teachers "and a preparatory program for mature students who wish to make up deficiencies in high-school work." The teachers college offered a four-year curriculum for "high-school teachers, supervisors [*sic*], principals, and superintendents whose duties require a more extended preparation than the normal-school course."⁷⁰ The distinction between the normal school and the teachers college disappeared in the 1925-26 catalog and was replaced by a teachers college divided into junior and senior colleges.

In Fall 1916, the last peacetime semester before the American entry into World War I, 200 students were enrolled in the teachers college and 634 in the normal school. There were 185 men (23 percent of the student body) and 649 women.⁷¹ Enrollments in the two divisions were not broken down by gender in the Board Proceedings, but men were, presumably, disproportionately represented in the teachers college. Toward the end of Felmley's presidency, the University no longer

reported registration by schools but by class years. In Fall 1928 total enrollment in the four classes was 1,313: 286 men (22 percent) and 1,027 women. The senior college, as the junior and senior years were now designated, consisted of 107 juniors and 53 seniors (12 percent of the total enrollment). Of these, 57 (36 percent) were men and 103 women. Felmley anticipated the following May that 37 students, including 18 men (49 percent), would graduate in June.⁷² Very few students thus completed the four-year program, even at the close of Felmley's presidency; but men were disproportionately represented among the recipients of bachelor's degrees—less than a quarter of the total enrollment but half of the graduates.

The 1908 catalog description of the collegiate program as "graduate study" is not as peculiar as it seems because the intended clientele may have been, initially, college graduates who wished to receive professional training, even if the same catalog said that only graduates of the state normal schools would be admitted to the program. The first two recipients of bachelor's degrees in 1908 were Alma Mary Hamilton, a graduate of Illinois Wesleyan, and Lillie R. Paisley, a graduate of the University of Chicago. Hamilton, who had taught in both grade and high schools before 1908, also earned a master's degree from Columbia and was an assistant English professor at the University from 1915 to 1943.⁵ Paisley became the principal of Galva High School. The University awarded degrees in 1909 to a graduate of Knox College and in 1910 to its first two male graduates. One of the men had earned a bachelor's degree from Central Wesleyan College in Missouri; the other was John Arthur Strong, Class of 1896, a career school administrator.⁷³ Thus, for four of the first five holders of baccalaureate degrees from Normal, their new degree was, in modern parlance, a second bachelor's degree; and it was not completely inappropriate to describe their work as "graduate study."

It is less clear what these graduates of liberal arts colleges gained professionally from the additional credential they obtained at Normal because a college graduate in Illinois hardly needed in 1910 additional course work to teach in a high school or to become a school administrator. Still, it is worth considering that while 67 percent of the 1,386 individuals who taught in 1912 in accredited high schools in Illinois were only college graduates, 21 percent had received both university and normal school training.⁷⁴ Better high schools may have preferred teachers who had done both academic and professional work.

However, by 1915 bachelor's degrees were being awarded mainly to individuals who had completed the four-year program at Normal rather than to individuals seeking additional professional credentials. Only two of the fourteen recipients of degrees that year, both women, had completed an undergraduate course of study at another college (Milliken and the University of Illinois). The 1927 Alumni Survey provides some revealing insights into the subsequent career paths of the class of 1915. Three of the eight women were in 1927 high school teachers, two were housewives, one an editor, one had been an English instructor and manager of the book exchange at the University from 1916 to 1926, and one was deceased. One of the housewives worked occasionally as a substitute math teacher at the University, and the other had been a teacher and principal, including at a girl's

⁵ Hamilton Hall was named for her in 1960.

school in Siam (Thailand). Only one of the women, a high school teacher in St. Louis, had obtained a master's degree (it was from Washington University).

By 1927 none of the six men in the class of 1915 was still a high school teacher. One, who had received a master's from the University of Chicago and a Ph.D. from Clark University, was head of the Geography department at the Chicago Normal College. The second, a recipient of a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, was an assistant professor of Geography at the University of Cincinnati. A third, who had subsequently earned a bachelor's degree from Bradley Polytechnic Institute in Peoria and a master's from Chicago, was a school administrator in Saginaw, Michigan. A fourth taught Biology at Morton Junior College. A fifth, the holder of a master's degree from Chicago, was a professor of Geography at the College of the City of Detroit (today Wayne State University); and the sixth, who had been a high school principal, was working on a doctorate in Geography at the University of Chicago.⁷⁵

Beyond pointing to the high quality of the University's Geography Department in the pre-World War I era, these biographical facts show that even the comparatively few women who graduated with a bachelor's degree had limited career aspirations or, perhaps better said, opportunities to realize their dreams; whereas the degree provided the men with an entry into the world of school administration and higher education. Felmley's professionalization of teacher preparation served men far better than women.

§ ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS

The conversion of the normal schools into teachers colleges was coupled elsewhere with the imposition of a high school graduation requirement for admission. When Albany became a teachers college in 1890, it instituted such a standard. Ypsilanti did the same in 1894 for students in its collegiate course but waited until 1913 to extend the requirement to students who intended to teach in the rural schools.⁷⁶

Normal's admission requirements were less stringent, perhaps because many students in the rural portions of the State did not have ready access locally to schools that offered four years of high school work—as late as 1920 nearly three hundred of Illinois' eight hundred high schools still provided only three years of instruction. Tompkins' 1899–1900 revised curriculum had created separate courses of study for graduates of high schools that had been accredited by the University of Illinois (a two-year program), for graduates of the other secondary schools (three years), and for students with only an eighth-grade education (four years).⁷⁷ Only students who started in the first track could thus obtain a bachelor's degree four years after matriculation. The 1905 Lindly Act, which provided a scholarship to one eighth-grade graduate in each township in Illinois to attend one of the State's normal schools, was another attempt to address the problem of limited educational opportunities in rural areas. As long as winners who were over sixteen enrolled in the normal department at the University rather than in the high school, it was impossible to make high school graduation a requirement for admission.⁷⁸

Felmley's report to the Board of Education in Fall 1916 shows how this flexible admission system worked in practice half way through his tenure. He indicated that 77 men and 387 women, 464 students in all, had been admitted that fall to the normal school (he did not differentiate between the normal school and

the teachers college). Of these, eight were college graduates, 308 were graduates of four-year high schools, 26 of three-year high schools, 37 had attended high school for more than two years, 53 had attended high school for less than two years, and 14 were holders of township scholarships—446 students in all.⁷⁹ (He did not account for the other 18 students who had been admitted in the fall. For a professor of mathematics, Felmley had a remarkable capacity to supply figures that do not agree.) The University thus continued, well into the twentieth century, to educate a wide range of students because of the diversity in their prior school preparation.

By 1926 the catalog stated explicitly that course work in the Teachers College, which referred by then to all four years of post-secondary schooling, required “the degree of maturity and scholarship attained [*sic*] by graduates of our best high schools with four-year courses of study. Accordingly the standard curriculums of the Normal University ar pland [*sic*] for students of such preparation.” There was seemingly, however, still some wiggle room because courses of “Junior College rank” were open to “high school graduates and other students of demonstrated equivalent preparation.”⁸⁰ The 1929–30 catalog, the last prepared during Felmley’s presidency, required applicants to provide evidence that they had completed fifteen units of work at an accredited high school, had attended another normal school or college, or had won a township scholarship. Those who had not finished the full high school program of fifteen units and who were under twenty-one were assigned to the University High School; those who were over twenty-one were admitted as unclassified students to the college if they held a teacher’s certificate or had completed two years of high school.

High school graduation became mandatory for all matriculants in the mid-1930s, when 70 percent of all high school aged adolescents in Illinois were continuing their education beyond eighth grade. The 1935 catalog was the last to admit students under the Lindly Act, and the 1936 bulletin was the last to make provisions for unclassified, adult special students. The 1937 catalog was the first to require unequivocally graduation with fifteen credit units from a high school, a written application, a transcript of all secondary school credits, a recommendation from the student’s principal, and official transcripts from all schools the student had attended after high school graduation, whether or not they had graduated from that institution.⁸¹ This 1937 bureaucratization of the admissions process betrays the hand of Raymond Fairchild.

Felmley’s own academic interests and preferences are revealed by the specific high school course work that was required for admission to the University. In 1905 he had attacked, in a speech to the National Education Association, the study of Latin in high schools—no doubt, because of the democratic role he assigned to them—as “useless.” “The place of Latin in our schools,” he said, “is purely traditional since schools are no longer confined to the clergy, and Latin has ceased to be the language of scholars and diplomats . . .” He rejected arguments that a knowledge of Latin aided in the study of the Romance languages or in ascertaining the derivation of English words.⁸²

Instead, befitting Felmley’s own interests in the sciences, all students were required, according to the 1926 catalog, to have taken five of the fifteen units mandated for graduation from a high school in mathematics and the sciences: specifically, one

unit each in algebra, geometry, and physics and half a unit in chemistry, zoology, botany, and "physiografy" (physical geography). In addition, matriculants needed half a unit in civil government, one and a half in history, and three in literature and English composition. The remaining five units could be in any subject that high schools accepted for graduation. There were special provisions for the numerous students who had not completed all of this work, and remedial, non-credit courses were offered to students who demonstrated serious deficiencies in English and arithmetic on examinations they took shortly after their arrival at the University.⁸³ The emphasis on mathematics and the sciences was one of the peculiarities of Normal's admissions requirements during Felmley's regime.

9 CURRICULAR DISARRAY

The curricular disarray in the University's own offerings—the varied lengths of the courses of study, one to four years, and the multiplicity of curriculums and electives—was a response to the marked differences in the matriculants' previous education in a state that was simultaneously highly urbanized and overwhelmingly rural, the need to prepare teachers qualified to teach a wide range of subjects and age groups, and the students' own different career and life goals. Felmley was quite explicit in addressing the National Education Association in 1914 why it was "impracticable" to expect elementary school teachers to take more than two years of course work.

Most of your teachers are young women who will not remain in the work longer than five years . . . Two years is as long a period of special training as we may justly require of people whose teaching career is likely to be short. It is not good economy on the part of the state to provide them at this stage with instruction for a longer period. The normal school should provide additional courses for such experienced teachers as have decided to prepare themselves for long service in the higher walks of the profession, but should not require this work of the rank and file of normal school graduates.⁸⁴

The gender bias is blatant.

A look at the 1926 catalog, when the University had recovered from the worst consequences of World War I, is a vivid illustration of the curricular disarray. There were fifteen different "regular" curriculums, lettered A through N (the fifteenth was E-I that combined agriculture with manual training); but to confuse matters even more, there were also some alternative curriculums within these broader categories—by my count twenty-one curricular alternatives in all. There were ten, lettered two-year curriculums (twenty-four credits) for teachers of the upper grades (junior high), lower grades, kindergarten and the first two primary grades, public-school music combined with English and oral speech, manual training and industrial arts, fine-arts, physical education for women with variant curriculums combining physical education for men with agriculture or manual training, two- and three-year curriculums for teachers of agriculture and science, two- and three-year curriculums for teachers of the commercial branches, and for high-school graduates who "wish(ed) to teach superior country schools." Students who enrolled in the last program could obtain a second-grade certificate and a rating as a Class B teacher after one year; those who completed the second year received a first-grade certificate and were classified as Class A teachers and were granted a special award of \$100 if they taught in a one-room country school.

The University offered a four-year curriculum for teachers of home economics who met the requirements of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, which provided federal funding for vocational education, but also had two-year curriculums for teachers of home economics in the elementary grades and junior high schools. The other four-year curriculums prepared high school teachers, who took different electives in their academic specialty, supervisors and principals of elementary schools, and superintendents and principals. These varied curricular options were designed to prepare students for different types of schools (country, elementary, junior high, and senior high), to teach specific subjects (the vocational component is especially noticeable), and to train administrators. Guiding students with different levels of prior preparation through this multiplicity of options must have been an advising nightmare.

By 1926 the University was no longer differentiating between the normal school and the teachers college, but between the junior and senior colleges within the teachers college, that is, between the first two and last two years of instruction. By my count, again, the University offered during the fall term twenty-nine subject matter electives (“electiv courses” in Felmleyese) in the junior college and twenty-six in the senior college. Since there were three terms during the regular academic year, students had a choice from approximately 165 electives (each elective was seemingly offered only once a year). This number does not include the required professional and other courses. There was no core curriculum, but all the students were required to take physical training each term during their freshman year and the Science of Discourse.

To provide some insight into what courses students actually took, I am duplicating the two-year Curriculum B for teachers of the lower grades (there was a separate curriculum for first and second grade teachers) and the four-year Curriculum K for high school teachers. All the other curricular alternatives had similar templates. Students who enrolled in Curriculum K, that is, teachers of non-vocational high school disciplines like English, were required to select electives in a teaching area in accordance with the State’s high school certification requirements. This usually meant at least nine electives and “such other courses related to his major as ar prescribed by the hed [*sic*] of the department in which the major lies.” To give some sense of the University’s curricular offerings, a future chemistry teacher could select from the following Elective B courses: a course in elementary chemistry and three in general chemistry; and from the following Elective A courses: two in organic chemistry, three in quantitative analysis, one in physiological chemistry, and another in the teaching of chemistry. Prospective English teachers could select at the junior college level: literature method, literary types, history of English literature, history of English Literature and American literature, English poetry, Wordsworth and Milton, junior college Shakespeare, and modern essays and poetry; and at the senior college level: college course in Shakespeare, American poetry, English drama, the English novel, British poetry of the nineteenth century, Browning, American prose of the nineteenth century, and British prose of the nineteenth century. There were additional offerings in the English language. The students did their three terms of observation and practice (“*practis*”) teaching in the University’s training department.⁸⁵ The choice of subject matter electives was probably comparable to what small liberal arts colleges like Illinois Wesleyan taught.

The most striking aspect of the curriculums is the absence of any attempt to provide students with a common general education in the liberal arts and sciences. The focus was on the preparation of teachers who could teach a specific category of students or subject. In 1930 Normal lost its collegiate accreditation for, among other reasons, its failure to offer an integrated curriculum.

Normal was hardly unique in its curricular fragmentation and its emphasis upon preparing teachers for specific vocational slots. A 1924 investigation of the curriculums of 137 state normal schools found that 77 of them offered junior high school curriculums, 73 intermediate, 67 rural school, 54 primary, 47 high school, 44 grammar grade, 36 kindergarten primary, and 24 kindergarten. Eleven schools, still adhering to the nineteenth-century model of preparing generic teachers, provided no curricular specialization. What set Normal apart was that it prepared administrators as well as teachers for all levels. A 1923 study of 33 schools indicated that only five had programs to educate principals and superintendents.⁸⁶ The Bridgewater tradition of preparing both elementary school teachers and professional educators thus remained alive at the University and allowed Normal, unlike Bridgewater, to recruit, as Felmley hoped, some men.

10 THE FACULTY

If, as Edmund James argued in his inaugural address in 1905, good teachers needed to be educated at the next level in the educational hierarchy, for example, high school teachers had to be college graduates,⁸⁷ then it followed, logically, that the faculty at a teachers college could not be, like Felmley, merely college graduates, let alone just recipients of a normal school diploma, but required a postgraduate education. Normal hardly met that standard. In the first decade of the twentieth century, twenty-six men and twenty-five women taught at the University. (Not all of these individuals were on the staff at the same time.) Not surprisingly, men served as president, vice-president, and director of the training school and were concentrated in the normal school. The men included ten professors, one assistant professor, seven training school teachers, and three assistant teachers. Six of the men had normal school diplomas, six bachelor's degrees, ten masters, and four doctorates. There were two women professors, thirteen teachers, and eleven assistant teachers. Of these women, seventeen had normal school diplomas, five

	Curriculum B First Year	
Fall	Winter	Spring
Teaching Process	Elementary Psychology	General Methods
Teaching of Arithmetic in the First Six Grades or Physiology	Principles of Human Geography	Physiology or Teaching of Arithmetic
Reading Poetry*	Primary Reading*	Lower-Grade Geography*
Phonics*	Intermediate Language*	Children's Literature*
Elements of Musical Notation* or "Advanst" Sight Reading*	Primary Drawing*	Primary Music*
Physical Training*	Physical Training*	Physical Training

Second Year		
Fall	Winter	Spring
Economics [^] or Literature Method History Method [^] Primary Handwork* Phonics* Color* or Teaching	School Management Grammar [^] or General Science [^] or Art Appreciation [^] Sociology [^] or Social Psychology [^] Teaching	Nature Study Literature Method or Science of Discourse Playground [^] or Community Problems Teaching or Principles of Education

* Courses counted as half-credits

[^] Electives could be substituted under certain circumstances for these courses.

Curriculum K		
First Year		
Fall	Winter	Spring
Psychology Physiology Physical Training Two Elective Bs	General Method Music [^] Physical Training Two Elective Bs	High School Training Drawing 1 [^] Physical Training Two Elective Bs
Second Year		
Grammar Reading [^] Economics or Elective B	School Management Public Speaking [^] Two Elective Bs	Principles of Education Science of Discourse Two Elective Bs
Third Year		
School Administration Advanced Exposition Elective A or B Elective	Educational Psychology Elective A or B Two Elective As	History of Education Elective A or B Two Elective As
Fourth Year		
Teaching Elective A or B Two Elective As	Teaching Elective A or B Two Elective As	Teaching Elective A or B Two Elective As

[^] Electives could be substituted under certain circumstances.

Elective B courses were underclass courses; Elective A courses were upperclass courses.

bachelor's degrees, three masters, and one a doctorate (Rose Colby). The gender division is striking—men in the normal school proper and women in the training school—and so is the fact that only five of the twelve professors had doctorates.

The situation had improved only marginally by the 1920s. During this decade the University employed 183 individuals, 72 men (39 percent) and 111 women (61 percent); but men continued to predominate at the upper ranks. Excluding the administrators, there were 24 male professors, 15 associates, 26 assistants, and 23 instructors. In contrast, there were four female professors, two associates, 30 assistants, and 93 instructors. The men were more likely than the women who taught in the training school to have postgraduate degrees, but the faculty's academic credentials were unimpressive. Seven of the men had normal school diplomas, 24 bachelor's degrees, 41 masters, and six doctorates. The highest credential of 17 of the women was a normal school diploma, whereas 53 had a bachelor's degree, 37 a masters, and four a doctorate. Nearly a third of the faculty—22 men and 35 women—had attended or graduated from the University.⁸⁸ John Kinneman suggested that because Felmley was largely self-taught, he gave little credence to academic credentials. He was impressed by a person's ability to teach and not by their research.⁸⁹

The most surprising change in the 1920s was the first very tentative steps to diversify the faculty. Felmley hired a succession of Latin Americans as instructors of Spanish: Hugo Varela (1921–23), Amalia Gonzalez Casanueva (1923–24), Alejandro Rivadeneira Hawkins (1925–27), Olga Rios (1927–28), and Pilar Montero (1928–29). Varela, at least, was paid \$800 a year as a part-time instructor while he pursued advanced studies in English and Education. The reason for these hires was, presumably, a desire to expose students to a native Spanish speaker. Felmley may also have hired the University's first Jewish faculty member, Ruth Rae Finkelstein, the holder of bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Chicago, to teach French from 1922 to 1924.⁹⁰

II ACCREDITATION

The faculty's academic credentials were of crucial importance in procuring the University's accreditation as a full-fledged college, a process controlled by the University of Illinois. Normal along with Carbondale received its initial accreditation in 1913, DeKalb and Charleston followed in 1915, and Illinois Wesleyan procured its in 1916.⁹¹ Urbana reported in 1917 that it had been working for two years on the standards for accrediting colleges in Illinois but had made only tentative ratings.⁹² According to the standards set by the University of Illinois in 1922, a fully accredited college (Class A) had to have at least 100 students of college grade, at least 25 percent of whom were enrolled in the junior and senior years (in 1928 Normal had 160 juniors and seniors, 12 percent of the total enrollment); require at least 14 units of high school work for admission; set a graduation requirement of 120 semester hours of college-level work; and have at least “eight distinct departments in liberal arts and sciences.” Most crucially, the standards called for “(a) minimum educational attainment of all college teachers of academic subjects equivalent to graduation from a college of high grade and graduate work equal to that required for the master's degree at the University of Illinois.”

Not surprisingly, the University of Chicago and Northwestern, but also such schools as Eureka and Knox were listed in 1922 as Class A institutions. Illinois Wesleyan, Milliken, and the senior college at Normal were classified as Class B colleges, that is, “institutions which approximate the standard set for Class A but fall short of it in certain particulars,” such as “one or two professors in its faculty with no preparation beyond the baccalaureate degree.” The four other state teachers colleges were not even rated as Class C institutions that fell “short in more important particulars of the standards set for Class A.” They, along with Normal’s junior college, were accredited by the Illinois Department of Public Instruction as normal schools that offered two-year programs.⁹³ These rankings were crucial because the University of Illinois conferred graduate standing only to graduates of Class A colleges. Graduates of Class B colleges like Normal’s senior college were admitted conditionally with credit for eight to sixteen hours, though such conditions could be waived in the case of a superior student.⁹⁴

Problems with the University’s accreditation first surfaced in 1927–28. In that academic year the North Central Association, inexplicably, listed Charleston and Macomb among its accredited colleges and universities but classified Normal, Carbondale, and DeKalb as institutions that existed primarily for the training of teachers.

The standards for accrediting faculty in normal schools were less stringent than those for their colleagues in liberal arts colleges. The American Council on Education had determined in 1924 that faculty members at teachers colleges, except for teachers of such special subjects as music that were taught in elementary schools and the assistants in the training schools, needed a bachelor’s degree and at least one year of graduate work “or special training supplemented by experience, preferably of at least three years.” Department heads in institutions with a four-year curriculum were required to have a doctorate. It added: “A degree-giving institution should be judged in large part by the ratio which the number of persons of professorial rank with sound training, scholarly achievement, and successful experience as teachers bears to the total number of the teaching staff.” However, this standard was not to be applied retroactively. North Central expected that all faculty of professorial rank in a teachers college have at least two years of study beyond the bachelor’s degree in their field, “presumably including the master’s degree,” and that department heads have a doctorate. Normal hardly met these standards in the late 1920s.

In 1928 North Central voted to terminate the special classification for teachers colleges by 1931, a deadline that was later extended to 1933, and to require them to meet the same criteria for accreditation as other colleges.⁹⁵ It was presumably in response to this directive that the Normal School Board established in 1928, as we have already seen, its minimum requirements for promotion that were to go into effect in 1931. The 1929–30 catalog indicates that at least eight faculty members—Frank W. Westhoff,^{**} Clyde Hudelson,^{††} Ralph Linkins,^{‡‡} Frank

^{**} The Westhoff Theater in Centennial was named for him in 1959. Westhoff (1863–1938) ran the University’s music program from 1901 to 1934.

^{††} The Hudelson Museum of Agriculture was named for him in 1959. He was the head of the Department of Agriculture from 1920 to 1957.

^{‡‡} Linkins Dining Center in Tri-Towers was named in 1963 for Linkins, who had been the dean of men for nearly thirty years.

Sorenson, Olive Barton,⁵⁵ Jessie Rambo,^{***} George Palmer, and Clarence Cross—had been demoted from professors to associates, presumably because they fell short of the more stringent standards.⁹⁶

The Association reported in 1930 that Normal had been dropped from the list of accredited colleges and universities—it had seemingly regained that status after 1927–28—and that the school had been placed once more on the teacher training list. North Central gave the following cryptic reasons for the demotion: "(a) Faculty preparation (b) Integration of curricula (c) Administration (d) Percentage of juniors and seniors."⁹⁷ Many faculty members clearly lacked, as we have seen, the requisite graduate education; the curriculum was a hodgepodge of multiple courses of studies for different classifications of teachers and administrators; and juniors and seniors comprised only 12 percent rather than minimum 25 percent of the student body. When David Felmley died on January 24, 1930, after a prolonged illness and three months after the stock market crash heralded the onslaught of the Great Depression, the future of the University as a teachers college was thus once again in doubt.

Felmley presided over the most difficult decades in the University's history. The simultaneous emergence of the high school and the research university in the late nineteenth century had called into question the normal schools' role as "people's colleges" that provided men and women of humble origins with a secondary education. The problem was particularly acute for Normal because it had occupied until the 1890s a unique position in the educational hierarchy of Illinois without parallel in other states. The transformation of the University of Illinois into a real state university ended Normal's statewide educational leadership. Urbana received a disproportionate share of the State's financial resources, and the normal schools were by 1920 in financial distress. Felmley recognized, earlier than most of his peers, most notably John Cook at DeKalb, that if the normal schools were to survive, they needed to become four-year collegiate institutions that prepared high school teachers. Felmley led that fight both in Illinois and nationally, and the General Assembly authorized Normal in 1907 to grant strictly professional bachelor's degrees. The inadequate preparation of many of the matriculants and the continued need for elementary school teachers in the rural portions of the State meant, however, that the senior college remained, even at the end of the president's tenure, a small component of the University.

Felmley's passionate commitment to democracy was both his greatest strength and his greatest weakness. He was an ardent defender of academic freedom, even when it was dangerous during the Red Scare after World War I; and he was the first president to take even modest steps to diversify the faculty. He argued that teachers colleges that recruited students from a less privileged background rather than the more elite liberal arts colleges and universities were the appropriate venue for training secondary school teachers because he believed that high schools should educate all the citizens of the State and not be simply college preparatory institutions. It was an encompassing, egalitarian vision for the future of the United States.

⁵⁵ Barton Hall was named for her in 1953. Barton, an alumna, taught social psychology and had served as the first dean of women from 1911 until her retirement in 1943.

^{***} Rambo House was named for her in 1939. She taught home economics.

But Felmley's commitment to the utilitarian function of education blinded him to the fact that "man shall not live by bread alone." In spite of the wide range of his personal interests, most famously his commitment to simplified spelling, he had a narrow view of what constituted the proper education of a teacher, though he was hardly unique in his disdain for a general education in the liberal arts. That attitude alienated the teachers colleges from the mainstream of American intellectual and academic life and in the case of Normal threatened in 1930 its collegiate accreditation.

Even worse, professionalism for Felmley and other educators meant the subordination and exclusion of women as can be seen in the composition of both the student body and the faculty. The construction of Fell Hall as a woman's dormitory was symbolic of the decline in the status of women. Until then, women like men had boarded in the community. The opening of Fell in 1918 allowed the University to exert a degree of control over women's private lives it had not exercised before, though it must be stressed that the majority of women continued to live off campus.⁹⁸ For most women attendance at Normal was a way station to marriage rather than a lifelong career, and thus Felmley argued it was a waste of the State's resources to provide them with a four-year education.

After the brief but crucial interlude of the failed presidency of Harry Brown, the Board hired in 1933 a professional administrator, Raymond Fairchild, to address the shortcomings revealed by the 1930 accreditation report. He equated his own beliefs and moral values with professionalism. Adherence to Fairchild's creed caused the University to be slow to grasp that the next step in realizing Felmley's vision for a truly democratic society was the conversion of Normal into a multi-purpose University that provided all the citizens of Illinois with an opportunity to attain a post-secondary education.

ENDNOTES

1. This is the title of the tenth chapter of Marshall's *Grandest of Enterprises*. She joined the faculty in 1935, five years after Felmley's death, when memories of him would still have been strong.

2. Fairchild in his 1932 examination of administrative practices in seventy teachers colleges in thirty-three states, "Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges," pp. 65–68, concluded that most presidents had considerable autonomy in administering their schools.

3. For more information on Felmley's ancestry and career, see Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 260–76; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 228–46.

4. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," pp. 158, 213.

5. Fairchild, "Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges," pp. 52–63.

6. Quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 264.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 263–64; *Bloomington Daily Bulletin*, October 23, 1896; Biles, *Illinois*, pp. 141–42; Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," p. 228; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 230. Marshall says that Felmley incurred the wrath of the Democratic governor, John Peter Altgeld, but offers no documentation. All the evidence Harper cites clearly refers to Altgeld's Republican successor Tanner. Mark Wynan, who informed me about the reference to Felmley's speech in the *Bulletin*, pointed out that Altgeld had opposed Bryan's nomination for the presidency; so it is conceivable that Altgeld was angered by Felmley's activities on Bryan's behalf, but Marshall cites no evidence that this was the case.

8. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 176.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 264.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

11. Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, pp. 312–13.

12. Quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 264–65.

13. Andrew Eric Dinniman, "Academic Freedom at West Chester: The Controversy of 1927,"

unpublished Ed.D. dissertation (Pennsylvania State University, 1978); and Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," pp. 99–152. According to a letter Kinneman's daughter, Constance K. Roudebush, sent to Mark Wyman in 2006: "Dr. Felmley never interviewed Dad in person. He had read about Dad's case in the *New Republic*!" It seems likely, however, that Pennsylvania's superintendent of public instruction, John A. H. Keith, Class of 1894, Felmley's former student and his lifelong friend, had brought the Kinneman case to Felmley's attention. Kinneman indicates that Keith did not support him during the controversy at West Chester (p. 124), but heartily recommended that Felmley hire Kinneman after two women faculty members had brought the case to the president's attention (p. 142). Since Keith and Felmley were close, it is possible that they had already been corresponding about a case that had attracted national attention.

14. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," p. 146.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 241–48; *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, December 21, 1931*, pp. 12–14; and Hayter, *Education in Transition*, p. 261. On Schroeder, see Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 12–13, n. 14.

16. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," p. 148. Elsewhere (p. 138), he writes: "In the early thirties—long before the era of McCarthy in the post-war period—I was interviewed by a reporter from a Hearst paper in Chicago, through arrangements made by President Fairchild, in order to ferret out my 'subversion.'"

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 305–07; and Hayter, *Education in Transition*, pp. 260–61.

18. *Annual Catalog*, April 1919, inside of front cover; Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 304–05; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 242–44 (quotations are on pp. 243–44). A modified version of the system appears in Harper's *A Century of Public Teacher Education*, which includes such words as "thorones" (p. 131), "highschool" (p. 132), and "subjectmatter" (p. 136).

19. Walter Philip Krolikowski, "Arnold Tompkins: Midwest Philosopher and Educator," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Illinois, 1965), p. 337.

20. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 176–77, 290.

21. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois at the Regular Meeting Held at Normal, December 20, 1905* (Springfield, 1906), p. 5; *Proceedings . . . December 21, 1910* (Springfield, 1910), p. 7; and *Proceedings . . . December 15, 1915* (no date), p. 5. The way Felmley reported enrollments is indicative of how much the normal department and high school continued to be overlapping entities.

22. *Thirty-Second Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, July 1, 1916–June 30, 1918* (no place or date), p. 382.

23. Jo Ann Rayfield, "The Impact of World Wars on the Experience of Women on the Campus at Illinois State Normal University," unpublished paper delivered at the Illinois History Symposium, Illinois State University, February 16, 2007, pp. 1–6.

24. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 292–94, 298.

25. *Proceedings of the Board of Education of the State of Illinois at the Regular Meeting Held at Normal, December 21, 1904* (Springfield, 1905), pp. 7–8.

26. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 340.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 344; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 241.

28. Clyde W. Hudelson, "The University Farm," *Teacher Education* 19 (December 1956): 22–24.

29. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 254–55.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 259, 315.

31. Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 326–332; quotation is on pp. 326–27. See also Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 138–39, n. 90, and pp. 175–77. To get some sense of the growing disparity between Normal's and Urbana's state funding, the General Assembly voted in 1913 to give Urbana the proceeds from a one-mill tax, whose proceeds amounted to \$4.5 million dollars for the biennium. Swanson, "Edmund J. James," pp. 232–35.

32. Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 278; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 277–78 and 284–85. I am grateful to Jo Ann Rayfield for providing me with the construction costs of McCormick and Felmley. She also pointed out that it cost \$4.76 a square foot to build McCormick, but when it was remodeled in 1963, the cost of the 17,284 square feet that were added to the structure was \$28.12 a square foot. Felmley cost \$6.78 per square foot.

33. *Thirty-Third Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, p. 493. I want to thank Professor Raymond Cohn of the Economics Department for providing me with the figures on inflation. The severe postwar recession in 1920–21 caused a sharp drop in prices, which then remained relatively stable during the 1920s, only to fall even more during the Depression. This explains why prices rose only 98 percent between 1900 and 1930 but 138 percent between 1900 and 1920.

34. *Thirty-Second Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, pp. 380–82.

35. See above, Chapter Two, p. 0.

36. Harper, *Development of the State Teachers College in the United States*, p. 280.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 291–92.

38. *Proceedings of the Board of Education, December 16, 1908*, pp. 14, 22.

39. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, October 15, 1928*, pp. 36–37.

40. Hayter, *Education in Transition*, p. 244. The proposed plan is summarized in *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, April 7, 1939*, pp. 4–13.

41. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 271, n. 78. The staff of the McLean County Historical Society has not been able to ascertain when this alleged train wreck occurred, and I wonder if the story is not in fact apocryphal, a story that Marshall was told as a new faculty member.
42. Solberg, *The University of Illinois, 1894–1904*, p. 38; and Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, p. 102.
43. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 234–35, 260, 265–67.
44. Felmley, “The New Normal School Movement,” pp. 410, 414. See Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, pp. 147–49.
45. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, p. 172.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
47. Quoted by Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, pp. 22–23.
48. Quoted by Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 274–75.
49. Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, p. 12; Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, pp. 173–74; Rudolph, *The American College and University*, pp. 282–84; and Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867–1894*, pp. 130–31. For a list of the high schools in 1924 that were accredited in Illinois by the State Department of Education and accepted by the University of Illinois, see Frank M. Phillips, “Accredited Secondary Schools in the United States,” Department of the Interior: Bureau of Education, Bulletin 11 (1925), pp. 18–23. Several of the high schools were identified as being for colored students.
50. Quoted by Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, pp. 20–21.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 21; and Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 61–63.
52. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 67–69, 87–88, 93–94, 101, 116–18, 133–34, 143 (Dexter quotation).
53. Quoted by Swanson, “Edmund J. James,” pp. 199–200.
54. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 148–49, 164–87, and 226–30 (Kinley quotation is on p. 230). See also Swanson, “Edmund J. James,” pp. 196–204.
55. Felmley, “The New Normal School Movement,” pp. 409–15.
56. Quoted by Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 315.
57. Quoted by Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 158–59.
58. Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, pp. 165–69 (quotation is on p. 168).
59. Felmley, “The New Normal School Movement,” pp. 413–14.
60. Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education*, pp. 135–37; and Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, pp. 38–39, 42–43 (quotations are on p. 39). Cedar Falls initiated a four-year college program in 1904 and became Iowa State Teachers College in 1909. Three years later North Central accredited it as a college. However, in 1912 the Iowa State Board of Education prohibited Cedar Falls from offering work beyond the sophomore year, but reversed itself in 1913. Like Felmley, President Homer Seerley believed that a liberal arts education should be technical, what was “absolutely essential to the making of a thoroughly competent, self-sacrificing teacher,” and not general or preparatory. See Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, pp. 138–39, 154–56 (quotation is on p. 136).
61. Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 309, 321 (quotation is on p. 321).
62. *Proceedings of the Board of Education, December 19, 1906*, pp. 10–11.
63. Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 321–23 (quotation is on p. 322); and Hayter, *Education in Transition*, pp. 146–47. In 1933 Blair wrote in a letter to the Very Reverend John W. R. Maguire, the president of St. Viator College in Bourbonnais: “At the time these laws [the 1907 act] were passed, I was not friendly to it. I felt that the schools should continue to devote their entire time to the preparation of elementary school teachers.” *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, April 5, 1933*, p. 22.
64. *Laws of the State of Illinois Enacted by the Forty-Fifth General Assembly*, p. 522 (Charleston), p. 524 (DeKalb), and pp. 527–28 (Carbondale and Normal).
65. Quoted by Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 323. On the negative attitude toward the liberal arts, see Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, p. 203. Fairchild, “Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges,” p. 34, examined in 1932 the practices of seventy teachers colleges, including Normal, and found that twenty-nine granted a bachelor of arts, twenty-seven a bachelor of science, nineteen a bachelor of science in education, and thirteen a bachelor of education.
66. *Proceedings of the Board of Education, June 3, 1908*, pp. 11–12.
67. *Twenty-Seventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, July 1, 1906–June 30, 1908* (Springfield, 1909), pp. 166, 178, 184, 190; Hayter, *Education in Transition*, p. 147; and Eli G. Lentz, *Seventy-Five Years in Retrospect: From Normal School to Teachers College to University: Southern Illinois University 1874–1949* (Carbondale, 1955), pp. 57–59.
68. Fairchild, “Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges,” pp. 30–31.
69. *Annual Catalog, 1907–1908*, p. 15.
70. *Fifty-Ninth Annual Catalog with Announcements for 1917–18*, p. 16.

71. *Proceedings of the Board of Education, December 20, 1916*, p. 5.
72. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, February 6, 1929*, p. 13; and *May 6, 1929*, p. 37.
73. I am grateful to Nancy Kauth for compiling this information for me. It is based on the 1927 alumni register: "Alumni Register, Illinois State Normal University 1860-1927," *Normal School Quarterly* 22 (July 1927): 5-362.
74. Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, p. 57.
75. Nancy Kauth compiled this information from the 1927 "Alumni Register." In May 1923 Felmley reported to the Board that the University had conferred 167 degrees since 1908. All but four of the recipients had taught. One of the non-teachers was at the University of Chicago, the second in government service, the third was in business, and the fourth had been killed by lightning. However, twenty-one of those who had gone into teaching were no longer employed in that fashion. Fourteen, presumably women, had married; one was a missionary; one a librarian; one a YWCA secretary; four were in government service; and another had died. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, May 7, 1923*, p. 26.
76. Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, p. 34.
77. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 253.
78. See Chapter Two, pp. 00.
79. *Proceedings of the Board of Education, December 20, 1916*, p. 6.
80. *Annual Catalog*, April 1926, pp. 23-24.
81. I wish to thank Dana Pertermann for compiling for me the graduation requirements from the University catalogs.
82. Quoted by Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 274-75.
83. *Annual Catalog*, April 1926, p. 21.
84. Quoted by Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, p. 338.
85. *Annual Catalog*, April 1926, pp. 24-26, 30, 43-46, 70-71, 82-83, 110. For a discussion of the curriculum in this period, see Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 337-52.
86. Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, p. 46.
87. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, p. 135.
88. I am grateful to Jason Kaplan for compiling these statistics. They are based on the faculty listings in the annual catalogs.
89. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," p. 151.
90. Four of the five Latin American hires had attended the University of Chile, so there may have been some reciprocal arrangement. On Varela, see *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, November 14, 1921*, p. 15. Pilar Montero was hired in 1928 as a part-time instructor for \$855. She had taught for ten years at the Spanish-English School in Lima; she was, allegedly, twenty-five. *Proceedings, May 21, 1928*, p. 42. Jason Kaplan and I are guessing on the basis of her name that Ms. Finkelstein may have been Jewish. Moses Montefiore Temple in Bloomington does not have a record of her membership. In 1925 the University hired Esther Rosenberg, who had a bachelor of science degree from the University of Wisconsin, as an instructor in physical education. Again, using names as a guide, Ms. Rosenberg may have been Jewish. A woman with that name was a member of the synagogue from 1912 until at least 1925, but the ISNU instructor appears to have lived previously in Detroit and Madison, so it is doubtful that we are dealing with the same person. I wish to thank Linda Unterman, the synagogue's librarian, for her assistance in trying to track down these individuals.
91. Theresa Birch Wilkins, *Accredited Higher Institutions 1964*, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington, 1964), p. 16.
92. Samuel Paul Capen, *Accredited Higher Institutions*, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin 17 (Washington, 1917), pp. 13-14.
93. George F. Zook, *Accredited Higher Institutions*, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin 30 (Washington, 1922), pp. 11-21, 45-47.
94. Harper, *The Development of the Teachers College in the United States*, pp. 333-34; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 275-76. Harper presents Urbana's stance in the context of its discrimination against the teachers colleges, but Urbana's policy also excluded the graduates of liberal arts colleges that did not meet its standards for accreditation.
95. Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, pp. 90-91.
96. Jason Kaplan obtained this information by examining the faculty listings in the catalogs of Illinois State Normal University. They were listed as associate professors in the Board minutes for June 25, 1929, but I could not find any indication how this demotion was handled. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, June 25, 1929*, p. 7. Similarly, they were identified in the 1928-30 biennial report of the state superintendent of public instruction as associate professors, but the report is silent both about the circumstances of their demotion and the problem of accreditation. However, in 1930 three younger associates were being recommended for sabbaticals for three successive summers so they could do graduate work. Dean Schroeder explained that since they did not have a year of graduate work beyond the master's degree as was required by the new schedule for appointment as associate professors, they

were in danger of being demoted to assistants. *Proceedings, January 16, 1930*, p. 8. So faculty ranks were being adjusted to fit the Board's schedule.

97. George E Zook, "Proceedings of the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education. I. Report of the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education as Approved by the Executive Committee and the Association," *The North Central Association Quarterly* 5 (1930): p. 67. Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, pp. 90–91 indicates that in 1928 forty-eight institutions were listed by North Central as teacher-training institutions, whereas eleven were included among the regular colleges. I have not been able to locate that list, but Normal's 1930 demotion suggests that it had been among the eleven in 1928.

98. On this point, see Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, p. 207.



Section Three

A TEACHERS COLLEGE, 1900-1963

Chapter 7 THE ROOSEVELT YEARS

The immediate problem the Normal School Board faced after Felmley's death was regaining the University's accreditation, and Harry Alvin Brown (1930–33) appeared to be the right choice for doing so. Thanks to his efforts, North Central restored the University's Class A rating in March 1931, though other problems with accreditation remained;¹ but Brown was forced to resign when the Board learned that he had falsified the credentials of a woman faculty member whom he had hired. The Board's next choice, Raymond W. Fairchild (1933–55), had just graduated from a special program at Northwestern to prepare administrators for teachers colleges, a valuable asset for the president of an institution that had been cited for its administrative deficiencies. He applied to the management of the University many of the best administrative practices he had identified in writing his dissertation about the improvement of teacher preparation at state teachers colleges.

Crucial as the issue of accreditation was for the future of the University, the problem that overshadowed all others was the economic crisis. The full impact of the Great Depression did not become apparent in Illinois until the winter of 1930–31. The University's already inadequate budget was cut 14 percent during the 1933–35 biennium. Most of the savings came from salaries, which comprised about 80 percent of the University's direct appropriation. Salaries were cut 10 percent and were not restored to their pre-1933 levels until 1937, two years later than at the other state teachers colleges. Purchases were sharply curtailed, maintenance deferred, and capital improvements canceled. Old Main teetered on the verge of collapse. Students lived in penury. It was not until 1935 that things began to improve, in part due to federal funds that permitted the employment of students and the construction of Rambo House and the original Milner Library, now Williams Hall.

At the same time enrollments grew dramatically—from 1,272 in Fall, 1929 to 1,858 in 1935, a 46 percent increase. Attendance in both the high schools and the teachers colleges soared in the 1930s because of the lack of employment opportunities. The teachers colleges were especially attractive because students who signed the pledge to teach for three years in Illinois paid no tuition and because the public schools, though hard pressed financially, needed more teachers to educate the larger number of adolescents who remained in school. More men saw teaching again as a viable career option, and the number of men at the University grew in both absolute and relative terms. To deal with the influx, the University capped enrollments, initiated for the first time a selective admissions policy, and resisted demands that it offer a non-teacher preparatory program in the liberal arts. Thus, Brown and Fairchild wrestled in the 1930s with the conundrum of educating more students with less money.

Enrollments had started to drop before the United States declared war and fell precipitously after Pearl Harbor, but the decline in enrollments had less of a financial impact than in World War I because aviators and naval officers were trained on campus and because the University's facilities were utilized to prepare workers for the defense industry. In addition, Fairchild argued successfully that

the decrease in regular student registration meant that the faculty could initiate programs in graduate and special education at no initial additional cost to the State; and instruction in both areas began during the momentous summer of 1944.

In short, Franklin D. Roosevelt's twelve-year presidency (1933–45) altered the relationship between the federal government and higher education. Until 1933 teachers colleges like the Normal University, unlike the land grant schools, had virtually no contact with Washington. Federal funding helped the University deal with the economic crisis and to keep functioning during the war. After 1945 the GI Bill and Sputnik would change forever Washington's relations with Normal.

7 A SCANDAL IN NORMAL

Dean Herman Schroeder, who had assumed Felmley's duties during his final illness, became the acting president after his death. There were several local candidates, including Robert Guy Buzzard, Class of 1914, the head of the Geography Department, who subsequently succeeded Livingston Lord as the president of Eastern (1933–56). However, Francis G. Blair, a Normal alumnus, who as the superintendent of public instruction had the greatest say in the choice, preferred someone not associated with the University, preferably a person from outside Illinois. William R. Bach, the resident board member, declared publicly "the Governor [Louis L. Emmerson] asked me to help clean up the normal schools." While John Kinneman thought that Bach might have been referring to the conservative Republican's displeasure with Felmley's defense of a faculty member with unorthodox political and religious views, it is possible that the governor was concerned with the problem of the colleges' accreditation. Be that as it may, the Board chose, after reviewing the applications of thirty-six candidates, Harry Alvin Brown.

Brown appeared to be the right choice to regain Normal's accreditation. A native of Maine, he had earned a bachelor's degree at Bates and a master's at the University of Colorado. As the president of Oshkosh, he had guided since 1917 its transformation from a two-year normal school to a teachers college fully accredited by North Central. The American Association of Teachers Colleges had adopted the accreditation standards for teachers colleges he had drafted, and in 1932 Brown became the president of that organization. Marshall, who was not yet at Normal during his presidency, describes him as aloof. Less charitably, Kinneman, who served under Brown, depicts him, cattily, as a yes man who "[i]n his short tenure of three years . . . gave no evidence of having read any books, except, possibly, tomes filled with educational jargon."²

The new president set out immediately to address the curricular deficiencies North Central had identified and that Schroeder had already sought to remedy. One of the examiners had indicated, Brown informed the Board in November 1930, that Normal's entrance requirements with their emphasis on course work in the sciences—one of Felmley's pet hobbyhorses—were "in some particulars . . . more excessive than those of any other similar institution in the United States." No less than 491 out of 698 new students had entered the preceding year with deficiencies, and parents were complaining about the extra time and money it took to earn a degree at Normal compared to the University of Illinois and other teachers colleges that had the customary collegiate entry requirements.

The new admission requirements that went into effect with the 1931–32 catalog still called for three units of English, but instead of asking for five prescribed units in mathematics and the sciences and one and a half units of history, students needed only two units in two of the following categories: mathematics, foreign languages, laboratory science, and history. The remaining eight units could be chosen from a long list of electives. Following the example of “many progressive colleges and universities,” Normal dropped in 1937, under Fairchild’s leadership, all “specific requirements in academic credits.”³

While Brown was changing the admissions requirements, he began consulting with groups of faculty about possible changes in the curriculum. He was not yet ready in the autumn of 1931 to make any recommendations for adjustments, but he pointed out to the Board that “the curricula of any teachers’ college need[ed] to be brought into line with the general development which is going on throughout the country.” He also indicated that several school systems, especially in the larger cities in the State, were making provisions for teaching children with a variety of disabilities; and he proposed the creation of courses for preparing the teachers of these children. Although the budgetary crisis made it impossible to implement his suggestions, Brown was the first person to see the need for a special education program at the University.⁴

Early in his presidency Brown began considering an administrative reorganization that had implications for the curriculum as well. Teachers colleges tended to become, he said, “over-departmentalized.” It would be more “functional” to group small academic departments into divisions headed by directors. For example, a Division of Elementary Education would include the teachers in the relevant academic subjects, the critic teachers, and the elementary school component of the training school. Organized in such a fashion, the faculty would be more inclined, he maintained, to discuss “the training of a single type of teacher,” whereas members of a department tended to focus on the specific subject matter. Inspired by the example of President Robert Maynard Hutchins of the University of Chicago (president 1929–45; chancellor 1945–51), Brown had introduced such a scheme at Oshkosh. While Hutchins had been satisfied with only four divisions, the new administrative system that appeared in the 1931–32 catalog consisted of thirteen divisions defined by the type of teacher it was intended to prepare: for example, rural education, secondary education, commerce education, or health and sports education. The primacy of the professional over the academic component in this organizational structure is readily apparent.

Felmley’s alphabet of curriculums disappeared and was replaced by a four-year course of study. Previously students who had been enrolled in a two- or three-year curriculum and who desired a bachelor’s degree had been forced to transfer to Curriculum K for general high school teachers. (Curriculum K is outlined in the preceding chapter.) The underlying assumption of the new system was, presciently, that four years of collegiate preparation were normative for future teachers. Students who desired only a two-year diploma simply took the first two years of the appropriate curriculum. Kinneman scoffed at Brown’s “grandiose administrative scheme,” which if it had not been “so tragically wasteful and so extremely unnecessary,” might at least have been a source of amusement. Upon becoming president in 1933, Fairchild immediately recognized the need for adjustments; and, except for the Division of Elementary Education, the forerunner

of the present Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Brown's organizational structure was allowed to erode with time. Amusing or not, Brown's curricular and administrative changes were sufficient to procure the restoration of the University's A rating by North Central in March 1931.⁵ Normal's quick reaccreditation was Brown's greatest accomplishment.

However, serious problems with the faculty's level of preparation and teaching loads remained. If North Central had been satisfied, the other accrediting agency, the American Association of Teachers Colleges, whose standards Brown had written, was not. The latter association specified that a critic teacher was to supervise no more than nine student teachers a year, each of whom was to teach an hour a day or 180 hours a year. The standard load for a critic teacher was thus a yearly 1,620 hours, but during the 1929–30 school year the critic teachers' loads at Normal had been, respectively, 1,914, 1,872, 2,580, 2,880, 3,000, 1,860, 3,870, and 4,080 hours! Many of the regular faculty taught twenty hours a week rather than the prescribed maximum of sixteen. In March 1931 the Teachers College Association threatened to give the University a Class B rating in the 1932–33 school year if it did meet the Association's standards for the ratio between students and critic teachers.

Brown proposed to the Board in May that, to remedy this deficiency, the University hire, starting in September 1931, a head of the entire training school with the status of dean and three supervisors of student teaching. Their annual salaries, \$4,500 for the dean and \$3,000 for each of the supervisors, would be paid largely from the revolving fund, the money the University collected on campus and deposited in Springfield. The new hires would also teach education in the Teachers College in order "to unify instruction in the methods in the college and the practice of teaching as carried on in the training school." He stressed that there was no intention to discontinue the services of any of the existing staff; rather the new employees were meant to provide the necessary additional faculty.⁶

The implementation of this plan was the cause of Brown's undoing. The hiring of the new staff necessitated changes in responsibilities at the training school that occurred, according to Marshall, "without consent or consultation with teachers who had established reputations in certain fields and courses. These changes made deep wounds which were slow to heal." The women in question were long-time teachers in the training school who possessed only normal school diplomas. Among them was Lura Eyestone (1872–1965),* Class of 1892, who had been a third-grade supervising teacher since 1901.⁷

Brown's most controversial hire was the primary supervisor, Ruperta N. Smith, whose salary was fixed at \$3,600. The president told the Board in January 1931, several months before he presented his staffing plan, that she had been for the past thirteen years a professor of elementary education and director of the division of elementary education at Oshkosh. She had, he said, both a bachelor's and master's degree from Oshkosh and a diploma in normal school supervision from Columbia's Teachers College. He called her "the strongest woman of my acquaintance in primary education." Although there had been rumors that Brown had "favorites" at Oshkosh and was likely to bring them to Normal, Smith's apparent competence allayed initially the faculty's fears.⁸

*The rural education museum, "The Eyestone School," was named in her honor in 1963.

Edwin A. Turner, who had been the director of the training school since 1907, feared that Smith had been hired as his successor. He was replaced, however, in the fall of 1931 by Frank S. Salisbury, who had, unlike Turner, a Ph.D., though the latter was assured he could teach courses in school administration. Then in the spring of 1933 two other senior professors who lacked doctorates were threatened with termination. Perhaps Brown felt that meeting the accrediting standards set by the external agencies justified their dismissal. Since these elderly teachers had little hope at the height of the Depression of procuring comparable positions elsewhere, unnamed younger colleagues with the assistance of an unidentified board member came to their assistance.

The younger men pursued earlier reports from faculty members at Oshkosh who had ties to Normal that Brown had behaved there in a highhanded and duplicitous manner. Inquiries revealed that Smith had never been a student at Oshkosh and that a transcript indicating that she had earned sixty-four hours of college credit, which had been sent by Oshkosh to Columbia, had been signed not by the registrar but by Brown himself. He had thus lied to Columbia as well as to the Board about her credentials.

Criticisms of Brown's administration had reached the Board by June 1933, and it appointed a subcommittee to investigate. On June 24 seven members of the faculty, including Turner, Kinneman, and Charles Harper, presented C. M. Bardwell, the chair of the investigating committee, with the incriminating evidence about Smith's hiring and threatened to inform the Associated Press if the Board failed to act. Since faculty members could not be absent from campus without the president's permission, Bardwell ordered them in writing to meet with the Board in Springfield on June 26. Convening in executive session the Board asked for Brown's resignation, effective immediately, and granted him a two-month paid leave of absence. Herman Schroeder was once again named acting president and authorized to terminate faculty members "as he thought the best interest of the school demanded." Both Salisbury and Smith resigned.⁹ Brown's actions on Smith's behalf were clearly wrong, but the faculty, with the connivance of at least one board member, may have used her questionable hire to rid themselves of a president who "undertook an academic revolution during an economic depression."¹⁰

2 A PROFESSIONAL ADMINISTRATOR

There was some sentiment on campus and in the community that the hardworking and conscientious Schroeder, who had taught education and psychology at the University since 1913 and who "prided himself," according to Marshall, "on his virtues of thrift, promptness, and accuracy," be named the permanent president. Both *The Pantagraph* and the *Normalite* endorsed his selection.¹¹ Kinneman, who unlike Marshall was on campus in the early '30s, says in his memoir that Schroeder's candidacy enjoyed little support among his colleagues, though he tried to ingratiate himself with the faculty, and gives a darker twist to Schroeder's virtues. He had "a mercurial temper" and was, according to Kinneman, "orderly and unimaginative . . . In his judgment, deviation from the established order was a kind of cardinal sin. For him, variations in procedure created vast 'difficulties,' of which he spoke frequently."

One of these "difficulties," which Schroeder liked to relate, had occurred when a black woman was, "inadvertently," admitted to Fell Hall; and Schroeder had

to explain to her “irate” mother why her daughter needed to find housing off campus. When some black students showed up in the spring of 1930 at a dance sponsored by the sophomore class, Schroeder directed the class officers to escort them out, ostensibly because they “had not gone through the receiving line.” A grant from the Student Activity Fund allowed the African American students to host thereafter, according to Kinneman, a separate dance.¹²

Schroeder was not the only candidate for the presidency, but the lot finally fell on October 9, 1933, upon Raymond Wilber Fairchild. He was already familiar with the community because his father, a Methodist minister, had been a professor at Illinois Wesleyan, which Fairchild had briefly attended before obtaining bachelor’s and master’s degrees in Biology from the University of Michigan. He had previously been the superintendent of schools in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, and in Elgin, Illinois.

Board member William Bach introduced the new president to the faculty, who had assembled in Capen Auditorium, with a veiled rebuke of the faculty’s role in Brown’s ouster and with a pointed assertion of the Board’s support for the president. According to Kinneman, Bach said: “now that we have a President, the faculty would be expected to accept him and would not be free to come to the Board with any complaints.” Fairchild’s impromptu remarks to the gathering alluded to his predecessor’s attempt to make drastic changes but were highly disingenuous.

I came with no preconceived ideas of teacher training as applies to this or any other institution. An administration of this school is a purely cooperative enterprise. I shall maintain an open attitude and my office door shall always be open. This policy I intend to maintain. Not revolution but evolution will be the policy of progress at the University . . . I hope to take up my duties without factional feelings, to make a new start, without reference to past difficulties.¹³

In fact, Fairchild, who had just completed a doctoral dissertation at Northwestern on “Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges” and who was thus the first president with an earned doctorate, had distinct views on teacher training and administration. To conduct his research, Fairchild had traveled more than twenty-five thousand miles and interviewed the presidents and other high-ranking administrators of seventy teachers colleges located in thirty-three states, including the five in Illinois, and forty-six persons in the state offices of public instruction who were responsible for overseeing teacher education. He had sent questionnaires to eight faculty members at each institution who had been recommended by the presidents and to the superintendents of ten schools, chosen in a similar fashion, who employed the graduates of each college.¹⁴ (Fairchild does not seem to have considered the potential bias in samples selected in this way.) In reporting his findings, he never identified the schools that had adopted a particular practice, so it is impossible to tell how he viewed the Normal University before accepting his new position. In short, the Board hired Fairchild, a graduate of Northwestern’s new program for preparing administrators for teachers colleges, because he was a professional administrator. He fit his own description of the ideal president to a tee.¹⁵

The dissertation reveals the two underlying assumptions that guided Fairchild’s twenty-two-year presidency. The first, implicit in the title of his dissertation, was the

president's responsibility for overseeing teacher preparation, a duty that provided the philosophical justification for a top-down management style in single-purpose teachers colleges. As he put it in his introductory chapter, "It will be the purpose of this discussion to show the important role played by state teachers colleges in the preparation of teachers and more especially the prominence of the influence exerted by presidents and other administrative officers on teacher education in their respective school . . ."¹⁶

The other assumption, though peripheral to his research, was that institutions like Normal should not become liberal arts colleges. Fairchild said: "Such failure of the original normal school, and later state teachers college type of institution, to restrict itself to the primary purpose of [its] organization, the education of teachers, has been a matter of much concern..." In fact, the hiring of men with his professional and educational background was, he declared, crucial "to avoid having more 'Liberal arts colleges' masquerading under the guise and name of teachers colleges."¹⁷ No wonder he so adamantly opposed Normal's conversion into a multi-purpose university.

In the dissertation Fairchild called for raising admission standards and limiting enrollments. Specifically, he advocated the adoption of the following admission criteria: 1. graduation with fifteen units from an accredited high school without any specifications about which particular courses a student needed to take; 2. the principal's written recommendation about the applicant's fitness for teaching; 3. a complete physical examination to weed out those who were not physically fit to teach; 4. a psychological test as well as tests in English and "social subjects"; 5. personal interviews with a staff member about the person's aptitude for teaching; and 6. the admission of no more students than the college could educate and place.¹⁸

As will be discussed in more detail below, Normal, under Fairchild's leadership, eliminated all specific, subject matter admissions requirements; asked for a letter of recommendation from the applicant's principal; set enrollment quotas based on employment opportunities; and strove to place all its graduates. If the University did not demand a personal interview before admission, Fairchild counseled students "who were believed not to represent good teaching material" to withdraw. By 1939 all applicants also needed to take a physical examination. (The introduction of the last requirement may have been a bow to the then fashionable eugenics movement.)

Fairchild was well aware, in writing his dissertation, that students who were really interested in obtaining a liberal arts education signed the pledge to teach because they wanted a low-cost college education. In 1936 he assured the Board that, while only seventeen of the 1,782 students at the University were not planning to teach, Normal was taking measures to weed out such individuals because "we are very strictly adhering to the purpose for which the institution was founded—that of teacher education."¹⁹ (The original intentions of the founders had been conveniently forgotten.) If the Board members read Fairchild's dissertation before offering him the presidency, he did not disappoint them.

He implemented other specific recommendations as well. For example, one of the vexing problems that teachers colleges faced was the question of student assemblies—their frequency, planning, content, and attendance policies. Fairchild

wisely pointed out in the dissertation that unless the students were involved in planning such assemblies, it would be more appropriate to call them faculty convocations of students and that the students would be reluctant attendees. During Felmley's presidency, assemblies had been held four days a week. Besides providing an opportunity to disseminate information, the programs had consisted of faculty lectures, presentations by student groups, and group singing conducted by Frank Westhoff; but above all, Felmley, drawing on his encyclopedic knowledge, had expounded on a wide array of topics. Brown had discontinued the assemblies, but Fairchild reintroduced weekly, mandatory convocations—the survey had revealed that weekly gatherings were the most common form—but it is unclear whether the students had much say in their planning. The students heard on occasion distinguished speakers, for instance, the prominent anthropologists Melville Herskovits (1895–1963) and M. F. Ashley-Montague (1905–99); but the undergraduates made little effort to disguise their boredom. The latter speaker allegedly said to his reluctant audience: "I am not willing to talk to students who do not wish to give attendance." The growth in enrollments necessitated holding two identical assemblies in Capen, then requiring only freshmen and sophomores to attend, and finally abolishing the assemblies altogether.²⁰ Perhaps, Fairchild should have heeded more closely his own advice.

The president was more successful in forging closer ties between the University and the schools. The superintendents whom he had surveyed indicated that they wanted, among other things, visits by the faculty of the teachers colleges to their schools, follow-up programs for recent graduates whom the superintendents had hired, the offering of extension courses, and campus conferences. While every faculty member was expected during Fairchild's tenure to visit one or more public schools each year, thirty or more faculty members were assigned through the "county contact" program the task of visiting for several days each year the schools in a particular county in order to recruit students and to help place graduates. The visitors filed written reports on the teaching they had observed. Fairchild set a personal example of interacting with the community. Between October 11, 1933, and May 8, 1934, alone, he delivered seventy-eight talks in Central Illinois.

Since Edwards' presidency faculty members and the president had participated in off-campus workshops for teachers, and in 1929 the University reinstated the earlier practice of offering extension courses. In the fall of 1935 regular faculty members were teaching, for example, as part of their regular assignment and without additional compensation, extension courses to 143 in-service teachers in Bloomington–Normal, Springfield, Decatur, Lincoln, and Clinton.

Shortly after he arrived in 1933, Fairchild invited the superintendents and principals of the twenty-seven counties served by the Normal University to meet with the faculty on the first Saturday in December to discuss, "What's Wrong with Teachers Colleges and Illinois State Normal University." Two years later Fairchild proudly notified the Board that over three hundred administrators had attended the Third Annual Round-Up—the name was derived from a popular cowboy ballad of the era—and the annual administrators' roundups continue to this day.

Normal became the venue for a variety of other educational conferences. Between March 19 and May 8, 1937, alone, nearly eleven thousand people attended one of the following conventions held on campus: the Illinois Chemistry Association, the

Illinois Conference on Temperance in the Schools, the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Illinois Conference of Supervisors and Directors of Education, the Illinois Vocational and Instrumental High School Conference, the Big Brother and the Big Sister Association, the Illinois Probation Officers Association, the Illinois College Press Association, and the State Oratorical and Speech League.

While Kinneman mockingly declared that the “[e]nhancement of verbosity constituted the chief outcome” of the roundups, Fairchild laid in the 1930s the foundations for what remains one of the primary missions of Illinois State: upgrading the skills and knowledge of in-service teachers throughout the State through campus conferences and course offerings and extension courses.²¹

3 The Faculty's Academic Credentials

Above all, Fairchild was concerned after his arrival with encouraging the faculty to further their own education, not only to meet the requirements of external accrediting agencies but also because he was convinced that the teachers colleges' success in preparing teachers was ultimately dependent on their faculties' own training. “A prominent factor in the improvement of teacher education is,” he wrote in his dissertation, “a strong faculty and both pre-service and in-service training of faculty members have a direct bearing on the quality of work done in these schools.”

Regrettably, Fairchild's research had revealed that Normal was hardly alone in having faculty with weak academic credentials. Only 10.3 percent of the 4,958 faculty members at the seventy schools he had studied possessed doctorates, 50 percent had a master's, 30.6 percent a bachelor's, and 8.9 percent had no degree at all. The presidents were unanimous, he reported, that their faculties needed to continue their education; and most felt that department heads should have a doctorate and that other faculty members should possess at least a master's degree and should be encouraged to obtain a doctorate. In actual practice the presidents provided the faculty with most of the encouragement they received, but their best incentive, additional financial compensation for doing more course work or earning a degree, was no longer available due to the Depression. The final word in the choice of new faculty members rested with the president, although, if possible, it was best, Fairchild counseled, if a president consulted with others before making his decision.²²

In 1928, in response to North Central, the Board had authorized, along with its new promotion standards and salary scale, paid sabbaticals for faculty members who wished to better their credentials; and some faculty members had taken advantage of this opportunity. For example, Kinneman had spent the summers of 1929 and 1930 at the University of Chicago, so he would have two years of graduate work beyond the master's degree and thus meet the new minimum educational requirement for promotion to an associate professor. This policy of paid sabbaticals was put in abeyance in the spring of 1932, as the State's financial condition deteriorated, and was not reinstated until the 1943–44 school year. Nevertheless, faculty members continued to seek unpaid leaves for this purpose. One such faculty member was Kinneman who took an unpaid leave of absence in 1938–39, even though he had two daughters to support, to finish his course work at Northwestern and finally obtained a Ph.D. in Sociology in 1940. Since Fairchild felt that only department heads and division directors should be full professors,

Kinneman did not attain this rank until 1947, when Carbondale offered him a position and it was necessary to counter Southern's offer.²³

In general women were more likely than men, however, to seek such unpaid leaves, perhaps because as single women they had fewer family commitments and because fewer women had advanced degrees. Twenty-nine of the thirty-nine faculty members who took such leaves in the 1930s were women.²⁴

The University also tried to employ individuals who already possessed doctorates. In 1931 Brown hired five Ph.D.'s; intriguingly, four of them were women. It is tempting to ascribe this sudden preference for women faculty in the teachers college to salary discrimination, but it is hard to discern, taking into account differences in credentials, gender-based pay differentials.²⁵ The real explanation may be that teachers colleges, under pressure in the late '20s and early '30s from the accrediting agencies to raise the academic credentials of their faculties and with a tradition of employing women in the training schools, were more willing than liberal arts colleges and universities to hire women faculty. Fairchild continued Brown's policy of hiring women Ph.D.'s. For example, he hired in 1935 two women historians: Lucy Lucille Tasher, who had received not only her Ph.D. but also bachelor's, master's, and law degrees from the University of Chicago, and Marshall, a Duke Ph.D.²⁶

However, men were still more likely than women in the 1930s to have advanced degrees. Thirty-seven men versus only twenty-three women who were employed at some time during the decade had doctorates. Men continued to outrank women at the higher ranks of the faculty. There were sixteen male department heads versus five women. There were nineteen male professors, twenty-seven associates, thirty-seven assistants, and fourteen instructors. In contrast, there were only three female professors and eighteen associates, but seventy-one assistants and sixty-five instructors. In comparison, there had been in the 1920s four female professors, two associates, thirty assistants, and ninety-three instructors.²⁷ So, except for the professorial rank, women were beginning in the 1930s to move upward in the academic hierarchy.

In the 1970s ISNU was remembered by some faculty members as a "matriarchy," that is, an institution where many of the most senior faculty had been women. That characterization, a legacy of the fight over changing the University's name that had pitted younger male faculty against their senior women colleagues, is probably unfair and certainly inaccurate because the top administrators had always been men. The kernel of truth in the recollection is that the University was willing to hire women with Ph.D.'s in the 1930s and that women were more likely than men to take an unpaid leave of absence, to earn an advanced degree, and then to stay. The "matriarchs" of the 1960s, women like Marshall and Tasher, had been hired as assistant professors during the Depression.

Hiring remained very much a presidential prerogative and often occurred, Fairchild's own advice to the contrary, with little consultation. Because of his background as a public school administrator, he insisted, according to Kinneman, that every faculty member should have taught previously in either an elementary or secondary school. Only rarely did Fairchild make an exception. This policy was intended to assure that the college's focus remained on the professional training of teachers. The president interviewed the candidates before they met with their

future colleagues. In some instances, only the department head was introduced to the candidate and on some occasions not even this happened. It was not until 1951 that the departments obtained a formal role in the hiring process.²⁸ While Fairchild deserves credit for hiring some excellent people, the system was clearly based on the model of the public school where principals or superintendents chose their staff.

Careful hiring and encouraging faculty to continue their education paid off. In December 1937 Fairchild informed the Board that since his arrival in 1933, the number of faculty members with doctorates had increased from 15.7 percent to 29.2 percent; those with 60 hours of graduate study beyond the masters, excluding those with doctorates, from 7.4 percent to 9.8 percent; and those with master's degrees from 53.8 percent to 59.1 percent. Faculty with only a bachelor's had decreased from 18.2 percent to 1.3 percent, and no one who had less than a bachelor's degree remained. The only faculty member who did not have a master's was retiring at the end of the year, and eight faculty members hoped to procure their doctorates before or during the 1938–39 school year. He conceded that other teachers colleges had reached comparable levels at an earlier date, but they had smaller staffs and their faculty did not have to travel as far to do graduate work. (The University of Illinois does not seem to have been a preferred choice for advanced study.)²⁹ Connected with this improvement in the faculty's academic preparation was a reduction in the number of internal hires. While nearly a third of the faculty in the 1920s had attended or graduated from Normal, only a fifth had by the following decade.³⁰ Such diversification in the origins of the faculty was another aspect of professionalization.

Unlike Felmley, Fairchild valued faculty research because it was a way to improve teacher education. He had found only lukewarm support for such activities on the campuses he visited. Due to their heavy teaching loads and other assignments, many faculty members had little or no time to do research beyond that necessary to enhance their credentials; and only 43.5 percent of those surveyed reported receiving any encouragement from their president to do so, a fact Fairchild found "unfortunate." He recommended that the colleges make greater use of their training facilities as laboratory schools.³¹

Under his leadership faculty at Normal became more research oriented. In 1938 the University's grandiloquently named university press began publishing a journal, *Teacher Education*, to highlight such work.³² (The University has never had a university press in the conventional sense of the term.) Even more significantly, in 1936 a survey by the Illinois State Teachers Training Research Committee indicated that the faculty at the five state colleges had carried out 501 creative projects: Normal reported 298, Charleston 79, DeKalb 78, Carbondale 36, and Macomb 10. The ISNU faculty had written 19 of the 31 books and 76 of the 203 contributions to periodicals.³³ In short, Fairchild deserves credit for raising the faculty's professional credentials and encouraging them to engage in research.

✍ THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Although the Board expected Brown and Fairchild to deal with the problems that had been exposed by the University's loss of accreditation, their greatest concern was the concomitant decline in state funding and the dramatic increase in enrollments. Illinois was spared the full impact of the Wall Street crash during

the winter of 1929–30, but by December 1930 payrolls in factories had declined 30 percent and by January 1931 there were more than 700,000 unemployed individuals in the state. Unemployment peaked in January 1933 at 1.5 million (the total population in 1930 was 7.6 million). Between 1925 and 1932 factory payrolls fell 53 percent in Peoria, 63 percent in Decatur, 73 percent in Danville, 86 percent in Joliet, and 93 percent in Moline. In 1932 the unemployment rate in Chicago hit 40 percent, and its teachers went unpaid for months as the municipal government stopped functioning. Local and county governments lacked the financial resources to provide for the jobless. The average monthly relief allowance for a family outside Chicago in the early 1930s was a totally inadequate \$12.81.³⁴

With no hope of employment, the percentage of high school aged teenagers who remained in school jumped from 50 percent in 1929 to 70 percent by 1935. The number of students who earned a diploma increased from 21 percent in 1930 to nearly double, 38 percent, by the end of the decade. Yet as the demand for a secondary education rose, many school systems, almost totally dependent on property taxes, were on the verge of bankruptcy. Between 1928 and 1933 the average salary of a high school principal was slashed 17.4 percent, and the compensation of teachers declined in 72 of Illinois' counties, with cuts ranging from 1 percent to 26.3 percent in any given year. For example, Bloomington, out of funds, was forced to close its schools on April 1, 1932. They reopened on April 18, even though a referendum to increase property taxes had failed, after elementary school teachers agreed to teach until June 10 at 50 percent of their salary, while all other teachers and administrators accepted a 25 percent reduction.³⁵

The University fared no better. In Fiscal Year 1930 (FY30), that is, July 1, 1929, to June 30, 1930, the year of the Crash, the University's total direct state appropriation was \$412,046, of which \$331,542—80 percent of the total appropriation—was paid in salaries and wages. In addition, the University earned \$118,756 from, among other things, student fees, farm sales, and the room and board charged to students who lived in Fell Hall. These earnings were deposited into the revolving fund that the University paid into the state treasury but that the school could draw upon to pay for items in the various budget categories: salaries and wages, office expenses, travel, operations, repairs and equipment, and permanent improvements.

When President Brown prepared in 1930 the budget for the biennium July 1, 1931, to June 30, 1933, he requested an appropriation of \$784,529 for FY32 and \$580,725 for FY33 or a total of \$1,365,254. He anticipated an annual income of \$120,000 in the revolving fund. The reason for the one-time larger request in FY32 was that Brown was asking for \$200,000 to remodel and equip Old Main and for \$25,000 to improve the University's water supply.³⁶

Old Main was in desperate need of repair. After his arrival on campus, Brown had informed the Board that Old Main would require a considerable expenditure of money if it was to remain in use. The tower was leaning and the roof sagging. After Brown submitted his budget, the floor in the corridor on the second story dropped three inches overnight; and the General Assembly released emergency funds to install, during the Easter break in 1932, steel girders from the foundation to the clock tower to prevent the building's complete collapse.³⁷

In making his budgetary request for the 1931–33 biennium, Brown compared the State's appropriation for the five normal schools. Excluding funds for permanent

improvements, Normal had received a total of \$828,960 in the 1929–31 biennium; Carbondale had been next with \$737,450 and Charleston last with \$545,460. However, on a per capita basis, Normal had fared worse than its sisters. Its per capita costs for educating a student during the 1929–31 biennium had been \$434 versus \$487 at Carbondale, \$619 at Macomb, \$635 at DeKalb, and \$716 at Charleston. Normal was thus the most underfunded of the teachers colleges. The Normal School Board cut \$164,481, not including Brown's request for permanent improvements (\$225,000), from his proposed budget for the 1931–33 biennium. This revised budget left \$975,773 to operate the University for two years.³⁸ In the end the State appropriated \$990,124 plus an additional \$30,500 for capital improvements for a total of \$1,020,624. The estimate of the revenues in the revolving fund was reduced from \$120,000 to \$85,000.³⁹

The budgetary crisis hit in the spring of 1932 at the same time that Old Main was on the verge of collapse. The Board received at its meeting on April 21 a comparative report it had commissioned about salaries at other institutions. It revealed that the average salaries paid by Illinois' teachers colleges were lower than those at similar institutions in most other states and at the University of Illinois. The members, in spite of "the present revenue and taxation crisis," concluded that it would be inequitable to reduce salaries unless this occurred at other institutions and for state employees in general. The Board ordered the ad hoc committee to continue its study of the financial situation and authorized the holding of the second summer session at the five schools with the understanding that the presidents "reduce the actual cost of these two terms to the lowest possible limit." The policy of granting faculty members sabbaticals at half pay so they could upgrade their professional credentials, a key component in the colleges' plan for meeting the standards set by North Central for accreditation, was placed in abeyance until further notice.⁴⁰

The ad hoc committee presented the Board at its May 1932 meeting with a proposal to cut salaries on a sliding basis; for example, the salaries of people who earned less than \$1,000 a year would be spared, whereas the compensation of people who made more than \$3,000 would be reduced 20 percent. The members decided to take no action until there was an authoritative statement of the State's fiscal condition and a policy was set that affected all state employees. However, the five presidents were directed to discuss various budgetary alternatives with their faculties and to make suggestions to the Board about possible courses of action. At the same meeting Brown indicated that Normal, even though it had the lowest per capita costs, was taking every measure to economize. No new construction or remodeling was planned; repairs and upkeep had been "reduced to the lowest possible figure;" only the most essential laboratory equipment and library acquisitions would be purchased; no paid leaves of absence would be granted; faculty travel expenses would be substantially slashed; and there would be no salary increases. Nevertheless, the president assured the Board that "(t)he spirit of the faculty is excellent . . . Everybody is willing to practice the most rigid economy and to do without many things which are very desirable in the interests of strict economy."⁴¹

In response to the Board's inquiries, the faculty voted unanimously to continue to receive their current salaries on a monthly basis until the State adopted a general policy for reducing the salaries of all state employees. They feared that if they acted prematurely, their salaries would be cut a second time.⁴² Altogether, the University

managed to save by such economies \$24,018 in FY32 and had accumulated by the beginning of October 1932, through deferred purchases and maintenance, a total surplus of \$84,842. The per capita cost of educating a student at Normal in FY32 had been \$238.91, considerably lower, Brown claimed, than at other teachers colleges throughout the country.⁴³

The situation had deteriorated even further by November 1932, when the Board began developing its budgetary requests for the 1933–35 biennium. The Board determined that there would be no salary increases and that the second summer term would be eliminated, for a two-year saving in the case of Normal of \$35,351. The University's appropriation for salaries and wages would thus be reduced from \$789,724 in the 1931–33 biennium to \$754,373 in the 1933–35 biennium. The Board pointed out that since enrollments had increased between 20 and 35 percent during the biennium, the salary freeze was tantamount to a pay cut. The University's total request for the biennium was \$955,972 and included no allocations for equipment or permanent improvements.⁴⁴ At a special meeting on April 5, 1933, the Board ruled that all salaries above \$100 a month or \$1,200 a year were to be cut 10 percent and that the proposed budgets were to be rewritten accordingly.⁴⁵ This cut was roughly equivalent to \$74,000 and amounted, combined with the elimination of the second summer term and all expenditures for permanent improvements, to a 14 percent reduction in the University's budget from the preceding 1931–33 biennium.

Draconian as these cuts were, especially in light of the increase in enrollments, they need to be placed in perspective. At a moment when 1.5 million people in Illinois were unemployed, faculty members, even with a 10 percent reduction in their salaries, were considerably better off than many of their fellow citizens. As Marshall put it, "Most of the faculty accepted the cut stoically: at least they had employment and, being state employees, their credit was good."⁴⁶ Moreover, we need to factor in deflation. In 1933, \$76 was the equivalent in purchasing power of \$100 in 1929. Thus the case can be made that the faculty were better off, financially, in 1933 than they had been four years earlier. Kinneman provides an interesting insight on the matter. His starting salary in 1927 was \$300 month, which had risen by 1933 to \$340, when his salary was cut 10 percent. His pre-1933 salary was restored in FY38, but after the imposition of federal income tax withholding on public employees and a 3.5 percent deduction for the state pension system that was created in 1941, his take home pay in FY44 was \$335 a month.⁴⁷ In a perverse way the faculty was better off, in terms of its buying power, in 1933 than it had been a decade earlier or would be a decade later.

Conditions began to improve slowly after Franklin Roosevelt became president in March 1933, though there was a general economic downturn in 1938 that affected the University. A key change was the availability, for the first time, of federal funding. Thanks to \$19,865 from the Civilian Works Administration, a good deal of deferred maintenance occurred on campus during the spring of 1934. In January 1935 Fairchild reported that to relieve the congestion in the library, still located in the former training school (later North Hall), a new reading room had been constructed for the School of Education. In addition, a new counter for the collection of student fees and mail boxes for the faculty had been built in Old Main; and a number of rooms, including the high school assembly hall, had been painted during the Christmas vacation. The school hoped to initiate a regular painting program.⁴⁸

At its February 1935 meeting, the Board voted to rescind the 10 percent pay cut and to grant a 4 percent salary increase in the 1935–37 biennium. These measures applied to all the teachers colleges except Normal, which had to wait until 1937 for the salary restoration. The *Proceedings* offer no explanation why the University was excluded.

The University's budget for the 1935–37 biennium was fixed at \$1,129,253, of which \$924,253 was allocated for salaries and wages.⁴⁹ This was \$108,000 more than had been allocated initially for the 1931–33 biennium and approximately \$247,000 more than Normal had received in 1933–35. The State provided \$25,000 to construct a new greenhouse. With federal assistance Rambo House was built between 1937 and 1939, at a cost of \$34,800, to serve as a home management house; and the original Milner Library (now Williams) was started in 1938 and completed in 1940 for \$556,000. The federal government's contribution to the last project was \$270,000.⁵⁰ So conditions, though still bad, started to improve in the mid-30s.

5 INCREASES IN ENROLLMENT

The University's financial problems were complicated by the rapid increase in enrollments after 1929. Students came to Normal because they were charged no tuition if they signed the pledge to teach in Illinois and because there were jobs for teachers, even if school districts could not always pay their salaries in full or in cash. During the 1920s attendance in the fall term had risen from a low of 430 in 1920 to a peak of 1,421 in 1926 and had then declined to 1,272 in 1929. Thereafter enrollments grew steadily: 1,416 in 1930, 1,514 in 1931, and 1,620 in 1932, but dropped to 1,537 in 1933 at the depth of the Depression. On October 7, 1935, Fairchild reported to the Board that preliminary fall registration had jumped from 1,642 in 1934 to 1,858 that term. Only Fresno (today California State University at Fresno) had enrolled more students—sixty-one, to be precise—than Normal the preceding year, and Normal might now be, for all Fairchild knew, he said, the largest teachers college in the United States. (In reality, Normal was by no means, as Fairchild well knew, the largest teachers college in the country.) It was the only one of the five state teachers colleges in Illinois, he stated, that had experienced such a marked increase.⁵¹

President Brown had already offered several explanations for the rise in enrollments after 1929. Under a new certification law that went into effect on July 1, 1931, teachers could no longer teach with only one year of post-secondary preparation. Brown predicted in April 1932 that instead of 300 or 400 students returning the following fall out of a class that year of nearly 800 freshmen, as many as 700 sophomores might enroll. The actual improvement in the retention rate was less dramatic, but in Fall, 1932 there were 510 sophomores instead of the 427 who had attended the previous year. These 83 additional sophomores account for most of the increase of 106 students who registered in Fall, 1932 (1,620) versus Fall, 1931 (1,514). Brown surmised in 1932 that students who could not procure a teaching position at the end of their sophomore year would remain at the University to work for a four-year degree, so that there would also be a rise in upper class enrollments. In addition, 149 students had transferred in Fall, 1931 from private liberal arts colleges to Normal, presumably because it charged no tuition.

Herman Schroeder, the acting president after Brown's forced exit, pointed out in September 1933 that, with the rise in the number of high school graduates and the lack of employment opportunities, there was "bound to be an increase in attendance at state teachers colleges, for parents of boys and girls of the ages from seventeen to nineteen dread the thought of idleness for these young people, and will send them to school if they can possibly manage to do so." The parents would naturally favor, he thought, schools where expenses were moderate. Conversely, Schroeder argued, attendance at summer sessions, which were designed for in-service teachers, was likely to decline because school boards could no longer provide teachers with bonuses for attending, because teachers' salaries had been reduced, if they were paid at all, and because some teachers had sustained serious losses from bank failures. In fact, registration during the first summer school session declined from 1,844 in 1932 to 1,408 in 1933; and the University had fared better than other teachers colleges, where enrollments had fallen by as much as 50 percent.⁵²

The financially hard pressed, private liberal arts colleges feared the growing competition from the cheaper teachers colleges. At the instigation of Governor Henry Horner (1933–40), the Normal School Board met at a special session in 1933 with representatives of the Illinois Federation of Colleges to assure them that the teachers colleges were strictly teacher preparatory institutions and that individuals who did not honor their commitment to teach were required to repay the tuition they owed. In a letter to the president of St. Viator College in Bourbonnais, drafted at the Board's behest, Superintendent Francis Blair reiterated: "These schools could not, under any circumstances, give a pre-medical course or a pre-law course as many of our liberal arts colleges are doing today." He continued, "[in] normal times . . . the demand for educated men and women" would be "greater than the supply. It is only in such a dire disaster as envelops us at present . . . that appearances of conflict in objectives will appear."⁵³

Since the University had reached by 1935 the limits of its physical plant facilities, Fairchild recommended to the Board that it cap enrollments at 1,850 students by limiting the freshman class to 700 students and that the school adopt a system of selective admissions. As we have seen, graduation from high school became in the mid-1930s a mandatory admissions requirement. In February 1936 Fairchild reported happily to the Board that while 143 more students had enrolled for the spring semester than in the preceding year (the University shifted from three terms to two semesters in 1935–36), this was 99 fewer students than had registered in the fall. He attributed this attrition, in part, to such factors as "financial difficulties" and the "failure to maintain satisfactory scholastic standing;" but, in addition, Fairchild had identified, in consultation with the faculty, 130 students "who were believed not to represent good teaching material." He had counseled them to withdraw and about 60 had heeded his advice.

The University assigned admissions quotas to each department, based upon the department's resources and the likely demand for teachers in a particular area, and rejected applicants in fields, most notably, Home Economics, Agriculture, Art, and Mathematics, which were oversubscribed. For example, the quota for new freshmen in Mathematics in Fall 1937 was twenty-five students, thirty-four applicants had been admitted, and twenty-eight actually matriculated. Fairchild

was certain that if he had not acted, two thousand students would have registered at the University.⁵⁴

Fairchild's success in limiting enrollments was short-lived. In Fall, 1938, 1,973 students arrived on campus (the high point in prewar enrollments)—just shy of the 2,000 Fairchild feared might arrive if he had not acted. He attributed this unanticipated increase to more students accepting the University's offer of admission—in modern parlance, an improvement in the show rate—and an unprecedented number of upper classmen returning to campus, that is, a similar improvement in the retention rate. The real explanation may be that economic conditions deteriorated again in 1938; for example, he admitted in the same report that it had been a difficult year to place students. In 1939 the University abandoned enrollment maximums, which Fairchild conceded were strictly speaking illegal, because high school administrators believed that the "procedures . . . [were] undemocratic and unfair to some of their students." The outbreak of the war in Europe solved the problem; only 1,820 students showed up in September 1940.

However, the University continued to be selective in its admission policy. Thus, Fairchild proudly pointed out in 1941 that 83 percent of the 638 freshmen who were admitted that fall had been in the upper half of their class and that sixty-four had been valedictorians. Indeed, between 1937 and 1943, more than half the students were in the upper quarter of their high school class and at least three-quarters were in the upper half.⁵⁵

To avoid any misapprehensions about the University's mission, Fairchild pressed the Board in 1938 to make clear to the liberal arts colleges and state officials that the "teachers colleges of Illinois are professional schools educating teachers and not usurping the rights of the liberal arts colleges, although these professional schools could undoubtedly do a much better work of a liberal arts nature than the liberal arts schools can do of a professional nature in the education of teachers."⁵⁶ As late as 1944, when few civilian students attended the University, it required a special dispensation for Kinneman's daughter to spend her first two years at Normal before transferring to the University of Illinois to study bacteriology.⁵⁷ During the Depression the public was looking again to the teachers colleges to provide its children with an affordable general education, but it took another generation for the University, unlike its sister institutions, to accept this expanded mission.

6 THE STUDENTS

Students made do with little, especially in the early 1930s. The approximately eighty women who lived in Fell paid, depending on the location of the room and whether it was a single or double, \$6.50, \$7.00, and \$7.50 per week for room and board. Of this amount, \$4.50 covered board. In 1935 the increase in the cost of food necessitated raising these charges a dollar.⁵⁸ The University Club, an organization of male students, leased in 1934 the home of Colonel Dudley C. Smith on University Avenue, where Colby and Hamilton Halls now stand, as a self-supporting residence for thirty-three men. The University purchased the seventeen-room building in 1941 for \$25,000. Louis Miglio, Class of 1949, M.S. 1951, a retired Decatur high school teacher, who lived there after World War II, recalled that the dean of men, Ralph Linkins, provided lessons in table manners, much to the resentment of battle-hardened veterans. Smith Hall was razed in February 1959 to make way for the new dorms.⁵⁹

Most students lived more cheaply off campus. Helen Marshall, who joined the faculty in 1935, provided the following description of student living conditions in the early 1930s.

A large percentage of the students hoped to work their way through school. Some did well to raise enough money for tuition. Many worked for room and board. Some brought food from home and lived in the cheapest of furnished rooms, cooking their meals on gas burners in basements or on single electric plates in their rooms. Their clothing was often shabby and worn. Patched blue jeans were not uncommon, and sox [*sic*] were saved for special occasions. Haircuts were luxuries and often a boy had to borrow money for a suit to wear on an interview for a position. The Faculty Women's Club gave benefits to provide scholarships and loans to needy students. There were more requests for loans than could be granted.⁶⁰

The National Youth Administration was established in June 1935 to aid young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, the great majority of whom were in school or college. The following fall the NYA allocated to the University \$2,970, which was sufficient to employ 198 students at \$15 per student (the minimum wage was fixed at twenty-five cents an hour in 1938). These payments continued until the war, when they were sharply curtailed.⁶¹ Starting in 1936 Illinois granted students in good standing who were residents of Illinois an annual scholarship of \$30. In 1940 a total of \$14,040 was distributed in this fashion.⁶² These sums were hardly princely if the cheapest room in Fell cost in 1935, \$6.50 per week. However, the total fee the University charged students in 1940 to cover the cost of student activities, textbook rentals, and health care and hospitalization was \$30 a semester.⁶³

The University also expanded its medical assistance to students. Normal had hired in 1923 its first physician, Florence Ames. In addition to teaching classes in personal hygiene, Dr. Ames examined all women after they had been admitted and all men on athletics teams and inspected every day the classrooms in the training school.⁶⁴ In 1935 the University instituted a hospitalization plan for students. For a fee of one dollar each semester, students were entitled to seven days of hospitalization in a single or in a two-bed ward in the infirmary, initial diagnosis by a physician of the student's own choosing, ordinary medications, X-rays, and laboratory services. This service was in addition to the regular care provided by the school physician and nurse at the campus dispensary in Cook Hall. During the first semester the plan was in operation, 132 students had been hospitalized at a total cost of approximately \$1,400.⁶⁵ Such concern for the students' physical well-being was part of a national trend in the 1920s and '30s that marked the beginning of student services as an important component of collegiate life.⁶⁶

Students lived under such straitened circumstances because they hoped, with some reason, to procure a teaching position. In 1930, before the full impact of the Depression was felt in Illinois, 223 of the 299 graduates of the two-year program (77 percent) and 91 of the 129 recipients of bachelor's degrees (71 percent) found teaching positions. Eighty-one percent of the holders of two-year diplomas, 211 out of 259 students, in the class of 1935 secured teaching jobs that year, while only 60 percent of the four-year graduates, 141 out of 236 students, procured such employment—a percentage decline compared to 1930 but an increase in

absolute numbers. Degree recipients who did not teach included eight who remained at school, thirteen who had found other types of employment, and four, specifically identified as women, who had married. The remaining 30 percent were unaccounted for. As for the class of 1937, Fairchild reported in July, before all the hiring for the new school year had been completed, that there was “an unprecedented demand for teachers;” specifically, there had already been 384 placements, 284 in the elementary field and 136 in secondary and special fields. In December the president declared that with the new system of enrollment management the day was approaching “where 100 percent of all graduates will be of a type readily placed, although at the present time practically all of the graduates who would make an appeal to prospective employers are in teaching positions.”⁶⁷ No wonder students clamored to be admitted.

What is equally noteworthy was the presence of more African American students on campus, though they were a tiny minority. The University did not report enrollments by race, in itself a noteworthy fact, so it is not possible to provide precise statistics on the number of black students who registered; but several African American students appear in the *Index*, the student yearbook, where they were actively involved in a variety of extracurricular activities.⁶⁸ The *Vidette* reported on February 8, 1935, as part of the celebration of Black History Week, that “Negro Students Give Assembly Featuring Southern Melodies.” Russell R. DeBow (1889–1984), Class of 1935, who became in 1971 a judge in the Cook County Circuit Court, spoke about “Negro History as an Educational Effort.” He “pointed out that history taught in the schools today does not include the great deeds of American negroes [*sic*] but rather the part they played as lowly slaves and are playing as part of the crime problem.” He concluded: “if the material taught in the schools would include their contributions to the industrial, political, and cultural development of the nation, much would be done to eliminate the race prejudice.” On May 25 Negro students sponsored a dance in McCormick Gymnasium, which was attended by 250 couples, including President and Mrs. Fairchild and several other faculty guests. This ostensibly segregated dance was thus in fact overwhelmingly white.

The *Vidette* editorialized on February 26, 1937, under the heading, “Negro Education I.S.N.U. Maintains Progressive Attitude Toward the Race”: “we can take pride in State Normal University’s attitude toward the education of its numerous negro students.” In sharp contrast to Northwestern, where a Negro student had been evicted the previous summer from a campus beach, it stated: “The Negro is allowed to participate on the athletic teams, become a member of any club that white students join, enjoy the same entertainment and cultural privileges, and in general secure as thorough and conscientious an education as possible for any one.” An African American senior, Eula M. Thomas, responded on March 2: “we are aware of the fairness and equality that prevails both in the classroom and extra-curricular activities on the campus. Incidentally, this is all the Negro wants—‘equal rights’—and the chance to take his place among intelligent and learned groups.”⁶⁹ Jonathan Baldwin Turner, Jesse Fell, and Richard Edwards would have been proud.

There was also in the 1930s a change in the gender composition of the student body. In Fall 1928 men had comprised only 22 percent of the student body as a whole but had made up 36 percent of the enrollment in the junior and senior

years. A year later Felmley observed that while overall enrollments had declined that fall by forty-one students, there were forty-one more men than in 1928, the largest percentage of male students in twenty-five years. He added: "This must not be attributed to the drawing power of successful athletics, for our teams the past two years have usually been beaten." Even in 1933, when overall enrollments declined, there was an increase in the number of men. By Fall 1935 men composed 38 percent of the total campus enrollment, 708 out of 1,859 students, and 44 percent of the junior and senior classes (217 out of 492 students). Nearly half the seniors, 101 out of 212 students (48 percent), were men.⁷⁰ In short, the growth in high school enrollments and the lack of other employment opportunities in the 1930s made teaching, especially at the secondary level, once again an attractive career prospect for men. The feminization of the teaching profession Felmley so feared had stopped.

The Great Depression thus had a profound impact upon the University. While expenditures were pared during the 1931–33 biennium and the budget slashed during the 1933–35 biennium, enrollments grew 46 percent between 1929 and 1935 as a large number of individuals, especially men, turned to teaching as a career. For all the hardships, there were improvements. The University devised a hospitalization plan for the students, and deflation may have mitigated the effects of the salary cuts for the faculty. The federal government, whose largesse had largely been limited hitherto to the land grant universities, came to the assistance of the teachers colleges and their students. Williams Hall, the first campus structure that was specifically designed for use as a library, is a permanent monument to the expansion of federal responsibilities in the 1930s. Unable to afford the cost of a private college education, members of the middle class began to look at the teachers colleges as a possible alternative; but Fairchild opposed any change in the University's mission as a professional school for the education of teachers.

7 GRADUATE EDUCATION

Offering graduate work was the logical next step in preparing better teachers for the public schools, Fairchild's overriding concern. In 1932 only five of the seventy teachers colleges Fairchild surveyed conferred a master's degree and only one granted a Ph.D. Three of these schools admitted that they were "'feeling their way' in this new type of endeavor," but he concluded, presciently, in his dissertation on this point: "One may expect that the same condition of higher qualifications demanded of teachers that led in so many instances to the offering of four years of work and ultimate change to teachers colleges, will in the near future make the offerings of post graduate work, at least for the Master's degree, equally common as the Bachelor's degree at the present time."⁷¹ It is thus not surprising that Fairchild led the fight, in spite of the opposition of Urbana's College of Education and the reluctance of the Board and some of the other presidents, to secure for Illinois' five teachers colleges the right to award master's degrees, though the details of that struggle are often obscure in the published official records.⁷²

The conflict was triggered by North Central's ruling that the principals of all accredited high schools have at least a master's degree and by the growing number of superintendents and school boards who were inclined, after 1929, to hire only individuals who possessed an advanced degree as secondary school teachers. Recent graduates of the teachers colleges were thus no longer assured of a job.

Accordingly, a resolution was introduced at the annual meeting of the Illinois State Teachers Association in December 1934 that the Normal School Board permit the State's teachers colleges to offer courses leading to the master's for all those who sought administrative positions or who wanted the additional preparation, so they could find employment in Illinois. The motion was tabled. Dean Thomas E. Benner of Urbana's College of Education (1931–45) initially dismissed the failed petition as an attempt to “give the University [of Illinois] a jolt.” Benner, oblivious to decades of actual practice, also thought that the proper role of the teachers colleges was the preparation of elementary school teachers, which he felt Normal was neglecting, though he begrudgingly conceded that the colleges might educate a few secondary school teachers as well.⁷³

Nothing further happened until May 1936, when Fairchild raised at a Board meeting the issue of graduate education. It was not, he said, a case of desiring to offer such work, but of being compelled by a rising demand for higher degrees from the teachers who were leaving the State to procure them. Since the Board had the authority to authorize the granting of such degrees, he recommended that it consider the issue. Normal was in no “hurry to undertake such a program,” he insisted, and would “need two or three years' advance notice in order to prepare for a program as important as the offering of graduate work.” Accordingly, the Board approved a motion by Bloomington's resident board member, William Bach, who presumably acted at Fairchild's behest, that it investigate the desirability of doing so, but that no degrees be granted until “at least two years preparation and study” had been given to the matter.⁷⁴

Fairchild's proposal alarmed Dean Benner, who complained in November 1936 to President Arthur Cutts Willard of the University of Illinois about the “personal ambitions of President Fairchild of the teachers college at Bloomington”—the condescending language speaks volumes about Benner's view of Normal. The paranoid dean perceived Fairchild's request for a new library building as part of his machinations to pave the way for graduate work at his school and even accused Fairchild of seeking to create a “pre-medical course” at Normal so that he could broaden the University's mission to include the education of non-teachers.⁷⁵ The latter accusation flies in the face of everything we know about Fairchild's views.

In the meantime one of Benner's faculty members, Edward F. Potthoff, who had been commissioned by North Central to study secondary education in Illinois, had issued the first of two devastating reports about conditions in the state. Since teachers were not required to have a general education to be certified, most teachers in the arts had no knowledge of the sciences and vice versa—as, we have seen, Felmley's generic Curriculum K for high school teachers lacked a general education component. Even worse, they had only a superficial training in their subject area; for example, they were science teachers rather than biologists, and often taught courses in subject areas where they had received no training at all. The report also provided evidence for Fairchild's contention that teachers were leaving the State to obtain a master's. Only 737 of the 4,430 teachers at 500 accredited, public, four-year high schools in Illinois had such a degree. Of these, 297 (40.3 percent) had obtained their master's at the University of Illinois, 75 (10.2 percent) at the University of Chicago, and 35 (4.8 percent) at Northwestern; the rest had gone out of state.⁷⁶ Potthoff's report indicated that there was a need to improve the preparation of secondary school teachers and implied that one way

to do so was to offer graduate work at the teachers colleges, though Potthoff did not draw that conclusion.

There is no evidence that the Normal School Board did anything until September 1939 when it established a committee composed of three Board members and the five college presidents or their representatives to report back to the Board by February 1, 1940, about “the advisability and feasibility of establishing graduate work in some or all of the State Teachers Colleges of Illinois.”⁷⁷ We can only speculate about the reasons for the Board’s inaction. One explanation is the financial downturn in 1938, but a better one is political pressure from the University of Illinois. In February 1937 Provost A. J. Harno wrote President Willard about the need to thwart the fraudulent ambitions of the teachers colleges—most notably, their transformation into liberal arts colleges—and to restrict them to their proper sphere, the education of elementary school teachers. Benner suggested to Willard in the same month that this could be done by bringing the matter to the attention of the Normal School Board and Governor Horner. More practically, Urbana tried to blunt the demand for graduate work at the teachers colleges by offering graduate extension courses on their campuses. This began in Normal in the 1936–37 school year, and Urbana was soon doing so at all five schools.⁷⁸

On February 19, 1940, Board member Otto Beich, a scion of Bloomington’s chocolate-making dynasty, after meeting with the five college presidents to discuss the graduate work that was being done at their schools “under the tutorship of the University of Illinois,” moved that the Board authorize the presidents to prepare a plan, in cooperation with Urbana, for providing graduate work for teachers on their campuses in a way that would be “mutually helpful” for the colleges and the University of Illinois. The motion was unanimously tabled.⁷⁹ However, there was a conference that year of all state institutions to discuss the issues that were in contention, most notably graduate education and Normal’s decades-long attempt, in spite of the determined opposition of the University of Illinois, to train teachers of agriculture under the terms of the Smith-Hughes Act. ISNU finally received authorization to do the latter in 1962.⁸⁰

In July 1941 President W. P. Morgan of Macomb brought up once more the question of graduate education and suggested that the Board appoint a subcommittee to examine the issue and that a committee of educators, one from each of the colleges and three from Urbana, accumulate data. Such a cooperative study was undertaken. Fourteen months later Fairchild told the Board that he thought conditions were favorable for initiating graduate work at the colleges. The demand was great; the joint plan that the colleges and the University of Illinois were preparing was nearly finished; and the wartime decrease in enrollments meant that the staff and facilities of the colleges could be utilized for this purpose without any increase in their budgets for the time being. The Board rejected Fairchild’s recommendation that it look “toward the inclusion of graduate work in those teachers colleges that are ready and willing to undertake such a program beginning September, 1943.”

In May 1943 Fairchild repeated in even stronger language that the time was opportune for beginning graduate work as early as that September, and that Illinois should follow the example of many other states whose teachers colleges had developed graduate programs. This time he was joined by the new president

of Western, Frank A. Beu, who had surveyed Macomb's alumni and found great support for such a venture. A survey of the teachers in the 128 high schools situated in the 19 counties served by Western had shown that only 26.3 percent had a master's degree. President Robert G. Buzzard remarked that there was no need for Charleston to enter the field because of its proximity to Urbana.⁸¹

The Board finally dealt with the issue of graduate education at its meeting on July 12, 1943. It authorized the colleges to establish five-year programs leading to a Master of Science in Education. A college that opted to do so was ordered to submit through its presidents and graduate council a complete five-year program in a particular field such as English and to show how it differed from the existing four-year course and to demonstrate that it had the faculty and facilities to do so. Such work was not to begin at the colleges before the summer of 1944.

The name of the new degree had been a subject of some discussion. President Buzzard had proposed the preceding month, "[i]n keeping with the growing professional relationship between the teachers colleges and the College of Education at the University of Illinois," that the new degree should be called a Master of Science in Education to differentiate it from Urbana's two-year Master of Education. (Was the degree's name an implied acknowledgement that the proposed programs were not the equal of Urbana's more demanding program and a deferential concession to obtain its approval?)

Concomitantly, Buzzard recommended that the name of the undergraduate degree be changed from a Bachelor of Education (the name adopted in 1907), long a source of confusion since only six states conferred such a degree, to a Bachelor of Science in Education to conform with the name of the degree granted by Urbana's College of Education. At its July meeting the Board also adopted the new designation for the bachelor's degree. Coincidentally, the adoption of the new name for the baccalaureate degree coincided with the change in the certification law that required all elementary school teachers to have a four-year degree, a requirement that went into effect on July 1, 1943. The presidents of Charleston and DeKalb indicated that because of their locations, there was no need for them to start graduate work; and Northern did so only in 1951.⁸²

Fairchild was soon pressing the Board for permission to implement graduate work more quickly than it was inclined to do. Following the July 1943 meeting, Normal organized a Graduate Council, composed of administrators, and eventually a representative from each of the departments that was approved to do graduate work. By December the University had submitted its plan to offer such work in the departments of Education, Psychology, Biological Science, Social Science, Foreign Languages, Speech Education, Geography, and English; and the Board, describing "the formulation of a five-year curriculum" as "the greatest step forward in the colleges since 1907," directed its graduate subcommittee to act by January 10. The Graduate Committee, composed of Board members, reported back that the "schools should enter into graduate work cautiously and gradually," that definite approval should be granted only to the courses that would be taught in the summer of 1944, that enrollment be restricted to in-service teachers, and that a full-scale program for students in residence should begin only in September 1945.

Fairchild, supported by the Board's new resident member, Richard F. Dunn,[†] a 1911 two-year diploma recipient and a prominent Bloomington attorney, protested that the demand was great enough to warrant beginning a full-year program already in 1944. It was better, Fairchild said, to offer a complete program in fewer areas than a few courses in all areas. Subsequently, he reiterated that no additional funds would be required to run the program for the duration of the war and that the program was limited for the time being to teacher education. Some Board members were concerned that allowing Normal to proceed by itself might be detrimental to the other schools that had not completed their plans and that permitting it to offer a full-time program might worsen the shortage of teachers, especially in such fields as vocational work, special science, and mathematics.

But on April 3, 1944, the Board authorized Normal to begin graduate work in the regular 1944–45 school year in the areas of Education and Psychology, Biological Science, Social Science, Geography, and English. To receive such authorization, at least half of the faculty of a given department had to have a doctorate, and only they were permitted to teach graduate courses. The Board approved Carbondale's and Macomb's expanded offerings in December 1944. In the meantime thirty-eight students had begun master's work at Normal in the summer of 1944, and ninety-two enrolled during the first year. On June 4, 1945, the University awarded the first master's degree ever granted by a teachers college in Illinois to Charlotte Elizabeth Wilcox in Biology.⁸³ Thus, thanks to Fairchild's persistence and the support of Bloomington's resident board members, Normal was the first teachers college in Illinois to offer graduate work on a regular basis.

Kinneman criticized Fairchild, whom he called "prejudice[d] in favor of course work in Education," for requiring that a member of the Department of Education and Psychology serve on the master's committee of every student, regardless of the topic of the thesis.⁸⁴ Admittedly, Fairchild had a narrow view of Normal's mission, but it is hard to see how, with only at best the begrudging backing of the Board and the other presidents, he could have overcome the opposition of Urbana's College of Education if he had not stressed the narrowly-defined, educational and pedagogical focus of the students' graduate work. To achieve his long-term goal of improving the preparation of teachers, Fairchild cleverly emphasized that the wartime decline in undergraduate enrollments made it an ideal period, with no initial additional cost to the State, to begin graduate work. When it came to graduate education, Fairchild was quite foresighted.

8 SPECIAL EDUCATION

The same can be said for his advocacy of a program to train special education teachers, a need that Brown had been the first to identify. In the nineteenth century Illinois had established special schools to educate deaf and blind children, but by the end of the century it had been recognized that such facilities provided instruction for only a fraction of the children who required special accommodations. In 1911 the State mandated that the public schools make provisions for truant and delinquents, and in 1923 the legislature extended this mandate to include "crippled children" and began providing the schools with financial assistance to do so. The General Assembly included children with vision and hearing problems in

[†]Dunn Hall was named in his honor in 1953.

1929, and a 1943 law expanded the obligation to encompass all types of physical handicaps. When the last law was enacted, 15,298 children were receiving such assistance in Chicago; but only 1,025 were in the remainder of the State. It was estimated that, at a minimum, 46,500 children, and possibly many more, required such help.

In January 1943 Irving Pearson, the secretary of the Illinois Education Association, wrote Fairchild that many individuals, including Vernon Nickell, Class of 1929, the superintendent of public instruction (1943–59), and Rodney H. Brandon, the director of the Commission for Handicapped Children, were interested in establishing programs to prepare teachers of the disabled at the teachers colleges. That September Fairchild recommended to the Board that it create at the University a Division of Special Education, and that Rose E. Parker, who had been the director of the Division of Rural Education, the defunct two-year program to prepare country teachers, be placed in charge. Nickell and President Buzzard of Charleston agreed that Normal was the best site for such a program because of its proximity to the state schools in Lincoln and Jacksonville that could serve as training schools; and the Board gave its approval.

By April 1944 faculty members, in consultation with outside experts and school administrators at the annual roundup, had developed curriculums; and three students enrolled in Special Education that summer—a banner semester in the history of the University. A year later Normal began offering graduate work in Special Education as well. Normal was the first school in the nation to train special education teachers in all areas, and in 1951 the University dedicated the new Special Education Building, appropriately named in Fairchild's honor after his resignation in 1955. By September 1951 the department had 168 majors, but between November 1951 and March 1952, alone, it had received 55 requests for its graduates.⁸⁵ In the middle of World War II Fairchild succeeded in expanding Normal's mission in two crucial areas: graduate education and special education.

9 WORLD WAR II

One until recently forgotten graduate of the University, Wilhelmina (Minnie) Vautrin (1887–1941), Class of 1907, a native of Secor, played an extraordinary role in the run up to World War II. In 1912 she went to China as a missionary and became the head of the Education Department and dean of studies at Ginling Women's Arts and Science College in Nanking. During the 1937 Japanese massacre of three hundred thousand Chinese in Nanking, Vautrin sheltered for several months ten thousand women and children in the college. She was overwhelmed by the horrors she had witnessed and committed suicide in 1941. In 2005 she became the hero of a dance production, "Nanjing 1937" which opened in Beijing and toured the country.⁸⁶

The outbreak of hostilities in Europe in September 1939 was felt in Normal long before Pearl Harbor. Enrollments, which had reached a prewar high of 1,973 in September 1938, declined from 1,945 in 1939 to 1,820 in 1940 and 1,621 in September 1941. Fairchild was pleasantly surprised that there had been only a 10.9 percent drop between 1940 and 1941; he had feared as much as a 25 percent

loss. More upper class men had returned than anticipated, but, unexpectedly, more women, many of them trained in the Department of Business Education, were finding employment in offices, most notably at State Farm.⁸⁷

In May 1941 an assistant professor resigned to follow her army husband officer to his posting in Philadelphia, and in the fall Kenyon S. Fletcher, an associate professor of Industrial Arts, was granted a year's leave to serve as the assistant director of Illinois' program to train defense workers. It was becoming difficult by October 1941 to procure, without a defense priority number, construction materials or even chemicals for the classes in Chemistry. The National Youth Administration operated until December 1941 an agricultural-industrial program, which enrolled at any given time between 60 and 130 men, in eight buildings it had constructed on the University Farm; and defense classes in welding were taught in the Mechanic Arts Building (now Edwards) in two nightly shifts. In conjunction with the University, the Civil Aeronautics Administration, in preparation for the forthcoming conflict, offered between 1940 and 1942 flight training to over 110 students at the Bloomington airport.⁸⁸

After the declaration of war on December 8, 1941, the University established a War Service Council to deal with student and faculty participation in the war effort. It consisted of seven subordinate boards, composed of both faculty and students: war records, government relations and Americanism, community war service, student war activities, war literature and library, war funds, and curricular adjustments—the first instance of anything that can even be remotely described as shared governance at the University. Fairchild underestimated initially the impact that the war would have. Enrollment in the spring of 1942 dropped only 12.8 percent—from 1,678 in Spring 1941 to 1,465; and though he anticipated further decreases, he did not expect a “pronounced shrinkage . . . unless the war continues beyond 1945.”

A year later there were only 1,076 students on campus. This number was deceptive because 125 of the 291 men, most enrolled in various military programs, left before the end of the spring 1943 semester. The president was not surprised by the drop in male enrollments, but he found it almost inexplicable that women were leaving in large numbers to marry or to find employment in work not directly related to the defense effort at a moment when there was an unprecedented demand for teachers and financial aid was available to college students.⁸⁹ In an apparent response to an ad for the WAAC in the *Vidette* on January 12, 1943, the paper editorialized on January 19 that women would be “unpatriotic” if they joined the Women's Army Air Corps because “[w]omen of ISNU can best serve their country by remaining in school until they graduate and then by teaching.”⁹⁰

Material shortages were soon a problem. In March 1942 the Board directed the presidents to conserve as much as possible; special note was made of paper, erasers, and paper clips. A college committee concerned itself with a reduction in the use of the mimeograph machine. The shortage of cars and tires was a more serious matter, and the University had to limit its popular extension courses to sites that were readily accessible by public transportation to both the faculty and in-service teachers. In July 1943 the Board decided to hold all its meetings in Chicago until travel conditions improved. (One meeting happened to fall on D-Day, and the members began by praying for the success of the Allied invasion.)

A few faculty members volunteered or were drafted for military service. One volunteer was Alice Ebel, then an instructor in the teaching of social science, who accepted in November 1943 a commission in the WAVES, the women's corps in the Navy. She subsequently became the first woman member of the McLean County Board and in 1966 the first chair of the Political Science Department. Older faculty left for temporary civilian assignments related to their professional expertise. For example, the physicist Clarence L. Cross was assigned full-time in 1942 to the University's cooperative program with the Civil Aeronautics Administration; and a biologist left for the duration of the war to serve with the overseas military operations of the Red Cross. (Cross's daughter, Professor K. Patricia Cross of Berkeley, Class of 1948, endowed during the University's first comprehensive campaign the Cross Chair in the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning.) The University found it especially difficult to hire and to retain janitors, groundskeepers, and other laborers, who could readily obtain higher wages in defense plants, in the Chicago and Alton Railroad shops, or in the private sector in general. It was forced to employ older individuals whom it would not have hired in peacetime.⁹¹

The University's shops were made available for the war effort on a twenty-four-hour basis, seven days a week. By May 1943 over eleven hundred men and women had been trained there for work in defense plants in Bloomington-Normal and elsewhere. The University of Illinois Extension Service used three of Normal's physical science laboratories two nights a week to prepare civilian radio operators. The two institutions cooperated in the spring of 1943 in giving 175 men from southern Illinois and northern Kentucky who lacked the requisite prior experience the necessary training, so they could work on dairy farms or do other types of agricultural labor. That same spring the University also trained twenty-seven high school instructors in pre-flight aeronautics. The federal government funded these programs and thus in effect assumed much of the cost of maintaining the University's infrastructure during the war.⁹²

Even more important was the University's involvement with the Navy V-1 non-militarized, pre-induction program, the V-5 naval aviation program, and the V-12 naval college training program. The University received permission in 1942 to enroll entering freshmen in the V-1 program. The existing curriculum was altered so these students would be qualified to teach Physics and Mathematics. Forty-three men were enrolled in the V-1 program in the spring of 1943. The Civilian Pilot Training Program, which had been started in 1940, was turned in July 1942 into an eight-week army training program for twenty enlisted men and twenty-two glider pilots. The University received \$14,000 to train the twenty men. This program was discontinued in January 1943, when Navy flyers in the V-5 program replaced the army unit. In April 1943 the University was designated as one of five centers in the Midwest to offer advanced flight work on campus and at the municipal airport to enlisted, uniformed Navy flyers who had completed the three-month, pre-flight program at other institutions. Eighty men, who were considered to be regularly enrolled at the University, were in the V-5 program in April 1943, but it concluded in June.

A V-12 unit took its place on July 1, 1943. It consisted initially of 255 men or approximately 27 percent of the total enrollment of 957 in the summer of 1943;

there were only 67 civilian male students. Fairchild noted that the sailors' presence made it "possible to maintain the organization and activities of the University in almost their normal form and procedures." Thirty-seven faculty members taught everything from one course to a full load to the naval students, who were housed in Fell and Smith Halls. On October 23, 54 of the men left for midshipmen school and were replaced by 44 men at the beginning of the second naval semester, which started on November 1. Fairchild pointed out that 84 of these 299 men came from 24 states besides Illinois—the first time the University had a truly geographically diverse student body. The cadets participated fully in the life of the University. He was especially proud that the University's football team, composed of V-12 men, had beaten Illinois Wesleyan, whose squad was recruited from a V-5 unit, in two games. This was the first time since 1934 that Normal had defeated Wesleyan. By the time the program ended on June 30, 1945, 604 men had studied at Normal. Most were subsequently commissioned as ensigns or as specialists in certain areas of naval service.

Unlike the V-5 program, the University was not allowed to profit from hosting a V-12 unit, but it was permitted to retain the necessary funds to restore its facilities to their prewar condition. In fact, Fairchild reported, Fell and Smith Halls were, thanks to the government's generosity, in better condition than they had been before the sailors had moved in.⁹³ Thus, in contrast to the First World War, World War II did not have a deleterious effect on the University's finances; but the Depression and the war forged for the first time bonds between the federal government and teachers colleges like Normal and their institutional successors that have characterized higher education to the present day.

If Fairchild had resigned in 1945, he would be remembered today, unequivocally, as one of the University's great presidents. He succeeded a disgraced president, Harry Brown, at the depth of the Depression and turned the University into a professional school for the preparation of teachers and the continuing education of in-service teachers. Unlike his predecessors, Fairchild was a trained administrator and the first president with an earned doctorate; and he introduced the best administrative practices he had identified at teachers colleges around the country into the University's management.

Although he did not begin the program of hiring individuals with Ph.D.'s or of encouraging faculty to obtain an advanced degree, the caliber of the faculty, measured in terms of professional qualifications, increased notably during his tenure. Fairchild, unlike Felmley, valued research, at least on educational topics; and Normal's faculty were more productive scholars than their colleagues at the four other state teachers colleges. When enrollments soared during the 1930s, he initiated a policy of enrollment management based on the principle that the best high school graduates should become teachers. He recognized early on that teachers, especially secondary school teachers, needed a master's degree; and he fought Urbana's College of Education to procure for Illinois' teachers colleges the right to offer such work. Similarly, he laid the foundations for Illinois State's national reputation in the field of special education. It is no accident that both the graduate and special education programs began during the momentous summer of 1944, as Allied troops were landing on the beaches of Normandy, because Fairchild argued cleverly that with the wartime decline in enrollments, Normal could start such programs at no initial cost to the State.

Regrettably, Fairchild failed to grasp that the citizens of Illinois were beginning to demand, as the influx of students from the liberal arts colleges to the teachers colleges in the early 1930s shows, that the teachers colleges be more than just “professional schools.” After World War II the returning GIs wanted the State’s public colleges and universities to provide them and, above all, their children with an education that would assure them a secure place in the middle class. Fairchild’s adamant refusal to broaden Normal’s mission to satisfy the social and economic aspirations of postwar Americans was his baneful legacy to the University.

ENDNOTES

1. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 282.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 279–86; and Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 231–39 (quotations are on pp. 237–39). Marshall, p. 280, calls him Dr. Brown, but his degrees were honorary ones from Bates and Miami University (p. 281). After leaving Normal, he obtained an earned doctorate from Columbia’s Teachers College (p. 291, n. 25). Buzzard received a diploma from Normal, bachelor’s and master’s degrees from Chicago (1916, 1917), and a Ph.D. from Clark University in 1925.
3. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, November 17, 1930*, p. 11; and *May 17, 1937*, p. 35; *Annual Catalog, 1931–1932*, pp. 37–38; and Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 226–27.
4. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 285–86. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, November 17, 1930*, p. 10; and *November 9, 1931*, pp. 52–53 (quotation is on p. 52).
5. *Annual Catalog, 1931–1932*, pp. 75–77; Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 239–40; Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 281–82; and *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, November 17, 1930*, p. 10; *May 11, 1931*, pp. 53–54; and *September 25, 1933*, p. 53.
6. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 282; and *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, November 17, 1930*, p. 12; *May 11, 1931*, pp. 54–55.
7. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 282. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” p. 251, supplies the names of the threatened teachers. The others were: Lora Dexheimer, Class of 1901, who had taught the sixth grade since 1902; Jessie M. Dillon, Class of 1898, who had taught the fourth grade since 1900 and who retired in 1935; and Christine Thoene (d. 1949), who had taught fifth grade since 1919.
8. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, January 19, 1931*, pp. 18–19; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 282–93. Marshall was very discreet in her account of Brown’s termination. For example, she does not mention Smith by name, but between Kinneman’s memoir and the Board *Proceedings*, it is possible to read between the lines.
9. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 250–55; Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 282–83, 288–91; *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, June 26, 1933*, p. 25; and *September 25, 1933*, p. 52. The other faculty members who spoke to the Board were Robert Guy Buzzard, H. A. Peterson, Clyde Hudelson, and Ernest Lamkey. Kinneman, p. 254. Salisbury had a diploma from Ypsilanti, bachelor’s and master’s degrees from University of Washington, and a Ph.D. from Stanford. He had taught and been a superintendent of schools in both South Dakota and Washington, had been the director of the Bureau of Research and Professor of Education at Bellingham (today Western Washington University), and director of teacher training at Ohio University. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, September 28, 1931*, p. 30.
10. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, caption under Brown’s photograph, facing p. 290. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” hints at the nature of the relationship between Brown, a married man, and Miss Smith. During the summer of 1931, the faculty ran a weekly evening lecture series. Brown was scheduled to deliver one, but a few hours earlier canceled his appearance because of “other compelling engagements.” The same thing occurred when it was Smith’s turn to speak. The president himself informed people a few hours in advance that she had suddenly fallen “desperately ill”—Brown’s own words (pp.

181–82). After talking about Brown's resignation, Kinneman says: "My recollection of Brown's sudden and compelling appointment, which prevented him from meeting his engagement on our simple little lecture series of the summer session, was now explained, to a considerable degree, by Doudna's comments [Edgar G. Doudna, the executive officer of the Wisconsin Board of Regents with whom Kinneman had a conversation in February 1946] and detailed delineation of his behavior. Also, Brown's description of the desperate illness of Miss Smith when she was supposed to appear for a lecture under the same auspices. Naïve people have great difficulty seeing through the machinations of the clever and the evasive!" (pp. 253–54). There is no indication how much was known or at least suspected in 1933 about Brown's ties to Smith.

11. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 279 (quotation is on this page), 292.

12. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," pp. 185–86 (on Schroeder's dealings with African Americans), 258–60 (on Schroeder's character and candidacy). The *Vidette*, May 22, 1933, p. 6, ran a brief story, "Colored Students Dance in McCormick Gym." The story indicates that this was the sixth annual dance. A segregated dance must thus date back to 1927, before the incident with Schroeder, and there must have been a sufficient number of black students at the University to warrant holding such an event. The story itself identifies six students, including the captain of the track team, as members of the planning committee. Interestingly, the chaperones were President and Mrs. Brown, the dean of men and the dean of women, and two other couples. Thus, while the dance was segregated, white administrators and faculty participated. I want to thank James Cunningham of Milner Library for bringing this story to my attention.

13. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," pp. 257–58, 262–63 (Bach's words are on p. 262); and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 292–94 (Fairchild's words are on p. 293). Kinneman, p. 263, describes Fairchild's words on this occasion as "non-committal and easily forgotten," but they are highly revealing.

14. Fairchild, "Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges," pp. 15–19.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 318

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 86–126, esp. p. 106.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 110. Fairchild told the Board in December 1936 that a few applicants had been rejected because they had "physical handicaps as would make it obviously impossible for them to be placed after they had been educated for the teaching profession." *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, December 21, 1936*, pp. 95, 97. A copy of the application for admissions was published in the *Proceedings* for January 17, 1938, pp. 21–24. It directed that students who did not intend to teach should not apply.

20. Fairchild, "Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges," pp. 250–54; and Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," pp. 176–79. The choice of these two speakers may not have been accidental because Kinneman, an advocate of equal rights for African Americans, chaired the program committee. Herskovits was noted for his work on the African roots of African American culture, while Ashley-Montagu attacked the concept of race.

21. Fairchild, "Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges," pp. 258–299; Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," pp. 212–13, 278–80 (quotation is here); Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 295–96; and *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, May 15, 1934*, p. 52; *December 9, 1935*, pp. 159, 161; and *May 17, 1937*, p. 37. In a critique of Marshall's book, which he wrote for Walker D. Wyman, Kinneman noted that she had failed to mention that the University had reinstated the offering of extension courses in 1929. I have deposited the critique in the University Archives.

22. Fairchild, "Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges," pp. 10 (quotation is on this page), 40, 54, 147, 171–72.

23. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," pp. 196–97, 215, 313–16; and *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, June 10, 1943*, p. 93.

24. I am grateful for Jason Kaplan for compiling this information for me. In granting women faculty leaves of absence, the *Proceedings* almost invariably describe them as "Miss." Women faculty members often resigned because they intended to marry. See, for example, *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, June 20, 1938*, pp. 81–82.

25. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," pp. 230–31. The new hires were three faculty members in English, Gerda Okerlund (University of Washington) and Marian Taylor and Florence Teager, both graduates of the State University of Iowa. The other two were Wisconsin Ph.D.s: Ralph Gooding in Chemistry and Rose Parker, who eventually became the first Director of Special Education. Parker, who was hired as an associate professor to supervise the intermediate grades, was the highest paid (\$3,105). Okerlund, an assistant professor, who had taught in high schools and junior colleges in California and who had been an instructor for two years at the University of Washington, received \$2,295. Gooding, who was only an instructor, earned the same amount; but he had been for three years an instructor at the University of Wisconsin and before that had been the plant supervisor at the DuPont Dye Works in Deepwater, New Jersey. Teager, another instructor, who had extensive teaching experiences in both high schools and colleges, also made \$2,295. Taylor, an instructor, made the least, only \$1,800; but she had the least prior teaching. However, Brown noted that two of her papers based on her research about Shakespeare were being published in London. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, September 28, 1931*, pp. 29–31. Perhaps, Gooding was paid slightly more because he was a man, but his prior experience as an industrial chemist was presumably taken into consideration in determining his salary.

26. On Marshall, see *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, October 7, 1935*, p. 139. I have not been able to find the announcement of Tasher's hiring (she taught here until 1972 and endowed a major scholarship for history students), but Fairchild indicated in his report on January 10, 1935, that he needed to find someone to teach classes in U.S. History (p. 15) and Tasher was on the summer payroll (p. 43).

27. I am grateful to Jason Kaplan for compiling these statistics.

28. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," pp. 167–68, 285–87.

29. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, December 13, 1937*, pp. 209–10.

30. I am grateful to Jason Kaplan for compiling these statistics.

31. Fairchild, "Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges," pp. 64, 154, 199–202, 310. Pangburn, *The Evolution of the American Teachers College*, which was published in 1932, states that the faculty at such schools "lagged far behind" their colleagues at liberal arts colleges and universities in productive scholarship (p. 114). Few were even members of the professional organization in their academic discipline (p. 116).

32. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, June 20, 1938*, p. 93.

33. *Vidette*, January 15, 1937. I am grateful to Jo Ann Rayfield for bringing this article to my attention.

34. Biles, *Illinois*, pp. 212–15.

35. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 265–67, 272, n. 14; *The Pantagraph*, April 15, 2007, A2; and H. M. Thrasher, "Illinois High Schools in the Crisis: The Responsibility of State High School Supervision for the Preservation of our Ideals for Secondary Education," *The Illinois Teacher* 23/3 (November, 1934): 83.

36. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, Illinois State Normal University, Budget Estimate for the*

Biennium Beginning July 1, 1931, pp. 67–69.

37. *Ibid.*, September 18, 1930, p. 19; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 285–86.
38. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, Budget Estimate for the Biennium Beginning July 1, 1931*, p. 69.
39. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, November 21, 1932*, p. 24.
40. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1932, pp. 50–55. The table comparing salaries at other institutions is on pp. 52–53.
41. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1932, pp. 70 (quotation is on this page), 94–96.
42. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1932, pp. 18–19.
43. *Ibid.*, October 10, 1932, pp. 56, 59–60.
44. *Ibid.*, November 21, 1932, pp. 3, 20, 24.
45. *Ibid.*, April 5, 1933, p. 25; June 26, 1933, p. 25.
46. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 287.
47. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 215–16.
48. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, May 15, 1934*, pp. 50, 56; and *January 10, 1935*, p. 16. In 1938 repairs and maintenance had to be sharply curtailed because of a lack of funds and the Board resolved that it and the presidents of the five colleges would cooperate with Governor Horner “in his policy of practicing strict economy in the management of the five Normal Schools.” The presidents were ordered to consult with their Board advisory committee when making any emergency expenditure exceeding \$100 and to report such expenditures to the Board. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, June 20, 1938*, p. 92; and *August 22, 1938*, p. 111.
49. *Ibid.*, February 18, 1935, p. 20
50. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1936, p. 111; and *June 20, 1938*, pp. 91–92; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 303.
51. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, January 13, 1931*, p. 17; *April 4, 1932*, p. 17; *October 10, 1932*, p. 50; *May 15, 1934*, p. 41; *October 7, 1935*, p. 136; and *July 13, 1937*, p. 88. Fairchild was perfectly aware that Normal was nowhere close to being the largest teachers college. In his 1932 dissertation, “Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges,” pp. 35–36, he reported that the number of students in the seventy schools he had studied ranged from 210 to 2,149. Ten, including Cedar Falls (2,143 students), Bowling Green (2,000), and Kalamazoo (2,149), had enrolled more than 1,800 students (Appendix A).
52. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board*, April 4, 1932, p. 18; *October 10, 1932*, p. 50; *June 26, 1933*, p. 21; and *September 25, 1933*, p. 47.
53. *Ibid.*, April 5, 1933, pp. 21–23. St. Viator, in financial trouble, closed in 1939.
54. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1932, p. 68; *October 7, 1935*, p. 136; *February 17, 1936*, pp. 178–80; *May 25, 1936*, p. 36; and *December 13, 1937*, pp. 198–200.
55. *Ibid.*, November 14, 1938, pp. 146–47, 151; *May 26, 1939*, p. 80; *February 19, 1940*, p. 24; *October 13, 1941*, p. 167; and *December 8, 1943*, p. 273.
56. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1938, p. 28.
57. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 210–11.
58. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, February 18, 1935*, p. 30.
59. *Ibid.*, October 8, 1934, p. 44; *October 7, 1935*, p. 160; and *December 15, 1941*, p. 211; and *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, April 20, 1959*, p. 340. The mansion, which occupied most of a city block, also had a dormitory on the third floor, six large basement rooms used in part for recreation, and five baths. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1939, p. 89.
60. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 287.
61. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, October 7, 1935*. Before the establishment of the National Youth Administration, students found work through the Federal Emergency Relief Agency. Between

March 12 and May 3, 1934, 157 students earned \$3,768 while doing useful work on campus. *Ibid.*, *May 15, 1934*, p. 50. On July 15, 1935, Fairchild indicated that approximately 250 students had received federal assistance, presumably from the FERA, the previous year. *Ibid.*, *July 15, 1935*, p. 95. In 1942 Fairchild indicated that Congress had cut NYA funding and that Normal's allocation had been slashed from \$21,000 in 1941 to \$8,640, though the University continued to need student help and the students the financial aid. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, September 28, 1942*, p. 159.

62. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, December 21, 1936*, p. 97; and *May 20, 1940*, pp. 103–06.

63. *Ibid.*, *May 20, 1940*, p. 115.

64. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 272.

65. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, February 17, 1936*, p. 182. A copy of the Health Service Regulations was included in the *Proceedings* for December 21, 1936, p. 113.

66. Lucas, *American Higher Education*, pp. 203–04.

67. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, January 19, 1931*, p. 18; *December 9, 1935*, p. 158; *July 13, 1937*, p. 76; and *December 13, 1937*, p. 203 (quotation is on this page).

68. The *Vidette* reported on June 25, 1936, p. 6, that Negro students from three states had enrolled at the University, that four would receive their degrees in August, and that eleven would teach. Jack Muirhead of the Bloomington–Normal Black History Project has gone through the yearbooks and noticed the increase after the beginning of the Depression in the number of black students who were depicted. They include Ruth Middleton (1929, 1932); Harold Thomas (1930 on the football team and in 1932 on the debate team); Clarence Reeves (1934 and in 1935 in Blackfriars and the Press Club); Loretta Thomas 1934; and Wilbur Barton (1934 on the track and basketball teams and in the Industrial Arts Club; 1935 on the basketball team; and 1936 among Interesting Students and captain). I am grateful to him for this information. At least by 1938 the application for admission asked whether the applicant was white, Negro, or yellow. See *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, January 17, 1938*, p. 22. The whole question of the African American presence on campus requires closer scrutiny.

69. *Vidette*, February 8, 1935, p. 1; May 24, 1935, p. 1; February 26, 1937, p. 2; and March 2, 1937, p. 2. I am grateful to James L. Cunningham of Milner Library for supplying me with these references.

70. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, February 6, 1929*, p. 13; *November 4, 1929*, p. 10 (quotation is on this page); *May 15, 1934*, pp. 41–42; and *February 17, 1936*, p. 178. Fairchild, "Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges," p. 36, indicated that there were approximately 67,000 students, 50,000 women and 17,000 men or 25 percent of the total registration, enrolled around 1930 in the seventy colleges he studied. So Normal was fairly typical around 1930 in its gender balance; it would require further study to ascertain whether it still was in 1935.

71. Fairchild, "Administrative Practices in the Improvement of Teacher Education in State Teachers Colleges," pp. 32–34 (quotations are on p. 34).

72. Although Marshall was a faculty member during this period, she provides no background information about the beginnings of graduate education at the University. She simply starts her account with the inauguration of graduate work in the summer of 1944. See Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 309.

73. "Report of Committee on Resolutions, Submitted by the Committee of the I.S.T.A. to the Representative Assembly, Annual Meeting, 1934," *The Illinois Teacher* 23/4 (December, 1934), p. 104; "Third General Session: Treasurer and Resolutions, Nominating and Legislative Committees' Report," *idem*, 23/6 (February, 1935), p. 175; and Johnson and Johannigmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 366–371 (quotation is on p. 371). Johnson and Johannigmeier, p. 371, do not seem to have been aware that the motion was actually tabled and state, parenthetically, in regard to the 1934 petition: "The colleges were

already planning to do so then, and the permission was not long in coming.” I can find no evidence for any such plans, and the Board authorized such work only in 1943.

74. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, May 25, 1936*, pp. 3, 43–44.

75. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, p. 372.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 266–69. The reports were never published, but are available at the University of Illinois Archives under Provost, Bureau of Institutional Research, Edward F. Pothoff Papers, 1926–60. The first is “Some Factors Which Should Guide *The University of Illinois* in the Education of Teachers for Illinois High Schools,” dated July 28, 1936. The statistics on the number of teachers with master’s degrees are on p. 13. The second is “Summary of Studies Pertaining to the Combination of Studies Taught by High School Teachers,” dated April 14, 1938.

77. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, September 11, 1939*, p. 130.

78. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 368–69, 376. The only indication that I could find in the *Proceedings* about this partnership with Urbana is an offhand comment by Fairchild in 1943 that Normal would continue to “cooperate as in the past few years with the University of Illinois in the offering of a graduate course in education by making available a classroom and the library facilities of the University for persons registered in this class.” *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, September 27, 1943*, p. 172. Johnson and Johanningmeier, p. 367, n. 72, point out that in the 1936–38 biennium report to the state superintendent of public instruction, Normal indicated that it had thirty-nine “post graduates’ regularly enrolled,” apparently as evidence that Normal was gradually slipping into offering graduate work. However, as we have seen, Normal had been providing professional training to graduates of liberal arts colleges, essentially second bachelor’s degrees, since 1907; so the presence of such post-graduate students does not prove that the University was offering surreptitiously graduate work.

79. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, February 19, 1940*, p. 3. On Beich as a Board member, see Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” p. 221.

80. Johnson and Johanningmeier, *Teachers for the Prairie*, pp. 372–75, esp. p. 375, n. 86; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 317–23; and *idem*, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 51–52. For a detailed summary of the arguments on both sides, see *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, July 14, 1947*, pp. 145–56.

81. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, July 9, 1941*, pp. 84–85; *October 13, 1941*, p. 138; *May 18, 1942*, p. 83; *September 28, 1942*, pp. 107, 159; and *May 17, 1943*, pp. 9, 19–22, 58.

82. *Ibid.*, *May 17, 1943*, pp. 57–58; *June 11, 1943*, pp. 94–95, 130–31; *July 12, 1943*, pp. 133–37; and *September 27, 1943*, p. 138; and Hayter, *Education in Transition*, pp. 224–25. President Adams of Northern had an even narrower definition of a teachers college mission than Fairchild.

83. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, September 27, 1943*, p. 183; *December 8, 1943*, pp. 210–11, 278; *January 26, 1944*, pp. 3–6, *April 3, 1944*, pp. 8–9, 43; *December 18, 1944*, p. 132; *February 19, 1945*, pp. 49–50; and *October 15, 1945*, pp. 38, 56; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 309. According to the minutes for December 8, 1943, the chair of the Board’s Graduate Committee, Russell Guin, referred to the offering of graduate work as “the greatest step forward in the colleges since 1917.” That date is either a misprint or a factual error. The Year 1917 was hardly a banner year for the teachers colleges. I presume Guin was referring to the General Assembly authorizing the normal schools to grant bachelor’s degrees. For a list of all the graduate courses offered in 1944–45, see *Proceedings, May 10, 1945*, pp. 36–41.

84. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 278–79.

85. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 310–12; *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, September 27, 1943*, pp. 141, 182; *December 8, 1943*, pp. 278–79; *April 3, 1944*, pp. 11–12; 45; *February 19, 1945*, p. 50; and *March 17, 1952*, pp. 269–70; and Theodore Sands and Rose E. Parker, “Special Education—Then &

Now," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 50 (1957): 190–203.

86. Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York, 1997), pp. 129–39, 186–87; and *Chicago Tribune*, September 25, 2005, pp. 17–18. I am grateful to Mark Plummer for bringing this item to my attention. See also Amanda Dahlquist, "The 'Goddess' Missionary," *Illinois Heritage* 11/4 (July–August 2008): 19–23.

87. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, February 19, 1940*, p. 24; *December 16, 1940*, p. 212; *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, October 13, 1941*, p. 167; and *March 30, 1942*, p. 24.

88. *Ibid.*, *May 19, 1941*, p. 70; *October 13, 1941*, pp. 137–38, 170, 176, 178; and *December 15, 1941*, p. 211; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 304–05.

89. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, March 30, 1942*, pp. 7, 24 (quotation is here), 37 (organizational chart of War Service Council); and *May 17, 1943*, pp. 41–43.

90. Cited by Rayfield, "The Impact of World Wars on the Experience of Women on the Campus at Illinois State Normal University," pp. 9–10.

91. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board.*, *March 30, 1942*, pp. 8, 25, 36; *May 18, 1942*, p. 78; *September 28, 1942*, pp. 144–45, 151, 154; *May 17, 1943*, pp. 47, 53; *July 12, 1943*, p. 133; *September 27, 1943*, pp. 172, 180; *December 8, 1943*, p. 274; *June 6, 1944*, p. 61.

92. *Ibid.*, *May 18, 1942*, p. 85; *September 28, 1942*, p. 160; *May 17, 1943*, p. 60.

93. *Ibid.*, *March 30, 1942*, p. 36; *May 18, 1942*, p. 83; *September 28, 1942*, pp. 156, 160; *May 17, 1943*, pp. 43, 60–61; *September 27, 1943*, pp. 170, 185, 187 (quotation is here); *December 8, 1943*, pp. 283–84; *June 6, 1944*, p. 102; *February 19, 1945*, pp. 54–55; *April 9, 1945*, pp. 22–23; and *October 15, 1945*, pp. 57–58.



Section Three

A TEACHERS COLLEGE, 1900-1963

Chapter 8

THE POSTWAR YEARS

After 1945 Normal embarked on an extensive building program to provide for the returning veterans and, planning ahead, the children they were siring in record numbers. Hovey, Fairchild, Dunn, Barton, Walker, and the Old Union were constructed in the decade following the end of hostilities and work was started on Metcalf and Schroeder. Fittingly, Marshall subtitled her chapter about Fairchild, “Architect and Builder.”

In spite of his many notable achievements, Fairchild was a bureaucrat rather than a visionary. He revealed his limitations in his abiding rule that *The Pantagraph* invoked in its centennial coverage of the University’s founding: “Illinois State Normal University shall remain a professional school for the preparation of teachers.” By 1957 that credo no longer corresponded with reality. The president applied the techniques for managing a public school to the administration of a university and equated professional conduct with conformity to his own beliefs and the moral code he had learned in a Methodist parsonage before World War I. Above all, Fairchild failed to recognize that the Depression and World War II had transformed American society and that the teachers colleges were being summoned to become once again the people’s universities.

Hollywood could have cast Fairchild’s successor, the beloved Robert G. Bone (1956–67), as the typical small college president. For all the talk about preserving Normal’s distinctive teacher preparatory mission, Bone had no personal connection, either in his own education or previous career, to teachers colleges; and thus his very selection undercut the official rhetoric. Yet he was extremely cautious in leading the University in a new direction, preferring, as far as one can surmise, to work behind the scene to effect change. The symbolic issue in the battle over broadening the University’s mission was the debate over changing the University’s name, though the proponents, predominately younger male faculty members and students, denied that such was their intention in advocating the elimination of the word *Normal*. Their opponents, mainly older women, were not so easily fooled.

The biggest issue the University faced by the late 1950s was preparing for the arrival of the baby boomers, the first of whom registered in the fall of 1964, by building additional classrooms and dormitories. All planning went awry because administrators and their expert advisers consistently underestimated how many students would enroll. This chapter and section thus closes with the name change, the symbolic end of Old Normal, which went into effect on January 1, 1964, nine months before the appearance of the baby boomers transformed the University forever.

7 THE GI’S RETURN

Peace did not bring a return to the *status quo ante bellum*, even if Fairchild kept insisting in the immediate postwar years on the University’s sole teacher preparatory mission. Postwar planning had begun during the war. The Board cooperated with the State’s Division of Architecture and Engineering in preparing plans for construction projects once the State released the funds. Fairchild’s wish

list in December 1943 consisted of a combination Auditorium-Administration-Music-Speech Building (it is hard to imagine what such a monstrosity would have looked like or how it would have functioned), a Special Education Building, a separate high school, an addition to McCormick Gymnasium, and the long delayed construction of the south wing of Fell Hall. None of these projects, except for the future Fairchild Hall, were new. Six months later—on D-Day, as it happened—the president projected his vision for the next twenty-five years. He added to his list, in rough priority, a new elementary school building; the conversion of Metcalf (now Moulton) into a Department of Education building; another woman's residence hall and an addition to Smith Hall; a student union; a men's gymnasium; stadium; field house and armory; arts building; business education building; and a four-stack addition to Milner. Beyond that, representatives of the University participated in various conferences that dealt with the rehabilitation of disabled veterans, veterans in general, and the future of higher education.¹

Fairchild, who died in 1956, lived to see the completion of the Administration Building (1950, renamed Hovey Hall in 1959), Special Education (1951), Barton and Dunn residence halls for women and men, respectively (1951), the south and west wings of Fell (1953), Walker Hall for women (1955), the nearly finished student union (1956), and the beginning of work on Metcalf, Schroeder, and Centennial.

As anticipated, enrollment soared after 1945, but there were notable changes in the composition of the student body. Total campus enrollment in Fall 1945, the first peacetime semester, was 995; of these, not unexpectedly, only 191 were men, but 400 were freshmen and 51 veterans. The following fall 1,801 students, including 635 veterans, registered; but more students had enrolled in six falls in the 1930s. In fact, the Associated Press reported that Normal was probably the only college in the country that did not have record enrollments in 1946. Fairchild, continuing his prewar policies, had deliberately capped enrollments by limiting the freshman class to 800 students, by establishing departmental quotas, and by admitting only students who planned to teach, except for 100 residents of Bloomington-Normal who could live at home. Some of these local non-teachers were training to be school nurses at Mennonite Hospital and were doing some of their course work at the University.

The president stressed that it was essential to control enrollments because the University lacked the housing or classroom facilities to accommodate any additional students. He was certain that, if he had not acted, twenty-five hundred students would have registered. In fact, Fairchild insisted that it was impossible to estimate how many students might have arrived if the University had admitted individuals who were not planning to teach because of Normal's "central location and proximity to the University of Illinois that will be rejecting a great many students." Fairchild's policy of enrollment management was a continuation of his prewar program and reveals a peculiar insensitivity to the need to address the educational aspirations of Illinois' citizens.

In spite of Fairchild's efforts, total enrollments surpassed 2,000—1,025 men and 1,027 women—for the first time in September 1947. The students came from more than 90 of Illinois' 102 counties, and Fairchild attributed the number and geographical distribution of the applicants to the University's insistence that its

sole function was teacher education. Except for seventeen nurses studying at Mennonite, even residents of the Twin Cities were now required to take the pledge to teach. In the spring of 1948 the number of men (985) exceeded the number of women (973) for the first time since before the Civil War, though this reversal in the gender ratio proved to be an anomaly. The Korean War caused a brief dip in enrollments—from 2,449 in Fall, 1950 to a low of 2,076 in 1952—but when Robert Bone became president in September 1956, there were 3,161 students on campus. At the end of Fairchild's tenure, Normal was still the largest of the four teachers colleges under the Board's jurisdiction. In September 1954, Normal had 2,612 students; DeKalb, 2,158; Macomb, 1,836; and Charleston, 1,666.² Judging by enrollments alone, it is hard to fault Fairchild for insisting that the University with its limited facilities and staff remain true to its teacher preparatory mission.

The initial surge in enrollments was driven by men who used the GI Bill to continue their education—635 in September 1946—but by 1952 only forty individuals were still taking advantage of this benefit. To a limited degree, Korean War veterans replaced them. The number of veterans from the latter conflict jumped from eighteen in September 1952 to forty-one by January 1953.³

In addition to educating returning veterans at the collegiate level, the Veterans Administration designated the University in the spring of 1945 as one of five Veterans' Guidance and Counseling Centers in Illinois. Five members of the Psychology Department staffed the center. Between April 1945 and its closing on June 30, 1947, the staff tested and counseled 832 persons and conducted informal interviews with another 591. The University's expenses in running the center, including the salaries of the counselors, were considerably less than the \$10,620 it received from the federal government. Between September 1945 and June 1, 1947, the University also enabled ex-servicemen to complete their high school education in Normal. One hundred eighty-six veterans enrolled in the Veterans' School, a joint operation of University High School and the University proper. Regular staff members and graduate assistants taught the classes. The students, who came from throughout Illinois as well as such cities as Philadelphia and Detroit, ranged in age from eighteen to forty-five and had completed between six and eleven and a half years of schooling before enlisting in the armed forces. Of these, 123 earned a general equivalency diploma.⁴ Normal had briefly returned to its roots as a pre-collegiate institution.

At first glance Fairchild's repeated assertions that the University could not easily house more than eighteen hundred students, particularly men, seem strange because more students had registered in the late 1930s; but, as the president explained in 1945, many residents were no longer interested in renting rooms to students (postwar prosperity had its downside), and some of the two thousand employees of State Farm were occupying rooms that had once housed students. An added wrinkle was that some of the veterans, unlike the prewar students, were married—thirty-three of them in Fall, 1945—and required a different type of living quarters that was not readily available in the Twin Cities.

Feeding the students was another dilemma. Fairchild commented in April 1945 that “[t]he only word that would describe the eating facilities in Normal at the present time is the word ‘terrible.’” Aside from two drug stores and the meals some landlords served their tenants, the eight hundred civilian students had to rely “on

three small eating places.” Since these restaurants were closed on Sundays, students who wanted a hot meal had to go to Bloomington to eat. As a stopgap measure, the University opened in the summer a cafeteria in the basement of Fell. It proved to be a financial success and by 1947 was providing about two thousand meals a day. In January 1953 a snack bar began operating on the ground floor of Fell, where students could get a quick breakfast because it was not financially feasible to serve food in the cafeteria in the morning. The new facility was called “The Cage,” that is, the cardinal cage, in reference to the University’s Red Bird logo, and subsequently was moved to the student union (now the Old Union). (Its successor, the Cage II Coffee Shop, is located in the Bone Student Center.) The snack bar, too, was soon making a profit.⁵

The housing problem was more intractable. In January 1946 Fairchild estimated that the University needed, minimally, additional housing for 480 men, 700 women, and 200 married couples. Although the Board did not want to house students in trailers, it reluctantly agreed to apply to the Federal Public Housing Authority to construct an emergency trailer park for veterans and their families. Until these structures arrived, approximately fifty men lived in the gymnasium in Cook Hall. The first veterans, both married and single, were able to move at the end of 1946 into temporary housing located at the south end of the University Farm facing Sudduth Road (now College Avenue). By the spring of 1947, 246 men, women, and children were living in this temporary complex, which they named Cardinal Court. The University greenhouse grew flowering plants to help the residents beautify their bleak surroundings, which also included parking spaces, garden plots for those who wanted to grow vegetables, and a playground “for the increasingly large number of children in that area.” Soon the complex had its own kindergarten as well. Donna Eichstaedt, B.S. 1976, M.S. 1979, and D.A. 1990, whose parents were pursuing master’s degrees after her father returned from the Pacific theater, recalled that German poetry was scribbled in the closet of her unit that had previously housed POWs and that Ralph Linkins, the dean of men, prowled through the complex looking for veterans who were drinking beers. She and the other kids hid the empty bottles in the sandboxes.

In September 1956 the Board began planning a more permanent replacement for this temporary housing. It was designed to have ninety-six units: seventy-two one-bedroom apartments, renting initially, without utilities, for \$53.40 a month and twenty-four two-bedroom apartments at \$63. The new Cardinal Court opened in 1959, and the temporary, barracks-like complex was bulldozed in 1962.⁶

2 A BUILDING BOOM

The bigger problem was finding appropriate accommodations for the growing number of students who were matriculating immediately after finishing high school. Fairchild figured in March 1949 that approximately 1,500 of the 2,200 students enrolled at the University needed housing in the Twin Cities. Of the remaining 700 students, 203 women and men resided in the existing residences on campus (Fell and Smith Halls) and about 500 lived at home.

As early as October 1946, Fairchild raised the possibility that the General Assembly might allow the teachers colleges to finance the construction of additional dormitories on a self-liquidating basis, that is, by selling bonds, which would be redeemed with the income from the room and board the students paid.

Richard F. Dunn, a Normal alumnus, a board member from 1943 to 1951, and subsequently the Board's attorney, spent countless hours working out the legal and financial arrangements. The final plan in 1950 called for the construction of separate dormitories for men and women, each with a capacity of 156 beds, at a cost of \$1,100,000. To amortize the bonds, students were charged, initially, \$4 a week for the room and \$11 for board. The Board managed the smallest details in the construction and furnishing of the two new dorms. It approved, for example, a bid of \$382.50 for a slicer, \$12.75 per mopping pail, and \$26.72 for a truck dolly. The buildings, situated west of University Avenue, opened in 1951 and were named in 1953 in honor of O. Lillian Barton, the first dean of women (1911–43), and Dunn in recognition of all the work he had performed in erecting them. Dunn-Barton and the adjacent Walker Hall were demolished in 2008 to make way for a new 170,000 square-foot campus recreation center, whose estimated cost is \$43.9 million.⁷

In 1950 the State allocated \$640,000 to complete the long-sought south and west wings of Fell and in 1953, \$215,000 to finish the fourth floor. With these additions Fell was able to house 250 women. A shortage of structural steel, aggravated by the outbreak of the Korean War, postponed completion of the project until 1953; but by then Fairchild was reporting that the 632 beds available in Fell, Smith, Barton, and Dunn were not sufficient. The cautious Board, alarmed by the decline in enrollments following the outbreak of hostilities in the Far East, decided on July 20, 1953—ironically, the armistice was signed on July 27—not to construct any additional residences for the time being and to reduce operating expenses in the dormitories; but by February it was making plans to erect, at a cost of nearly \$1,400,000, the future Walker Hall to house 410 women. It opened in 1955. In 1945 the University could accommodate 105 women in Fell and 43 men in Smith; a decade later, when the seriously ill Fairchild resigned, the University had space for an additional 1,064 students in the enlarged Fell and Smith Halls, the new Barton, Dunn, and Walker residence halls, and the original Cardinal Court.⁸ The building boom had just begun.

Bond revenue and private donations were used to build the long desired student union (today the Old Union). The literary societies had procured subscriptions to erect a union in the early 1890s, but the failure of a bank in Normal during the Panic of 1893 doomed the project. The scheme was revived in the late 1930s. Initially, there was talk about raising \$25,000 in donations to construct “a building of rustic design”—were they planning to dust off the 1890s design of a structure with the gables of a Swiss chalet and the turrets of a mosque?—but soon the idea was floated to borrow money from a life insurance company and to procure a grant from the Public Works Administration to build a grander structure for \$100,000. Following the example of the University of Illinois, ownership of the proposed building was to be vested in a corporation known as the Alumni Foundation; and the loan was to be repaid through an increase in the student activity fee. By May 1940 the Board had established a subcommittee to work out the details with Fairchild, but the war intervened and ended this first tentative attempt to find alternative financing for University building projects.⁹

The plan resurfaced after the war. In 1946 a foundation, modeled after such bodies at Urbana, Carbondale, and Macomb, was established to receive gifts to the University; but it took until December 12, 1949, to constitute an executive

committee that was authorized to manage the foundation's funds.¹⁰ Fairchild suggested in 1946 that a union might be built, like the proposed dormitories, on a self-liquidating basis; but it was not until 1953, after Illinois Wesleyan University had built a union and students had appeared before the Board, that it approved a bond issue of \$450,000 for this purpose. The student activity fee was raised ten dollars a semester to amortize the bonds. Privately raised contributions were to be used to furnish the union with any excess gifts applied to the cost of the construction. In 1955 the size of the loan was increased to \$700,000.

The drive to raise \$150,000 in private contributions proved successful. On July 30, 1956, the acting president, Dean Arthur H. Larsen (June 1954–August 1956), could report that \$151,041.75 had been pledged, of which \$105,226.10 was in hand. The faculty, staff, and campus organizations had exceeded their quotas. The average faculty gift was \$133, a sizeable amount when the highest salary a professor could earn was \$6,030 a year. The big disappointment was that six large businesses that had been targeted for special gifts had refused to give and that alumni had contributed only 72 percent of the \$55,750 that had been fixed as their initial quota. Only 1,355 alumni who lived outside McLean County, of the more than 13,000 who had been solicited, had responded; and the average gift had been slightly under \$30 instead of the desired \$60. Nevertheless, the Union opened in September 1956, thanks in no little part to the students' commitment to the venture and the faculty's generosity, and was officially named in 1960 the University Union because all members of the University community, not just students, had contributed to its construction.¹¹

Another pressing need was additional classroom space. The major general classroom buildings at the end of World War II were the antiquated and structurally unsound Old Main and North Hall. As early as 1930, when Felmley was completed, there had been a proposal to demolish the old training school (North Hall), which had served since 1913 as the library, and to construct a building opposite Felmley (where Schroeder is now situated), matching the science building in appearance. (The transformation of Schroeder into a neo-Georgian structure in 2003–04 fulfilled that plan.) The implementation of this scheme would have created, north of Old Main, a three-sided quadrangle, open to the north, toward what is now College Avenue. With the construction of the original Milner Library in 1940, it was no longer appropriate to designate the training school simply as "L," as it was in class schedules. The building was renamed North Hall because, as Fairchild explained, "[t]o name this old building after some person would probably be a mistake if the building is to be removed in even the fairly distant future . . ."¹²

A bad situation became far worse on February 21, 1946, when Old Main was declared structurally unsound; and 134 classes, located mainly on the second and third floors, and 17 offices had to be relocated in 36 hours. In the next few days two other classrooms on the first floor and the student lounge were also abandoned. Only the administrative offices remained in use. (The president and other administrators were apparently deemed expendable.) The State's Division of Architecture and Engineering soon determined that the tower and third floor needed to be removed, a flat roof constructed, at least temporarily, over the second floor, and the remainder of the structure strengthened before it could be utilized again as a classroom and office building. Fairchild's preoccupation with limiting burgeoning enrollments during the spring and summer of 1946 is understandable,

even though the truncated building, which now resembled an aircraft carrier, was back in use by the fall.

The University procured at no expense from Camp Grant, an army facility outside Rockford, and the ordnance plant at Illiopolis nine surplus federal buildings with a total area of 13,700 square feet. Six were used as classrooms, two as industrial art shops, and one for instruction in music. The structures were placed behind McCormick, Fell, and Edwards. (The one behind Edwards remained in use for more than half a century.) In addition, the University rented space in the Methodist church in Normal.¹³

Alumni and townspeople were concerned about the fate of Old Main. Several of the most prominent citizens of the Twin Cities addressed the Board on April 14, 1947, and expressed the desire that the exterior be restored in such a way that it would be a replica of the original structure, whereas the interior could be completely gutted and converted to other purposes. The delegation included, among others: Florence Fifer Bohrer, the daughter of Governor Joseph W. Fifer and the first woman to be elected to the State senate; George G. Mecherle, the founder and president of State Farm; and Joseph Bunting, the business manager of *The Pantagraph*. There was a scheme to turn Old Main into the student union, though it is hard to imagine how this could have been done. (Florence's son, Board Member Joseph F. Bohrer, may have been a proponent of this option.) Judging by the Board *Proceedings*, its members were not overly interested in saving the building; and it was demolished in 1958.¹⁴

Fairchild expressed “[v]ery keen disappointment” that the budget for the 1949–51 biennium did not include an allocation for a new classroom building, in part because little could be done with Old Main until it could be completely vacated. Preliminary planning for such a structure (now East Schroeder) finally began in early 1954—the deteriorating condition of Old Main made it more urgent than ever—and the Board ranked the building, whose cost was fixed at \$950,000, as its highest priority for the 1955–57 biennium. That amount included the cost of installing ducts for air-conditioning, but not for the necessary cooling units. (Anyone who taught or took a class in Schroeder before it was renovated can readily believe that air-conditioning was an afterthought.) The structure, a bowdlerized version of the International Style fashionable in the 1950s rather than the neo-Georgian structure that had been envisioned in 1930, was named for Herman Schroeder in July 1955 and was ready for use at the beginning of the new school year in 1957.¹⁵

Planning for the new Metcalf Elementary School Building, which was dedicated along with Schroeder on September 16, 1957, began in 1952. The initial cost was fixed at \$1,900,000, but plans for an auditorium had to be eliminated from the original design to stay within the budget. Its construction ranked sixth in the Board's capital development budget for the 1955–57 biennium. In 1956 the Board authorized the expenditure of an additional \$150,000 to add an auditorium (today Hayden Auditorium)* and decided to transfer Metcalf's name from the old elementary school, which became the high school and which was renamed in Samuel E. Moulton's honor in 1962.¹⁶

*The auditorium was named in 1960 for Annie Wetzette Hayden, who taught first grade from 1921 to 1956.

On April 2, 1957, Richard G. Browne, the Board's Executive Officer and the former head of the Social Science Department at Normal, testified before the Senate Committee of the Whole that the Board had received since 1951, when it had been constituted as an autonomous body, \$13,360,500 in state appropriated funds for capital improvements at the four teachers colleges under its jurisdiction. It had also spent nearly ten million of bond revenue. The Board had demonstrated, according to Browne, that it was able to construct buildings that were "functional, thoroughly useful, safe, and attractive, and yet . . . [could] be built at such modest costs as \$11, \$12, and \$13 per square foot."¹⁷ The postwar buildings were undoubtedly "functional, thoroughly useful, safe," and, one might add, cheap; but would anyone describe Schroeder, before its recent renovation, even when it was new, as "attractive"?

3 POSTWAR STATE FUNDING

Unlike the grim years during and immediately after World War I, let alone the early 1930s, the State was relatively generous after World War II, even if the needs far outstripped the available resources. Postwar prosperity, the pent up demand for consumer goods, inflation, and the United States' new international responsibilities caused different types of problems, such as the shortage of steel during the Korean War that delayed completion of the south wing of Fell. In February 1950 a national coal strike even closed the University for seventeen days.¹⁸

The faculty salary schedule, which had been established in 1928, reduced 10 percent in 1933, and restored only in 1937, lagged hopelessly behind inflation. In October 1945 Fairchild indicated that hiring new teachers had been "one of the most trying experiences of twenty-five years of administration." It had been "absolutely and totally impossible to employ persons in such special fields as art, music, health and physical education, home economics, industrial arts, etc., at the maximum of \$2,430 [a year] permissible for an instructor, since people in these special fields are receiving higher salaries in high schools." The following April the president complained that Normal could not compete with even the smallest high schools for faculty with master's degrees. This time he singled out the market for special education teachers as especially competitive.

The Board finally established a new pay scale in 1947: professors, \$4,950–\$5,850 per year on a nine-month contract; associates, \$4,275–\$5,175; assistants, \$3,600–\$4,500; and instructors \$2,295–\$3,825. The presidents' annual salary was fixed at \$10,000. This schedule was revised in 1950. The presidents now earned \$12,000; professors, \$5,130–\$6,030; associates, \$4,455–\$5,355; assistants, \$3,870–\$4,770; and instructors, \$3,690–\$4,360. On July 22, 1954, the presidents of the State's six public universities and colleges—the University of Illinois, Southern, and the four teachers colleges—jointly called for salary adjustments, based primarily on merit, because faculty salaries at their institutions lagged far behind those of comparable institutions elsewhere and made it difficult to recruit and retain qualified staff—a familiar litany in the history of postwar higher education in Illinois. The Board adopted a new scale in 1957: professors, \$6,300–\$9,900, but that ceiling could be exceeded; associates, \$5,400–\$9,540; assistants, \$4,500–\$8,280; and instructors, \$3,600–\$7,020. Bone had been hired in 1956 at \$13,000.¹⁹

Rapidly rising enrollments and lagging salaries meant that per capita costs actually declined, especially if one takes into account inflation, during the postwar period.

The per capita costs were especially high during the last year of the war—FY45—\$832, but only \$732 if the V-12 students are included in the calculation. Per capita costs dropped to \$570 in FY47, and then gradually rose in the aftermath of the Korean War to a high of \$1,093 in FY54, only to decline again to \$865 in FY56, before Bone assumed the presidency.²⁰ No wonder Illinois could continue to afford to grant prospective teachers a public education with no or minimal tuition payments. (Starting in the early 1950s, prospective teachers were charged \$120 a year for tuition.)

If state funding is employed as the criterion for measuring the comparative status of Illinois' four state teachers colleges, then the Normal University was at the end of Fairchild's tenure still *primus inter pares*. The Board's proposed operating budgets for the 1957–59 biennium were: Normal, \$8,822,736; DeKalb, \$7,831,291; Charleston, \$5,642,650; and Macomb, \$5,451,280. But there was one clear sign that the comparative ranking of the schools was changing: the increase in Northern's budget from the 1955–57 biennium was \$2,863,534, but Normal's only \$2,291,056.²¹

Fairchild's presidency, the second longest, so far, in the University's history, must thus be judged a success. The numerous buildings erected or started during his presidency—Williams (Old Milner), Rambo House, Hovey, Fairchild, the Old Union, East Schroeder, Metcalf, Barton, Dunn, and Walker—are a monument to his leadership. Graduate and special education are an even more important legacy.

✍ FAIRCHILD'S SHORTCOMINGS

However, there were also failures. Part of the problem was that Fairchild equated the professional training of teachers with his own moral code and values and ran the college like a high school rather than a university. John Kinneman, who tangled with Fairchild and who wrote his memoir in part as a corrective to Marshall's laudatory portrait of Fairchild in *Grandest of Enterprises*, is admittedly a biased source; but Kinneman's portrait is a description of a man who could not transcend the prejudices of Protestant, small town, isolationist, Midwestern America.

Some of the ideals Fairchild espoused, it should be stressed, were endemic to teachers colleges and consonant with societal expectations about how a teacher should behave. The 1931–1932 catalog, published during Brown's presidency, announced, for example:

The habits of students are carefully noted. Industry, integrity, and refinement are valuable both as ends in themselves and for the rewards which they bring. Conformity is good, but conformity which springs from the spirit of conformity is better. The University therefore regards the development of right habits, ideals, and attitudes as part of its work . . .²²

Smoking was barred for practical as well as moral reasons. Since the State carried no fire insurance, smoking was strictly prohibited on the campuses of all the teachers colleges. (Today, for reasons of health, we are far more sympathetic to this prohibition than Kinneman was.) A major fire in Fell Hall on November 9, 1943, indicates that the danger of fire was a serious threat, especially in such wooden structures as Old Main and North Hall.²³

Fairchild's vehement opposition to the consumption of alcohol, influenced perhaps by his upbringing as the son of a Methodist minister, was more personal. After the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1933, the town of Normal, which had been dry since its foundation, reinstated Prohibition. At faculty meetings Fairchild "made announcements . . . bordering on tirades," in Kinneman's words, about staff members who drank alcohol they had purchased elsewhere in the privacy of their own homes. Kinneman, betraying some biases of his own, declared that this "ukase . . . made us appear as playing the role of denizens in a 'girl's seminary' in rural America." As for the students, the 1937 catalog proclaimed:

Illinois State Normal University does not hesitate to express itself on the matter of admitting or continuing students who use intoxicating liquors. Since ability to consume intoxicating beverages, regardless of nature or quantity, is not a part of a teacher training program and *since employers of teachers, regardless of their personal attitude toward the liquor question, will not employ or continue in service teachers who use such intoxicants* (italics added), Illinois State Normal University very emphatically states that the use of such intoxicants on or off the campus will not be permitted and the deviation from this regulation calls for the severance of connections with the school.

This generic ban on the use of alcohol disappeared from the catalog in 1958 after Bone became president.²⁴ When it came to the consumption of alcohol, Fairchild treated his own faculty like public school employees.

It was assumed that both faculty and students would attend athletic events as a way to encourage the school's team. Fairchild's administrative assistant (Chris DeYoung?) commented about one studious student: "that boy will give us a lot of trouble. He uses big words; sits in the library and reads books; and never goes to the games." A good teacher was a team player, not a bookworm. All faculty members were expected to be church members and to attend on a regular basis. Contributions to the Community Chest (now the United Way) were essentially mandatory. When Kinneman was unable to contribute in 1944 because he had been hospitalized and had incurred large medical bills, Fairchild sent him a two-page, single-spaced letter of reprimand. Shortly after he became president, Fairchild surveyed the faculty's professional affiliations and discovered that fewer than 30 percent belonged to the National Education Association. Until Bone became president, all faculty members were required as a condition of employment to join it and the Illinois Education Association. One faculty member, Dale Vetter of English, refused, according to Kinneman, to join the IEA and was docked a day's pay every year. In 1946 Fairchild proudly informed the Board that for a twelfth year in a row every faculty member belonged to the NEA.²⁵ Perhaps, Vetter's stubborn non-compliance prevented Fairchild from making a similar boast about IEA membership.

Unlike Felmley, Fairchild had little sympathy for political non-conformity. In 1948, as the Iron Curtain descended in Eastern Europe, there was concern about seditious activities at the teachers colleges. The General Assembly established a Seditious Activities Commission, chaired by Senator Paul Broyles, who invited the Board's secretary, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Vernon L. Nickell, and the presidents of the five state teachers colleges to testify before it. The Board agreed on May 3, 1948, to cooperate and assist the committee. At the same meeting the

Board's chair, Frank G. Thompson, the director of the Department of Registration and Education, suggested that a survey be made immediately of the textbooks that were being used at the colleges "with regard to government, ideology and 'isms' and the personnel employed." When the Board and the presidents disagreed about how such a survey might be conducted, Thompson indicated that if "something unforeseen" occurred, he wanted the entire Board to be held responsible. However, the following month the presidents agreed to provide the name of a faculty member from each of their colleges, a veteran, as Broyles had requested, to conduct the survey.²⁶ Whatever the investigating committee uncovered, it was not worth mentioning in the Board's *Proceedings*.

Fairchild testified before the Commission about students who had been involved in Henry A. Wallace's, leftwing, third-party campaign for the presidency in 1948:

We give the students an opportunity to set up certain types of political groups—republican and democratic [*sic*]—and lo and behold appears a third-party group, called together by a young man who is a veteran and who is a frustrated individual seeking a place in the limelight. Six people came, he made the seventh out of somewhat over three thousand students... The same young man was one who took up the question of the negro students..."

The unnamed young hothead went on, according to Kinneman, to a distinguished university career.²⁷

Kinneman was the faculty sponsor of the Inter-Cultural Club, which was founded in 1945, according to Fairchild, by students who wanted to "bring together for discussion and information of mutual value various races represented by students on the campus." (The Board records do not indicate how many minority students were actually enrolled.) Although the president reported to the Board that the University had officially sanctioned the club's establishment "in view of present trends looking toward a better understanding of minority groups," Kinneman indicated that the Student Advisory Board, under the leadership of the dean of men, Ralph H. Linkins, had long been reluctant to grant its approval out of fear that the club "might be an action group."

Kinneman conceded, however, that the racial climate on campus was better in 1945 than it had been earlier. For example, the segregated dance had been discontinued (it should be stressed that many white couples, including the Fairchilds, routinely attended); but the club's members were concerned with securing equal services for all students, especially at restaurants. The unnamed student "who took up the question of the negro students" was a member of an interracial group that had successfully picketed in October 1947 the Pilgrim, a restaurant located in the building that now houses the Alamo, that had refused to serve blacks.²⁸

The Inter-Cultural Club was, according to Kinneman, a precursor of the campus chapter of the NAACP, which was started in the fall of 1955. The University's most famous alumnus, Donald F. McHenry, Class of 1957, a social science major from East St. Louis and Jimmy Carter's ambassador to the United Nations (1979–81), was chosen at the chapter's first meeting on September 22 as the co-president.²⁹

Kinneman stressed that "Fairchild's reference to the 'question of the negro students' . . . may have been an inadvertence. He gave no evidence of wanting to discriminate nor segregate." (In fact, Fairchild helped negotiate the desegregation

of the Pilgrim.) The president would probably have hired a black graduate of Normal who had obtained a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, Kinneman related; but, regrettably, the degree was in Elementary Education and not in “a field like Industrial Arts’ where the enrollment consists entirely of men.” Thus Fairchild missed the opportunity to break the color line in faculty hiring at the University in the 1940s, because he lacked the courage to ignore the conventional prejudices of the era and his milieu.³⁰ It was not until 1966, apparently, that the University hired its first African American faculty members: Doland K. Cox in Biology and Charles Morris in Mathematics. The latter eventually became the University’s vice-president for administrative services and the Board of Regents’ vice-chancellor for academic affairs.³¹

Fairchild displayed similar timidity at a faculty conference in 1942 at Lake Bloomington when a few daring faculty members raised the question of hiring émigré scholars, almost certainly code language for Jews, at a moment when refugees like Albert Einstein were transforming American higher education. Nothing happened, but a year later the president wrote that it would be “inadvisable because ‘some of the faculty would not be happy’ with such procedures.” On this issue, Fairchild was unwilling to get ahead of the faculty and, even more importantly, the Board. In 1955, when Acting President Larsen sought guidance about hiring a Japanese, Akihiko Yokosawa, as an assistant professor of physical science, the Board ruled that the colleges could hire non-citizens, subject to annual review by the Board, but that such employees would be ineligible for a sabbatical or tenure until they became citizens. (This discriminatory policy was revoked in 1967.)³² It is impossible to determine how much Fairchild was merely unwilling to exert leadership in potentially controversial hires and to what extent he shared the biases of his time.

Fairchild’s management style was that of a school principal or a superintendent of schools. He failed to grasp that when a Ph.D. became the requisite terminal degree for faculty members, it became necessary to treat them as professionals who needed to be consulted rather than as subordinates. To supply a semblance of faculty participation, Fairchild organized in 1935 a University Senate, but it was composed of the deans, directors of divisions, department heads, the registrar, and other administrators and was an administrative rather than a policy-making body. Three years later Fairchild established a smaller administrative council composed of the dean of the University, the dean of men, the dean of women, the business manager, the director of the training school, the director of integration, and the registrar (the council’s present-day counterpart is the president’s cabinet) to assist him in disciplinary matters and in executing important decisions. As Kinneman pointed out, no member of the council was a full-time teacher.³³

To protect faculty rights and to secure for them a greater role in the University’s governance, seventeen faculty members, under the leadership of Gerda Okerlund of English and Kinneman, organized in May 1935 a chapter of the American Association of University Professors. Other faculty members were afraid to join—the loss of one’s job was a real threat during the Depression—or even to meet without the president’s prior approval. However, the membership increased to more than seventy-five in 1937 as a result of a successful recruiting campaign, and Kinneman, as president of the chapter, presented Fairchild with requests that had been unanimously approved by the forty-eight members who had attended

the meeting of the chapter. Three years before the AAUP issued its famous 1940 *Statement of Principles of Academic Freedom and Tenure*, the Normal chapter requested that “faculty members be placed on permanent tenure ‘after three years of probationary services.’” It sought assurances that tenured faculty would not be dismissed or demoted until “specific charges” had been stated in writing and heard by representatives of the Board and the faculty. The members asked that a system of regular, annual salary increments be established and “express[ed] their willingness to co-operate with the administration in the formulation and adoption of a salary schedule and a system of promotions.” Fairchild received them “pleasant[ly] enough,” according to Kinneman, but it was not until 1951, when the elected University Council was instituted, that the faculty gained a real say in the University’s governance. The latter body was authorized “to make recommendations on curriculum, campus planning, scholarship, the budget, and the appointment, promotion, and tenure of staff members.”³⁴ Faculty participation in shared governance was a hard-won right at Illinois State.

Kinneman’s was not the only critical voice about Fairchild’s preoccupation with minute details and his failure to delegate responsibility. The president himself remarked at a faculty meeting, Kinneman recalled, that a friend of Fairchild had told the president that he “should be president of a college of no more than three hundred students so that he could be president, dean, and business manager all in one.”³⁵ More important, the Board itself eventually came to share this view of the president’s leadership style. When it permitted Fairchild to return to work in July 1950 after his first serious illness (April 5 to July 21, 1950), it did so unanimously “with the request that he make every effort to bring full faculty cooperation to the administration of the school, and that he relieve himself of his extensive administrative duties by delegation.”³⁶ The establishment of the University Council the following year appears to have been a response to this directive. Fairchild accomplished many things, but a generation of faculty members hired after World War II remembered him as an out-of-touch, authoritarian school administrator.

5 “ON THE WAY TO OBLIVION”

However, Fairchild’s biggest failure, in retrospect, was his inability to grasp that, as Professor Karl W. Bigelow of Columbia’s Teachers College put it in 1957: “the teachers college as we knew it twenty years ago is on the way to oblivion... a way-station between the normal school and a multi-purpose institution for which teacher education is only one among several functions.”³⁷ As we have already seen, students had dropped out of private liberal arts colleges during the early 1930s and enrolled in the State’s teachers colleges in hopes of obtaining a tuition-free education. The Board had gone on record in 1933 that the teachers colleges’ sole mission was the preparation of teachers, and Fairchild had pressed the Board in 1938 to reiterate that the five colleges were “professional schools educating teachers.”³⁸

But the issue would not die. As early as 1943, there were proposals in the General Assembly to turn the five teachers colleges into state colleges and state universities, that is, to drop the words *Teachers* and *Normal* from their names, in order to improve their reputation and to make it easier for their students to transfer to a University. An editorial in the *Northern Illinois*, DeKalb’s student newspaper, conceded that students who were not interested in a teaching career were more likely to enroll

if this name change occurred “but there can be no harm in . . . this for teacher training is no holy mission as some would make it.”

In response to these proposals, Fairchild informed the Board and the General Assembly that he did not oppose such a change in the case of the other schools if they desired it, though he was concerned that Normal might be forced to operate under “a different type of board.” However, he was insistent that the University “wished to continue as a professional school for the education of teachers,” “the original purpose,” he stressed, “for which it was founded in 1857, ten years before the University of Illinois, as the first State-supported college or University in Illinois.” (The president’s assertion was, of course, a gross distortion of the founders’ real intention to establish the state university of Illinois in Normal.) Fairchild continued in the letter he wrote each legislator:

We believe that there is a place for a strictly professional State-supported school that does not compete with the liberal arts and other general colleges in the State. Certainly, the citizens of Illinois are entitled to one school that gives first place to the important profession of teaching and one where the investment of the taxpayers brings a direct return to the State of Illinois through well-educated teachers for the schools.³⁹

Carbondale, Charleston, and Macomb changed their names in 1947, but DeKalb waited until 1955 and Normal until 1964.

Fairchild also opposed dropping the requirement that students sign a pledge to teach because, he argued, it would be impossible for Normal to accommodate the increased enrollment that would ensue. Since the other colleges favored the abolition of the pledge, the Board authorized the colleges in 1943 to deal with the issue individually.⁴⁰

When DeKalb and its supporters in the legislature began to push in the mid-1950s for Northern’s conversion into a multi-purpose university with a corresponding name change, the Board adopted a position similar to Fairchild’s in 1943. In February 1955 Richard G. Browne, the Board’s Executive Officer and the former chair of Normal’s Department of Social Science, reiterated in a report to the Board that the teachers colleges, starting with Normal in 1857, had been established for the sole purpose of qualifying teachers for the State’s common schools. Advocates for transforming the colleges into dual-purpose institutions, that is, schools that offered a bachelor’s degree in the liberal arts as well as a professional degree in teacher education, adduced, he said, a variety of geographic, political, economic, educational, and intellectual reasons for the schools’ conversion; but there were good reasons why some colleges, specifically Normal and DeKalb, should remain single-purpose institutions. There were, he said, twelve liberal arts colleges in a fifty-mile radius of DeKalb and five within fifty miles of Normal. Like Felmley decades earlier, Browne argued that there was something distinctive about the “whole atmosphere and ‘tone’” of a “campus . . . marshalled [*sic*] toward a given objective. Students, and faculty members, may become imbued with a point of view and philosophy.” Above all, Browne, using Southern as an example, challenged the assumption that DeKalb as a multi-purpose university would continue to produce the large number of teachers the State so desperately needed.

On March 18, 1957, exactly a month after Normal’s centennial, the Board voted six to two—in vain—against changing DeKalb’s name to Northern Illinois

University. That name, the oversight body deemed, would not be “consistent with the long established purpose of the college and would not promote the best interests of teacher education.” The General Assembly disagreed. (The only senator who voted against the name change was Bloomington’s own David Davis.)⁴¹ It is hardly surprising that *The Pantagraph* had been able to quote the Board’s chairman, Lewis M. Walker, a month earlier in its coverage of Normal’s centennial celebration, as saying: “I believe I can speak for the Board. We intend that ISNU shall continue to be a school of quality in teacher education.”⁴²

In hindsight Fairchild’s and the Board’s position seems terribly shortsighted and, we now know, a distortion of the founders’ intentions; but the teacher shortage was real. In 1952 Fairchild informed the Board that the University’s Bureau of Appointments had received 2,904 calls for teachers in 1950, 3,313 in 1951, and 3,940 in 1952. Three years later Acting President Larsen indicated that 6,363 vacancies had been reported to the University’s placement bureau in 1954 and that it had placed 568 persons. The situation was especially grim in elementary education. There had been 2,875 requests for elementary school teachers, but only 60 Normal graduates were seeking such positions—a ratio, Larsen pointed out, of one teacher for every 46 openings (48 by my calculation). Statewide, the four colleges and Southern had graduated only 1,321 teachers in 1954.⁴³ It was plausible to insist, as Fairchild did in 1943, that the “citizens of Illinois are entitled to one school that gives first place to the important profession of teaching;” and Illinois State Normal University with its proud heritage and new and flourishing masters and special education programs was the obvious candidate for that role.

What Fairchild failed to perceive was that the baby boomers who were swamping the elementary schools would eventually graduate from high school and expect to continue their education. In 1954 Fairchild confidently predicted that enrollments, based on birth rates and population trends, would peak at Normal in 1961 at 3,200 students and then decline and remain stable at around 3,000.⁴⁴ Both Fairchild’s reputation and Normal suffered because of that monumental miscalculation.

6 THE PASSING OF OLD NORMAL

When the Board met for a special meeting in Normal on March 31, 1956, to elect a new president, it announced that the faculty and board screening committees that had interviewed and evaluated the candidates had been in “complete agreement” in all their discussions “that Illinois State Normal University would continue to be in the foreseeable future an institution devoted to teacher education and that it would seek to uphold its position as a national leader among the single-purpose teachers colleges of the country.” All the applicants had been informed accordingly and had concurred completely.⁴⁵ (This was the first time that the faculty had a voice in the selection of the president.)

At the inauguration of Robert Gehlmann Bone as Normal’s ninth president on October 4, 1957—the last day of the University’s first century of existence—the chairman of the Board, Lewis M. Walker, reiterated in his charge to Bone: “Each president has been put to the test to branch out in other directions, but each was an administrator who has steadfastly clung to teacher education as the primary object of this institution. At this moment, there is no thought in the minds of anyone in position of authority to change our course in this our centennial year.”⁴⁶ Yet on January 1, 1964, the University became officially Illinois State University, and

on October 5, 1965, the Illinois Board of Higher Education (IBHE) authorized Illinois State to proceed with the development of non-teaching programs and to grant bachelor's and master's degrees in the liberal arts and sciences as well as in teacher education. The dire 1957 prophecy of Professor Karl Bigelow of Columbia's Teachers College that the teachers colleges were "on the way to oblivion" had been fulfilled.⁴⁷

Bone was a curious choice for a Board that was determined to preserve the University's single purpose. A man of unflinching charm and courtesy, as I can attest, Bone and his wife Karin became legendary for their uncanny knowledge of each faculty member's and student's name; and he could have been typecast as the quintessential president of a small liberal arts college in the 1950s. For example, when the couple returned in November 1964 from a five-week, educational advisory mission in Egypt, three thousand to four thousand students waited for him at eleven o'clock in the evening and hailed him with a rendition of "Hello Bobby."⁴⁸ The scene could have been scripted in Hollywood.

Unlike his predecessors, Bone had no personal familiarity with the public schools or teachers colleges. A native of Springfield, he had received his bachelor's degree from the College of Wooster in Ohio in 1928 and had taught English and commercial law at the American University of Alexandria in Egypt. After receiving a Ph.D. in ancient history at the University of Illinois (what would Felmley who disparaged the study of Latin have thought?), Bone joined its history department. On his return from military service in World War II, he had pursued an administrative career at Urbana, including a year as the acting dean of its College of Education. At the time of his selection as president, Bone was the assistant provost at the University of Illinois.⁴⁹

If anything, the Board should have expected a man with Bone's credentials to push for Normal's transformation into a liberal arts college or to copy Urbana's teacher preparatory program. In fact, after his arrival he started doctoral work and advocated the granting of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees as well as a Bachelor of Science in Education, ostensibly without altering the University's focus on the preparation of teachers. He professed to be neutral in the battle over the name change,⁵⁰ but James Fisher, Class of 1956, M.S. 1957, and president emeritus of both Towson State University in Maryland and of the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education, who was Bone's assistant in 1962, stated in 2004: "To overcome a history like that of ISNU and change the name would have been very difficult if Bone had opposed it. Harden [Warren Harden, who joined the faculty in 1954 as a professor of economics and retired in 1989 as the vice-president of Finance and Planning] was a firebrand and highly regarded, but he could not have led the way if Bone had wanted to stop it."⁵¹

The more immediate concern was the continuing growth in enrollments and procuring the necessary housing and classrooms for the students who were streaming to Normal. When the University began its second century in September 1957, there were 2,884 and, if the part-time students are included, 3,210 undergraduates and graduate students. Enrollments had more than doubled six years later. In September 1963, the last semester before the name change became official, there were 5,585 undergraduates, 6,055 with the part-timers, and another 582 full and part-time graduate students.

It should be pointed out that most of the students who entered between 1957 and 1963, assuming they matriculated as freshman at eighteen, were born between 1939 and 1945, that is, a period with a low birthrate. Thus it was not a demographic explosion but rather the perception of a college education as a passport to the middle class that propelled the increase in enrollments during the first six years of Bone's presidency. Polls taken in 1959 and 1960 reported that 69 percent of American parents planned to send their children to college and that more than half of all Americans regarded education as more important than hard work in attaining success.⁵²

Moreover, the University attracted a high caliber of students. Bone reported that 62 percent of the students who had been admitted in September 1963 were in the upper third of their class and that fifty-six were valedictorians and forty-nine salutatorians. An astonishing 90 percent of the students who had been offered admission in 1962 matriculated—up from 70 percent in 1961. Normal was very much a school of choice, to use the current terminology, particularly for women, who comprised 61 percent of the full-time undergraduates in September 1963. Bright women were attracted in such large numbers to teacher preparatory institutions like Normal because in the late '50s and early '60s their educational and career opportunities were still narrowly defined by gender expectations. Equally revealing, only 36 percent of the graduate students were women, presumably because men were more likely to make teaching a permanent career and to become school administrators.

The students who registered during the fall semester of 1963 came from ninety-eight Illinois counties (95 percent of the total enrollment), thirty other states, and fifteen countries and territories. Cook County was the biggest supplier of students (1,069), followed by McLean (865), Tazewell (262), Sangamon (235), Livingston (226), and Peoria (200). Normal was very much a regional university. The largest suburban contingent came from DuPage County—185 students, but up from only sixty in 1959. (Regrettably, there is no breakdown between the students who came from Chicago and from suburban Cook County.) The undergraduates enrolled in nineteen departments, with the largest numbers in Elementary Education (1,210), Special Education (689), Social Sciences (459), Mathematics (442), English (419), and Business Education (416).⁵³

Housing the students posed, as Bone put it in April 1959, "a problem of no small magnitude" as the influx of students outpaced the University's ability to construct additional dormitories. For example, on July 2, 1958, the University had a waiting list with over three hundred names on it, and had already assigned students to all the available housing in town. There was a steady decline in such off-campus housing as larger, older houses were demolished, in part to make way for the University's expansion, or were converted into apartments and as new homes were no longer being built to accommodate boarders.

The University, using bond revenue, erected Hamilton-Whitten (1960), which consisted of two linked ten-story structures with 810 beds, on the site of Smith Hall, which was razed in February 1959, followed by a similar pair, Atkin-Colby (1962). The four dormitories were connected by a common dining area, Feeney

Dining Center.[†] Hamilton-Whitten cost \$3.6 million and Atkin-Colby, \$4 million. A month after the Board took possession officially of Atkin-Colby, it began planning in October 1962 the construction of Tri-Towers—Wilkins, Wright, and Haynie, each with 420 beds, and Linkins Dining Center—on what had been the University farm at a cost of \$6,750,000. To amortize the bonds, the Board raised the cost of room and board at Atkin-Colby and Tri-Towers to \$375 a semester, starting in January 1964. The Board also authorized in 1964 the construction of an additional ninety-six apartments at Cardinal Court at a cost of \$990,000.⁵⁴

Racial discrimination in housing became an issue in the early 1960s as the Civil Rights Movement gripped the nation. (In the late 1940s the Inter-Cultural Club had already forced the integration of eating establishments in Normal.) The residence halls had been integrated for some time—as we saw, in the early 1930s Schroeder had forced a black woman who had been “inadvertently” admitted to Fell to leave—but discrimination persisted in private housing. In spring 1962 the University Council, the Student Senate, and the Administrative Council reiterated what they took to have been since 1871 the University’s faithfully observed policy of admitting students without regard to race or color. (Whether Normal did adhere to such a policy in the late nineteenth century is less certain, as we have seen.) They declared:

The University affirms its position that the specific human worth and dignity of the individual should not be violated because of his race, creed, or national origin. To insure the welfare of the University community and to promote a proper environment for democratic education, the University will discourage and seek to eliminate discriminatory practices wherever found in any organization, housing, or similar activity under supervision or jurisdiction of the University.

Richard Hulet, the dean of men, informed Normal’s householders in November 1962 about the University’s new policy. Specifically, any landlord seeking first-time approval of a housing unit had been required since September 1, 1962, “to take students without regard to race, creed, or color;” and all other landlords were expected to comply by September 1965. An exception was made for private homes in which the landlord lived and which had no more than three roomers who shared in the family’s life. In March 1964, “[b]ecause of the change in conditions and attitudes all over the country and because of the discussion groups and education that have gone on in this community,” the University determined to end immediately all discrimination in off-campus housing.

Unlike Fairchild, Bone set a personal example of promoting integration. Normal’s two barbershops refused to serve African Americans. The student chapter of the NAACP selected Charles Wesley Burton, Class of 1962, a geography major and member of the track team, to integrate the shops. The first one cut his hair, but the second refused. Seventy students and faculty members picketed. Discrimination ended, according to Burton, after “President (Robert) Bone and the deans said if

[†]The Food Center was named for Mae Warren Feeney, the assistant dean of women and director of Fell Hall, 1936-43, and assistant professor of Home Economics and dean of High School Girls, 1943-48. For this and the other names, see *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, May 16, 1960, p. 400; and March 18, 1963, pp. 417-18.

the merchants of the town didn't cut all the students' hair, then they weren't going to get their hair cut either."⁵⁵

For its part the Board in 1963 prohibited architects, engineers, and contractors working for it from discriminating on the basis of "race, creed, color, or national origin [gender was not mentioned] in the employment, training, or promotion of personnel" and announced that in the case of the appointment and promotion of faculty and non-academic staff members, it was merely reaffirming the existing policy of non-discrimination.⁵⁶ The racial and ethnic composition of the faculty in the early '60s suggests that while the University may not have been deliberately excluding minorities, it was also not making an effort to hire them.

Hiring a sufficient number of faculty, black or white, to cover all the classes the University needed to offer the burgeoning student body was another vexing problem. In October 1960 Bone informed the Board that after much discussion he had estimated, based on the number of additional beds that the opening of Hamilton-Whitten had made available, that 4,300 students would enroll that fall. Dean Larsen, who had warned that this estimate might be too conservative, had been proven right; the final enrollment was 4,468. The result was that many freshmen could not get the classes they needed because of a lack of teachers and space in the classrooms. The average number of students in some social science classes was over forty-five, and classes in Speech, English composition, and Foreign Languages were larger than was recommended by the accrediting agencies. During the preceding two years the University had succeeded in hiring during the spring semester additional teachers who had just completed graduate school. Although these hires often lacked teaching experience, they had turned out to be good teachers; and Bone requested permission to hire nine additional faculty to handle the overflow of students.

A year later Bone made a similar request. This time even Dean Larsen had grossly underestimated the fall enrollment in 1961, and the University really needed thirty-nine additional faculty members rather than the nineteen it had anticipated. There was no way, Bone said, that he could find so many qualified individuals; but he hoped to hire perhaps nine graduate students who had taught and who had just finished their degrees or who had at least completed all their course work.⁵⁷ Since dozens of other schools faced the same dilemma and competed for staff, faculty hiring proved to be a revolving door in which teachers, many without a terminal degree, came and left with dizzying speed.

Classroom space was at a premium. After years of appearing in some form on the University's wish list, the Board finally approved in 1957 the construction of buildings to house the art, music, and speech programs on all four campuses. The total cost of each building, including its furnishing, was not to exceed \$1.25 million. Since three departments would use the new building at Normal, the Board's resident board member, Clarence R. Ropp, proposed that it be named Centennial rather than after a specific individual and that its theater should bear the name of the first head of the music department, Frank W. Westhoff.

The same year the Board also authorized the construction of a new heating plant at a cost of \$479,500, the remodeling of University High School (old Metcalf, now Moulton) at a cost of \$75,000, and the addition of an annex and a book store to Milner Library (now Williams). The Board's proposed capital improvement

budget for the 1959–61 biennium asked for \$1.5 million (another \$500,000 was to be raised by a bond issue) to build a physical education building (Horton), \$1.4 million for a science building (Felmley annex), and \$200,000 for a physical plant building (Carter Harris). The Board's total request for new construction, site acquisitions, and the rehabilitation of existing structures at the four campuses was \$17 million.⁵⁸

Since there were estimates that the number of students enrolled in Illinois' private and public colleges and universities would jump from 185,000 in 1960 to 300,000 by 1969, the Teachers College Board was not alone in seeking additional funding for capital improvements. The voters had rejected in 1958 a combined education-welfare bond issue to pay for the necessary construction. The State's six public universities launched a massive publicity campaign, financed by contributions from faculty, alumni, and students (Normal raised \$7,000), to educate the electorate about the urgent need for additional facilities, including the development of new campuses of the University of Illinois in Chicago and of Southern Illinois University in Edwardsville. In 1960 voters approved a \$195 million bond issue. Normal's share was \$12 million.⁵⁹

Bond revenue paid for the construction of the new University High School on Gregory Street (\$2 million), Turner (the practical arts building, \$1.75 million), Carter Harris Physical Plant (\$325,000),[‡] and farm buildings (\$175,000) as well as additions to Felmley (\$1.98 million), Schroeder (\$925,000), Centennial (\$350,000), Milner (\$480,000), and Hovey (\$250,000). Horton, Hancock Stadium,[§] the men's gym and swimming pool, the golf course,^{**} and the remodeling of McCormick were financed by a combination of a state bond revenue allocation (\$2,625,000) and a separate bond issue to pay for the recreational component of these facilities (\$1,375,000).⁶⁰ In 1961 the University purchased 290 acres north of Gregory for \$182,300 to replace the original farm which was being developed as the school's new west campus (Turner, Horton Field House, Hancock Stadium, and Tri-Towers).⁶¹ David Davis' and Edwin Bakewell's gift had proven invaluable.

The University's administrative structure had to adapt to this rapid growth. While forty-seven different offices, departments, and divisions had reported directly to Fairchild—vivid evidence for his micromanagement of the University's business—Bone reduced in 1958 the number of individuals who answered to the president to six: the dean of the faculty; the director of special services (for example the conferencing unit and the health service); the director of student life and welfare (both the dean of women and men reported individually in this capacity to Bone); the business manager; the administrative assistant to the president, who was in 1958 the same person as the director of special services; and the director of public relations and publicity. Bone indicated that he hoped also to select in the coming

[‡] Carter Harris (1856–1944) was born a slave and worked on the University's maintenance staff for forty-eight years, most notably as the janitor in Cook. He became a greatly respected and deeply beloved figure on campus.

[§] Howard Hancock was director of athletics from 1931 until his retirement in 1963 and coached the football team from 1931 to 1945.

^{**} In 2007 the golf course, the site of the annual D. A. Weibring Classic, was named for the 1975 alumnus. At the same time the baseball field was named for Duffy Bass (d. 2007), Class of 1950, M.S.E., 1951, who won 713 games in 24 seasons at Illinois State and the college division championship in 1969. *The Pantagraph*, July 28, 2007, pp. B1, B2.

year an assistant dean of the graduate school and an official to oversee the non-academic personnel. He soon decided that the importance of graduate education warranted that the director be styled a dean rather than an assistant dean, and in 1959 Bone appointed Clarence Woodrow Sorenson as the first incumbent.⁶²

At the recommendation of an outside consultant, David Bonham of the University of Illinois, a further reorganization created, effective September 1, 1963, four separate administrative areas headed by the vice-president for academic affairs (the old dean of the faculty), the director of public and special services, the dean of students, and the vice-president for administrative affairs. The last appointment was the only really new position. The dean of students and an associate dean replaced the rather awkward system of having both the dean of men and the dean of women reporting directly to the president as separate directors of student life and welfare. Needless to say, the dean of women, Anna Keaton, who had been at the University considerably longer than her male counterpart, became the associate dean.⁶³

Dramatic as the University's expansion was, it lagged behind its sister institutions. Proponents of the name change pointed out in 1959 that while Normal's enrollments had increased 42 percent between 1952 and 1958, Macomb's had gone up 82 percent, Charleston's 88 percent, and DeKalb's 160 percent. (The percentages appear to be wrong. Full-time enrollment increased from 1,905 or 2,076, if part-timers are included, in 1952 to 3,190 or 3,570 in 1958.)⁶⁴ Northern's appropriation exceeded Normal's for the first time in the 1959–61 biennium. The Board recommended that DeKalb receive \$11,835,768, an increase of \$4,007,373, while Normal was allotted \$11,190,506, an increase of \$2,357,771. Charleston's proposed budget was \$7,503,250 and Macomb's \$7,220,064. By the 1963–65 biennium, when the modern history of the University began, Illinois State's proposed appropriation was \$20,978,845 but Northern's was \$23,042,010.⁶⁵ Normal's relative decline vis-à-vis DeKalb demoralized the faculty for decades—as we have seen, Earl Reitan in his memoir described Illinois State's progress during the Bone years as “patchy”—whereas Northern celebrated its new preeminence.⁶⁶

Reitan also complained that the University “lacked the sense of direction that only strong presidential leadership could provide.” In fact, in the fall of 1957 the University established a “Committee of Nine on Long Term Planning,” consisting of five administrators, including the president, and four full-time faculty members. The committee sought advice from an advisory committee composed of approximately fifty members who represented the individual departments, divisions, and administrative units on campus, as well as members of Normal's town council and the directors of Normal's chamber of commerce. After consulting with various experts and groups and reading the relevant literature, the committee projected that the University's enrollment would reach six thousand by 1968. In its report, “Blueprint for Ten Years, 1958–1968,” the committee laid out the need, based on its informed estimate of the future growth in enrollments, for additional staff, land, and physical facilities.

The problem was that the committee badly underestimated enrollment trends; the projected enrollment of six thousand students was reached already in 1962. The committee's other erroneous assumption was that the University would remain a

single-purpose institution. It declared: "Illinois State Normal University is dedicated to the task of preparing teachers for our schools. It has been so dedicated for the past one hundred years; it is so dedicated for the years immediately ahead."⁶⁷

The Committee of Nine was not totally obtuse in emphasizing the University's teacher preparatory mission. It pointed out that between 1953 and 1958, 88.9 percent of all graduates had become teachers. The need for elementary and secondary school teachers continued to grow in the early '60s. In 1961 Bone reported that Normal's placement bureau had received notices about 15,887 teaching vacancies, an increase of 9 percent since the previous year, and had secured positions for 955 seniors. Altogether, 90 percent of the graduating seniors had become teachers or had entered graduate school or the military. As for the remainder, 5 percent had taken non-teaching jobs, and 4 percent "were girls [the choice of words is instructive] who married and were not interested in teaching at the present time."

At least one board member was concerned that students from Chicago did not return to the city to teach. Another worry, after the Soviet Union's launching of Sputnik in 1957 called into doubt American scientific preeminence, was the production of an adequate number of science and math teachers. Bone indicated that approximately 80 percent of the students who had received bachelor's or master's degrees in Biology, the Physical Sciences, or Mathematics in 1960 or 1961 were employed as teachers. The Board discussed the advisability of counseling students about job opportunities in Chicago and in high demand fields.⁶⁸ Faced with that reality, it is hardly surprising that the planning committee concluded: "Since there is a great need for teachers, it is essential that we continue to emphasize the profession which a former president of the University called 'the grandest of enterprises'"⁶⁹—a verbal reminder how much Marshall's book was both a product of Normal's commitment to its supposed traditional mission and was invoked to justify the school's continued adherence to a single purpose.

The "Blueprint" offers a revealing insight into why the University community failed to realize that rising social and economic expectations in post-war America were about to overwhelm Old Normal. The committee dedicated less than a page in its twenty-page planning document to curricular developments, about a page and a half to the need for additional staff, but thirteen pages plus appendices to the "Need for Land and Physical Facilities." The Board *Proceedings* for these years show a similar preoccupation with bricks and mortar. Bone and the Board concentrated on the development of the University's infrastructure, admittedly a Herculean task, and never asked why they, armed with so much demographic data, so consistently miscalculated the size of each freshman class.

In spite of the repeated invocations of the University's fidelity to its proud heritage, it moved under Bone's leadership in new directions that anticipated Normal's conversion into a multi-purpose institution. The "Blueprint" stressed the necessity of adjusting the curriculum "as we progress into the jet-atomic-satellite age"—the shock of Sputnik resounded everywhere. During the 1957–58 school year the faculty approved a curriculum that emphasized, in Bone's words, "the general cultural needs of all teachers." Students were required to take fifty-two hours of general education: fifteen hours in humanities and communications; thirteen in humanities and social sciences; nine in the natural sciences; nine in personal and

social development; and two electives. In effect, this curricular reform created the University's first general education program, one that was indistinguishable from similar courses of study at liberal arts colleges. However, all students also completed a sequence of professional education courses: twenty-seven hours for an elementary school certificate; twenty-eight for a junior high school certificate; thirty-six for a special education certificate; and twenty-four for a high school certificate.⁷⁰

In January 1959 Bone first raised with the Board the possibility of changing the names and types of degrees the University offered. In 1961 the Board approved the granting of a Master of Arts and a Master of Science in addition to a Master of Science in Education. Bone recommended in 1962, after procuring the unanimous consent of both the Student Senate and the University Council, that the Board authorize the school to confer parallel baccalaureate degrees.

Bone adduced several reasons in favor of his recommendation, while stressing that the "granting of Arts and Science degrees does not mean any lessened emphasis on teacher education." One of the "foremost" reasons was "the connotation often given the Bachelor of Science in Education." Outsiders, including school board members, wrongly believed that the recipients of such a degree had "majored in methodology, guidance, or school administration and not in a subject matter field," and preferred to hire an individual with a B.A. Second, graduates had often encountered for the same reason difficulty in entering graduate programs in an academic discipline and in procuring graduate scholarships or fellowships and in some cases had been forced to enroll in a college of education. Finally, the University's Bachelor of Science in Education was an anomaly; most teachers colleges bestowed only a B.A. and/or a B.S.⁷¹ Intriguingly, proponents of the name change made similar arguments. In 1965 the Illinois Board of Higher Education authorized Illinois State to grant bachelor's degrees without a modifier and to develop non-teaching programs. Thus Bone's advocacy of the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Science degrees was a surreptitious step toward the conversion of the school into a multi-purpose university.

He adopted a similar tack in regard to doctoral work. The 1958 "Blueprint" recommended that the University expand its existing master's program in education and consider offering graduate work beyond the master's. On June 27, 1960, the Board authorized the University to do so. During the fall of 1960 the University developed plans to begin offering in 1961 sixth-year programs in Educational Administration and Guidance and Counseling, followed by a Doctor of Education and a Doctor of Philosophy in 1962. On November 20, 1961, the University obtained the Board's permission to grant a Specialist in Education degree to students enrolled in the sixth-year program and to offer a Ph.D. and an Ed.D. in Art, Biological Sciences, and School Administration. In 1965 Illinois State granted its first doctorate, an Ed.D. in Art Education, to Herschel C. Fried of Baltimore. Northern had awarded its first doctorate a year earlier.⁷²

In December 1961 Bone provided the Board with detailed information about the widely predicted, looming shortage of college teachers. The nation would need over 25,000 new college teachers a year—35,700 by 1970—but had produced on average during the preceding ten years only 8,376 graduates a year with doctorates. About 55 percent of these new recipients of doctoral degrees would be required to

replace existing staff members who were retiring or going into different fields, but 45 percent would be needed to keep up with the increase in enrollments.

While the larger universities were “keyed to research and industry more than to teaching,” universities like Northern and Normal that emphasized teaching, that had adequate libraries, and that were already granting master’s degrees were better suited, Bone thought, to devise graduate programs that focused on the preparation of college teachers rather than researchers.⁷³ Doctoral work, so defined, including the seemingly anomalous Ph.D. in Biological Sciences, was thus consonant with Normal’s mission; but like the adoption of the general education program and the proposed new baccalaureate degrees, it was also a break with the past and a step toward the expansion of the University’s mission. Bone was not alone in thinking there was a need for doctoral programs that prepared college teachers rather than researchers—Carnegie-Mellon devised the Doctor of Arts in response to that perceived need—but while the Committee of Nine greatly underestimated undergraduate enrollments, educators, deceived by the shortage of college teachers in the early and mid-60s, overestimated the continuing demand for Ph.D.’s. That miscalculation, which was enshrined in *Master Plan II*’s charge to Illinois State in 1966 to become a doctoral-granting liberal arts university, profoundly affected higher education in general and Illinois State’s future development in particular.

7 THE NAME CHANGE

The symbol of the University’s conversion from a teachers college into a multi-purpose university was the dropping of the word *Normal* in its name. Although the proponents of the name change insisted that the symbolic and substantive issues were not linked—indeed, the first name they proposed was *Illinois State University for Teacher Education*—the opponents were more discerning. The controversy divided the faculty along gender and generational lines—younger male hires against their senior women colleagues—and pitted the students against the defenders of Normal’s teacher preparatory mission. The Department of Social Sciences (the Department’s multi-disciplinarity had finally been acknowledged in 1961 by the addition of an *s* to *science*) was ground zero in the fight. Underlying the battle was the demand, dating back to the 1930s, that the State provide its citizens with a public and affordable post-secondary education, so they could better their economic condition and social status.⁷⁴

The discussion occurred in two major phases, initially in 1959, and after a hiatus of nearly two years, between 1961 and 1963. In addition to letters, flyers, and later reminiscences, there are two nearly contemporary narrative accounts by participants who were on opposite sides: the memoir of John Kinneman, the chair of the Social Science Department (1951–61), and Helen Marshall’s *The Eleventh Decade*. Both, like the letter writers, perceived the gendered and generational aspects of the debate. Kinneman wrote: “The demand for a change in name was supported largely by the men and opposed, with some exceptions, by the women of the faculty.” Marshall, who testified against the name change at a hearing of the Senate Committee on Education on June 4, 1963, introduced her account with the comment:

Despite the excellence of instruction, an increasing number of students in the 1950s aided and abetted by the newer and younger members of the faculty who had trained elsewhere and were not familiar with the school’s long and

illustrious history, found the word “Normal” in the name something of an anathema. It was coming to have an unsavory connotation, redolent of two year certificates, methods and refresher courses for country schoolmarms.⁷⁵

These contemporary observations are undoubtedly true. For example, the *Vidette* ran a series of articles in January and February 1963 in which faculty debated the name change. The three opponents were women, only one of whom had a Ph.D.; the highest degree held by the other two was Masters in Education. Three of the men who favored the change had Ph.D.'s and the fourth an Ed.D.⁷⁶ However, it is too simplistic to dismiss the opponents simply as older women, with what some might call inferior credentials, who were steeped in the culture of the teachers colleges and who had no future in the more research oriented, multi-purpose university the younger male faculty hoped to create in Normal. After all, Marshall was a distinguished scholar. She was the author of two well-received biographies: *Dorothea Dix: Forgotten Samaritan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937); and *Mary Adelaide Nutting: Pioneer of Modern Nursing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).⁷⁷

Since many of the protagonists, both faculty and students, were associated with the Department of Social Sciences, an examination of the salaries of its faculty offers a possible insight why the otherwise genial Marshall may have resented her “newer and younger” colleagues. Kinneman, the senior member of the department and its former chair, earned in FY63, \$1,360 a month, understandably enough, given his long tenure, the highest salary paid to any professor in the University. Marshall, who had obtained her Ph.D. at Duke and who had taught at the University since 1935, made \$1,200. The two other senior women professors were: Helen M. Cavanagh, a Chicago Ph.D., who had taught elsewhere and who had worked as an analyst for three years in the War Department before she was hired in 1946 and who was subsequently named in 1969 a university professor; and Lucy Lucille Tasher, who had graduated from Chicago with bachelor's, master's and law degrees as well as a Ph.D. and who had joined the department in 1935. They earned, respectively, \$1,160 and \$1,100. In contrast, Theodore Sands, a World War II veteran, who came to Normal in 1950 after obtaining his Ph.D. at Madison, made like Marshall \$1,200; and Arlan Helgeson, who was still working on his Wisconsin Ph.D. when he was hired in 1951, earned \$1,180, twenty dollars more than the far more experienced Cavanagh who was becoming legendary as a teacher of graduate students.⁷⁸ (All the salaries were dismal. Seven years later, in FY70, I earned as a newly minted Ph.D. \$1,200 a month.) Since all these individuals, except Kinneman, were historians, the variable that makes the most sense, even taking into account salary compression and, in Tasher's case, her lack, as far as I know, of scholarly productivity, that explains the women's low salaries relative to the men's is probably gender discrimination. Marshall was too much of a lady to complain, but it must have rankled.

In spite of their excellent credentials, these three women had a better chance to obtain a permanent position at a teachers' than a liberal arts college. They may thus have perceived the transformation of Normal into a multi-purpose university as closing the door to an academic career to women like them. (Admittedly, we do not know where Cavanagh and Tasher stood on the issue.)⁷⁹ The fact is that in 1966 the four senior faculty members in the new Department of History were women (the fourth, Thalia Tarrant, had only a master's), but after the last of them

retired in 1972, only a single woman, Jo Ann Rayfield, held rank in the department until 1987.

Nor was History unique in its exclusion of women after the name change. In 1973 Edith R. Terwilliger, a member of the Board of Regents, inquired why so few women had been recommended that year for tenure and promotion (most would have been hired in 1966). President David K. Berlo (1971–73) responded that former teachers colleges had traditionally possessed “a strong female faculty, but as the university broadens they [teachers colleges] are disproportionately retiring senior female faculty because they were in large proportion in education fields.”⁸⁰ He added that the proportion of senior women faculty might decline even further in the following years. Berlo’s response begged the question why the University was not hiring women with Cavanagh’s, Marshall’s, and Tasher’s credentials to replace them. However, we should be careful not to impute to the advocates of the name change a desire per se to masculinize the University or to conclude that the opponents were completely cognizant of the implications for women.

Like the implementation of the general education program or doctoral work, changing the University’s name was not necessarily tantamount to changing its mission. The Committee of Seven, which was appointed in 1959 by Bone and the chair of University Council to secure the deletion of *Normal* from the University’s name, first proposed, in fact, that the institution be called *Illinois State University for Teacher Education*. A board member, William Reed, wisely objected that the name “was too long and cumbersome.”⁸¹ However, the opponents were not deceived. Professor Bernice Frey of Health and Physical Education, who characterized the supporters as “status-seeking” and “snobs,” wrote in the *Vidette*:

Proponents of a new name have reaffirmed the need for adherence to the old purpose. We must continue as a school for the training of teachers! Our uniqueness in function must be maintained! Change of name will have absolutely no effect on the purpose of the school. Or so we are told!

Experiences of other schools who have changed their names (Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western Universities in Illinois) show that invariably a name change is a precursor to a multi-purposed school.⁸²

While Bone publicly professed neutrality in the controversy, his administrative assistant at the time, James Fisher, maintained in 2003, as we have seen, that the advocates of change acted with the president’s sufferance. Intriguingly, both Kinneman and Marshall realized where the president really stood. The former chair of the Department of Social Science commented in his memoir:

At no time did President Bone oppose the suggestion. However, it appears that he never gave it open support. He seemed to rely on the assumption that eventually the accumulated momentum would produce the end desired. In private conversation he was clear about the name he preferred. In fact, it was the name upon which the General Assembly finally took action in 1963.⁸³

As for Marshall, she related with her customary but revealing discretion:

When a teacher who was opposed to the change of name [I suspect Marshall herself] approached the Administration about the propriety of organizing an anti-name-change group, no encouragement was given. She was told that as an individual each staff member had the right to think, speak, and act as

his conscience directed but the image of the University would suffer if an organization were authorized for no other purpose than opposition to a change in name.⁸⁴

Since the advocates for change controlled the local chapter of the AAUP, Bone's not-so-subtle wink put the opponents at a clear disadvantage.

Kinneman explained both in his memoir and in an op-ed piece in the *Vidette* why it was essential to drop *Normal*. He related that a prominent Peoria lawyer with whom he had talked had never heard about a University situated forty miles from Peoria and that a Bloomington businessman with whom Kinneman had spoken did not know that it was possible to study political science at Normal. (Kinneman did not indicate how eliminating *Normal* would provide the public with greater information about the University.) When the principal of Dwight High School told Kinneman how many of its graduates went to college, Kinneman observed that the "principal's estimate seemed to be low" because "a good number of their graduates . . . [came] to Normal." The principal replied, "Oh, I mean colleges, not places like Charleston [DeKalb in the memoir] and Normal." It was difficult to recruit faculty, Kinneman maintained, because candidates were told by their advisers that they would be unable to procure research grants and that "it is better to teach in any liberal arts college than in a normal school." Graduates of Normal found it hard to obtain fellowships—the same argument Bone made in favor of changing the name of the baccalaureate degree. Kinneman noted that the Woodrow Wilson Foundation had turned down five graduates of the University with high grade point averages because they were "graduates of a 'normal school.'" In contrast, in "1959 graduates of Knox College had received fifteen awards, Wabash eleven, Goshen two, Manchester two, and MacMurray two."⁸⁵

Kinneman was too diplomatic to say so explicitly, but the advocates of the name change had attached to the word *Normal* a negative feminine connotation as Marshall clearly realized in her bitter reference to "country schoolmarns." The students were less polite. An editorial in the *Vidette* declared: "We personally feel it quite painful to have to explain that 'N---l' is not a finishing school for young ladies, but rather, one of the finest schools of education in the country."⁸⁶ *Normal* had become a six-letter word. The subtext in the dispute was the masculinization of the University's public image, its attractiveness to male students and faculty, and the expansion of its curricular and programmatic offerings. It is thus no accident, perhaps, that the Board received on April 16, 1962, two student petitions in favor of changing the University's name to *Illinois State University*. One was from the Student Senate; the men of Dunn-Barton Halls sent the other.⁸⁷

The opponents of the name change, although fully aware of the underlying issues, could not address them directly; instead they denied that *Normal* was a liability and kept reasserting the University's proud heritage as a teacher preparatory institution, ironically the mission the University had been forced to accept, to Jesse Fell's great disappointment, in 1867. For example, Bernice Frey of Health and Physical Education pointed out that students were enrolling at the University in record numbers in spite of its allegedly "old fashioned name," that it was attracting outstanding new faculty members, and that those faculty who chose to leave found employment at such institutions as Indiana University and Swarthmore. It was the faculty's responsibility to remedy any inadequacies by doing "a better

job for which we are well paid." Invoking the past, Frey declared: "This school once had a high repute—it was the acknowledged leader in its field. And its name was Illinois State **Normal** University."⁸⁸ So ironically, on the eve of the women's rights movement, an institution that had always allowed women more freedom and opportunities than society as a whole was attacked as out-of-date. Both sides were right and terribly wrong.

In another irony, it was Esther Vinson, who had taught in the English department since 1926 and who had obtained her Ph.D. only in 1953, who first broached with Bone in 1956, according to Kinneman, the advisability of the name change—clearly not all advocates of change were young male hotheads. However, Kinneman also related that the *men* in the Department of Social Science were accustomed to meet at each other's home to discuss their research and that one such meeting at the home of Earl Reitan in the spring of 1958 turned into "a kind of 'conspiratorial' conclave to change the name of the University."⁸⁹

The first formal action occurred only a year later, on April 7, 1959, when the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors voted to ask the University Council to delete *Normal* from the University's name. The Council appointed a three-member committee to investigate the matter and presented the arguments pro and con at an open faculty meeting. On May 13, at a regular faculty meeting, Arlan Helgeson, a historian and the president of the local chapter of the AAUP, moved that Bone and the chair of the University Council, Victor Gimmestad of the English Department, establish the Committee of Seven to procure the legislature's modification of the name. The motion passed 130 to 80. The measure was then presented to the faculty as a whole who voted 175 to 100 in favor. The students were apathetic; out of 3,200 students, 53 voted for the change and 59 against. Gimmestad and Howard Ivens of Physical Education presented to the Board at its meeting on May 18, 1959, the name *Illinois State University for Teacher Education*. Understandably enough, the Board was less than enthusiastic about the proposed name and the haste with which the faculty had acted. It postponed further action until the chair of the Board and Normal alumnus, Lewis Walker, who was seriously ill, could be present. In the interim, the Board recommended that the alumni be polled and that the faculty vote on the proposed new name.

On May 26 at a special faculty meeting the Committee submitted two other possible names: *Central Illinois University* and *Illinois State University*. The existing name was also put on the ballot. One hundred fifty-one faculty votes were cast in favor of *Illinois State University* and 116 for *Illinois State Normal University*. Of the 103 alumni who responded to the poll, 72 opposed the change. On May 27, 45 percent of the students voted in a referendum: 610 favored *Illinois State University*, 111 *Illinois State University for Teacher Education*, 56 *Central Illinois University*, and 51 *Illinois State Normal University*. The Committee of Seven judged the vote to have been indecisive and voted unanimously on June 3 "to delay the request for a name change at Illinois State Normal University to a future session of the legislature."⁹⁰ Nevertheless, it was clear that the preferred alternative—fortunately—was *Illinois State University*.

In September 1961 the question of the name change was again placed on the agenda of the AAUP. Four faculty members spoke in favor of the change at the

AAUP's December meeting. Their comments and rejoinders by opponents of the alteration were published in the *Vidette* in January and February 1962; the previously cited comments by Kinneman and Frey were part of this exchange. The AAUP established a five-member committee, chaired by its president, Warren Harden, an economist in the Department of Social Sciences, to spearhead the campaign. It obtained the enthusiastic support of the Student Senate and its chair, Charles Dunn,^{††} Class of 1962 and a social science major, who coined the campaign phrase "ISU in '62." That slogan appeared all over campus. In addition, the committee procured the backing of such prominent individuals as Jack Stoltz, the president of the Alumni Association, and Hal Riss, the president of the Normal Chamber of Commerce. On March 13, 1962, the AAUP committee wrote to the Board indicating that the previous effort to secure the name change had been dropped "out of respect to the feelings of a small but vocal opposition," but that the faculty and students now overwhelmingly supported renaming the University. To placate the community, the committee recommended that the school's location be retained in the title, *Illinois State University at Normal*. A petition opposing the change, signed by one hundred faculty members and seventy-five students, was also forwarded to the Board.

At its meeting on campus on May 18, the Board merely noted that it would file the petitions and that it was the responsibility of the General Assembly, which would meet next in January 1963, to effect the change. In the fall of 1962 Harden and James Koch,^{‡‡} Class of 1964, another social sciences student, and the new president of the Student Senate, mobilized the students in favor of their initiative. More important, they won over David Davis, a member of Bloomington's leading family and the only senator who had voted in 1957 against changing DeKalb's name to Northern Illinois University, and the district's three representatives in the House. We do not know whether Bone had quietly indicated to the four legislators his preferences, but such a behind-the-scene step would have been consistent with his conduct during the controversy. Nostalgia was not a sufficient counterweight to the power of the local establishment once it was persuaded of the desirability of the name change.

The district's three representatives introduced the bill in the House in April 1963. Noble J. Puffer, the vice-chairman of the Board, testified against the act, but it passed by a vote of 159 to 1. At the hearing in the Senate Committee on Education on June 4, Davis repeated the by now familiar argument about the difficulty the name posed in hiring faculty, pointed out that the expanding enrollments made it inevitable that Normal would have to offer liberal art programs, and indicated that the majority of the faculty and students supported the change. Harden and Koch spoke in favor. Marshall, who "did not believe the prestige which ISNU had long enjoyed would be enhanced by the deletion of the word 'Normal,'" and Ellen Kelly of the Department of Health and Physical Education for Women spoke in opposition. In the end the Senate deferred to Davis' wishes and passed the bill on June 14. Governor Otto Kerner (1961–68) signed the act on August

^{††} Charles Dunn became the dean of International Studies, Graduate Advancement and Faculty Development at Grove City College in Pennsylvania.

^{‡‡} Koch, a distinguished economist, taught at Illinois State before becoming president of the University of Montana and Old Dominion University in Virginia. ISU has selected him the February 2009 Honorary Degree recipient.

23, and on January 1, 1964, the new era began. Technically, the new name was Illinois State University at Normal, but the geographical designation appeared only on the University's seal and a few official documents like the catalog and was quietly dropped in 1967.⁹¹ Felmley's and Fairchild's "professional school" had lasted sixty-three years.

On April 20, 1964, the alarmed Bone notified the Board about "the upsurge of students admitted to this University for September 1964." The University had already admitted 2,183 students, an increase of 38.6 percent over the same time the previous year. There was a waiting list for rooms in the residence halls, including Wilkins that was slated to open in the fall, and his office was "receiving a good many calls from parents, principals, alumni, or friends of friends, hoping I had 'saved' a few beds or wanting to know why we aren't better prepared for the increased high school graduates."⁹² The first class of baby boomers was about to descend on Illinois State University, and they were about to transform the University and American society in ways that Bone, the Board, and the good citizens of Bloomington-Normal could not imagine. The assassination of John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, which had stunned the campus, was the first harbinger of the coming upheavals.

ENDNOTES

1. Proceedings of the Teachers College Board., *December 8, 1943*, pp. 207, 281–83; and *June 6, 1944*, pp. 102–05.
2. *Ibid.*, *October 15, 1945*, p. 37; *April 22, 1946*, p. 115; *July 8, 1946*, p. 247 (quotation is on this page); *October 14, 1946*, pp. 345–46; *July 14, 1947*, p. 160; *October 13, 1947*, p. 282; *January 19, 1948*, p. 3; *May 3, 1948*, pp. 64–65; *September 20, 1954*, p. 82; and *September 17, 1956*, p. 103. Overall enrollment trends between 1933 and 1954 are summarized in *January 18, 1954*, p. 290.
3. *Ibid.*, *April 20, 1953*, pp. 233–34.
4. *Ibid.*, *February 19, 1945*, p. 55; *April 9, 1945*, p. 23; *October 15, 1945*, p. 7; and *July 14, 1947*, pp. 189–90. See Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, 309–10.
5. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, April 9, 1945*, pp. 21–22 (quotation about the food is here); *October 15, 1945*, pp. 4–5, 58–60; *January 19, 1953*, pp. 161–62; and *January 18, 1954*, p. 302.
6. *Ibid.*, *January 7, 1946*, pp. 8, 32; *April 22, 1946*, pp. 55–56; *July 8, 1946*, p. 245; *October 14, 1946*, pp. 365–66; *January 20, 1947*, p. 15; *April 14, 1947*, pp. 82–83; *May 3, 1948*, p. 93; and *October 15, 1956*, pp. 161–62; and Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 27, 39, 50. Donna Eichstaedt's email message of November 6, 2007, has been placed in the archives.
7. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, October 14, 1946*, p. 362; *March 28, 1949*, p. 87; *March 26–27, 1950*, pp. 157–72; *April 17, 1950*, pp. 179, 184–211; *March 26, 1951*, pp. 173–77; *September 24, 1951*, p. 59; and *October 19, 1953*, p. 163; *The Pantagraph*, July 28, 2007, pp. A1, A14; and "Illinois State University Report," 44/3 (August 23, 2007), p. 3.
8. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, October 15, 1945*, pp. 59–60; *March 27, 1950*, p. 118; *April 17, 1950*, p. 190; *December 17, 1951*, p. 166; *March 17, 1952*, p. 272; *May 18, 1953*, pp. 331–32; *July 20, 1953*, p. 94; *February 21, 1954*, p. 340; *June 14, 1954*, pp. 583–622; *January 17, 1955*, p. 199; and *May 16, 1955*, p. 425.
9. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 181–82; and *Proceedings of the Normal School Board, December 12, 1938*, pp. 184–85; *May 26, 1939*, pp. 90–91; *February 19, 1940*, pp. 43–44; *May 20, 1940*, p. 76; and *April 7, 1941*, pp. 34–35.
10. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, January 7, 1946*, p. 33; *July 8, 1946*, p. 247; and *January 9, 1950*, p. 38.

11. *Ibid.*, October 14, 1946, pp. 362–63; March 27, 1950, pp. 152–53 (student delegation), 176–77 (salary schedule); July 20, 1953, pp. 93–94; August 12, 1954, pp. 72–74; April 18, 1955, pp. 386–415; July 30, 1956, pp. 35–36; September 17, 1956, p. 103; and August 8, 1960, pp. 29, 74.
12. *Proceedings of the Normal School Board*, February 19, 1940, pp. 40–41.
13. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, April 22, 1946, pp. 131–32; January 20, 1947, pp. 14–15; April 14, 1947, pp. 81–82; and July 14, 1947, p. 187.
14. *Ibid.*, October 14, 1946, pp. 360–61; April 14, 1947, p. 66; January 19, 1948, p. 8; and October 24, 1949, p. 144. Mecherle was listed in the 1895 *Index* as a student in the under section of the high school, i.e., a freshman or sophomore. He presumably left after the high school closed in 1895.
15. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1949, pp. 8–9; February 21, 1954, p. 344; November 21, 1954, p. 161; January 17, 1955, pp. 225–30; and July 18, 1955, p. 32.
16. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1952, p. 510; September 21, 1952, pp. 14–15; January 19, 1953, p. 159; January 17, 1955, p. 230; February 23, 1956, p. 310; October 15, 1956, p. 160; and November 19, 1956, p. 211.
17. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1957, pp. 385–87.
18. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1950, pp. 70–71; February 20, 1950, pp. 72–74; and March 27, 1950, pp. 115–16.
19. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1945, pp. 60–61; April 22, 1946, p. 135; April 14, 1947, pp. 64–65; August 16, 1949, pp. 185–86 (this schedule presents the 1947 schedule in monthly terms); March 27, 1950, pp. 176–77; September 20, 1954, pp. 82–83; March 31, 1956, p. 335; and April 15, 1957, pp. 387–88.
20. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1945, p. 36; October 13, 1947, pp. 279–80; October 18, 1954, pp. 100–01; and October 15, 1956, pp. 118–19.
21. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1956, p. 174.
22. *Annual Catalog*, 1931–32, p. 47.
23. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 263–64. On the fire, see *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, December 8, 1943, pp. 208, 279–81; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 307–08. The Board and the State fire marshal insisted on the need for fire escapes on all the buildings and monthly fire drills. Fairchild objected that the fire escapes marred the appearance of the buildings and that older students at the summer sessions could not easily use tubular fire escapes. See *Proceedings of the Normal School Board*, June 19, 1939, p. 94; February 19, 1940, pp. 3, 41–42; and December 15, 1941, p. 194.
24. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 264–65; *Annual Catalog*, 1937–38, p. 39; and Roger J. Champagne, *A Place of Education: Illinois State University, 1967–77* (Normal, 1978), p. 6.
25. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 265–71 (the quotation about the student is on p. 271); and *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, January 7, 1946, p. 32. Kinneman does not identify the administrative assistant, but he adds that the student subsequently served with distinction in the South Pacific. Since the first administrative assistant was Chris DeYoung, the head of the Education Department, who held the post from 1941–43, I am attributing the comment to him. See Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 321.
26. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, May 3, 1948, pp. 218–20; and June 8, 1948, pp. 276–77.
27. Quoted by Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 272–73.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 184–85, 273; *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, February 19, 1945, p. 54; and the *Vidette*, October 8, 1947, pp. 1–2; October 15, 1947, p. 1; October 22, 1947, p. 1; and October 31, 1947, p. 1. It is not clear when the dance was discontinued. One was held as late as May 1944, when soldiers from Chanute escorted women to the dance. See the *Vidette*, May 10, 1944, p. 1. I wish to thank Jim Cunningham of Milner Library for the references in the *Vidette*.
29. Bob Aaron, “Partner to Presidents,” *Illinois State* 2/5 (Winter 2001–02), pp. 8–12; and the *Vidette*, October 13, 1955 and October 20, 1955.
30. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 274–75. On Fairchild’s role in desegregating the Pilgrim, see the *Vidette*, October 22, 1947, p. 1.

31. The University had already hired in 1965 Harry Bernard Shaw, B.S. 1959 and M.S. in Education 1965, as an instructor in English. He obtained a doctorate from the University of Illinois in 1972 and became in 1973 an assistant dean at the University of Florida. Since Shaw did not hold a tenure-line position and became in 1968 the assistant director of University Research Services and Grants, it is probably more accurate to describe Cox and Morris as the first African American faculty members.

32. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," pp. 300–01; *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, July 18, 1955*, pp. 100–02. In 1959 Yokosawa left for the Argonne National Laboratory. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1959, p. 12. On the revocation, see *Proceedings of the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities of the State of Illinois, June 19, 1967*, p. 875.

33. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," pp. 288–89; and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 296.

34. Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," pp. 289–93 and Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, p. 320 (quotation is on this page). She does not mention the AAUP. Kinneman noted to Walker D. Wyman, Class of 1929, who became the president of Whitewater State College (now the University of Wisconsin–Whitewater) (1962–67), that among the deficiencies in Marshall's book was the failure to mention the organization of the local chapter of the AAUP. Kinneman's comments have been deposited in the University Archives.

35. Quoted by Kinneman, "It Occurs to Me," p. 295.

36. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, March 27, 1950*, pp. 177–78; and July 21, 1950, pp. 353–54.

37. Bigelow, "The Passing of the Teachers College," p. 411.

38. See Chapter 7.

39. Hayter, *Education in Transition*, p. 227 (quotation from the *Northern Illinois*); and *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, May 17, 1943*, pp. 56–57. Fairchild repeated his stance, when the General Assembly again considered the issue in 1945. See *Proceedings, February 19, 1945*, p. 46.

40. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, July 12, 1943*, pp. 136–37.

41. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1955, pp. 238–40; and March 18, 1957, pp. 277–78; and Richard G. Browne, "The State of Illinois and Teacher Education," *Report No. 32 of the Executive Office and Educational Coordinator, Teacher College Board*, February 7, 1955. For a detailed discussion of the name change at DeKalb, see Hayter, *Education in Transition*, pp. 304–12.

42. *The Pantagraph*, February 18, 1957.

43. Browne, "The State of Illinois and Teacher Education," p. 7; and *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, October 27, 1952*, p. 74; and January 17, 1955, pp. 189–90.

44. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, January 18, 1954*, pp. 290–91.

45. *Ibid.*, March 25 and 31, 1956, p. 335.

46. Quoted by Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, p. 16.

47. Bigelow, "The Passing of the Teachers College," p. 411.

48. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 70–80.

49. Marshall, *Grandest of Enterprises*, pp. 326–27.

50. See, for instance, *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, April 16, 1962*, p. 554, where he presented the Board with two student petitions and said: "Up to the present time, I have remained fairly neutral in this controversy."

51. Quoted by Susan Marquardt Blystone, "Remembering ISNU: The Great Debate Surrounding the Pivotal Name Change," *Illinois State Alumni Magazine*, Winter/2003–2004, p. 15.

52. Cited by Clark, "Whirlwinds of Change," p. 232.

53. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, October 14, 1957*, p. 137; September 17, 1962, p. 180; August 19, 1963, p. 103; October 21, 1963, pp. 241–42; and November 18, 1963, pp. 370–74.

54. *Ibid.*, January 20, 1958, p. 233; July 21, 1958, p. 31; March 23, 1959, pp. 268–309; April 20, 1959,

p. 340 (quotation is here); *June 27, 1960*, p. 409; *February 20, 1961*, pp. 294–325; *September 17, 1962*, pp. 184–85; *October 22, 1963*, p. 237; *May 20, 1963*, pp. 653–56; *June 17, 1963*, pp. 721–24; and *June 15, 1964*, pp. 902, 913–15.

55. *Ibid.*, *June 18, 1962*, p. 748; and *March 16, 1964*, pp. 599–600; Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, p. 56; “Minutes of the University Council,” 4 (*June 20, 1962*) (text of the resolution); and Susan Marquardt Blystone, “One Man’s Mark: Charles Burton Championed Campus Civil Rights,” *Illinois State Alumni Magazine*, 6/3 (Winter 2005–2006), p. 10.

56. *Ibid.*, *August 19, 1963*, pp. 94–95.

57. *Ibid.*, *October 31, 1960*, p. 109; and *October 16, 1961*, pp. 169–70.

58. *Ibid.*, *May 21, 1956*, p. 475; *July 1, 1957*, pp. 10–11; *September 16, 1957*, pp. 122–23; *October 14, 1957*, p. 190; *November 4, 1957*, pp. 197–99; and *January 19, 1959*, p. 229.

59. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 42–44.

60. The specific allocations of the bond sale revenue are listed in *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, *April 17, 1961*, p. 390; and *January 20, 1964*, p. 437. Where there are discrepancies, I have cited the amount in the later list. The cost for the construction of the physical education building was placed in 1961 at \$2.5 million with the notation “Part cost.” The separate bond issue appears in *December 11, 1961*, pp. 343–68. The actual state appropriation for the project was \$2,625,000 (p. 347).

61. *Ibid.*, *March 21, 1960*, p. 249; *April 25, 1960*, p. 385; and *June 27, 1960*, p. 409.

62. *Ibid.*, *January 20, 1958*, pp. 230–31; *March 13, 1958*, p. 291; and *March 23, 1959*, p. 257.

63. *Ibid.*, *July 15, 1963*, pp. 49–59; and Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, p. 78.

64. Cited by Clark, “Whirlwind of Change,” p. 228, n. 9. Clark did not indicate the years in which the enrollment increase occurred, but he cited as his source the undated “Committee for Eliminating ‘Normal’ from Illinois State Normal University” in the Bone papers in the University archives. Jo Ann Rayfield and I were not able to locate this flyer, but a letter from Elsie Brennenman, who worked in the Office of Admissions, to Bone, dated May 28, 1959, indicates that she had received the flyer the previous day. Presumably, the unidentified committee members were referring to the period between 1952 and 1958. She complained that the flyer’s gender ratio percentages were wrong. The flyer said that the freshman class in 1958 had been only 26 percent male when the correct figure was, she said, 36 percent. For the enrollment figures see, *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, *October 27, 1952*, p. 48; and *October 20, 1958*, p. 112.

65. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, *November 17, 1958*, p. 173; and *November 19, 1962*, p. 243.

66. Reitan, *Time Is—Time Was—Time Nevermore Shall Be*, pp. 128–29. Earl W. Hayter, who had taught at DeKalb since 1936, wrote in his 1974 history of Northern, *Education in Transition*, p. 301, that while Northern had by 1965 climbed to fourth place among universities in the state in terms of enrollment in Illinois, “Illinois State University, which for years led all her sister colleges dropped to eighth place—a position not wholly unpleasant for Northern, which for years had lived under the shadow of Illinois State’s size and prestige.”

67. “Illinois State Normal University: Blueprint for Ten Years, 1958–1968” (October, 1958) (quotation is on p. 1); and Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 25–26.

68. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, *October 16, 1961*, pp. 182 and 225–26; and *March 19, 1962*, pp. 469–70 and 493.

69. “Blueprint for Ten Years, 1958–1968,” p. 1.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 4; *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, *July 21, 1958*, p. 29; and *Annual Catalog, 1958–59*, pp. 68–69.

71. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, *July 17, 1961*; and *March 19, 1962*, pp. 473–74.

72. “Blueprint for Ten Years, 1958–1968,” p. 4; and *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board*, *June 27,*

1960, pp. 415–16; *August 3, 1960*, pp. 28–29; *September 19, 1960*, p. 91; *October 31, 1960*, p. 114; *July 17, 1961*, p. 16; *November 20, 1961*, p. 268; and *June 15, 1964*, p. 899; and Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 78–79.

73. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, December 11, 1961*, pp. 316–19.

74. On this key point, see Clark, “Whirlwind of Change,” pp. 226–44, esp. pp. 226–27. Clark dates the change to 1945, but, as we have seen, students started transferring from liberal arts colleges to the teachers colleges in the early 1930s.

75. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 336–47 (quotation is on p. 343); and Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 45–49 (quotation is on p. 45) and pp. 57–66. Other accounts are Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 7–8; Clark, “Whirlwinds of Change,” pp. 229–31; and Susan Marquardt Blystone, “Remembering ISNU,” pp. 12–15.

76. Clark, “Whirlwind of Change,” p. 229, n. 14.

77. The Public Health Service awarded Marshall \$43,200 to study “Adelaide Nutting and Rise of the Nursing Profession.” This is an impressive grant, even today, for a historian. See *Proceedings of the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities of the State of Illinois, January 10, 1966*, p. 431.

78. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, April 16, 1962*, pp. 556–57. On Cavanagh, see *October 14, 1946*, p. 351; on Sands, see *September 25, 1950*, p. 393; and on Helgeson, see *September 24, 1951*, pp. 46–47. For a history of the Social Science Department, which existed officially from 1934 to 1966 and which numbered thirty-seven members in 1962, see John A. Kinneman, “The Social Sciences at Normal,” *Teacher Education* 25/4 (April 1963): 1–33. Kinneman says that the “overwhelming majority of the members of the Department,” favored the name change (p. 22).

79. In April 1962 the opponents of the name change sent the Board a petition signed by one hundred faculty members and seventy-five students. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, p. 62. I was unable to locate a copy of the petition either in the university or state archives. If we had it, we would have a better idea about the identity of the opponents. I have spoken to several retired members of the History Department and their recollection is that Cavanagh and Tasher may have supported the name change—Cavanagh and Marshall, the department’s two most distinguished scholars, were rivals.

80. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents of the State of Illinois, May 17, 1973*, pp. 217–18.

81. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 46–47.

82. Bernice Frey, *Vidette*, February 13, 1962, p. 8.

83. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” p. 343.

84. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, p. 63.

85. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” pp. 336–42; and *Vidette*, January 10, 1962, p. 3.

86. *Vidette*, March 27, 1962, p. 3.

87. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, April 16, 1962*, pp. 554–55.

88. Bernice Frey, *Vidette*, February 13, 1962, p. 8.

89. Kinneman, “It Occurs to Me,” p. 342.

90. *Ibid.*, pp. 343–46; and Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 46–49.

91. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 57–66; House Bill 997 (1963); Senate Bill 1187, approved June 30, 1967; and *Vidette*, July 19, 1967, p. 1. I am grateful to Jo Ann Rayfield, Bruce Stoffel, and Angela Bonnell who uncovered this information and brought it to my attention.

92. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, April 20, 1964*, pp. 753–54.

Section Four

ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY, 1964-2007

Get more work for less pay from the faculty by requiring professors to teach bigger classes and spend more time in the classroom.

Weed out “reluctant attenders” who are in college primarily because of social and parental pressures, and discourage “unmotivated” students from enrolling... Quit creating unneeded PhD programs and cut back many of those that already exist, concentrating PhD training and federally supported research in fewer institutions...

Improve college management and budgetary processes. The report emphasizes that the fat years for college professors are over, telling institutions to expect “windfall” savings on faculty salaries because the tightening academic job market will make the big salary raises that prevailed during the past decade unnecessary during the 1970s.

James B. Holderman, 1972.¹

Introduction

The beginning of Helen Marshall’s account of Illinois State after the name change went into effect, “And now a University,” is almost idyllic. “When the students and faculty returned from their Christmas holiday on January 6, 1964, the new name was official. The tinsel and holly had been swept away, the chimes and carolers were silent, and with semester examinations only three weeks away teachers and students settled in under the new name without fanfare.”² Although the proponents of deleting *Normal* from the University’s name had professed that they were not seeking an alteration in the University’s teacher preparatory mission, they hoped, nevertheless, that Illinois State would become a multi-purpose, research university like the ones where they had obtained their own doctoral training. They were not daydreaming. In 1966 the Illinois Board of Higher Education (IBHE) referred to Northern and Illinois State in *Master Plan II* as “developing liberal arts universities” and recommended that the two schools be removed from the jurisdiction of the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities as the Teachers College Board had been renamed in 1965 and be placed under a separate Board of Regents (BOR).³ Even Marshall, who had so bitterly opposed in 1963 the dropping of *Normal*, could declare in 1967 that Illinois State’s new multi-purpose mission was “[i]n a sense . . . a fulfillment of the dreams of the founders who in 1857 had put ‘University’ in the name to provide for expansion in other fields.”⁴ It was hardly the story she had told a decade earlier in *Grandest of Enterprises*.

Yet a scant eight years after *Normal* assumed its new identity, James B. Holderman, the executive director of the IBHE, could preface his report to the higher board with “a number of changes” that “schools should make,” according to the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, “to stretch their budgets for . . . the lean years of the seventies in which dollars will fall far short of the growth pattern of the sixties.” These proposals, some of which have been quoted at the beginning of the section, included requiring faculty to do more work for less pay, discouraging poorly motivated students from enrolling and forcing out “reluctant attenders” who had matriculated, severely curtailing doctoral work, and, perhaps most cynically of all, profiting from the declining academic job market by holding the line on faculty raises. Even worse, Holderman announced that “*Master Plan III*

[of 1971] has already mandated nearly all of these recommendations of this most recent Carnegie Commission report . . .”⁵

The first draft of *Master Plan III*, released in February 1971, defined the University’s mission in these words:

Illinois State University, historically a strong teacher training institution, should retain that thrust, refining and expanding, as need justifies, its doctoral programs in education. It should not entertain plans to expand beyond education into other doctoral programs, but devote its energies to innovative programs in teacher preparation.

Any proposals for new master’s programs would face “critical examination” and were to be based on “strong undergraduate programs,” and the University was to report to the IBHE which of its existing master’s programs would “be retained and which phased out.”⁶

Predictably, this retrograde definition of the University’s mission caused an outcry on campus. Francis R. Geigle (1906–74), the acting president (1970–71), asserted that the plan would have a greater impact on Illinois State than any other university because the draft “completely reversed and changed the mission and scope of Illinois State University.” The Dean of the Faculty, Richard R. Bond (1966–71), employed more graphic language: “We have proudly used our heritage in teacher education as a strength and springboard for the future. Phase III has used that heritage not as a springboard but as a gallows. It is incomprehensible that the State of Illinois would want to resurrect old ISNU.”⁷

After a well-attended public hearing, the IBHE modified in May 1971 the University’s charge in the final reiteration of *Master Plan III*. Illinois State was now described as “a multipurpose undergraduate and master’s degree institution and, historically, a strong-teacher-training institution.” The University was no longer threatened with the loss of its existing master’s programs; instead, it was assigned the task of “refining and expanding, as the need justifies, its doctoral programs in education and the preparation of teachers at all levels.” The University’s status as a doctoral granting institution was ambiguous. It was identified as one of the seven senior public universities that could concentrate on the development of new Ph.D. programs, if manpower needs warranted, but only “within the scope” assigned to them by the plan. Specifically, Illinois State was directed to explore the “possibility of developing a limited number of Doctor of Arts degree programs, designed to prepare teachers for the junior colleges and senior institutions [four-year institutions].”⁸ It was thus not clear whether Illinois State really had a mandate to develop Ph.D. programs.

The University did establish in the 1970s D.A. programs in Economics, English, History, and Mathematics; but the new, pedagogically oriented degree was never accepted by academia as the equal of the research focused Ph.D. All these programs, except for the English D.A., which was converted in 1997 into a Ph.D., were terminated in the 1990s. The “developing liberal arts” university of 1966 had been reduced by 1971 to a “multipurpose undergraduate and master’s degree institution” with a strong focus on teacher preparation and with a begrudging authorization to offer a novel doctorate. (Many of the recipients of the D.A, it should be stressed, were outstanding teachers and did valuable research, especially

in the area of post-secondary pedagogy.) The opponents of the name change, if they were still around, might have said that Normal had like Esau sold its birthright for a serving of pottage.

The IBHE's constricted vision of the University's mission guided its destiny until the end of the twentieth century, when *Educating Illinois* set forth a new plan for Illinois State. The years after 1967 were a period of recurring financial crises; demoralized and embittered faculty members; brief presidencies, two of them cut short by scandals; a decline in academic standards and curricular fragmentation; a disdain for knowledge for its own sake and a shortsighted demand for vocational "relevance;" drunken student orgies and hooliganism; unrealized building and programmatic plans; racial tension; and community hostility. As a faculty member during these troubled decades, I glibly said on more than one occasion that Illinois State was a fourth-rate institution with illusions of being third-rate. It was a terribly unfair assessment because while faculty and staff members grumbled, they performed their duties conscientiously and because most students were decent and hardworking and became respectable and productive members of society. It is important not to lose sight of these fundamental truths in what must be until the 1990s, inevitably and regrettably, a negative story.

Why had the expectations of the mid-1960s dimmed so quickly? As Holderman made clear in 1972 in arguing the need for retrenchment, higher education nationwide was faced by the early 1970s with fiscally lean times. In 1970 the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education found that 71 percent of the forty-one colleges and universities it had surveyed were "either 'headed for financial trouble' or were already 'in trouble.'" The United States could not afford, contrary to what Lyndon Johnson had promised in waging the Vietnam War, both guns and butter. The Arab Oil Embargo of 1973 caused prices to skyrocket while productivity stagnated. The result was the stagflation of the 1970s and '80s.⁹

Illinois was especially hard hit by the decline in manufacturing and the shift of people and jobs from the Rust Belt to the Sun Belt. Illinois' share of the gross national product decreased from 6.4 percent in 1972 to 5 percent of the sum total of goods and services produced in 1992. While 900,000 people had been employed in high-paying manufacturing jobs in 1975, only 575,000 still were in 1992. Blue collar towns like Danville and Decatur suffered the most. Since Illinois coal has high sulfur content, the passage of the Clean Air Act in 1977 caused the number of miners to drop from more than 15,000 men working in 71 mines in 1979 to only 6,000 laboring in 26 pits by 1995. Consequently, there were deep pockets of poverty in southern Illinois, traditionally the least prosperous section of the State. In 1990, 263 out of every 1,000 residents of Alexander County were on the welfare rolls; in contrast only 212 were in Cook County, in spite of the deplorable conditions in the inner city of Chicago. While farmers in the six collar counties around Chicago and in McLean County profited from the conversion of farm land into housing tracts, the price of soybeans fell from \$7.62 a bushel in 1997 to \$4.00 in 1999 and a bushel of corn went from \$4.70 in 1996 to \$1.75 three years later. It was difficult for family farmers to make ends meet, even with federal subsidies, when a tractor cost \$135,000 and a combine \$200,000.¹⁰

Of course, there were parts of the State, among them McLean County, that profited from the growth of the service sector. While North Bloomington had

been selected in 1857 as the site of the Normal University because it was located at the junction of two major railroads, the Twin Cities prospered in the late twentieth century because they were situated at the junction of three interstates. Two of Bloomington's major companies, State Farm and COUNTRY Insurance and Financial Services, were and are almost recession proof; and their presence was a major factor in the growth of the College of Business at Illinois State. The population of McLean County increased from 104,389 in 1970 to 150,433 in 2000. In 2006 McLean County had the third lowest unemployment rate in Illinois, and the Twin Cities had the lowest jobless rate of any metropolitan area in the State.¹¹ Some faculty members whose salaries lagged behind the rate of inflation made, as President Lloyd Watkins pointed out to the Board, invidious comparisons with their more prosperous neighbors employed at State Farm who received automatic, quarterly cost-of-living increases.¹²

Even if Illinois' economy had been better, the State could not have sustained the growth in spending on higher education that had occurred in the 1960s. The appropriation for public higher education jumped from \$255 million in the 1961–63 biennium to \$643 million in FY71, that is, Illinois spent two and a half times as much on its colleges and universities in the 1970–71 academic year as it had expended a decade earlier in two years. Since the IBHE projected that total post-secondary enrollments would peak in 1980 and decline by 1988 to their level in 1976 (569,000 students), *Master Plan III* was a preemptive response in 1971 to that perceived fiscal and demographic reality. In fact, the enrollment in 1988 was 686,895.¹³

The recurring economic downturns after 1971 and such competing claims on the State's coffers as health care and K–12 education reduced Illinois State's general revenue appropriation, adjusted to 2004 dollars, from \$135 million in FY72, the peak year, to \$80 million in FY05. The problem was aggravated by the legislators' refusal to this day to reform the system of taxation and thus to tap the resources of one of the nation's wealthiest and most economically diversified states. After each round of cuts, the University's appropriation, adjusted for inflation, never returned to its previous level.¹⁴ To make up the difference and to pay for the rising cost of such items as fuel and computerization, the University was forced to curtail its expenditures on so-called less essential items, including Milner's book orders and journal subscriptions, to terminate such low-demand programs as Russian or master's work in Physics, and to rely increasingly on tuition increases, external grants, and fund raising. Illinois State, where once students who signed the pledge to teach had not paid tuition, went in these decades, to use the by now trite phrase, from being a state-supported institution to a state-assisted one that relies today on the State for less than a third of its income.¹⁵

The State and society as a whole had been willing to fund higher education—expenditures on higher education increased in the United States from 0.56 percent of the gross national product in 1930 to 1.12 percent in 1960¹⁶—because a college education was seen during the Depression and in the postwar era as the key to economic improvement, both individually and collectively, and to upward social mobility. The student unrest of the late '60s—and Illinois State was hardly a hotbed of unrest, even if alarmed townspeople thought so—called that faith into question. An older generation that had sacrificed during the 1930s and '40s perceived its children as ungrateful and leftist faculty as abetting their

disloyalty. In such a charged climate, it was easier for politicians to justify slashes in state funding for higher education. The students of the 1970s and '80s retreated from the political activism and idealism of the 1960s into a narrowly focused vocationalism and hedonism, whose common feature was self-interest rather than a concern for the good of society. The Rites of Spring on the Quad in the 1970s and mobs of drunken students clashing with the police in the streets of Normal in the 1980s did not inspire a desire among taxpayers to invest scarce dollars in public universities.

But the real cause of the University's problems in the last third of the twentieth century was that higher education was undergoing a fundamental restructuring, comparable to the one that had occurred around 1900, and that the place of Illinois State and of the other former teachers colleges in the educational hierarchy was, once again, far from clear. On the eve of World War II, in 1939–40, fewer than 1.5 million students were enrolled nationwide in colleges. Sixty per cent of them were men, 97 percent were white, and most came from middle or upper class families. (These figures probably ignore the women who were enrolled in non-baccalaureate programs at teachers colleges.) By 1991, 14.2 million students in the United States were receiving some sort of post-secondary education. While 40 percent of all high school graduates had sought additional education in 1960, the percentage rose to 52 percent by 1970 and 61 percent by 1991.

After the late '60s the demographic composition of the student body also changed. The number of women in college in the United States doubled in the 1970s and '80s; in 1989 women received nearly 53 percent of all bachelor's degrees. A growing proportion of undergraduates consisted of older women who returned to school to continue their education. Between 1972 and 1991 the percentage of women over thirty-five seeking a degree grew from 3.4 percent to 6.3 percent. Overall, the number of non-traditional students, that is, individuals over twenty-five, including veterans and laid off workers as well as housewives, increased from 5.1 million in 1983 to 6.2 million in 1991 with a proportionate decline in the percentage of students in the cohort aged eighteen to twenty-four. The percentage of the latter dropped from 57.4 percent in 1983 to 54.8 percent in 1991. Older students with family obligations were more likely to attend on a part-time basis and to take evening classes, and higher education was forced to accommodate them. The number of such part-timers increased from 4.6 million in 1978 to 6.1 million in 1991.

In October 2005, the last year for which national data are available, 18 million students were enrolled in college, of whom 37 percent were twenty-five or older. More than half of these, 56 percent, attended school part time. Sixty-nine percent of undergraduates were enrolled in four-year colleges and 81 percent of these attended full-time. Fifty-six percent of undergraduates and 59 percent of graduate students were women; and 49 percent of all eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds were enrolled in college (this figure includes high school dropouts).¹⁷

In the case of Illinois, in 1988, the year when enrollments had been projected to return to their 1976 level, 53.4 percent of all post-secondary students were women, only 49.4 percent of the enrollees attended full-time, and 22.4 percent were minorities. (The State's overall population was 15.2 percent black and 13.6 percent Hispanic.)¹⁸ If the IBHE's projected drop in overall higher education

enrollments did not materialize after 1980, it was because educational opportunities were opened up to groups who had previously been excluded.

The record on black enrollment is more mixed. It is estimated that in 1939–40 no more than five thousand African Americans were enrolled in predominantly white schools anywhere in the United States. By 1950 that number had risen to sixty-one thousand, still only 3 percent of the total student body in these schools. Between 1967 and 1974, in the wake of the civil rights movement, there was a dramatic 160 percent increase in the number of African Americans who matriculated at white institutions; and by 1977 African Americans, enrolled in both traditionally black schools in the South and at predominantly white colleges and universities, made up 10.8 percent of the total student body. However, the number of black students who matriculated at either black or white schools, including Illinois State, declined in the 1980s. The trend reversed at Illinois State in the late '80s as the University began to target minority, junior college transfer students. Between 1988 and 1992, the minority student population, black and Hispanic, increased from twelve hundred to eighteen hundred.¹⁹

To put these national figures into their current local context, 17,842 undergraduates registered at Illinois State in Fall, 2006. Of these, 10,152 were women (57 percent), 1,411 were 25 or older (7.9 percent), 1,148 (6.4 percent) attended part-time, 15,035 were white, non-Hispanics (84 percent), 1,059 were black, non-Hispanics (6 percent), and 597 were Hispanics (3.3 percent). There were also 439 international students (137 undergraduates and 302 graduate students) and 2,419 graduate students (961 men and 1,558 women). Seventy-six percent of the graduate students (1,843) were white, non-Hispanic American citizens or legal permanent residents, 100 (4 percent) were black, non-Hispanics, and 49 (2 percent) were Hispanics. Statewide, there were in 2005, 647,489 undergraduates and 112,127 graduate students; of these, 57 percent were women, 55 percent attended full-time, and 31 percent were classified as minorities.²⁰ Since Illinois State has always been a predominantly female institution, the most striking thing is how much it remains a university that attracts a traditional, undergraduate clientele of white, full-time students who are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four and how little headway has been made in recruiting minorities.

Moreover, popular wisdom to the contrary, the student body at Illinois State, like the prewar collegians, was by the early 1990s middle or even upper middle class in origin. In a widely cited article, Thomas P. Wallace, the University's fourteenth president (1988–95), pointed out that, nationally, 56.3 percent of the students who received a bachelor's degree prior to their twenty-fifth birthday in the period between 1985 and 1989 came from families in the top income quartile, that is, families with an income of more than \$58,125. Only 5.6 percent of the degree recipients belonged to families in the bottom quartile, that is, households who earned less than \$20,017. Nor were selective public universities such as Illinois State egalitarian. Half of the freshmen in these schools in 1990 were the children of families who earned more than \$60,000, whereas only 24 percent earned less than the median income of \$35,000. At Illinois State, specifically, 62 percent of the undergraduates in 1991–92 were ineligible, according to federal guidelines, for financial aid from the University; 46 percent had family incomes exceeding \$60,000; and an astonishing 7 percent were the offspring of households with an income in excess of \$100,000. Only 23 percent earned less than \$40,000.²¹

In recent years the University has continued to recruit students in increasing numbers from more affluent families. The number of enrolled freshmen applicants for financial aid whose families' gross adjusted income was less than \$27,335 declined 13.65 percent between FY02 and FY07 (from 271 to 234), those who made between \$27,336 and \$48,215 decreased 24.80 percent (from 379 to 285), those who earned between \$48,216 and \$70,006 went down 33.21 percent (from 536 to 358), and those whose household income ranged between \$70,007 and \$99,999 fell 9.58 percent (709 to 641), but applicants whose parents earned more than \$100,000 grew 60.50 percent (from 519 to 833). The average household income of freshmen rose from \$67,226 in Fall, 1999, to \$88,922 in Fall, 2007. However, as President Al Bowman pointed out in 2005, while the University was recruiting more students from the upper income quartile than ever in its history, the number of students in the lowest quartile had increased since 2000 because Illinois State was offering them greater financial aid; but he conceded that there was a positive correlation between an increase in student quality and an increase in family income.²²

In short, Illinois State has become in Wallace's model an example of a "residential university" that is increasingly inaccessible to the children of low- and middle-income families. The new up-scale, student apartment complexes and the restaurants and coffee shops of "uptown" Normal cater to the most prosperous student body in the University's history. It should be stressed that Illinois State is hardly unique. David Leonhardt, the economic columnist for *The New York Times*, recently wrote: "There is almost an iron law of higher education: the more selective a school is, the fewer low-income students it has." Thus only about 10 percent of the students at Harvard and Yale and 15 percent of the students at the best public universities receive Pell Grants, even though students in the bottom 40 percent of the income distribution are eligible for these federal awards.²³

To say that Illinois State is a "residential university" is another way of saying that it has been suburbanized since the 1960s. In Fall, 1966, the last year of the presidency of Robert G. Bone (1956–67) and the year it became a multi-purpose university, Illinois State was still a school deeply rooted in the small towns and farms of Central Illinois. The five counties that provided the most students were: Cook (1,571), McLean (1,101), Woodford (391), Tazewell (355), and Sangamon (341). Suburban Du Page with 252 students ranked tenth behind Peoria, La Salle, Livingston, and Macon counties. Thirty-six percent of the 880 new students who had matriculated the preceding year came from farm families and 44.6 percent of the matriculants reported an annual family income of less than \$10,000. In 2006 the largest suppliers of undergraduates were Cook (4,577; only 773 graduated from a public high school in Chicago), Du Page (1,945), McLean (1,259), Lake (1,045), Will (1,020), and Kane (764), that is, except for the University's home county, Chicago and the collar counties.²⁴ Normal's transformation from a teacher preparatory institution into a multi-purpose university during the last four decades has entailed a corresponding change in the social composition of its student body and the geographic area it serves. That change was the almost inevitable consequence of shifting the burden of funding higher education from the taxpayers to the students and their families.

Part of the paradox of Illinois State's position in the educational hierarchy was, thus, that while it repeatedly asserted its commitment to affordability and diversity,

its location in Central Illinois, tuition increases as state funding declined, and laudable efforts to raise admission and academic standards have had the opposite effect. Both nationally and in Illinois the community college became the venue where poorer, older, and minority students who could not afford to attend a residential university entered the post-secondary educational system. The number of students enrolled in such institutions in the United States rose from 2.1 million in 1970 to 4.5 million by 1982 (a 114 percent increase), whereas enrollments in four-year institutions increased in the same period from 6.2 million to 7.7 million (24 percent), that is, the real growth in educational opportunity occurred after 1970 at the level of the cheaper, more conveniently located, non-residential community college. The community colleges have been described as “‘today’s Ellis Island,’ because they serve a disproportionate number of immigrants, first generation citizens and minorities.”

In Illinois in 1988, the year the IBHE had predicted in 1971 that post-secondary enrollments would return to their 1976 level (569,323), there were 343,644 students enrolled in forty-seven two-year institutions; while an equal number, 343,251, were enrolled in four-year institutions (195,662 public and 147,589 private). However, 62.7 percent of the minority students in Illinois who were pursuing a post-secondary education attended community colleges. Unlike the undergraduates at the senior public universities, 47 percent of the freshmen in 1990 in community colleges, nationwide, belonged to families who earned less than the median income of \$35,000. So far proposals to permit community colleges in Illinois to offer baccalaureate degrees have been blocked in the General Assembly.²⁵

Heartland College in Normal, founded in 1990, was the forty-eighth and last public community college to be established in the State. In Fall, 2006, five thousand students were taking college-credit courses there and another six thousand were enrolled in non-credit courses. When Heartland opened in 1991, traditional students between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four comprised only 15 percent of the enrollment. Today more than 40 percent are in that age cohort and the average age of the students has dropped from twenty-nine in 1991 to twenty-six in 2006. Recent high school graduates are increasingly attending schools like Heartland for their first two years of college work because these schools are considerably less expensive and because schools like Illinois State have become more selective. In 1991 Illinois State accepted 80 percent of the 9,700 students who applied; in 2006, only 68 percent of the 12,000 who applied received acceptance letters. While the cost of tuition and fees at the University in FY07 was approximately \$8,000 (the exact amount depends on the year the student entered), the comparable charges at Heartland were only \$2,100. The Illinois Articulation Agreement, initiated in 1993, has helped to ease the curricular transition for community college students matriculating at a senior university—there were 1,403 such transfer students at Illinois State in Fall, 2006—but integrating them into the extracurricular life of the University may be a more difficult undertaking.²⁶

In 1957 the Higher Education Commission, which Governor William G. Stratton (1953–61) had appointed in late 1954, issued a report on the future of higher education in Illinois. There were at that time thirteen public community colleges: the three branches of the Chicago City Junior College and ten schools located in the rest of the State. The report recommended that a network of such schools

be established so that “all high school graduates may be within commuting distance of either a junior college or other higher educational institution.” The Commission also urged that the State establish a scholarship commission to administer a program of state scholarships to enable students to attend both public and private institutions in Illinois and pointed out the need for a permanent body to coordinate long-range higher education planning and to determine budgetary and programmatic priorities.²⁷

Acting on these recommendations, the General Assembly established in 1961 the Illinois Board of Higher Education (IBHE) as a “permanent coordinating, planning agency.” It issued its first master plan in 1964. The IBHE recommended that the junior colleges be removed from the jurisdiction of the superintendent of public instruction and be placed under a separate board, subsequently named the Illinois Community College Board. This occurred in 1965 and made clear that the community colleges were part of Illinois’ system of higher education rather than an extension of the secondary school system and that they were to offer more than vocational and professional courses. The IBHE also called for the retention of the State’s three existing boards: the University of Illinois Board of Trustees, the Southern Illinois University Board of Trustees, and the Illinois Teachers College Board. The higher board proposed that the last be renamed the “Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities” because some of the institutions under its jurisdiction were designated as universities and because “three of them have programs broader than teacher education.” (Illinois State was the exception in 1964.) Chicago Teachers College, hitherto under the control of the city’s Board of Education, was to be transferred to the control of the new Board of Governors.

While the IBHE saw no need in 1964 in *Master Plan I* to establish an additional governing board, it recommended two years later, in *Master Plan II*, that Northern and Illinois State, as “developing liberal arts universities,” as noted above, obtain their own board because they were the only two Board of Governors schools that already had doctoral programs and because they had “the greatest potential for developing doctoral programs designed to prepare college professors.” They were not, however, to “develop a comprehensive range of doctoral programs found at the University of Illinois or being planned at Southern Illinois University,” but to “concentrate their efforts to establish doctoral programs primarily in the liberal arts . . . and, possibly, in a few professional areas such as education and business to train administrators and other highly skilled personnel.” The two institutions were not to “establish doctoral programs which are deeply committed to highly technical research, which cover obscure fields characterized by small enrollments, or which require inordinately expensive resources for equipment, research facilities, laboratories and personnel.” The IBHE stressed that these “limitations” were “not intended to curb the destiny of these institutions forever,” but that “the dominant challenge for these institutions during the immediate years ahead is to fill the vast and growing need for college teachers.”²⁸ In 1967 the two schools were placed, accordingly, under the jurisdiction of the Board of Regents. Sangamon State, now the University of Illinois at Springfield, which opened in 1970, was the third Regency school.

This so-called “System of Systems,”* composed of the IBHE and five subordinate governing boards, created, in effect, a four-tiered, post-secondary educational hierarchy. The University of Illinois, the State’s flagship institution, and Southern Illinois University, Urbana in embryo, were on the top and had their own boards—though Carbondale never became the equal of Urbana. The other tiers in descending order of prestige were: the Regency universities, the so-called “developing liberal arts universities” with a special mandate to train college professors; the Board of Governors schools, predominantly undergraduate institutions with limited master’s level work; and at the bottom, the community colleges, feeder schools for the senior universities. (The Board of Governors had jurisdiction over Eastern, Western, the two branches of the former Chicago Teachers College [Chicago State University and Northeastern Illinois University], and the new Governors State University in Park Forest.)

Master Plan III’s final designation of Illinois State in May 1971 as “a multipurpose undergraduate and master’s degree institution,” with a historical commitment to teacher preparation and with a limited number of doctoral programs in education, situated the University, thus, ambiguously, between Northern and its former sister institutions that remained under the control of the Board of Governors. If Northern had succeeded in its repeated attempts in the 1970s and ’80s to procure its own board because it was, allegedly, “as prestigious or even more so than SIU [Southern] which has its own board,” Illinois State’s anomalous position would have been even more glaringly apparent.²⁹ As it was, the Regents had jurisdiction over three very different institutions: Northern with its panoply of doctoral programs and professional schools; Illinois State, a predominantly undergraduate institution with a special responsibility to prepare teachers; and Sangamon State, which offered only upper class and graduate work.

There was a widespread perception in Normal that the Regents favored Northern. The most obvious evidence, partially explained by Northern’s doctoral and professional programs, was the difference in funding between the two universities. For example, the Board’s proposed operating budget for DeKalb in FY80 was \$71 million, whereas Normal’s was only \$59 million. Moreover, the Regents abetted Northern’s efforts in the late 1970s and early ’80s to acquire law and engineering schools in contravention of the directives of *Master Plan II* in 1966. William R. Monat, the president of Northern (1978–84), who became in 1984 the first chancellor of the Regency universities (1984–86), explained in his memoir that he accepted the latter appointment to further the interests of his own university. “When Murray [David Murray, the chair of the Board] returned to the search issue later [the search for a new executive director], suggesting that the Board of Regents was considering a basic change in its staff structure by redefining the executive director’s position as chancellor, this time I expressed my interest in the post, primarily fueled by my concern for the university’s engineering-program request.” Monat mentioned Illinois State only twice in his 382-page book.³⁰

Clearly, Monat thought that there was a difference between the positions of executive director and chancellor. In their 1979 evaluation of Franklin G. Matsler, the executive director (1967–84), the Regents stated explicitly: “The Board does wish to protect their free-standing universities and does not want the Executive

* The term System of Systems appears in *Master Plan II*.

Director to be the chancellor, but rather one who assists the universities.” After Matsler resigned, the Regents abruptly changed their mind because, they said, it was necessary for the Regency system to speak with a single voice in collective bargaining negotiations and in its dealings with both the legislature and the IBHE. They denied the accusation that the establishment of the chancellorship was an attempt to thwart Northern’s latest attempt to procure its own board. The Regents had acted in haste and in secrecy in an executive session, Murray explained, because of unspecified circumstances that involved Monat. The Board’s bylaws were promptly rewritten and, besides the change in titles, the universities were now described as “separate and distinct” rather than as “free-standing.”

The University Professionals of Illinois (UPI) and the AAUP chapters at the three universities protested vigorously that the Regents, in the guise of discussing a personnel matter, had violated the Open Hearings Act and the spirit of shared governance in creating the office of chancellor. The Board had changed the “Central Office of the Regency System from a staff organization to a line organization with ultimate authority for the administration of all three universities.” While the executive director had been named in the Board *Proceedings* after the presidents in the list of attendees at Board meetings, the chancellor preceded them. In 1985 faculty salaries, which had hitherto been presented by institution in the annual report to the Board, were conflated into a single list arranged from the highest to the lowest paid professor.³¹

Whether the Regents really intended to turn the separate universities into branches of a single university modeled after the University of Illinois and Southern Illinois systems, as the UPI and AAUP charged, is far from clear—how they could have done so without a legislative act is equally obscure—but the establishment of the chancellorship was indicative of Illinois State’s lost autonomy in a system of systems. However, unlike the 1970s, when some of the Regents, most notably Charles B. Shuman of Sullivan (1971–80), expressed popular, anti-professorial prejudices, their successors in the 1980s were genuinely concerned about the havoc that the underfunding of higher education was causing.

The creation of the chancellorship, without a public discussion of the rationale for the decision or the incumbent’s duties, altered the relationship between the Regency universities and the central Board administration. Moreover, the Regents, ostensibly so they could concentrate on policy decisions, devolved in the late 1980s much of their oversight of the universities to the chancellor. The presidents, especially Thomas Wallace, objected to this centralization of power and to the threatened loss of the universities’ autonomy and intensified their campaign for the dissolution of the Board of Regents and the creation of separate governing boards for each university. The establishment of Illinois State’s own Board of Trustees in 1996 was thus long a desideratum. Ironically, the Trustees were soon at loggerheads with the Senate and the AAUP over their respective rights in a system of shared governance. It was one of David Strand’s great accomplishments as president that he mediated a settlement and inaugurated an “Era of Good Feelings” that survived even the budgetary crisis that followed the dot-com bust and 9/11.

With hindsight Illinois State’s special responsibility in the field of teacher preparation has proven to be highly advantageous in an era when the quality of primary and secondary education has become a major national concern. Data

from the 2004 Schools and Staffing Survey indicate that more currently employed teachers in the United States, 4.6 percent (18,572 according to the 2000 survey), have graduated from Illinois State than any other institution in the country and, more important, that it has a reputation for excellence. (Not surprisingly, given the demographic composition of the student body, the University was judged to be deficient in the area of teacher diversity.)³²

However, that advantage was not readily apparent in 1971. As late as 1966, there had been eleven thousand openings for teachers in Illinois, but only nine thousand graduates of teacher education programs. In contrast, in 1971 there were eighteen thousand graduates, but only six thousand vacancies. The medium-range outlook for prospective teachers was bleak because the teachers who had been hired to teach the baby boomers were expected to retain their positions for years to come. This was grim news at an institution where as late as 1970, 80 to 85 percent of the students were still enrolled in teacher preparatory programs. President David K. Berlo (1971–73) insisted that it was imperative that the universities not mislead students about this change in job prospects and that teacher training needed to become “increasingly liberal arts oriented in order to increase job options.”³³

Not surprisingly, there was a dramatic shift in enrollments at Illinois State from the Colleges of Arts and Sciences and Education to the College of Business. By 1976 only 50 percent of the students were still pursuing a career in education. The number of majors in Arts and Sciences, which housed most of the secondary education programs, and in Education, had dropped 20 and 30 percent, respectively; whereas the number of majors in Business and Fine Arts had doubled between 1970 and 1976. The number of accounting majors had increased an astonishing 350 percent. By 1980 Business, which had 1,752 majors in 1970, was the largest college with 4,461 majors and had just instituted bachelor's degrees in management, marketing, and finance.³⁴ As the demand for teachers has once more increased and as Illinois State becomes the State's premier undergraduate institution, the balance in enrollments has again shifted. In 2006 Business ranked third (3,075 undergraduates) behind Arts and Sciences (5,126), where most secondary education students major, and Applied Science and Technology (3,196), followed by Education (2,348), Fine Arts (1,035), and Nursing (356).³⁵ In short, the mission the IBHE assigned to Illinois State in 1971 was at odds with occupational trends in the closing decades of the twentieth century and a major reason the University found it so difficult to develop a distinctive identity.

Students who were seeking the necessary credentials to pursue a career, say, in business, saw little “relevance,” one of the buzz words of the 1970s, in the traditional general education program espoused by faculty members who had graduated from liberal arts colleges. At the same time the civil rights and feminist movements, the changing student demography—limited, as it was, at Illinois State—and, increasingly, globalization called into question a curriculum and courses that were condemned as the instruments of white, male, Eurocentric hegemony. There were demands here and nationwide for programs such as women's studies, black studies, and Hispanic studies that affirmed the contributions of minorities and women and assisted students in understanding themselves.³⁶

Perhaps, the classic example of such a contested offering is the western civilization course, a mainstay of the American collegiate curriculum since the 1920s, which

depicted the United States as the culmination of a culture that originated in the Greco-Roman world and matured in Western Europe. Critics rejected the course as a chronicle of the deeds of great white men and even with the addition of material about women and the common people, it still appeared to denigrate the contributions of non-Europeans to American culture and society.³⁷

A four-hour course in European history was one of the courses that students at Normal could take, according to the 1958 general education program, to fulfill their thirteen-hour Group II distribution requirement in the Humanities and Social Sciences; and students could select two out of three courses in a three-semester sequence in western civilization to fulfill their nine-hour humanities requirement in the University Studies Program that went into effect in 1980.³⁸ Western Civilization disappeared from the General Education Program that was adopted in 1998, but, *mutatis mutandis*, resurfaced in 2001 as “The Making of Europe,” a one-semester, Outer Core humanities course. The new reiteration was acceptable because the dreaded *western civilization* had disappeared from the course title and description. In effect, the inclusion of the western civilization course in the 1979 University Studies Program pitted European historians, who needed a course to teach as the number of history majors plummeted, against students who saw little relevance in learning about Pericles.

The students were not alone in their very utilitarian assessment of a university's function. In a 1969 executive director's report, Holderman wrote that there were “two opposing thrusts” about “the appropriate purposes of today's public colleges and universities.” The first was that “institutions of higher learning must pursue truth, detached from the pitfalls of the practical and political world . . .” The other was that they were “institutions in a larger society and as such have responsibilities and obligations to relate openly and be of service to that larger community both through direct institutional involvement and through the preparation of generations sensitive to the problems of man and his environment and committed to their solution.” He was emphatic that the staff of the IBHE “and, hopefully, the Board supports the latter of these two views.” In a memorandum to President Samuel E. Braden (1967–70), Dean Richard Bond commented that Holderman's “blithe dismissal of the ‘search for truth’ is almost unbelievable.”³⁹

In the following years there were repeated discussions about how to balance vocationally oriented programs with the University's obligation to provide its students with a liberal arts education. For example, in 1977 Illinois State proposed to offer a bachelor's degree in safety. David E. Murray, the chair of the BOR, pointed out that there was “a real demand for people who are safety trained” and that the Regents had been “appalled” at “the employment status of the recent graduates. . .” Regent Dr. Dan M. Martin countered: “Illinois State is a university. . . and people who graduate are expected to be university products with a comprehensive education. The idea of coming out of a university with a B.S. in Safety to him would mean the same thing as graduating from a technical school with a narrow education . . .” What would happen to the holders of such “ridiculous degrees,” he asked, when they were no longer in demand? In 1978 the IBHE approved the program.⁴⁰

Even worse, a sizeable minority of students saw little purpose in attending college at all. They enrolled at schools like Illinois State because during the difficult economic

times of the 1970s and '80s college attendance was a form of unemployment insurance. In 1977 Frederick Rudolph, the Mark Hopkins Professor of History at Williams College, wrote about the period since the late 1960s, in a book prepared for the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education: "What was new was the extent to which colleges and universities had become 'detention centers' for hundreds of thousands of young men and women for whom society held out no meaningful employment as an alternative."⁴¹ One Illinois State administrator referred cynically in the 1990s to the large sections of the American history and western civilization surveys the History Department offered as "holding pens." It is hardly surprising that students everywhere complained about boring courses and uninspiring teachers and that faculty countered with laments about poorly motivated students and declining academic standards. A *Vidette* editorial in February 1968 decried ISU as "the K-Mart of education"—a comparison some faculty members also made.⁴² Alcohol and drugs helped such students serve their sentence.

This concatenation of problems made the last third of the twentieth century a difficult period to be a college president. Between 1967 and 1999 Illinois State had seven presidents: Samuel E. Braden (1967–70),[†] Francis R. Geigle (1970–71), David K. Berlo (1971–73), Gene A. Budig (1973–77), Lloyd I. Watkins (1977–88), Thomas P. Wallace (1988–95), and David A. Strand (1995–99). If we exclude Geigle's acting presidency, the average presidential tenure was five years and that figure is distorted by Watkins' eleven-year term. Under the best of circumstances these men could not put their stamp on the University as David Felmley had in thirty years or Fairchild did in twenty-two. The faculty increasingly perceived presidents, provosts, and deans as flitting about from school to school, interested more in the advancement of their own careers than the good of the University they momentarily served, imposing a cookie cutter template on the institution, and leaving it to others to clean up the mess they left behind. In the 1990s the alienation of the upper echelons of the administration from the faculty contributed to the dismissal of President Wallace and Provost John Urice in quick succession.

As their fates indicate, it was no longer possible to administer a university with twenty thousand students and five colleges (today six) in the centralized and authoritarian manner—whether benevolent or despotic—of the Normal University. For example, as late as 1964, President Bone was one of six members of the Committee on Appointments, Promotion, and Tenure.⁴³ By the late '60s that responsibility had passed to department and college faculty status committees. Bone unlike his predecessors, it should be stressed, was a firm believer in shared governance. He turned the University Council into a real advisory body and was careful always to cast his vote last so as not to influence its deliberations unduly.⁴⁴

One of the lasting consequences of the turmoil of the 1960s was the empowerment, across the nation, of both the faculty and the students. This shift in the internal balance of power was institutionalized at Illinois State in 1969 by the establishment of a unicameral academic senate with a three-to-two ratio between faculty and student representatives.⁴⁵ Externally, each of the State's teachers colleges had spoken to the Board with a single voice, the president's. Starting in May 1970, however,

[†]Braden Auditorium in the Bone Student Center was named in Braden's honor in 1982, when the University celebrated the 125th anniversary of its foundation.

the Joint University Advisory Committee (JUAC), composed of faculty members, the student body presidents, and a representative of the universities' non-academic employees, gained the right to address the Regents directly. After 1973 each of the Regency universities was represented on the Board by a non-voting student member.⁴⁶ The president was no longer synonymous with the University.

The respective rights of the faculty, the president, the Board, and the IBHE in the formulation of policy and the governance of the University were perpetually contested. For example, in 1972 the BOR's most distinguished member, Dr. Percy L. Julian,⁴⁷ asked: "What is our function . . . to rubber stamp the thinking of the BHE? Do they have greater minds? If this is the case, the Board of Regents should be abolished." The Board's chair, J. Robert Barr, commented in 1976: "the BHE seems to get carried away with new razzle-dazzle programs to reform education and bring the millennium to our State by only spending 'x' number of dollars; but yet there is a failure to provide funds for the continuance and improvement of proven programs." Similarly, when the BOR eliminated in December 1971 the mandatory physical education requirement as a cost-saving measure, the Senate perceived the measure as a violation of the University's right to initiate curricular changes.⁴⁷ As Barr's comments indicate, underlying the acrimony was a struggle for ever diminishing resources.

It is perhaps no accident that the faculty used allegations of financial irregularities by Berlo and Wallace to get rid of these two high-handed, not very diplomatic presidents who tried to alter the institutional culture. With the benefit of hindsight, Wallace's abrupt departure may have been in fact detrimental to the University because he was the first president to grasp that Illinois State could not resolve its perennial problem of underfunding by relying on state appropriations. Finally, presidents increasingly had to delegate responsibility for the internal management of the University as they were called upon to represent Illinois State before the legislature and the school's external constituencies and consequently were, in varying degrees, estranged from the campus community. Thus no president after 1967 could dominate the institution the way Edwards, Felmley, or Fairchild had, let alone like Bone know the name of every faculty member and student.

The 1998 *Fisher Report's* assessment of the presidency at Illinois State during the last third of the twentieth century was devastating: "It is perhaps not fair to describe Illinois State as a 'graveyard for presidents' but it comes close." During the previous thirty-one years, the University had "several ineffective or outright failures as presidents, repeated governance disputes, the ubiquity of 'acting' positions, and several 'no confidence' votes . . ." According to the report, commissioned during the confrontation between the Board of Trustees and the Senate over shared governance, the "combination of assertive faculty and *Constitutionally* inhibited presidents resulted in what one external higher education leader has called 'implicit and sometimes explicit faculty domination of the governance process.'"⁴⁸ The outcome of the conflict was a reassertion in 1999 of the formal authority of the president and the Board in the governance of the University.

Not very surprisingly, in light of this multiplicity of problems, Roger J. Champagne, the first chair of the History Department (1966–70), closed in 1989 his account

⁴⁷Julian (1899–1975), who synthesized physostigimine for the treatment of glaucoma and cortisone for the treatment of rheumatoid arthritis, was a member of the Board of Regents from 1967 to 1973.

of the University's history during the thirteenth decade of its existence (1977–87) on a somber note.

Yet problems remained for the future. Perhaps there are a number, but two important ones are finances and mission. The most critical is the University's underfunded condition, both for its operations and capital needs . . . The second major problem, that of institutional mission, is related to the first. It is one of the most perplexing but demanding issues of the future. The need has existed for twenty years, ever since the dreams and plans of the 1960s of transforming ISU into a regional comprehensive liberal arts university failed to come true. Since then little has been proposed by either the faculty or leading central and college administrators (who tended to be transient) except the rather empty statements that ISU is a diverse, multi-purpose university. There is a need for a common vision shared by both administration and faculty of what the University should become in the years ahead; a need for the formation of a clear sense among the governing boards of the University's place and role in Illinois' system of public higher education. But without a correction in the University's level of funding, Illinois State University's mission for its fourteenth decade will be no more than what the institution has become, neither comprehensive nor undergraduate, whose essential character will only be the sum of its historical development.⁴⁹

This section will examine why Champagne could make such a grim assessment of the University's condition in the last third of the twentieth century. Ironically, he like Lloyd Watkins, the main actor in Champagne's history of the thirteenth decade, was trapped by the laudable belief that it was the State's responsibility to fund higher education. Thomas Wallace challenged that assumption and set the University in the early 1990s on the course it has followed ever since. Under the leadership of his able successors, David Strand, Victor J. Boschini (1999–2003), and Clarence A. Bowman (2003 to the present), it is today the premier undergraduate institution in Illinois; but it may no longer be the "people's university."

ENDNOTES

1. James B. Holderman, quoting a report by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *More Effective Use of Resources: An Imperative for Higher Education*, in "Executive Director's Report #108, State of Illinois, Board of Higher Education," July 6, 1972, pp. 1–2.
2. Helen E. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade: Illinois State University 1957–1967* (Normal, 1967), p. 71.
3. "A Master Plan for Higher Education in Illinois: Phase II—Extending Educational Opportunity," Provisional Draft (Springfield: September, 1966), pp. 8 (quotation is here) and 54–55.
4. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, p. 81.
5. Holderman, "Executive Director's Report #108," pp. 1–2.
6. "State of Illinois Board of Higher Education, Master Plan Phase III, Initial Draft" February 1971, pp. 42–43.
7. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents of the State of Illinois, April 15, 1971*, p. 178. Bond's words are quoted by Roger J. Champagne, *A Place of Education: Illinois State University, 1967–1977* (Normal, 1978), p. 89.
8. *A Master Plan for Higher Education in Illinois: Phase III—An Integrated State System* (Springfield, May 1971), pp. 18–19, 22.
9. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636–1976*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1976), pp. 383–84.
10. Roger Biles, *Illinois: A History of the Land and Its People* (DeKalb, IL, 2005), pp. 299–301.
11. *The Pantagraph*, March 15, 2007, C1.
12. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 24, 1980*, p. 34.
13. *A Master Plan for Higher Education in Illinois: Phase III*, pp. 3, 31–33; and *The Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac, September 1, 1988*, p. 26.
14. Stephen M. Bragg, "Chart 1: GRF Appropriations to Illinois State University (adjusted to 2004 dollars)," distributed April 5, 2005. Bragg is the Vice President for Finance and Planning.
15. The first use of the phrase in reference to Illinois State I could find occurred in comments by Lloyd Watkins to the Regents on March 24, 1988. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, March 24, 1988*, p. 180.
16. Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, p. 380.
17. Christopher J. Lucas, *American Higher Education: A History* (New York, 1994), pp. xiv–xvi, 22731; and *The New York Times*, August 29, 2007, A18.
18. *The Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac, September 1, 1988*, p. 26.
19. Lucas, *American Higher Education*, pp. 240–43; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, September 17, 1992*, p. 27 and *July 13, 1994*, pp. 23.
20. *The Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac, August 26, 2005*, p. 54; and *Illinois State University: FactBook* (December 2006), pp. 22, 23, 26, 28.
21. Thomas P. Wallace, "Public Higher Education Finance: The Dinosaur Age Persists," *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning* 25/4 (July/August 1993): 56–63. Cited, for example, by Lucas, *American Higher Education*, p. xii.
22. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 18, 2005*, pp. 123–24. I wish to thank Charles Boudreau, the Director of Financial Aid, for providing me with these figures.
23. David Leonhardt, "The New Affirmative Action," *The New York Times Magazine: The College Issue*, September 30, 2007, Section 6, p. 80.
24. *Proceedings of the Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities of the State of*

Illinois, November 21, 1966, pp. 371–73; *Vidette*, February 24, 1966, p. 233; and *Illinois State University FactBook* (December 2006), p. 33. Daniel A. Clark, “Whirlwinds of Change: The Transformation of Illinois State Normal University, 1957–1971,” *Illinois Historical Journal*, Winter 1997, p. 233, n. 33, cites the survey published in the *Vidette*. I am grateful to Robin Gould, a research associate in Planning and Institutional Research, for providing me with the information about how many of the undergraduates are from Chicago.

25. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, May 11, 2007*, p. 7; *The Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac*, September 1, 1988, p. 26; Lucas, *American Higher Education*, pp. 228–29; and Wallace, “Public Higher Education Finance,” p. 57. Kay M. McClenney, the director of the annual Community College Survey of Student Engagement, called the community colleges “today’s Ellis Island.” Quoted by John Merrow, “The Two-Year Attraction,” in “Education,” *The New York Times*, Section 4A (April 22, 2007), p. 18.

26. *The Pantagraph*, March 25, 2007, A1, A4, and A5; and March 26, 2007, A1 and A4; and *Illinois State University FactBook* (December 2006), p. 21.

27. *Illinois Looks to the Future in Higher Education: A Summary of the Report of the Higher Education Commission to the Governor and Legislature of the State of Illinois* (1957); quotation is on p. 16.

28. *A Master Plan for Higher Education in Illinois* (July, 1964), pp. 3 (first quotation), 45–47, 68–69, 71–72 (second quotation is on p. 72); and “Master Plan II,” pp. 8, 54–55, 63–64 (quotations are here).

29. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 21, 1983*, pp. 23–24.

30. *Ibid.*, September 21, 1978, p. 104; and William R. Monat, *The Achieving Institution: A Presidential Perspective on Northern Illinois University* (DeKalb, 2001), p. 106. The references to Illinois State are on pp. 4 and 40. On Northern’s acquisition of the law and engineering schools, see pp. 108–87.

31. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, June 14, 1979*, pp. 309–10; *May 17, 1984*, pp. 197–200, 212; *June 21, 1984*, p. 228; *July 26, 1984*, pp. 17–24 (quotation is on p. 21); and *August 1, 1985*, p. 10.

32. *Vidette*, August 31, 2006, p. 3.

33. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, October 21, 1971*, pp. 67–68; and *March 15, 1973*, p. 159 (quotation is here); and Champagne, *A Place of Education*, p. 86.

34. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, p. 122; and *idem*, *The Thirteenth Decade: Illinois State University 1977–87* (Normal, 1989), p. 17; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, June 16, 1977*, p. 306.

35. *Illinois State University FactBook* (December 2006), p. 23. The first year that enrollments in Arts and Sciences exceeded those in Business was 1986.

36. Lucas, *American Higher Education*, pp. 245–47.

37. On the western civilization course, see Gilbert Allardyce, Carolyn C. Lougee, Morris Rossabi, William F. Woehrlin, “The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course,” *The American Historical Review* 87 (1982): 695–743.

38. *Annual Catalog, 1958–59*, p. 68; and *Illinois State University Undergraduate Catalog 1981–82*, pp. 35–36.

39. James B. Holderman, “Executive Director’s Report No. 79,” October 7, 1969, pp. 885–86; and Memorandum of R. R. Bond to President Braden, October 27, 1969, in the University Archives, BOR Papers, 1967–69. I am grateful to Jo Ann Rayfield for bringing these documents to my attention.

40. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, June 16, 1977*, pp. 308–09 and *September 21, 1978*, p. 100.

41. Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636* (San Francisco, Washington, and London, 1977), p. 270.

42. See, for example, Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, pp. 278–86; and Clark, “Whirlwind of Change,” pp. 236–41. *Vidette*, February 6, 1968, p. 2, cited by Clark, p. 238.

43. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board of the State of Illinois, July 20, 1964*, p. 64.

44. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, p. 5.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 50. On the national trend, see Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, pp. 375–76.

46. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, May 3, 1970*, pp. 173–80; *September 20, 1973*, p. 62; *October 18, 1973*, p. 89; and *March 17, 1977*, p. 193.

47. *Ibid.*, *December 19, 1971*, p. 95; *February 19, 1972*, pp. 113–17; *July 20, 1972*, p. 9; and *January 29, 1976*, p. 148.

48. *Fisher Report* (1998), pp. 8, 18, 52.

49. Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 107–08.

Section Four

ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY, 1964-2007

Chapter 9 THE 1960S: TURMOIL AND SHATTERED DREAMS

The late 1960s are remembered as a period of turmoil on college campuses across the country, most famously at Berkeley, Columbia, and Cornell, and tragically at South Carolina State University, Kent State in Ohio, and Jackson State in Mississippi. The unrest was caused by opposition to the Vietnam War, the radicalization of the civil rights movement, and students' resistance to college-imposed restrictions on their personal lives. Roger Champagne titled his chapter on the 1969–70 school year, "A Year of Disruption;" but unlike the University of Illinois, where students went on strike, and Northern and Southern, which were officially closed, Illinois State remained open.¹ It is tempting to see *Master Plan III* as the outraged public's response to this violence, with ISU being unfairly penalized for the more egregious sins of others; but the grandiose plans of the mid-1960s could never have been realized or the exponential growth in spending sustained. Fiscal reality had set in before the campus erupted.

7 THE MULTI-PURPOSE UNIVERSITY

None of this was obvious on January 1, 1964, when the modern era in the history of Illinois State began. Enrollments continued to increase, additional classroom buildings and residence halls were being constructed, and administrators were planning even bigger projects, most notably a new combination student union and auditorium. In one of its last acts, the Teachers College Board unanimously approved on April 12, 1965, "the expansion of purpose of Illinois State University subject to the approval of the Board of Higher Education," which authorized the school on October 5 to develop degree programs that did not require teacher certification and to grant bachelor's and master's degrees in the liberal arts and sciences as well as in education.² Because of the emphasis on disciplinary content in the secondary education programs, the transition to the offering of non-education degrees in the traditional academic disciplines went smoothly; and by September 1966 the collegiate and departmental structure of a multi-purpose university was in place. The Board of Governors busied itself in formulating policies to govern the more complex institutions it supervised. Enrollment had increased from 3,210 (186 were graduate students) in 1956, when Bone became president, to 9,699 (8,713 undergraduates and 986 graduate students) in 1966, when he began his last year;³ but when he retired in 1967, the school still had the feel of a somnolent teachers college. In contrast, Samuel Braden's three-year presidency (1967–70) was tumultuous.

As had been the case since World War II, Robert Bone and the Board were preoccupied with managing the University's growth; however, their enrollment projections consistently went awry. In 1964 the University closed admissions for the coming school year on June 3; in 1967 it acted already on January 28. At the beginning of the "Year of Disruption," in September 1969, 14,600 students were in attendance. The Board of Governors went on record in February 1966 that "with regard to institutional size and capacity, it believes the concept of orderly growth is paramount and that enrollment ceilings not be placed upon the institutions [under its jurisdiction]." In July 1967, in preparation for Braden's arrival, the University's Committee on Campus Planning projected that enrollments would increase in

the next decade to somewhere between 21,000 and 28,000 students, that is, there would be double or triple the 9,699 students who had attended that school year. Using even the most conservative estimate of future growth, Illinois State would need to add every year, the committee maintained, 1,250 beds, 100 new faculty members, and 100 civil service employees.⁴ These predictions were never fulfilled because, as we have seen, the community colleges absorbed after 1970 much of the projected increase in post-secondary enrollments.

To house the students, the University constructed at a cost of \$8 million two seventeen-storied residence halls, Manchester and Hewett, and a food center named in honor of Bloomington's Carl Vrooman (1874–1966), who had been the assistant secretary of agriculture in the Woodrow Wilson administration. The bottom twelve floors opened in 1966; the remainder the next year. An even bigger undertaking was the twenty-eight-storied Watterson Towers, the tallest building between Chicago and St. Louis, which was designed to accommodate 2,200 students. The north tower was completed in 1968 and the south in 1969. The ten houses in which it is subdivided were named in 1967 for the first ten Secretaries of State of the United States, five of whom became President. Bone explained that these names had been chosen because: “[i]t was believed that there is merit in recognizing the part we play and must continue to play in international affairs”—a statement that reflects the optimistic internationalism of John F. Kennedy's 1961 inaugural address rather than the bitter disillusionment of the gathering anti-war movement. This high-rise cost \$14.2 million and was named for Arthur Weldon Watterson (1914–66), Class of 1937, the head of the Geography Department from 1951 until his death. A central food services building, which was named for John Green, a retired assistant professor of Agriculture, was also built north of Gregory at a cost of \$1.1 million.⁵

The construction of the Shelbourne Apartments, intended for the married students who were expected to attend the “developing liberal arts” university envisioned in *Master Plan II*, took six years from inception to completion as financial markets tightened and as the University's mission became less certain. The Board of Governors approved in December 1966 a feasibility study to build fifty one-bedroom and fifty two-bedroom apartments for married students and authorized in June 1967 the purchase of forty acres at the Illinois Soldiers' and Sailors' Children's Home in northeast Normal as the location of the proposed housing. The conveyance of the land to the University and the development of the site took longer than anticipated, and in June 1969 Braden indicated that two-bedroom apartments would be better suited to the students' needs and proposed that all one hundred units be of this size. Rising construction costs might require, he pointed out, a new feasibility study. The bond brokers rejected Braden's proposal in September, but in March 1970 the University sought authorization from the State to construct two hundred units because it was anticipated that the future growth of the school would be at the junior and senior years and at the graduate level. Such students, it was argued, were more likely to be married and to require this type of housing. This plan never materialized, and in May 1970 the Board of Regents authorized the issuance of bonds to construct a one-hundred-unit complex, whose design had been scaled back to be affordable for students. The Board rejected in July the bids it had obtained to sell the bonds, but finally approved on November 30, 1970, the sale of \$1.6 million in bonds to finance the

construction of the complex. The Shelbourne Apartments opened in 1972, six years after the project was initiated.⁶ The long delay in executing this relatively simple and cheap project is indicative of the mounting financial problems the University faced after Bone's retirement in 1967 and the underlying uncertainty about the University's mission, which made planning for the future increasingly frustrating, even before the issuance of *Master Plan III* in 1971.

Another proposed undergraduate dormitory was never built. In the spring of 1967 the University began planning the construction of the North Residence Tower, on the southwest corner of Locust and School Streets, at an estimated cost of \$6.5 million. This residence hall, which was tentatively named in August for a former resident board member, Clarence Ropp, was to be part of the union-auditorium complex that was being developed north of College Avenue. (Sudduth Road, west of Main Street, Mulberry, between Main and School Streets, and Ash Street, east of School, were linked, renamed College Avenue in 1966, and turned into the major west-east thoroughfare through the campus.) The Board rejected in March 1968 the bids it had received and in October hired architects to redesign the dormitory, but Ropp Hall was a stillborn project.⁷ Watterson, the last undergraduate residence hall to be constructed, is thus a monument, in every sense of the word, to the ambitious and unrealized dreams of the mid-1960s.

Preliminary planning for a new humanities building to house the departments of English, Mathematics, and Foreign Languages began in 1964. After the death of the former governor and presidential candidate, Adlai E. Stevenson, a great-grandson of the University's founder Jesse Fell, the Board named the building on October 18, 1965, in honor of the late ambassador to the United Nations, who had attended University High School. Stevenson Hall, which cost \$3.4 million, opened in 1968.

The community raised \$75,000 to endow the annual Adlai E. Stevenson Lectures on International Affairs. The presidents of Illinois State and Illinois Wesleyan as well as the presidents of the two schools' student bodies are ex officio members of the eighteen-person board that arranges the lectures. Arthur Goldberg, a former United States Supreme Court Justice and Stevenson's successor at the U.N., delivered the first lecture in 1966.⁸ National and international figures in different fields, like *New York Times* columnist, James Reston, and former Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, were brought over the years to the two campuses to speak. After a hiatus of several years, Mary Robinson, the former president of Ireland (1990–97) and the United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights (1997–2002), spoke at Illinois Wesleyan in 2006; and the documentary filmmaker, Ken Burns, gave the Stevenson Lecture at Illinois State in November 2007 as part of the sesquicentennial celebration.

At a cost of a million dollars an addition was added in 1967–68 to the School Street side of Hovey Hall, which had hitherto presented a bare wall toward North Street. When Bone retired on August 31, 1967, other construction projects were on the drawing board: a union-auditorium complex (Bone Student Center) and a building to house Education, Psychology, and Clinical Services, which had already been named in honor of Charles DeGarmo and which was budgeted at \$4.2 million. The original plan for the union called for a building on three major levels. It was to include space for student organizations like the *Vidette*,

such recreational facilities as a sixteen-lane bowling alley, a four-thousand-seat auditorium, an outside reflecting pool that could double as an ice-skating rink in the winter, a ballroom, a campus store, eating areas, and a hotel tower with at least two hundred beds. A pedestrian bridge over College Avenue, whose estimated cost in 1969 was placed at \$385,000, was designed to link the union and the library to the Quad. Both Bone and DeGarmo were eventually built, but only, like the Shelbourne Apartments, after long delays and in the case of the union, a major and ill-conceived redesign that is noticeably deficient in amenities for students. To its credit, the Board of Governors mandated in February 1967 that all future buildings were to be handicapped accessible.⁹ The Union is thus, like Watterson, another monument to the thwarted dreams of the mid-1960s.

After the IBHE authorized Illinois State on October 5, 1965, to offer programs that did not require teacher certification, the University during the last months of Bone's presidency began establishing the curricular and administrative structure of a multi-purpose institution. It was easy to drop the education courses in the traditional academic disciplines that had prepared secondary school teachers because the graduates of these programs were expected to have a thorough grounding in the content area they taught. For example, on April 18, 1966, the Board of Governors approved the offering of undergraduate majors in History, Political Science, Sociology–Anthropology, and Economics (the Social Sciences Department was being dissolved into its constituent disciplines) and the awarding of a B.S., a B.A., or a B.S. in Education in each area. Similarly on October 31, 1966, the Board authorized Chemistry to offer graduate work and to confer either a M.S. or a M.S. in Education and permitted the Speech Department to grant a M.A.¹⁰

The initial collegiate structure, which came into existence in September 1966, consisted of three colleges: Education (Education, Elementary Education, Educational Administration, Special Education, Student Teaching and the Laboratory Schools); Liberal Arts and Sciences (Biological Sciences, English, Foreign Languages, Geography, Library Sciences, Mathematics, and Speech and the constituent disciplines in the old departments of the Physical and Social Sciences: Chemistry, Physics, History, Economics, Political Science, and Sociology–Anthropology); and Applied Science and Technology (Agriculture, Home Economics, and Industrial Arts). The word *Liberal* was soon dropped from Arts and Sciences to avoid the possible implication that the sciences were not liberal. Each of these colleges obtained its own dean and council. The remaining departments—Art, Business Education, the separate departments of Health and Physical Education for Men and Women, and Music—reported directly to the Dean of the Faculty and the Dean of the Graduate School. The College of Business, consisting of the existing department of Business Education and the new departments of Accounting and Business Administration, began operations the following September. Fine Arts, including Art and Music, followed in September 1969, and the two physical education departments were placed in Applied Science and Technology.¹¹ The establishment of the departments of Accounting and Business Administration was the first major curricular step in moving the University beyond its heritage as a teachers college.

The Board of Governors passed numerous regulations to clarify policies and procedures at the institutions, old and new, that had been placed under its

jurisdiction. For example, between 1965 and 1967 it promulgated rules about the termination of untenured faculty members; the mandatory retirement at sixty-five of presidents, vice-presidents, provosts, deans, department heads, registrars, and business managers; the operation of campus stores; maternity leaves for faculty members (the unspoken, then novel assumption was that a married woman could continue to teach at a university); vacation time for non-academic employees; the salaries of employees who were on jury duty; the appointment of adjunct professors; non-academic employees taking classes; and the promotion of assistant professors who lacked an earned doctorate.¹² The issuance of such regulations was part of the transformation of the teachers colleges into “real” universities.

Still, in spite of the new regulations, the curricular and administrative changes, and the banging of hammers, Illinois State was still in 1967, when Bone bade his formal farewell, a teachers college in all but name. Almost all of the students intended to be teachers and were steeped in the culture of an earlier era. Two incidents that occurred in the closing months of Bone’s presidency show how much the atmosphere of the 1950s pervaded the campus. When the president celebrated his sixtieth birthday on May 31, 1966, the students planned a surprise honor, code-named “Project 60.” After a dinner at the Old Union, the blindfolded president was taken to the amphitheater, the space on the Quad in front of Milner (now Williams Hall), where twenty-five hundred hitherto silent students greeted him with a rendition of “Happy Birthday, Bobby,” as the blindfold was removed.

The second incident occurred in March 1967 after Illinois State, the underdog, had defeated San Diego State in the third overtime at the NCAA Basketball Tournament in Evansville. Starting at Tri-Towers and gaining numbers as they marched across campus, an estimated fifteen hundred students—not four thousand as some radio stations and newspapers reported—gathered in front of Hovey and demanded that Easter vacation start three days early, so they could attend the next game. Bone, surprised by the tumult, addressed the crowd and promised that if Illinois State continued to the finals, classes would be dismissed a day early. As he stepped down from the front steps with the suggestion that the students cheer the team, he was greeted with cries of “Rah, rah, for President Bone.” The extraordinary thing about Helen Marshall’s account of this event, written in 1967, is that she introduced it as the example of “the student unrest which seems characteristic of all campuses large and small.”¹³ Three years later Illinois State would get a taste of real student unrest, and both the lingering remnants of the teachers college and the “developing liberal arts” university were swept away in the turmoil and its aftermath.

2 SAMUEL E. BRADEN

If Bone could have been typecast as the quintessential 1950s president of a small college, Samuel E. Braden was the personification of the modern university president. As befit the son of missionaries to China, where he was born in 1914, Braden was a man of integrity and, as the events of Spring, 1970 showed, great personal courage. He majored in Economics and Political Science at the University of Oklahoma and in 1941 received a doctorate in Economics and Law from the University of Wisconsin. Except for World War II, where he worked first as an economist in Washington and then served in the Air Force, Braden’s entire professional career had been spent at Indiana University, where he

became in 1954 an associate dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and then in 1959 vice-president and dean for Undergraduate Development.¹⁴ It is hard to imagine a president who would have been better suited to lead Illinois State in becoming, like Indiana University, a liberal arts university charged with preparing college professors. (Unlike the University of Illinois, Indiana is not a land grant university.)

During his first year in office, 1967–68, Braden set out to realize the goals laid out the previous year in *Master Plan II*. His tenure began auspiciously. The operating budget for the 1967–69 biennium was \$38.4 million, a 40 percent increase from the preceding biennium; but Northern’s was \$56 million, a revealing indicator how much Illinois State was lagging behind its sister Regency school. There were 850 faculty members, a quarter of whom had arrived that year. Just before his arrival, the BOR had approved in August 1967, subject to final approval by the IBHE, an interdisciplinary master of arts in Western European Studies. This was followed in October by master’s degrees in Physics, Economics, Sociology, and Political Science.

Additional buildings were planned to accommodate the 21,000 to 28,000 students who, the July 1967 “Blueprint for the Future” anticipated, would be on the campus in a decade. In addition to the union-auditorium complex and DeGarmo, plans were underway by December 1967 for the construction of a combination South Mall Art Building and Graduate Study Center (the Center for the Visual Arts and University Galleries)* at a cost of \$4,628,000, a General University Services Building (Nelson Smith Building)† at \$1,922,544, and an Administration Services Building at \$1,681,400 to serve as the campus’s computer center. (The last was initially called East Gate because it was east of the Fell Gate entrance and was named after Percy Julian in 1975.) By February 1968 a new library at an estimated cost of eight to twelve million dollars, a science building at six to ten million, a business building at five million, and a presidential residence at fifty to seventy-five thousand had been added to the list of desired projects.¹⁵

Shortly after his arrival, Braden established a University Planning Committee to draft an academic plan to chart Illinois State’s development in the next decade. Each department was asked to consider the programs it wanted to establish and to estimate the human and financial resources it would need to implement its goals. In accordance with *Master Plan II*’s directives, it was assumed that more than two-thirds of the University’s students would be juniors, seniors, and graduate students and that the size of the freshman class would remain constant after 1970. The plan envisioned the creation by 1979 of seventeen new undergraduate programs, majors, and degrees, fourteen master’s, eighteen sixth-year, and fourteen doctoral programs. Already in July 1968, before the plan was completed, the Regents approved the University’s proposed Ph.D. programs in Geography and History; a Ph.D. in English followed in October 1969. Only the IBHE needed to give its approval before the University could begin offering doctoral work in these subjects. The planners stressed the linkage between teaching, research, and public

* In 1972 the nearly complete South Mall Art Building was named the Center for the Visual Arts. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 20, 1972*, p. 27. There was no further talk about a Graduate Study Center.

† In 1996 the Services Building was named for Nelson Smith, Class of 1947, M.S. 1948, the University’s photographer and chronicler of events for more than half a century. See *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, July 12, 1996*, p. 54.

service. In March 1969 the University Council approved the plan, which Roger Champagne, writing in 1978, called “the cumulative outcome of the earlier efforts to change the University’s name and single purpose function.”¹⁶

When I was hired in the spring of 1969, Champagne, the first chair of the History Department, painted a bright picture of the department’s and University’s future. His bitter closing comments two decades later in *The Thirteenth Decade* express the frustrations of hundreds of faculty members who had expended countless hours in formulating the plan to turn Illinois State into a liberal arts university and whose hopes were dashed in 1971 with the issuance of *Master Plan III*.

While this internal planning document was being prepared to flesh out the IBHE’s general directives in *Master Plan II*, the administration also needed to prepare the budget for the 1969–71 biennium that would convert aspirations into reality. In July 1968 the University presented to the Board a preliminary capital budget request for \$47.7 million, of which \$37.3 million was earmarked for six construction projects, including \$11 million for a new library that would accommodate 7,000 students and that was deemed essential for the University’s graduate mission. (Northern asked for \$61 million.) Among the other requests were \$2.8 million to acquire more land for future expansion and a half million to plan five additional building projects that were slated for inclusion in the budget for the 1971–73 biennium. In September 1968 the University requested that its operating budget be increased from the \$38.4 million it had received for the 1967–69 biennium to \$68.5 million. Most of this request was driven by the IBHE’s enrollment-based funding formula and by projections of future growth, but the University also asked for \$7.1 million in “new money” to implement the programmatic changes that were being laid out in the still unfinished academic plan for 1969–79.¹⁷

3 SIGNS OF TROUBLE

Even before the University presented the Board with this ambitious budget in the summer of 1968, there were signs of trouble. In March 1968 the Regents had rejected the bids they had received for selling the bonds to construct the union-auditorium. The Board believed that it would be possible to sell at a later date forty-year bonds that paid 5 percent interest to finance the project and directed the University in July to revise the plans, so that the union could be built for \$11.8 million, the amount that had originally been authorized. By January 1969 it had been decided that to stay within the budget, student organizations would have to continue to use the old union. Mounting construction costs, a consequence of the nation’s attempt to fight simultaneously poverty at home and the Vietcong, and the volatility of the bond market forced additional modifications in the project. Such recreational facilities as the bowling alley, the *raison d’être* of a student union, were eliminated because less “expensive or sophisticated” facilities such as the Bowling and Billiards Center could be built elsewhere to accommodate the students’ recreational needs. The Board finally authorized the construction of the union in August 1970 and it opened in August 1973.¹⁸ So inflation caused by the war and by the funding of Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society was beginning to cause havoc in the University’s building plans as early as the spring of 1968.

The 1967–68 school year also saw the first real student unrest and town-gown tensions. The most rigid rules governing student behavior, most notably the general ban on drinking alcohol, had been eliminated already in 1958 after Bone

became president; and the 1967 code of student conduct stressed that students were responsible adults. After several outdoor rallies, the University dropped in December 1967 curfew hours for women who lived in the dormitories. The administration admitted students in an advisory capacity to committees that dealt with curricular issues and instituted student evaluations of classes in response to student complaints about general education, large lecture classes, and bad teaching by faculty members preoccupied with their own research. To guide students in the selection of classes, the evaluations of individual instructors were published in the spring by the Student Senate in the *Dyad: A Course and Instructor Survey*.

In 1964 students who supported the American involvement in Vietnam had formed the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). Opponents had countered in February 1966 with a campus chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), but during Braden's first year the SDS's activity was limited to distributing leaflets, promoting resistance to the draft, and showing anti-war films. Nevertheless, the "radicals'" provocative garb, language, and behavior alarmed the more conservative citizens of the Twin Cities.¹⁹

However, the inflammatory issue in 1967–68 was open housing. As we have already seen, the University had affirmed in 1962 its historic opposition to discriminatory practices in any activity under its jurisdiction and had mandated that by September 1965 all landlords of University-approved, off-campus housing rent to "students without regard to race, creed, or color." At the urging of the NAACP, Bloomington passed a strong anti-discriminatory ordinance, but in September 1967 the town council of Normal balked. Caught between the over two thousand townspeople who had signed a petition opposing open housing and its own Human Relations Commission, the campus chapter of the NAACP, and irate faculty and students, the town council punted and called for a referendum. One reason why the townspeople opposed open housing was that Normal had engaged in "spot zoning," which created multiple-dwelling units in single-family neighborhoods.

On November 7, a member of the town council, the city manager, and student leaders exchanged bitter words at a meeting of the Student Senate, which condemned the council's "blatant disregard of moral law and the university student code." The University Council reaffirmed on December 13, 1967, its commitment to open housing and expressed "its willingness to cooperate or provide" to the town council "any appropriate services to the solution of the problem." Students talked about boycotting Normal businesses, and groups of mainly white faculty members and students conducted two protest marches in December and picketed city hall. Between February 17 and 28, 1968, the NAACP organized protest marches to city hall four times a week. Black students, some carrying "Black Panther" signs, took the lead in the February protests. In the March 4 referendum voters favored by a small majority some sort of open housing ordinance. The campaign for open housing was indicative of both the new militancy of some black students and the worsening relations between Illinois State and the community, already disturbed by the disruptions caused by the University's rapid expansion.

If there were any positive results from this sorry display of racism in Normal and from the riots throughout the country that followed the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King on April 4, 1968—over a thousand people attended a memorial

service in Horton on April 5—it was a new awareness of the need to address any perceptions of discrimination on campus. In light of the racial composition of the faculty and student body, talk about the University's commitment since 1871 to non-discrimination sounded hollow. On May 15 Braden appointed a Task Force on Inter-Group Relations, and it released a long list of recommendations on June 19. To increase minority student enrollment, Illinois State admitted in September 1968, forty-seven freshmen to its High Potential Students Program for "applicants, not in the upper half of high school graduating class or test scores, who possess special talents or motivation." By the following fall, there were about three hundred African American students on campus, two-thirds of whom had been recruited through the HPS program. Well-meaning administrators were probably unduly optimistic about how easily minority students would adjust to life in an overwhelmingly white, conservative, and often hostile community.

Still, compared to the demonstrations that had already occurred at Berkeley and Columbia, Normal was an island of calm; and Braden was optimistic at his inauguration as the University's tenth president on May 11, 1968, about the school's ability to deal with contentious issues in a rational and mutually respectful way.²⁰ There would not be another such celebratory ceremony until the inauguration of Victor Boschini (1999–2003) on October 23, 1999.

✂ FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES INVALIDATE *MASTER PLAN II*

Champagne labeled the second year of Braden's presidency, 1968–69, "A Year of Frustration," because the State's mounting fiscal difficulties undercut the viability of the ten-year academic plan, which was intended to implement *Master Plan II*, even before the University Council formally approved the planning document in March 1969. On September 30, 1968, the IBHE cut the University's capital budget request for the 1969–71 biennium from \$47.7 million to \$13.7—a 71 percent reduction—and Northern's from \$61 million to \$37.7—a 38 percent reduction. The science and business buildings were eliminated, the requests for land acquisitions and future planning sharply reduced, and the library scaled back.

Instead of the \$11 million the University requested in 1968, the University was finally permitted in 1972 to build the new, scaled-back Milner Library at a cost of \$8 million. (For example, the second elevator remains an empty shaft.) It was finished in 1976. The plaza between Milner and the Union was poorly designed, and water leakage has been a major irritant ever since. In 1981 the University requested half a million dollars to repair the damages and in 2000 caulked the plaza and installed a tent-like structure over the plaza at a cost of \$1.23 million. In spite of these measures, buckets remained on the subterranean first floor to catch the two hundred to four hundred gallons of water that needed to be carted out after every rainfall; and the bottom floor was turned into storage space in 2008. The science building was finally constructed in the 1990s, and the business building had to wait until the beginning of the twenty-first century.

In December 1968, three months after the University's capital requests had been slashed, the IBHE cut Illinois State's proposed operating budget for the 1969–71 biennium from \$68.4 million to \$63.7 million, a 7 percent reduction, and Northern's from \$96.6 to \$84.8 million, a 12 percent reduction. While Illinois State fared better than Northern in December, most of the cut was in Braden's \$7.1 million request for the funding of new programs, which was slashed to \$2.3

million. The implementation of the ten-year academic plan was thus in jeopardy even before its formal approval by the University Council in March 1969.

In the spring of 1969 Illinois' deteriorating financial condition necessitated a rescission in the remaining funds that had been allocated to the University for the 1967–69 biennium. In response to a directive by Governor Richard Ogilvie (1969–73) that all state spending be cut 10 percent immediately, Braden imposed on February 27, 1969, a freeze on the expenditure of all unencumbered funds, faculty and staff hiring, and out-of-state travel and eliminated the summer school. To monitor state spending more closely, Illinois shifted from biennial to annual budgeting under the control of the newly established Bureau of the Budget. The University's final, operating budget allocation for FY70 was \$26.9 million, 85 percent of its original request in September 1968.

Equally ominously, the Regents had supported in September 1968 the proposal by the IBHE staff that tuition, which had been fixed since the early 1950s at \$120 a year, be raised "because of the increasing difficulties in financing higher education in Illinois as well as other states in the nation." In-state tuition for FY70 at both Regency universities was set at \$195, and the Regents resolved to raise in-state tuition an additional \$75 a year, starting in September 1971, until students were paying 20 percent of the instructional costs. In retrospect the \$75 hike appears miniscule, but the Board's decision was a major change for an institution that, for nearly a century, had not charged tuition to students who pledged to teach in Illinois and was the beginning of the long term trend that shifted the cost of public education from the taxpayers to the students. To his credit, Gordon H. Millar, the chairman of the Board of Regents, indicated his opposition to raising out-of-state tuition from \$308 to \$358 a semester because other states would retaliate and because such a decision would encourage "parochialism in our own schools."²¹

Free or minimal tuition was politically defensible as long as the graduates of Normal served the public good directly as teachers; it no longer was when the University ceased to be, in Felmley's telling analogy, an institution comparable to the military service academies. The logical consequence of rejecting the premise that the education of an individual benefits society as a whole is that some public universities today—but not, it should be said, Illinois State—charge students who major in such fields as business, where graduates expect to earn high incomes, a tuition surcharge.²²

The disproportionate reduction in the University's capital budget request—71 percent versus Northern's 38 percent cut—and the elimination of most of the funding for new programs raised questions, as Braden made clear to both the faculty and the Regents in the fall of 1968, about how serious the IBHE was in implementing the directives of *Master Plan II*. In spite of these doubts, work on the University's own ten-year academic plan for 1969–79 and on the development of new programs continued. For example, the Regents approved on March 2, 1969, a Bachelor of Music degree and undergraduate majors in Arts and Sciences, Geology, Philosophy, and Theater. The Regents formally received the ten-year plan, which was to be revised periodically, on April 13, 1969.²³ It was dead on arrival.

The plan was doomed by the State's financial woes and by erroneous assumptions about the need for college professors enshrined in *Master Plan II's* 1966 directive that Northern and Illinois State develop "doctoral programs designed to prepare

college teachers.” Bone, using the best information available to him, had predicted in December 1961 that the United States would require by 1970, 35,700 new college teachers a year.²⁴ In fact, there was a glut of Ph.D.’s by then in many disciplines as the numerous hires of the 1960s received tenure and as the rapid expansion of higher education slowed across the country. As Dr. Roderick Groves, the BOR’s deputy director for academic planning, put it in 1972: “there is the reality of an apparent glut of graduate level people—society is producing too many to be absorbed . . . there is a need to address ourselves to existing educational realities.”²⁵

5 STUDENT DISCONTENT

Even worse, some students linked the poor quality of instruction at the University to the administration’s and faculty’s desire to transform Illinois State into a research institution. An editorial in the *Vidette* on November 21, 1968, titled “Fatal Syndrome,” declared that it was an obvious truth that “[t]he quality of education is only as good as the quality of instruction.” It continued:

But when this teacher’s salary is based on his “publishing power”—not his effectiveness in the classroom—he understandably begins to lack incentives and becomes cynical.

When this happens, our model teacher begins a quick descent down the quality scale. His only recourse is to submit to the publication demand. Our model loses most of his teaching effectiveness due to the pressure exerted by publisher’s deadlines and competition within his field. The incipient author no longer has time to pass his accumulated knowledge on to his students.

The writer added that “[t]here are many other examples of instructional ‘deadwood’ on the ISU faculty.”

On December 10, 1968, the *Vidette* published with its imprimatur a lengthy letter by an anonymous teacher who stated that the paper’s November 21 editorial had been an “accurate assessment” of instruction at the University. He would not recommend that any undergraduate or graduate student attend a “third-rate institution” like Illinois State. Moreover, he saw little prospect of improvement: “but, in fact, it appears that these very deplorable teaching standards at ISU and the temptation for the University to cling to the irrelevant and self-defeating status symbols of seniority, Ph.D., and publications, as it tries to ‘make the scene’ will increase rather than diminish.”

The second and last issue of the *Dyad: A Course and Instruction Survey*, published in April 1969 by the Student Senate, was a devastating, often cruelly personal, indictment of teaching at Illinois State, based on anonymous student evaluations. For example, students were warned about one history instructor: “But the bulk of the boredom rests on the shoulders of . . . whose android-like qualities exude such little enthusiasm or vigor in presenting the material that he might as well have been a nursemaid telling bedtime stories.” In the case of a very senior faculty member, it wrote: “Forty percent of the students felt . . . was poor or incompetent, and another thirty percent said she was adequate. When asked how the course could be improved, thirty-three percent said by eliminating the teacher.”²⁶

Whether the quality of instruction was really so bad is debatable. The widely used, machine-graded, multiple-choice exams were hardly an example of good pedagogy. Many of the newly hired faculty members were inexperienced—I include myself in their number—and needed time to mature. Regardless, such student critiques of the faculty, collectively and individually, did not help the University's case that it was ready to train prospective college teachers and would have been inconceivable only two or three years earlier when students had serenaded Bone with "Happy Birthday, Bobby."

The best way to respond to such complaints, justified or not, and to prevent disorder was, according to the prevailing, paternalistic wisdom of the era, better "communication" between the administration and faculty on one side and the students on the other. Braden and the president of the student body, Jim Peterson, visited the dorms in the fall of 1968 to "rap" with the students. The University Council, composed of administrators and faculty, was solicitous of student opinion in reaching its decisions and allowed students with voting rights to sit on various committees.

The students' inclusion in the governance of the University was formalized in the new University constitution. Work began on the charter in March 1968 and after much discussion and several public hearings, faculty and students approved the final document on December 3, 1969. It established a unicameral body, the Academic Senate, with a three-to-two ratio between the faculty and student senators, not quite the parity the students had initially demanded but certainly a confirmation of their new importance in the governance of the University.²⁷ But better "communication" did not save the University from disruption.

6 DISRUPTIONS

During the 1968–69 school year students at Illinois State played the role of protestors and reenacted the script that had been devised in more serious incidents at better-known universities. In October 1968 black students protested that racial prejudice had affected the outcome of the election of the homecoming queen and demanded an apology, the invalidation of the election, and the end of single-queen contests in the future. When the Homecoming Board and Student Senate ignored their demands, forty-five members of the Black Student Association occupied peacefully for two hours the reception area outside of Braden's office and another thirty students marched in front of Hovey. Nothing further happened, but the whole incident was modeled after the seizure of the administration building at Columbia by black students the preceding April. That event had been triggered by Columbia's plan to dislocate black residents at the edge of the campus so it could build a gymnasium and resulted in injuries, arrests, the suspension of classes, and repeated violent confrontations between students and the police.²⁸ Prejudice was real in Normal and on campus, but a disputed homecoming election was hardly comparable to Columbia's expansion in Morningside Heights. (It was the white citizens of Normal who were aggrieved by the University's use of eminent domain to acquire additional lands on the eastern, northern, and western boundaries of the campus.)

The second disruption in March 1969 was reminiscent of traditional student high-jinks but was choreographed like a student protest march. On the evening of March 17, the men of Wilkins Hall staged a panty raid on the women of

Atkin-Colby. The following night women from several dorms countered with a raid on the men of Manchester, who chased the coeds across the campus to Tri-Towers. An estimated two thousand students then marched to Illinois Wesleyan. Such pseudo-revolutionary behavior frightened the townspeople and the police who had witnessed on television student riots on other campuses and at the Democratic Convention in Chicago during the summer of 1968. (Bloomington's own Richard T. Dunn, a 1936 graduate of University High School and the former attorney of the Teachers College Board, commanded the Illinois National Guard at the convention.) When about one thousand students decided on March 19, in spite of warnings, to march on the courthouse in downtown Bloomington, the authorities overreacted; and the students were met by the police in riot gear. Nothing happened, but on their return to campus they encountered more armed police. Except for some de rigueur taunts of "pigs" hurled at the police, the students went to bed.

There were, however, some more serious incidents. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) staged several anti-war vigils in front of Hovey and demanded that Marine recruiters be ejected from the union. A homemade explosive device was found at an entrance to Watterson, but the perpetrator(s) were never identified. On balance, student protests at Illinois State in 1968–69, in particular "the protest march," were a game and should have been handled with the same amused indulgence with which collegiate and local officials had always treated youthful springtime exuberance. (There were no protests on March 20 because it was raining.)

The problem was, as the police response to the student march on the night of March 19 shows, local and state authorities and the public in general interpreted the students' behavior in the context of events elsewhere and overreacted. On March 20 Normal's chief of police told University officials: "If you cannot keep your students under control, we will do it for you." The McLean County Regional Planning Commission applied for federal funds to deal with the eventuality of "large scale civil disorders" in the Twin Cities. Fourteen bills were introduced in the General Assembly, four of which were passed, to punish students and university employees who engaged in disruptive activities.²⁹

Under the circumstances the Board showed remarkable forbearance. On March 2, 1969, in its first formal statement on the "strife and unrest in the colleges and universities of the nation and the world [a reference, presumably, to the student unrest in Paris in 1968]," the Regents declared their support for the efforts by the Regency presidents and faculty "to maintain and to improve upon a meaningful educational program" and commended them "for having planned and adopted appropriate procedures to deal with any attempts" at disruption. The Board resolved that while it would observe "the constitutional rights of persons to due process of the law" and that while it would provide "regularly established channels" "for consideration of constructive criticism and proposed changes in policies and procedures, the opportunity for the students wishing to continue their educational program in a peaceful manner and with no undue interference shall be maintained."³⁰

7 A TERRIBLE YEAR

Unlike the University of Illinois, Northern, and Southern, instruction continued at Illinois State during the following “Year of Disruption,” but the 1969–70 academic year was anything but “peaceful.” After contract negotiations about a salary increase broke down, the service workers struck on the first day of classes, September 12, and disrupted food deliveries and trash pickup at the dormitories. Members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) joined the picket lines, scattered nails and broken glass to slash the tires of University vehicles, and provoked the campus police. Out of deference to the union, Mayor Charles Baugh ordered the Normal police to honor the picket line; and Braden had to seek help from the state police who were not needed. Since it was illegal for public employees to strike, the University obtained a restraining order and a settlement was reached. On October 21 the Board confirmed the University’s policy on dealing with campus disorders.³¹

The SDS continued its disruptive tactics during the fall. Its members lobbied noisily in the lobby of the Old Union, spray painted revolutionary slogans on campus buildings and sidewalks, and tried to distribute leaflets at University High School. The Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) responded by sponsoring pro-war speakers and movies, by tearing down a Vietcong flag the SDS had hoisted in the lobby of the Union, by distributing petitions to have the SDS declared a subversive organization, and by engaging in fisticuffs with their leftist opponents. Most students and faculty ignored the extremists on both ends of the political spectrum, but many joined the call to observe October 15, 1969, as a national Moratorium Day to protest the Vietnam War. The names of the war dead were read, an interdenominational religious service was held, and the campus community listened to anti-war speeches and participated in teach-ins. The day ended with more than one thousand people marching back and forth from the University to the courthouse. A second Moratorium Day on November 14 fizzled out when the SDS commandeered the event and the temperature dropped.

Many students engaged in more traditional collegiate activities. On September 10, Illinois State played its last football game with Wesleyan, and on September 19, three hundred men staged a panty raid on Atkin–Colby. Less traditionally, the men of Smith House in Watterson proclaimed on September 20 that women enjoyed 24-hour guest privileges there. The sexual as well as the political revolution had reached the University.³²

The event that radicalized the campus was the shootout in Chicago on December 4 between the police and the Black Panthers, in which Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed. Black students gathered on the Quad and lowered the flag to half-staff. In a tense showdown, Braden asked that the flag be raised. The next day the Black Student Association (BSA) presented four demands, which were soon expanded to seven, that needed to be addressed by 1 p.m. on December 10 or the BSA would “take those steps we feel necessary to expose our displeasures.” Basically, the students were demanding an affirmation of their own cultural heritage and to be treated as equals and with respect in an overwhelmingly white and alien community, where, they believed, many had encountered racial slurs and inadvertent and even overt discrimination. For example, they insisted that black students be placed on the staff of the *Vidette* and WGLT and on the Entertainment

Board and that WGLT play music selected by a black announcer one hour a day, five days a week. Most controversially, they asked that the Old Union be named for Malcolm X and that the auditorium in the planned new union honor Martin Luther King.

On December 10 the Administration accepted some of the students demands, for example, the awarding of air time on WGLT; but on the issue of naming the union, Braden countered with the recommendation that East Gate (now Julian) be named after Dr. King. Alonzo Pruitt, a sophomore and the president of the BSA, rejected the University's offer. The next day black and white militants, including Carroll Cox, an assistant professor of English linked to the SDS, stormed the library, pulled two hundred catalog card trays out of the cabinets, stacked the file drawers on the floor, and removed books from the stacks. It should be stressed that the protestors did not dump the cards from the trays, which would have caused a real disruption in the library's operation. Other black students harassed whites leaving Milner (now Williams), and the next day blacks staged a silent protest outside Hovey and ejected whites from the Cage at the union.

Twenty-eight white students mocked blacks by forming a Blond Student Association. To ease racial tensions, Braden announced on December 16 the creation of a council composed of black faculty and students to represent them in their dealings with the administration. The president acknowledged that only blacks could determine their own heroes and asked the black community to reach a consensus about the names they recommended. At the same time he appealed to white students to show restraint and to be tolerant. The Christmas break eased tensions momentarily.³³

After the holidays the Task Force on Inter-Group Relations, which had been formed in the wake of the open housing dispute in Normal and King's assassination, came out in favor of naming the union for Malcolm X. However, it was not an overwhelming endorsement: of the forty-two faculty and student members, people who were, presumably, particularly interested in bettering racial relations, twenty-two voted in favor, one voted no, one abstained, and eighteen did not vote at all. *The Pantagraph* and some alumni expressed their opposition. It was never clear whether the basis of the opposition was the belief that Malcolm X's life and teaching did not make him a suitable role model for an educational institution or a racist refusal to honor any African American. No doubt, the reasons varied. The University Council after much debate endorsed the Task Force's recommendation by a vote of twelve to eight, but the discussion indicated that the Council's members were far from convinced that the Task Force's recommendation was a true representation of the wishes of the black community. As was their right, ninety-nine faculty members petitioned that the matter be submitted to a general faculty meeting.

Advocates of the name change accused the petitioners of racism, and such charges may have intimidated many faculty members from attending—only an estimated 350 out of 1,078 came on February 19, 1970. (I cannot recall whether I did.) Certainly, the jeering white and black activists who occupied the balcony of Capen Auditorium created a hostile environment, and only one faculty member and none of the petitioners dared to speak in opposition to the proposal. Braden decried that emotion was replacing reason in University deliberations. Charles Morris, an

associate professor of Mathematics and the director of the HPS Program, argued that blacks had the right to determine their own heroes and that for younger blacks Malcolm X stood for "a declaration of independence, a claim to equal and just recognition, a call for re-examination of tradition." The vote by less than a third of the total faculty was not a convincing endorsement of the University Council's recommendation: 167 favored naming the Union after Malcolm X (15 percent of the total faculty), 130 opposed the decision, and 33 abstained.

On February 24 Braden announced that he would forward the Council's recommendation to the Regents, who had the final authority on naming a building, but with his disapproval "because the message I received from Malcolm X seems to emphasize our differences and therefore is inappropriate to the University as a community." Two assistant professors in Economics, Virginia Owen, Class of 1962, who subsequently became dean of the College of Arts and Sciences (1982-93), and Bernard McCarney, Class of 1957, presented the Regents at their meeting on March 1 with a petition backing Braden's decision and signed by 380 faculty members. She commented on that occasion that anyone who had questioned the appropriateness of the name at the faculty meeting had been labeled a racist. The petition is probably the best indicator we have of the faculty's real sentiments.³⁴

Dr. Gordon H. Millar, the chairman of the Regents, opened the meeting with the statement that the proposal was "one of the most controversial issues to come before the Board since its formation" and had generated more mail, mostly negative, than any other topic. Eight individuals were counted as having formally addressed the Board, but besides Braden, at least fifteen faculty members, administrators, students, and at least one citizen of Normal, by my count, spoke. Although the University Council, which had approved the recommendation, had the right to express its opinion to the Board if it was in disagreement with the president, Charles Hicklin, a professor of Education and the Council's chair, indicated that the Council had waived that right, another sign of how little support the proposal really had among the faculty.

The Regents tried very hard to understand the arguments on both sides. When Marilyn Drews, an Education major, was asked why she "as an individual student" thought that it would be appropriate to name the building after Malcolm X, she responded "that his greatest contribution was to black identity and that this was a contribution to all mankind." The Board kept probing whether the opposition was to Malcolm X in particular or to naming any building after a black person. In response to Millar's questioning, Alonzo Pruitt, the president of the BSA, replied: "The opposition seems to stem from Malcolm X, and . . . he was not convinced that if the name of Dr. [Percy] Julian were proposed that there might not be opposition." Drews commented that "they wouldn't even like the name of Martin Luther King." George Warren, who had taught Physics at the High School for a decade, declared that "[e]veryone is a racist . . . as it is a condition of our society" and pointed out that no one had objected to naming the houses in Watterson after slave owners. The Dean of the Faculty, Richard R. Bond, who had until then favored the name and still thought it appropriate, concluded that Braden's recommendation was "the only reasonable one" because "[a] small minority has made it [the name] divisive" and urged that everyone renew their commitment to making the campus "open, welcome, and responsive to black students." The Regents unanimously upheld the president's negative recommendation.³⁵

The Board's decision did not end the controversy. On the evening of March 3, Pruitt and Robert Sutherland, an associate professor of English, spoke to a large crowd at the Union about the inconsistencies in Braden's arguments. The next morning two hundred black students occupied and locked themselves up in the Cage at the Union. Braden threatened to call in the police who had been mobilized if the students did not unlock the eating facility and shortly before noon they did, but some of the students remained there. The president invited them and other students and faculty to attend a rally in the evening at the amphitheater. Speaking to the nearly three thousand people who had assembled, he repeated that he had studied Malcolm X's *Autobiography* carefully and had concluded that the real issue was "how we get along with one another and how we get on with our education . . . We can't and we won't put up with things that tear us apart and don't help us solve our problems, which are the problems of getting along with one another."

In a step toward racial reconciliation, Braden announced on March 6 that the University would establish a black culture center and a council on black studies. Shortly thereafter, Illinois State became the first traditionally white university to appoint a black basketball coach, Will Robinson (1970–75). The University finally established an interdisciplinary minor in Ethnic and Cultural Studies in 1973. Percy L. Julian, the discoverer of synthetic cortisone and the Board's only black member, observed that such programs caused a "furor" but were "necessary." However, he hoped that non-blacks would also take such courses because they would be of even greater value to them. The designation "ethnic and cultural studies" was deliberately selected so that "consideration could be given to other heritages or cultures."³⁶

Julian also played a pivotal role in the dispute over renaming the union. He was absent on March 1, 1970; but at the meeting on February 1, he declared that he had read Malcolm X's *Autobiography* and had sympathized with its message "that an individual can repair himself in life, but . . . Malcolm X is no name for a building in the university of our State or any state of the union." It would be more appropriate to name a building, Julian maintained, after someone "who had shown some element of scholarly acceptability, and . . . someone who had been interested in education," for example, Ida B. Wells (1862–1931), who had opposed the segregation of the Chicago schools, or Hiram Revels (1827–1901) of Mississippi, the first black to serve in Congress and the president of Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College (now Alcorn State University). "I would turn over in my grave if my grandchildren or great-grandchildren who might go to Illinois State University would have to turn back and say, 'Our granddad—was he not able to find any other recipient than Malcolm X?'"³⁷ Julian's words provided Braden and the Regents with the cover they needed a month later to reject the Task Force's recommendation. Naming the General Administration Building for Julian in 1975 demonstrated, pace Alonzo Pruitt, that the opposition to Malcolm X had not been motivated by racist refusal to name a building after any black person.³⁸

The event that galvanized the campus, as it did students everywhere who were protesting Richard Nixon's invasion of Cambodia, was the killing of four students at Kent State by the Ohio National Guard on May 4, 1970. If Illinois State did not close, it was because, Champagne, an eyewitness, suggests, the campus protests were a form of "'guerrilla' theater," in which a minority of activists performed on

weekday afternoons before a basically conservative student audience, and because Braden and the police did not overreact to provocations.

Scuffling over lowering the flag broke out on the Quad shortly after noon on Tuesday, May 5. The police intervened. A larger crowd of around two hundred students, including two from Northern, which had already closed, decided later in the day to march on Hovey and demanded that the flag be lowered immediately. After receiving authorization from the governor's office and after an hour of tense negotiations, Braden agreed to lower the flag for six days in memory of the Kent State dead and the two Black Panthers, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, who had been killed in December, and again on May 19, the birthday of Malcolm X. The rest of the week saw a memorial service, a march through Normal, and a joint march with students from Wesleyan to the courthouse in Bloomington. Several hundred students kept nightly vigils on the Quad.

Instead of commending Braden for maintaining a semblance of order, irate citizens criticized him for desecrating the flag. Even worse, Ronald Berning, a leader of the conservative YAF and the son of a Republican state senator, Karl Berning, complained to his father. The Republican senate caucus summoned Braden and Charles Witte, Class of 1971, the president of the student body who later became a McLean County circuit judge, to a grilling behind closed doors on Monday, May 11, a week after the Kent State tragedy. It was an outrageous interference by legislators in the internal affairs of the University—some newspapers dubbed it a “Star Chamber”—and it left Braden personally shaken.

The scheduled raising of the flag the following morning, May 12, provoked more incidents: cherry bombings of buildings, spray painting everywhere, and an abortive firebombing of the police station in Normal. Braden refused to be intimidated, but that evening a vacant house owned by the University was burned, store windows in Normal were smashed, and the police station was picketed. The issue had now become vandalism, which threatened to turn into a potentially violent confrontation between the police and the students. To avoid such a tragedy, Braden ordered on May 13 that all students remain in their rooms from midnight to 6:00 a.m. on the morning of Thursday, May 14. Normal imposed a similar curfew, and joint University-town patrols were organized. Soon there were reports that some students would ignore the curfew, and the Executive Committee of the newly established Academic Senate persuaded Braden that it would be better to allow students to move freely on campus and to empower faculty-student patrols to guard against vandalism on campus. Champagne and a colleague, Mark Plummer, patrolled Schroeder Hall.

When Dean Bond, Charles Morris, the president of the Senate, and Witte told an overflow crowd of students at the Union about the change in policy, the audience demanded that Braden himself explain why he had judged it necessary to impose a curfew. He informed the four thousand students who assembled on the Quad at 11:00 p.m. that the measure was necessary to stop the vandalism and to prevent the occurrence of an incident that would lead to the summoning of the National Guard and the closing of the University.

Some students disregarded his request to return to their room for the night. Around 1:00 a.m. the Normal police stopped a group attempting to cross School

Street in front of Hovey to get to Watterson. Another three hundred students, followed by police reinforcements, converged on the spot; but George Taylor, an assistant dean of students, kept the students in check, and Braden persuaded the police that Fell, a block further east, was the eastern boundary of the campus. While most students remained in front of Hovey, militants, including allegedly outside provocateurs, began to taunt the police at the intersection of North and Fell. The police pushed them back to the middle of the block, but the militants, hurling insults and, potentially more lethally, rocks, pursued the police back to the intersection. Shortly after 2:00, the police, swinging their nightsticks, turned and chased the students back to Hovey. Taylor was injured in the rush and required hospitalization, but the mob had been dispersed. To avoid any further confrontation, Braden persuaded Mayor Baugh to lift the curfew at 4:15 and the campus quieted down for the rest of the night. It was the ugliest hour in the University's history, but an even greater danger had been averted.

Perhaps, nothing better reveals Braden's mettle and character than his behavior that awful night. In an editorial titled, "Brother Braden," the *Vidette* wrote on May 15: "We hail the man who told Normal Police Chief [Richard] McGuire, 'I'm afraid you'll have to arrest me, too, cause [*sic*] I want to keep them, (students,) [*sic*] with me.'" The writer concluded: "We feel he deserves the title of Brother Braden now. And we know he will receive this, not as an affront to his profession, but as an acknowledgement that he, like us, honors education in a free surrounding, respects every man's opinion, and, above all, loves peace."³⁹ The final ties of civility did not snap at Normal, as they did in Carbondale, because Illinois State was blessed with a president of great personal courage and decency who retained the respect of nearly all the students.

However, the University's troubles were not over. In a span of about half an hour around 4:00 p.m. on May 14, eight fires were set, most in washrooms, across campus. Only one in a classroom in Stevenson was serious. That evening another blaze was started in Edwards while the civil rights activist Julian Bond, who was then a member of the Georgia House of Representatives, was speaking to an overflow audience in Capen. In their unthinking fervor, the radicals were undermining the foundations of rational discourse and freedom of thought on which any university is built.

Their conservative opponents exacerbated the situation. At noon on Friday, May 15, Mayor Baugh, Harber Hall, the local Republican state senator, and Brigadier General Richard Dunn, who had commanded the National Guard at the Democratic Convention in Chicago, spoke to forty-five hundred people in McCormick Gym. They attacked those who were seeking to close the University and more ominously, linking the anti-war and civil rights movements, blamed the administration for lacking the "backbone" to deal with the SDS and the Black Student Association. Baugh asked: "Should we accept revolt as a learning process or shall we regard it as disrespect?" Hall, who had introduced a bill in the state senate to cut the University's budget by \$16,000, an amount equal to Carroll Cox's salary, "if he is not fired," accused the radical English professor of "overstepping the boundaries of common, ordinary decency." Braden, always the diplomat, led the audience in the singing of the national anthem. The campus was polarized between a radical minority of students and faculty and an essentially conservative

community and student body, largely still recruited from the farms and small towns of Central Illinois.

The most notorious event of May 1970 occurred on Tuesday, May 19, after an uneventful weekend. With a sizeable and vocal portion of the student body and community bitterly opposed to any further politicization of the flag—though flying it at either full- or half-staff was by this point a political statement—Braden had rejected the previous day a request by black students that the flag be lowered two additional days in honor of the black students who had been killed at Jackson State in Mississippi on May 14. In accordance with the May 5 agreement, the University's flags were lowered on May 19, Malcolm X's birthday. Early on Tuesday morning nearby construction workers forcefully raised the University's flags. Braden ordered them lowered again, but more than forty workers in the presence of around one hundred students raised the flag on the pole in the Quad. There was a verbal altercation between the hardhats and student radicals. The workers threatened to return at noon in greater numbers if the flag was lowered again, which it was. The possibility of a violent confrontation between the workers and the militants, who arrived in the course of the morning armed with baseball bats, bicycle chains, and other potential weapons, was real.

In a stormy meeting with Braden, Mayor Baugh refused to supply police assistance unless the flag was raised. Both the hardhats' actions and the mayor's response were a direct and inappropriate challenge to the president's authority to determine what happened on the grounds of the University. The flagpole on the Quad was surrounded with twenty-five University cars and trucks to repel any attack, and Governor Ogilvie sent seventy state troopers in riot gear. The workers did not come back, and the University was spared a bloody showdown at high noon on the Quad.⁴⁰ Illinois State, unlike so many other universities, had remained open in May 1970 but at a high price.

The "Year of Disruption" left the campus racially and politically polarized and relations between Illinois State and the town, already upset by the University's land acquisitions, by the need to provide the school with additional costly services, and by its advocacy of open housing, badly frayed. It took a generation to repair the damage. The bitter irony is that compared to Carbondale, where the local jails were packed with students and the University closed on May 12 for an indefinite period, Illinois State had remained relatively calm, thanks to the conservatism of the student body and Braden's extraordinary restraint.⁴¹

Braden resigned on June 12. In a brief statement to the Regents, who reiterated that he had their "highest confidence" and "greatest respect," he merely stated that his decision was "based on purely personal considerations and is neither hasty nor capricious." He concluded: "I simply find that I no longer enjoy grappling with the kinds of problems that confront a college president today. I will leave the University and the community with real regret." Privately, Braden, who believed that people could and should settle their differences in a rational and peaceful way, indicated that one year of intimidation and violence had been enough. Braden's decision was no surprise to the Regents because they appointed on the same day Francis "Bud" R. Geigle, the executive vice president and provost at Northern, as the acting president, effective September 1.⁴² Braden's resignation was a great

loss, perhaps the twentieth-century equivalent of the General Assembly's awarding of the Industrial University to Urbana; but it must be said in fairness to Braden's successors that he, too, could not have stayed the implementation of *Master Plan III* in 1971. If Braden was the ideal president for a major Ph.D. granting university, he was the only person ever specifically chosen to fit that bill at Illinois State.

8 THE BACKLASH

The recriminations began immediately. Braden along with the other presidents had already been summoned to Springfield on May 25 to testify about the campus disorders. The Regents declared at the June 12 meeting that accepted Braden's resignation that it was inappropriate to expect the taxpayers to pay for the costs of the campus disturbances. The presidents of Illinois State and Northern were asked to determine the extent of the property damages—it turned out to be a rather insignificant \$3,200 in the case of Illinois State—and the extra costs the universities had incurred for security personnel. Although the Board acknowledged that the great majority of students had not been involved, student leaders, in a novel form of student empowerment, were given until October to submit proposals about how these expenses could be recovered. On October 15 the student body presidents—Charles Witte in the case of Illinois State—argued that the students should not be assessed for the damages, and the Regents unanimously concurred. Percy Julian expressed the wish that the 95 percent of the students who had not participated in the disorders would go on record that they “would not stand for this sort of outrage.” Regent, Dr. A. L. Knoblauch, said students were unlikely “to tattle” on the fellows, but he hoped the time would come when it was accepted “that the detection of criminals is part of the moral obligation of society . . .” But in the end he did “not want students paying for what faculty or outsiders had inspired.”⁴³ Not so subtly, guilt for the events of May 1970 had been shifted from the good, though in a few cases misguided, students to unnamed outsiders and the faculty.

The faculty's behavior had already been subjected earlier in the year to closer scrutiny. Since it was assumed that faculty who had a twelve-hour course load did not work very hard and since the Regents were skeptical about the relationship between teaching, scholarship, and service, the Board had ordered a faculty load study at both Northern and Illinois State. At its meeting on May 3, the day before the shootings at Kent State, the Regents had a lengthy discussion about faculty loads and productivity with the Joint Faculty Advisory Committee, the first time that newly constituted body met with the Board. The study had revealed that 816 faculty members at Illinois State worked, according to the time cards they filled out, a median fifty-four hours a week and that 59 percent of their time or thirty-three hours was spent on teaching, broadly defined, to include, for example, class preparation and grading papers.⁴⁴ Whether the Regents were really convinced is another matter, but the study was indicative of the public's disillusionment with higher education.

The chief culprit in the Regents' eyes was Carroll Cox. In July 1970 the Board considered “the question of professional efforts in the tenured ranks” and Cox in particular. The next month the Regents voted unanimously to review his fitness and his retention beyond the 1970–71 academic year. The local AAUP chapter, in

a letter from its president, the historian Mark Plummer, protested that the Board was “transgressing the prerogatives of the faculty” in asking the University to reexamine Cox’s performance and retention. The Regents noted that they had taken “no direct action” but encouraged the University to do so. On February 20, 1971, Geigle informed the Regents, in an executive session, of the University’s disposition of the case. Cox would be told that “[h]is fitness as a faculty member had been seriously questioned by his peers;” he would be given “an official notice of his inadequacies;” the report would become part of his personnel file; his performance would be reviewed prior to May 1, 1972, and if his performance was then judged inadequate, he would be terminated; and he would be dismissed immediately if he was found guilty of “any serious [subsequent] violations” “of ethical standards.”

In addition, all college and department appointment, promotion, and tenure committees were directed to review immediately their evaluation procedures; the Faculty Status Committee was charged “to study the advisability of regularized periodic reviews of all faculty members on tenure;” and the Academic Senate was instructed to review the variety of sanctions that could be imposed upon faculty members who violated the Code of Ethics.⁴⁵ So the imposition of more rigorous faculty performance and accountability standards was a consequence of the events of 1970. As for Cox, he retired in 1997 as an assistant professor of English.

9 MASTER PLAN III

However, *Master Plan III*’s drastic revision of Illinois State’s mission in 1971 was not a result of the tumult of the late 1960s, though these events certainly turned popular opinion against higher education. As we have already seen, *Master Plan II* had been based on erroneous assumptions about the need for additional college teachers; and the slashing of the University’s capital budget request in September 1968, due to the State’s deteriorating financial situation, had signaled a change in direction by the IBHE long before the police battled the students on North Street in the early hours of May 14, 1970. When Dean Bond had presented the latest reiteration of the University’s long-range academic plan to the Board in January 1970, he pointed out that none of the proposed “doctoral programs” were “moving along at the rate they had anticipated” and that it looked as if there would be “no additional doctoral programs besides those listed in the plan.”⁴⁶ In fact, the IBHE had not authorized a single new doctoral program at Illinois State since its approval of the Ph.D. in Biology in 1963. The higher board did not suddenly change course in 1971.

What made *Master Plan III* so galling to the campus was that it affected Illinois State more adversely than any other university. When the Regents discussed in April 1971 the initial February draft of the plan, Geigle noted that it “would have a greater impact on Illinois State University than any of the other institutions primarily because of the change in the mandate to ISU.” In contrast, President Rhoten A. Smith of Northern (1967–71) conceded that his school’s concerns were more “with details” than “with the fundamental approach of this first draft.” In the final draft of the plan in May 1971, Northern was described as a “partially comprehensive university” and was directed to concentrate in the future on the development of doctoral programs in the social, natural, and physical sciences.⁴⁷

That was a very different mandate than Illinois State's charge to limit its doctoral work to the field of education, its historical area of strength.

It is too simplistic to blame Fairchild's stubborn adherence to Normal's single mission and Bone's hesitant leadership for the different trajectories of Northern and Illinois State. The reality is that DeKalb profited from its location in the fastest growing portion of the State after World War II. However, in 1973 the Board's deputy director for academic planning, Dr. Roderick Groves, noted that Illinois State's "natural educational service region" included the Chicago metropolitan area. It was a prescient comment. The University's focus was beginning to shift, whatever *Master Plan III* said, from the farms and small towns of Central Illinois to the suburbs.⁴⁸

Illinois State's new mandate to refine and expand "as the need justifies, its doctoral programs in education and the preparation of teachers at all levels," seemed to be a minor, even ironic, concession at a moment when there was an oversupply of teachers. The May 1971 directive that the University should explore the "possibility of developing a limited number of Doctor of Arts degree programs, designed to prepare teachers for the junior colleges and senior institutions" proved to be a particular disappointment.

The Carnegie Commission had promoted the D.A. in the 1960s, when the nation seemed to face a shortage of college teachers, as a pedagogically oriented alternative to the traditional, research focused Ph.D. There never was any agreement among the proponents of the D.A. whether Ph.D. degree granting or non-Ph.D. granting departments should offer the degree or whether candidates for the degree were required to write a dissertation or merely some sort of pedagogical exercise. The D.A.'s chief advocate, Paul Dressel, the director of Institutional Research at Michigan State, argued that institutions like Illinois State with a long history of preparing teachers rather than larger, more established doctoral granting institutions were the best places to offer the D.A., which he assured the Board in 1973 was "a going thing" that would not "fall by the wayside."

Both David Berlo and some of the Regents were skeptical about such claims. The president said in 1972 that "he had mixed feelings about the D.A. degree itself" and that "[t]here is a real question . . . of persons who get the degree being hired." The chairman of the BOR, J. Robert Barr, declared repeatedly "he was not convinced that the D.A. would be anything more than a second class, second rate degree." The Board finally gave its reluctant approval to the establishment, on a trial basis, of D.A. programs in Economics, English, History, and Mathematics because President Budig assured the Regents that the State's community colleges were eager to hire the graduates of such doctoral programs and that the University would seek no new funds to run them.

No one asked the obvious question how it would be possible without additional resources to support doctoral students, let alone in-service community college teachers, while they fulfilled their residency requirement in Normal. The anticipated community college market for D.A. graduates never materialized because these schools could just as easily hire unemployed holders of the more prestigious and better known Ph.D. and, even more cheaply, moonlighting, part-time high school teachers. The programs in Economics, History, and Mathematics

were terminated in the 1990s as a result of the IBHE's strategic planning exercise, "Priorities, Quality, Productivity" or PQP for short. The English D.A., which focused, unlike the traditional Ph.D. that prepared literary exegetes, on the training of teachers of composition, flourished and was converted into a Ph.D. in 1997. The D.A. was never accepted, nationally, as the equivalent of the Ph.D., and it was not a substitute for Illinois State's lost mandate to offer doctoral work in the liberal arts.⁴⁹

The repeated proposals to abolish the laboratory schools, which had been central to the University's *raison d'être* since its foundation, reveal how hollow the 1971 reassertion of Illinois State's teacher preparatory mission really was. In 1967 the IBHE began scrutinizing the function and cost of maintaining the schools. As the State's budgetary situation worsened, the Illinois State Budgetary Commission proposed in February 1969 that parents or non-profit corporations assume responsibility for paying for the operation of the laboratory schools at all the State's public institutions, a measure that would have in effect privatized them. To justify Metcalf's and University High School's continued existence, Braden announced in October 1969 that they would concentrate for at least the next five years "on microteaching and clinical analysis, and research and innovation in teacher education." The local school districts in which the children lived assumed part of the cost of operating the laboratory schools.

Shortly thereafter, the IBHE launched another statewide review of all the model schools. In 1972 the higher board decided to close all the State's laboratory schools except for Illinois State's two schools and University High School in Urbana. Metcalf and Normal's University High School were to focus on "research and advanced teacher training" and tenure was to be granted in the future only to laboratory school faculty who had been recommended by an academic department. Illinois State was thus after 1972 the only public institution in the State that had laboratory schools at both the elementary and secondary levels, and their preservation was an acknowledgement of the University's distinctive mission in the field of teacher preparation.

However, the future of the laboratory schools was soon once again in doubt. In 1977 the Illinois Office of Education ruled that the local school districts could not simultaneously reimburse the University for educating children who resided in their districts and obtain state school aid for teaching them. The University no longer needed the schools as practice teaching sites because Cecilia Lauby (1913–2007),[‡] who had been hired in 1949 as the coordinator of student teaching, had devised a system of off-campus student teaching that became a national model; but the faculty of the College of Education used the lab schools for research. More important, education majors found it easier to perform their mandatory clinical observations prior to student teaching at Metcalf and University High School than to leave the campus to visit nearby schools. In 1980 more than one thousand students spent thirty-seven thousand hours at the lab schools.

Nevertheless, to the consternation of the community, President Budig and Provost James M. Horner decided that the University could not afford the projected \$500,000 shortfall in the budget, created by the withdrawal of local funding, and

[‡] The College of Education named its Teacher Education Center in 2004 after Dr. Lauby, who taught at Illinois State from 1949 until her retirement in 1973 and who endowed the Center.

the schools would have to be phased out in two years. Springfield quickly relented and allowed the local districts to pay half of their previous subsidy. The problem was finally resolved in 1980 when the General Assembly voted to make the lab schools a separate school district that was eligible for state aid. The lab school faculty was able to obtain tenure on the same terms as their colleagues in the public schools.⁵⁰ The laboratory schools had been saved, but the repeated need to justify their existence, driven by recurring budgetary concerns, indicates how little thought had been given to Illinois State's unique, historic role, as *Master Plan III* put it, as "a teacher-training institution."

After the issuance of the final draft of *Master Plan III* in May 1971, seven years after the name change that seemed to herald the beginning of the University's new destiny, Illinois State was adrift.

ENDNOTES

1. Biles, *Illinois*, pp. 277–78; Earl W. Hayter, *Education in Transition: The History of Northern Illinois University* (DeKalb, 1974), pp. 458–66; Lucas, *American Higher Education*, pp. 255–63; and Jason Stacy, "'I do not think we can keep universities open with bayonets': The May 1970 Riots at Southern Illinois University," *Journal of Illinois History*, 9/4 (Winter 2006): 283–306.

2. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board of the State of Illinois, April 12, 1965*, p. 527; and Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, p. 83.

3. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, October 14 and 15, 1956*, pp. 115–16; and *Proceedings of the Board of Governors, October 31, 1966*, pp. 272–73.

4. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, July 20, 1964*, p. 51; *Proceedings of the Board of Governors, February 21, 1966*, p. 473 (quotation is here); *March 20, 1967*, p. 619; and Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 12–13, 56.

5. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 86–88; *Proceedings of the Board of Governors, January 16, 1967*, pp. 454–55; *February 20, 1967*, p. 553 (quotation is here); and *April 17, 1967*, pp. 665–67, 672–77; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, August 7, 1967*, p. 63.

6. *Proceedings of the Board of Governors, December 19, 1966*, p. 404; and *June 19, 1967*, p. 860; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, June 1, 1969*, p. 164; *September 7, 1969*, p. 34; *March 1, 1970*, pp. 141–42; *May 3, 1970*, pp. 187–88; *July 16, 1970*, p. 28; *November 30, 1970*, pp. 101–04; *April 15, 1971*, p. 195 (the first time it is called Shelbourne Drive Apartments); and *March 16, 1972*, p. 152.

7. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 87–88; *Proceedings of the Board of Governors, February 20, 1967*, p. 516; and *June 19, 1967*, p. 869; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, August 7, 1967*, p. 63; *March 3, 1968*, p. 316; *October 6, 1968*, p. 47; and *April 15, 1971*, pp. 190–91.

8. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 80–81, 86–87; and *Proceedings of Teachers College Board, December 21, 1964*, p. 313; and *Proceedings of the Board of Governors, September 20, 1965*, p. 126; and *October 18, 1965*, p. 235.

9. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, p. 88. An architect's rendition of the original plans for the union faces p. 83. See also *Proceedings of the Board of Governors, August 16, 1965*, p. 94; *September 20, 1965*, p. 129; *March 21, 1966*, pp. 560–61; *January 16, 1967*, pp. 454–55; *February 20, 1967*, pp. 511, 553; *April 17, 1967*, p. 671; *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, December 3, 1967*, p. 225; and *February 2, 1969*, p. 111. College Avenue was lowered at a cost of \$225,000. *Ibid.*, *May 18, 1972*, pp. 175–76.

10. *Proceedings of the Board of Governors, April 18, 1966*, p. 633; and *October 31, 1966*, p. 251.

11. *Ibid.*, *February 21, 1966*, p. 466; *October 31, 1966*, p. 284; and *April 17, 1967*, p. 671; and Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 83–84.

12. *Proceedings of the Board of Governors, February 21, 1967*, pp. 467, 474; *February 20, 1967*, pp. 524–25; *March 20, 1967*, pp. 610–12; *April 17, 1967*, p. 670; and *June 19, 1967*, pp. 875–76.

13. Marshall, *The Eleventh Decade*, pp. 95–97 (quotation is on p. 96).

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 100–02.

15. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, p. 13; and *Proceedings of the Board of Governors, October 31, 1966*, p. 252; and *January 16, 1967*, p. 448; *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 9, 1967*, p. 12; *August 7, 1967*, p. 54; *October 2, 1967*, p. 132; *December 3, 1967*, p. 225; *February 4, 1968*, p. 283; *April 7, 1968*, p. 332; and *May 5, 1968*, p. 352.

16. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 14–16 (quotation is on p. 16); and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 7, 1968*, p. 9; and *October 21, 1969*, p. 62.

17. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 17–18; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 7, 1968*, pp. 18–19.
18. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, February 4, 1968*, p. 282; *March 3, 1968*, p. 316; *July 7, 1968*, p. 33; *January 5, 1969*, pp. 93–94; *September 7, 1969*, p. 34; *December 7, 1969*, p. 73; *June 12, 1970*, p. 208 (the quotation is here); and *August 11, 1970*, pp. 33–37.
19. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 6–7, 19–23.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 23–29, 61–62; “Minutes of the University Council,” 12 (December 13, 1967), pp. 20–21; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, December 1, 1968*, pp. 82–83 (quotation).
21. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 30–33; *Illinois State University Report 442/2* (August 9, 2007), p. 3 (on current water leakage); *The Pantagraph*, March 3, 2001, p. 5 (on the tent); and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, September 8, 1968*, pp. 23–24 (first quotation); *October 6, 1968*, p. 42; *December 1, 1968*, p. 79; *December 7, 1969*, p. 78 (Millar’s words); *June 15, 1972*, pp. 202–03; *August 29, 1974*, p. 52; *June 17, 1976*, pp. 304–05; and *June 18, 1981*, p. 280.
22. *New York Times*, July 29, 2007, pp. 1, 20.
23. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 31–32, 41–42; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, March 2, 1969*, p. 120 and *April 13, 1969*, p. 136.
24. *Proceedings of the Teachers College Board, December 11, 1961*, pp. 316–19.
25. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 20, 1972*, p. 9.
26. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 43–46; Clark, “Whirlwinds of Change,” pp. 237–38; *Dyad: A Course and Instructor Survey 2* (April 1969), pp. 105, 109; and *Vidette*, November 21, 1968, p. 2, and December 10, 1968, p. 2. Clark cites these two editorials.
27. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 46–51.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37; and Lucas, *American Higher Education*, p. 258.
29. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 34, 36–40; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, October 12, 1969*, p. 48.
30. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, March 2, 1969*, pp. 122–23.
31. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 52–53, 58–59; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, September 7, 1969*, pp. 35–37; and *October 21, 1969*, pp. 48–50, 63.
32. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 53–57.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 60–65.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 65–68. Braden’s own account of the controversy is contained in *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, March 1, 1970*, pp. 120–22, 129.
35. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, March 1, 1970*, pp. 120–32.
36. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 71, 108; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, January 20, 1973*, p. 108. Robinson died on April 28, 2008. For an account of his career, see the *The Pantagraph*, April 29, 2008, B1, B5.
37. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, February 1, 1970*, p. 98.
38. In 1972 MacMurray College in Jacksonville named its new Science Building for Julian, and the Board congratulated its fellow regent on the great honor. *Ibid.*, *May 18, 1972*, pp. 186–87.
39. *Vidette*, May 15, 1970, p. 4.
40. I have relied on Champagne’s reconstruction of the events of May 1970 in *A Place of Education*, pp. 71–83; but the events can be followed in greater detail in the *Vidette*. I have supplemented the account of the gathering at McCormick on May 15 from the *Vidette*, May 19, 1970, p. 1. The same issue includes Randolph Berning’s account of the summoning of Braden to Springfield.
41. Stacy, “I do not think we can keep universities open with bayonets,” pp. 286–87, 301
42. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, p. 83; *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, June 12, 1970*, pp. 203–04. On Geigle’s career at Northern, see Hayter, *Education in Transition*, p. 323.
43. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 83–84; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, June 12, 1970*, p. 205; and *October 15, 1970*, pp. 70–71.
44. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, May 3, 1970*, pp. 173–80, esp. p. 178.
45. *Ibid.*, *August 11, 1970*, p. 45; *November 15, 1970*, p. 84; and *February 21, 1971*, pp. 139–40. Ira Cohen, a member of the Academic Senate, who attended the board meetings, indicated in an email on October 23, 2007, that a motion was made during the executive session on June 11 to dismiss Cox and that Geigle indicated that he would not accept the interim presidency if the motion was adopted.
46. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, January 4, 1970*, pp. 90–91.
47. *Ibid.*, *April 15, 1971*, pp. 178–80; and Monat, *The Achieving Institution*, pp. 32–36.
48. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, March 15, 1973*, p. 158.
49. *Ibid.*, *November 21, 1971*, pp. 95–96; *July 20, 1972*, pp. 6–7 (Berlo’s comment); *October 18–19, 1972*, pp. 49–54 (Barr’s words are on p. 51); *July 19, 1973*, pp. 30–36 (Dressel’s words are on p. 32); *June 20, 1974*, pp. 316–17; *March 20, 1975*, pp. 224–27; *June 19, 1975*, p. 294; *May 20, 1976*, p. 276; and *March 22, 1984*, pp. 156–58; *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 17, 1998*, pp. 14–15; and Wyman, *The Fourteenth*

Decade, pp. 40–41. I served as the D.A. adviser in History from 1983 to 1994.

50. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 57–58; and *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 26–28; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, February 19, 1972*, pp. 130–32; *June 15, 1972*, pp. 194–95; *March 17, 1977*, pp. 207–08; *June 16, 1977*, p. 322; *March 6, 1980*, pp. 219–25; *July 24, 1980*, p. 29; *July 23, 1981*, pp. 35–36; and *September 24, 1981*, pp. 51 and 55–57. On Cecilia J. Lauby-Ryan, see *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, May 7, 2004*, p. 63; and *The Pantagraph*, May 27, 2007, G6.

Section Four

ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY, 1964-2007

Chapter 10

RUDDERLESS: 1971–1988

To continue with the nautical imagery, Illinois State was after 1971 a ship with a broken rudder, without a compass, and battered by repeated financial storms. The words of James B. Holderman, the executive director of the IBHE, quoted at the beginning of this section, are a good summary of the currents that steered the University's course during the next two decades. On February 3, 1976, the IBHE approved *Master Plan IV*, its last attempt at all encompassing, systemic planning. This blueprint was based on the assumptions that post-secondary education enrollments in Illinois would peak in 1980 and that only 16 2/3 percent of the State's resources would be available for higher education—a forecast that proved optimistic. Franklin G. Matsler, the executive director of the BOR, doubted that the plan would have “a great impact on higher education” and observed that “[t]he negative tone is really a very important part of the plan . . . because the BHE staff is trying to tell us that we are in for rough times ahead; but sometimes this becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy . . .”¹ This pessimistic mindset held the Regents and University administrators in its thrall in the 1970s and '80s and made it difficult for them to seek alternatives, besides administrative and programmatic cuts and tuition increases, to offset the decline in state funding that impeded the University's further development.

Three presidents were at the helm between 1971 and 1988. It is hard, even today, to be objective about David K. Berlo (1929–96; president, 1971–73). He recognized, unlike many of his critics, that *Master Plan III* called for a fundamental change in course; but, remarkably for an expert on managerial communication, he seemed to lack the persuasive skills and political savvy to win acceptance for the new direction he was plotting and tried to impose it upon the University by administrative fiat. Part of the problem may have been that he was catapulted from the chairmanship of the Department of Communication at Michigan State to the presidency of a university with eleven hundred faculty and eighteen thousand students. A few years as a dean and a provost might have given Berlo a better grasp how a complex modern university operated. His opponents used the president's personal foibles and the cost overruns in the construction of the president's residence to engineer his downfall.

His successor was the thirty-four-year-old Gene A. Budig (born 1939; president 1973–77), who was the dean of the faculty when Berlo resigned. Budig had obtained a bachelor's degree in journalism as well as his master's and doctorate at the University of Nebraska, where he had served as director of public affairs before coming to Illinois State in 1972. He quickly restored order but that also meant, in this context, not grappling with the underlying questions about the University's mission or responding forcefully enough to the excesses of the student counter-culture of the 1970s. Budig is, perhaps, the best example of Champagne's “transient” administrators. After leaving Normal, he became the president of West Virginia University (1977–80), chancellor of the University of Kansas (1980–94), president of the American League (1994–99), and a major general in the Air National Guard.

The next president, Lloyd I. Watkins (born 1929; president 1977–88), was an experienced administrator and committed personally to the University—he still lives in Bloomington and plays an active part in the school's affairs. A native of Cape Girardeau, he received his undergraduate education at the former teachers college located there, now Southeast Missouri State University, and his master's and doctoral degrees in Speech at the University of Wisconsin. Watkins began his academic and administrative careers at Ohio University and had been since 1973 the president of another former teachers college, West Texas A&M University.² The choice of Watkins, the first president since Fairchild who was personally familiar with the traditions and problems of old normal schools, was thus, wittingly or not, a reassertion of Illinois State's heritage and an acknowledgement that the aspirations of the 1960s could not be realized. Under his leadership the University rediscovered the importance of general education and raised academic standards. Watkins struggled for eleven years to resolve Illinois State's recurring financial crises, which hindered any substantial forward movement; and he finally resigned in frustration at the repeated setbacks.

7 A FAILED PRESIDENCY

David K. Berlo's low key inauguration on October 4, 1971, was an ostentatious display of penury. Guests were served only coffee prior to the installation and were free afterwards to eat at their own expense in the residence halls. The public's initial response to this demonstration of fiscal restraint was favorable, but when stories about his extravagant lifestyle started to circulate, his enemies turned the inauguration into an example of his apparent hypocrisy.³

His inaugural address provides some crucial insights into his thinking. Beyond the customary boilerplate that a "university is not architecture and curriculum, it is energy and purpose," the speech is curiously for such an occasion, albeit correctly, negative in its assessment of the public's perception of higher education. By trying and failing to be all things to all people, higher education had lost the public's confidence and trust and had thus contributed, he argued, to the disruption of the American dream. To regain society's approval, higher education needed to be accountable; and he pledged Illinois State to a "continuous system of accountability based on rigorous self-evaluation." Such self-appraisal would allow the University to determine its priorities and to become, in Berlo's interpretation of *Master Plan III*, the State's premier undergraduate university—part of Illinois State's mantra ever since—with a commitment to research and graduate programs in the teaching-learning process. It was not, he insisted, to attempt to do things it could not do well.⁴ This philosophy may explain his hesitation, correct in hindsight, in endorsing the D.A.

The president seized upon a September 8 directive of the IBHE that each public university identify within a month its lowest priority activities and programs, amounting to 15 percent of its operating budget, for elimination so that the funds could be reallocated to higher priority items. Since Governor Richard B. Ogilvie had just slashed the universities' budget for FY72, such internal reallocation was the only way to finance more important initiatives. While other presidents balked, Berlo saw the exercise as an opportunity to set the University upon a new course. Each academic unit was asked to determine what it would do if its budget was cut 15 or 25 percent and, conversely, if its budget was increased by 15 percent.

I still recall vividly the Saturday morning when the History department faculty met to determine its priorities. Since most of the department's resources were in personnel lines, such drastic cuts could be achieved only by dismissing faculty members, starting with the most recent hires. Shaken by this formative experience in my career, I did not feel completely secure until I was the senior faculty member in the department and college.

I was not the only anxious faculty member. Berlo had appointed a faculty commission, assisted by a student advisory committee, to determine the criteria for rank ordering the recommendations from the individual units. The only really new criterion was a commitment to affirmative action for women. The University appointed, accordingly, an affirmative action officer for women, Professor Dorothy H. Carrington of Psychology, and conducted a long overdue salary equity review for women faculty, which she called "an outstanding piece of work."⁵ It was the president's application of the other criteria to specific programs that worried the faculty.

Berlo's announcement of his decisions at a well-attended faculty meeting on November 30 hardly calmed the faculty's fears. Several programs, for example, master's degrees in Physics and Social Science, were to be eliminated immediately; others, like Home Economics Teacher Education, were to be phased out gradually; and the admission of new students to the remaining teacher education programs was to be sharply curtailed because of the surplus of teachers. The most startling recommendation was the proposal to abolish the division of Student Services and the assignment of its functions to other administrative units, but it must be stressed, in Berlo's defense, that non-academic areas are always especially hard hit during a rescission. The implementation of these proposals would have led to the dismissal of many employees. To continue the process of determining institutional priorities, Berlo called for the establishment of seven faculty-student study groups to make recommendations on such topics as administrative reorganization and educational media and technology. The colleges, departments, and such committees as the Council on Teacher Education were also given specific directives. One permanent result of this internal self-examination was the establishment of the Planning and Research Office.⁶

Some of the recommendations that emerged from this period of self-examination were controversial but farsighted. For example, after students at both Northern and Illinois State told the chair of the BOR, J. Robert Barr, that the provision of health services was the biggest problem they faced on campus, the Board ordered the Regency universities to report back about the care they provided. Berlo pointed out to the Regents that funding such services was the major obstacle. If the University charged students, as he recommended, a fee of \$11.50 a semester for health care, there would be an \$81,000 increase in the health services budget and a \$221,000 reduction in general revenue expenditures. Students objected to the additional fee, and some Board members were concerned that a proposed pharmacy that would dispense medications at cost to students would adversely impact local businesses.

Even more controversial was a proposal that the University establish a family planning center. Board member, Charles B. Shuman, still remembered by some faculty for his outspoken comments, asked: "I am sure you understand that this

could be a very delicate, explosive type of thing if it went in certain directions. I am asking if family planning center is an accurate definition. Is it for families and not for something else?" He continued: "there are things going on which the public is not prepared to accept," specifically, Shuman clarified, "the twenty-four-hour visitation matter [in the dormitories]." Dr. Margaret M. Torrey, the director of University Health Services, responded that the center would provide assistance in family planning in "all of its aspects" and would be available to both married and single students.⁷ To understand the full purport of this exchange, it is worth noting that it occurred on February 17, 1973, less than a month after the Supreme Court issued its decision in *Roe v. Wade* legalizing abortion.

Berlo's fatal mistake was that he acted too precipitously. He had been president for only three months when he announced his sweeping changes on November 30, hardly enough time to get a sense of the institution and to win the trust of a bitterly disillusioned and anxious faculty. In his inaugural address he had warned: "We must not tolerate adversarial relations, for if there is no basis of trust, the concept of a university is doomed, no matter how intricate the machinery of participation."⁸ It was the core of that machinery, the Academic Senate, which became the center of the opposition to the president. In the late 1960s faculty and students had become accustomed to an active voice in the University's governance, but Berlo appeared to view the Senate as merely an advisory body that was excluded from any say in the University's management. The senators resented the president's reliance on ad hoc study groups rather than the established system of committees and boards and objected to his use of the budgetary crisis as a pretext to revamp the University's programs and administrative structure.

Berlo's first major confrontation with the senate occurred over the report by the study group on academic administration chaired by Professor Benjamin C. Hubbard of Educational Administration, who subsequently became the dean of the College of Education (1979–82). The president thought that the University's administrative structure was overly complex and over-staffed, and he charged the committee to cut administrative costs by \$750,000 as the IBHE had directed. Berlo's concerns were hardly unfounded. In July 1971, just before Berlo assumed the presidency, Professor Charles Edwards of Educational Administration had provided the BOR with a preliminary report about a study that he and eleven doctoral students were conducting of Illinois State's administrative structure. The University did not have, Edwards pointed out, "a complete and current set of job descriptions nor an organization chart" because "the very complex organizational structure of the university has been changing because of its rapid growth."⁹ In short, the University's administrative structure had grown in a topsy-turvy fashion during the heady expansion of the 1960s when plans were being laid for a liberal arts university with as many as twenty-eight thousand students. Judicious pruning was certainly in order.

Berlo's solution for streamlining the organizational structure was the establishment of a two-tiered system. Initially, he favored the abolition of the departments based on academic disciplines and their replacement by a dozen or so colleges or learning centers organized around broadly conceived programs. Faculty could be readily shifted, he thought, from one such administrative unit to another as student demand and societal need dictated. The central administration would be responsible for budgeting and the colleges for programmatic planning. A number

of departments were combined the following year, and these mega departments provide a clue what Berlo's learning centers might have looked like if his original scheme had been implemented. The department of Library Science merged with Speech Communication as Information Sciences; more bizarrely, Home Economics was combined with Industrial Technology (a new name for the combined department was not readily apparent to anyone); men's and women's physical education became a single entity; and Education joined with Elementary Education in Curriculum and Instruction.

When the Hubbard committee rejected Berlo's initial plan to abolish the departments as detrimental to faculty morale and causing undo centralization, Berlo settled instead for the elimination of the colleges as fiscal units. After much wrangling the Senate concurred in March 1972, but such basic questions as the mechanism for evaluating the faculty remained unresolved. The college offices closed on July 1, and the deans were moved to the fourth floor of Hovey and given university-wide responsibilities. The departments were left to fend for themselves.¹⁰

The second and decisive confrontation between the president and the Senate came in June 1972 over the always contentious issue of determining faculty salaries. In May Berlo had directed the Faculty Status Committee (FSC) to devise new guidelines that would eliminate across-the-board raises (a major concern in a period of rampant inflation) and that would base increments on meritorious performance, primarily in the area of teaching. The latter directive diminished the importance of research in evaluating faculty, a logical consequence of *Master Plan III's* reformulation of Illinois State's mission but a painful reminder, nevertheless, that Illinois State no longer was "a developing liberal arts" university. The FSC recognized that it had to comply or Berlo would implement the guidelines on his own. Faculty senators resented the implication that previous raises had not been based on merit and objected to the altering of the criteria for evaluating work that had already been done. Berlo indicated that the BOR had assigned the responsibility of determining salaries to him, and he would implement the guidelines whether or not the Senate concurred. Ultimately, some modifications were made, but for the remainder of his presidency Berlo rarely attended Senate meetings.¹¹

In January 1973 a team from the North Central Association, the University's accrediting agency, visited the campus. It reported that faculty morale was low because of the "centralization of decision-making and governance" and a perceived "usurpation of traditional faculty rights," made worse by a breakdown in communication between the president and the faculty. The University's administrative structure was in a "state of evolution" with no clear plan for stabilizing the situation. The intervening administrative levels between the president and the department chairs had or were about to disappear, leaving the chairs confused how to manage departmental business. Berlo tried to keep the report's findings quiet, but inevitably its contents leaked and were cited, for example, in *The Pantagraph* on May 30.¹²

In the end, as had been the case with Harry Brown, it was the president's personal peccadilloes and the scandal surrounding the construction of the University residence, long remembered as Berlo's Barn, rather than his administrative failures

that caused his downfall. Ironically, the idea to build an official residence for the president was the Board's and not the president's. The Regents had resolved in January 1969 that every president was expected, as a condition of his employment, to live in the residence the University provided and to use its "premises for official university business including administrative duties, official entertainments, staff meetings and such other duties as may be assigned and determined by this Board."

The Regents were less clear about how much money they were prepared to authorize for the construction of the residence and what was included in that amount. In February 1968 it was estimated that such a structure would cost between \$50,000 and \$75,000. In November the Board and IBHE staff members were bandying about the figure \$150,000, a sum that included not only the actual construction costs, but the architect's fees, site development, the installation of utilities, and built-in equipment. The IBHE authorized the universities in October 1970 to spend "up to \$150,000, excluding land costs," and to pay out of their operating budgets the annual lease of residences that were built by their foundations. In March 1971 the Regents determined that the house at 607 North Main Street in Normal, which the University owned and where Presidents Braden and Geigle had lived, was no longer suitable; and on July 22, five weeks before Berlo assumed the presidency, the BOR authorized the construction of a new residence at a cost that was not to exceed \$100,000. The Regents leased a portion of the University farm on Gregory to the Foundation, which in turn was to construct the house and to lease it back to the University. Groundbreaking for a "'farmhouse' type of residence"—hence the derogatory appellation Berlo's Barn—took place in September.¹³

The residence became, as David Haake put it in a series of muckraking articles that ran in *The Pantagraph* from May 26 to May 30, 1973, the "rallying point for anti-administration forces on the campus." According to Haake's exposé, the \$100,000 the Regents had authorized was to cover the actual construction costs and the cost of the fixed equipment but not the furnishings of the public areas of the residence or site development costs more than five feet from the building's foundation. The Regents rejected in November 1971 a bid for \$119,000 as too high and ordered the University architect, Robert Ward, to redesign the house. In what might have been a violation of state law, a new contract was then issued without any competitive bidding.

In September 1972, when Berlo moved in, the University reported that the total cost of the project had been \$163,344: \$100,146 in actual construction costs; \$31,165 for site development; and \$32,033 for the fixed equipment. These figures were revised downward to \$158,641 in February 1973, when the University indicated that the construction costs had been only \$95,643 because its employees had finished some of the work. A month later the University announced that the final cost had been \$192,267, a figure that included \$40,421 for furnishings. By April the Board was receiving numerous letters, many of them anonymous, about wrongdoing; and on May 17, Regent David E. Murray reported that he had toured the house the previous evening for the first time. While the house was functional and met the Board's specification for a presidential residence, he said "the carpentry finishing work, particularly some of the woodwork and the drywall finishing work, is appalling."

Haake, clearly being fed information by whistleblowers, reported that the real cost of the building might be in excess of \$250,000. Short of an audit, it was impossible to determine how much had really been spent because expenditures had been spread across a variety of accounts. For example, the figure of \$192,267 had included charges of \$12,453 to the physical plant, but the real charges had topped \$40,000. There were allegations that contracts, for example, to lay a concrete slab for the garage, had been issued without competitive bids. At a campus hearing held by Representative Robert Juckett on May 29 to investigate the scandal, none of the seven University officials, including Berlo, who testified, knew who had authorized the pouring of the concrete. Earlier that month the IBHE had already ordered an independent audit of the construction costs, and the auditors concluded in January 1974 that the cost of the house had exceeded by \$82,297.15 the \$150,000 that had been authorized for its construction. The \$232,000 Illinois State spent on the residence paled in comparison to the \$900,000 Southern had expended a few years earlier for a presidential mansion in Carbondale.¹⁴ Berlo's personal role in these cost overruns, which were due in part to inflation, is unclear; but as president the ultimate responsibility was his.

Under the headline, "ISU's Berlo: A new breed of university president," Haake made invidious comparisons between the "flamboyant" Berlo, whose "presidential life style rankles," and the scholarly Bone and the teetotaling Fairchild. In addition to paying no rent, Berlo ate for free and paid no sales tax on the food he bought. The reality was not quite that bad, but bad enough. During his first seven months at Illinois State, Berlo ran up an \$11,000 entertainment bill, and the school purchased shortly before Haake wrote his incriminating articles a china service for thirty-six at a cost of \$6,473. The president's liquor bills in September 1972 and January 1973 had totaled almost \$2,000—\$1,902 to be precise. This expenditure looked especially bad because Normal was still legally dry and because state funds could not be spent on alcohol. In reality, the Foundation picked up the liquor tab, and Berlo may even have reimbursed it; but the Foundation's accounts were not open to public scrutiny and its full board had not met in more than two years.

As for the accusation that Berlo ate for free, he had arranged, with the BOR's approval, to purchase his groceries and household supplies through the John Green Food Center for a flat monthly fee of \$197.77 to feed a family of six. (Purchases by the University are not subject to the state sales tax.) Although he had bought in November and December 1972 almost \$1,200 in staples, many of them in specially ordered family size packages rather than the institutional size the food center normally purchased, he had not, allegedly, paid even the fixed monthly sum. The Board had agreed to this strange arrangement to deal with the commingling of the president's private living expenses and his public entertainment costs.¹⁵

The most bizarre story was an ad that Berlo ran from December 23 to 29, 1972, in the help wanted section of the *San Francisco Examiner Chronicle*—the University picked up the bill for \$42.82. It read: "**Man Friday** to Midwest College President. Single, under 25. Could continue schooling." (*The Pantagraph* reprinted the actual ad, boldface included.) Twenty-one-year-old Terence P. Cole answered the ad and was flown to Normal for a week's interview. According to Cole, "part of the job would have been to find out how students felt about happenings on campus and report those findings to Berlo"—some faculty members interpreted this to mean that Cole was expected to spy on them. Through the University's work

study program, Cole was to receive free tuition, fees, room and board, and \$50 to \$75 a week in spending money. Berlo decided to leave the position unfilled, and Cole was given \$150 for “services during a visit to ISU” and flown back to San Francisco. The interview cost the University \$466.¹⁶ One can only guess what inferences might be drawn from this story today.

Berlo resigned on May 30 because, according to the headline in *The Pantagraph*, the “personal cost” was “too high.” Paul Baker, then a member of the Sociology department, testified later that Franklin Matsler, the Board’s executive director, had encouraged him and a delegation of eight or nine other faculty members to do “whatever is necessary and appropriate” to bring the issues before the Senate, but that Berlo resigned before the Senate could debate specific resolutions. The Board formally accepted Berlo’s resignation on June 21, effective August 31, but relieved him of his duties as of June 30. He was paid his regular salary through October 31, so he could write a report “upon the changes in the program and organizational structure of Illinois State University which have occurred during the period of his presidency. . .” The Regents made clear that they had not dismissed Berlo, but they also did not issue the customary resolution of thanks. Julian said: “I hate cruelty and in some respects this whole matter has exhibited the most sickening cruelty that I have ever experienced. . . We all make mistakes, but we do not need to add lynching to it.”¹⁷ *Lynching* is a strong word for an African American to employ.

It was widely rumored at the time and some retired faculty members still insist that one or another Regent or state legislator—the most frequently named culprit is Charles Shuman—had said on some occasion in the witness’s hearing that the Regents had appointed Berlo to restore “order” at Illinois State. It is impossible to ascertain the truth of these recollections, but several things are true. Berlo did grasp unlike his critics that Illinois State needed to find a new way, but he failed to gain the faculty’s approval for his plans and became increasingly authoritarian and isolated when the Senate expressed its growing misgivings. His opponents exploited the scandal surrounding the construction of the residence and Berlo’s personal failings to force his resignation. Whether or not the Regents selected Berlo because they wanted a president who would rein in the newly empowered faculty, most of the Regents, judging by the Board minutes, supported him until the end, though Matsler may have given Berlo a nudge, and were surprisingly naïve in arranging his entertainment allowance and lax in their oversight. Berlo was not the only guilty party.

The one bright spot in Berlo’s presidency was the career of Illinois State’s most famous athlete, Doug Collins, Class of 1973, who played in the controversial championship basketball game between the United States and the Soviet Union at the Munich Summer Olympics in 1972. Collins made the cover of *Sports Illustrated*, was named an All-American, and went on to a distinguished career as a player for the Philadelphia 76ers (1973–81) and as the coach of the Chicago Bulls, Detroit Pistons, and Washington Wizards. In 2007 the University named the basketball court in Redbird Arena for Collins.¹⁸

2 GENE A. BUDIG

The Regents appointed Gene A. Budig as the acting president on June 21, when they accepted Berlo’s resignation, and, after a national search, on November 15,

1973, president, at an annual salary of \$38,000—\$400 less than Berlo had received two years earlier. In accepting the Board's initial appointment, Budig declared in the customary rhetoric "that ISU has a distinguished past and a bright future," "a relevant mission," and merited "the continued understanding and support of the people of Illinois." It was essential, therefore, "that the faculty, students, staff and administration of ISU pull together through a bond of confidence and cooperation...this is not a time of retrenchment, but rather a time for reasoned, responsive movement forward." Five months later Budig announced "[s]ome of that movement has begun...we have strengthened and revitalized the collegiate structure, coordinated student affairs concerns, improved communication within the university and beyond, restored faculty and institutional self-esteem, and are well about the business of academic planning and program development." As Budig's words indicate, the colleges and Student Services, shorn of some of their excess administrators, had been reestablished immediately.¹⁹ But the restoration of the *status quo ante* Berlo did not resolve the question of the University's identity.

Arlan Helgeson, the acting dean of the faculty, explained in March 1974, that the University's academic plan for 1974–79, was concentrating on "viable alternatives to traditional teaching programs," particularly in the areas of health and public service. However, he stressed: "The drift toward applied fields should not be allowed to detract from the traditional purpose of a college education, whether you call it general education, or liberal arts education."

The program development, to which Budig referred on November 15, 1973, included the four ill-fated Doctor of Arts degrees, and more significantly in the long run, an Ed. D. in Curriculum and Instruction (1977). The BOR staff rejected a proposed doctorate in clinical psychology as being "beyond the scope and mission of Illinois State." The opinionated Regent, Charles B. Shuman, argued in 1973 that the emphasis should be "on masters programs that are vocational and applied" rather than on programs that were preparatory to a Ph.D. or provided "automatic pay raises for highschool [sic] teachers." The five master's degrees that were approved during Budig's presidency included ones in Accounting, Business Administration, and Corrections and a joint program in Agriculture with the University of Illinois. The same vocational thrust is apparent in the eleven bachelor's programs that received Board approval: for example, Office Administration, Agribusiness, Applied Computer Science, Social Work, and Mass Communication as well as a horticultural sequence in Agribusiness.²⁰ The curricular developments of the 1970s are indicative of the declining importance of teacher preparation and the growth of the Colleges of Business and Applied Science and Technology. However, as a former teachers college the University had always been more vocationally oriented than the private liberal arts colleges.

The need to prepare students for jobs in a troubled economy was real. Between 1969 and 1975 the percentage of Illinois State bachelor degree graduates still seeking employment after graduation rose from 4.4 percent to 12.6 percent. The situation was even worse at Northern, where the respective percentages were 2.1 percent and 18.4 percent. The percentage of Illinois State graduates who became teachers declined from 75 percent in 1968 to 33 percent in 1977 and the proportion of those entering business, government, and industry increased from 7.3 percent to 43.1 percent. In the class of 1968, 1,236 graduates were employed as teachers;

by 1977, only 714 were. The number of individuals trained to teach high school mathematics dropped from 92 in 1971 to 25 in 1977, and it was anticipated that only ten such teachers would graduate by 1979.²¹ To retain the public's support, the universities needed to demonstrate that they remained instruments for upward social mobility. A large number of un- or underemployed graduates was hardly good advertising for higher education.

The students who attended Illinois State in the 1970s so they could obtain a job in business or industry were, unlike their predecessors in the 1960s, apolitical; and hedonism replaced the sense of a special calling, rooted in the Protestant evangelical culture of the nineteenth century, that had characterized Old Normal. Most students had lived off campus before World War II, but strictly enforced University regulations and the students' own religious and rural cultural values restrained their behavior. After the University stopped building additional dormitories in the late '60s, many of the approximately nineteen thousand students who enrolled at Illinois State were forced once again to live on their own. However, instead of renting rooms in a private home or living in a boarding house under adult supervision, they resided in old houses that were converted into student housing, in cheaply built apartments that encroached on the residential neighborhoods surrounding the University, or in fraternities and sororities, which had been officially sanctioned by the University in 1970. So popular did such housing become, that Illinois State was forced to require students to live in the residence halls during their first four semesters, so it could collect sufficient revenue to pay off its bond indebtedness. By 1976 nearly 60 percent of the students no longer lived on campus.

The popularity of such arrangements was enhanced by the end of prohibition in Normal in 1973 and by the dropping of the legal drinking age to nineteen. Drinking and drugs became major issues. To deal with the sale of drugs, several police departments formed the Multi-County Enforcement Agency (MEG), which placed undercover informers on campus and arrested twenty-five student drug dealers between December 1974 and May 1975. On May 2 approximately one thousand students protested a MEG drug raid the previous day and threatened to march through Normal. Budig, dressed in denim, calmed the crowd. It was a far cry from the civil rights and anti-war protests of the 1960s.

In 1976 a regent and the McLean County Citizens for Decency through Law complained about the showing of X-rated films in Capen, a sexuality conference sponsored by the Gay Peoples Alliance, and the latter group's demand for a wider selection of sexually explicit movies. Budig explained that the University's policy on the showing of such films was as restrictive as the law permitted, and the Regents, to their credit, voted down a motion banning such entertainment. After an erotic film festival at Northern, Shuman, at the last Board meeting he attended in July 1980, argued that such events hurt the universities' public image and ability to obtain appropriations; and the Board passed an advisory motion prohibiting the showing of X-rated films in university buildings unless such films were used for instructional purposes in a classroom. Lloyd Watkins pointed out that this policy placed him in the awkward position of determining what constituted pornography because many foreign films were unrated.²² On such issues the presidents were caught between a conservative Board and community and a sexually liberated student body.

The most infamous example of student hedonism was the notorious Rites of Spring, a toxic brew of alcohol, drugs, and rock music. Illinois State's first Woodstock was held on May 12, 1972, during Berlo's presidency, to divert student attention from Richard Nixon's intensification of the war in Vietnam and attracted three thousand participants. To control the illegal use of drugs, the 1975 concert was staged in Hancock Stadium, where the crowd could more easily be monitored; but a counter celebration occurred on May 5 in the amphitheater in front of old Milner. The last such bacchanalia, attended by between fifteen thousand and eighteen thousand people, half of them non-students, took place on Saturday, April 30, 1977. *The Pantagraph* reported: "Marijuana, hard liquor, and wine all took second place to the sea of beer brought in for the day-long party. Some groups even brought in kegs." Eighty-four attendees required medical treatment, some for drug overdoses. So much garbage and broken glass littered the Quad, it had to be roped off on Monday. Student leaders had spent \$32,000 from the student fee account to stage the party, which the *Vidette* bragged had made Illinois State the "Rock Capital of the Midwest;" and the University spent \$24,000 to repair the damage.

Responsible student leaders and university administrators informed Budig "that the event is not appropriate to, or worthy of a university . . ." He deferred action to his successor, and on July 25, 1977, ten days after assuming the presidency, Watkins prohibited any future Rites of Spring. Regents Shuman and Dr. Dan M. Martin regretted that Watkins as the new president had been forced to make this decision and complimented him for doing so.²³ Reading between the lines, their words were a rebuke of Budig for not taking action sooner. If Berlo had been overly confrontational in his dealings with the faculty, Budig, in his eagerness to please, may have deferred too much to the students.

3 STAGFLATION

However, the fundamental problem that confronted Berlo, Budig, and later Watkins and that inhibited the University's development in this period was the State's precarious financial condition, which hit higher education especially hard. The share of general revenue funding devoted to higher education declined from 22.4 percent in FY68 to 16.3 percent in FY76, and by 1980 higher education's allocation had fallen still further to 13 percent. Shuman mused that secondary schools and the junior colleges might have "'the inside track,' as far as education is concerned." Another regent attributed this preference to the fact that "each representative and senator had a community college in his district."

Rampant inflation exacerbated the relative decline in state funding. For example, in justifying a 14.4 percent increase in Illinois State's operating budget for FY78, the BOR's executive director, Franklin Matsler, projected in September 1976 that utility costs would increase 15 percent, equipment 10 percent, and prices in general, 8 percent. The IBHE and the governor would inevitably slash such requests. In FY75, for example, the BOR approved a 12.7 percent increase in Illinois State's budget, which the IBHE reduced to 11 percent; the University ended up with 6.4 percent. Citing this sorry record in August 1975, Budig reminded the Board that an additional 425 to 500 students might register in August 1976 without an increase in the University's base funding. (Since students paid less than a third of the instructional cost, uncompensated increases in enrollments were a financial loss for the University.)

Shuman likened the budgetary process to a “kid writing a Santa Claus letter,” an inflated wish list that had no prospect of ever being funded. Illinois State fared especially badly in the process because, as Watkins repeatedly reminded the Board, the IBHE employed a system of incremental budgeting, in which the same percentage increase was assigned to each public university without regard to the original base allocation and subsequent increases or decreases in enrollments. As a result, for example, in FY74 the faculty–student ratio at Illinois State was 20.3 students per faculty member but only 17:1 at Northern; and the latter was also, compared to some of the other public universities like Sangamon State, underfunded.²⁴

The impact of this reduction in state assistance is readily apparent to anyone who walks around the campus today. New construction funded by the State virtually halted after the completion of the new Milner Library in 1976. The cost-conscious Regents even debated the wisdom of purchasing specially designed furniture for Milner. The chair, J. Robert Barr, put it this way: “We do expect the libraries and all buildings, for that matter, to be well furnished, but at some point we have to cut back somewhere.” (They bought the furniture.) The only new building for which the taxpayers paid between 1976 and 1988 was Ropp, an agricultural laboratory, constructed in the early 1980s for a modest \$1.6 million and named in 1982 for the member of the Teachers College Board, Clarence Ropp, whose name had originally been assigned to the dormitory northeast of Braden that was never built. There were plans in the late '70s to construct at a cost of \$4.5 million an addition to Centennial East to house the Department of Music. Shuman objected that this amount was “a rather high price tag” to eliminate the noise of music practices that were interfering with theatrical productions. Besides, he argued, the projected decline in enrollments made it foolish to invest in new structures; it was wiser to remodel existing ones. By 1979 the University had decided that it was more realistic, though less satisfactory, to request funds to remodel Cook for use by Music.²⁵

The best the University could hope for were modest appropriations for remodeling and rehabilitation, as Matsler said, to keep “the existing system in order.” When it became clear that the State would not fund the construction of a new science building, the University opted for a three-phase renovation of Moulton, Felmley, and Julian. Even Shuman conceded that it would have made more sense economically to build a new structure to house the sciences. Funds for such renovation projects were also in short supply. In FY77 the three Regency universities’ entire capital budget, including money to prepare old Milner (now Williams) for occupation by the College of Business, was cut from the \$11 million the IBHE had recommended to one million. The University had to wait until the summer of 1977 (FY78), when it received \$500,000, to begin work on Williams.

No money for any capital improvements was appropriated in FY83, at the height of Reagan-era depression. Matsler complained that even routine maintenance was being neglected: “The roofs are beginning to leak, the steam lines are beginning to leak, and the deterioration is very noticeable.” Anyone who taught or took a class in Schroeder knows how bad this deferred maintenance became. My first office in West Schroeder was painted only once between 1965, when this wing was opened, and 2004, when it was renovated; and the hallways in both wings were a crazy mosaic of every shade of gray floor tile that had been manufactured

in the preceding half century. In 1986 Senator John Maitland of McLean County was able to obtain funds to plan the conversion of Fell from a dormitory into a classroom/office building. In the following years Maitland proved to be an influential and invaluable friend of the University in Springfield.²⁶

Alternative sources of funding were used for the few projects that were undertaken during Watkins' presidency. The Office of Residential Life Building was constructed in 1988, at a cost of \$985,000, with the surplus from the bond revenue fund. However, the most notable and noticeable structural legacy of the 1980s is Redbird Arena. (It received this name in 1987.) On April 25, 1984, students approved by a margin of 213 votes (2,430 to 2,217) the levying of a fee of \$35 per semester to pay for its construction. The final cost, after several revisions in the plans, was \$17.5 million. To save money, the arena was not air-conditioned, making it nearly unusable during the summer. In addition, Richard Godfrey, Director of Institutional Advancement, and Burt Mercier, Class of 1950 and the chair of the Foundation, led the University's first major capital drive and raised \$850,000 to pay for the seating. After many delays, the building opened on January 13, 1989. To obtain student approval for the construction of the arena, Watkins had committed himself to providing the students with better recreational facilities. The students had rejected in April 1983 the imposition of a fee to build a recreation building, but the president arranged in 1987 to lease the Skatium, an ice-skating rink located northeast of the campus, from State Farm; and this recreational facility opened in April 1988.²⁷

Faculty and staff salaries were especially hard hit by the inflationary pressure of the 1970s. The cost of living increased, for instance, 9 percent in FY74 and 11.1 percent in FY75; but raises in the Regency system averaged in those years 5 percent and 5.8 percent, respectively. In recommending a 9 percent salary increase in FY78 and an additional 3.5 percent for the lowest paid civil service employees on top of the 9 percent, the Board staff pointed out in September 1976 that the average faculty member had lost between 10 and 20 percent of their salaries expressed in constant dollars in the preceding five years. The University found it extremely difficult to retain competent clerical staff members because its salaries were not competitive with the private sector. When the Regents considered in 1980 asking for supplemental funding to raise the salaries of civil service employees, Watkins indicated that Illinois State was experiencing a nearly 32 percent annual turnover rate, which made it impossible for the University to operate efficiently.

Retirees fared far worse. In 1978 the annual pension increment they received from the State University Retirement System (SURS) was raised from 2 percent to 3 percent, paid for by an increase in the employees' contribution to SURS; but that increase was calculated each year on the person's initial rather than their current pension. The purchasing power of the retirees' pensions was thus reduced by at least 50 percent between 1971 and 1981. Retirees, many of whom had been hired during the Depression and who had never been paid very much, were reduced to near penury if they did not have alternative sources of income.

The erosion of faculty salaries was a national problem. Watkins liked to cite an article in the January 15, 1979 issue of *Time*, which identified professors as the group that had suffered in the preceding ten years the largest decline in their real income, 17.5 percent, according to the magazine's calculations. In contrast, the real

income of steelworkers, after taxes and inflation, had risen 32 percent. The faculty at the Regency universities, especially at Illinois State, fared even worse than their colleagues at other universities, including such former teachers colleges as Ball State, Eastern Michigan, and Kent State. Faculty salaries at Illinois State had been closest to the national average in FY71 and FY72, but had lost ground ever since. For example, in FY72 the average salary of a full professor at Illinois State had been 95.8 percent of the compensation in comparable institutions but the professors' salaries were only 91.6 percent of the national average by FY76. Whereas faculty salaries at Northern were second only to the University of Illinois among the State's public universities, Illinois State ranked eighth. The average faculty salary in the Regency system in FY76 was \$17,000, though some very senior professors earned between \$25,000 and \$30,000.

The Board's annual requests for salary increments bore no resemblance to the final outcome. For example, the Regents asked for an 8 percent increase in FY77, though there were projections that the cost of living increase might be as high as 14.2 percent; the IBHE trimmed the recommendation to 7 percent; the General Assembly approved a 5 percent raise; Governor Daniel Walker (1973–77) used his line-item veto to reduce the increase to 3 percent; the General Assembly overrode the governor's veto; but the additional 2 percent raise went in effect only on December 1, 1976.²⁸ Holderman's 1972 prognostication "that the fat years for college professors are over" was proven sadly true. Genteel poverty became a way of life, and some faculty members made ends meet by painting houses during the summer or selling real estate or shoes.

In one of his more bizarre fulminations, Shuman declared that the faculty shared some of the blame for the inflation, which was caused by "excessive government spending," to which they contributed; but most of his colleagues were increasingly sympathetic to the faculty's financial plight. J. Robert Barr, the Board's chair, commented in 1976 that while the cost-of-living arguments for raising faculty salaries were true enough, "it would make a stronger case for the Board to argue on behalf of the faculty that not only has our income shrunk in terms of purchasing power, but our faculties are so darn good that on any sound system of compensating people, they deserve more money than they are now getting." He suggested that if the Regents were unable to obtain adequate increments for the faculty, they might seek to improve the faculty's fringe benefits, especially for retirees and those approaching retirement.

Already in FY75 the Regents had decided to grant partial tuition waivers to the dependent children of current and deceased employees. Fringe benefits, which had amounted to only 10 to 13 percent of the faculty's compensation in 1950, rose to nearly 25 percent in 1974, and around 30 percent in 1981. To make up for inadequate raises, the General Assembly voted in 1983 to pay university employees, either when they resigned or retired, half of the unused sick leave they had accrued since January 1, 1984.²⁹ This unfunded mandate has proven highly costly, and the University has been forced to keep vacant faculty lines open for at least a year after a person's retirement to meet this obligation. The State no longer compensates employees for sick leave accumulated after December 1997, but the obligation to pay for sick leave accrued between 1984 and 1997 remains.

Even worse, the State balanced the budget, to the increasing consternation of the Board, by not funding SURS at actuarially sound levels. (University employees are not eligible for Social Security.) Employees paid 8 percent of their gross salary into the system; the State, like a private employer in the Social Security System, was required to match this with a 12.66 percent contribution. The two parties' contributions were supposed to be invested and the income used to pay the pensions, but each year the State, in quick budgetary fixes, reduced its co-payment. For example, in FY81 the State contributed only 9 percent. As a result of these underpayments, SURS's unfunded obligations rose from \$143 million in 1967 to \$850 million in 1979. The State has continued to shortchange SURS. For instance, in FY89, it was funding "the retirement system at 44 percent of payout [that is, the State was paying into SURS only 44 cents for each dollar it expended on pensions], the lowest level that has ever existed in Illinois," even though the Regents had been informed in 1982: "67 percent is a rough rule of thumb as a very good actuarial level for the pension system to be in, depending on turnover and dropout rate . . . and actuaries consider anything below about 60 percent as really getting quite dangerous." In 2006 SURS had an unfunded liability of seven billion dollars.³⁰ The politicians' perennial shortsightedness has imposed an enormous burden on future generations of taxpayers.

✂ TUITION AND FEE INCREASES

Since increases in state appropriations did not keep pace with inflation and were insufficient to fund new initiatives, the only way the Board and University could finance the operation of the institution was by cutting costs—though it became increasingly difficult to find any "fat" in the budget—by internal reallocations, and by raising tuition. As we have already seen, in 1968 the Regents had raised tuition, which had been fixed since the early 1950s at \$120 a year, to \$195 a year in FY70 and had determined to make additional increases in the following years until in-state students were paying 20 percent of the instructional cost. In 1971 the IBHE decided that it was reasonable to charge students 33 percent of the cost of their education and prodded the BOR to increase tuition in FY72 to \$404 a year. At that time Charles Morris, the president of the Academic Senate, asked the Regents to consider "the effect of placing the burden of increased costs in education on the undergraduate student."

Tuition remained at \$404 through the 1976–77 school year (FY77), even though the Regency universities should have been charging by then \$529 a year if tuition had kept up with the rate of inflation. After much debate tuition was increased in FY78 to \$500, which amounted in 1977–78 to approximately 31.5 percent of the instructional cost. In 1979 the IBHE directed the universities to raise tuition every year, based upon "some kind of cost of living index, higher education index, or consumer price index." Regent James M. Paterson thought "that it would be a fairer policy for all students to gradually increase tuition and have everyone take his share, rather than to wait five or six years and then have some future student body have to help catch up." Thereafter yearly tuition increases were the norm.

Every proposal to raise tuition set off a lengthy, predictable debate among the Board members. Student regents—and they were remarkably good advocates for their position—complained about the unfairness of shifting the burden of the cost of higher education to the students and raised the issue of affordability

and access for poorer students and minorities. For example, in 1977 when the Board considered raising tuition at the Regency universities to \$500 a year, Dale Pierson, the student Regent from Northern, argued that “minority students and the disadvantaged . . . would be hit hardest by [the] financial barriers being erected.” The other regents expressed their sympathies but insisted they had no other alternative if the universities were to continue functioning. Shuman, always the contrarian, maintained in the same 1977 debate that low tuition was really a subsidy for middle-class families who sent their children to public universities and that increases to the state scholarship fund would offset the added cost for lower income students. The following year, after Watkins said that to assure open access, “there is probably nothing more effective in many ways than low tuition,” Regent Martin countered: “he [Watkins] is dead wrong for the simple reason that money that is put into improving the access of students to higher education on the basis of need is targeted on the people who need it. Money that is put into the provision of access on the basis of low tuition for everyone is put into the hands of lots of people who do not need it.”³¹

In hindsight it is clear that both sides were right. The demographic profile of the Illinois State student body in the fall of 2006 indicates that affordability has become a major issue for minorities and for all students from poorer families. Shuman’s and Martin’s arguments anticipated President Thomas Wallace’s thesis in 1993 that a large proportion of the students at selective public institutions came from affluent families who could pay more and that increased financial aid, funded by higher tuition, rather than low tuition was the key to keeping public universities accessible to poorer students.

The problem was that financial aid was subject to the same fiscal restraints as the rest of the higher education budget, and such assistance increasingly took the form of loans rather than direct aid. In 1958 the State had established the Illinois State Scholarship Commission (ISSC) to provide financial assistance to students who were attending both private and public institutions. Approximately 70 percent of the aid was funneled, to the Regents’ annoyance, to students who matriculated at private colleges and who often received better financial packages from the privates than from the state schools. In FY75, when tuition was \$404 a year, the average grant at Illinois State, derived from a combination of federal, state, and institutional funds, was \$141 a year. Approximately 29,000 students at the three Regency universities, two-thirds of the entire student body, were the beneficiaries of such aid in FY80; but a lack of funds forced the ISSC to stop processing applications on August 25, 1980, threatening 12,000 students with a loss of assistance. After a shortfall in funding the ISSC, Illinois State was forced to collect in 1982, despite the bitter objections of the Regents and Watkins, \$169,000 that had been granted the preceding school year to approximately 2,000 students, some of whom had already graduated. Any money the University failed to recoup was deducted from its state appropriation in FY82. As Watkins put it: “[t]o assume that institutions can effect a payment to them...one would have to also believe in the tooth fairy...”³²

The ISSC administered two major programs: the Monetary Award Program (MAP) and the Guaranteed Loan Program (GLP). In FY85 over 100,000 students in Illinois, nearly 8,000 of them at the Regency universities, received direct assistance through MAP; but funding such grants did not keep up with demand.

The number of applications for such aid rose from about 160,000 in 1981 to an anticipated 322,000 in 1985. Without a corresponding increase in funding, the ISSC was forced to lower the size of the maximum award, to set earlier dates for processing applications, and to manipulate the formula for determining eligibility. Confronted with rising costs and less direct aid, students were compelled to take out loans through the GLP. Loans exceeded gifts for the first time in 1983 as the largest form of state assistance. Between 1966, when the GLP was initiated, and 1981, the ISSC had guaranteed one billion dollars in loans; by December 1985 it had guaranteed its three billionth dollar. The lucky recipient was a student at Illinois State.³³

The combination of yearly tuition increases and insufficient direct financial assistance has made Illinois State less egalitarian and has left many graduates in debt. However, it must be stressed that students at Illinois State have fared better than students at other institutions and have not been saddled with an excessive burden of debt. For example, 2,416 undergraduates out of 4,196 graduates in FY06, or 58 percent of the degree recipients, graduated in 2005–06 with an average debt of \$16,035, less than the cost of most new cars. In February 2007 *Kiplinger's* magazine, which had taken into account such factors as academic test scores, financial aid, in-state and out-of-state costs, and academic quality at 500 public universities, ranked Illinois State 74th, down from 83rd the previous year, as a best value in education. The only other institution in the State among the top 100 was the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign. Ominously, because of the State's persistent financial problems, Illinois State dropped in January 2008 to 100th.³⁴

In addition to the steady rise in tuition, the IBHE forced students to assume a greater share of the cost of their education in the form of higher charges for room and board. In 1978 the higher board proposed that general revenue funds cease being used to pay the cost of utilities in the residence halls and that this cost, a total of seven million dollars for all the public universities, be passed on to the students. Matsler and Watkins feared that increasing tuition and room and board simultaneously by large amounts would make the Regency universities less attractive to students. Watkins was especially concerned that the predicted 11 to 20 percent drop in high school enrollments by 1985 would leave the universities with empty dorm rooms and no way to pay off the bondholders. Shuman sympathized with their contentions, which the student Regents repeated; but, in another version of his argument against low tuition, he insisted that students who lived off campus did not benefit from this diversion of state funds to cover the living expenses of the 7,800 students at Illinois State who resided in the dorms and that such indiscriminate subsidies were not the best way to assist poorer students.

The new utility charge was phased in over a five-year period, starting in FY81. Room and board was increased in \$75-a-year increments for five years with an annual adjustment for inflation on top of the regular adjustments to cover the increased costs of operation. The IBHE withdrew another proposal that the residents of the dormitories also assume the cost of the fringe benefits paid to the employees who worked in the residence halls, in particular the three million dollars the Regency universities contributed each year to SURS on the employees' behalf. In FY78 the rent for a multiple occupancy room with twenty meals a week was \$672 a semester; the same room with eighteen meals cost \$1,095 a semester in FY85.³⁵

Raising funds from private donors to compensate for the decline in state support was not a seriously considered alternative in this period. Budig proudly informed the Regents that there had been a 50 percent increase in the number of donors in FY76 and that the balance in the Foundation had risen from \$881,494 at the beginning of the fiscal year to \$923,158. There was only \$438,825 in Northern's account. Three-quarters of the Foundation's distributions went to scholarships for students. At the end of the 1985 fiscal year, Watkins reported that in addition to the \$555,000 that had already been pledged toward the construction of the arena, there had been a 34 percent increase in the total number of dollars raised. Eighty individuals, the members of the President's Club, later known as the Old Main Society, had committed themselves to give a \$1,000 a year for ten years or \$10,000.³⁶

The fundraising drive on behalf of the arena was thus a major breakthrough in the University's institutional culture, but private donations for other purposes, though clearly increasing, were still only of marginal importance. The best explanation why Illinois State did not seek help from its alumni or its own retirees is that poorly paid teachers did not appear to be a very likely source of money. Of course, there were exceptions; for example, both Lucy Lucille Tasher and Helen Cavanagh, retired History department faculty, bequeathed several hundred thousand dollars for departmental scholarships.

The University was also slow in seeking grants from external agencies. In 1975 the University received a four-year grant of \$367,000 from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, the largest such gift until then in its history, to establish a teaching-learning and faculty development center to assist faculty in improving their pedagogical skills and to retrain faculty whose field of expertise was no longer in great demand. The center assisted between 350 and 400 faculty members in 1978 and 1979. Revealingly, the skeptical Regents, two years later, had little comprehension about the purpose of the Kellogg Grant and feared that it would entail additional expenditures by the State. David Murray, the chair, commented after an explanation by Provost Horner: "this is the first explanation it [the Board] has received of what this whole thing is all about."³⁷

Watkins reminded the Regents in 1987 that when he assumed the presidency, the University was being criticized "about the sparse amount of money" it "received in grants and contracts." The Board's own obtuseness was partially to blame for this failure. For example, Watkins informed the Board in 1979 that one of the most distinguished members of the faculty, Arlan Richardson, who had a joint appointment in Biology and Chemistry, had received a grant in excess of \$250,000 from the National Institute of Health and the Institute for Aging and that the Peoria *Journal-Star* had hailed Richardson's work. Shuman responded that while he was "not technically qualified to evaluate some of these grants . . . some of them sound very ridiculous." He wondered whether the Regents were not "participating in grant programs that in many cases might just be a boondoggle for passing out money from the federal government." In spite of this lack of encouragement, the University received \$2.7 million in external funding in FY80, a 35 percent increase over the preceding year, and more than \$5 million in FY87. The new focus on procuring grants can be seen in the change of the Graduate Dean's title in 1985 to Associate Provost for Research and Dean of Graduate Studies.³⁸ So

Watkins did steer the University in a new direction in seeking funding from both donors and external agencies.

The specter of financial exigency haunted the University in the 1970s and '80s. Matsler advised the Board in 1975 that it would be best to prepare "some guidelines for the emergency reduction, if that became necessary, of academic staff and possibly administrators" in anticipation of the decline in enrollments after 1980. It was best, the executive director said, to act when they faced no "immediate threat" and could do so "without emotion." Matsler could be stoic about such an exercise, but the drafting of such guidelines inevitably aroused the faculty's fears and raised difficult questions about the balance between seniority, institutional needs, and affirmative action for women and minorities. As Shuman put it in his inimitable fashion: "He would not want to see the Board in a position of cutting people who are essential to the quality of education while we keep other 'old duffers' just because they have been sitting there a long time." The executive director, worried by the darkening financial outlook for FY83, recommended in March 1982 that while the universities were not "in a state of formal financial exigency," it would be best to review the guidelines in case they needed to be activated. Once again, the Regents and faculty representatives on the Joint University Advisory Committee, fearful of a mid-year rescission in FY83, debated how to implement such a policy.³⁹ Such discussions were hardly good for faculty and staff morale.

5 ENROLLMENTS

The ghost that never materialized was the oft-invoked decline in enrollment in the 1980s. Although there was a record enrollment of 19,576 students in August 1979, the Board chair, David Murray, still worried about facing "the challenges of the '80s with their decreasing enrollments." As late as 1983, Richard Wagner, the executive director of the IBHE, was talking about a 20 to 25 percent drop in the next five years. There were some skeptical voices. Regent Martin in 1980 called such projections "science fiction." "How," he wondered, "can we possibly project with any credibility?" In 1981 Illinois State student regent, Linda Kingman, pointed out: "Given...the economy...more people tend to go to school because they can't find jobs." To reduce costs at Illinois State and Northern and to pressure students to attend less popular schools, the IBHE in 1980 initiated a policy of limiting enrollment growth at the Regency universities.⁴⁰

Enrollment management proved totally ineffectual. Although the University closed freshmen admissions in May 1980, 141 additional students registered in the fall because of better retention. Enrollment dropped by 238 students the following year, but in 1985, the year when enrollments had been expected to drop precipitously, Illinois State enjoyed its third straight year of record enrollments and was second only to the University of Illinois in the number of undergraduates. In contrast, enrollments had declined at Southern and at the Board of Governors' universities. Total fall registration in 1985 was 20,419, including exactly 3,900 freshmen. Graduate enrollments had increased from 2,084 to 2,166. There had been a small decline in the College of Business, but with 4,973 students it was still the largest college. Arts and Sciences, the second largest, had grown by nearly 400 students, to 4,843. The next year it overtook Business.

Minorities comprised 9.1 percent of the student body in 1985. The University made special efforts to recruit black students. With the help of Regent Clara Fitzpatrick, an African American, the Office of Admissions obtained in 1982 the assistance of minority business, professional, and community leaders around the State, a group known as the “ISU Associates,” to encourage minority students to come to Normal. In 1984 the University started the “Minority Professional Opportunities” program that was designed for academically talented students. In spite of these determined efforts, black enrollment declined from 1,230 in 1984 to 1,207 in 1985. However, there were 485 Asian and Hispanic students at the University in 1987, more than double their number in 1976; but black enrollments continued to plummet. In the fall of 1988, when Thomas Wallace assumed the presidency, the number of new black students had dropped from 380 in 1987 to 234 and the total black population had fallen 11 percent, from 1,150 to 1,025. Since black enrollments had increased at Northern, the drop cannot be ascribed solely to tuition hikes.

Illinois State’s popularity, among non-black students, was due to its proximity to the Chicago metropolitan area and the increasing number of non-traditional students who were returning to school. By 1987, nearly five thousand students, 20 percent of the students, were over twenty-five (in 2006, only 7.9 percent of the undergraduates fell into this category). The University had become, as was said with increasing frequency, “a school of choice.”⁴¹

Since the number of freshmen applications had increased from 12,267 in 1985 to 13,502 in 1986, the University introduced in FY87 even more stringent admission standards. The minimum ACT score for admission, which had already been raised from 12 to 14, was increased to 16. The average ACT score of an entering freshman in the United States as well as in Illinois was approximately 18.6 or 18.7. At Illinois State in 1986 the score was around 21, although about 300 students, about 9 percent of the freshmen class, had been “specially admitted.” (The average ACT score of freshmen at the University in 2007 was 24.2.)

In spite of the efforts to control the admission of freshmen, Illinois State again had a record number of undergraduates, 19,597, in Fall 1987, the last year of Watkins’ presidency. The total enrollment was a record 22,041. The 3.1 percent increase in enrollments over 1986 was due primarily to an improvement in the retention rate. The graduation rate at Illinois State in FY88 was 55 percent, but, less encouragingly, only 27 percent of the black students in the Regency universities, which had the lowest percentage of minority students of the five systems, earned a degree.⁴² The 1980s were thus at Illinois State, unlike many other universities, a period of growing enrollments and some improvement in the caliber of the students. The one dark spot was the failure to improve the recruitment and retention of African American students.

6 TENURE

Economic hard times and the fear of declining enrollments made tenure a contentious issue in the 1970s. Some of the Regents, particularly Shuman, perceived tenure as protecting “deadheads” and as robbing the universities of the flexibility they needed to adapt to changing student demand and societal needs, whereas the faculty feared for their livelihood. The discussion at the board meeting on April 16, 1976, was typical of many such exchanges. Shuman blamed

the tenure system for the low number of minority and women faculty members and pressed for a periodic review of faculty performance to terminate individuals who were “no longer competent.” Budig explained that tenured faculty members at Illinois State were subject to an annual review of their research as well as their teaching and that the Regents “might be amazed to find out what they do go through presently.” Shuman responded that “his contacts” informed him that these reviews were “quite often . . . perfunctory and everyone is ‘o.k.’” Charles Hicklin, a member of the Joint University Advisory Committee, retorted that the faculty at Illinois State thought that the review process “is too probing and too personal.”

Regent Dan Martin asked Hicklin if any tenured professors at Illinois State had ever “been found wanting through this annual evaluation and whose appointments have been terminated . . .” Hicklin replied that “attempts to dismiss tenured faculty at ISU have been more associated with their personal beliefs or political affiliations, rather than teaching competency and, of course, that is what tenure is all about” and cited the cases of two tenured professors at Stanford who had been dismissed. At that point the exasperated chair, Robert Barr, exploded:

it gets very irritating to sit as a member of this Board year after year and attempt to ask questions of policy . . . and get no answers to the questions asked . . . but only to hear the history of tenure, how one man fifty years ago at Stanford was fired because he was a Communist, about how terrible it is to be always picked on, how we are so deprived and underprivileged—and furthermore, that it’s none of our business.

Martin, following up on Hicklin’s statement, wanted to know whether any faculty members had been terminated at Illinois State for their political beliefs. Hicklin indicated that “it was a matter of public record that his own tenure had been attacked during the previous [Berlo] administration.” In the end Scott Eatherly of English, the chair of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee at Illinois State, conceded that while the performance of one faculty member, presumably Carroll Cox, had been carefully scrutinized because of his political beliefs, no tenured faculty member had been dismissed at Illinois State in the preceding fifteen years.⁴³ Neither side understood the other.

During his last two years on the Board Shuman voted against all recommendations to grant tenure to faculty members because tenure had become “a protectionist device,” and “a young professor’s unemployment device,” comparable to “high protective tariffs, import quotas or minimum wage laws,” which was “not fulfilling its purpose” and was “handicapping our universities.” After his departure in 1980, tenure ceased to be of great concern to the Board; but the real reason may be that the Regents lost interest when the feared decline in enrollment did not materialize. Shuman’s final comment to his colleagues after his resignation was that “if ever the Board gets in a spot for a ‘No’ vote, they could count on him at any time.”⁴⁴

The Regents were concerned that the faculty would become “tenured in” as the numerous hires of the 1960s obtained tenure and that the universities would lose the institutional flexibility to adjust to changes in programmatic needs and student demand. The percentage of tenured faculty members at Illinois State increased from 52 percent in FY74 to 63 percent by FY77, but that proved to be the peak. By FY88 only 59 percent of the faculty was tenured, and it was predicted that the percentage would drop in the next five years to 55 percent, presumably as the

cohort hired in the 1960s began to retire. The national average in 1988 was 70 percent. To prevent the University from becoming top heavy with tenured senior faculty, Illinois State made considerable use of cheaper temporary faculty. In Fall 1981, 23.74 percent of the full-time faculty was in the temporary category. For example, History, which became completely “tenured in,” was not permitted for several years in the 1980s to hire an East Asian or an economic historian on a tenure-track line.⁴⁵

In 1981 Illinois State had 2,560 employees: 70 were classified as administrators with academic rank; 38 as administrators without academic rank; 986 as faculty; 259 as non-faculty professionals (today’s AP’s), e.g., advisers; 421 as secretarial/clerical; 184 as technical/paraprofessional; 87 as skilled crafts; and 515 as service/maintenance. Of these, 1,406 were male, 1,154 female. Not surprisingly, 61 of the 70 administrators with academic rank were men, but 408 of the 421 secretaries were women. By race, 2,395 were white (94 percent), 93 were black, 23 Hispanic, 39 Asian or Pacific Islanders, and ten American Indian. The largest number of blacks (27) and Hispanics (10) were employed in the service/maintenance sector.

There were 546 tenured faculty members (423 men or 77 percent and 123 women), 167 tenure-track faculty (121 men or 72 percent and 46 women), and 273 temporaries (124 men or 45 percent and 149 women). The tenured faculty consisted of 251 professors (217 men or 86 percent and 34 women), 190 associate professors (146 men or 77 percent and 44 women), and 105 assistant professors (60 men or 56 percent and 45 women). Of these, 522 or 96 percent were white, nine black, three Hispanic, eleven Asian or Pacific Islanders, and one American Indian. There were 167 tenure-track faculty, that is, the most recent hires (121 men or 72 percent and 46 women). Of these, 155 (93 percent) were white, four black, and eight Asian or Pacific Islanders; there was not a single non-white, woman tenure-track faculty member. The temporary faculty consisted of 254 whites (93 percent), ten blacks, two Hispanics, and seven Asians or Pacific Islanders.⁴⁶

The University was thus in 1981 an overwhelmingly white, and in the case of the tenured faculty, male institution. More women faculty were being hired—only 14 percent of the professors were women, but 28 percent of the tenure-track faculty were—but progress was slow. A disproportionate number of the temporaries (55 percent) and of the tenured assistant professors (46 percent) were women. (Today it is virtually impossible to receive tenure as an assistant professor.)

There have been some notable changes in the demographic profile of the faculty and staff in the following quarter century, although the readily available data are not always comparable and do not always compute in the same way. In Fall 2006, the University had 3,341 employees, 781 more than in 1981, an increase that cannot be explained by a comparable increase in the size of the student body. Of these 1,557 were men (47 percent v. 55 percent in 1981) and 1,784 women; and 2,952 were white, non-Hispanics (88 percent v. 94 percent in 1981). There were 1,085 faculty members, 661 administrative/professionals, and 1,370 civil service employees. Excluding the faculty in the library and in the lab schools, there were 951 departmental faculty. In the latter group there were 691 tenure and tenure-track faculty (416 men or 60 percent and 275 women) versus 713 in 1981—the latter figure may include non-departmental faculty—of whom, 544 or 76 percent had been male. There were 260 temporaries or 27 percent of the departmental

faculty v. 24 percent a quarter century earlier. Ninety-nine of the temporaries in 2006 were men (38 percent v. 45 percent in 1981). The 856 full-time faculty, both tenure/tenure-track and temporary, consisted of 732 white, non-Hispanics (86 percent v. 94 percent in 1981).⁴⁷

In spite of the differences in the way that the data were reported, it is clear that there has been a feminization of the University staff between 1981 and 2006. Overall, women employees are now in the majority (53 percent of the 3,341 employees); and 40 percent of the tenure and tenure-track faculty, instead of the 24 percent in 1981, are women. The ranks of the temporary faculty have become even more disproportionately female, 66 percent versus 55 percent in 1981. The faculty is less white today, but still more reflective of the racial composition of Central Illinois than of the nation as a whole. Much remains to be done if gender and racial equality is to become a reality.

7 LLOYD WATKINS

These financial and demographic realities formed the backdrop for Watkins' presidency. Since both the presidents of Northern and Sangamon resigned in the spring of 1978 during his first year in office, he was the senior of the three Regency presidents for ten out of the eleven years of his tenure. Watkins had a very good working relationship with the Board, even when he was defending the particular interests of Illinois State. The Regents raised his salary from \$44,000 in FY78 to \$48,500 in FY79 (the average faculty salary in FY78 was \$19,455) to indicate their satisfaction with his performance; there is no comparable example, to my knowledge, of the Board demonstrating publicly its pleasure in this manner. In announcing in 1981 the results of the Regents' annual evaluation of Watkins, the Board chair, Murray, summarized their findings thus: "he is a strong and able advocate for the university, a strong and able administrator and academic leader... there is no stronger advocate for a better, more equitable salary structure... The President was especially complimented for his abilities in external affairs and his relationship with the community and with the government... and has maintained excellent morale among the personnel." Murray said in his final remarks to the Board in 1985, after his resignation, that he "thought the leadership and faculty at Illinois State University had never been stronger and more positive."⁴⁸ In his style Watkins was, in many ways, an academic version of Lyndon Johnson at his best.

When the Regents met in Normal, Watkins liked to introduce prominent members of the faculty to the Board and to highlight the professor's accomplishments. For example, in 1982 the president focused on the work of Edward L. Schapsmeier, Distinguished Professor of History, whose co-authored, two-volume biography of Vice President Henry Wallace had been nominated for a Pulitzer Prize. Each Regent received a copy of Schapsmeier's latest book. Such gestures flattered the honorees and countered the Regents' negative views of faculty scholarship that had been expressed so frequently and vocally by Shuman.

Watkins took special pride in the accomplishments of Illinois State's thespians. In 1984 he read to the Regents a lengthy excerpt from a review in *Newsweek* about John Malkovich's performance in *Places in the Heart* (Class of 1976). The president reminded the Board that Judith Ivey, Class of 1973, Honorary Degree, 2000, "another major presence on Broadway," had also begun her career at Illinois State and that many graduates of the University's theatrical program performed

at the Steppenwolf Theater in Chicago, which was run by alumni. By 1991, 30 to 35 percent of all theater majors at public universities in Illinois were matriculating at Illinois State; and the *Chicago Tribune* wrote that the University's program was better than those at Northwestern and the University of Chicago. To acquaint the Regents personally with the University's productions, Watkins took them in July 1984 to a performance at the Shakespeare Festival at Ewing Manor in Bloomington, which Hazle Buck Ewing had bequeathed to the University in 1969 for use as a School of Nations Museum and which became in 1978 the site of the annual summer festival. The next morning Watkins gave each Regent a brass rubbing of The Bard.⁴⁹

♂ WET NORMAL

Watkins' termination of the Rites of Spring, ten days after he assumed the presidency in July 1977, was a clear signal that the University would no longer tolerate the worst student excesses. In 1973, when prohibition ended in Normal and the legal drinking age had been lowered to nineteen, the University permitted students who were of age to consume alcohol in their dormitory rooms and to hold parties in the residence hall lounges as long as the cost of the alcohol was less than half of the total cost of the event. The selling of alcohol at such parties violated local liquor laws, and intoxicated students got into fights and caused considerable property damage. Walker Hall became notorious as the University's "animal house." Each spring every one of Walker's male residents was encouraged on "case day" to consume a case of beer in the course of the day. To prepare for this prodigious feat, each floor conducted a separate practice session in the fall. During Watkins' first year as president, the Office of Residential Life, in spite of protests by outraged students, banned beer kegs in the dorms and allowed only "bring your own" affairs in designated areas. At the same time the number of quiet floors in the residence halls was increased from three to eleven and special floors for honors and art students were established.

In 1979 the legislature raised the legal drinking age to twenty-one, suddenly depriving a considerable portion of the student body of a privilege they had already exercised. During the spring and summer of 1980, after the new law had gone into effect, students who were twenty-one or older, 14.7 percent of the dormitory residents, were permitted to drink in their own rooms and in the rooms of other students who were of legal age. The consumption of alcohol was no longer allowed, however, in public areas. As of the fall of 1980, Residential Life further restricted drinking to designated living areas. Drinking like smoking had become a lifestyle issue. Illinois State's student regent, Kevin Conlon, tried to get the Regents to overrule the new policy, which had Watkins' support; but while some Board members sympathized with the students, the Regents backed the president's decision. In a further blow to the drinking culture on campus, International House was relocated in 1982 from Fell to Walker and the grieving students staged a mock funeral.⁵⁰

The venue for drinking shifted to the bars, apartments, fraternities, and sororities that surrounded the campus. Outdoor beer parties, attended by hundreds of noisy students who milled around the streets, first became a major issue in August 1979. There were numerous arrests for violations of local ordinances and disorderly

conduct. The problem intensified in the spring of 1980, after the legal drinking age had been raised to twenty-one; and relations between the students and the Normal police deteriorated. On the night of September 26, 1980, Normal and University police, under the leadership of Chief Richard McGuire of Normal, broke up the parties. The next day forty students marched on City Hall to protest police tactics and to demand the chief's resignation. Fifteen hundred protesting students marched through the streets of Normal on the night of October 2 and, prevented from reaching Watkins' home on Gregory, blocked the intersection of College and Main for nearly an hour.

The events of October 2 prompted cooperative efforts by student leaders and University and town officials to deal with underage drinking and violations of town ordinances. The University intensified its informational campaign about alcohol abuse, more alternative campus social activities were planned, and a student party patrol joined the police in controlling noisy parties. Complaints lessened for a while, but partying became a major issue again in the fall of 1982. The new police chief of Normal, David Lehr, employed undercover agents to ascertain the identity of underage drinkers and party organizers who were selling beer illegally. The following year student leaders and the *Vidette* protested against such surveillance and a proposed mass gathering ordinance, while the townspeople, especially those who lived north of campus and who were most affected by the unruly crowds, demanded the enforcement of the existing laws. In the summer of 1984 the town council passed the ordinance and banned the late-evening sale of beer kegs. Students, inflamed by provocative editorials in the *Vidette*, asserted their constitutional right to party, while the town was equally determined to enforce the laws. Although the University could educate students about alcohol use and condemn illegal activities, it had no legal authority over the conduct of students who lived off campus.

The situation deteriorated rapidly in the fall of 1984. Two thousand student fans celebrated the Cubs' divisional championship on September 24 by rampaging through downtown Normal. On October 3 a small group of students gathered in the Quad to protest the anti-drinking laws, and, emboldened by beer, swelled into a mob of perhaps two thousand who battled town, county, and University police in the streets. Watkins twice tried to get them to disperse. The rioters attacked town property, causing an estimated \$10,000 in damages. Three students and two policemen were taken to the emergency room. The next day Normal made the national news. In spite of the negative publicity, the parties continued after October 3 and the police stepped up their enforcement of the laws; but no one listened to self-serving student politicians who complained about police "brutality."⁵¹ Jesse Fell and Raymond Fairchild would have been aghast as would the students who protested against racial discrimination and the Vietnam War in the 1960s.

9 ACADEMIC QUALITY

In another backlash against the indulgence of the 1960s and the vocationalism of the 1970s, the University under Watkins' leadership sought to raise academic standards. As we have already seen, the minimum ACT score required for admission increased in the mid-1980s from twelve to fourteen and then in 1987 to sixteen, scores, which experience indicated, gave freshmen a fifty-fifty chance of earning

at least a 2.0 grade point average at the end of their first semester. Even the imposition of these minimum ACT scores had been controversial because, it was argued, they would disproportionately exclude African Americans.

In 1985 the IBHE mandated minimum requirements for admission to a college or senior public university in Illinois: four years of high school English (emphasizing written and oral communication and literature); three of social studies (emphasizing history and government); three of mathematics (introductory to advanced algebra, geometry, trigonometry, or fundamentals of computer programming); three of laboratory sciences; and two years of electives in foreign languages, music, or art. High school students who had not done all of this course work could be admitted provisionally until the standards became mandatory throughout the State. Admissions counselors at Illinois State estimated that in 1985 fewer than 25 percent of the freshmen met these criteria. Implementation of these requirements posed considerable problems: smaller and poorer school districts did not have the resources or staff to offer all these subjects; many minority and returning older students had not done the newly mandated course work; and the standards needed to be applied also to transfer students from community colleges. For these reasons, the imposition of these requirements upon all entering freshmen at the public universities was postponed from 1990 to 1993.⁵²

The University had already tightened its general education requirements. In 1958 the Normal University had established a highly prescriptive, fifty-two-hour general education program, which permitted students to take only two electives. During the 1960s this program, which was renamed University Studies in 1973, was made progressively less rigorous. The required hours had been reduced to forty-two in five groups, and students could choose from 530 “general education” courses, substitute other work for the required courses, and craft their own “individualized” program.

Watkins and many faculty members found this watered down program unacceptable, and after much debate a new forty-eight-hour University Studies program was adopted in October 1979. Students were required to take courses in eight categories. Six were traditional: Communication Studies, Humanistic Studies, Natural Sciences Studies, Quantitative and Logical Studies, Social Science and Psychological Studies, and Aesthetic Studies; but two were new. All students also needed six hours in Contemporary Life Studies, where they were to gain an “understanding of the use of liberal studies in applied areas in order to deal creatively and realistically with personal, community, national, and international concerns.” Group Seven was basically an attempt to involve the faculty in the Colleges of Applied Science and Technology and Business in the general education program. The eighth group, three hours in Nonwestern Culture and Traditions, the first major attempt to diversify and internationalize the curriculum, was the most innovative component.

The program had some obvious weaknesses; for example, students could graduate with only six hours of science and three of mathematics. Over the next two decades the number of university studies courses, especially in Group Seven, proliferated; and students’ course selections were often based on what days and hours classes were taught and upon the availability of seats rather than any coherent vision of the content of a well-rounded, integrated liberal education. Still, as Watkins said

in 1980: “This revision adds new rigor and coherence to our general education program and affirms . . . that we are vitally concerned with academic standards at Illinois State University.”⁵³

There were other halting steps toward improvement, evidence for how greatly academic standards had eroded in the preceding years. Students were able in the 1970s to withdraw from a course until two weeks before the end of the semester with a WF, a failing grade that was not used to calculate the recipient’s grade point average (GPA). Half the students dropped one or more courses each semester without incurring a penalty, except for the additional cost and the delay in their graduation. The Academic Standards Committee tried to limit the withdrawal period to six weeks, but all that could be gained in 1978 was the inclusion of the WF in the calculation of the student’s GPA. Equally controversial was a proposal in 1980 that freshmen and sophomores as well as upperclassmen maintain a C average, that is, a 2.0, to remain in academic good standing. Once again, it was argued that disadvantaged minority students would be the chief victims of the adoption of such a policy. It was finally agreed that freshmen would remain in good standing if they kept a 1.8; all others, after the fall of 1981, were required to have a 2.0.⁵⁴ Underlying the Senate’s hesitation to act was the fear that too rigorous requirements would cause an even greater drop in enrollments when the anticipated crunch came.

The perennial inadequacy of state funding and the shortsightedness of the Regents, and, even more, of the IBHE, hindered the development of new programs. There were some successes: for example, a minor in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) (1978); a Bachelor of Fine Arts in Theater (1979); a B.S. in Legal Studies and a M.S. in Health Education (1981); a minor in gerontology that was approved on a four-year trial basis in 1983; a M.A. in Foreign Languages (1983); a B.S. in International Business (1984); a B.A. and B.S. in Public Relations (1985); and a M.S. in Applied Computer Science (1986). A special victory was a joint Ed.D. with Northern in Special Education (1985). The Regents first approved a Ph.D. in School Psychology in 1984, but the proposed doctorate received final approval from the IBHE only in 1987, after the Commission of Scholars had rejected the initial proposal. Indicative of the shift in the political climate during the Reagan era was the creation of a Department of Military Sciences in 1982, followed by a minor four years later. It is hard to imagine that an ROTC unit could have been established on campus while the SDS was picketing military recruiters in the old student union during the Vietnam War.⁵⁵

The most notable failure was the IBHE’s rejection in 1980 of a two-year program that would have enabled registered nurses to complete the requirements for a bachelor’s degree in nursing. Felissa Cohen (now Felissa Lashley), Ph.D. 1973, who is currently the Dean of the College of Nursing at Rutgers University, had demonstrated in a meticulously prepared report the need for such a program in central Illinois. However, the IBHE, after initially even denying the need, concluded, in spite of outstanding presentations by BOR chair Murray and by Watkins, that the University of Illinois was better able to offer such work on an extension basis and that Illinois Wesleyan, which already had a baccalaureate nursing program, could satisfy any local demand for a two-year completion program. Whatever competing institutional interests may have been behind the IBHE’s decision, the higher board was opposed to any expansion of Illinois State’s narrowly prescribed

mission, which the IBHE had defined in 1976 in *Master Plan IV* “as a state and national leader in the art, science, and content of education at all levels.”⁵⁶

When Northern proposed in 1980 to offer a minor in women’s studies, the Regents’ own prejudices were on display. The Board staff had already discouraged Illinois State from preparing proposals to award bachelor’s and master’s degrees in women’s studies on the grounds that the field was not yet sufficiently developed to justify granting degrees in the area and that there was no discernable market for graduates. Regent James M. Paterson asked Roderick Groves, then a board staff member who was making the case for the minor, “if it did not bother . . . [his] conscience to suck someone in on a dead-end thing like this to get a degree.” Regent Martin observed: “Women’s Studies is really a frivolous proposition, even as a Minor [*sic*], and he does not see any rationale even for a course that is somehow outside the structure of a conventional department.” Clara S. Fitzpatrick countered that she had come to the meeting prepared to vote against the proposal, “but after listening to the . . . conversation and the frivolous way in which the subject was handled . . . maybe just as an educational tool this program ought to be approved.”⁵⁷ Such openly expressed prejudices constrained program development.

The BOR subjected existing programs to increasing scrutiny. For example, in 1978 the board staff recommended that the bachelor’s programs in Russian Studies at Illinois State and in Russian at Northern be suspended until the next program review because of insufficient enrollment. After Watkins objected that it was “a bit premature to strangle in its cradle” a program that had been initiated only the preceding year, the Board reluctantly agreed to put Russian Studies on probation for three years. In 1980 the IBHE called for a review of all the business programs in Illinois, the first time the higher board mandated a statewide program review. The Regents and the presidents were concerned about the potential blurring of the distinction between the BOR’s governing and the IBHE’s coordinating functions, but such statewide reviews of all programs are now undertaken on a regular, eight-year cyclical basis.⁵⁸

The raising of admissions standards, the revision of the university studies program, and the review of existing programs were part of a growing state and national concern with academic quality. The titles of two of the five chapters in Champagne’s 1989 history of the Watkins’ presidency, “Improving Academic Quality” and “Educational Reform,” reflect this preoccupation. The National Commission on Excellence in Education released its famous report, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, in the spring of 1983. It was thus hardly coincidental that executive director Matsler called upon the Board in May 1983 to undertake an “Evaluation of the Quality of Education in the Regency System” and listed sixteen topics for investigation, including such questions as whether there was too little emphasis on writing, whether the universities should foster “computer literacy,” and whether they should “introduce exit requirements in order to assure the basic competences of our graduates?” By January 1984 a subcommittee of the Board had completed its own preliminary investigation and charged the Regency universities to report back by December about “the incentives” they offered their “students and faculty for high quality performance and to recommend ways in which these could be enhanced.” The following January Watkins informed the Regents how Illinois State was spending the \$398,000 it had been “allocated for undergraduate program quality.” The University had used, for example, \$131,000

of this allocation, along with another \$200,000 it had received specifically for this purpose, to fund a writing across the curriculum program in the College of Arts and Sciences.⁵⁹

In the meantime the IBHE had initiated in October 1984 its own study of the quality of undergraduate education, originally rather narrowly focused on the major liberal arts disciplines. By the time the final report was released in September 1986, after two years of study and campus hearings, it dealt with a wide variety of issues: “admissions, general education, assessment, student achievement, and faculty support and excellence in teaching.” These findings determined the IBHE’s budgetary priorities.⁶⁰

On October 15, 1987, at the beginning of his last year as president, Watkins delivered a status report on undergraduate education at the University. “The quality of undergraduate education at ISU has been and continues to be,” he said, “one of the university’s primary concerns.” “The caring attitude” of the “administration, faculty and staff” began “before the students set foot on campus.” He mentioned the University’s brochures, the work of admission counselors, and the orientation, testing, and advising freshmen received during preview in the summer. Illinois State had developed strict guidelines about the number of credit hours freshmen could take, “not allowing people to bite off more than they can reasonably chew.” The University maintained a Center for Learning Assistance, which focused on classes freshmen found most difficult. To assure computer literacy, computers were being used in a highly innovative fashion in the teaching of English 101; and computer labs were located in various places, including the residence halls. “The general education program” was at “the core of the undergraduate experience at ISU.” Two of the eight categories in the program were evaluated every year on a rotating basis to assure its continued high quality.

The University, “[c]onsistent with the tradition of liberal education,” encouraged qualified students to study at one of nine study centers it maintained abroad (in Salzburg, Austria; Grenoble and Anger, France; Brighton, England; Nagoya, Japan; Paderborn, Germany; Stirling, Scotland; Florence, Italy; Seville, Spain; and Liaoning, China). That semester 950 students were enrolled in the honors program, which had been established in 1969; and the most academically gifted benefited from a special curriculum for presidential scholars. The University was developing “a comprehensive systematic program to assess [the] intellectual and personal development of students” in response to growing demands for accountability.

By 1989 the Regents, in response to an IBHE mandate, had issued a formal statement on the “Role of Assessment in Qualitative Improvement of Undergraduate Education.” It was to be an assessment of “student outcomes,” that is, the intellectual and personal values that had been added by students’ enrollment in general education or a particular major, rather than of an individual student’s progress or faculty member’s performance. In 1991 Chancellor Groves (1986–95) hailed Illinois State’s pilot assessment program as a model for the rest of the State.

There was one jarring note in the president’s otherwise glowing presentation in 1987. Watkins conceded that “[l]ack of mathematical competence is perhaps the greatest weakness of incoming students at universities throughout America and also at ISU.” Since an unspecified number of students were failing intermediate algebra—a course I took as a junior in high school in the 1950s—the University

had devised “a non-credit intensive algebra class with a laboratory” for students who needed “additional help with elementary mathematics.”⁶¹ Taking intermediate algebra to meet the three-hour general education requirement in mathematics did not do much to improve numeracy.

If graduation rates are any gauge of admission standards and the quality of undergraduate education, educators had cause for alarm. A 1992 IBHE study of students who had entered Illinois’ public universities in 1984 indicated that only 56.3 percent had earned a baccalaureate degree after *eight* years. The time-to-degree for minority students was even worse: 21.3 percent of first-time black freshmen and 29.4 percent of Hispanics had earned a degree in that time span. At Illinois State, 25 percent of all students finished in four years, 54 percent in eight; the comparable percentages at Northern were 23 percent and 52 percent.⁶² No wonder the quality of K-12 and undergraduate education was a major concern in the 1980s.

10 BUDGETARY CRISES

The two budgetary crises of the 1980s thwarted any chance at real improvement. In discussing the budget for FY81 (the 1980–81 school year) in May 1980, Matsler struck a mildly optimistic note. Higher education’s declining share of general revenue dollars had “bottomed off,” he thought, at 13 percent. Working perhaps on this assumption, the Board’s proposed budget in September 1980 for FY82 called for a 17.4 percent increase in the operating budget and a 14 percent increase in faculty and staff salaries. To place these proposed percentage increases into their fiscal context, the Carter administration predicted in the summer of 1980 that the rate of inflation in the coming year would be 12 percent and the year thereafter 10 percent. The Regents’ long term goal was to position faculty salaries, in several yearly increments that exceeded the rate of inflation, at the average compensation paid by the upper half of the Regency universities’ peer institutions.

By January 1981 it was clear that Matsler had misread the tea leaves. Not only had the IBHE reduced the salary hike to 10.5 percent, but it also indicated that some of the raise money would have to come from internal reallocations and, even more ominously, there were hints of further cuts. Illinois State finally received a 7.3 percent increase in its operating budget for FY82, including 8 percent for raises. However, these increases were financed not by an increase in the general revenue appropriation but by a 14 percent tuition hike. The University’s base budget had been cut, in fact, by \$815,000.⁶³

In spite of the bleak financial outlook, Watkins requested a 15 percent increase in Illinois State’s operating budget for FY83 (the 1982–83 school year) and nearly \$19 million in capital budget money, primarily to renovate Cook. In a letter to the Regents in September 1981, he decried, as was his wont, the system of incremental budgeting that consistently underfunded the University and the negative impact that such parsimony was having on morale. The BOR asked for a 14.7 percent increase in the operating budget and a 9.5 percent salary increase, plus another 2 percent to catch up with the Regency universities’ peer institutions. Matsler pointed out that even if the universities received a 0 percent increase in all other budgetary lines, they would still require a 4 percent increase over the FY82 base to bring the State’s contribution to SURS to its previous level and to annualize the raise faculty and staff were going to receive in January 1982. The Regents’

capital budget request for the entire system was \$21.5 million, even though the signs were that only \$30 million in such funds would be available for all of higher education.

The State's economy worsened steadily in 1981. By December the unemployment rate, nationally, was close to 9 percent, and 450,000 were unemployed in Illinois. Rust Belt manufacturing states like Illinois were especially hard hit. The automotive industry laid off 400,000 workers between 1980 and 1982, and the number of employees at International Harvester dropped from 40,000 in 1981 to 16,000 in 1982. To save utility costs, the University closed over the Christmas holidays in 1981 (it has ever since); and timer-switches were installed on the lights in the classrooms. Engineers considered the feasibility of switching from natural gas to coal to heat buildings, as had been the case before the early 1960s; but Schroeder West had been built on the site of the former coal piles, and there was some reluctance to transport large quantities of coal through the streets of Normal.

When the final budget for FY83 was approved by the governor, the State had reduced its general revenue support of higher education by 2.8 percent. The State slashed its statutory mandated contribution to SURS from \$143 million to \$41.5 million. There was no money at all for capital improvements. Thanks to a 15 percent tuition increase, the Regency universities' overall appropriation increased by 1.2 percent. (Tuition money was paid into the state treasury and appropriated back to the universities as the income fund in distinction to the general revenue fund derived from taxation.) Faculty and staff were granted a mid-year salary increase of 3 percent, so really only 1.5 percent that year, far below the rate of inflation and the 11.5 percent the BOR had initially requested; but this created the new budgetary dilemma of annualizing the raise the following year. (Every 1 percent salary increment at Illinois State in FY83 cost an additional \$430,000.) Only 80 percent of the projected cost of utilities had been funded; the balance had to come from reductions and reallocations in other areas. To make ends meet, Illinois State cut \$1.1 million in its personnel lines and another \$200,000 in other areas. Thirty-seven positions were eliminated or left vacant; several intercollegiate sports programs (women's badminton and men's gymnastics and swimming) were dropped; and funding for such programs as International Studies, the Shakespeare Festival, and the Center for Ethnic Studies was pared.

It was during this mounting fiscal crisis, in the spring and summer of 1982, that the Regency universities dusted off their plans for dealing with a financial exigency. While the recession was a national problem (thirty out of fifty states faced a deficit in FY83), Illinois was especially hard hit. As the student regent from Northern, Darren Watts, pointed out in December 1981, during the debate over raising tuition 15 percent, the *Chronicle of Higher Education* reported that Illinois ranked thirty-sixth among the states in appropriations per capita to higher education and forty-first per \$1000 of personal income.⁶⁴ The underfunding of education in Illinois was a problem of political will as well as hard times.

However, even the barebones budget for FY83 proved overly optimistic. By February 1983 approximately 700,000 workers in Illinois were unemployed, many of whom had exhausted their unemployment compensation. After the November 1982 election Governor James R. Thompson announced that there was a \$164 million general revenue shortfall and imposed a 2 percent rescission on spending.

Illinois State's share of the money that was to be returned to Springfield was \$938,000. The Regents, fearful of a second rescission because there was a talk of a shortfall as high as \$300 or \$350 million, debated the pros and cons of eliminating programs or rescinding the midyear 3 percent raise. They finally decided to defer action on the January 1983 raise until their March meeting. At that time the raise was paid, retroactive to February 1.

Educators launched a campaign to raise taxes as the only way to solve Illinois' and higher education's fiscal problems. At its January 1983 meeting the IBHE for the first time in its history called for a tax increase; and its executive director, Richard Wagner, hinted about the necessity of closing two or three universities (Sangamon State and Governors State were specifically mentioned). As part of the campaign, William Browder, the lay chairman of the IBHE, addressed members of the General Assembly before the April meeting of the higher board. If the legislators did not pass the tax increase, he reminded them, the Governor had recommended reducing the State's appropriation to higher education in FY84 by an additional \$107 million from its already inadequate level in FY83. After all, Browder, playing on the lawmakers' fears of angry constituents, said: "There is no overall law of God or man that I know of which says every person who wants a college education must be given one at State expense." He provided the legislators with some hard facts: costs due to inflation had risen 38 percent since FY80; enrollments at private and public institutions in Illinois were up 13.2 percent since 1980; and State support per student in 1983, measured in constant dollars, was 65 percent of what it had been in 1971.

Thompson's and the educators' browbeating worked. The state income tax was raised temporarily, from January 1, 1983, to June 30, 1984, from 2.5 percent to 3 percent. A 10 percent hike in tuition, which amounted to \$200 a year per student, also helped to ease the crisis. The Board chair, David Murray, was quick to point out that if in-state tuition had kept up with inflation, the \$404 a year undergraduates had paid in FY72 would have grown to between \$1,018 and \$1,077 rather than the \$864 they were going to be charged in FY84. The faculty and staff received an average salary increase of 4.5 percent. However, the State continued to shortchange the pension system. Its contribution in FY84 was the actuarial bare minimum of 60 percent of gross benefit payout.⁶⁵

The budgetary outlook was reasonably good until FY88. In fact, Chancellor Roderick T. Groves informed the Regents in September 1986 that while overall state spending had risen 16 percent during the preceding four years, higher education's appropriation had grown 25 percent. The Regents returned to their plan to bring faculty salaries in line with the universities' peer institutions. As the Board planned its budget request for FY87, the Regents were pleased with the progress they were making in raising salaries—the average increase in FY86 was 8 percent, better than the national average—but much remained to be done. The IBHE's 1985 study of faculty salaries at twenty-nine comparable universities had revealed that professors and associate professors at Illinois State ranked twenty-eighth in compensation, assistants twenty-seventh, and instructors twentieth. The average salary for a professor at the University was \$34,000; the mid-point among the comparators was \$41,000. The Regents devised a plan to raise faculty salaries to the fiftieth percentile in three years and to the seventy-fifth percentile in eight. A year later, in September 1986, Regent L. Milton McClure, the chair of the

Board's finance committee, indicated that the 6.5 percent hike the faculty was receiving in FY87 would allow compensation, if the latest raise was followed by a 7 percent increase in FY88 with an additional 1.8 percent for catch-up, to reach the seventy-fifth percentile in five rather than seven years.⁶⁶ Those expectations proved wildly overoptimistic.

An intriguing question, analogous to Sherlock Holmes' famous query why the dog did not bark, is why the faculty at Illinois State, unlike their colleagues at Northern and Sangamon State, did not react to the steady decline in the purchasing power of their salaries by unionizing. The first attempt to organize a faculty collective bargaining unit occurred in 1970–71, but, while the effort gained the support of more than 50 percent of the faculty, the Regents refused to recognize the bargaining unit because no state law authorized faculty to unionize. Interest revived in 1976–77, and the Regents responded by holding several open forums; but Professor Arlan Richardson of Chemistry organized the opposition to unionization, and the Regents refused to allow a formal vote. In the fall of 1978 clerical employees tried to organize but failed to win recognition. In 1980 the Illinois Federation of Teachers established a separate organization, the University Professionals of Illinois (UPI), to unionize the faculty at the state universities, except for the Board of Governors system, which was already organized. The local chapter at Illinois State began its efforts in 1981.

The dynamics changed in 1983 when the General Assembly permitted the faculty to determine for themselves whether they wished to unionize instead of leaving the decision to the governing boards. The UPI launched its campaign in October 1983, but the AAUP opposed the UPI's traditional labor unionism and undertook its own organizing drive. Arlan Richardson argued that unionization would replace shared governance with a management/employee model of labor relations and rallied, once again, the opposition to collective bargaining.

Three years passed before an election was held because the conduct of the election and the composition of the bargaining unit became contentious issues. The UPI favored a system-wide election because it was likely to win an overall majority of the votes at the three campuses; the AAUP preferred for that reason separate votes. The Illinois Educational Labor Relations Board finally ruled in favor of the latter option and stipulated that department chairs, but not the faculty at the laboratory schools, were members of the proposed bargaining unit and thus eligible to vote. Northern and Sangamon State opted for unionization, but on October 1, 1986, 383 faculty members at Illinois State voted no, 223 voted for the UPI, and only 64 for the AAUP. Since 96 percent of the eligible faculty voters had cast a ballot, the vote was a resounding defeat for the advocates of unionization.⁶⁷

It is hard to explain the outcome (full disclosure, I voted no). Possible explanations are: the division of the proponents of collective bargaining between the UPI and AAUP; the faculty's fundamental conservatism; acceptance of Richardson's argument that union membership was incompatible with the faculty's professional status; the inclusion of the chairs, who probably shared the administration's opposition to unionization, in the bargaining unit; and the exclusion of the lab school teachers, who like their K-12 colleagues in the public schools, might have swung the vote in favor of the UPI. If the opponents thought that they could gain substantial salary increases through the customary budgetary process, they, like the Regents, were sadly mistaken in the fall of 1986.

The first hint of trouble was Governor Thompson's last minute, 2 percent line item reduction in higher education's FY87 budget; but the Regency system still received more money than it had previously. This cut necessitated internal reallocations, so that the faculty and staff could obtain their 6.5 percent salary hike. When Thompson presented his budget for FY88 to the legislators on March 4, 1987, he indicated that without a tax increase higher education's appropriation would have to remain at FY87 levels, a de facto reduction, because of inflation. If the General Assembly passed a permanent half percent increase in the income tax and extended the sales taxes to personal, repair, and business services, the State would be able to grant, the governor said, a 6 percent salary increase and a 4 percent general price increase. A 4 percent tuition hike, which was also the anticipated rate of inflation, was factored into this calculation.

The tax increase did not pass. Instead, there was a 4 percent reduction in the state appropriation for higher education in FY88 and no money for a salary increase. The Board raised tuition an additional \$150 in the spring semester to make up for the loss in state funding, what Nicholas Valadez, Northern's student regent, called "an additional whopping 26 percent increase" on top of the 4 percent the students had already paid. Altogether, he reminded the Regents, tuition had gone up 8 percent in 1980, 14 percent in 1981, 14.7 percent in 1982, 10.7 percent in 1983, 15.2 percent in 1984, and 5.4 percent in 1985. Several months later Watkins, likening himself to John the Baptist crying in the wilderness for a fundamental change in Illinois' system of funding higher education, declared that the State's universities had become "state assisted rather than state supported," the first use of that phrase I found in the Board *Proceedings*.⁶⁸

In a meeting with the Regents in January 1988, Richard Wagner, the executive director of the IBHE, offered an overview of what had happened to state funding of higher education in Illinois during the 1980s. While total personal income in Illinois had risen 80 percent and per capita income 54 percent between 1980 and 1988, general revenue appropriations had increased 48 percent and general revenue support for higher education only 37 percent. In constant 1987 dollars, there had been a \$182.4 million reduction in the state appropriation to higher education between FY80 and FY88. In the same period an additional 35,000 students had enrolled in institutions of higher learning, so that general revenue expenditures per student, again measured in 1987 dollars, had decreased \$648. During the preceding ten years Illinois ranked second to last among the states in increased funding to higher education.

Wagner attributed this decline in state expenditure on higher education to two causes. First, revenue had declined because the General Assembly had eliminated the inheritance tax and had exempted food, medicine, manufacturing equipment, and some other items from the sales tax. This amounted, he said, to a \$750,000,000 loss—presumably, he meant, each year—in revenue. Second, Illinois had been hard hit by the recession in the early 1980s, and the half percent increase in the income tax in 1983 had been only temporary. Wagner emphasized that Illinois had the seventh lowest tax burden in the nation.⁶⁹

Wagner's words were part of a concerted campaign by administrators, faculty, and students to procure a tax increase. Although polls in the spring of 1988 indicated that 60 to 70 percent of the respondents favored a tax increase to support

education and although there may have been enough votes in both houses to pass the measure, the speaker, Michael Madigan, refused to allow the issue to come to a vote. The only positive result of the campaign was that the General Assembly increased higher education's operating budget for FY89 by \$65 million. The amount was to be spent solely on salary increases.⁷⁰ Twenty years later Illinois has still not solved the problem of funding education at all levels in an equitable manner, and the unfunded liabilities of the pension systems have turned into a fiscal crisis. At the end of the 2005 fiscal year, the State's five pension systems had accrued \$42 billion in unfunded liabilities (SURS' share was \$7 billion), 12 percent of the \$336 billion owed by the nation's 125 public pension plans.⁷¹

In his annual address on the State of the University at the beginning of the 1987–88 school year, Watkins denounced the legislators' failure to pass the income tax hike the preceding spring. "It will take a long time to regain the step backward which Illinois has taken this year, and the state's decision makers must not delude themselves that everything is 'all right' simply because the schools and universities are open and operating. It is not." Although Watkins had fought tirelessly year after year in every possible venue to procure additional funding for Illinois State and had initiated in March 1987 a plan to cut enrollments as the only solution to the University's financial problems, it was inevitable that he would, as the president, become the target of faculty critics, embittered by two decades of underfunding and aimless drift, in a year of record enrollments and no raises.

His most outspoken critics were Arlan Richardson, a biochemist, and Charles Thompson, a biologist, who commented in a letter to their colleagues on the president's "State of the University Address." They cited an alarming article by Albert Somit, the president of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, which recommended that Illinois' system of systems be reconfigured along the lines of the California model: the graduate universities (the University of Illinois, Carbondale, and Northern) and the remaining universities, including Illinois State, which would be the equivalent of the California State University system that offered no doctoral programs. While Somit's proposal was in many ways the logical consequence of *Master Plan III's* 1971 reformulation of Illinois State's mission, Richardson and Thompson saw it as evidence that Illinois State was "failing to progress and lacking in leadership and direction . . ." As proof, they compared Illinois State with Northern in the areas of graduate and professional programs, organized research, and facilities and complained about the unchecked growth in enrollments without a corresponding increase in funding. They derided the University for acquiring the former IGA store on Main Street (today the Instructional Technology and Development Center) and for making "the purchase of a secondhand high school building" (Normal Community High School) "ISU's top priority for facilities in the future."

Watkins and Provost David Strand, in an Open Letter to the Illinois State University Community on November 11, tried to refute Richardson's and Thompson's contentions; but the faculty was too demoralized and bitter to heed detailed arguments about master plans, the difficulties in obtaining the IBHE's approval for new graduate programs, the drawbacks of being situated 55 miles from Urbana, or "the 139,000 net assignable square feet of floor space suitable for academic areas" in Normal Community High School. Champagne's bitter closing paragraph in his account of the Watkins' presidency, penned in 1989, expresses the disillusionment

of a generation of faculty who arrived in the 1960s to build a liberal arts university and whose hopes had been dashed by a perennial lack of resources and direction. Watkins had become their scapegoat.

For his part Watkins was tired of his Sisyphean task. In October 1987 he made no attempt to disguise his anger at a *The Pantagraph* editorial that had suggested that “faculty salaries are all right” and “the envy of many another person.” A new graduate of the law school at the University of Illinois who earned more than the average professor at Illinois State was not, the president averred, envious. No one had gone into teaching expecting “to be compensated at the level of business executives or physicians,” but faculty could at least earn as much as their colleagues in surrounding states. In December Watkins called the State’s system of incremental budgeting “golden handcuffs” and reiterated that “incrementation should come from tax money and that we ought not to abandon in future years the concept of keeping tuition as reasonable as possible.”

He resigned on January 14, 1988, effective August 31, because he had reached the limit of his frustrations and because, he thought, the University would benefit from new leadership. In response to a petition drive, launched by Richardson and Thompson, a faculty meeting on February 29, 1988, called for a reduction in undergraduate enrollment, better physical facilities, expansion of graduate work, and the creation of a faculty senate. In his final words to the Regents as president, Watkins cited the dismal statistic that Illinois was tied with West Virginia for last place in the period of his presidency, 1977–87, in increased general revenue funding for higher education. “Unless something changes,” he saw only “further deterioration, further limitation of access, and further increases in tuition . . . We simply cannot allow the public universities of this state to become third-rate institutions.”⁷²

If Lloyd I. Watkins is to be faulted, if he is to be blamed at all, it is that as a graduate of a teachers college, institutions that Felmley had likened to the nation’s service academies, he believed that it was the State’s responsibility to provide its citizens, especially those of limited means, with a good, affordable education. His presidency, in particular the failure to procure a tax increase in 1987 and 1988, demonstrated that his creed was a noble vision at odds with political and social reality. It was passé because Illinois State was no longer an institution that trained the children of rural America to become poorly paid school teachers but was becoming, thanks to the tuition increases he so decried, a school that prepared the progeny of the postwar suburbs for more lucrative careers. They and their parents could be expected to pay for the privilege of attending. To his credit, Watkins was the first president to grasp, as Redbird Arena shows, that the University needed to turn to other sources of funding; and his successors have continued along that course with greater success. But there was, as Watkins instinctively realized and the composition of the student body in 2006 reveals, also a price to be paid. Illinois State has both gained and lost from its suburbanization.

ENDNOTES

1. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, November 20, 1975*, pp. 105–113 (the second part of the Matsler quotation is on p. 113); *January 29, 1976*, pp. 140–41 (first part of the Matsler quotation); and *March 18, 1976*, p. 179.
2. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, p. 93; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, May 19, 1977*, p. 265.
3. *The Pantagraph*, May 26, 1973, A3.
4. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 94–95; and *Vidette*, October 5, 1971, pp. 1 and 13.
5. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, March 20, 1974*, pp. 219–20.
6. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 91–97.
7. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, May 18, 1972*, pp. 173–74; *January 20, 1973*, pp. 93–98; and *February 17, 1973*, pp. 140–44 (the exchange is on pp. 141–42).
8. *Vidette*, October 5, 1971, p. 1.
9. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 22, 1971*, p. 9.
10. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 98–105; *The Pantagraph*, May 30, 1973, A5; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 20, 1972*, pp. 27–28; *September 21, 1972*, p. 33; *January 20, 1973*, p. 115; and *April 12, 1973*, p. 188.
11. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 105–06.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
13. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, February 4, 1968*, p. 283; *November 3, 1968*, p. 56; *January 5, 1969*, pp. 90–91 (quotation about the use of the house); *October 15, 1970*, p. 72; *March 18, 1971*, p. 161; *July 22, 1971*, p. 8; and *September 9, 1971*, p. 32.
14. *The Pantagraph*, May 26 through May 30, 1973 (Haake's words appeared on May 27); and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, April 12, 1973*, pp. 182–84; *May 17, 1973*, pp. 204–07 (Murray's words are on p. 205); and *January 17, 1974*, pp. 164–65.
15. *The Pantagraph*, May 26, 1973, A3 (the story with the headline) and May 29, 1973, A5.
16. *Ibid.*, May 27, 1973, A3. I wish to thank Arlan Helgeson, who was the acting dean of the faculty in 1973, for giving me a copy of the ad that ran on p. 4, Section D of the *San Francisco Examiner Chronicle* on December 24, 1972.
17. *The Pantagraph*, May 31, 1973, A3; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, June 21, 1973*, pp. 227–29.
18. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, p. 107; *The Pantagraph*, January 24, 2007, B1, B2; and February 2, 2007, B1, B4; and *Illinois State University Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, December 7, 1998*, p. 131 (Baker testimony).
19. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 115–16; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, June 17, 1971*, p. 224; *June 21, 1973*, pp. 229–30; and *November 15, 1973*, pp. 114–16.
20. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 122–25; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, March 15, 1973*, p. 161 (Shuman's words); *March 21, 1974*, p. 234 (Helgeson's comments); *June 20, 1974*, p. 316; *January 29, 1976*, p. 145; *March 18, 1976*, p. 198; *June 17, 1976*, p. 299; *April 21, 1977*, p. 232; and *June 16, 1977*, p. 302.
21. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 29, 1976*, p. 31; and *May 18, 1978*, pp. 270–74.
22. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 117–21; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, April 15, 1976*, p. 257; *June 17, 1971*, p. 291; *July 24, 1980*, pp. 47–50; *August 28, 1980*, pp. 51–53; and *September 25, 1980*, pp. 70–75.
23. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, pp. 119–21; *idem*, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 1–2; *The Pantagraph*, May 1, 1977, A3; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 28, 1977*, pp. 41–43.
24. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, May 17, 1973*, p. 201 (first Shuman quotation); *September 20, 1973*, p. 74 (second Shuman quotation); *March 21, 1974*, p. 245; *August 28, 1975*, pp. 61–62; *July 29, 1976*, p. 30; *September 16, 1976*, p. 77; *May 22, 1980*, p. 235; and *September 24, 1981*, pp. 40–41 (Watkins on incremental budgeting).
25. *Ibid.*, *July 24, 1975*, pp. 32–33 (Barr quotation); *September 15, 1977*, pp. 50–53 (Shuman's comments are on p. 50); *September 20, 1979*, pp. 97, 102–04; *September 25, 1980*, pp. 98–101; *January 22, 1981*, p. 156; *July 23, 1981*, p. 36; *January 21, 1982*, p. 125; and *September 19, 1985*, p. 37.
26. *Ibid.*, *January 29, 1976*, pp. 139–40; *July 29, 1976*, p. 30; *February 17, 1977*, pp. 158–59 (first Matsler quotation); *September 15, 1977*, p. 50; *September 23, 1982*, pp. 56–58 (second Matsler quotation); *January 24, 1982*, pp. 108–10; *September 19, 1985*, pp. 36–38; *July 24, 1986*, pp. 6, 9; and *September 18, 1986*, p. 41.
27. *Ibid.*, *April 20, 1983*, p. 190; *September 22, 1983*, p. 62; *April 19, 1984*, p. 176; *July 26, 1984*, pp. 4–9; *May 16, 1985*, pp. 165–66; *September 19, 1985*, pp. 23–24; *October 15, 1985*, p. 89; *January 22, 1987*, pp. 120–22; *June 19, 1987*, p. 221; *September 19, 1987*, p. 58; *March 24, 1988*, p. 192; and *June 23, 1988*, pp. 268–69; Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 61–62, 86; and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, p. 2.
28. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, August 28, 1975*, p. 59; *July 29, 1976*, p. 29; *September 16, 1976*, pp. 78–79; *December 16, 1976*, p. 127; *July 27, 1978*, p. 23; *September 20, 1979*, pp. 97–98; *September 25, 1980*, pp. 85–92 (esp. pp. 86–87); and *May 20, 1982*, p. 221.

29. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1974, pp. 283–84; June 20, 1974, p. 306; November 1, 1974, pp. 117–21; February 20, 1975, p. 195; September 16, 1976, p. 81 (Barr quotation); September 20, 1979, p. 109 (Shuman's comments); April 23, 1981, p. 220; December 8, 1983, p. 93; and January 25, 1984, p. 132.
30. *Ibid.*, July 24, 1980, pp. 20–24; September 23, 1982, pp. 43–44; March 24, 1988, pp. 172–73 and July 25, 1991, p. 6; and Thomas D. Wilson, Class of 1959, Letter to the Editor, *The Pantagraph*, August 19, 2006. Wilson, a retired Illinois State political science professor, was the lobbyist of the Annuitants' Association in Springfield. For a recent article on how Illinois compares to other states in funding its pension system, see the *New York Times*, December 19, 2007, C1, C8.
31. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, November 15, 1970, pp. 85–86 (Morris quotation); March 18, 1971, pp. 164–66; March 20, 1975, p. 249; February 17, 1977, pp. 168–79 (Pierson quotation); October 27, 1977, pp. 87–91; May 18, 1978, pp. 276–79 (Watkins–Martin exchange); and December 6, 1979, pp. 150–52 (Patterson quotation).
32. *Ibid.*, October 27, 1977, pp. 85–86; November 20, 1978, pp. 112, 114–26; July 23, 1981, pp. 20–24 (Watkins quotation); September 24, 1981, pp. 52–53; December 3, 1981, pp. 81–83; and January 21, 1982, pp. 109–14;
33. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1986, pp. 183–91.
34. *The Pantagraph*, January 16, 2007, A3; and January 15, 2008, A6. I wish to thank Jana Albrecht, the associate director of financial aid, for the information on student indebtedness.
35. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, December 16, 1976, p. 150; October 26, 1978, pp. 123–32; September 20, 1979, p. 89; October 25, 1979, pp. 134–42; December 6, 1979, p. 151; and December 8, 1983, p. 109.
36. *Ibid.*, October 28, 1976, p. 94; and June 20, 1985, pp. 215–16.
37. Champagne, *A Place of Education*, p. 125; *idem*, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 20–21; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, November 20, 1975, pp. 132–33; and June 16, 1977, pp. 310–12.
38. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, September 20, 1979, pp. 99–101 (Shuman quotation); July 24, 1980, p. 42; January 24, 1985, p. 124; and July 23, 1987, p. 26 (Watkins quotation).
39. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1975, pp. 259–62 (first Matsler quotation is on p. 59); May 20, 1976, pp. 271–76 (Shuman quotation is on p. 274); March 25, 1982, p. 143 (second Matsler quotation); July 22, 1982, pp. 25–30; and September 23, 1982, pp. 48–54.
40. *Ibid.*, June 14, 1979, p. 310 (Murray quotation); September 20, 1979, p. 117; January 24, 1980, pp. 182–87; May 22, 1980, pp. 240–43 (Martin quotation is on p. 240); July 24, 1980, p. 24; May 21, 1981, p. 257 (Kingman quotation); and February 17, 1983, p. 121.
41. *Ibid.*, September 19, 1985, p. 43; December 5, 1985, pp. 85–98; July 24, 1986, pp. 22–23; October 16, 1986, pp. 72–75; and October 20, 1988, pp. 66–67, 76–77. Some examples of the description of Illinois State as an “institution” or “school of choice” are: October 20, 1983, p. 88; and April 18, 1985, p. 156. See Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 47–48, 78–80.
42. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, July 24, 1986, pp. 22–24; September 18, 1986, pp. 41–47; March 19, 1987, p. 137; October 15, 1987, pp. 76–79; and May 19, 1978, pp. 233–34; and *Illinois State University FactBook* (2006), p. 19.
43. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, April 15, 1976, pp. 236–45. Some other examples of such discussions are: March 1, 1973, pp. 155–57; April 12, 1973, pp. 177–84; October 18, 1973, pp. 93–96; November 15, 1973, pp. 128–31; March 18, 1976, pp. 184–91; February 17, 1977, pp. 162–67 (Shuman referred to the “deadheads” on p. 165); March 17, 1977, pp. 199–204; April 21, 1977, pp. 232–40; and May 19, 1977, pp. 270–76.
44. *Ibid.*, April 12, 1979, pp. 235–37 (first part of first Shuman quotation); May 17, 1979, pp. 279–80 (second part of first Shuman quotation); May 22, 1980, p. 266; and July 24, 1980, p. 20 (second Shuman quotation).
45. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1977, p. 274; May 20, 1982, pp. 222–24; June 20, 1985, pp. 192–93; and May 19, 1988, pp. 231–33.
46. *Ibid.*, March 25, 1982, pp. 170–71.
47. *Illinois State University FactBook* (2006), pp. 43–46.
48. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, February 16, 1978, pp. 149–53; July 27, 1978, pp. 27, 37–38; June 18, 1981, pp. 281–82; and June 20, 1985, p. 222.
49. *Ibid.*, October 21, 1969, p. 65; December 7, 1969, pp. 74–75; October 21, 1982, p. 68; July 26, 1984, pp. 2–3; October 18, 1984, pp. 65–66; and October 17, 1991, p. 31; and Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, p. 6.
50. Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 35–37, 72; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, January 24, 1980, pp. 203–07.
51. Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 37–40, 58–66.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 88–92; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, January 25, 1984, p. 124; September 20, 1984, pp. 36–38; October 18, 1984, p. 54; September 19, 1985, pp. 25–29; October 17, 1985, pp. 64–68 (the standards are listed on p. 64); May 22, 1986, pp. 212–13; June 19, 1986, p. 246; and September 19, 1987, p. 30.
53. Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 9–12 (quotation from Watkins third “State of the University” address is on p. 12); and *Illinois State University Undergraduate Catalog 1980–81*, p. 36.

54. Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 12–13.
55. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, September 21, 1978, p. 120; December 6, 1979, p. 151; June 18, 1981, p. 284; December 9, 1982, p. 88; May 19, 1983, pp. 210–11; December 8, 1983, p. 92; June 21, 1984, p. 222; December 5, 1985, p. 82; March 27, 1986, p. 162; May 22, 1986, p. 211; June 19, 1986, pp. 259–60; December 3, 1987, p. 109; and January 21, 1988, p. 126.
56. Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 14 (quotation from Master Plan IV) and 15–17; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, March 6, 1980, pp. 210–11.
57. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, May 22, 1980, pp. 238–40 (Patterson and Martin quotations) and 243–46 (Fitzpatrick quotation).
58. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1978, pp. 222–32 (Watkins' words are on p. 225); and June 19, 1980, pp. 271–72.
59. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1983, pp. 209–10; January 25, 1984, pp. 125–28; and January 24, 1985, pp. 116–17.
60. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1984, p. 54; and Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 96–97.
61. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, October 15, 1987, pp. 79–81; April 20, 1989, pp. 177–78; and June 20, 1991, p. 132; and Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 19–20, 99–101. Watkins referred to nine programs, but Champagne on pp. 19 and 100 lists ten.
62. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, September 17, 1992, p. 25; and October 22, 1992, pp. 36–38.
63. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1980, p. 235; July 24, 1980, pp. 31–37 (inflation figures are on p. 34); September 25, 1980, pp. 92–98; January 22, 1981, p. 154; March 10, 1981, pp. 199–207; July 23, 1981, pp. 25–26; and September 24, 1981, p. 47. See Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 48–49.
64. Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 49–52; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, September 24, 1981, pp. 40–41, 47–50; December 3, 1981, pp. 79–89 (Watts' comments on p. 86); January 22, 1981, pp. 159–60 (conversion to coal); January 21, 1982, pp. 116–17; April 22, 1982, p. 185 (on the other states with deficits), pp. 191–98 (the budgetary cuts are on p. 192); May 20, 1982, pp. 219–22 (the cost of annualizing raises is on p. 220); and September 23, 1982, pp. 45–46 (final summary of the FY 83 budget), 57 (the lack of a capital budget). The figures on the economy were provided by Regent James L. Wright, the assistant director of region 4 of the United Auto Workers (July 26, 1979, p. 14; December 3, 1981, p. 88; and April 22, 1982, pp. 196–97).
65. Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 52–58; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, December 9, 1982, pp. 88–99; February 17, 1983, pp. 118–23 (the unemployment statistic is on p. 122); March 17, 1983, pp. 158–61; April 20, 1983, pp. 177–83 (Browder's speech is on pp. 177–80); and July 21, 1983, pp. 23–26.
66. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, August 1, 1985, pp. 8–11; October 17, 1985, pp. 60–61 (salary study); December 5, 1985, pp. 83–85; and September 18, 1986, pp. 39–41, 48 (increase in higher education spending).
67. Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 45, 74–77.
68. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, September 18, 1986, pp. 40, 51–52; March 19, 1987, pp. 142–44; April 23, 1987, p. 169 (rate of inflation), pp. 174–77 (tuition increase); July 23, 1987, pp. 3–6; September 19, 1987, pp. 35–53 (Valadez quotation is on p. 46); and March 24, 1988, p. 180 (Watkins's quotation).
69. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1988, pp. 127–37 (Wagner's comments, esp. pp. 129–30) and 151.
70. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1988, pp. 162–72, 180–83; May 19, 1988, p. 227; June 23, 1988, pp. 257–58; and July 21, 1988, pp. 2–3.
71. *The Pantagraph*, August 19, 2006, A6.
72. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, October 15, 1987, p. 62; (*The Pantagraph* editorial); December 3, 1987, pp. 99–100; January 21, 1988, pp. 126–27; and July 21, 1988, pp. 27–29 (final comments). See Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 105–08 (Watkins' State of the University speech is quoted on p. 105); and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, pp. 2–4. I could not locate in the Archives a copy of Richardson's and Thompson's commentary on Watkins' speech, but it is cited in Watkins' and Strand's "An Open Letter to the Illinois State University Community," November 18, 1987, in the Watkins papers.

Section Four

ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY, 1964-2007

Chapter 11 A NEW BEGINNING: 1988–1999

Watkins' presidency proved that the University could not rely on state support in charting its course. Thomas P. Wallace (1988–95) was soon confronted by the recession that cost the first President Bush the election in 1992. To deal with the latest economic crisis, the IBHE launched in October 1991 a strategic planning exercise, "Priorities, Quality, Productivity," or PQP as it became universally known. In a letter to the chancellors and presidents of the public universities, the chair of the IBHE, Arthur Quern, wrote:

As we confront the clear reality that neither the taxpayer nor the tuition payer can continue to accept escalating increases in the cost of higher education, we will come face-to-face with the need to make choices. We must choose to support quality and eliminate less effective programs. We must choose to demonstrate that every current dollar spent achieves the maximum impact by improving education before we ask for additional dollars to expand our services. Confidence in all of us as leaders and advocates will be based on our setting priorities and acting on them, not on hearing the hollow advocacy of reflex cries for more money.¹

Quern's charge set off a period of self-examination, cost cutting, and acrimony; but in the end PQP had only a marginal impact on the University, perhaps because the quick economic recovery vitiated the need for drastic cuts.

In fact, by the end of the decade the Trustees of the University's new governing board were pondering how Illinois State could obtain its share of the budgetary surplus engendered by the dot-com boom. The run-up of the stock market in the 1990s made it easier to raise money from external sources. The reliance on donations to procure seating for Redbird Arena and the 1985 upgrading of the position of the Graduate Dean into the Associate Provost for Research, whose primary responsibility was the procuring of outside grants, had signaled the beginning of the new fiscal direction. The Student Services Building, the Science Building, the Performing Arts Center, the Theater at Ewing Manor, and the College of Business Building, built or begun in the 1990s, are monuments to creative financing, the students' willingness to tax themselves, the prosperity of the Clinton era, and private generosity.

Wallace was, as the Regents said in their annual evaluation in 1992, "an innovator and doer of high energy, intelligence, and conviction."² Besides stressing the importance of external funding, from both gifts and grants, Wallace initiated a new construction program, most notably the Science Building; rethought the role of tuition; installed a fiber-optic system for improved telecommunications; raised faculty salaries; and increased minority enrollment. Regrettably, he proved too innovative when he arranged for the University Foundation to supplement his salary. His enemies, both on and off the campus, used the revelation of these payments to force Wallace's resignation. *The Pantagraph*, whose publisher personally disliked the president, was too willing to publish, without adequate verification, unsubstantiated allegations by disgruntled University employees and by members and staff of the Board. Since the paper is a major source on the controversies during his presidency and since its reporting shaped public opinion, it is important

to remember its inherent bias.³ Perhaps the real cause of Wallace's downfall was an administrative style that was perceived by some faculty and staff members as authoritarian. Despite this, Wallace finally moved the University beyond the bonds of *Master Plan III*, and he deserves credit for doing so.

His successor, David A. Strand (1995–99) was, as William Sulaski, the first chair of the Board of Trustees, put it in announcing Strand's appointment, "a highly regarded administrator who embodies integrity and stability."⁴ By the end of his presidency, Illinois State had adopted a new general education program and a new system for appointing, evaluating, tenuring, and promoting faculty (ASPT); acquired its first professional school, the Mennonite School of Nursing; and received the largest gift in its history, \$9.5 million from Bloomington-based State Farm Insurance, which made possible the long-delayed construction of the College of Business Building. For the first time since the disbanding of the Board of Education in 1917, Illinois State obtained on January 1, 1996, its own board, many of whose members were alumni and all of whom were deeply committed to the well-being of the University.

Ironically and unexpectedly, the Trustees were soon engaged in a fierce battle with the faculty about the new University Constitution and the delineation of the respective rights of the Board, the president, and the Senate. The Trustees discovered, as they began the search for Strand's successor, that this controversy and the resignations of Wallace and of Provost John Urice (1994–2007), as well as the earlier departures of Berlo and Watkins, made Illinois State an unattractive institution to possible presidential candidates. On the recommendation of the search firm, the Board hired an alumnus, James L. Fisher, Class of 1956, M.S. 1957, and the former president of Towson University (1969–78), to conduct a critical examination of the University. The two most important results of the *Fisher Report* (1998) were the resolution of the conflict in February 1999 through the *Memorandum of Understanding* between the Board and the Senate, mediated by Strand, and the initiation of a self-study about the University's distinctive niche as a so-called "Public Ivy," which resulted in the long-term strategic plan, *Educating Illinois*, that has been the University's compass ever since. For all of the *Fisher Report's* critical and sometimes erroneous comments about the University and the angry responses they triggered, there was also by 1999, thanks in part to Strand's healing influence, a new optimism that Illinois State could become a truly distinguished university. After three decades of turmoil, penury, and recriminations, such optimism was revolutionary.

7 AN INNOVATOR

Although the Regents made personnel decisions in unrecorded executive sessions, there are some clues why they may have thought that Wallace was the ideal candidate in 1988. Carol Kristen Burns, who had been since 1985 the chair of the BOR, was the most vocal advocate for seeking external funding. As early as 1981, she had noted in an extraneous comment that as an alumna of the University of Illinois she had been involved with its "well planned marketing attempts to develop other sources for funds than appropriations from the State" and that the Regency universities should probably do the same. After a second Regent said in 1986 that the University of Illinois had just received a \$12 million grant "which should supplement their budget quite well," Burns observed that "development...

is certainly on the Board's mind." Revealingly, Watkins mistook her remarks to mean that the universities needed to procure from the State additional "capital development money."⁵

As a professional chemist who had written grant proposals to support his own research, Wallace was an experienced fundraiser. Wallace (b. 1936) had earned his bachelor's at the State University of New York, masters at both St. Lawrence and Syracuse, and in 1967 a Ph.D. in Physical Chemistry from Clarkson in Potsdam, New York. Prior to coming to Normal, he had been the dean of the College of Science at the Rochester Institute of Technology, dean of Sciences and Health Professions and then vice president for academic affairs at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia, and since 1986 chancellor at the Fort Wayne campus of Indiana University–Purdue University. At Fort Wayne he had increased alumni giving 10 percent in two years at a time when only 6 percent of alumni were contributing at Illinois State (the national average was 12 or 13 percent). On his appointment, he said "his ten years of experience at private institutions taught him the need for public universities to act more like private schools" and Burns noted that one of Wallace's strengths was "alumni development."

Five months after Wallace assumed the presidency, he informed the Board that Illinois State had initiated a two-year period of strategic planning, in which financial strategies were central. "Obviously," he said, "it requires emphasis on fundraising and grant and contract-funding, but it goes beyond this." He was contemplating, as would become clear later, constructing the Science Building by trading land with private developers—the Regents did not buy the scheme—and linking tuition increases and financial aid.⁶

There is one other clue about Burns' thinking about the presidency. She commented in 1985 that her own "background" was "in marketing and advertising, so she" was "very sensitive to a public relation situation . . ." and that the Regency universities "have not spoken loudly enough about our accomplishments lately." Consequently, "[o]ne of her own personal priorities as a Chairman [sic]," she said, had "been to speak up more often when she" could. For his part, Wallace informed *The Pantagraph* at his appointment: "Find out what you are good at and market it." Accordingly, Wallace hired for \$73,000 a New York advertising firm to study Illinois State's image and to make it distinctive. The consultants recommended against referring to the University as "ISU"—after all that abbreviation could also stand for Idaho State, Indiana State, or Iowa State—and favored turning the allegedly sexist, Chaucerian motto on the University's seal, "And gladly would he learn and gladly teach," into the gender neutral "Gladly we learn and teach." (I have studiously avoided for this reason in this history "ISU.") The president's critics ridiculed the expenditure of so large a sum for so shallow a purpose.⁷

Although the General Assembly had not passed a tax increase in 1988, it had allocated \$65 million in new money to higher education in FY89, the first year of Wallace's presidency, to be employed exclusively for salary increases. This enabled Illinois State to give faculty and staff an average raise of about 8.5 percent. More importantly, while Northern gave its faculty a relatively low monthly raise of \$50 when they were promoted to associate professors and \$60 when they became full professors, Illinois State had dry promotions. In December 1988 the Board introduced a system of wet promotions at both universities (such raises were the

subject of collective bargaining negotiations at Sangamon State): \$1,500 a year for associates and \$2,200 for professors.

The raises were made retroactive for anyone who had been promoted to either or both ranks while teaching at Illinois State.⁸ Besides, initially, winning Wallace considerable support among grateful faculty members, the salary increments, which contrasted sharply to the lack of raises during Watkins' last year, linked salaries more closely to faculty performance.

2 ECONOMIC TURBULENCE

The goodwill engendered by these raises eroded as the University once again encountered economic turbulence. At a meeting with the Regents in January 1989, Richard Wagner, the executive director of the IBHE, reminded the Board how much state support for education had declined at all levels. In FY77, the combined appropriations to K-12 and higher education had amounted to 43 percent of the total state budget; by FY89, the percentage had decreased to 37.2 percent. While general revenue appropriations for higher education had increased only 28 percent between FY82 and FY89, undergraduate tuition had gone up 139 percent. Besides having to contend with inflation, the universities also had to deal with such unfunded mandates as Medicare contributions for new employees and the severance pay owed to faculty and staff for unused sick leave days accumulated after 1984. The only solution was a tax increase, but, as President La Tourette of Northern astutely pointed out, parents preferred paying an additional \$200 or \$300 a year more in tuition for four or five years to a permanent tax hike. To everyone's surprise, there was a temporary, two-year tax increase, and the budget for FY90 included "the largest single capital commitment in the history of the Board of Regents."⁹

However, by the time Governor Thompson delivered his budget message for FY91 in March 1990, the economic slowdown, especially in industrial states like Illinois, was once again impacting negatively on state revenue. Chancellor Groves called it a "reversal budget" because it represented a reversal from the direction chartered last year." The Regency system received only a 1.5 percent increase in its appropriation, just enough to give an average 2 percent raise. There were no additional funds for anything else, and the General Assembly prohibited any tuition hike to make up the shortfall.

In March 1991, Illinois' new governor, Jim Edgar (1991–99), indicated that the universities would have to live with the same level of general revenue funding in FY92 they had received in FY91 and advised against salary increases but signaled that a 5 percent tuition hike would be acceptable. What made the State's parsimony especially galling was that Illinois ranked second in its support of private schools but forty-sixth in its appropriations in the public sphere. In the end overall general revenue funding was reduced 1.3 percent, and the University committed itself, through internal reallocation, to giving employees "a \$150 health charge salary" increment to offset increased health care insurance costs that were being passed on to the faculty and staff. As usual, SURS was shortchanged. It was anticipated that SURS would have to take \$30 million from the income on its invested funds to pay the benefits it owed retirees that year, and the executive director of SURS, Dennis Spice, told *The Pantagraph* "that the system was facing a negative cash flow and would be bankrupt by 2023." The one bright spot was that Illinois State

received an additional \$866,800, mainly to compensate for tuition revenue that was lost by planned enrollment reductions.¹⁰

3 ENROLLMENT MANAGEMENT

Watkins had initiated in March 1987 an enrollment reduction plan, as has already been mentioned, as the only way to bring the number of students in line with resources; but thanks to an improvement in the retention rate, the University had experienced record enrollments that fall. However, these efforts succeeded in reducing enrollments in Fall, 1988, when Wallace began his presidency. Cutting enrollments appeared to be an attainable goal because it was projected that the number of high school seniors would decline 18 percent in the period 1988–93, but while the number of high school graduates decreased 15 percent in 1989 and 1990, non-traditional students made up for most of the loss of 18-year-olds.¹¹

According to the IBHE's own calculations, Illinois State suffered from a unique problem of underfunding. It was short \$9 million in its operating budget, 200 faculty members, and approximately 400,000 square feet of space. While the average faculty member at a public university generated 750 credit hours per staff year, the average at Illinois State was 968, larger than at DeKalb, Carbondale, or Urbana. The undergraduate student-to-faculty ratio at Eastern was 16:1, at Northern 15:1, and at the University of Illinois 11:1; but it was 23:1 at Illinois State. Another way of viewing the problem was, Wallace said, that Illinois State was overenrolled by 3,700 undergraduates and 260 graduate students.

In 1990 the University initiated a plan to reduce overall enrollments by 3,000 students over a period of five years. The plan entailed altering the ratio between new and transfer students because the latter were more likely to be minority students. In Spring, 1991, Wallace reported that the plan was on target for the fall. It was anticipated that the number of freshmen would drop from 3,500 to 2,850 and that the number of transfers would rise from 1,800 to 2,000. More selective admission standards during the duration of the plan would increase the percentage of freshmen in the top quarter of their high school class from 35 percent to 47 percent and the five-year graduation rate would rise from 48 percent to 59 percent; at the same time, the student-to-faculty ratio would decrease from 23:1 to 19:1. To compensate for the loss of tuition revenue, the IBHE agreed to increase Illinois State's general revenue funding. Accordingly, Illinois State University received a \$500,000 addition to its base budget in FY92 to make up for the lost tuition revenue.¹²

The decision to admit more transfer students from community colleges enabled the University to reverse the decline in minority enrollments. An unexpected consequence of Illinois State's success in limiting enrollments in FY89, by setting a December 1 deadline for receiving applications for admission, had been that the number of new black students had dropped from 380 in Fall 1987 to 234 in Fall 1988, a 36 percent reduction. The total black population on campus decreased from 1,150 to 1,025, an 11 percent decline. In response, the University eliminated the December 1 deadline, and black students volunteered to visit their own high schools to recruit more students. Wallace stressed the need for increasing the number of tuition waivers that were earmarked for minority students, and new minority enrollments increased substantially the following year after the IBHE authorized the grant of such waivers.

The two regents who were most concerned about minority enrollments, Jerome R. Bender and Clara S. Fitzpatrick, were especially distressed that so few minority students became teachers. Of the 187 African Americans who graduated from Illinois State between 1985 and 1989, only eight were in the College of Education and only one was a man. It was crucial, Bender argued and Wallace concurred, to provide minority students with the financial incentives to make teaching an attractive career option. In 1991 the State passed a minority teachers scholarship act that provided scholarships of up to \$5,000 to black and Hispanic students who agreed to teach in predominantly minority schools.

However, the key to raising minority enrollments was targeting transfer students because 80 percent of all African Americans enrolled in colleges in Illinois attended the city colleges in Chicago, Triton, and three other community colleges. Already in 1989, Provost Strand claimed that Illinois State's "minority student transfer program . . . was becoming the prototype for all twelve public universities in the state." A third of all community college transfers selected a Regency university, and between 1989 and 1992, there was a 58 percent increase in the number of black and Hispanic students who made this choice. In September 1992 Wallace informed the Regents that Illinois State had exceeded its target of 18,273 undergraduates by only 195 students and its goal of 2,850 freshmen by only 50. While there were 817 fewer white students in attendance than in the preceding year, there were 161 more Hispanics and African Americans. Between 1988 and 1992 the total minority enrollment had risen from 1,200 to 1,800, though the number of minority students who graduated continued to be discouragingly low.

Wallace's enrollment management plan was thus a success, but in the fall of 1993 the IBHE suddenly withdrew its support. The University had to scramble to recruit additional students to compensate for the tuition revenue it had lost by reducing total undergraduate enrollment by 2,200 students during the three years the plan had been in operation. The IBHE's policy reversal cannot be ascribed to the State's deteriorating fiscal situation in the early 1990s because Illinois was well on the way to recovery when the higher board acted. (Already in January 1993 income tax receipts were up 4 to 5 percent, and revenue from the sales tax was 18 percent higher than in the preceding year.)¹³ The real explanation may be that Wallace's openly expressed disdain for PQP had antagonized the higher board.

4 PQP

Illinois' fiscal condition deteriorated during the 1991–92 fiscal year. In October 1991 Chancellor Groves indicated, as the Regents began to formulate their response to PQP, that, if inflation was taken into account, the Regency universities had already absorbed a 7 to 8 percent decrease in state funding during the preceding two years. Even worse, there was a mid-year, 3 percent rescission in FY92, which amounted in the case of Illinois State to \$1.9 million that needed to be returned to Springfield; but the impact of the cut was softened because the University had established a 1.5 percent contingency fund to deal with this eventuality.

On October 1, 1991, Arthur Quern, the chairman of the IBHE, sent a letter to the chancellors and presidents of the public universities, in which he set forth the purposes of PQP—"Priorities, Quality, and Productivity." He said, as we have already seen, that universities could no longer expect taxpayers and tuition payers "to accept escalating increases in the costs of higher education." He continued:

“(t)he funds for building the future will come not from digging deeper into pockets already emptied but from our making choices on what we must stop funding in order to pay for those things which we cannot allow to be underfunded.” This meant identifying productive programs of high quality and eliminating less effective ones and those that were important but not central to a university’s mission. Making such hard choices would be the task of “the full community of faculty, administration, students, alumni, and governing board members at each institution...” “A call for more tuition” had to be “coupled with an increase in the quality of the education received. A call for more tax dollars” had to be “based on a demonstration that every current dollar gives the maximum in productivity toward the institution’s mission.” “(A)dressing the priorities, quality, and productivity of Illinois higher education” would guide, he said, the “1993 budget development process...” The initial response of D. Brewster Parker, the chair of the BOR, to Quern’s letter was that “he regretted that the letter just ‘carries on with a policy of non-support for higher education.’”¹⁴

Governor Edgar established in the spring of 1992 a task force, co-chaired by Lieutenant Governor Robert Kustra (1990–98) and Quern, to oversee the implementation of PQP. At the September 1992 meeting of the higher board, the staff of the IBHE identified fields of study where programs could be reduced, consolidated, or eliminated and announced that it would present at the October meeting its proposed revisions of the mission statements of each university and its recommendations about specific programs that should be terminated. The universities were asked to report in October on the measures they had already taken to enhance productivity and the additional steps they planned to implement. Groves complained that the IBHE’s actions were taking on “a unilateral tone” and that the BOR and the Regency universities were being given very little time to respond to the IBHE’s directives and proposals.

Wallace declared at the same September Board meeting that his fellow Regency presidents “had been much kinder [in their comments] to the process than it deserved.” In a prepared statement that he included in the Board *Proceedings*, Wallace said bluntly: “There has been zero cooperation with the campuses...I think we have to realize that what we have been engaging in here is not an educational reform process. What we are doing is trying to race through an IBHE process to get to the preparation of the next budget.” He did not question the need for reducing “the scope of programming activities, not because we have fat but because we have a set of programs that, although efficient and productive, do not have sufficient resources to continue at the quality that we feel is important.” He noted in the subsequent discussion that “the IBHE productivity review seemed not to look at redistribution of resources but, instead, just made everyone ‘a little bit skinnier.’”

When the presidents of the public universities made their presentations at the October 1992 meeting of the IBHE, Quern cut off the discussion. Regent David T. Murphy, who had represented the BOR at the session, felt they had been “stonewalled.” Murphy was proud to announce that one university, Illinois State, “seemed to have a little different attitude.” Whether such defiance was really in the University’s best interest is another matter. The IBHE made its final recommendations in November. It charged each university to submit a report in October 1993 on how it had carried out the productivity improvements it had

proposed to the IBHE in October 1992, to engage the campus community in a discussion of how it would implement the recommendations about program elimination the IBHE staff had made or to suggest “alternatives of comparable scope,” and to work with the IBHE “in analyzing additional topics...to further priorities, strengthen quality, and improve the productivity of higher education.”¹⁵

The IBHE staff recommended that Illinois State eliminate its doctoral programs in Economics, Biological Sciences, Mathematics, and Art and master’s work in Agriculture, Music, and Foreign Languages—proposals that would have made Illinois State, if they had been implemented, even more like the other former teachers colleges. Most controversial of all was the proposal that the Agriculture Department be disestablished, even though the University was situated in the heart of the Corn Belt and had been charged from its foundation with the teaching of “agricultural chemistry, animal and vegetable physiology.” Wallace, backed by farm groups and the community, countered that the department obtained more than half of its income from the sale of farm products and grants, that it conferred more bachelor’s and master’s degrees than the other three programs in the State, and that it was the most cost effective in Illinois.

In the end Agriculture, the Ph.D. in Biological Sciences, the only doctoral program the IBHE had approved when Illinois State was slated to become a “developing liberal arts” university, and the master’s in Music were saved. The University offered up the Ed.D. in Art Education and the moribund doctor of arts degrees in Economics and Mathematics. The elimination of the last was an easy decision because the IBHE had authorized the University in 1989 to offer a Ph.D. in Mathematics Education, an area where Illinois State was and is a national leader. (In 1986, as the University was preparing its proposal for the new Ph.D., Illinois State had eleven professors of mathematics education on its faculty, more than any other university in the country; and its faculty was instrumental in drafting the national school standards in the field.)

In addition, the University recommended the termination of the M.S. in Business Education, the joint master’s program in Agriculture with the University of Illinois, a B.S. in Dance, and, in retrospect, shortsightedly, instruction in Arabic and Chinese. With computerization the preparation of teachers of typing and stenography had become outmoded, and the Department of Business Education itself was disestablished in 1997. Finally, Wallace moved to consolidate or eliminate various administrative positions and to end state funding of intercollegiate athletics. Thirty-seven administrative and civil service employees, about 2 percent of the 1,770 employees in these categories, lost their jobs. No faculty member was affected. The president announced in September 1993 that through these measures Illinois State was reallocating 6 to 8 percent of its state appropriation.¹⁶ PQP thus had only a marginal impact on the University’s programmatic offerings.

PQP turned into a debate about the IBHE’s prerogatives because Quern sought, unsuccessfully, to procure for the higher board the power to eliminate programs. Before attending the October 1993 meeting of the IBHE to report on the progress Illinois State had made in improving productivity, Wallace had been confident, he told the Regents, “that ISU was moving along nicely.” It had reallocated \$4.1 million, but the comments that were made at the meeting of the IBHE “had given him the impression that the board [the IBHE] was not pleased with ISU’s

performance.” He was frustrated that “eliminating administrative positions and not academic programs continued to be viewed as not being in compliance with the overall objectives of PQP...,” and he was concerned “that PQP had turned into a debate over the governance prerogative to eliminate programs.” His colleagues at Northern and Sangamon State feared that the IBHE would take “punitive actions against institutions regarded as non-compliant.”

Their fears were not unfounded. The IBHE’s budget recommendations in January 1994 for FY95 allocated \$2 million as “‘incentive bonuses’ to seven institutions that were regarded by the IBHE staff as cooperative in their efforts to address the IBHE recommendations for program elimination.” The higher board recommended an overall 4.2 percent increase in general revenue funding for higher education. The increments for the individual universities ranged from 2.7 percent, Illinois State’s allocation, to 6 percent. Wallace stressed in his comments about these recommendations that there was no correlation between proposed increases and cost effectiveness. He concluded that the IBHE “was utilizing the budget as a ‘carrot and stick’ so as to move the PQP process forward.”¹⁷ Placed in this context, the IBHE’s sudden withdrawal, a few months earlier, of its financial support for Illinois State’s enrollment management plan must be seen as one more “punitive” action against an institution that was judged to be “non-compliant.” Wallace had successfully defended the University’s programs but there was a price to pay.

5 A NEW TUITION MODEL

Quern’s letter initiating PQP in October 1991 stated explicitly that the universities could no longer automatically make up for shortfalls in state appropriations with tuition hikes. From the beginning of his tenure at Illinois State, Wallace sought a solution for the problems that plagued public universities and that were often treated as independent variables but that he insisted in his 1993 article, “Public Higher Education Finance: The Dinosaur Age Persists,” were interrelated. These problems were: escalating tuition rates; the declining percentage of institutional budgets derived from state tax revenue; inadequate financial aid; excessive student part-time work; low four-year graduation rates; growing student indebtedness; and declining tax support measured in real dollars.

In September 1988, after the General Assembly had failed to pass a tax increase for the second year in a row and three weeks after Wallace assumed the presidency, the Regents raised tuition \$125 a semester, effective January 1989, on top of a \$425 increase twelve months earlier. Wallace commented that what struck him most in the short time he had been at Illinois State was the distrust both students and faculty had for the State’s political system. “Students,” he said, “have a right to know what the tuition is going to be ahead of time and not in the middle of the year.” Illinois State’s student regent, Dan Wagner, pointed out that students were paying over 40 percent of the cost of instruction rather than the 33 percent the IBHE recommended. This large additional hike explains why Quern stressed in October 1991 that any future tuition increase had to be linked to improvements in productivity.

In subsequent months Wallace attacked the use of the one-third percentage as confusing to the public and as inequitable because the cost of instruction and the level of state funding varied greatly among the public universities. For example, the appropriation level per student was \$2,900 in the Board of Governors system but

only \$2,100 in the Regency system. It was better, Wallace insisted, to talk in dollars than percentages. Although Illinois had great resources, it adhered to a model of low-tax support and, historically, low tuition. The description of Illinois as a low-tuition state may seem, in light of the repeated tuition hikes, counterintuitive; but in 1994 Wallace explained that if the total tuition revenues a state collected, including at two-year colleges, was taken into consideration, Illinois' overall tuition charge per student had been 60 to 80 percent below the national average for the last fifteen years.¹⁸

In the following years Wallace grappled with an alternative way to finance higher education. In March 1990, as the General Assembly was considering a tuition freeze bill for FY91, the president warned against "taking a very superficial approach to holding tuition down." He pressed, instead, for a study of how much financial aid the State had offered to lower and middle income families during the previous ten years. The next month he called for "a model for financial aid in this State consistent with the times." A year later, when the Regents approved a 5 percent tuition increase for FY92, he cited "the concept of differential tuition based on the economic status of the family wherein lower income families would pay less tuition than higher income families" as an example of a different model that addressed "the question of affordability." Finally, in January 1992, after pointing out that 46 percent of the students at Illinois State did not qualify for federal aid because their families' income exceeded the government's guidelines, the president said: "Somehow we must address the issue of making education available to lower and middle income families through greater tuition charges for high income students and greater financial aid for low and middle income students."

In FY93, when tuition was increased an additional 10 percent and the number of hours for which students were charged was raised over a three-year period from twelve to sixteen, Wallace was ready to apply his new model. Illinois State would designate, he explained, 32 percent of the first 4 percent of the hike and 28 percent of any amount above 4 percent for financial aid. In the case of a 10 percent tuition increase, 7 percent of the proceeds would thus go to the University's budget and 3 percent to assist students. While educators "liked to focus," he said, "on how much tax support is being given to the public institutions . . . the real issue from the students' perspective is total cost to the student." The price of a year's education at Illinois State was \$7,700, but the financial aid a student received needed to be subtracted from the total. The increased financial aid generated by the tuition hike would offset the increased cost for students whose families earned less than \$50,000, whereas families who made more than \$60,000 were usually able to afford the higher price. Even so, more than two hundred families who earned more than \$80,000 qualified for some aid.¹⁹

Wallace presented his arguments in a more formal fashion the following summer in *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*. He dismissed the following propositions as myths: state legislators would invest enormous sums of tax dollars in higher education when the economy improved; it was possible to maintain institutional quality and to invest in the future in a low-tuition/low-tax support environment (as the example of Illinois showed, there was no evidence that such a model worked); part-time student employment did not have an adverse effect on undergraduate access, retention, and four-year graduation rates; a reliance upon loans had little impact upon low-income students' and minorities' access to higher education and

graduation rates; tax revenue and tuition were “both derived from all segments of society based on their ability to pay”; and a residential college experience was of little educational benefit and its cost did not limit student access.

The reality was that as state tax support had eroded and direct financial aid had not kept up with tuition hikes, students had been forced to rely more and more on part-time work and loans. The uniform low tuition public universities charged was, in fact, a subsidy for the children of affluent families who increasingly attended public universities and who could easily afford to pay more. “[T]o enable all students, regardless of family income . . . to attend a four-year university full-time without excessive part-time employment or excessive student debt,” Wallace advocated the replacement of “the current low-tuition/low-gift aid model” with a “tuition equity/high ‘gift’ aid model.” Public universities needed to charge more, but the “sticker price” would be discounted, as was the case at private schools, through generous financial aid funded in part by tuition hikes. Affluent families would pay more, but public education would remain a bargain for them compared to the costs at private institutions.²⁰ In 1994 Wallace declared: “It’s not an entitlement to go [to college free of charge].”²¹ As the publication of Wallace’s article indicates, he was gaining national recognition as an expert on the financing of higher education.

Wallace’s model is in effect today at Illinois State. In-state tuition in FY07 for a new student was \$205 per credit hour or \$4,277 per semester for a student taking sixteen or more hours. The rate is locked in for four years. In FY06 the University granted a total of \$134 million in financial aid. The largest component of that, \$73 million, consisted of loans; but 6,078 students received \$14.8 million in grants and financial aid. Between 2005 and 2007 the University doubled from \$2 million to \$4 million the money it committed to supplement the State’s monetary awards program, outright gifts to the most financially disadvantaged students in the lowest income quartile. “No other public university in Illinois,” according to President Al Bowman, “can say that.” In 2007, 1,500 students whose family income was less than \$25,000 a year were the beneficiaries of this program. The Foundation also provided more than \$2 million in financial support and scholarships, e.g., to Presidential and Bone Scholars. In FY05, 40 percent of new students did not pay full tuition, and, if student loans are factored in, the percentage jumps to 67 percent. Financial aid covered the full amount of tuition and fees for 16 percent of the new students. Average student indebtedness upon graduation in 2005 was \$14,000 compared to a national average above \$18,000. More than 5,000 students are employed each year on campus. It is not known how many work in the community.²²

6 EXTERNAL FUNDRAISING

Wallace accepted, as Watkins had not, that public higher education was being privatized or as he put in 1994: “We are becoming more like private institutions whether we like that philosophically or not.” In FY94 general revenue funding provided less than 40 percent of the University’s total budget of \$166 million; tuition supplied 21 percent; and the remainder came from such non-appropriated sources as room and board, student fees, external grants, and donations. The corollary was that the University needed, like the privates and the flagship state universities, to become more aggressive in seeking external funding.

Year after year Wallace reported successes in procuring grants: in April 1991, Wallace indicated that the University had received more than \$5 million in outside funding during the first six months of the fiscal year compared to a total of \$4 million the previous year; the final tally for FY91 was more than \$7 million; the number of grant submissions by the faculty increased from 17,000 in 1988 to 34,000 in FY92 and the number of awards rose 42 percent; in January 1993, he announced that during the first six months of FY93, Illinois State had received \$8.56 million in external funding versus \$4.82 million at the same point in FY92; and in April 1994, Wallace noted that grants were up 20 percent and that the University appeared to be heading toward another record year.²³ Behind this litany of successes was a change in institutional culture: research-oriented faculty increasingly looked beyond the campus for financial support.

There was a similar focus on fundraising. Watkins and Strand had conceived in 1986 or '87 the idea of creating an elite academic program within the University, but Illinois State initially had been able to grant tuition waivers to only fifteen freshmen. In April 1990, Wallace announced that State Farm had given the University \$450,000 for the Presidential Scholar Program and that the University had received so far that year a total of \$800,000 to endow it. The University was now in the position to offer the very best students—among them, six graduates of the Illinois Math and Science Academy who were going to enroll in the fall—four years of funding. In 1992 State Farm donated an additional \$550,000 to the program. Recipients were required in the late 1990s to have a minimum composite ACT score of 26 and to have graduated in the top 10 percent of their class. In Fall 2007, 121 students, including 29 freshmen, were enrolled in the program. Today, students need a minimum ACT score of 28 to be admitted; the average ACT score of the freshman Presidential Scholars in 2007 was 31.72. They receive \$8,000 a year for four years if they remain in academic good standing.²⁴

Several alumni who were employed in the insurance industry proposed to Wallace in late 1990 that the University establish within the College of Business a program to assist the insurance industry. Illinois State was a natural choice because Bloomington is the national headquarters of both State Farm Insurance and COUNTRY Financial (previously COUNTRY Companies). In May 1991 Wallace was able to announce that “nine major financial, legal, and insurance organizations” in Chicago and Central Illinois had given or had pledged a total of \$930,000. During the 1990s State Farm contributed \$100,000 to the program every year and COUNTRY Companies gave \$50,000; they still give substantial amounts. Joseph Nicosia, Class of 1973 and the president of United Financial Group, and his wife Lee endowed the program; and it was named the Katie Insurance School in memory of their daughter Katherine, who had died as a toddler. The current endowment is \$3 million. In 1996 executives from Lloyd’s of London attended a week-long seminar on the American property and casualty industry, and the School continues to offer such services to Lloyd’s as well as such companies as Zurich, COUNTRY Financial, and Allstate.²⁵

Wallace cultivated alumni donors as he had at Fort Wayne. During his first three years as president, the size of the endowment doubled. In FY92 a record 11,500 individual and corporate donors contributed over \$3.2 million, and the senior class pledged a record \$110,000. The alumni phonathon raised \$30,000 in 1988 and over \$550,000 in 1992. The president thought that the phonathon might

be able to raise a million dollars within two years and that total giving might reach five million annually within a few years. These were not unrealistic goals. In December 1992 Wallace indicated that the phonathon had received more than \$800,000 in pledges since February, and in FY93 individual and corporate donors gave, in fact, \$5.3 million.

On November 1, 1991, Judith Riggs (1991–98), the director of development at the University of Illinois foundation, became Illinois State's Director of Development. She was responsible for private fundraising and charged with preparing and launching the University's first capital campaign within the next four years. A year later she was named acting Vice President for Institutional Advancement, a position that had been created in 1989; and in January 1993 she received the permanent appointment. Riggs was thus the first woman vice president in the history of Illinois State.²⁶ As for the capital campaign, it had to wait until Victor Boschini became president in 1999.

7 CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

Wallace was equally creative in seeking ways to solve the University's shortage of approximately 400,000 square feet of space. The IBHE reported in the fall of 1990 that Illinois State had "the lowest net assignable square feet" per student, 99 square feet to be precise, among the 12 public universities; the average was 156. Voters in Unit 5 rejected in November 1988 the plan to sell Normal Community High School to the University; but the Old Main Book Store, today the Professional Development Building, which the University had acquired, was renovated at a price of \$364,000.

A new science building, which had been first proposed in the late 1960s, headed the list of Wallace's building projects. (Sol Shulman, who helped plan the building and who served as an on-site consultant during its construction in the 1990s, had been hired originally in 1969 as chair of the Chemistry Department to implement the project. In 2008 the atrium was named in his honor.) Already in October 1988, a few weeks after his arrival, Wallace indicated that he was looking into alternative ways to finance its construction; and in December he presented the Regents with a proposal, "A Chemistry Building: A Non-Traditional Approach," to use private developers to construct an 80,000 square-foot building at a cost of approximately ten to eleven million dollars. He also suggested that some of the funds that the State had earmarked for scientific facilities at colleges in its failed attempt to procure the federal government's construction of a supercollider in Batavia might be used for this purpose.

In the end the Regents opted for state funding, and in FY90 the General Assembly appropriated \$1 million to design a facility whose total cost was not to exceed \$20.3 million. Additional financing dried up during the recession, and it was not until FY95 that the legislature allocated the necessary funds to proceed. Governor Edgar finally dedicated the new facility, which has over 115,000 square feet of space and cost \$36 million, on September 9, 1997, two years after Wallace's departure. Wallace's critics, most notably Chancellor Groves, questioned how much credit the president deserved for the building's construction; but the facility, the first new academic building that was opened on the campus since the completion of Milner in 1976, is his most visible accomplishment.²⁷

Wallace turned to Neal Gamsky, the vice president for Student Affairs (1974–91), to devise a plan for solving more quickly the University's pressing need for additional academic space. Gamsky proposed freeing up 24,000 square feet by moving non-academic services from classroom buildings, specifically the counseling center in DeGarmo and health services in Fairchild, into a new Student Services Building. To pay for the structure, the University refinanced its bond debt, which was amortized by the fees students paid for these services, but without imposing an additional burden on them. Wallace presented the plan, which he estimated would cost \$11.7 million, to the Board in September 1989; and it was finished in the spring of 1992. The conversion of Fell from a dormitory into a classroom building, which had been started by Watkins and which cost \$10 million, and the construction of the Student Services Building, provided the University with an additional 60,000 square feet for academic or academic support purposes. As part of the same financial package, the University built at a cost of \$7.15 million the parking ramps on School Street and on University (north of the Student Services building). Parking fees covered the cost of this project. The ramps opened in August 1991 and did much to solve the perennial shortage of parking space.²⁸

There were a number of lesser projects as well. In 1993 Wallace proposed the construction of an aquaculture building on the University farm to house a research program and to serve as a model facility for farmers, and the BOR borrowed \$55,000, interest free, from the Corn Belt Electric Cooperative to build it. The University constructed in 1994, at a cost of \$350,000, a new facility at the corner of Locust and University for the *Vidette*, which had been housed in a surplus army building behind Edwards. The old IGA grocery building on Main Street, which had served as the site of the University's museum until Wallace closed it in a cost-cutting move, was turned into the Educational Media Center, today the Instructional Technology and Development Center. (One unfortunate consequence was that the University turned over its impressive collection of African artifacts, to the detriment of instruction, to the Illinois State Museum in Springfield.) Electrical and mechanical problems and asbestos removal raised the cost from \$600,000 to \$1.38 million.

There were preliminary discussions in the spring of 1994 about renovating the dormitories, some of which were by then nearly forty-five years old. In the spring of 1995 the administration devised a \$62 million "Campus Facilities Enhancement Project." On April 6 students rejected by a vote of 768 to 862 a measure to increase student fees to cover the cost of the undertaking. Only 8.2 percent of the students had participated in the referendum. Wallace declared that he was encouraged by the outcome because, he said, people only voted if they were opposed to a measure and proceeded with the plan. On July 12 the Board approved, subject to final approval by the IBHE, a \$160 increase in student fees to pay for the construction of a \$20 million student recreation center, a \$10 million performing arts center, and a \$7 million parking deck. Wallace's disregard of the students' wishes alienated them and was a factor in his loss of campus support. Strand wisely chose to poll the students again.²⁹

8 COMPUTERIZATION

Under Wallace's leadership there were major strides in the computerization of the campus. Mark Wyman regarded the transformation Wallace wrought as so

important that he called one of the five chapters in *The Fourteenth Decade*, “A Technological Revolution.” It is hard for anyone under forty to comprehend how marginal computers were for most faculty members and students in 1980. For example, in 1981 Frank Matsler, the executive director of the BOR, commented that the Regency universities had spent millions on computer facilities, that is, mainframes (the University acquired its first large mainframe for administrative use in the mid-1970s), but that there was not a single BOR staff member who had any expertise in the area. In 1985 Chancellor William Monat noted in passing that the Regency campuses did not yet have “full electronic mail . . . but it will be coming soon.” The faculty in the Department of Applied Computer Science, which had been established in 1978, advised the administration in FY84 that most faculty members at the University had no need in their offices for a personal computer, which IBM had put into mass production in 1981; but by 1987 many faculty members had discovered the advantages of the PC for their research and teaching and were beginning to communicate via BITNET. The campus was linked to the Internet in 1991, and in December 1991 the University offered for the first time a workshop, “Introduction to the Internet.” My recollection is that History Department faculty did not get their first PCs until the late '80s.

Computers were put to increasing use during the 1980s. Nationally, librarians, aware of the ability of the computer to access information, were in the forefront of the computer revolution in academia. Milner's card catalog has been on line since 1976, but the old card catalog was maintained until 1989, when patrons started using computer terminals in the library to access bibliographical information. Today, this information is readily available at every desktop computer. After 1980 users ceased filling out a card to check out a book, and bar-coding started in 1996. In the mid-1980s a large computer area for students' use was opened on the second floor of Milner. The long lines of students at registration every fall and spring ended in 1990 when the University switched to the computerized STAR system (Student Telephone Assisted Registration). David Williams began using the computer in the late 1970s to teach music students, but the real breakthrough in the computerization of instruction occurred in 1984, when the English Department started teaching two experimental sections of the second semester writing class, English 145, in the Mathematics Computer Laboratory. The experiment proved so successful that in 1986 Illinois State became the first university in the nation to computerize the teaching of all of its introductory composition classes. The department's national leadership in the teaching of composition was a major factor in the success of the English D.A. and led to the program's conversion into a Ph.D.

Wallace accelerated computerization by updating the University's infrastructure. The University's telephone system was truly antiquated—faculty shared four-person party lines and, at least in the History Department, the secretary until the mid-1980s had to authorize and dial long distance calls. In May 1991 the Regents approved a new \$7.66 million telecommunications system, which was built by the Swedish corporation, Ericsson Business Communications. Computer connections accompanied the 350 miles of fiber optic cable that were laid, and more than 9,000 outlets were installed in 100 buildings. The system was switched on, on July 27, 1991; and a year later Wallace informed the Regents that many people who had not previously employed a computer were doing so, that the new

network permitted faculty and students to search the holdings of libraries across the country, that the use of email was proliferating, and that financial transactions were being automated.

The University paid, upfront, \$1 million, derived from bond revenue funds, to rewire the residence halls. Since the State did not appropriate funds for the construction of the system, the University borrowed the balance, \$6.6 million, at an annual effective interest rate of 6.295 percent, which was to be repaid in 116 monthly installments between 1991 and 2001. The total cost with interest was \$8,945,250. The Office of Telecommunications was turned into a service department, that is, a unit that charged all other university departments and units for its services; and this revenue was used to pay off the debt and interest as well as all of the office's other expenses, including salaries, operations, maintenance, and expansion. In June 1999 the University paid off the remaining balance.

Even more important, the wiring of the campus permitted the use of the computer in classroom instruction. In FY91, Elizabeth Chapman, then the dean of the College of Applied Science and Technology, turned Turner 200–01 into the prototype of a “smart classroom” or “Advanced Technology Classroom.” Subsequently, as associate provost, she pushed for the installation of computers in classrooms across the campus. Between 1995 and 1998, forty-seven classrooms, with 42 percent of the seats on campus, had been equipped with “large screen projectors, TVs, VCRs, interactive computers (most linked to the Internet), document cameras, advanced audio systems, advanced sound systems, and new lighting systems.”³⁰

This potential pedagogical revolution—the actual use of the equipment depended on the instructor—would have occurred eventually whoever was president in the 1990s, but Wallace's willingness and determination in the midst of a recession to find alternative ways to finance necessary initiatives hastened the computerization of the campus. In short, David Weber, a biologist, was not too far off the mark when he told *The Pantagraph* on February 21, 1995, on the eve of the first faculty meeting that considered the president's secret salary supplements, that Wallace had done more for the University than any other president in the twenty-seven years Weber had been at the institution.³¹

9 SECRET PAYMENTS

The event that precipitated Wallace's downfall was *The Pantagraph's* revelation, at the beginning of January 1995, that the Foundation had paid him since November 1993, \$55,000 to supplement his salary. Wallace's compensation had been an issue from the very beginning. The paper had reported on June 22, 1988, in the article on his appointment, that he would be paid \$92,000, \$8,000 more than Watkins had made his last year as president, but less than the \$94,500 Wallace received at Fort Wayne. It stressed that the presidential residence was an additional perk at Illinois State. Less than two months after his arrival, the Regents increased his remuneration. The Board chair, Carol Burns, indicated that during the search for Watkins' successor, the Regents had discovered that the salaries of their CEOs were non-competitive. Seven of the eight semi-finalists were paid between 12 and 35 percent more than Watkins (the eighth came from a much smaller university). Roderick Groves added that the median salary of the CEOs at institutions with more than 18,000 students was, nationally, \$108,000 and at a comparison group of twenty-one Midwestern institutions, \$102,000. Since the faculty had received an

average 8.5 percent hike in FY89, the Board felt comfortable raising both Wallace's salary and that of President La Tourette of Northern to \$97,500, a 6 percent hike. By way of comparison, Groves was given \$114,650. Even with this raise, Wallace's new salary for FY89 remained in the lowest national quartile.

The following year, FY90, the two presidents received \$106,200, a 9 percent increase; Groves earned \$124,900; but the president of Sangamon made only \$82,400. In FY93 the three presidents were given a 3.5 percent increase, but Groves, at his own request, was granted only \$300 to offset the increased cost of health insurance because the State had allocated little extra funding to the chancellor's office. Since internal reallocations and a tuition increase had allowed the employees at Illinois State and Northern to receive an average increment of between 4.5 and 5 percent in FY93, it was politically and financially possible to raise the presidents' compensation as well. In FY94 Wallace and La Tourette earned \$116,000, Groves \$133,500, and Naomi Lynn at Sangamon, \$111,945. (The gap between Sangamon and the two other universities had thus narrowed considerably.)

The Board undertook in the fall of 1993 a comparative study of the compensation of university CEOs because it believed that the presidents were more underpaid, relatively speaking, than the faculty. As a result of this investigation, Wallace and La Tourette received in FY95 a 3.5 percent pay hike and an \$11,000 market adjustment. Wallace's annual salary in 1994–95, the year his salary supplement became public knowledge, was, therefore, like La Tourette's, \$131,700. Groves earned \$136,000.³² The Board had thus tried hard, since it began the search for Watkins' successor, to assure that the salaries of the presidents at the Regency universities were competitive. It is also worth noting that Groves' remuneration did not increase as rapidly as the compensation of his subordinates. The difference between his and Wallace's salary shrank from \$17,150 in FY89 to only \$4,300 in FY95.

Both Groves and Wallace recalled in January 1995 that the president had approached the chancellor in 1990 or 1991—neither could remember the exact year—to talk to the Foundation about supplementing Wallace's salary. Groves said he did not pursue the matter because he did not take orders from the president but from the Board, and Wallace admitted that he had been disappointed by the chancellor's attitude. In the uproar that followed the disclosure of Wallace's additional compensation, David T. Murphy, the chair of the BOR, appointed a subcommittee to devise "specific guidelines regarding salary supplements of presidents." It reported in May 1995 that there were different models for providing presidents with privately funded supplements and cited among its examples, the University of Illinois and, revealingly, the state of Virginia, where Wallace had been an administrator before going to Fort Wayne and which he cited as a model in other contexts. What Wallace had requested in 1990 or 1991 was thus hardly unusual, and the Foundation readily agreed in 1991 to pay an annual annuity premium of \$12,500 for William Gurowitz, Gamsky's successor as the vice president for Student Affairs.

What happened next is less clear. Wallace insisted in January 1995 and later in response to questions for Mark Wyman's decadal history that E. Burton Mercier, Class of 1950 and the chairman of the Foundation board in 1993, had approached

him about the supplement—Mercier died on January 17, 1994, and so could not give his side of the story—while some unnamed sources told *The Pantagraph* that the initiative had come from the president who indicated that he would leave if he did not receive the additional compensation. Whatever the truth may be, the Foundation voted unanimously to give Wallace a supplementary payment that was not to exceed 25 percent of his salary and paid him approximately \$55,000 between November 1993 and January 1995. Including the supplement, his compensation in FY95 was thus not \$131,700, but \$162,000. *The Pantagraph*, hitherto not known for being sympathetic to faculty complaints about being underpaid, calculated on February 21 that Wallace's salary, counting the supplement, had risen 52 percent between FY90 and FY95, whereas the average professor's had gone up only 16.5 percent. To place Wallace's remuneration in context, the president of Illinois Wesleyan earned in 1996, \$175,000 and received \$29,560 in benefits; and his colleague at Bradley was paid \$190,497 and was given \$50,661 in benefits. Admittedly, these two colleges are private schools that tend to be more generous than public institutions, but Wallace's salary package was hardly out-of-line.³³

After *The Pantagraph* first broke the story, Wallace read a prepared statement at the BOR meeting on January 19, 1995. He insisted that he had done nothing wrong—he might have saved his presidency if he had adopted a more apologetic tone—and that the Foundation had no obligation to announce how it dispersed its money, except as required by the State Audit Act and the IRS code. Since Wallace was a non-voting member of the Foundation board, it had not reported on IRS Form 990, as it was required to do for a voting member, the compensation it had paid Wallace, but had simply included his supplement under the \$367,522 it had expended on contracts. Wallace explained that he had not informed the Regents, a fact he regretted, because he felt he could be held legally liable if he disclosed confidential information. Vincent Trosino, a 1973 master's recipient and the chairman of the Foundation board in 1995, told the Regents that the Foundation had agreed to the supplement because it thought that Wallace was doing an excellent job and because it feared that he would leave because he was underpaid. The Foundation had not informed the Regents about the arrangement because no one, including Groves, had ever asked. If the Regents had inquired, Trosino said, the Foundation would have willingly supplied the information.

Every one—BOR Chairman Murphy, Wallace, Groves, and G. Allan Hickrod of Educational Administration and Foundations, the longtime faculty representative on the Foundation board—agreed on the need for better communication in the future between the Regents and the Foundation. Groves was especially adamant on that point on January 19. He insisted that Wallace's and Trosino's statements raised "major, major questions of accountability." If foundations were to be held accountable to the public, there might need to be a review of the chancellor's prerogatives such as giving him a seat on the foundation boards of the universities. He reminded the Regents that Lt. Governor Kustra, the driving force behind the administrative reorganization of higher education in Illinois in the 1990s, had commented that governing boards needed to know what fringe benefits the foundations were giving the presidents, so the boards could make intelligent decisions about raises. Groves warned: "if this Board doesn't take this matter under consideration and make some decisions, others are going to do it for you."³⁴

The Regents' ignorance of the arrangement is, perhaps, the oddest aspect of the whole story. In the wake of the controversy at Illinois State, it was revealed that similar discussions had occurred in 1993 at DeKalb between Northern's Foundation and La Tourette. In September 1993, at approximately the same time Wallace must have been talking to Illinois State's Foundation, the Regents sent a directive to La Tourette that he was to "discontinue any and all discussion with the NIU Foundation for a \$132,000 lump sum payment by the Foundation in his behalf for eleven years of pension credit he had not purchased." The ex-post-facto justification for these discussions, which had been initiated, or so it was alleged in 1995, by the chair of Northern's Foundation, was that La Tourette's salary was too low. Wallace denied during his interview with *The Pantagraph* on January 19 any prior knowledge of these negotiations at Northern, but are we really to believe that both foundations, simultaneously, but independently, conceived similar schemes and that the Regents never thought to issue some general directive about such payments or, at least, to inform all the Regency presidents and foundation chairs about the Board's stance on the issue? Chairman Murphy summarized the situation on January 19: "There needs to be open communication. We all regret what happened and it is a very sad situation. There is fault in many areas." There was a lot of blame to share.

On January 19 the Board announced that it would "undertake an immediate and thorough examination of CEO compensation. In the interim the Board is prepared . . . to suspend any further supplementation of CEO salaries pending an outcome of that examination."³⁵ Since Wallace had already received his payment for FY95, the Board's action had no immediate effect on him.

The Pantagraph also raised questions about other benefits Wallace had received and his failure to report them. The president was paid several thousand dollars—no specific amount was stated—for serving on the board of directors of Bank One. He had not disclosed this information on his "Statement of Economic Interests," a report all high-level state employees were required to file, Wallace said on January 19, because the University did no business with the bank. On February 21, the day of the general faculty meeting, *The Pantagraph* reported that the McLean County district attorney was considering filing charges against Wallace for his failure to do so. In addition, the Foundation paid, the paper indicated on the nineteenth, for the president's membership at the Bloomington Country Club, which Wallace explained, when pressed by the reporter, was pretty standard, because he used the club to entertain. He had never played, he insisted, a single round of golf at the club. On February 21 *The Pantagraph* suggested, in a new allegation, that Wallace might have been guilty of a potential conflict of interest, when GTE provided him with an all-expense-paid trip to the Super Bowl in Miami in January 1989, as the phone company was preparing to bid on the contract to install the new telecommunication system at Illinois State. He had not disclosed this gift on his "Statement of Economic Interests."³⁶ While the paper certainly had the right, indeed the obligation, to investigate and to report its findings, the disclosure of the new information on the day of the faculty meeting was inflammatory.

Since even *The Pantagraph* conceded that the Foundation's supplementary payments were probably legal, the real issues were that the arrangement had been kept secret—in his interview with the paper Wallace maintained that it was a matter of confidentiality rather than secrecy—and, as that defense suggests, his

failure to sound repentant. He insisted in the interview that the University community did not have a right to know everything about his private dealings and that he had not considered returning the money because the supplement had placed his compensation at the national average. The only thing he would have done differently, he said in retrospect, was to discuss the payments with the Board's executive committee.

As early as January 20 *The Pantagraph* reported that a "groundswell of resentment has developed among faculty," that there was support for a general faculty meeting where Wallace might receive a vote of no confidence, but that he "appears comfortable in his position." In the end 239 faculty members signed a petition for such a meeting, which was held on the evening of February 21 in Capen Auditorium.³⁷

The most startling scene in the drama was the firing of Roderick Groves on February 17, four days before the faculty meeting. The chancellor had already announced on September 23, 1994, that he intended to retire at the end of the fiscal year, i.e., June 30, 1995; but in a teleconference on February 17, the Regents by a vote of four to one, with one abstention and three members absent, relieved Groves of his duties effective the end of the day. The Board offered no explanation for its actions, but Joseph B. Ebbesen, who voted for Groves' dismissal, insisted that the minutes include a statement that, at least as far as he was concerned, the Board's decision was "completely unrelated" to "the situation at Illinois State University." Regent William Sulaski, who became the first chair of the Trustees in 1996, concurred.

Yet *The Pantagraph* in its front-page story on February 18, "Regents fire Groves," highlighted the chancellor's statement: "I strongly suspect Tom Wallace had a role in this. Certainly, it was done for his convenience." Groves said he had been judged by a "kangaroo court" because he thought "what happened was indiscreet and wrong" and because he had come "out swinging and it appears that the board felt that I shouldn't have. I find that disappointing and regrettable. I considered it important to stand up for the oversight responsibility of the board, and my reward is being shoved aside." Groves was on record, the paper reported, as recommending that Wallace be fired if the faculty voted no confidence in him and so, the chancellor explained, the Regents wanted Groves himself out of the way prior to the faculty meeting. Indeed, Groves complained, the Regents had been pressuring him for several weeks to resign. Wallace denied, for his part, any involvement in the Board's decision. Sulaski conceded that Groves' statements about the salary supplement had not helped the chancellor's standing with the Board but that his dismissal was really the "inevitable culmination of numerous philosophical and leadership differences that began long before the Wallace controversy."

There is little doubt that Groves had antagonized the Regents long before the story of the extra remuneration broke—the small salary increases the chancellor received testify to that—and the truculent words he addressed to the Board itself on January 19 could not have helped his standing. It is also true that Wallace had his supporters on the Board. On February 18 *The Pantagraph* ran another story about the pending establishment of the Board of Trustees: "ISU Board a 'milestone.'" The president indicated that he hoped that two of the current Regents, Sulaski, a resident of Bloomington, and Carl Kasten, an alumnus, would

be appointed as Trustees; and they became in 1996, in fact, the first chair and secretary, respectively, of the BOT. They cast two of the four votes for Groves' ouster. On August 17, 1995, Frank Matsler, who had been appointed as acting chancellor for the remainder of the BOR's existence, proposed that Groves be granted the honorary title, Chancellor Emeritus. The motion passed, but Kasten and Ebbesen voted no; and Kasten indicated that Sulaski, who was absent, wished to be on record as opposing the motion as well. Distinguished Professor Paul Baker of Educational Administration and Foundations said on February 21 that it had been a "power struggle between Groves and the president and I guess we know who won."³⁸

The position of chancellor had been created in 1984, as we have already seen, without public discussion and with little thought about the relationship between the chancellor and the three Regency presidents. Almost from the beginning of his presidency, there was friction between Wallace and Groves about the delineation of their respective responsibilities. In July 1989 Regent Dr. Harry L. Wellbank proposed changes in the Board's *Governing Policy*. Four members of the ISU community—the president of the alumni association, the president of the student body, the president of the local chapter of the AAUP, and the chair of the Academic Senate—expressed to the Board in September their reservations about the changes. Wellbank denied that Groves had initiated the proposals or that they were an "effort at centralization" or an attempt "to minimize" shared governance at the universities, "to reduce the stature of the Presidents or to diminish their effectiveness," "to separate the Presidents from the Board," "to stop" them "from dealing with their local state legislators," or "to eliminate campus input in presidential searches or evaluations."

Wallace's only public comments about Wellbank's proposals were that "the last few weeks and months have been a very painful time" and that he hoped that the Board would examine, for everyone's benefit, "the responsibilities of the Chancellor and the Presidents." The Regents passed in October a revised version of the proposed changes after they indicated that they did not intend "to allow the Chancellor to further centralize policy and decision-making authority." However, in 2003 Wallace blamed "the lack of long-term Board and administrative leadership" for the University's retarded development.

In 1990 Gordon Ropp, McLean County's representative in the House, introduced a bill in the General Assembly to seat on the Board two additional members, who were to be graduates of Illinois State and Northern; and on January 24, 1991, Kasten and Ebbesen, took their places as the respective alumni members. In May 1991 Ebbesen, supported by Kasten, began asking for information about "duplication of efforts between positions in the Chancellor's Office and those on the campuses." Groves denied there were any. Ebbesen brought to the Board's attention in October Quern's PQP letter to the chancellors and presidents and moved that it be included in its entirety in the Board *Proceedings*. In making his motion, Ebbesen noted that Quern's letter raised the same question about the duplication of efforts he had asked in the spring and that he still wanted an answer. Ebbesen moved, with Kasten as the second, in December 1991: "that each Regency President and the Chancellor shall identify the areas of definite or possible duplication of administrative functions within the Chancellor's Office and the individual campuses."

After the Regents received the requested reports, they hired in 1993 the Bronner Group of Chicago to conduct “an organizational review of key top-level organization positions at the Board and its member universities,” in order “to enhance organizational effectiveness and reduce operating costs.” The Board appointed an ad hoc committee in December 1993 to study the preliminary findings of the Bronner Report, but the establishment of Illinois State’s and Northern’s separate governing boards made the Bronner Report irrelevant.

Wallace almost certainly orchestrated in 1989 the opposition to Wellbank’s proposed revisions of the Board’s *Governing Policy* and in 1990 Ropp’s bill to enlarge the BOR with alumni representatives sympathetic to their alma maters. Groves’ dismissal on February 17, 1995, the very day that the universities were granted their own boards, was thus the culmination of Ebbesen’s and Kasten’s campaign to eliminate duplication and to defend the institutional autonomy of the Regency universities, which was assured by the establishment of the separate governing boards. In covering the story of the chancellor’s firing, *The Pantagraph* indicated that previous conflicts between Groves and Wallace had been smoothed over but that the controversy over Wallace’s salary supplement had precipitated Groves’ ouster.³⁹ In reality, Groves’ objections to Wallace’s supplementary compensation were, as Sulaski told the paper, only a minor irritant. The real issues had been, all along, to curtail the chancellor’s authority and to protect the universities’ autonomy; and so it is not surprising that Wallace retained on the eve of the faculty meeting on February 21, 1995, the support of the most influential members of the Board of Regents, who had been his allies in the fight to attain a separate board for Illinois State.

It was the faculty who used the revelation of the payments to get rid of a president whom many perceived as authoritarian and dismissive of shared governance. Wallace had his defenders among the faculty. For example, David Weber of Biology cited at the meeting on February 21 the president’s notable achievements: his efforts to procure competitive salaries for the faculty, his success at fundraising, and the construction of the Science Building, Student Services Building, and the parking ramps. Paul Baker of Educational Administration and Foundations conceded that Wallace had done many great things and had treated Baker well. He had no desire to “destroy” Wallace, but the president’s handling of the supplement was “unacceptable and typical of the manner in which he has made other decisions at Illinois State University.” He proposed, therefore, that Leonard Schmaltz of Psychology, the chair of the Academic Senate, appoint a committee to review Wallace’s leadership and that the faculty should reconvene to discuss its findings.

Virginia Owen of Economics, an alumna and the former dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, in an electrifying speech turned the audience against the president. (I was there.) In a display of her legendary abilities as a debater, she called for a broader vision than a mere recitation of Wallace’s undoubted achievements. She asked if, in handling the issue of the supplements, Wallace had “demonstrated the kind of character and integrity that ISU wants to teach its students.” If he had, then he should be held up to the students as a role model. *The Pantagraph* reported that her words were met with wild applause and a standing ovation. The vote was 190 to 64 with one abstention to establish the review committee.⁴⁰

In explaining his reasons for making the motion, Baker said that while serving on various committees he had seen things that had troubled him and that many former administrators had told him they had witnessed things they did not like. Here I can offer some personal testimony. In the spring of 1990 Baker and I served on a search committee to hire a new dean of the Graduate School. While a candidate was on campus, Wallace fired a number of administrators, including the acting dean and the associate dean of the Graduate School. I found myself in the awkward position of introducing the candidate to people who had been dismissed a few hours earlier. The members of the search committee seriously considered resigning in protest. The issue was not the president's right to fire administrators, but the way he did it.

Wallace's actions on this occasion were not without repercussions. Among the individuals who were discharged was Charles Morris, the vice president for Administrative Services. Groves promptly appointed Morris the acting vice chancellor for Academic Affairs—under the circumstances a not altogether friendly act. Regent Clara Fitzpatrick commented pointedly to Wallace and Groves, before voting for Morris' appointment: "I think there were some unanswered questions that still remain about the nature of the administrative reorganization (at ISU) and those questions were asked both by me and by the Black Legislative Caucus." Morris' ouster was not one of Wallace's most politically astute decisions. Yet eighteen months later Ebbesen, who was not yet on the Board in 1990, hailed Wallace's "consolidation of administration positions," which had resulted in the dismissal of seven individuals and "a savings of between \$200,000 and \$250,000," as causing "improved efficiency and more cost-effectiveness."⁴¹ Fitzpatrick and Ebbesen, concerned, respectively, about affirmative action and administrative efficiency, assessed Wallace's actions very differently.

Earlier, the dismissal on March 13, 1989, of the popular basketball coach, Bob Donewald (1978–89), had provoked a public uproar. Donewald, who had led the team in 1983, 1984, and 1985 to NCAA tournaments, had compiled an overall 206–121 record. However, he had his first losing season, 13 to 17, in 1988–89, the first one since Illinois State began fielding Division I teams in 1970. The Athletic Director, Ron Wellman, who had consulted with Wallace, explained: "Our inability to improve our finishes in the Missouri Valley Conference, coupled with Bob's reluctance to support developmental activities and booster functions contributed to the decision." External fundraising was becoming crucial because the University was phasing out the use of state appropriations to finance intercollegiate athletics. When two students were given the opportunity to address the Board on March 23 and to state their unhappiness with Donewald's firing, the Regents and Groves took the position that this was an administrative decision that the Board had delegated to the president and his subordinates and that it would not intervene.⁴²

The Regents' response to the students, and by implication to the faculty, lies at the heart of the latter's discontent with Wallace: what was the role of the faculty in the formulation of academic policy and in the governance of the University? A good illustration of this is the dispute that developed during Wallace's last year over the Academic Impact Fund or AIF. The president and his new provost, John Urice, who had been hired in 1994, centralized the hiring of tenure-track faculty members. The income from all vacant lines was placed in the AIF, and the provost, as the chief academic officer, was charged with determining whether the

department would retain the position or whether the line would be assigned to another department that had a greater need for an additional faculty member. The AIF was thus an institutionalization of PQP. The faculty protested that the AIF infringed upon the departments' right to fill positions. This was a dubious claim because the decision to fill a vacancy had always required higher authorization and because the faculty continued to select their future colleagues, subject to the dean's normally pro forma approval.

There was also a pressing fiscal reason for the establishment of the AIF. Faculty and staff members were entitled to receive upon their retirement or resignation a lump sum payment for one-half of the unused sick leave they had accrued since January 1, 1984. The specific amount of the payout was prorated on the basis of the individual's compensation during their last year of employment. It was almost impossible for the departments and colleges to budget for this unfunded state mandate because faculty and staff members often decided only toward the end of the fiscal year to leave. By the late 1990s many faculty members who had been hired during the growth spurt of the 1960s were retiring, and the University owed them, collectively, a large amount in severance pay. In fact, between 1984 and 2006 the University paid out \$18,982,270 (\$23.1 million in 2006 dollars). By FY95 it had already spent \$5,454,865. Since the individual departments and even the colleges did not have sufficient funds to make these, often last minute, payments, the only solution was, Wallace and Urice believed, to centralize the obligation. By FY07 the AIF had expended nearly \$8 million, obtained from the vacant lines in the AIF, for this purpose.

Wallace ignored the Senate's recommendation that the implementation of the AIF be delayed a year until a committee had time to study the issue on the grounds that such a measure was "unnecessary and inappropriate." On May 4, 1995, just before the release of the report about his conduct the faculty had commissioned in February, the Senate passed a resolution, by a vote of twenty-six to four with six abstentions, that the president "unjustifiably ignores the senate's responsibility and authority to determine educational policy and advise the president on its implementation." Len Schmaltz of Psychology, the chair of the Senate, said: "I'm very disappointed that he [Wallace] chose not to follow our advice. Hopefully, he won't continue to do this kind of thing." *The Pantagraph* could not reach the president for a comment, but Urice called the resolution "divisive and unproductive" and stated: "[t]he academic impact fund is finance, not policy."⁴³ Wallace and Urice were almost certainly right, procedurally and fiscally, but the issue could have been handled, perhaps, more diplomatically.

The twenty-five-page committee report on the president's conduct was made public on May 5. *The Pantagraph's* headline, "ISU report gently scolds Wallace," indicates that even at this late date his presidency might have been salvageable. The fifteen-member faculty committee, chaired by Distinguished Professor Rodger Tarr of English, had heard from thirty-one faculty members, nine administrators, and six civil service employees. All respondents were required to document their assertions, and their names and testimony were provided to the president. There was, the paper said, "mild criticism," but "no smoking gun." The investigators concluded that Wallace had not violated any university procedures or policies, but that he should have reported the salary supplement, a point Wallace had already conceded in January. The report criticized the Regents for not inquiring

into the matter when they first heard rumors about the payments, but that the president bore the primary responsibility for not notifying the Board. As of May 5 the McLean County district attorney was still investigating, the paper indicated, whether Wallace should have included in his “Statement of Economic Interests” the salary supplement, the free trips GTE had provided him, while it was doing business with the University, and the other perks he had received.

“What the committee did find, however,” the paper reported, “is the need for the president to be more open, more responsive to the faculty in the area of decision making and shared governance.” But this was a reciprocal obligation: “Likewise, the faculty bears the responsibility to be more open, more responsive, to the president, especially if decision making and shared governance are to have meaning.” The report concluded that neither the president nor the Senate had “addressed the question of what constitutes ‘participation’ or ‘consultation’ from the senate in the decision-making process.”

The committee also investigated and commented upon two contentious issues. The Senate had the right to select seven faculty and four student members of the Athletic Council, but Wallace claimed that he could choose an alternate if he found the Senate’s designee unacceptable and that he could establish his own athletic council if he and the Senate were unable to resolve their differences about the council’s composition. The report declared that “Wallace’s attitude in this matter ‘clearly erodes the concept of shared governance.’” On the other hand, the committee determined that the president had violated no procedures when he decided to cut the men’s soccer and wrestling teams—the latter decision was extremely unpopular—and to start a women’s soccer team to meet Title IX gender equity requirements.

The committee recommended that a faculty senate replace the Academic Senate (this has not occurred); that Wallace should take a more active role in shared governance, engage in more active dialogue with the faculty, and give timely notice of his decisions; that the faculty should evaluate the president and other high administrators every year and that their evaluations should be forwarded to the administrators’ superiors; that all the terms of an employee’s compensation, regardless of the source, needed to be disclosed and publicly discussed; that the faculty’s and the Board’s representatives on the Foundation needed to inform their constituents on a regular basis about its activities; and that there was a general need for better communication between the governing board and the Foundation. Wallace, in a statement, expressed “gratitude for the committee’s ‘remarkable’ job;” described “its recommendations as ‘constructive and appropriate;” and said he would do his best to work with the campus community to realize the report’s objectives.

The report also recognized the president’s considerable accomplishments: his decisive, proactive leadership style; his support of faculty teaching and research activities; his lobbying efforts on behalf of higher education in Springfield; his innovative plans for funding capital development projects; his defense of academic programs; his cultivation of political support for the University; and the establishment of the system of wet promotions.⁴⁴ In short, the report was a balanced assessment of Wallace’s presidency.

One of Wallace's faculty critics dismissed the report as "bland and non-controversial." "[I]t could have been written," Richard Stivers of Sociology said, "by the president's new media service representative;" and he and others considered boycotting the second faculty meeting on May 11. Approximately 150 people, about 20 percent of the faculty, attended the meeting, a respectable turnout in the closing days of the semester. The attendees decided to hold a referendum on the president's performance. In addition, the meeting passed resolutions in favor of the creation of a faculty senate and delaying the implementation of the AIF for a year. Ballots, asserting "our confidence in Thomas Wallace and his ability to lead the university in the future," were mailed at the beginning of June to 793 faculty members at their homes; and they had until July 1 to respond. Nearly 70 percent of the ballots were returned—549 to be precise: there were 249 votes of no confidence (48.5 percent); 219 in support of the president (42.6 percent); 45 abstentions (9 percent); and 36 were invalidated.

The vote was announced on July 3, and Wallace indicated that he took it "seriously and was disappointed with the results." The president's critics interpreted the outcome as a call for the president's resignation or dismissal, in spite of the fact that only 28 percent of the eligible faculty voters had declared their lack of confidence in Wallace. Regent Sulaski, who had been one of the president's supporters, indicated "he was disappointed in the faculty vote because Wallace has done many good things for the university, things that haven't received the notice they deserve." On the other hand, Regent Myron E. Siegel told *The Pantagraph* that, even without the controversy, Wallace had probably reached the point in his presidency where he had done all he could at Illinois State and should consider looking for other opportunities. Some other unidentified regents were blunter. They were "growing increasingly perturbed by Wallace's conduct" and planned "to discuss the possibility of firing the president or asking for his resignation."⁴⁵

The words of these unnamed regents were, in fact, a public salvo in their behind-the-scene campaign to force Wallace's resignation. *The Pantagraph* reported on July 8, the day after he announced his resignation, effective August 15, that an anonymous source had told it that Wallace had approached the Board a month earlier and had offered to resign "in exchange for a compensation package worth about \$400,000." The source commented: "He goes out and creates all this trouble, and then he asks for this ungodly amount to leave." The Regents countered with an offer of about \$100,000, which Wallace rejected. After the faculty vote was announced, he had turned, the source indicated, to Governor Edgar and Lt. Governor Kustra in the hope that they might intervene on his behalf with the BOR. Although both made on July 7 the expected public statements of appreciation about Wallace's service, they had refused, perhaps because they had not forgotten Wallace's derogatory comments about the IBHE and PQP, which they had initiated. In the end Wallace was granted an administrative leave for one year at his current salary of \$131,700, two additional years of service credit toward retirement (\$26,477), and the use of the presidential residence until December 31, 1995.

When the Board formally accepted Wallace's resignation on July 13, Sulaski, who announced the terms of Wallace's departure, said it was "an appropriate time to acknowledge the tremendous contribution" Wallace had made to Illinois State, but that it also was time for the clouds that had been surrounding the campus "to clear and for us to move on in the most positive way." Kasten and others thanked

Wallace, but Regent Barbara Scheibling, who had cast the one vote against firing Groves, sent the Board a written statement: "I have no philosophical opposition to separation agreements in general and would not in this instance were it not for the fact that the proposed agreement is in addition to the salary supplement that President Wallace has accepted . . . Those payments have never been approved by this Board and as such represent illicit gains. In the absence of Board approval, they should be returned to the Foundation for appropriate uses." The internal divisions among the Regents, caused by the fight to limit the chancellor's authority and ultimately to establish separate governing boards, could not be completely papered over.

On the day *The Pantagraph* announced Wallace's resignation with a banner headline on the front page, it carried another story above the fold about a garage sale that Thomas and Barbara Wallace had held the previous day at the residence. The caption beneath the picture of shoppers rummaging through the goods, with Mrs. Wallace looking on, read: "Books, a sombrero and costume wigs were among the items for sale at a garage sale Friday at the home of Illinois State University President Thomas Wallace."⁴⁶ It is hard for me to decide which was in worse taste: a university president selling his used clothes or *The Pantagraph* running the story.

10 DAVID A. STRAND

When the Board accepted Wallace's resignation on July 13, it appointed David A. Strand (b. 1935), the interim president of Illinois State. (A good indicator how irrelevant and dysfunctional the BOR had become is that the appointment was not included in its *Proceedings*.) Strand was the obvious choice. *The Pantagraph* emphasized that he was the only one of the vice presidents who had not received a supplement. The Foundation, citing confidentiality, refused to divulge the names of the other recipients, but eventually it was learned that 104 individuals had received such payments in FY95. Strand stated that he would not accept any additional remuneration without the Board's approval. Governor Edgar had already indicated on July 7 that he expected the new Board of Trustees to make the permanent appointment. When the Trustees named Strand the permanent president on April 16, 1996, they stressed Strand's extensive prior administrative experience and his eighteen years of service at Illinois State. He was thus the first president since Felmley who was an insider. Above all, Strand's reputation for integrity allayed fears.

Strand, who was a native of Evanston but who grew up in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, earned a bachelor's degree at Carroll College in Waukesha, Wisconsin and a master's and an Ed.D. from Indiana University. He had filled a variety of administrative positions between 1959 and 1978 at Southeast Missouri State University, Watkins' own undergraduate school; and it was the latter who hired Strand in 1978 as the University's executive officer. Two years later he became vice president for Business and Finance and in 1984 provost, after serving for a year in an interim capacity. In 1994 John Urice replaced Strand as the University's chief academic officer, and he resumed his old position as the principal financial administrator. His demotion by Wallace, if it was such, put him in the faculty's good graces a year later. When Strand accepted the interim presidency, he called Illinois State a "house divided," which needed to go through "a period of healing," and pledged "to restore a sense of community." The influential former dean of

the College of Arts and Sciences, Virginia Owen, declared: “That is the thing that David Strand does best.” His governmental philosophy was summarized in the Four Cs, which he frequently cited as the University lodestar: “Cooperation, Collaboration, Communication, and Civility.”

The Trustees selected Strand without a national search because he enjoyed the support of all the University’s constituencies and because they felt that Illinois State was at a critical juncture in its history and needed to move forward quickly. At his recommendation the Trustees indicated that they would begin the search for his successor in the fall of 1998—prior to his interim appointment he had been planning to retire in the summer of 1996. In accepting the permanent appointment, he stated that his first priority had been to ease the transition from the old board to the University’s “first independent governing board.” The second was to stabilize undergraduate enrollment at seventeen thousand students and to improve the retention rate. His goals for the future were: to procure funds to equip the Science Building; to conduct a faculty and staff salary review and to bring salaries in line with those at peer institutions; to pursue the campus enhancement project to a successful conclusion; to project the University’s positive image more widely in order “to assist in friend raising and fundraising efforts;” and “to position” it “as a leader in education reform, educational technology, and educational diversity.”⁴⁷ It may not have been the most exciting agenda, but after seven years of rapid change and conflict, the campus welcomed tranquility.

Strand’s transitional presidency turned out to be, unexpectedly, anything but peaceful. The Board’s dispute with the faculty over the rights of the Senate in the governance of the University ended with a reassertion of the president’s and the Board’s authority and a new harmony that has characterized their relations, so far, in the twenty-first century. Even more important, the *Fisher Report*, which was commissioned in conjunction with the search for Strand’s successor, provided the University with a new mission that was crystallized in the catchwords, a “Public Ivy.” The roadmap for turning Illinois State into the premier, public undergraduate institution in Illinois, if not the Midwest, was laid out in *Educating Illinois*, the strategic plan that has guided the University’s destiny since 2000.

At the first meeting of the Board of Trustees on January 3, 1996, the newly elected chair, William Sulaski, the head of an accounting firm in Bloomington, offered a brief overview of the University’s condition. Over 19,000 students, who came from 43 states and 54 countries, were enrolled in “57 undergraduate programs in 159 fields of study, 33 masters programs and 8 doctoral programs.” There were 100,000 living alumni, more than 65 percent of whom had graduated in the preceding quarter century. One hundred and fifty-three buildings were situated on the 850-acre campus and were worth over three-quarters of a billion dollars. There were 7,700 residence hall rooms and 62 acres for parking.⁴⁸ Oddly, Sulaski said nothing about the faculty, a revealing oversight that may explain why the Trustees’ relations with the faculty were soon strained.

11 FLUSH TIMES

Financially, Strand’s presidency coincided with one of the most prosperous eras in American history, the height of the dot-com boom of the late 1990s. Unlike the “punitive” budget Illinois State had received in FY95, the IBHE was favorably disposed toward the University; and Governor Edgar routinely endorsed the

IBHE's budgetary recommendations. For example, the higher board recommended in February 1998 that higher education receive in FY99 an overall 6.1 percent increase in funding and that the public universities get an average increase of 4.5 percent in their operating budgets. Illinois State was granted slightly more, 4.6 percent. This amount included funds for a 3 percent salary increase and an additional \$667,000 for faculty and staff equity raises, a 10 percent increase in the library's budget for purchasing new materials, and more than a million dollars for new academic programs. The IBHE's capital budget designated \$658,000 for creating additional smart classrooms and \$1.1 million "for capital renewal." This sum was earmarked for electrical work in Felmley, which Biology and Chemistry had vacated after the completion of the Science Building. The University's proposed \$7 million renovation of Julian and Moulton ranked seventh in the capital list and seemed certain to be funded.

Governor Edgar and the General Assembly accepted the IBHE's recommendations, including the money needed to remodel Julian and Moulton, and added \$1.2 million to pay for the merger of the Mennonite College of Nursing with Illinois State. Altogether Illinois State received \$79.7 million in general revenue funding in FY99, Strand's last year, and anticipated collecting \$48.7 million in the income fund. To place the State's contribution in context, the University's general revenue appropriation in FY08 is \$82.9 million after reaching a high of \$93.4 million before the hijacked airplanes struck the World Trade Center at the beginning of FY02.⁴⁹

The State's improved fiscal condition made it possible for Strand and the Trustees to address the problem that had so long vexed their predecessors: making faculty and staff salaries more competitive. In October 1997 Strand initiated a three-year salary enhancement plan for all employees. The State had provided funds for a 3 percent raise, but through internal reallocation, the University was able to give raises of 5.2 percent. The University targeted civil service employees and A/P personnel, respectively, during the first two years and faculty in the third. An additional 3 percent was added to each group's salary base; in the case of the faculty this amounted to \$1.2 million. Faculty and staff salaries increased an average of 15 percent during this three-year period.

In spite of these efforts, faculty salaries have continued to be lower than at comparable institutions, in part because the University was able to give no or only minimal increases in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 and because Illinois was slower than other states to recover from the recession. In February 2004 Vice President Stephen M. Bragg (1994–present) estimated that it would take \$5.2 million to raise the average faculty salary to the median at thirty peer institutions. President Al Bowman set out in 2005 to remedy this situation. In 2007 he reported that the gap between the salaries of professors at Illinois State and peer institutions had decreased from 14 percent to 10 percent, for associates from 10 percent to 7 percent, and from 2.2 percent to less than half a percent for assistants.⁵⁰ Basically, the University must offer competitive salaries to new hires but has difficulty thereafter in keeping up because of Illinois' recurring fiscal crises and outmoded system of taxation.

The University employed in Fall, 1997, 1,526 civil service employees, many of whom had long been unionized in separate locals: building service, food service,

and grounds workers; heating plant and building mechanic workers; police officers; and the individual building trades (electricians, carpenters, painters, and plumbers). The University's four hundred, overwhelmingly female, clerical workers were the major exception. Their compensation lagged behind their counterparts in state government and in the local private sector; and under the leadership of Julie Ruby in History they voted on December 12, 1996, to be represented by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. It took nearly a year of negotiating and picketing before they were able to ratify their first contract. Today, the salaries of civil service employees are 1.2 percent higher than at peer institutions with similar civil service classifications.⁵¹ Ironically, Ruby, an administrative aide, was excluded from the bargaining unit because she was classified as an exempt civil service employee; and thus she did not benefit personally from the drive she had spearheaded. Since then, the compensation of exempt civil service employees has not increased proportionately as much as that of their unionized co-workers.

Tenure and tenure-track faculty rejected on March 8, 2000, another effort to unionize them, but a movement to organize the non-tenure-track faculty or NTTs, led initially by Gretchen Knapp and then by Sharon MacDonald, both of whom taught History, was more successful. In August 2002, the 456 NTTs—176 full-time and 280 part-time employees—made up 28 percent of the University's full-time equivalent faculty. They claimed discrimination in pay and benefits and had little job security. The unionization drive by the Illinois Education began in April 2002 when the Non-Tenure Track Faculty Association sent out authorization cards to potential members. Thirty percent of eligible employees had to sign the cards before a vote could be scheduled, but the University and the NTTs disagreed about the composition of the bargaining unit. It was finally decided, after a ruling by the Illinois Labor Relations Board, that emeritus faculty members who taught classes and non-tenure-track faculty members in Milner and the Mennonite College of Nursing were to be excluded from the union, but that administrative professionals and civil service employees who also taught, the faculty in the laboratory schools, and the supervisors of student teachers were eligible for membership. On April 23, 2003, 225 of the approximately 325 eligible NTTs voted 131 to 79, with 14 contested ballots, in favor of unionization. They obtained in August 2004 their first contract, which gave them a nearly 6 percent salary increase and some job security.⁵²

Illinois was even able to address, in the relatively flush financial situation of the mid-1990s, the problem of its perennially underfunded, public pension systems with a variety of consequences for the University. In FY96 the State implemented a fifteen-year plan to build up its contributions to SURS, so that the system would be 90 percent funded in fifty years. For example, in FY98 the IBHE recommended that SURS receive an additional \$42 million payment. This amount was 35 percent of all the new general revenue money that the State was budgeting that fiscal year for higher education and was two million more than would go to all the public universities combined. So reducing SURS' unfunded liabilities entailed a reduction in the money that was available for new program initiatives. At the end of FY07, SURS was 68.3 percent funded. As part of the reform of the pension system, the formula for calculating pensions was changed so that most people could retire earlier with the maximum pension, usually after thirty years of service.

In exchange, employees were no longer compensated for any unused sick leave they accumulated after January 1, 1998, a fringe benefit that had grown, as we have seen, into an enormous unfunded liability; and retirees with less than twenty years of service assumed 5 percent of the cost of the state health insurance for every year under twenty they had not worked for the State. In addition, new employees and those with only a few years of service were given the opportunity to enroll in alternative pension plans that were portable, so they could more easily change jobs, and that gave them greater control over their own financial future.⁵³ Besides solving in the long term, though not immediately, the severance pay problem and encouraging higher paid faculty to retire, these reforms were designed to make the public universities more attractive to new faculty who needed to be hired to replace the generation that had arrived in the 1960s to teach the baby boomers.

The Trustees also tackled the problem of unexpected, disproportionate increases in tuition, which made it difficult for students and their parents to calculate the cost of a four-year education and to plan accordingly. Already in the early '90s Regent Ebbesen had pressed the board staff to make budgetary projections that could be conveyed to potential students about the cost of attending a Regency university for four years. He called such an "approach as 'operating higher education like a business.'" In response to an IBHE request in 1996 that the University develop a four-year plan on tuition and fees, Stephen M. Bragg, then the Director of Planning, Policies, Studies, and Information Systems, presented the Trustees in May 1997 with a "multiple year tuition and fee plan." The amount these charges could be increased in any given year would be limited by "the three-year average increase of Illinois' per capita disposal income." Bragg said that such a plan emphasized "the institution's commitment to cost containment as well as individual family responsibility to save a portion of discretionary income for college education." Two years later Bragg, by then the Vice President for Business and Finance, reported that the University "was ahead of the curve" in its linkage of tuition and fees to personal income and that the cost of an education at Illinois State, including room and board and incidental expenses as well as tuition and fees, was about \$10,000 a year.

Under the very difficult financial conditions that followed the collapse of the dot-com stock bubble and 9/11, the Trustees, in anticipation of "truth-in-tuition" legislation, imposed in FY04 a tuition increase only upon freshmen and transfer students. After the enactment of this law, the University adopted in FY05 the policy that is in effect today. There is a steep increase in tuition for each year's entering freshmen class, but that rate is guaranteed for four years. (In FY05, for example, tuition for new students was increased 14.2 percent.) In return, the University assures students who do not change their majors and who make satisfactory academic progress that they can obtain their degrees within that time period.⁵⁴ The "truth in tuition" law was the almost inevitable consequence of shifting a major portion of the cost of an education at a public university from the taxpayers to the students, a trend that began in the late '60s, and of accepting Wallace's "tuition equity/high 'gift' aid model." The privatization of public education has meant operating the University, as Ebbesen said, "like a business."

12 A BUILDING BOOM

Strand's highest priority in April 1996 was equipping the Science Building. Since the State had reached its debt limit, it could not issue the \$6 million in bonds that were needed for that purpose; and there was a real possibility that the new facility would not be able to be used. The president took the offensive and through a variety of ways amassed legislative support for obtaining the equipment dollars and put pressure on those who were blocking the funding. That spring the General Assembly provided \$2 million, but it was not until February 1997 that the Governor and the legislature authorized the expenditure of the remaining \$4 million that was needed to finish the project, and the building opened on time in August 1997. Illinois State's local legislators, Senator John Maitland, and Representatives William Brady of Bloomington and Daniel Rutherford of Pontiac, Class of 1978, were instrumental in procuring these funds. (Whereas local legislators in the 1960s and '70s had often campaigned against the University, their successors, starting with Maitland, have been the University's advocates in Springfield and have greatly aided Illinois State in obtaining funds.)

Since Wallace had disregarded the negative outcome of the referendum on the campus enhancement project, another item on Strand's agenda was to obtain student approval for the undertaking. The administration proposed in January 1996 to construct a Performing Arts Center for approximately \$13 million, to erect a third parking deck on South University Avenue, near the Center for the Visual Arts, for about \$4 million, and to spend \$25 million on infrastructure improvements in the dormitories. To finance this work, the University planned to issue \$42 million in bonds that were to be amortized by the levying of a new student fee, somewhere in the range between \$100 and \$129 a year. Strand indicated in January that the University would abide by the results of a student referendum. It passed, appropriately enough, on Founders Day, February 13, 1997, by a margin of more than four to one.

The south campus parking ramp was completed in 2000. Ground was broken for the Performing Arts Center on February 16, 1999. The final cost of this airy 61,500 square-foot facility, which contains an 800-seat concert hall and 450-seat theater and which opened in August 2002, was \$18 million.

Planning to renovate the residence halls began in the spring of 2002. Upgrading electrical service in the buildings is a particular concern. In 2004 it was estimated that it would cost \$40 million to renovate Tri-Towers and Manchester-Hewett and \$7.5 million to replace over ten years the furniture in the residence halls. By Fall, 2007, Tri-Towers—Haynie, Whitten, and Wilkins, and Linkins Dining Center—had been completely renovated; and Hewett was in the process of being remodeled. Manchester is undergoing renovations in FY09. Vrooman will no longer be a dining venue, but will become the new main entrance to Manchester-Hewett. The University Center for Learning Assistance and Minority Student Academic Center will be moved to this complex. Dunn, Barton, and Walker were demolished in the fall of 2008 to make way for the Student Fitness and Kinesiology/Recreation Center. The estimated cost of this project is \$43.9 million, of which \$30 million will come from increased student fees. Since Watterson houses so many students and cannot easily be taken offline, it will be renovated at a cost of \$6.4 million during seven successive summers, starting in 2009. There are tentative plans to

raze Hamilton/Whitten and Atkin/Colby in FY13 because it would cost \$70 million to renovate this complex. They will be replaced by new structures built in a public-private partnership.⁵⁵

In the summer of 1998, Illinois found itself in the highly unusual position of having a budgetary surplus; and the Trustees pondered how the State's good fortune could be used for the University's benefit. The more realistic vice president for Business and Finance, Charles Taylor (1965–99), reminded them that Illinois State alone had a backlog of \$160 million in deferred maintenance and that there was not the slightest chance that the State would fund even a small fraction of that amount. Two years earlier, in September 1996, Taylor had presented the Trustees with a total capital budget request of \$28.25 million for FY98. The highest priority was \$6.2 million to remodel Julian to provide additional office space for Biology and Chemistry, whose laboratories were going to be moved to the adjoining Science Building when it was finished. The State did in fact allocate the expenditure of \$7 million in FY99 to remodel both Julian and Moulton.

The proposed capital budget request for FY98 also included money to plan the remodeling of Felmley once Biology and Chemistry had moved into their new facilities. Since the University did not receive any capital renewal funds for FY98, it decided to finance this "self-funded project," as Taylor explained, "from every place we can find dollars." The University had already allocated in FY98, \$500,000 from its current operating budget for this purpose and was adding another \$250,000. It intended to assign any capital renewal funds it received in the future to the renovation of Felmley. Taylor estimated that the total cost of remodeling Felmley would be \$5.5 million or about \$70 a square foot. This was a considerable saving because the cost of new construction in the Science Building was between \$160 and \$180 a square foot. The project was finally completed at a total cost of \$6.5 million in the fall of 2004, after Governor Rod Blagojevich (2003 to the present) released in September 2003 the hitherto frozen, final capital renewal money of \$700,000.

Other items on Taylor's capital budget list for FY98, namely, \$8.6 million for mechanical and electrical systems in Schroeder, \$8.8 million for light safety features in Turner and Stevenson, and an unspecified amount to enclose DeGarmo, have taken considerably longer to reach fruition. In the spring of 1999, Governor George Ryan (1999–2003) proposed "the largest public works program in the history of the state." There was talk that it would include not only the planning money for the renovation of Schroeder but the entire amount of \$12 million, but the University received in FY00 only \$1.2 million to redesign the 104,000 square-foot facility. It appeared in the summer of 2001 as if work would soon begin on the project, but the Capital Development Board did not release the money for the project, whose total cost had risen to \$19 million, until the winter of 2002. (This amount did not include the cost of moving or furnishing the building.) Actual work on the interior of the building started only in December 2003. Faculty and students were able to move back into "Old" Schroeder, now officially known as East Schroeder and miraculously transformed into a Neo-Georgian structure, in January 2005 and a year later into the newer annex, renamed West Schroeder.

In 2003 the State granted the University \$4 million to draw up plans to remodel the 162,000 square-foot Stevenson and the 97,000 square-foot Turner. It was

anticipated that work would begin on the \$18 million project in FY04, but Illinois' fiscal problems delayed funding. Work finally started on the renovation of the third and fourth floors of Stevenson in May 2007, and the project is expected to be completed in two years, when the remodeling of Turner will commence. The total cost of the Stevenson–Turner project is now estimated to be \$23.3 million. Remodeling these major classroom buildings was and is complicated by the need to find alternative office and classroom space.⁵⁶

In February 1999 the University announced that State Farm had given \$9.5 million, the largest gift in the University's history, to realize the long postponed dream of erecting a building to house the College of Business. Strand was able to leverage the company's gift into State funding for the project, even though the IBHE, the Governor's Office, and the General Assembly had already prioritized requests for capital funding in the coming fiscal year. The State appropriated \$18.9 million toward the project in FY00. Ground was broken on October 29, 2000; and construction of the \$30 million, 120,000 square-foot building began in April 2002. It opened for classes on January 18, 2005.⁵⁷

To bring the football program to a higher level, the Trustees authorized the University in February 1999 to design and build for \$1.6 million, obtained from student athletic and recreation fees, a facility, adjoining Hancock Stadium, to house locker rooms, training space, and a meeting place for the entire football team. When it became clear that the final cost would be \$2.6 million, Fred Kaufman, Class of 1969 and master's 1972, and his wife Donna Veeder, Class of 1970, the owners of the Omni restaurant chain based in Indianapolis, contributed \$1.5 million towards the building's construction. It opened in August 2000, and the Kaufman Football Building, the first structure on campus named after a major donor, was dedicated in their honor on November 11, 2000.⁵⁸

Other projects financed through private donations were the new theater at Ewing Manor and In Exchange. When the Shakespeare Festival opened in 1978 on the grounds of the former home of Hazle Buck Ewing, the plays were performed in an open-air "temporary" theater, with folding metal chairs, which was built on the site of the tennis courts. In 1998 a fundraising campaign was started to construct a permanent facility; the final cost was \$2,008,000, of which all but \$300,000 came from donors. The new 436-seat theater, 61 more than its predecessor seated, and equipped with appropriate dressing rooms and other accommodations, opened on June 30, 2000. The company, which celebrated its thirteenth season in the summer of 2007, has performed over the decades all but three of Shakespeare's plays.

Bruce Green left the University \$5.9 million in 2006 to build and maintain at Ewing Manor a six-acre garden in honor of his wife, Genevieve Green, who had attended the University for three semesters in 1931–32. The gardens were dedicated on October 26, 2007.⁵⁹

Another gardening project, In Exchange, proved controversial. In 1995 Barbara Wallace, the University's first lady, had organized the Fell Arboretum, a group of community volunteers, most of whom were not alumni, to beautify the campus and to realize Jesse Fell's goal of displaying every tree, bush, and plant native to Illinois. The volunteers included three of Fell's prominent descendants: former United States Senator, Adlai E. Stevenson III; his cousin Timothy Ives, the owner of the local radio station WJBC; and Davis U. Merwin, the former publisher of

The Pantagraph. The group sponsored the mapping and identification of all the trees on the campus—currently 171 species are represented among the 2,525 trees on the grounds. Their most ambitious project was the conversion of School Street, which had been vacated by the town, into a two-acre “educational and sculptural environment.” The project was assigned to a local sculptor Dann Nardi, B.S. 1976, M.S. 1978, who had already designed for the Arboretum benches—“four saucerlike concrete sculptures,” *The Pantagraph* called them—that are located in “Sassafras Grove” near Hovey.

Nardi designed “four circle areas—an arbor, amphitheater, fountain, and a sort of abstract sundial, all integrated into a north-south walkway,” called In Exchange. Trustee Nancy Froelich led the mini-campaign to raise the \$2 million to turn the design into reality. What the circles represented was less clear. When Vice President Judith Riggs first described the project to the Trustees in February 1996, she declared: “The design involves circle shapes to symbolically represent continuity and time. Each circle is pigmented to represent one of the major colors of mankind.” The anthropologists on the faculty and others attacked such statements as racist and embodying a discredited concept of human races. Three years later the paper reported that the circles “will convey aspects of passing time, such as morning to night or changing seasons.” When ground was broken for the project on March 24, 2000, after a million dollars had been raised, Nardi explained: “The exchange alluded to in the name is the interaction between human and natural elements.” Red represented, he said, time, black water, white plants, and yellow people. In Exchange was dedicated on May 7, 2004.⁶⁰

As these projects indicate, fundraising had become crucial to realizing the University’s goals even before President Victor Boschini (1999–2003) formally launched the University’s first capital campaign. When Provost Urice presented the Trustees in 1998 with the Academic Plan for 1998–2003, he put it this way: “we are increasingly recognizing that we cannot move the University the direction we want it to go without additional funds and the State is not going to be a continuing source of all revenue.” By 1997 the Foundation was processing, at a cost of \$260,000 a year, “17,000 gifts a year through more than 750 accounts” it was managing. The endowment had grown from \$7 million in 1991 to \$25 million in 1998, and the Foundation was able to disperse more than \$1.9 million in scholarships.

Strand set a personal example of generosity. In 1997 the Trustees raised his salary to \$160,000, a 6.6 percent increase, though still \$4,000 “below last year’s median presidential salaries for comparable universities” and \$15,000 to \$30,000 less than what the presidents of Illinois Wesleyan and Bradley earned. Nevertheless, Strand gave the difference between the percentage increase the General Assembly had allocated for salary adjustments and his new compensation to the Foundation “to reward faculty or staff members who provide exemplary service in helping the University respond to its commitment to diversity.” Each year the University grants the Strand Diversity Award to an individual who does.⁶¹

Diversifying the faculty and student body was one of Strand’s major concerns. He commissioned Sandra Harmon, the acting director of the Affirmative Action Office, to devise a plan for diversity. Unlike previous efforts, the goals were linked to specific actions and included accountability measures.⁶²

13 ACADEMIC AFFAIRS

When Strand became in April 1996 the University's permanent president, he indicated that one of his goals was to stabilize undergraduate enrollment at 17,000 students after the IBHE had suddenly reversed course in the fall of 1993 on the University's five-year plan to reduce enrollments. By August 1995 Illinois State was already within 2 percent of Strand's goal. The number of new freshmen had jumped from 2,400 in Fall 1994 to nearly 3,000 in 1995, a 24 percent increase; and the combined 5,100 new freshmen and transfer students was the largest contingent in five years. Total fall enrollment at the beginning of Strand's last year as president, FY99, was 20,015, of whom 17,518 were undergraduates and 2,587 graduate students. (The figures do not add up.) Self-declared minority students comprised 16 or 17 percent of the freshmen class. Just over 40 percent of the freshmen had been in the top quarter of their high school graduating class and almost 85 percent had been in the top half.

Since then, as the University's reputation for excellence has spread in the State, Illinois State has become increasingly more selective; and the University, unlike some other public universities in the State, has again been forced to limit enrollment so that it does not exceed resources. There were 12,071 applications for the freshmen class that entered in fall 2006, and the University accepted 68 percent of the applicants. Of those admitted, 39 percent chose to attend. Tenth-day enrollment in Fall, 2007 was 20,104, including 17,655 undergraduates. It was the eleventh consecutive year the number of students has exceeded 20,000. More important, the average composite ACT score of the freshmen class was 24.2, the highest in the University's history.⁶³

A central element in the University's emergence as the premier undergraduate institution in the State was the adoption of the University's new General Education Program. Unlike the University Studies Program of 1979, which it replaced, the new course of study for beginning freshmen is a highly-structured, three-tiered system, oxymoronically known as the Inner, Middle, and Outer Cores. The new program, which was formally approved by the Academic Senate on March 5, 1997, and which went into effect in August 1998 for the class of 2002, was nearly nine years in the making.

A faculty survey in 1988, initiated by Strand when he was the provost, had revealed considerable discontent with the old program. Subsequent discussions by small groups of faculty organized by W. Laurence Quane of Industrial Technology, then the associate dean of Undergraduate Instruction, had pinpointed the cause in the program's "smorgasbord approach" to education. Students were free to select from over two hundred courses in eight different groups so that the only common choice was English 101. The faculty also favored greater involvement by senior colleagues in the teaching of general education courses, a more structured program, and the offering of a sufficient number of general education courses each semester to accommodate student demand. Beyond that, the IBHE had been calling since the 1980s for improvements in the undergraduate experience, including greater interaction between faculty and students, enhanced student involvement in the learning experience, and the strengthening of general education.

In January 1990 Provost Strand, as the chief academic officer, created the University Studies Review Committee and charged it with recommending changes in the existing University Studies program. The Senate approved the committee's philosophy statement in 1991 and its "objectives and outcomes report" in 1992. However, in the fall of 1992, the faculty by a vote of ninety-nine to fifty-nine rejected the initial version of the plan. Their chief concern was Foundations of Inquiry (FOI), a course required of all first-semester freshmen. Faculty critics feared that they and their colleagues lacked the professional expertise to teach such an interdisciplinary course and that the students did not have the requisite basic knowledge to tackle it—the original scheme was to teach comparative revolutions based on Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962). In spite of the faculty's negative response, the committee presented a revised program in 1994 and faculty began piloting individual courses in the Inner Core in 1995. The University established the Pilot Implementation Committee, commonly known as PIC, to assist faculty in drafting and revising course proposals and to approve or reject the final submissions.

Critics attacked the proposed program as "politically correct" because it did not include such traditional Eurocentric courses as *Western Civilization*, and PIC responded by creating the new category Language in the Humanities, where such subject matter could be taught, for example, under the rubric, Texts and Contexts. Another concern was the additional expense of running the program because FOI was to be taught in small sections to all first-semester freshmen. In addition, the program called for a reduction in the size of beginning math courses, which, except for Calculus I, averaged between forty-five and eighty-five students depending on the specific course. Essentially, University Studies was cheaper because many freshmen enrolled in large lecture classes and dropped out before they had to be accommodated in smaller classes as sophomores or majors.

Alan Dillingham, the dean of Undergraduate Education and a professor of Economics, estimated in October 1996 that General Education would cost \$1.2 million more than University Studies. (It was impossible to make an exact calculation of the cost of the University Studies program because many of the courses that could be taken for University Studies did double duty as courses for majors.) He concluded that the University, through reallocation and savings from the elimination of University Studies courses, could provide about \$570,000. The balance, about three-quarters of a million dollars, would come from new program funds the University had received from the IBHE in FY96 and FY97 and was requesting in subsequent fiscal years.

The forty-five-hour program consisted of fifteen courses, some of which were prerequisites for offerings in other categories. All first-semester freshmen had to take FOI and either English 101: Language and Composition or Communication 110: Language and Communication (they took the other course in the second semester). Provost Urice described FOI as "dealing with basic course skills, systematic investigation, critical thinking, study skills, and contemporary social issues." The other Inner Core requirements were one course in mathematics and two in the natural sciences. One of the great strengths and attractions of the program was, thus, that freshmen were not herded, for the most part, into large, survey lecture courses and received greater individual attention.

These measures have improved the retention rate. Between 1985 and 1998, 76 percent of freshmen returned for a second year. Since the implementation of General Education in 1998, the retention rate has averaged in the mid-80s, with a high of 85 percent in 2004, when *U.S. News and World Report* ranked the University's retention rate ninth among the magazine's fifty-seven Tier III institutions. That same year the graduation rate was 62 percent, at the time an all-time high and up from 55 percent five years earlier. The retention rate for freshmen admitted in 2006 was 83.3 percent, down from 84 percent the previous year; but only 75.4 percent for Hispanics and 63.2 percent for African Americans. Of course, these long-term improvements can be attributed in part also to the rise in the incoming ACT scores of freshmen; but the University can be more selective in admitting students because the improvement in the retention rate means it can admit fewer but better students while maintaining its target enrollment of twenty thousand students.

Three of the five categories in the Middle Core introduced students, primarily sophomores, to the Social Sciences: United States Traditions, Individuals and Civic Life, and Individuals and Society (one course in each category). The fourth category, Language in the Humanities, was, in effect, a second writing course based in the Humanities or Fine Arts. Students who sought a B.A. were required to take the equivalent of Foreign Language 115 (the third, college-level semester of a foreign language); B.S. recipients took instead a course in the fifth category in the Middle Core, Quantitative Reasoning.

Courses in the Outer Core were divided into four disciplinary groups: Mathematics and Technology, Fine Arts, Humanities, and the Social Sciences. Students had to take a course in each group, one of which had to deal with the non-Western world. To confuse matters even more, the courses in the Outer Core were classified into two categories: Knowing in the Disciplines and Disciplinary Knowledge in Cultural Contexts; and students had to choose two courses from either category. The latter distinction, which many faculty members found incomprehensible, proved unworkable in practice. In spite of these difficulties, Strand could comment with justifiable pride in February 1999 that "Illinois State University has garnered statewide and regional recognition for its premier undergraduate education."

The General Education Program, which remains in effect today, has undergone some subsequent modifications. In spite of the new money the University received to implement the program, it has proven more costly to operate than was originally estimated, a problem that became acute after the budgetary rescissions that followed 9/11. From FY97 to FY02, a total of \$990,997 was added to the base budget of Arts and Sciences, which provided 84 percent of the seats in the program, not counting FOI. This amount was sufficient to provide classes for an entering class of 2,800 students, but the University was admitting in excess of 3,000 freshmen each year. For example, in Fall 2001, more than 3,300 freshmen matriculated, 300 more than the University had anticipated. The College requested in FY02, therefore, an addition of \$130,000 to its base appropriation to cover the difference. This has not occurred, and the provost supplements each year the College's budget, in part with money taken from the AIF. For example, in FY07, the College received \$637,749 in such temporary funding. In addition, improvements in the retention rate meant that University had to schedule more sections in the Middle and Outer Cores.

FOI was particularly costly because, even when the size of the individual sections was increased to thirty, it required one hundred sections each fall to teach an entering class of three thousand students. While some senior faculty loved to teach FOI, many more refused; and the departments relied increasingly on a cadre of temporaries to do so, even though the initial hope had been that senior faculty from across the University would be involved in the teaching of FOI. The course came to be seen as a tax on the departments, and it has not been offered since the fall of 2005. Faculty members in English 101 and Communication 110 have assumed the responsibility for teaching some of the material that was covered in FOI. To round out their schedules, many freshmen now enroll during the first semester in one of the large Middle Core classes, subverting in part the original intention to have them do most of their course work in small classes in order to acclimatize them better to university-level work.

From the start, students in the natural sciences were able to take alternative offerings in the Inner Core that were more appropriate for their discipline; and this principle has been extended to other disciplines as well. For example, history majors, who are required to take a two-semester introductory course in American history, no longer take a course in the United States Traditions category. Only one other course can do double duty for general education and the major. Today the complete program totals fourteen courses, forty-two semester hours, approximately one-third of the hours required for graduation.⁶⁴

The other major academic accomplishment of the Strand presidency was the acquisition of the Mennonite College of Nursing, the University's sixth college and first professional school. Ironically, this addition occurred less than two decades after the IBHE had rejected, as lying outside the University's mission, Illinois State's proposed program to enable registered nurses to complete the requirements for a bachelor's degree. Local Mennonite churches had established in 1919 the Mennonite Sanitarium Training School, which had become in 1939 the Mennonite Hospital School and in 1982 the Mennonite College of Nursing—a progression that replicated the earlier changes in the preparation of teachers, another predominantly female profession. Since 1996 Mennonite's own board and its owner, BroMenn Healthcare, had been discussing the school's future. Running the nursing school had become an increasing financial burden for BroMenn, which in 1997–98 had laid off 3.2 percent of its workforce to cut costs, in part because Medicare funding for the nursing school had been reduced from \$700,000 to \$400,000. In addition, after Mennonite began offering baccalaureate and graduate work in nursing, it fit more naturally into a university setting than with its traditional affiliation with a hospital. In 1998 Mennonite had 230 students (181 undergraduates and 49 graduate students), 52 employees, and an annual budget of \$3 million.

On May 22, 1998, the General Assembly passed a bill, which had been introduced by Senator Maitland and Representative Bill Brady, giving Illinois State \$1.2 million—\$700,000 in operating money and \$500,000 in capital development funds—so that the University could make an offer to acquire Mennonite. BroMenn considered several other options, including an offer from Carle Foundation in Urbana; but by the end of June the various parties had agreed to the terms of the merger, and on October 6 the IBHE granted its formal approval. The official documents finalizing the deal were signed on December 16, and Mennonite, which

retained, as part of the agreement, its old name in spite of its religious association, became part of Illinois State on July 1, 1999, the first day of Boschini's presidency. The students gained because the total cost of attending was reduced from \$13,000 a year to about \$8,000. The school moved at the end of the summer from its old location, 804 North East Street, next to the former Mennonite Hospital in downtown Bloomington, to Edwards, which had been renovated for this purpose. Mennonite's president, Kathleen Hogan (1980–99), retired, and Nancy Ridenour became the college's first dean (1999–2007). In May 2007 the Board of Trustees authorized Mennonite to offer a Ph.D. in Nursing, and Illinois State will be the first institution south of I-80 to offer such a degree.⁶⁵

The acquisition of Mennonite brought to the forefront the growing disparity in the size of the colleges since Arts and Sciences (CAS) had surpassed Business in 1986 as the University's largest college. Dean Paul Schollaert of Arts and Sciences (1993–2001) often referred to his college as "the eight-hundred-pound gorilla," and others called it "the university within the university." In Fall, 2007, for example, 6,094 students were enrolled in Arts and Sciences, nearly twice as many as in the second largest college, Applied Science and Technology (CAST) (3,432), and twenty times the enrollment in Mennonite (300). Sixteen of the 35 departments are in CAS, and in Fall, 2006, 443 of the 952 tenure, tenure-track, and non-tenure-track faculty in the University were affiliated with it. In contrast, CAST, which has eight departments, had 146 faculty, and Mennonite 26. To deal with this imbalance, Provost Alvin Goldfarb (1977–2002) initiated in FY02 a study of the University's collegiate organization. A Senate committee considered a variety of proposals to transfer departments, for instance, Economics from CAS to Business, and/or to reconfigure the existing colleges, for example, to establish a college of health sciences, an idea that the *Fisher Report* had already proposed in 1998. In the end the collegiate structure that had been created in the late 1960s when Illinois State became a multipurpose university remained intact.⁶⁶

The pendant to the new general education program was the revision of the *Faculty Appointment, Salary, Promotion, and Tenure Policies* or ASPT in short. On September 26, 1996, Strand in his *State of the University Address* had called for a replacement of the current ASPT procedures, which had been identified by faculty focus groups as an "obstacle to building a strong sense of campus community." "Those who are concerned correctly believe," he said, "that the current system is not responsive to faculty needs, and it often fails fundamental tests of fairness and efficiency." Accordingly, Provost Urice asked the Senate to study the matter. In January 1997 the University Review Committee, an external committee of the Senate, and the Faculty Affairs Committee, a standing committee of the Senate, conducted a survey of the faculty. It revealed that the majority of the faculty did not believe that the existing system rewarded teaching adequately or that it "was consistent with departmental, collegiate, or university missions." The respondents favored by a margin of two-to-one an extensive revision. At the recommendation of Paul Walker of Agriculture, the chair of the University Review Committee, the Senate charged the committee in April 1997 to devise at least one alternative system. The Committee held a number of forums during the summer and fall of 1997 and presented an initial draft to the Senate and the Board in February 1998. The Senate and Strand approved the final draft in March 1999, and it went into effect on January 1, 2001.

Most of the specific details of this reform are arcane, but their overall thrust was to link faculty compensation, promotion, and tenure more closely to performance. When the University was a teachers college, it was quite possible for a person without a Ph.D. to be tenured and for a faculty member never to rise above the rank of an assistant professor. There were even isolated cases of persons who were hired in the 1960s and who retired three decades later as assistants. The new system connects the grant of tenure with meeting the disciplinary requirements for promotion to an associate professor. It introduced five-year, post-tenure evaluations of all faculty members, so that their performance after the receipt of tenure can be reviewed on a regular basis in a systematic fashion and, if need be, corrected. All faculty members receive an annual assignment letter, which is used in evaluating their performance. Most salary increments had previously been awarded as across-the-board percentages, a legacy of the step system of the schools and of the stagflation of the 1970s and '80s, when raises had not kept up with increases in the cost of living. The new system requires the Department Faculty Status Committee to provide each faculty member with an annual written evaluation of their performance and to award most of the raise money on the basis of that assessment.⁶⁷

The hope was and is that greater individual accountability will encourage faculty to do outstanding work, in and outside the classroom, reward those who do, and add luster to the University's reputation. Two faculty members who attracted outside attention in the 1990s were the noted author, David Foster Wallace of English, and André Kapanga of Foreign Languages. Wallace, who taught at Illinois State from 1992 to 1997, received in 1997 a MacArthur Foundation Genius Award (\$230,000). The same year the Democratic Republic of the Congo appointed Kapanga, who had been named the preceding year the Distinguished Teacher in the Humanities in the College of Arts and Sciences and who taught at the University from 1993 to 2004, its ambassador to the United Nations.⁶⁸

14 SHARED GOVERNANCE

On July 29, 1997, James Reid of Foreign Languages, the president of the local chapter of the AAUP, expressed to the Trustees his concerns about their proposed resolution to set a timeline to guide the president in implementing the ASPT reform. The stated justifications for the resolution were that faculty members were dissatisfied with the existing system of evaluation and that the \$35 million tenure and tenure-track faculty received in salaries constituted a major portion of the University's budget. Reid objected that the Board's actions infringed upon the academic community's right, as specified in the ISU Constitution, to determine ASPT policy.

The resolution was, Reid said, the latest in a series of Board actions that were in conflict with the Constitution. The others were "the Board's unilateral appointment of President Strand" and a statement by Trustee Nancy Froelich "that the Board might also unilaterally modify the Constitution as revised by the Academic Senate." While Reid acknowledged that the Board's *Governance Document* took precedence over the Constitution, he sought clarification how the *Governance Document* overruled the Constitution's requirement that faculty be represented on a presidential search committee, its assignment of the power to initiate changes

in the Constitution to the students, faculty, and the Senate, and “its delegation of authority over the ASPT process to the Academic Senate.”

Froelich responded upon behalf of her colleagues that the Board had no intention of devising a new ASPT procedure, which was a faculty responsibility. The resolution merely provided the president, who was their official link to the campus, with a timeline for enacting the changes. However, faculty salaries comprised more than a third of the University’s appropriated operating budget, and the Trustees were legally mandated to maintain a “fiduciary responsibility over the budget. It is our intent to manage the budget, not micro-manage the development of a new ASPT document.” The *Governance Document* itself, she said, was “another example of the Board’s demonstrated willingness to meet and work with the committees of the Academic Senate;” and both the process of drafting it and the final product had garnered considerable support on campus, an assertion Reid rebutted. The Trustees passed the resolution unanimously.⁶⁹

This exchange between Reid and Froelich in July 1997 was part of an unanticipated dispute between the Trustees and the faculty that dragged on for several years over the respective rights and responsibilities of the new Board, the president, and the faculty in the governance of the University. The establishment of the Board of Trustees on January 1, 1996, had been hailed as a panacea for the University’s problems; and Strand’s first priority on assuming the presidency had been to assure a smooth transition between the Regents and Trustees. It turned out to be anything but that.

While Northern and its legislative backers had sought for fifteen years, over the Regents’ objections, to procure a separate board for DeKalb on the grounds that it was “prestigious enough” to deserve one,⁷⁰ Illinois State had been quiescent, in spite of the widespread belief that the Regents favored Northern, until Wallace became president. On March 8, 1989, the Senate passed a Sense of the Senate Resolution that since Illinois State was one of only two universities in the State with a statewide mission, that mission would “best be realized and supported if it is governed by a Board of Trustees that is completely and singularly dedicated to the management, operation, control, maintenance, and overall interests of Illinois State University.” The Senate called upon the General Assembly and Governor to take the appropriate measures to give the University its own board. Senator Arlan Richardson, who was absent, sent a message in support of the resolution. He pointed out that the Board spent \$1.21 million for a chancellor (and his staff) who considered it a mark of distinction that the Regency universities were “meat and potato universities.” The vote was thirty-three in favor with only Dan Wagner, the student regent, abstaining.⁷¹

As Richardson’s comments indicate, the role of the chancellor, an office that had been created without public discussion, was a major factor in precipitating opposition to the Regents. On May 19, 1988, the Regents had unanimously passed new operating procedures that delegated their oversight authority over routine transactions to the chancellor, ostensibly so the Regents could concentrate on policy decisions. The real impact of this decision was, however, to make the Regents increasingly irrelevant, as a perusal of the uninformative Board *Proceedings* for the early 1990s indicates. During a debate in the Academic Senate in 1992 over a resolution in favor of a proposed bill in the General Assembly to abolish both

the Board of Governors and the Board of Regents and to place the universities directly under the IBHE, a measure that would save the State, it was alleged, \$3.9 million, George Tuttle of Communication, Class of 1958, attacked the Board as ineffective: “I can’t think of a more incompetent, unprepared group of people serving on a board that I have known for a long time, and it ought to be eliminated structurally.”

Chancellor Groves’ comments may have exacerbated the tension. For example, when President La Tourette of Northern suggested in 1992 that Groves consult with the provosts of the Regency universities before selecting a vice chancellor for academic affairs, the Chancellor retorted: “it is my choice and I want everyone to understand that. This is a Chancellor’s Office position; it is not a university position.”⁷² As we have already seen, Groves was at odds with Wallace from the start; and Wallace’s supporters on the Board, Ebbesen and Kasten, the alumni representatives, attacked the unnecessary duplication of efforts between the chancellor’s office and the campuses.

The fight for separate boards continued for several more years. The 1992 bill failed to pass, but Governor Edgar appointed a task force, headed by Lieutenant Governor Kustra, to consider the issue. It recommended in 1993 that both the Board of Governors and the Board of Regents be abolished and that Sangamon State become part of the University of Illinois, but the General Assembly rejected Kustra’s reorganization plan. The delighted chair of the Board, D. Brewster Parker, commented in July 1993: “Even though most of the stops were pulled out during the past year and the organ played the Kustra theme song ‘I’ll Be Happy When You’re Gone You Rascal You,’ cooler heads prevailed and the fat lady never sang.” In reviewing the Board’s accomplishments in 1993, Parker’s successor, David T. Murphy, listed first: “Governance victory—Successfully resisted efforts to dismantle a governance structure that had operated effectively for twenty-five years.” Their triumph was short-lived. On February 17, 1995, the General Assembly passed the “Higher Education Governance Reorganization Plan,” which established seven new governing boards for the universities that had previously been under the jurisdiction of the Board of Governors and the Board of Regents and merged Sangamon State with the University of Illinois system.

Wallace hailed the establishment of the new Board in an interview with *The Pantagraph*. The president quoted Kustra as touting separate boards for each of the public universities “as a way to eliminate bureaucracy and reduce costs.” Wallace pointed out that the chancellor’s office employed twenty individuals at a cost of \$1.3 million; Illinois State was budgeting \$100,000 to hire two individuals to assume the additional responsibilities that were being transferred from the BOR to the BOT. The cost saving was obvious.⁷³

The Trustees, unpaid citizens and devoted alumni* and friends of the University, took a keen personal interest in Illinois State and visited the campus on many occasions—and still do. The Board’s meetings coincided with such important events as Founders’ Day and Commencement. In July 1997 Chairperson Sulaski declared that private fundraising was “one of the many responsibilities of the Board and the Board welcomes this increased involvement.” He requested at the same

* The alumni members were Andes, Flores, and Kasten, and Froelich and Glenn had attended Illinois State but graduated from other institutions.

time that Strand arrange tours of the University's facilities in conjunction with the Board's meetings, so the Trustees could get a better sense of the University's infrastructure in reaching their decisions. The Trustees scheduled an hour-long informal discussion of topics before their formal meetings, so they could interact "directly with additional members of the faculty, staff and students." They also began a "Trustees-in-Residence Program," in which each trustee spent half a day in the fall and the spring visiting a college or other unit "to enhance their knowledge of programs" and to become better acquainted with the faculty and staff.

Unlike the Regents who had opposed for years bills to grant student trustees a vote, the Trustees supported the measure in 1998. The Regents' longtime lobbyist in Springfield, Philip Adams, commented: "I personally am glad that the Governor signed the bill, having been sent out on twelve straight sessions by the Board of Regents to oppose an issue that I felt very strongly we should have supported in the first place."⁷⁴ In fairness to the Regents, there is a difference in the balance of power between having one voting student trustee on a board with seven members or three student regents on a board with nine other members.

The Trustees' personal involvement contrasted starkly with the behavior of the Regents, who were responsible for the governance of three universities and who thus visited Illinois State less frequently and who had increasingly delegated direct oversight to the Chancellor. Froelich expressed the Trustees' perspective this way in the debate over the new University Constitution: "I think one of the things too is that you have all been used to dealing with a governance system in the past and at the present time you are dealing with a Board of Trustees which is [in] a much closer relationship to this University. I think this builds in a much greater sense of openness, communication; at least I view it that way." Yet the Trustees' good intentions were a major cause of their troubled relations with the faculty. It is hard to draw the line, as every parent of a teenager or adult child knows, between responsible concern and what is perceived, rightly or wrongly, as meddling. Ironically, the much maligned Groves had served as a buffer between an intrusive governing board and the university.

For their part, many faculty members who had been students during the heady days of the 1960s had a natural suspicion of authority. For example, there was an objection that the statement, "salaries for tenured and tenure-line faculty of the University are in excess of \$35M dollars," in the Board resolution establishing a timeline for the implementation of the ASPT reform, might "imply that changes in the ASPT policies should, according to the Board, bring about a change in the yearly cost of tenured and tenure-line faculty," that is, presumably, a reduction in the amount of money expended on salaries and/or the number of tenured faculty. The Trustees probably found such a deconstruction of their words and intentions utterly bewildering.⁷⁵

In an interview with Mark Wyman, Watkins expressed his frustration with the whole process of shared governance:

He [Watkins] noted also that while faculty and [the] student body had extensive powers through the Academic Senate, that body 'was almost never, by itself,

innovative.’ New ideas had to be discussed within the administration, ‘and then they were endlessly processed through committees and finally in meetings of the whole body.’ Watkins admitted he had ‘almost uniformly good’ relations with the senate, but added: ‘I didn’t mind the process, but it did not make for quick progress on problems.’

In 2003 Wallace blamed, among other things, “the long legacy of the campus culture” for the fact that Illinois was the only state where “the oldest public university failed to develop professional schools and a top-level national reputation for graduate studies, research, and professional service.” He described that culture thus:

The concept of shared governance had become corrupted by active campus politicians to the point where many considered that the administration and the governing board were required to secure legislative approval of the faculty for any and all policies and actions. Also, while the usual university scope of an academic senate is “academics,” historically the Illinois State Academic Senate had been allowed, by virtue of an administrative and governing board leadership vacuum, to become involved in any issue that it desired to pursue.

It is worth recalling that the faculty committee that investigated Wallace’s conduct, eight months before the Board of Trustees began functioning, concluded that neither the president nor the Senate had “addressed the question of what constitutes ‘participation’ or ‘consultation’ from the senate in the decision-making process.”⁷⁶ The Trustees and the faculty spent three antagonistic years trying to define *participation* and *consultation*.

The first differences arose over the *Governance Document*, on which the Board began working in January 1996. The Trustees decided not to modify the BOR’s documents, “but rather,” as Froelich explained, “to develop a new document which would be the new Board’s statement of how it wanted to operate as well as to provide guidance to the University for development of its internal documents.” The Trustees reviewed similar documents at other universities and consulted with previous and current members of the Rules Committee of the Academic Senate. A first draft of the *Governance Document* was distributed to the University community in January 1997. At a meeting with the Board on February 13, Janet Cook of Applied Computer Sciences and Wayne Nelsen of Industrial Technology, members of the President’s Liaison Committee, raised three concerns: “1) communication with the Board, 2) role of the University Constitution, and 3) the Board’s definition of shared governance.” In April the local chapter of the AAUP objected to the section on Academic Freedom and the absence of any reference to tenure, and the newly seated Rules Committee offered four specific changes, not all of which the Board incorporated in its final draft. The Civil Service Council, the Administrative/Professional Council, and the Student Government Association formally endorsed the document.

The Board met on May 9, 1997, in conjunction with spring commencement, to approve the *Governance Document*, which Chairperson Sulaski called “a final step in a transition from the old Board of Regents system to the new Board of Trustees.” Cook, the chair of the Rules Committee, who was absent, sent a statement to the Board in which she expressed her appreciation for the opportunity to work with the Board in drafting the *Governance Document*. She said it was “an excellent

example of a compromise. It does not have the exact wording that either party might have wanted in its ideal form, but as a working document shows the activity and recognition of everybody's role." Froelich thus had good reasons to say in July 1997 that the drafting of the *Governance Document* was a good example of the Trustees' willingness to work with the faculty.

Before the vote Sulaski explained that the purpose of the *Governance Document* was to "identify a basic policy structure which would form the foundation to govern the University and to legally, efficiently, and effectively carry out their [the Trustees'] responsibilities." Although some members of the campus community might have preferred greater specificity, the Trustees, he said, were leaving it to the faculty, staff, and students to work out in the University's own documents the details that affected their daily lives. His colleagues were determined to avoid the mistakes of individual Regents—Charles Shuman?—who had "intruded into the workings of the University." The Board approved the document unanimously, and the student trustee, Ryan Koehl, who did not yet have a vote, indicated for the record his approbation.

The harmony was, in fact, superficial. Thomas Andes, Class of 1965 and a banker in St. Louis, was absent but sent a letter in support of the document's acceptance. He declared: "My conclusion is that the Board of Trustees is a final authority in all matters affecting the institution and it exercises jurisdiction over the institution's financial, educational, and other policies and its relations with the state and federal government." Andes conceded that the president needed "to continue to seek advice from various campus constituent groups and governance bodies," but advice that can be ignored without explanation by a board with the final authority to decide hardly constitutes shared governance.

On the opposite side, James Reid, the president of the local chapter of the AAUP, in a formal statement to the Trustees before the vote, declared that the "high quality of education at Illinois State University" was "the product of a collegial atmosphere in which the Board of Regents and the administration encouraged critical dialogue . . . in all areas of institutional policy and procedure." The faculty's "essential contribution . . . to the shared governance of the University was made possible by the Board of Regents' full support of academic freedom . . ." The foundation of that academic freedom had been the Regents' "strong support for tenure." The invocation of the Regents as a model for shared governance was certainly new.

The first draft of the *Governance Document* had eliminated, Reid said, "all written support for tenure and all written guarantees of shared governance" and had limited academic freedom. He went on: "The final draft continues to exclude support for tenure, has a weak statement in support of academic freedom, and gives very limited support to shared governance. In particular, it relieves the Board of any responsibility to consult faculty in numerous areas of importance to the University as a whole." Reid was even more concerned that the preparation of the final draft had "established a dangerous precedent of very limited communication between the faculty and ISU's own Board." The Rules Committee had been given only two weeks to review the initial draft, was able to communicate to the Board only through the President's Assistant, Susan Kern, and had never dealt with the Board as a whole. The AAUP thus called upon the Trustees to reaffirm their commitment

to shared governance “through written guarantees of full academic freedom, including full support for tenure,” and “to set up a communication process that insures full two-way dialogue between [the] Board and [the] faculty . . .”

The Senate had called upon Strand on April 30 to issue a statement in support of tenure at Illinois State, and 278 tenure-line faculty members had signed an identically worded petition. Strand did so at the Board meeting on May 9 and closed with a sentence in the last paragraph that was underlined for emphasis in the *Proceedings*: “I firmly believe that tenure should continue to be a part of our culture indefinitely.” Yet *The Pantagraph*, in its coverage of the May 9 meeting, seized upon Strand’s negative comment that “the long-term future of tenure is unclear” because some legislators, members of governing boards, and individual citizens “wonder why one group of employees should be afforded economic protections not available to any other members of the public or private work force.” Strand was being honest but perhaps not very wise to remind the faculty that the receipt of tenure was not a natural right.

The paper quoted Reid the next day as saying that the “governance document and Strand’s comments regarding tenure are dangerous precedents that could severely undermine the faculty’s role in university decisions” and called these developments a “very ominous sign for shared governance.” The only solution, Reid thought, was to draft a strong University Constitution that protected tenure and academic freedom. The focus of the confrontation thus shifted to the revision of the 1969 constitution, a document that Cook anticipated on May 9 would be approved by the Senate at its meeting on December 7. It did so only on September 1, 1999, nearly two years later.⁷⁷

In the midst of the debate over the Constitution, the faculty exercised its right to participate in the governance of the University, but in a way that some outsiders perceived as irresponsible. John Urice, whom Wallace had selected in 1994 as provost in Strand’s place and who was thus seen as the president’s protégé, was associated with the AIF and had received, like Wallace, a salary supplement. Twelve faculty members of the Senate formed the hard core of the opposition to Urice. They objected that the provost made decisions “in the face of overwhelming opposition,” tried to exclude the Senate from selecting members of search committees for administrators, refused to supply background information about why he had reached a particular decision, was centralizing authority in the provost’s office at the expense of the departments and colleges—a reference, perhaps, to the AIF—and was not very respectful to opposing views. One of Urice’s most outspoken senatorial opponents, Khalid Razaki of Accounting, told *The Pantagraph* that the provost “accused . . . [his opponents] of being unethical and unprofessional. Those are grave charges. There is a lot of intimidation of faculty who fear they will be punished for speaking up. This is a clear violation of academic freedom.”⁷⁸

If there was a specific issue that had aroused his opponents’ ire, it was Urice’s handling of promotion and tenure cases—decisions that had triggered the demand the previous spring that the *Governance Document* include a statement about tenure. He had rejected, without an explanation, the recommendations by their respective departments and colleges that one individual be promoted and another tenured. Janet Cook called his behavior in these instances “typical of a leadership style that has rankled many professors.” She acknowledged that “[t]here’s nothing that says

he can't disagree. But we would like to know how these decisions are being made." However, Cook conceded that Urice had violated no guidelines.

The senators had expressed their concerns to Strand in several meetings, and, after they failed to get a satisfactory response, circulated a petition, calling for a general faculty meeting, that was signed by 170 faculty members. However, the provost had his faculty defenders. Douglas Turco of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation indicated that while he believed faculty should have "input," "I have problems with this notion of looking over the shoulders of every administrator." Turco's colleague, Norma Stumbo, said that she had disagreed with Urice on committees, but "I've found him to be above-board, ethical, and he's listened to the faculty. He's trying to create change and that's always difficult."

After it was announced that there would be a general faculty meeting that might vote no confidence in the provost, Urice granted *The Pantagraph* an interview. He was prepared, contrary to Cook's statement, he said, to provide an explanation to the faculty member whose application for promotion had been denied, if the person requested it, because it was his obligation to guide the faculty's professional development. However, he would not meet with the individual who had been denied tenure. "Our policies specifically do not require that and I try to adhere strictly to the policies. From a number of points of view, not to mention the litigious society we live in, it's not a wise strategy to meet with people who have been denied tenure and give them reasons." Beyond that, it would be unethical, he said, to discuss a specific case.

Urice admitted that he was often "brusque" and that "[there] are times when I am perhaps a little more direct than people are used to. But I always try to be respectful and courteous." When the reporter asked what Urice thought was the real reason for the discontent, he responded, not totally wrongly: "As a result of the change in the board's status, and taking a look at documents like the constitution, it's very clear there is a raised level of tension. In that tense environment, people are looking out for someone to strike out at." In response to the question whether he would resign if the faculty voted no confidence, he replied, "Absolutely not."

At a closed meeting with Strand on November 13, the Trustees directed the president "to get this matter resolved in a timely manner," preferably before their next scheduled meeting in February. Publicly, they indicated that they had complete confidence in Strand's ability to handle the matter because, as Sulaski said: "We don't want to micromanage something like this."

On the eve of the faculty meeting on November 19, 1997, Urice sent a letter defending his record to the campus community. He acknowledged "that my interpersonal style has sometimes gotten in the way of effective communication." He listed his achievements during his three-year tenure: the creation of ten new faculty positions; a plan to recruit better students and more minorities; the new General Education program; and the establishment of the Center for the Advancement of Teaching. He stressed his commitment to shared governance. *The Pantagraph* reporter asked James Reid for his reaction to the provost's letter. He responded that "Urice is almost incapable of dialogue with those of different opinions, so compromise is out of the question. Either the faculty tells him what he wants to hear or he ignores them." The tragedy was that the same thing could be said about Urice's most vocal opponents.

About 260 out of nearly 800 faculty members attended the meeting on November 19. Strand, Sulaski, and Froelich were in the audience. Twenty-five professors spoke; the paper reported that twelve were strongly critical of Urice, eight supportive, and five urged their colleagues to work with the administration. Razaki accused the provost “of making a persistent, relentless attack on shared governance.” Among the provost’s defenders—a stance that took some courage in a generally hostile audience—was the chair of Speech Pathology and Audiology, Al Bowman. He pointed out that the AIF had enabled his department to gain additional positions and buy better equipment. The vote was 204–51 with four abstentions to hold a referendum. The ballots were to be mailed out on December 1 and returned on December 10. (My own thoughts at the time were that the provost had not gotten a fair hearing and that he was entitled like everyone else to due process.)

On December 3, in the midst of the balloting, Urice announced that it had always been his plan to resign at the end of Strand’s presidency in 1999, so his successor could select his own leadership team. The vote was overwhelmingly against the provost: 390 to 122 with 51 abstentions; 43 ballots were declared spoiled. Joel Brooks of Political Science called the vote “a wake-up call” for Strand—an ominous sounding chord that Urice’s diehard opponents might turn against the president himself. Brooks added: “The more Strand tolerates this guy, the more his presidency is tainted.” *The Pantagraph* in an editorial could not resist a potshot aimed at the faculty: “That 7 percent spoilage, about seven times the percentage of spoiled ballots countrywide in the last election. Hmmmmm.”

Strand indicated that he would continue talking with the faculty and staff about what to do. He met behind closed doors on December 16 with the thirty-five heads of academic departments. (I attended the meeting.) On December 19 Urice resigned, effective August 15, 1998. He was granted a year’s sabbatical at his regular pay of \$144,000 before joining the department of Theater, where he held academic rank, at a salary that had yet to be determined. (*The Pantagraph* reported that this was the customary arrangement for a faculty member on a sabbatical, but a faculty member receives either full pay for a semester or half pay for a year. A/P’s who are dismissed are entitled to a year’s salary.) Razaki said Urice should have begun his sabbatical already in January. Brooks’ assessment was: “The president didn’t want to be perceived as caving in totally to faculty opinion, so he came up with this compromise scenario.”

On Christmas Eve *The Pantagraph* came to a similar conclusion in an editorial: “Timing of Urice’s departure from ISU leads to questions.” It asked whether Urice had changed his mind about not resigning or had been forced to do so; if Urice’s conduct had been unacceptable, why was Strand keeping him in office for another eight months; and, perhaps, most damning for the president, if Urice’s management style, so reminiscent of Wallace’s, had so antagonized the faculty, why had Strand allowed him to remain in office for two and one-half years after Wallace’s departure. The answer may be that the upright president felt it was improper to fire without sufficient cause the man who had replaced him as provost.

Nor did the faculty escape unscathed in the paper’s judgment. It observed that “the manner in which Urice was ousted is bound to leave the rest of the ISU administration and the Board of Trustees uneasy.” The editor hoped, in a not so subtle warning to the faculty, that the “repercussions of the no-confidence

votes against these two administrators [Wallace and Urice] aren't a prelude to more flexing of muscles by faculty to have more say in administrative matters." Shared governance, as practiced in the late '90s at Illinois State, was perceived in downtown Bloomington as a provocative and irresponsible intrusion in the management of the University.⁷⁹

Urice was not wrong to suggest that the real cause of the discontent with his administration was the tension over the drafting of the new University Constitution. The Rules Committee of the Senate began work on the revision of the 1969 Constitution in the winter of 1996 and initially hoped to have a draft ready for the Board's approval in the fall, but since the objective of the revision was to bring the document in line with the *Governance Document*, real work could not start until the latter was approved on May 9, 1997. The Rules Committee, chaired by Cook, worked on the document during the summer and early fall. Trustee Froelich served as the Board's liaison to the Committee. As had been the case with the *Governance Document*, the first draft of the Constitution was distributed initially to the Civil Service Council, A/P Council, Student Government Association, and major offices on campus and placed on a web site. Their suggested changes were incorporated into a second draft that was presented, simultaneously, in October to the Senate and the Trustees, who were encouraged to indicate their concerns to Cook. The plan was for the Senate to vote on the final draft at its first meeting in November and for the Board to act in February 1998.

By the time the Trustees met on October 24, 1997, it was clear that revising the Constitution would be a far more complicated and contentious process than had been originally envisioned. The Rules Committee had received suggestions that the faculty, like the civil service employees, administrative/professionals, and students, have their own faculty assembly to address issues of particular concern to them, and, conversely, that civil service employees and A/P's be represented on the Senate. Since implementing such changes would require major revisions in the internal governance structure of the University, the Rules Committee decided to keep the Senate as it had been constituted in 1969 and to defer discussion of the proposed, more far-sweeping alterations for later consideration.

The Senate, with only the four administrators abstaining, had rejected the Committee's language on the functions of the Senate in favor of retaining the language in the 1969 Constitution. That document had given the Senate the power "to determine educational policy" in ten out of sixteen areas, including degree requirements, educational conduct standards, and the appointment, promotion, remuneration, retention and evaluation of faculty, rather than simply to make recommendations to the president as the revised draft said. Strand and Kern, the president's liaison to the Board, tried to resolve the differences between the Senate and the Board; but a number of major points of contention remained, most notably: the Senate's functions; the process for selecting a president; the delineation of the president's responsibilities; the role of administrators on the Senate; and whether the Constitution was a contract between the Board and the faculty and staff.

As James Reid's comments in July 1997 indicate, the Board's appointment of Strand, without a search, as the permanent president had been perceived by some faculty as a violation of the 1969 Constitution. To safeguard the faculty's rights, the Committee recommended that a description of the process for selecting the

president, specifically, the procedure for choosing faculty and student representatives on the search committee, be retained in the Constitution. Cook argued that such a provision also buffered the Trustees, political appointees themselves, from outside pressure to select a specific candidate. The Trustees insisted that while it was inconceivable that they would not involve and consult with all the University's constituencies, the final decision was legally theirs. Trustee Jaime Flores, Class of 1980, noted that in making decisions during the previous eighteen months, he had never felt he was a "Republican, Democrat, liberal, or whatever." He, and, he thought, his colleagues also, always tried to do what was in the best interests of the University. Cook, as a self-described "ex-resident of Chicago," voiced her cynicism about the Trustees' immunity from politics.

Reid expressed the AAUP's objections to the revised version of the Constitution. He called upon the Trustees "to support a university constitution, which like the present Constitution, establishes a contract on shared governance between [the] Board and [the] Academic Senate." The existing arrangement "insured that the Board carried out its fiduciary responsibility to the state by entrusting academic decisions primarily to those most qualified to make these decisions, the faculty," while affirming "the Board's necessary right to overrule the Senate on academic issues in extraordinary circumstances." He noted that the Regents had never found cause to exercise such a right. Reid stressed that the faculty were stakeholders in the University who, like the Trustees, had a "commitment to the continuing academic and fiscal health of this historic institution." He recommended that the Trustees accept the language that was contained in Northern's constitution and that its board had approved: "The University Council has the power to establish the educational and academic policies of the University." Such an arrangement was preferable, Reid said, to concentrating "the power to determine academic policy, classroom policy in the hands of a few [the Trustees]. A few who, moreover, are not classroom instructors."

In response, Trustee Thomas Andes said: the "problem in this situation that I see is that the Illinois General Assembly appointed a Board of Trustees and delegated certain responsibilities to us. I think we need to listen to other groups and take that into account, but it's difficult for me to see where we have the right to delegate a lot of that responsibility." Flores tried to allay Reid's fears. They were, he said, "Trustees entrusted by the citizens of the State of Illinois to do the best possible job for ISU," and not a "Board of Directors . . . directing the University to do certain things." The Board's attorney, Carol Posegate, pointed out that no university constitution, at Illinois State or anywhere else, was a legal contract.

Chair Sulaski identified the core of the problem as a lack of trust. "There has to be a sense of trust in your Board of Trustees that as we make the decisions, as we help to direct and play our role in this that we also recognize the trust in all the players and the participation and the decision-making." Cook asked him: "Are we talking about blind trust? In essence we are talking about trust with accountability. . . You have the ultimate decision-making responsibility in all of these areas but we are trying to make sure that we talk about it." The Trustees were especially disturbed by Reid's insinuation that they did not trust the faculty. Kasten commented: "I would say from a personal point of view that I have very much trust in this trust [granting tenure to faculty], very much respect for this faculty, not only for myself

but my children who were educated here.” Andes concluded that their discussion that morning had been a means for developing trust.⁸⁰

Following the October meeting, there were no face-to-face communications between Froelich and the members of the Rules Committee, but Sulaski sent the Senate a letter, dated November 24, in which he summarized the Trustees’ objections to the proposed draft of the Constitution. Besides editorial changes, the Board had three substantive reservations that needed to be resolved before the Board could approve the document: “(1) delegation of authority—who does the Constitution represent, (2) determination of academic policy—what are the functions of the Senate, and (3) the selection of the president.” The Board was insistent that it delegated authority to the president and not to the Senate or any other body, though that did not exclude the various campus constituencies from participating in the governance process. Sulaski said: “There needs to be a clear understanding that the Board will rely on the campus community to make appropriate decisions on matters affecting it, but that the Board of Trustees reserves the authority to set aside those decisions should that become necessary.”

In return, Paul Borg of Music, the chair of the Senate, and Janet Cook wanted the relationship between the Board and the campus stated as clearly and precisely as possible. Borg said: “The crucial point is where the line is between exceptional authority and normal participation. . . . What we are trying to determine here is the point at which you are comfortable with us determining those things for which we have the expertise as in curricular matters, the self-governance issues, and the self-evaluation issues.” How, he asked, for example, would the Board handle a disagreement between the faculty and the president on curricular issues? The faculty’s recent dealings with Wallace and Urice were clearly in the back of Cook’s mind when she told the Trustees: “We want to be sure that things are spelled out so that there is something we can rely on, a structure that continues regardless of the specifics of the personnel involved and therefore we are attempting to plan for a stable future of understanding and mutual respect and responsibility among ourselves and between the University and Board.” In a conciliatory gesture the Board considered at the December meeting an amendment to the *Governance Document* that formally recognized its obligation to consult with the campus community in the selection of a president, an issue of some concern because it was initiating the search for Strand’s successor.

The Pantagraph’s editorial on November 1, 1997, revealed how little support the faculty had for its position in the larger community. The legislature had charged the Trustees, it wrote, with determining academic policies. While the faculty “should have input into decisions,” “employees—and that’s what ISU professors are—should not expect to make final decisions.” The Trustees should adopt the “proposal vesting policy decisions with trustees and management decisions with the administration” and the faculty should be grateful that Illinois State was not a business because if it were, the Constitution “would have been adopted by now.” In a letter to the editor, Ronald Strickland of English responded that the faculty members were “[a]cademic professionals . . . responsible for maintaining the highest academic standards possible.” While he conceded that the faculty’s role was in the end merely advisory, the Trustees had set a “destructive precedent” by appointing a president without a search.⁸¹

Regrettably, both the Trustees and the faculty were intransigent. After numerous discussions between the Rules Committee and Sulaski and Froelich and at least ten drafts, the Senate unanimously approved on February 4, 1998, a revised version of the Constitution, which was unacceptable to the Board because it did not clarify to the Board's satisfaction the respective roles of the Trustees, the president, and the Senate. The Board's attorney, Carol Posegate, reviewed the document and suggested revisions to seven provisions that were not, in her judgment, in accord with the rights, powers, and duties vested by the State in the Board. The two most contentious clauses in Posegate's revision were the assertions that the *Governance Document* took precedence over the Constitution and that the Board had the right to approve and amend the Constitution. These revisions were presented to the Senate only the day before the Board's meeting on February 17, a discourtesy that, understandably, irritated the senators who had little time to consider the changes. She proposed to the Trustees two alternatives for dealing with the document. The Trustees could approve at their February meeting either the Senate's or her version of the Constitution or they could defer a final decision until their May meeting and try to resolve their remaining differences in the interim. Strand counseled the Board to adopt the second course.

The key difference between the two versions was, Cook pointed out, the way they formulated the relationship between the Senate and the president. In the case of a stalemate between the two, the Trustees' draft left the final decision to the president. She thought that the failure to find common ground in such a situation would cause "major tension, conflict and major problems, not only with morale but with effectiveness in the functioning of the University."

Curtis White of English was more specific. There were certain areas, including "the Constitution and its bylaws, ASPT policy and all curricular matters," "where there should be no provision for legislative change without our consent." To vest such "unilateral authority" in the president, White warned, "would create an atmosphere of paranoia for all policy making in the Senate." Why, for example, would the Senate approve the new ASPT reform it was considering if the president had "carte blanche" to alter it? Indeed, such an undemocratic way of operating would inevitably lead to precisely the type of crisis the University had experienced twice in recent years, i.e., Wallace's and Urice's resignations. The Board's "insistence . . . [upon] hierarchical authority" was contrary to what the faculty tried to teach the students, namely, "that ours is a society that ought to respect democratic process and a rule of law." So White urged the Trustees to approve the Senate's document, which was "a reflection of the values and ideals of the people of the state of Illinois," and so insure that the University remained "a democratic institution."

White's insinuation that the Trustees were not being democratic angered them. Huggins said: "It would seem to me that this [the University] is but a part of a much larger democratic institution, the State of Illinois, and that democratic institution has clearly expressed how they would like to see the University run. It would fly in the face of democracy for us to pass something different [than Posegate's draft]." His colleague Diane Glenn followed up: "So I really take offense almost, yes I do, to that reference [that the Trustees were not being democratic]." They approved the Constitution, as it had been amended by Posegate, unanimously.⁸²

The next day, February 18, the irate senators discussed the Board's action and possible ways to gain public support for their position. Reid asked why they should believe that the Trustees would take their advice seriously, if they did not even listen to the president's recommendation that they postpone a final decision until May. Razaki felt that part of the blame should be assigned to Wallace, who, he had heard, had handpicked the Trustees. At the insistence of White, the minutes stated, in large bold letters: "The understanding of the Academic Senate is that we are operating under the Constitution adopted in 1969 as amended through 1996." The University now had two constitutions.

On March 17, the 130 faculty members who attended a general faculty meeting concurred that the 1969 Constitution remained in force. Strand addressed them "as both a faculty member and President" and tried to calm his colleagues. He cited statements in the Board's *Governance Document* about the role of the faculty, the president, and the governing board that paralleled passages in the AAUP's *Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities*. Strand added: "I believe these principles existed at Illinois State University under the old constitution and, despite the current level of anxiety, I believe they can and will exist under the new constitution and will be proven through time and through the behavior of the Board, administration, faculty, and students." The burden for finding a way out of the impasse thus fell on Strand. As White put it on March 17, "My feeling has always been that the president supports the idea of shared governance and the traditions of the institution. But for whatever reason, he has not taken a forceful role in these negotiations. I hope now that he has decided to take a more forceful role, there will be a better outcome."

To achieve that outcome, Strand informed the faculty meeting that he was appointing a Select Committee on Governance, on which all campus constituencies would be represented, to draft "a white paper on governance at Illinois State." The Select Committee was charged with examining such issues as the creation of a separate faculty assembly, which the Rules Committee had postponed for later consideration. On April 16 Strand announced that he had asked Distinguished Professor Rodger Tarr of English to chair the committee, whose findings were to be presented at a later date to the Trustees at a public meeting. The Senate had previously approved, on November 5, 1997, the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee on Shared Governance, which had been assigned the task of preparing a similar report by September 30, 1998. By the end of the spring semester two different committees were thus investigating the same issues.

In October 1998 Tarr informed the Board that his committee had examined national trends in shared governance and how it was practiced at peer institutions, and that he was drafting a sixty-page report on their findings. In addition, the committee had sent out nearly 7,000 questionnaires to various constituencies, including 3,300 students, and would hold informal hearings to gain additional input. It was planning to submit a draft report to the president in early December and the final report to the Trustees in February 1999. *The Pantagraph* reported on October 22 that just 30 percent of the faculty and 13 percent of the entire campus community had returned the questionnaires and that only twenty-five professors had shown up the previous evening for the hearing. Tarr, it said, "preferred to put a

positive spin on the apparent lack of interest,” but the question remains how much the dispute over shared governance concerned the campus as a whole or only the campus politicians. The Select Committee on Governance submitted its report to the Board on February 15, 1999.⁸³

The issuance of the report had provided the impetus, Tarr said on February 15, for Borg, Strand, and Sulaski to sign on January 6, 1999, a “Memorandum of Understanding on Board of Trustees and Academic Senate Procedures on Academic Senate Actions.” Since this accord settled the conflict that had dragged on for over a year, and in many ways, since the Board’s establishment three years earlier, it is worth quoting the agreement in its entirety.

The Academic Senate agrees that the Board of Trustees has final legal authority and that the Academic Senate makes recommendations to the President and the Board of Trustees. The President and the Board of Trustees agree that the faculty (or appropriate representative bodies, such as the Academic Senate) has primary responsibility for academic issues, faculty affairs issues, and educational issues related to student life and is entrusted with the authority to recommend policies on those issues to the President. The President and the Board of Trustees anticipate that these recommendations will be modified or rejected only in exceptional circumstances. The Board of Trustees anticipates further that, in the interest of open communication, the President will communicate with the Academic Senate concerning any rationale for modification or rejection of an Academic Senate recommendation pertaining to academic issues, faculty affairs issues and educational issues related to student life.

The memorandum was appended to the 1998 Constitution.⁸⁴

On September 1, 1999, at the beginning of Boschini’s presidency, the Senate approved by a forty to four roll call vote, with two abstentions (the student trustee was one of the abstainers), the revised Constitution. Leonard Schmalz of Psychology, a former chair of the Senate who asked for the roll call vote and who voted in the negative, described it as a Constitution that had been imposed by the Board upon the University. His words reveal how much the battle had been for some individuals a curious replay of earlier confrontations with authority: “I remind the older senators here to remember the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution,” a reference to the congressional resolution in August 1964 that authorized President Lyndon Johnson to conduct the Vietnam War without a formal declaration of war. But the other senators, including White, Reid, and Razaki, accepted that the Memorandum’s recognition of the Senate’s right to recommend was the most they could obtain. As Reid put it, “Our only hope . . . is to work with the Board and convince them where recommendations and decisions should come from.”⁸⁵ The ghosts of the 1960s had been laid to rest.

No separate faculty assembly was created, but on February 16, 2001, the Board approved, at the Senate’s recommendation, the seating on the Senate of one non-tenure-track faculty member and representatives of the Administrative Professional Council and the Civil Service Council. At the same time the number of tenured and tenure-track faculty members increased from twenty-seven to twenty-nine and the number of student members from nineteen to twenty-one. Fifteen of the student senators were to be elected directly from the Student Government Association. Ten of them were to represent students who lived off campus and five

on-campus residents—roughly the proportion of students who dwelled in both venues. The president of the student body, the twenty-first member, was to select the five other student senators to assure that all constituencies and groups were represented. Altogether there were fifty-three elected or appointed senators. There were also nine ex officio members: the president, who already held this status; the provost and the vice presidents for Business and Finance and Student Affairs, who had previously cast votes; representatives of the deans' and chairs' councils; the associate vice presidents for Undergraduate and Graduate Studies; and, to prevent a conflict of interest, the student trustee. All the major stakeholders were thus represented, though the Senate became a rather unwieldy body. This change in the structure of the Senate was so uncontroversial that the Trustees waived the requirement that a constitutional amendment be read at two separate meetings. Two years later a representative of the laboratory school faculty was added to the Senate, a proposal the senators had rejected in 2001.⁸⁶

Another positive result of the faculty's unhappiness with Wallace's and Urice's administrative styles was that the Senate drafted and approved in 1999 guidelines that set forth the responsibilities of college deans and department chairs, the nature of their appointment, the procedures for selecting them, and the process for evaluating and reappointing them on a regular basis.⁸⁷ These measures gave the faculty a prescribed role in evaluating their superiors and ended a system where administrators, especially chairs, could serve for indeterminate periods of time with little accountability to the faculty who had no formal mechanism for voicing their displeasure.

15 THE FISHER REPORT

At the height of the conflict over the *Constitution*, in December 1997, the Board began the search for Strand's successor. The search firm, whom the Trustees hired in March 1998, recommended that the University conduct, before beginning the search, "an institutional audit" to deal with the changes in governance and the "significant turnover in senior administrators." It was clear that Illinois State's reputation, deserved or not, as "a graveyard for presidents," made it a less attractive place. The report of the outside evaluator could then be presented to the final presidential candidates for their consideration and response. By May Sulaski and Trustee Jack Huggins, the chair of the search committee, had approached James Fisher, Class of 1956, M.S. 1957 and the former president of Towson State University and the Council for Advancement and Support of Education, to conduct the audit at a cost of approximately \$70,000.

Fisher selected four other individuals with personal ties to the University to join him in preparing the review: James V. Koch, Class of 1964 and the president of Old Dominion University; George A. Pruitt, Class of 1968, M.S. 1970, LL.D. 1994, and the president of Thomas Edison State College; Kenneth A. Shaw, Class of 1961 and the chancellor of Syracuse University; and Paul E. Wisdom, a former vice president at Florida Technical College and at Colorado State University, who had been an assistant dean of the faculty at Illinois State. They read a wide variety of materials and conducted interviews with over three hundred individuals who had some sort of association or familiarity with the University. (I was in a focus group that met with Koch.) Their 101-page report was completed in October and made available to the campus in November.⁸⁸

The Report, which dealt with a variety of issues, focused on the crisis in shared governance, whose root cause it found in an improper balance of power between “an assertive faculty and *Constitutionally* inhibited” presidents, some of whom it called “ineffective or outright failures.” The evaluators painted a grim picture of relations between the Senate, the Board, and the faculty as a whole. The majority of the faculty viewed the Board’s actions, they wrote, as “insensitive, clumsy, and unnecessarily combative” and felt that the Trustees “too often . . . exhibited disdain for faculty and their work.” The Trustees thought in turn “that the Academic Senate is unrepresentative of the entire faculty and has at various times been obstructionist, dilatory, confrontational, and simply unreasonable and, in any case, is both illegal and uninformed.” Many faculty members shared the Board’s opinion of the Senate, which was “generally held,” Fisher and his colleagues said, “in low repute and numerous faculty told us they would never serve in the Senate because of its reputation as a highly political, obfuscatory debating society that they believe contains few outstanding faculty members.”

The evaluators concluded that the Trustees were legally in the right and that the dispute needed to be settled before the new president assumed his or her duties. They provided, in effect, the outline of the settlement that was embodied in the Memorandum of Understanding of January 6, 1999. Above all, they said, Illinois State needed a president who would serve for a decade and who would provide “strong, inspiring, inclusive, and decisive leadership” and would be the “one primary spokesperson for the University.”⁸⁹ It may be that the Report’s negative judgment of the Senate’s legal position and standing on campus rather than the Tarr Report provided the real, face-saving impetus for the senators’ capitulation the following year.

The *Fisher Report* was the major topic of discussion at the Board meeting on December 7, 1998, at which various members of the campus community spoke. Not surprisingly, there were attacks on Fisher’s objectivity. Edward Hines of Educational Administration and Foundations indicated that Fisher was not a nationally recognized expert on higher education governance but was known rather as an advocate of “the imperial presidency”—an allusion to Richard Nixon—who supported “a dominant presidency” and who believed “the presidency has been eroded because of faculty participation in institutional decision-making.”

Moreover, the Report had been harsh in its criticism of the College of Education. It had identified the graduate programs in education as “weak” and quoted a faculty member who described many of the doctoral dissertations in education as an embarrassment. The strongest teacher education programs—in Mathematics, History, and English—were housed, it said, in the College of Arts and Sciences. In fact, the evaluators indicated that if Illinois State was to acquire a distinctive identity that distinguished it from other former teachers colleges, it needed to shed its too close association with education. They pointed out that the *Undergraduate Catalog* stated that Illinois State was accredited by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) but not by the American Assembly of College Schools of Business (AACSB), “even though the University’s business programs boast virtually the same numbers of majors as those in teacher education.”

Dean Sally Pancrazio (1993–2001) felt compelled to defend her College. She pointed out that NCATE accreditation applied not only to the thirteen programs in Education but also to twenty-four other programs in the other colleges and that nearly a quarter of the University's students were enrolled in teacher education. The evaluators had seized upon "an isolated, mean-spirited comment to damn the quality of the College's doctoral dissertations." Underlying their negative comments was, she argued, the belief that teacher education was less prestigious than the University's other missions, a prejudice that was rooted in the fact that teaching has historically been a female occupation.

The Report's most unfortunate lapse, upon which many of the speakers seized, was its repeated reference to the "graying of the faculty"—a statement that was objectively true. Almost 30 percent of the faculty (including me) had been at the institution for twenty or more years, and the mean age of the professors was almost fifty-five. The problem was that these facts were imbedded in ageist language. The older faculty were described as serving "with diminished enthusiasm" and as "reluctant to try new approaches," for example, in the use of new instructional technologies. Some senior faculty members had "given up" and focused "solely on teaching their classes" and did no research and performed no service. The next president needed to induce such individuals to retire and to replace them with "excellent, vibrant younger faculty," who were "on the cutting edges of their disciplines."

However, the *Fisher Report's* real importance was that it provided the University with a vision for the future. Most former teachers colleges suffered from the same mission confusion, it indicated, as Illinois State. Nearly all of them continued to be heavily invested in teacher preparation and claimed, with little proof, that their program was the best in the nation. Every state needed institutions, like Eastern or Western, which were student oriented, where teaching was valued, and which were accessible to students with "middle ability;" but several schools—Miami University (Ohio), Truman State, James Madison, and William and Mary—had embraced the model of the "Public Ivy." Such schools were characterized by: limited size; higher admission standards; a strong emphasis on high quality undergraduate education; strong student services; extensive extracurricular activities; attractive residential campuses; a limited number of well-supported doctoral programs; a faculty whose first responsibility was teaching but who were expected to publish; and a reputation for some truly distinctive feature. In short, the University was to become the "Public Ivy" of Illinois. This was not a totally unfounded or novel goal because Illinois State's honors program had already been hailed as such in 1988 in Martin Nemko's book, *How to Get an Ivy League Education at a State University*; but now this appellation was to be applied to Illinois State as a whole.

There were, predictably, critics. Jane Reggio, the president of the Administrative/Professional Council, feared that "[t]he minute we aspire to become someone else we lose sight of what we are and should be." She cautioned against striving "to higher selectivity in recruiting students" rather than focusing on "the students we graduate." Gary Klass of Political Science commented that nobody had addressed what it would cost to become a "Public Ivy". It meant recruiting better students by offering them substantial financial aid just as the University was prepared to

spend large sums to attract athletes. “The percentage of our honor students who get scholarships pales in comparison,” he said, “to the percentage of our football team that gets scholarships.” The University’s “most significant problem,” the “worst” student/faculty ratio in the State, would not be resolved simply by raising faculty salaries to match those at the “Public Ivies,” as the Report recommended, but by hiring many more faculty members.

Dean Robert Rossman of Applied Science and Technology offered the most significant—and self-serving—criticism. “Public Ivy” was a vague concept and there was no single model for such an institution. More to the point, “technically based professional programs,” which his College offered, which prepared the type of employees the State needed for its economic development, and which were “an important and distinguishing feature of Illinois State University,” had “not received favorable treatment in some of the Public Ivy models,” that is, “Public Ivy” was, in his view, code language for a liberal arts college.

Equally predictably, faculty in Arts and Sciences embraced the proposal. Ronald Fortune, the chair of English, “strongly endorse[d] the recommendation.” The Report was “completely accurate in recognizing,” he said, “how we are uniquely suited among Illinois institutions of higher education for taking this direction in our mission.” The new General Education program and the revisions that many departments were making in their majors and minors were already steps on that path. The evaluators were equally correct, he thought, in their assessment of the role that selected graduate programs played at a “Public Ivy.” Illinois State was “one of the few institutions in the country that is capable and has a history of articulating the relationship between a good undergraduate program and strong graduate programs.” Although he did not say so, Fortune presumably had in mind the English Ph.D. with its focus on the teaching of composition.

His boss, Dean Paul Schollaert (1993–2001) of Arts and Sciences, described the *Fisher Report* as “a good piece of historical fiction. It got vision, it got the sweep of things correct, while it made a number of errors in the details.” What the Report got “absolutely right” was that Illinois State needed to “find a niche of quality and excellence in the state. We should work together to define what a ‘public ivy’ institution is if that’s the road we are going to take.”

Perhaps, the most surprising positive response came from Curtis White of English. He had been initially quite concerned about the report, “given the rather substantial ideological trail Mr. Fisher has left.” The flaws were glaring: “The group’s comments on the graying of the faculty, on the lack of community respect for the Academic Senate, and on the relationship of tenure to academic freedom are all simply wrong, from my perspective.” However, the Report was, White declared, “stunningly right in its description of the history of this institution and its current muddled sense of its own identity. I also find myself in emphatic agreement with its prescription for the future: ISU as something like a Public Ivy.” The University had finally “found a way (although we’ve been looking for thirty years) of moving beyond its past as a teacher’s college.” White interpreted this to mean that Illinois State could “continue to be the largest teacher preparation university in the state but in the context of a high caliber liberal arts undergraduate curriculum (the first piece of which we’ve already put in place with our new General Education Program) complemented by select graduate programs of very high quality which

are allowed to function more like graduate programs in research universities.” He proposed that “a joint administration/faculty Action Committee” should develop and present to the Trustees a general plan to implement that vision.

Provost Alvin Goldfarb indicated that Academic Affairs was “quite willing to accept the charge to work with faculty and staff to focus on this vision and to establish a clearly articulated action plan.” Although he hesitated to label Illinois State’s special niche a “Public Ivy,” the University’s task was to find “an agenda for excellence.” In the spring of 1999 the provost announced that he was putting together a strategic planning group that he would chair to identify Illinois State’s “academic distinctiveness and excellence.” On February 16, 2001, the Trustees formally endorsed the ensuing plan: *Educating Illinois: An Action Plan for Distinctiveness and Excellence at Illinois State University, 2000–2007*.⁹⁰ This plan has guided the University’s destiny in the twenty-first century.

Illinois State thus had at the end of Strand’s presidency in 1999 a clear sense of its future for the first time since *Master Plan III* had left it in limbo in 1971. After nearly nine years of effort, the University had an innovative, coherent general education program, on which work had started during Strand’s tenure as provost. A new ASPT system was being devised to link salaries and promotions more closely to performance, a sine qua non for educational excellence. Work had begun on the Performing Arts Center, and plans were being laid for the renovation of Schroeder and other classroom buildings. The University had acquired its first professional school, the Mennonite College of Nursing. The *Fisher Report* had been highly critical of Illinois State’s external fundraising efforts, which it called “embryonic;”⁹¹ but in February 1999 the University was able to announce the largest gift in its history, the \$9.5 million grant from State Farm to build the College of Business Building.

The Regents had chosen David A. Strand as president, after the resignation of Thomas Wallace, who had first set Illinois State on its new course, because Strand had the temperament and integrity to lead Illinois State, as Virginia Owen said, during “a period of healing.” His presidency turned out to be anything but peaceful. However, the bitter acrimony over shared governance had redressed the balance between the Senate, the Board, and the president, which had inhibited the University’s development for three decades, without in practice depriving the faculty of a substantial say in setting academic and professional policies. Thanks to Strand, Illinois State entered the new century and millennium with a new optimism, starkly different from the pessimism with which Roger Champagne had concluded his account of Watkins’ presidency a decade earlier, that it could, as one of the two public institutions with a statewide mission, become a great university. Not even the rescissions that followed 9/11 could shake that determination.

ENDNOTES

1. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, October 17, 1991*, p. 29.
2. *Ibid.*, *January 30, 1992*, p. 58.
3. Susan Marquardt Blystone, who served as the *The Pantagraph's* higher education reporter from 1987 to 1992, examines critically her coverage of the Wallace presidency, most notably a series of twenty-two articles she wrote between October 17, 1990, and January 25, 1991, about alleged irregularities in the management of the Physical Plant, in her unpublished English master's thesis: "The Rhetoric of Print Journalism: Illinois State University, President Thomas P. Wallace, and *The Pantagraph*" (Illinois State University, 2003). A state police investigation concluded that "no one wasted money or profited from problems in Illinois State University's physical plant" (p. 83). Wallace's response to her thesis, pp. 140–73, is included. Both comment on the antagonism between the president and the publisher (pp. 85, 94, 165–70) and conclude that she was too easily manipulated by her sources. Since Blystone was by 1995 a University employee, the thesis does not deal with the *The Pantagraph's* coverage of the salary supplement. Blystone, pp. 43–70, provides a good overview of Wallace's agenda. I wish to thank Blystone's adviser, Rodger Tarr, for bringing her thesis to my attention.
4. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, April 16, 1996*, p. 36.
5. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, September 24, 1981*, p. 41; and *March 27, 1986*, pp. 174–75.
6. *Ibid.*, *June 23, 1988*, pp. 251–52; *January 26, 1989*, pp. 126–27; *The Pantagraph*, *June 24, 1988*, A1, A3; and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, pp. 4–5, 9.
7. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, December 5, 1985*, pp. 97–98; *The Pantagraph*, *June 24, 1988*, A3; and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, p. 10.
8. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 21, 1989*, pp. 2–3; *October 20, 1988*, p. 71; *December 1, 1988*, pp. 98–100; and *January 26, 1989*, pp. 134–35.
9. *Ibid.*, *September 15, 1988*, p. 37; *January 26, 1989*, pp. 115–119, esp. pp. 115–16; 128–32, esp. p. 132; *July 27, 1989*, p. 7 (quotation); *October 19, 1989*, p. 47; and *January 25, 1990*, pp. 73–74.
10. *Ibid.*, *March 22, 1990*, pp. 86, 90–91 (Groves' quotation); *July 26, 1990*, pp. 10–11; *March 21, 1991*, p. 92; *May 16, 1991*, pp. 114–15; *June 20, 1991*, p. 129; *July 25, 1991*, pp. 3–6; and *January 30, 1992*, p. 58.
11. *Ibid.*, *October 20, 1988*, pp. 76–77; *April 20, 1989*, pp. 178–79; and *December 6, 1990*, pp. 60–61.
12. *Ibid.*, *January 24, 1991*, p. 68; and *March 21, 1991*, pp. 87–90.
13. *Ibid.*, *October 20, 1988*, pp. 67–68; *July 27, 1989*, pp. 13–15; *September 21, 1989*, p. 30; *October 19, 1989*, pp. 44–46 (Strand quotation is on p. 46); *April 19, 1990*, p. 111; *September 20, 1991*, p. 18; *September 17, 1992*, p. 27; *January 21, 1993*, p. 75; *July 22, 1993*, p. 11; and *July 13, 1994*, pp. 2–3; and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, pp. 3–4.
14. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, April 18, 1991*, pp. 108–09; *October 17, 1991*, pp. 27–30 (Quern letter); and *January 30, 1992*, p. 60.
15. *Ibid.*, *April 16, 1992*, p. 89; *September 17, 1992*, pp. 20–23 (Wallace's words are on pp. 21–22); *October 22, 1992*, pp. 32–33; and *December 3, 1992*, pp. 52–53.
16. *Ibid.*, *December 7, 1989*, p. 59; and *July 13, 1994*, p. 6; *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, October 24, 1997*, p. 150; *The Pantagraph*, *February 20, 1993*, A1, A14; and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, pp. 7–8, 39–40, 77–79.
17. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, March 18, 1993*, p. 90; *October 20, 1993*, pp. 31–33; and *January 20, 1994*, pp. 49–50.
18. *Ibid.*, *September 15, 1988*, pp. 36–52, esp. pp. 41, 48–49, 51; *October 20, 1988*, pp. 62–66, esp. pp. 63–64; *December 1, 1988*, pp. 110–12; *January 26, 1989*, pp. 115–19 (on p. 117 Dan Wagner cited the different instructional costs in the two systems); and *May 19, 1994*, p. 78; and Wallace, "Public Higher Education Finance," p. 56.
19. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, March 22, 1990*, p. 92; *April 19, 1990*, p. 104; *April 18, 1991*, pp. 103–06 (quotation is on p. 106); *January 30, 1992*, p. 62; and *May 21, 1992*, pp. 104–05, 111–16, esp. p. 113. For an overview of the evolution of Wallace's thinking, see Blystone, "The Rhetoric of Print Journalism," pp. 50–54.
20. Wallace, "Public Higher Education Finance," pp. 57–63.
21. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, September 23, 1994*, p. 18. The brackets are in the original text.
22. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, May 13, 2005*, pp. 140–42; and *May 11, 2007*, p. 13; *Illinois State University Undergraduate Catalog, 2007–2008*, p. 26; and *The Pantagraph*, *September 12, 2007*, A5; and *October 11, 2007*, C1, C3. Jonathan Rosenthal, assistant vice president for Enrollment Management and Academic Services, and Jana Albrecht, interim

director of financial aid, provided the most recent information about the financial aid the University offers students. In 2006 the State extended the monetary awards program to students whose family income was less than \$200,000. *Biennial Proceedings, May 12, 2006*, pp. 6–7.

23. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, April 18, 1991*, p. 109; *September 20, 1991*, p. 23; *October 22, 1992*, p. 49; *January 21, 1993*, pp. 78–79; *July 22, 1993*, p. 10; *September 23, 1993*, p. 21; *April 14, 1994*, p. 73; and *September 23, 1994*, p. 18 (Wallace quotation).

24. *Ibid.*, *April 19, 1990*, p. 115; and *October 22, 1992*, p. 49; and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, p. 2. Watkins indicated in a discussion on August 17, 2007, that he considered the Presidential Scholars Program, along with the Minority Opportunity Program, two of his greatest achievements. I am grateful to Sara Schickel, the coordinator of the Presidential Scholars Program, for providing me with the current information.

25. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, May 16, 1991*, p. 122; Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, pp. 75–77; and *The Pantagraph*, July 15, 2005, C1, C2. I wish to thank Jay Groves for providing me with current information about the School.

26. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, January 26, 1989*, p. 140; *September 20, 1991*, p. 23; *October 17, 1991*, p. 35; *September 17, 1992*, p. 28; *October 22, 1992*, p. 49; *December 3, 1992*, p. 66; *January 21, 1993*, p. 78; and *July 22, 1993*, p. 15.

27. *Ibid.*, *September 15, 1988*, pp. 55–56; *October 20, 1988*, pp. 67–68; *December 1, 1988*, pp. 96–98, 110; *July 27, 1989*, p. 5; *July 26, 1990*, pp. 10–11; *January 24, 1991*, pp. 69–70; and *January 20, 1994*, p. 51. See Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, 3, 9–10, 20, 48–50.

28. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, September 21, 1989*, p. 26; *October 19, 1989*, p. 53; *March 22, 1990*, p. 100; *June 14, 1990*, p. 139; *July 26, 1990*, p. 17; *January 24, 1991*, p. 79; *July 25, 1991*, p. 14; *May 21, 1992*, p. 106; *July 16, 1992*, p. 12; *October 22, 1992*, p. 50; and *July 22, 1993*, p. 4; and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, pp. 6, 49.

29. *The Pantagraph*, May 12, 1995, A18; and July 13, 1995, A3; *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, September 23, 1993*, p. 24; *January 20, 1994*, pp. 48, 53; *April 14, 1994*, p. 73; *May 19, 1994*, p. 85; *December 1, 1994*, p. 27; *April 13, 1995*, p. 66; and *May 18, 1995*, p. 82; *Vidette*, February 16, 1995, April 7, 1995, and April 10, 1995; and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, p. 9.

30. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, January 22, 1981*, p. 159; *June 20, 1985*, p. 207; *May 17, 1990*, p. 125; *May 16, 1991*, pp. 130, 134; *July 25, 1991*, p. 14; *September 20, 1991*, p. 22; and *September 17, 1992*, p. 28; *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, July 28, 1998*, p. 70 (quotation is here); and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, pp. 19–34. On the role of libraries in the computerization of education, see Tahir S. Sandhu, “Beyond American Memory; Technologies of Library and Office Automation and their Impact on Multimedia Computing for Public Education in the United States, 1963–Present,” unpublished D.A. dissertation (Illinois State University, May 2001). I wish to thank William Blomgren, who was the director of Telecommunications and its successor unit, Telecommunications and Networking from 1987 until his retirement in 2006, and the controller, Gregory Allen Alt, for the information how the telecommunications system was financed.

31. *The Pantagraph*, February 21, 1995, A2.

32. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1988, p. 1; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, October 20, 1988*, pp. 71–76; *July 27, 1989*, p. 19; *September 17, 1992*, pp. 24, 29; *September 23, 1993*, pp. 18, 20; and *September 23, 1994*, p. 15.

33. *The Pantagraph*, January 20, 1995, A1, A3; January 22, 1995, A1, A6; February 21, 1995, A2; July 14, 1995, A1; *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, May 18, 1995*, pp. 70–74; and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, pp. 10–14.

34. *The Pantagraph*, January 20, 1995, A1, A3; and February 21, 1995, A2; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, January 19, 1995*, pp. 41–42. Trosino’s name is spelled incorrectly in the *Proceedings*.

35. *The Pantagraph*, January 20, 1995, A3; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, January 19, 1995*, pp. 41–42 (Murphy quotations), p. 42; *May 18, 1995*, pp. 71–74 (quotation is on p. 73).

36. *The Pantagraph*, January 20, 1995, A3; and February 21, 1995, A2.

37. *Ibid.*, January 20, 1995, A1, A3; and February 21, 1995, A1.

38. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, September 23, 1994*, p. 21; *February 17, 1995*, pp. 45–46; and *August 17, 1995*, p. 106; and *The Pantagraph*, February 18, 1995, A1, A3, A16; and February 21, 1995, A1. The meeting on the seventeenth is described both in the *Proceedings* and in the *The Pantagraph* as a teleconference, but it was divided in both a private executive session and a public meeting, at which a member of the Joint University Advisory Committee addressed the Regents.

39. *The Pantagraph*, February 18, 1995, A1, A3, A16; *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, September 21, 1989*, pp. 31–35; *October 19, 1989*, p. 51; *April 19, 1990*, p. 109; *July 26, 1990*, p.

10; *September 20, 1990*, p. 28; *January 24, 1991*, p. 65; *May 16, 1991*, pp. 120–21; *October 17, 1991*, pp. 27–28; *December 5, 1991*, pp. 42–45; *April 16, 1992*, pp. 87–89 (charge to Bronner Group); *December 2, 1993*, p. 39; and *August 17, 1995*, p. 105. Wallace's 2003 comments are in his response to Blystone's thesis, "The Rhetoric of Print Journalism," p. 162.

40. *The Pantagraph*, February 23, 1995, A1, A12.

41. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, July 26, 1990, pp. 15–16; and *December 5, 1991*, p. 45. In a conversation on September 5, 2007, Paul Baker confirmed that my recollections of the search were accurate and that this incident was pivotal in turning him against Wallace.

42. Champagne, *The Thirteenth Decade*, pp. 61–62; *The Pantagraph*, March 14, 1989, A1 (Wellman quotation); and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, March 23, 1989, p. 146. For a sampling of the public response, see the letters to the editor and the articles in the *The Pantagraph* on March 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, 29, April 1, 9, 15, and 16. I'm grateful to James Cunningham for finding these references.

43. *The Pantagraph*, May 5, 1995, A3; and *Academic Senate Minutes*, November 7, 2007. I wish to thank Stephen Bragg, the vice president for finance and planning, Gregory Allen Alt, the University controller, and Rita Kay Moss, the assistant provost, for providing the figures on the payouts.

44. *The Pantagraph*, May 6, 1995, A1, A18.

45. *Ibid.*, May 11, 1993, A3; May 12, 1995, A1, A10; and July 4, 1995, A1.

46. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1995, A1, A2; and July 14, 1995, A1; and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, July 13, 1995, pp. 95–96. See, for example, Wallace's prepared statement about the IBHE and PQP on September 18, 1992, pp. 21–22.

47. *The Pantagraph*, July 8, 1995, A2; July 14, 1995, A1; *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings*, April 16, 1996, pp. 35–39; and *December 9, 1997*, p. 190 (Sulaski's explanation why Strand was hired without a search); and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, pp. 11, 14.

48. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings*, January 16, 1996, pp. 12–13.

49. *Ibid.*, *Biennial Proceedings*, February 17, 1998, pp. 17–18; *May 8, 1998*, p. 46; and July 28, 1998, pp. 69, 76; and *Illinois State University Report*, 44/4 (August 30, 2007), p. 1.

50. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings*, October 24, 1997, p. 151; *Biennial Proceedings*, October 23, 1998, pp. 91, 97; October 22, 1999, p. 236; October 20, 2000, pp. 96–98; February 20, 2004, pp. 30–31; July 22, 2005, pp. 164–65; February 17, 2005, pp. 4–5; and May 12, 2006, p. 3; and *The Pantagraph*, September 12, 2007, A5.

51. Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, pp. 50–51; and *Illinois State University Report*, 44/7 (September 13, 2007), p. 1.

52. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings*, February 18, 2000, pp. 21–22; and May 12, 2000, p. 42; and *The Pantagraph*, March 29, 2002, A4; April 3, 2002, A6; April 28, 2002, B2; May 18, 2002, A3; July 7, 2002, C1 (op. ed. piece by Knapp in favor of unionization); August 23, 2002, A3; August 28, 2002, A4; October 16, 2002, A3; November 2, 2002, A1; December 17, 2002, A3; January 7, 2003, A3; January 21, 2003, A3; January 28, 2003, A3; February 13, 2003, A3; February 14, 2003, A4; March 15, 2003, p. 2; March 25, 2003, A1; April 23, 2003, A3; April 24, 2003, A1; May 3, 2003, A5; May 13, 2003, A3; June 17, 2004, A3; and September 4, 2004, B1.

53. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings*, January 16, 1996, p. 15; February 18, 1997, pp. 92–93; July 29, 1997, p. 129; and *Biennial Proceedings*, July 30, 1999, p. 205; and *SURS Advocate: A Publication of the State Universities Retirement System of Illinois 16/2* (September 2007), pp. 2–3.

54. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents*, March 19, 1992, p. 76; *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings*, September 16, 1996, p. 65; May 9, 1997, pp. 109–10; *Biennial Proceedings*, February 15, 1999, pp. 159–60; May 9, 2003, pp. 107–09; and May 7, 2004, pp. 59–62; and *The Pantagraph*, May 8, 2004, A1 and May 23, 2004, B1, B2.

55. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings*, January 16, 1996, p. 16; February 13, 1996, p. 24; March 30, 1996, p. 30; April 16, 1996, p. 37; July 12, 1996, p. 51; February 18, 1997, p. 88; May 9, 1997, p. 104; October 24, 1997, p. 148; December 9, 1997, p. 180; and *Biennial Proceedings*, February 15, 1999, p. 150; May 10, 2002, p. 43; October 24, 2003, pp. 138–39, 143–45; February 20, 2004, pp. 33–34; May 7, 2004, pp. 52–57, 62–63; July 23, 2004, pp. 73–74; May 13, 2005, pp. 146–47, 148–52; July 22, 2005, pp. 171–72; February 17, 2006, pp. 14–15; and May 11, 2007, p. 5; *The Pantagraph*, March 16, 2002, Education, p. 1; August 29, 2002, D8, D9, D13; March 15, 2003, Education pp. 1–2; February 17, 2007, A3; October 7, 2007, A1, A6; and October 27, 2007, A1, A14. President Bowman provided the information about the plans for the South Campus dormitories.

56. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings*, September 16, 1996, pp. 66–67; October 24, 1997, pp. 155–56; *Biennial Proceedings*, July 28, 1998, pp. 74–76; May 7, 1999, p. 181; February 18,

2000, p. 27; *February 16, 2001*, p. 123; *July 20, 2001*, p. 159; *February 22, 2002*, p. 21; *May 10, 2002*, p. 43; *May 7, 2004*, p. 44; *July 23, 2004*, p. 74; *July 21, 2006*, p. 6; and *May 11, 2007*, p. 5; *The Pantagraph*, July 26, 2003, A3; August 9, 2003, A1; August 17, 2003, C1; September 25, 2003, A3; January 4, 2004, A1; May 8, 2004, A5; January 5, 2005, A3; January 5, 2006, A3; and May 14, 2007, A1.

57. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 15, 1999*, pp. 148, 152, 156, 159; *July 30, 1999*, p. 207; *October 20, 2000*, p. 82; and *July 26, 2002*, p. 55; and *The Pantagraph*, March 15, 2003, Education, p. 2; December 28, 2004, F1, F3; and January 19, 2005, A1, A12. President Strand provided me with information about the project in an email message of October 18, 2007.

58. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 15, 1999*, pp. 161–64; and *October 20, 2000*, pp. 83, 101; and *The Pantagraph*, October 4, 2000, A1; and March 3, 2001, p. 5.

59. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, October 23, 1998*, p. 87; *The Pantagraph*, November 9, 1999, A5; June 8, 2000, G14; July 1, 2000, A5; June 20, 2007; and October 27, 2007, A3. Cameo Wonnell of the Registrar's Office obtained the information about Mrs. Green's connection to the University. Dianne Ashby, the vice president for Advancement, supplied the figures on the cost of the theater.

60. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, February 13, 1996*, pp. 24–25 (Riggs quotation); *Biennial Proceedings, February 18, 2000*, pp. 14–15; and *May 7, 2004*, p. 42; *Fell Arboretum at Illinois State University, Newsletter 6/2* (October 2007); and *The Pantagraph*, May 14, 1997, A6 (Sassafras Grove); March 18, 1997, A7; October 5, 1997, C1; February 14, 1999, A15; February 19, 2000, A4; March 25, 2000, A6; March 3, 2003, A1; and July 3, 2003, A1, A14.

61. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, July 29, 1997*, pp. 136–37; *October 24, 1997*, pp. 148–149 (Strand Diversity Award); *Biennial Proceedings, February 17, 1998*, p. 7; *May 8, 1998*, pp. 51–52 (Urice quotation); and *October 23, 1998*, p. 86.

62. *Ibid.*, *Bi-Annual Proceedings, July 29, 1997*, pp. 130, 134.

63. *Ibid.*, *January 16, 1996*, p. 16; and *October 23, 1998*, p. 89; *Illinois State University FactBook* (December 2006), p. 17; *Illinois State University Report, 44/7* (September 13, 2007); and *The Pantagraph*, September 7, 2007, A3.

64. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, February 18, 1997*, pp. 88–89; *May 9, 1997*, pp. 107–08 (Urice quotation); *Biennial Proceedings, February 15, 1999*, p. 154 (Strand quotation); *July 30, 1999*, pp. 208–10; *July 20, 2001*, pp. 161–62 (early success of program); *October 19, 2001*, p. 175; *July 26, 2002*, p. 54; *October 22, 2004*, p. 93; *Illinois State University, Academic Senate Meetings*, September 12, 2007 (retention rate of class entering in 2006); *Undergraduate Catalog 1998–99*, pp. 60–63 and *General Education Program Supplement; Undergraduate Catalog 2006–2007*, pp. 78–81; and Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, pp. 43–45. Jayne Shindel of Enrollment Management and Academic Services found the draft of Alan Dillingham's memo, "Gen Ed Newsletter on Resources," of October 22, 1996. In making his calculations, Dillingham argued that University Studies did not require all students to take a math course, but they were required to take three hours in Group Four, Mathematical and Logical Studies. Perhaps, he meant that the new program required B.S. recipients to take a second math course. Roberta Trites, who was at the time the associate dean of Arts and Science in charge of the budget, provided me with the College's budget requests for FY02 and FY03, the source of the information on the funding of General Education: "College of Arts and Sciences FY02 Budget Report," and "College of Arts and Sciences FY03 Request for Enhanced Budget," March 4, 2002. In addition, Sandra Krumtinger, the College's business/administrative aide, provided me with a spreadsheet that broke down the additional funding for General Education and supplied the information on the temporary funding provided by the provost's office. Jonathan Rosenthal, assistant vice president for Enrollment Management, provided the information on the retention rates. I wish to thank all of them for their assistance. The most critical comments about the General Education Program in the *Fisher Report*, which was written immediately after the program went into effect, were about FOI (pp. 15–16). I was a member of PIC.

65. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, July 28, 1998*, pp. 61, 66–67, 69, 72–73; *October 23, 1998*, pp. 88–89; *February 15, 1999*, p. 148; *May 7, 1999*, p. 180; and *May 11, 2007*, pp. 16–17; and *The Pantagraph*, May 22, 1998, A1; May 23, 1998, A3; May 30, 1998, A4; June 24, 1998, A1; August 11, 1998, A3; October 7, 1998, A3; December 16, 1998, A7; December 17, 1998, A3; April 16, 1999, A4; July 2, 1999, A4; and May 22, 2007, A4. For a history of Mennonite before its merger with the University, see Ralph A. Bellas, *The Flame Burns Brightly: People, Progress, Promise* (Bloomington, IL, 1997).

66. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, July 20, 2001*, p. 160; *Fisher Report*, p. 72; *Illinois State University FactBook* (December 2006), pp. 2, 47; and *Illinois State University Report, 44/7*

(September 13, 2007), p. 4. Dean Robert Rossman of Applied Science and Technology had already opposed the creation of a separate College of Health Sciences in 1998. See *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, December 7, 1998*, p. 133. In FY02 I was the interim dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

67. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, July 29, 1997*, pp. 137–43; *Biennial Proceedings, February 17, 1998*, pp. 9–11; and *May 7, 1999*, p. 184; and *Illinois State University Faculty Appointment, Salary, Promotion, and Tenure Policies, Effective January 1, 2001*. It was often called because of its binding “the buff book.” The *Fisher Report*, p. 71, commented on the draft of the ASPT document dated 9 September 1998. It was highly critical of what it called “across the boardism,” i.e., faculty members receiving the same percentage increase, and the failure to give chairs and deans an independent voice in salary decisions, which it called “a recipe for a slow descent toward lower standards and mediocrity” (p. 71). In the final version, there was a considerable reduction in the percentage of salary increments that were given across the board, but DFSCs are reluctant to penalize colleagues.

68. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, July 29, 1997*, p. 128.

69. *Ibid.*, *July 29, 1997*, pp. 140–43.

70. See, for example, *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, July 21, 1983*, pp. 23–24 (quotation is here); and *January 26, 1989*, p. 129.

71. *Illinois State University, Academic Senate Meetings, March 8, 1989*, pp. 12–21.

72. *Ibid.*, *February 26, 1992*, pp. 40–45 (Tuttle quotation is on p. 45); and *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, March 24, 1988*, pp. 183–85; *May 19, 1988*, pp. 240–42; and *May 16, 1991*, p. 115 (Groves quotation).

73. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, May 21, 1992*, p. 110; *March 18, 1993*, p. 84; *July 22, 1993*, p. 4 (Parker quotation); *January 20, 1994*, p. 47; and *March 9, 1995*, pp. 49–50; and *The Pantagraph*, February 18, 1995, A3. Governor Edgar signed the act on February 28. The text of the act can be found in the *Laws of the State of Illinois, Eighty-Ninth General Assembly, 1995, Public Act 89-1 thru Public Act 89-443, Public Act 89-4, Articles 20 and 21*, pp. 68–86.

74. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, July 29, 1997*, pp. 125–27; and *Biennial Proceedings, July 28, 1998*, pp. 59, 62, 67 (Adams quotation).

75. *Ibid.*, *July 29, 1997*, p. 141 (ASPT resolution); and *December 9, 1997*, p. 186 (Froelich quotation).

76. Wyman, *The Fourteenth Decade*, p. 4; Blystone, “The Rhetoric of Print Journalism,” pp. 160, 162 (Wallace’s words); and *The Pantagraph*, May 6, 1995, A1, A12 (report).

77. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, May 9, 1997*, pp. 101, 104, 106, 111–19; *The Pantagraph*, May 10, 1997, A5; and September 2, 1999, A7.

78. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, September 23, 1994*, p. 21.

79. *The Pantagraph*, November 7, 1997, A1; November 8, 1997, A1; November 18, 1997, A5; November 19, 1997, A9; November 20, 1997, A1; December 3, 1997, A5; December 12, 1997, A1; December 14, 1997, A12; December 17, 1997, A5; December 20, 1997, A1; December 21, 1997, A5; and December 24, 1997, A10.

80. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, February 13, 1996*, p. 24; *May 9, 1997*, p. 119; *July 29, 1997*, pp. 131–32; and *October 24, 1997*, pp. 157–69; *Fisher Report*, p. 53; and *Illinois State University, Academic Senate Meetings 29/4*, October 22, 1997, p. 16.

81. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, December 9, 1997*, pp. 182–92; and *The Pantagraph*, November 1, 1997, A14; and November 12, 1997, A13.

82. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 17, 1998*, pp. 13, 19–31; *Fisher Report*, p. 58; and *Illinois State University, Academic Senate Meetings 29/8*, February 4, 1998, pp. 8–11. The three administrators on the Senate, Strand, Boschini, and Taylor, abstained on February 4. Urice was absent.

83. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, December 9, 1997*, p. 183; *Biennial Proceedings, May 8, 1998*, p. 47; *October 23, 1998*, pp. 89–91; and *February 15, 1999*, pp. 152–55; *Illinois State University, Academic Senate Meetings 29/5*, November 5, 1997, p. 4; 29/9, February 18, 1998, pp. 1–14; and 29/11, March 18, 1998, Appendix A (Strand’s statement on March 17); and *The Pantagraph*, March 18, 1998, A5; April 17, 1998, A4; and *October 22, 1998*, A5.

84. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 15, 1999*, pp. 148, 151, 153; *Illinois State University, Academic Senate Minutes*, 30 (1998–99), January 6, 1999; and *The Pantagraph*, September 2, 1999, A7.

85. *Illinois State University, Academic Senate Meetings 31/1*, September 1, 1999, pp. 6–7; and *The Pantagraph*, September 2, 1999, A7.

86. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 16, 2001*, pp. 119–21; and *February 21, 2003*, p. 95.

87. *Illinois State University, Academic Senate Meeting 30*, Document 01.12.99.01; 30/8, February 3, 1999, p. 4; 30/9, February 17, 1999, pp. 4–5; and 30/10, March 3, 1999, p. 3.

88. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, December 9, 1997*, pp. 189–92; *Biennial Proceedings*,

May 8, 1998, pp. 40–43; and *Fisher Report*, pp. 1–2, and Appendix A. On George Pruitt, see Bob Aaron, “From Protester to College President,” *Illinois State Alumni Magazine*, 7/4 (Spring 2007): 12–15.

89. *Fisher Report*, pp. 8–9 (views on Board and Senate), 18, 58–60 (the precursor of the Memorandum), 65–67 (on the president).

90. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, December 7, 1998*, pp. 112–41: Fortune (136–37); graying of the faculty (116, 120–21, 125, 130); Goldfarb (119–22); Hines (125–27); Klass (137–38); Pancrazio (133–35), Reggio (127–30); Rossman (132–33); Schollaert (135–36); and White (130); and *February 16, 2001*, p. 127; *Fisher Report*, pp. 3–4 (on the graying of the faculty); pp. 12–15 (the Public Ivy); 13 (on image and accreditation); and 17–18 (on the College of Education); and *Illinois State University, Academic Senate Meetings*, 30/9 (February 17, 1999), p. 2; and 30/10 (March 3, 1999), p. 2.

91. *Fisher Report*, p. 41.

Section Four

ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY, 1964-2007

Chapter 12

THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Illinois State entered the twenty-first century with optimism and with a sense of purpose and direction it had lacked since the bright hopes of *Master Plan II* faded in the late 1960s. Like a storm that clears the air, the protracted conflict between the Board of Trustees and the Senate had clarified their respective roles in the governance of the University; and *Educating Illinois* provided the campus with a common vision for the future. The words that John H. Walker, an Art professor, addressed to the Trustees on May 11, 2001, on behalf of the Campus Communication Committee, which represented the faculty and staff in their dealings with the Board, were and are indicative of this new era of good feelings.

We currently enjoy an environment of cooperation and communication among all university constituents. Good people are in place in all areas of the University. But we are not guided only by people but by our strategic plan, *Educating Illinois*, a shared vision of where we must take the institution and how we must go about getting there. We also enjoy your support and commitment to those same goals. We want to especially thank members of the Board for your hard work and the positive role you have played in the governance of the University.¹

It is inconceivable that any faculty spokesman could have spoken such words three years earlier.

Not even the fiscal crisis that followed 9/11, which put “the State,” according to President Victor J. Boschini, Jr., “in the worst fiscal condition it has been in since World War II,”² could shake that confidence. *Educating Illinois* was repeatedly invoked as the talisman that would guide the University through this period of testing. Already on October 19, 2001, Stephen M. Bragg, the vice president for Finance and Planning, declared: “We have *Educating Illinois*, which in many respects, in my mind is actually more valuable in guiding us through lean economic times than it is in flush times. It allows us to stay the course.” In his opening remarks to the Board on July 26, 2002, the president echoed Bragg’s comments: “I want to start by telling you how pleased I am by the campus’ response to the recent economic downturn. There has been only thoughtful discussion and debate and an almost uniform appeal to our strategic plans to see us through these times. We have avoided hyperbole and hysteria . . .”³

Even though the State’s general revenue appropriation dropped \$16 million between FY02 and FY04, the rescissions, though drastic, had less impact than earlier cuts because the University was becoming steadily less dependent on state financing. To make up the shortfall, Illinois State was forced to increase drastically the tuition it charged freshmen, so that by the beginning of fiscal year 2006, the income from tuition was projected to be just 1.8 percent less than the state appropriation. Since then tuition income has surpassed state funding. In FY08 approximately 26 percent of institutional revenue was derived from the State (\$82,987,000) and more than 30 percent from tuition (\$96,207,000). The remainder, about 44 percent, comes from room and board, fees, grants, etc. Illinois State’s operating budget request for FY09, \$90.8 million, is still less than the \$93.4 million that

was initially appropriated in FY02.⁴ Illinois' financial difficulties have not stopped the University from implementing an ambitious plan, as we have already seen, to renovate existing structures like Schroeder, Stevenson, Turner, and the residence halls and to erect new buildings like the Campus Recreation Center.

Declining state support has made external fundraising crucial. To obtain more federal assistance, the University hired in 2002 a lobbying firm in Washington, Meyers and Associates; and the president, trustees, and the associate vice president for Research, Graduate and International Studies, routinely visit the Capitol and meet with members of Illinois' congressional delegation. The division, since 2002, of Bloomington-Normal and the campus between two House districts has worked to the University's benefit because both congressmen feel a special commitment to the institution. Representatives Timothy Johnson, Raymond LaHood, whose Peoria district borders on McLean County in the west, and Jerry Weller have been on campus to announce federal funding for such projects as the McLean County Business Incubator, a partnership between Illinois State and the Economic Development Council of the Bloomington-Normal Area.⁵ Even more important, the University launched on January 1, 2000, its first capital campaign, "Redefining 'normal'" and four years later it had raised \$96,074,854, \$8 million more than the initial goal of \$88 million.⁶

7 VICTOR J. BOSCHINI, JR.

Two presidents have guided the University so far during the twenty-first century: Victor J. Boschini, Jr. (1999–2003) and Clarence A. Bowman (2003 to the present). Boschini (born 1956), who had previously been the associate provost and dean of students at Butler University in Indianapolis, joined the administration on August 1, 1997, as the vice president and dean of Student Affairs. He had done his undergraduate work in Sociology and Psychology at Mount Union College, a small liberal arts college in Alliance, Ohio, and had received his master's degree in College Student Personnel at Bowling Green State University and his doctorate in Higher Education Administration from Indiana University. Before going to Butler, he had been an assistant dean of students at Indiana and DePauw Universities. Among the three finalists for the presidency, Boschini was the clear favorite. As the headline in *The Pantagraph* put it on February 24, 1999, the day the Trustees reached their decision: "Boschini an easy choice for ISU."

Boschini's inauguration on Saturday, October 25, 1999, the first such celebration since Braden's in 1968, captured the new spirit that pervaded the University. There was a party with live music for students on the Quad, a colloquium on Friday afternoon about the past, present, and future of Illinois State, the formal installation in Braden Auditorium on Saturday afternoon with one hundred participants in academic regalia, and a gala ball on Saturday evening with live music and food for the two thousand attendees. The total cost was \$100,000. It was a far cry from the penury of Berlo's inauguration in 1971, when guests were served only coffee and had been free to eat at their own expense in the residence halls after the ceremony.

The young president had, as the chair of the Board, William Sulaski, said, "an energy level" that "is just amazing." Boschini's boyish charm and self-deprecating manner won over faculty members like me. A good example of his clever modesty occurred at the very first board meeting he attended as president. The vice

presidents had handled most of the serious issues on the agenda, but Boschini introduced the resolution on the “Permanent Easement/Gas Main Illinois State University Farm,” thus: “This resolution is so intricate and detailed and so exciting they’re going to let me do it myself.”⁷ His enthusiasm was irresistible.

Educating Illinois: An Action Plan for Distinctiveness and Excellence at Illinois State University, 2000–2007, which the Trustees formally endorsed on February 16, 2001, was and is the University’s blueprint for transforming Illinois State into a “Public Ivy,” as the *Fisher Report* recommended, and to make it “the first choice university for high-achieving, motivated students, faculty and staff.” On July 21, 2000, Boschini called it “a remarkable document” that had “the ability to transform the University.” The plan identified the University’s five core values: individualized attention, public opportunity, active pursuit of learning, diversity, and creative response to change. To support these values, there were seventy-nine action items, many of which were accompanied by more specific recommendations. The plan included a timetable for implementing each proposal and specified which individuals or units were responsible for executing the directives. Sixteen implementation teams were charged with overseeing the process. Perhaps one reason *Educating Illinois* was embraced so enthusiastically was that a sizeable portion of the campus community became involved in its formulation and actualization and thus could claim ownership of the plan.

Four action items (nos. 22 through 25) dealt, for example, with “The Junior/Senior Experience.” No. 22 assigned to the provost, undergraduate studies, colleges, departments, the university research office, and graduate school the short-term goal of establishing a “Junior/Senior Experience Taskforce charged with reinforcing the General Education curriculum and enhancing the curricular integration of the Junior/Senior Experience.” More specifically, the taskforce was to explore requiring every senior to have “an integrative experience,” such as an internship, studio work, or community service, conducted under a faculty mentor’s supervision. In addition, the taskforce was to examine the possibility of surveying departments annually about such opportunities, to catalog them for the benefit of current and future students, and to report on ways of increasing undergraduate involvement in research. No. 23 put forth the short-term goal of recognizing student participation in on- and off-campus activities on a “Student Involvement Transcript” and a mid-term goal of working with local high schools and community colleges to devise a “Student Development Transcript” and then to use the transcripts “to determine criteria for identifying motivated students.”

A website kept track, in precise percentages no less, of the University’s progress in implementing each action item; and there were periodic reports on the current status of the plan. Sulaski was pleased to learn, for example, that by February 2002, fourteen action items had been completed and that work was under way on another twenty-six. Since then the plan has been updated every three years, for example, in 2003 for the years 2003 to 2010; and a new version appeared in February 2008.⁸

Six actions items (nos. 74–79) dealt with “communicating our identity” in order to change public perception of the University. One mid-term goal in item 78 was to develop “a concerted strategy to advance the University to the next level in the *U.S. News & World Report*” and in other ranking systems. While the University was

pleased in 2002 to move from the fourth to the third tier in the news magazine's annual rankings, it set its sights on moving to the next level. In 2004 Joseph Rives M.S. 1990, Ph.D., 1994, and the director of University Planning, reported that the University's graduation rate was second only to that of the University of Illinois among the State's public universities and that Illinois State compared favorably to Tier II schools in both its retention and graduation rates. When the average ACT score hit the 22 to 27 range, the University would meet, Rives said, another criterion for inclusion in the higher category. (The average ACT score for entering freshmen in Fall 2007 was 24.2.) The major obstacles to attaining such a classification were that Illinois State's national reputation had not yet caught up with the University's new standing and that only 9 percent of alumni contributed to the annual campaign, whereas the average at Tier II schools was 15 percent. A year later Rives indicated that Illinois State was ahead in eight of the ten benchmark areas that the National Student Survey of Student Engagement employed to compare national, doctoral research intensive universities like Illinois State. The survey was another of the ranking systems the University had selected in item 78 to measure its improvement. In 2007 *Washington Monthly* ranked Illinois State 123rd out of 242 national universities—up from 152 in 2006, in the same league as Old Dominion (120), Kentucky (121), Wake Forest (122), and Clemson (126), and ahead of Northern (127) and DePaul (150).

The University was no longer competing with the so-called directional institutions (Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western), as Steven Adams, the assistant vice president for Enrollment Management and Academic Services, pointed out in 2005, but with the University of Illinois and the other Big Ten schools. To move into Tier II, it needed to “battle” these institutions for students who graduated in the top 10 percent of their high school class. “The top 10 percent is,” he said, “where the rub is . . .”

President Bowman cited on May 12, 2006, an article that had appeared that morning in the *Chicago Tribune* about the University's efforts to attract these elite students. The headline referred to Illinois State as “The ‘other’ great downstate school.” Bowman, the paper said, “wants Illinois residents to start thinking about his campus as an emerging flagship for the state of Illinois.” After the University of Illinois had announced a few days earlier that it was trying to recruit more out-of-state, minority, and international students and thus accepting fewer Illinois residents, Illinois State, which had long been in the shadow, according to the paper, of its larger neighbor, decided to run ads, at a cost of \$16,000, to persuade high school graduates to come to Normal instead. The *Tribune* concluded that Illinois State had a better chance than the other state institutions in recruiting them because 520 of the students it had admitted the previous year had opted to matriculate at the University of Illinois but would have presumably gone to Illinois State if the U of I had rejected them. The paper pointed out that “ISU has been trying in recent years to position itself as a private school at a public price.” The message of *Educating Illinois* had reached the public.⁹

The strategic plan's vision was formulated succinctly in the new mission statement the University adopted in 2002:

We at Illinois State University work as a diverse community of scholars with a commitment of fostering a small college atmosphere with large college

opportunities. We promote the highest academic standards in our teaching, our scholarship and the connections we build between them. We devote all of our resources and energies to creating the most supportive and productive community possible to serve the citizens of Illinois and beyond.¹⁰

It was a far cry from the statement in *Master Plan III* that had looked back to the University's past as a teacher's college.

Along with *Educating Illinois*, administrators invoked "Redefining 'normal'" and the Campus Master Plan as the University's "blueprints for . . . excellence." Richard Runner, the director of Facilities Planning, initiated in 2001, at Boschini's directive, an update of the plan that the University had adopted in 1995 to guide its physical development, that is, the numerous building and renovation projects the University has undertaken since the late '90s. On February 22, 2002, the Board formally endorsed the revised plan, officially known as *Master Plan: Achieving Distinctiveness and Excellence in Form, Function, and Design at Illinois State University 2000–2020*. It called for, among other things, the construction of a new quad located at the site of the Bone Student Center parking lot, with an underground garage. Around it would be an Education Commons including buildings for the College of Education, a child care center, and Metcalf.

This campus planning process was linked to a similar undertaking, which was also begun in 2001, to redevelop downtown Normal, now officially designated as Uptown. A major component of the project is the construction, currently underway, of a hotel between Fell and Broadway, across the street from Watterson, which will make it easier for the University to host conferences on campus. Vice President Bragg and Helen Mamarchev (2000–07), the vice president for Student Affairs, represented the University on the Redevelopment Board. The Downtown Student Advisory Committee provided student feedback. In 2006 the University joined officials from Bloomington, Normal, Illinois Wesleyan, and BroMenn Regional Medical Center to redevelop the seven-mile Main Street Corridor, the chief, north-south artery through the Twin Cities. A majority of the Trustees decided in October 2006, despite vigorous dissent, to lease and renovate, at an approximate cost of \$4 million, the former Eagle's supermarket on North Main Street in Normal, south of the I-55 exit. The renovated building, which opened in the summer of 2008, serves as the Alumni Center and houses most of the offices of University Advancement, Development, Alumni Relations, University Marketing and Communications, and Conferencing; and a welcome center provides information for visitors entering the city from the north. This facility is the northern gateway to the University and the Main Street Corridor.¹¹

These joint planning activities are indicative of the cooperation that has characterized relations between the campus and the community in recent years. University, municipal, and county officials meet regularly. In 2002 Boschini created Community Partners, a group of fifty influential citizens, to advise and assist him in keeping the University linked to the community. Such cordial ties contrast sharply with the citizens' earlier resentment of the University's rapid expansion and land acquisitions, its advocacy of open housing, faculty and student anti-war protests, and student parties and drinking. Perhaps the best illustration of the reconciliation that has occurred between town and gown is the joint Illinois State and Illinois Wesleyan chapter of Habitat for Humanity, comprised of faculty, staff,

and student members. It received in 2006 the Jimmy and Rosalyn Carter Award for Campus and Community Collaboration for building eleven, low-income homes since 1993. Civic harmony and gentrification have replaced the disruptions and counterculture of the 1960s through '80s.¹²

The University's biggest planning project concerns the fate of its former 270-acre farm on Gregory, about three-quarters of a mile northwest of the 340-acre main campus. Since the town of Normal was encroaching on the University's farm land, the General Assembly, thanks to Senator John Maitland, authorized the University in July 1999 to sell its in-town land and, instead of returning the proceeds to the State, to purchase more suitable acreage elsewhere. In May 2000 the University sold for \$5.1 million the 132-acre east farm, property it had acquired in northeast Normal after the closing of the Illinois Soldiers and Sailors Children's School, and purchased for \$2,548,750 the former 160-acre FS Research Farm, located outside Lexington along I-55. Unlike the farm on Gregory, the Lexington farm had been designed as a research facility; and the University earmarked \$1.86 million for improvements. Illinois State also bought another two hundred acres adjacent to the Lexington farm. The farm was formally dedicated on June 18, 2002. The Department of Agriculture has continued to farm the land at the Gregory site.

Bowman, who called the Gregory farm the University's "major asset for the...next 150 years," insisted that "we do not want to rush to develop it without very careful thought." In February 2006 the University decided to relocate, at a cost of \$1 million, the tennis courts to the farm, so that an extension of the South University Street Parking Garage can be built on the site of the current courts to provide additional parking spaces for users of the Campus Recreation Center that will be constructed to the north of the garage. The Trustees approved in July 2007 a proposal to build a \$2.5 million sports complex on thirty acres of farmland, west of Cottage, which will include not only the twelve tennis courts, but also three playing fields for softball, rugby, and soccer and a lot for one hundred cars. Other suggested possible future uses of the farmland, which is scheduled for development in the next half century, include a research park, a professional school like engineering, the relocation of one of the colleges, and a retirement community.¹³

Like former State Senator Maitland, whose wife Joanne is now a Trustee, McLean's County local legislators, most notably Maitland's successor Bill Brady, and Representative Dan Brady of Bloomington, have been the University's advocates in Springfield. Dan Brady, in particular, attends nearly every Board meeting as well as many other University functions. When the State suddenly dropped in 2004, without prior discussion, two HMOs, Health Alliance and OSF St. Francis, which more than two thousand University employees and their dependents utilized as their healthcare providers, it was Representative Brady who intervened and who procured a reversal of the decision. In noting Brady's presence at the Trustees' meeting on May 12, 2006, Chairperson Carl Kasten commented that Brady "has been so good to us in the legislature and continues to be our principal advocate there."¹⁴ The local legislators' assistance has been crucial in Illinois State's procuring of capital development appropriations and in dealing with the fiscal crisis that followed 9/11.

2 THE AFTERMATH OF 9/11

Boschini began his presidency in 1999 at the height of the dot.com bubble. The budget for FY00, his first year in office, was the sixth year in a row that the state appropriation had substantially exceeded the rate of inflation. While the consumer price index had increased since FY94 a little less than 2 percent a year, the State's contribution had gone up 43 percent, about 6.1 percent on an average annual basis. Vice President Bragg called such funding increases "unprecedented in higher education in Illinois, at least over the last two decades that I can remember." Moreover, when the system of separate boards was established in 1995, a separate bill had authorized the universities to retain the proceeds from the income fund, essentially the tuition they collected, rather than sending the money to Springfield and having the General Assembly determine how much of this revenue would be returned to the universities as part of their appropriation and for what purposes it could be expended. This accounting change gave the schools far greater flexibility in spending the money and in reacting to unexpected situations. The budgets for FY01 and FY02 were equally good. The initial appropriation for the fiscal year that began on July 1, 2001 (FY02) was \$93.4 million, the largest operating budget appropriation, measured in actual dollars, up to this point in the University's history. (The capital development budget that funds the construction and renovation of buildings is a separate appropriation.)¹⁵

Other financial indicators were equally good. In FY99 the University received for the first time more than \$12 million in external funding: \$2.3 million from the federal government; \$4.2 million from the State; and \$5.5 million from corporations, local governments, and private not-for-profits. The next year the University obtained \$17.3 million from external agencies, a 43 percent increase, and in FY01, \$19.8 million.¹⁶

Of course, not everything was rosy. In spite of the record increases in state funding, Bragg estimated in 2000 that the University's overall operating budget was underfunded by \$30 million. Most departments had not received an increase in their operating budgets, excluding personnel costs, in over a decade. Rising energy bills were a particular problem. The University had spent \$460,000 for natural gas in December 1999 and January 2000, but over a million in December 2000 and January 2001. The bill for heating Ewing Manor had gone from \$1,400 in January 2000 to \$5,600 in January 2001. Most ominous of all, there was by May 2001 a \$450 million shortfall in the state budget.¹⁷ Even if the highjacked airliners had not hit the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, there might have been a rescission in FY02.

The campus community, like all Americans, responded to 9/11 with shock, grief, and an outburst of patriotism. On September 13 a rally, "Looking to Tomorrow: United in Peace," was held on the Quad; and ten thousand flag-waving students and faculty and staff members listened as Boschini and Provost Alvin Goldfarb, a native New Yorker, warned the crowd not to let anger turn into intolerance. Goldfarb, the son of Holocaust survivors, said that there was no easy answer to the question why the innocent suffer. Buckets were passed, and \$25,000 was raised in an hour for the United Way of New York September 11 Fund. The final tally was \$35,000. The citizens of Bloomington–Normal gave \$275,000 in two days for the American Red Cross Disaster Relief Fund. *The Pantagraph* printed American

flags, and they were posted on office doors and the windows of dorm rooms. The contrast between the rally and the antiwar protests of 1969–70 was striking.

So far two alumni, both marines, have died in Iraq: Lieutenant Timothy Ryan, a 1997 Music major, on May 19, 2003; and on January 31, 2005, Corporal Christopher Zimny, a 2000 Social Work major, who enlisted a month after 9/11. A third alumnus, Gary Vasquez, a 1996 Theater graduate and a soldier in a Special Forces Group, died in September 2008 in Afghanistan. In addition two former students, Jessica Lynn Cawvey and Jeremy Leon Ridlen, were killed there in 2004.¹⁸

The budgetary fallout was soon apparent. At the Trustees' meeting on October 19, 2001, Philip Adams, the University lobbyist, reported that Governor George Ryan was asking state agencies to trim \$50 million from their FY02 budget. As a precautionary move, Boschini ordered the creation of a contingency fund if there was a rescission. On November 28, the governor, who in the preceding weeks had already asked state agencies to pare \$383 million from their budgets, imposed an additional \$136 million cut in order to close a \$500 million gap in the state budget. The University's share was \$1 million. The next day Ryan ordered the universities to assume the cost of their employees' health insurance, in Illinois State's case approximately three million dollars a year. This *de facto* cut in the universities' appropriation has remained in effect ever since. These cuts reduced the State's appropriation for FY02 from \$93.4 million to \$89.24 million. To meet the \$4.1 million cut in its \$261 million overall budget, departmental budgets were cut 2 percent. The University responded in the usual way of deferring purchases, limiting travel, eliminating extra positions, and offering fewer summer school courses. It also adopted a plan to cut energy consumption that it was hoped would save in the coming years between 20 and 40 percent in utility costs.

By February 2002 the State's budgetary deficit in FY02 was projected to be in the range of \$500 to \$700 million, and by May the figure had jumped to \$1.3 billion. This shortfall was the first time in forty-seven years that revenue receipts had declined from the preceding year. Even worse, the revenue flow was expected to deteriorate in FY03. Consequently, the University's appropriation for FY03 was \$87.7 million, nearly \$1.6 million less than it had received in FY02 after the November rescissions. Illinois State was expected to pay out of this allocation the \$3.1 million in health care costs the University had assumed. Thus Illinois State's real appropriation for FY03 was \$84.6 million compared to \$93.4 million at the beginning of FY02. To deal with this substantial cut, the Trustees authorized the president in May 2002 to raise tuition for FY03, if necessary, as much as 3 percent on top of the 4 percent hike they had already approved in October 2001. This 3 percent increase, which was announced in June and amounted to \$100 a year, generated an additional \$1.2 million. Boschini imposed a salary and hiring freeze, and travel and equipment purchases were highly restricted. For example, the deans had to approve all equipment purchases between \$500 and \$999, and *vice* presidential approval was required for all expenditures over \$1,000. The really bad news was, Bragg pointed out in July 2002, that Illinois was slower than other states in getting both in and out of recessions. So the outlook for FY04 was grim.¹⁹

As the FY04 budget was being prepared in the spring of 2003, the State's fiscal condition continued to deteriorate. In February 2003 Illinois' new governor,

Rod Blagojevich (2003 to the present), demanded that the universities save 8 percent from their FY03 appropriation, in Illinois State's case \$6.7 million, by curtailing administrative costs in order to plug a \$4.8 billion state deficit. Boschini commented, "Even if we cut all the administration, we couldn't save \$7 million." The reality was that in March 2003 only \$29.2 million of the State's appropriation for FY03 remained unspent, of which \$28.6 million had been committed to salary contracts. The only way the University could have met the governor's demands for an 8 percent cut that late in the fiscal year would have been to terminate faculty and to eliminate summer school. In the end the University was required to return "only" \$2.6 million of its \$87.7 million appropriation for FY03. The University had already set aside \$2 million by leaving more than a hundred non-academic positions vacant and scrambled to find the balance.

In his budget message on April 9, 2003, the governor proposed that the University eliminate an additional \$10 million from its FY04 and FY05 budgets. At the same time Blagojevich insisted that students not make up the shortfall through increases in tuition. In anticipation of the truth-in-tuition legislation, the University adopted the policy of imposing tuition hikes only on new students, a 13.3 percent increase for students who enrolled for the first time in the fall of 2003. Illinois State's budget for FY04 was \$80.4 million, really \$77.4 million because of the assumed health care costs and an 8.2 percent decrease from FY03. Altogether, the University's allocation had been cut \$16 million from its high two years earlier. The appropriation for FY04 was the same amount the University had received in FY98, and, if inflation is taken into consideration, it was the lowest level of state support in three decades.

Boschini's highest priorities, in dealing with these cuts, were improving faculty and staff compensation, protecting the University's instructional capacity, and keeping an education at Illinois State as affordable as possible. While the base budgets of all units were cut an additional 1 percent in FY04, a reduction that generated \$1.4 million, across-the-board cuts were kept to a minimum. There were fewer class sections and class size increased, but the heaviest blows fell on support services. For example, Milner Library stayed open fewer hours; there was even less cleaning of classrooms and offices; maintenance of the grounds was curtailed; and students had to wait longer to obtain counseling and non-emergency health services. Since personnel costs comprised about 80 percent of the University's budget, it was inevitable that most of the reductions would involve people. By the end of FY03, 148 non-faculty positions, whose incumbents had resigned or retired, had been left unfilled; altogether the University entered the new fiscal year with 171 fewer employees than in FY03. In addition, twenty-three non-academic employees were informed that their positions would be terminated by the end of FY04. In spite of the efforts to protect the University's instructional capacity, Illinois State lost a total of eighteen tenure-line faculty positions between FY03 and FY05, which have not been regained.

Nevertheless, Interim President Bowman pledged to give employees a 2.7 percent raise in FY04. Even *The Pantagraph* concurred. It reported on May 25, 2003, under the headline "Budget crunch creates faculty flight," that Illinois State could lose forty tenure-track faculty members, 5 percent of its employees in this category. On June 8 the paper concluded in an editorial, "No raises for two years too long for ISU faculty," that it was unfair not to give merit raises to the University's

1,825 nonunion faculty and staff members when union employees had obtained salary increments the previous year because of prior contractual agreements. *The Pantagraph's* more positive attitude toward Illinois State, a welcome change after decades of criticism, has been a crucial component in the improved relations between the University and the community. The editors may have changed their minds because they finally realized, as the headline for an editorial on January 31, 2003, put it: "ISU's financial problems affect whole community."²⁰

The recession caused other sources of funding to decline as well. Overall external funding for the University decreased from over \$20 million in FY02 to \$18 million in FY03, due to a 26 percent cut in state grants and a 29 percent decrease in corporate funding. Grants rebounded to a record \$20.6 million in FY05, thanks largely to a 27 percent increase in federal support.²¹

In the middle of the fiscal crisis and the capital campaign, *The Pantagraph* reported on January 29, 2003, that Boschini was likely to become the chancellor of Texas Christian University. The next day the news was official. Both the University and the community as a whole felt a genuine sense of loss. McLean County's local legislators, Bill Brady and Dan Brady, and Jay Hoffman of Collinsville, B.S. 1983, indicated immediately that they would "look out for ISU." (In 2007 eight members of the General Assembly, a number second only to the contingent from Urbana, were graduates of Illinois State.) *The Pantagraph* editorialized on January 31 that "Boschini's achievements will ease transition at ISU." In spite of the financial crunch, he had "put the university in a better position to weather the storm." Boschini's most notable accomplishments, building on Strand's legacy, were, the paper said: the capital campaign; "Educating Illinois," a strategic plan that "encouraged members of the ISU community to aim high;" his excellent rapport with students; a cooperative rather than a confrontational relationship between the administration and the faculty; and the stronger bond he had forged between town and gown. Chika Nnamani, the assistant vice president for Student Affairs and director of Residential Life, speaking on behalf of the Campus Communication Committee at the board meeting on February 21, compiled a similar list and concluded: "Thank you very much for the inspirational leadership you have provided to this great University. Thank you for helping us realize how great the University is and the potential that lies ahead."

Boschini's own assessment of his role was: "I always thought the only thing Illinois State needed to get to the next level is to have the people at ISU believe they could get there. If I have a proudest accomplishment, it's having some small part in making people on campus realize they are too good not to be better."²²

3 CLARENCE A. BOWMAN

Already on January 30, the name of Al Bowman, the interim provost, was being floated on the first page of *The Pantagraph* as Boschini's temporary successor; and he was soon nearly everyone's favorite. On February 23 the Trustees named Bowman the interim president and a year later, after a national search, in an almost foregone conclusion, the University's seventeenth, and the first African American, president. Bowman, who was born in Charleston, West Virginia in 1953, grew up in Colorado Springs, where he developed a passion for mountain climbing. He graduated in 1975 from Augustana College in Rock Island with a bachelor's degree in Speech Pathology and obtained his master's from Eastern Illinois in 1976

and his Ph.D. from Urbana in 1979. A year earlier he had joined the faculty of the department of Speech Pathology and Audiology at Illinois State and became its chair in 1994. On July 1, 2002, Bowman had taken over as interim provost.

As he made clear in his acceptance speech on February 23, 2004, Bowman has a deep commitment to Illinois State and to teaching. He said: “One of the main reasons I have stayed here over the last twenty-five years is because this institution puts students at the center of everything we do. They are the reason we are here. My roots are in the classroom and it will surprise no one to hear that I will remain committed to student learning as we extend our reach as a University. . .” The enthusiastic response of the audience to the news of Bowman’s appointment was, Chairperson Kasten observed, an indication “that not only do you have many friends but much love. . .”²³ Bowman, undoubtedly the University’s most physically fit president, has brought to his office dignity, elegance, and a passionate determination to make Illinois State second to none.

After meeting with Daniel LaVista, the executive director of the IBHE, Bowman informed the Trustees on October 24, 2003, that the budgetary “outlook for FY05 is clouded at best.” The University’s budget for the following year would depend on how quickly Illinois’ economy improved. The signals from Springfield were bad. On February 18, 2004, Governor Blagojevich rejected the IBHE’s recommendation that the universities’ appropriation for FY05 remain at their FY04 levels and asked, instead, for an additional 2 percent reduction, which would have amounted in the case of Illinois State to a loss of another \$1.6 million in its general revenue appropriation. In spite of this grim news, the University conducted in FY04 searches for over seventy tenure-line positions to fill the backlog of vacancies. To offset the severe cuts in Milner’s student assistant budget, forty-eight students and two senior professionals volunteered to work in the library. In the end, although the State’s budgetary deficit was estimated in May 2004 to be in excess of \$2 billion, Illinois State’s appropriation for FY05 was the same as in FY04, \$80.45 million. Under the circumstances this allocation was judged to be a sign that the economy might be turning around. Of course, level funding did not take inflation into account.²⁴

The University’s appropriation in FY06 was once again \$80.45 million, the fifth year that state support had been cut or had remained level. Cumulatively, the University had lost since FY02 \$58 million in state funding; and the revenue it collected from tuition, which had to be increased substantially each year to make up the shortfall, nearly equaled by FY06 the State’s contribution. The University received in FY07 the first increase in four years in its appropriation, \$1 million. It was a very small step in the right direction, but the increase hardly made up for the lost revenue or the additional \$750,000 it cost each year to operate the new College of Business Building. A particularly vexing problem was and is, as every homeowner well knows, the rapid rise in the cost of utilities. In FY06 the University spent about \$5 million on electricity and over \$11 million for all utilities combined; and it was estimated that costs would go up another 20 percent in FY07. That fiscal year the State provided less than 30 percent of the University’s total funding, and for the first time in Illinois State’s history tuition income exceeded the state contribution.²⁵ Illinois State had truly become a state-assisted rather than a state-supported institution with all the implications that fact poses for both the economic and the racial diversity of the University.

Moreover, in response to the post-9/11 fiscal crisis, the universities lost some of the accounting flexibility they had gained when they had procured their own boards in 1995. They were required, starting in FY04, to submit to their governing boards each May a preliminary, detailed, line-item internal budget and a final budget in October. The combination of state regulations, grant requirements, and IBHE oversight has created, as Bragg explained to the Trustees in May 2007, a bookkeeping nightmare. First of all, revenue must be separated by its source (this was not a new requirement), and funds cannot, in most instances, be comingled. For example, general revenue funds cannot be employed to operate the residence halls; conversely, surplus room and board fees cannot be used to pay for additional class sections. Second, the management of the budget is highly decentralized. The University currently has 42,574 accounts supervised by 246 fiscal agents. Individual grants and contracts have separate, specific oversight and compliance requirements. Third, the IBHE determines the format of the internal budgets so that it can compare comparable expenditures by the public universities. The budget for FY07 contained 304 line items, with amounts ranging from \$100 to \$88 million; a decade earlier there had been only sixteen lines with amounts varying from a quarter of a million to \$64 million. The University's frustrated chief financial officer, Steve Bragg, put it this way: "If we are awash in a sea of compliance, we are drowning in data."²⁶

Paradoxically, these financial problems have not stopped the University from developing new academic programs to meet Illinois' changing economic and social needs. The key to this seeming puzzle may be that the University is increasingly less dependent upon state funding. Since 1999 the Trustees have approved the following programs: an integrated 150-hour Bachelor of Science/Master of Professional Accountancy degree (as a certified public accountant, Chairperson Sulaski took particular delight in this new offering) (1999); a B.S. in Biochemistry/Molecular Biology (1999); an M.S. in Instructional Technology (2000); an M.A. and an M.S. in Historical Archaeology (2001); the Special Education Assistive Technology Center, the Center for Reading and Literacy, the Center for Nursing Research, and the Adlai E. Stevenson II Center for Community and Economic Development (2001); a B.A. and a B.S. in University Studies (a custom-designed major) (2002); the off-campus delivery of a Master of Social Work (2002); a B.S. in Athletic Training Education (2002); an M.A. and an M.S. in Clinical Counseling Psychology (2002); a B.S. in Exercise Science (2003); a B.A. and a B.S. in Journalism (2003); an off-campus Elementary Education Bilingual/Bicultural Education Sequence (2004); a B.S. in Business Information Systems (2005); an off-campus B.S. in Nursing (a program involving the University of Chicago Hospital) (2005); the Center for Adoption Studies (2005); a Doctor of Audiology (starting in 2007, the entry level degree for audiologists and a program of great personal interest to Bowman) (2005); an M.S. in College Student Personnel Administration (2006); an integrated five-year B.A./M.A. in Foreign Languages (2006); a B.S. in Renewable Energy (2007); and a Ph.D. in Nursing (the only such program in Illinois outside of Chicago) (2007).²⁷ These new offerings are indicative of Illinois State's expanded mission.

In April 2007 the University dedicated the \$1.2 million Caterpillar Integrated Manufacturing Laboratory, which was funded by the gift the Peoria-based corporation had made to the College of Applied Science and Technology during

the capital campaign. It permits students to work at ten high-tech robot stations and to learn how to make them communicate with each other. On November 14, IBM executives unveiled a \$5 million IBM System z890 server the company has lent the University to teach enterprise computing and networking to the 650 students enrolled in the School of Information Technology. Thanks to this grant, Illinois State is the only public university in the State that will be able to offer students both an undergraduate program in enterprise computing and access to the mainframe.²⁸ In 2007 Illinois State is neither the “developing liberal arts” university of *Master Plan II* nor the teacher preparatory institution of *Master Plan III*.

These donations show how central external fundraising has become to the operation of the University and its ability to stay abreast with changing programmatic offerings. When President Wallace announced in October 1991 the appointment of Judith Riggs as the Director of Development, he charged her with preparing and directing a capital campaign that would be launched within four years. To that end the University undertook in 1993 a study of its institutional identity, in 1995 a marketing study that involved more than four hundred individuals, on and off-campus, and in 1998 both an external assessment of Institutional Advancement, which resulted in the *Campbell Report*, and another feasibility study in conjunction with the construction of the Performing Arts Center, which was partially funded with private gifts. Development officers were assigned, as the Campbell Report had recommended, to the colleges, Athletics, student affairs, and Milner; and the University began sending out in 2000 a slick new alumni magazine, *Illinois State for Alumni of Illinois State University*.

However, it was not until 1999 when Boschini assumed the presidency that the tempo picked up. At his first meeting as president with the Trustees in July, he indicated that he had set himself four goals, the first of which was the implementation of the University’s first comprehensive campaign. Boschini and Susan Kern, who had been serving since 1998 as the vice president for Institutional Advancement, had already talked to outside consultants and had met with influential supporters, including a group of ten or twelve in Chicago. She was working on a plan with a timeline that was to be presented to the Board within ten months. Boschini’s highest priority was, he told the Trustees, to double the endowment, which had increased from a mere \$1 million in 1984 to \$27 million in 1999 but which was clearly totally inadequate. For example, Ball State’s endowment was \$81 million and that of Miami University (Ohio), which Illinois State liked to cite as its “Public Ivy” model, was \$177 million. During the fall of 1999 the outside consultants, Campbell and Company, conducted seventy-five personal and three hundred telephone interviews with members of different constituencies in order to identify different projects that might be of interest to potential donors.

On Founders Day, February 18, 2000, the Board formally approved the campaign, which had been officially launched on January 1; and that month the Trustees and the Foundation Board held their first joint meeting. The plan called, as is customary in such undertakings, for a three-phase campaign. The first, quiet leadership phase targeted over a period of eighteen to twenty-three months 100 to 125 key donors, whose gifts would set the tone for the campaign and determine its likely success. Little publicity attended this phase. During the second or major gift phase, which overlapped with the first, fundraisers approached donors who were judged to be able to give up to \$100,000. Only after substantial progress had been

made in reaching the campaign's overall goal would the campaign go public and ask all alumni, faculty, staff, students, and friends of the University to contribute. The campaign's official name was "Redefining 'normal.'"

Jack North, the senior executive vice president of State Farm, whose son was a student at Illinois State, agreed in February 2000 to chair the campaign's seventeen-member steering committee. Two of the Normal University's most distinguished graduates, K. Patricia Cross, Class of 1948, L.L.D. 1970, and the David Pierpoint Gardner Professor of Higher Education at Berkeley, and Ambassador Donald McHenry, Class of 1957, served as honorary chairs. The campaign's priorities were divided into four broad areas: building the endowment, including such things as procuring more scholarships and obtaining the University's first endowed chairs; enhancing the campus experience through such things as better athletic facilities or contributions to Milner; promoting such areas of excellence as the Assistive Technology Center and the Reading and Literacy Center; and increasing annual support for the University's current operations. The initial target in May 2001 was around \$86 million, though North preferred the sound of \$100 million.²⁹

On September 29, 2000, Boschini was able to announce that former trustee (1996 to July 2000), Tom Andes, Class of 1965, and his wife Janet Shea, Class of 1964, had given \$1 million to endow the University's first chair, the Andes Chair for General Education. By July 2001 all the Trustees had made their own commitment; and in the fall the Student Government Association established its own committee to coordinate student contributions. Patricia Cross indicated on November 20, 2001, that she was giving her alma mater \$2.5 million to establish the Cross Chair in the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning. Businessman Thomas Heimsoth, a 1965 Special Education major, and his wife Sandra "Pete" presented the University with \$2 million on March 4, 2002, to endow the Kara Peters Chair in Special Education Assistive Technology, named in honor of their three-year-old great-niece who has Down's syndrome. The day before Illinois State kicked off on March 22, 2002, the public phase of the campaign, Caterpillar conferred to the University its second largest gift, \$5.25 million: \$2 million for the College of Business; \$2 million for the College of Applied Science and Technology; \$500,000 for Milner Library; and \$750,000 for general faculty and student support. (State Farm's January 1999 gift of \$9.5 million to construct the College of Business Building is thus far the largest donation).

The public or "university family" phase of "Redefining 'normal'" began on Friday, March 22, with a rally, attended by seven hundred people, outside Watterson. Former President Gene Budig visited the campus for the occasion. The next afternoon alumnus Donald McHenry, Jimmy Carter's ambassador to the United Nations, and McHenry's colleague at Georgetown, Madeleine Albright, Bill Clinton's secretary of state, spoke at a Global Town Meeting in Braden Auditorium. On Saturday evening, more than four hundred invited guests attended a black tie gala in the ballroom. Actress Suzanne Douglas, Class of 1999, and WGN-TV Chicago sports director, Dan Roan, Class of 1976, were the emcees. Patricia Cross announced with a dramatic flourish that the official campaign goal was \$88 million, and Boschini told the guests, most of whom had already made their own commitments, that the school had raised more than \$51 million during the two-year quiet phase of the campaign. Part of that amount was a \$3.25 million gift, which was announced that evening, by Charles Bay, Class of 1979 and the president of Silicon

Valley's Kana Software Corporation, to the College of Business to buy marketing survey software. *The Pantagraph* editorialized on March 31 that it was "Hard to be 'quiet' about \$51 million ISU success." The University, it reminded its readers, was "a major economic player" and "the county's second-largest employer" after State Farm.³⁰

Several insurance companies, including State Farm, COUNTRY Financial, Kemper, and Allstate, provided in October 2002 \$2.5 million in funding to establish the Edmondson-Miller Chair in Insurance and Risk Management. This is named for James Edmondson, State Farm's retired vice president of underwriting and service, and Duane Miller (M.S. 1972), COUNTRY Financial's retired chief operating officer. At the dedication of the Performing Arts Center on October 18, 2002, it was announced that Barbara Jean Benway, a 1950 Art Education major, had given \$1 million; half was to be used for the Center and the other half for other College of Fine Arts ventures. On February 19, 2004, four Bloomington physicians—Keith Kattner, Class of 1985, Ricardo Vallejo, Ramsin Benyamin, and Ann Stroink—gave Biological Sciences \$2 million to establish graduate fellowships in neuroscience as part of an on-going, collaborative research effort between them and the department. The University dedicated on April 23, 2005, the 9,200 square-foot Richard and Fran Owen Strength and Conditioning Center in Redbird Arena, which accommodates eighty athletes and which is the largest such facility in the Missouri Valley Conference. The Owens contributed \$500,000 of the \$1.5 million it cost to build and equip the center. The O'Daffer Athletic Conference Room in Redbird Arena is named for Harriet Gove, B.S.E. 1955, M.S.E. 1957, and her husband Phares O'Daffer, B.S.E. 1955, M.S.E. 1956, and professor emeritus of Mathematics, who also donated the organ in the concert hall in the Performing Arts Center.

When "Redefining 'normal'" officially ended on December 31, 2004, more than 40,000 donors had given \$96,074,854. North had been proven right: around \$100 million sounds much better than the original target of \$88 million. The endowment which had been \$1 million in 1984 and \$27 million in 1999 was now \$46 million. Illinois State had obtained its first four endowed chairs and 154 endowed scholarships. Twenty-three donors had given \$1 million or more, and 40,275 had contributed \$5,000 or less.³¹ Planning is already under way for the University's second capital campaign. Illinois State, which had been until 1966 a single purpose institution, had been redefined.

The University is requesting in FY09 \$223.2 million in capital development funds to finance five major projects that will reshape the campus. These plans call for the demolition of Centennial West and the Center for the Visual Arts, including the classroom rotunda, extensive remodeling of Centennial East, and the construction of a new building, so that the programs of the College of Fine Arts, which are now located in nine buildings, can be consolidated (\$50.6 million). The University proposes to build a 140,000 square-foot addition to Milner and to link Braden and Milner with an Information Commons to provide computer and conferencing areas and, incidentally, to solve the plaza water leakage problem (\$61.5 million). The interior stacks in Williams, the original site of Milner Library, will be dismantled, so that natural light can flood the interior and more effective use can be made of the space. The old reference room will be restored to its former grandeur as a fitting venue for formal celebrations (\$23.2 million). Metcalf

will be demolished and replaced, and DeGarmo will receive a forty thousand square-foot addition and the first level will be enclosed (\$65.8 million). Finally, to accommodate Mennonite College of Nursing, Illinois State intends to build a new sixty thousand square-foot building for the college, whose enrollment has doubled since its affiliation with the University in 1999, and to remodel Edwards (\$22 million).³² A future historian of the University will be able to relate how quickly these dreams turned into reality.

This is a history without an end but rather an on-going tale, in which all of us—faculty and staff, students, alumni, and “friends of education”—will continue to participate. Illinois State University, the school that was founded in 1857 by the political associates and friends of Abraham Lincoln, is the realization of his 1832 campaign promise to the voters of Sangamon County that “education . . . shall become more general.” From its beginning in Majors Hall to the present, Illinois State’s mission has greatly expanded but its basic purpose has remained the same: “Educating Illinois.”

ENDNOTES

1. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, May 11, 2001*, p. 139.
2. *Ibid.*, *May 9, 2003*, p. 103.
3. *Ibid.*, *October 19, 2001*, p. 183; and *July 26, 2002*, p. 54. See similar comments by Bragg on February 22, 2002, p. 24.
4. *Ibid.*, *May 12, 2000*, p. 46; *February 16, 2001*, p. 123; *July 25, 2003*, p. 123; and *July 22, 2005*, p. 171; *Illinois State University, Academic Senate Minutes*, October 24, 2007; and *Illinois State University Report*, 44/15 (November 1, 2007), pp. 1–2.
5. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 22, 2002*, p. 17; *February 20, 2004*, p. 19; *February 18, 2005*, p. 122; *May 13, 2005*, p. 134; and *July 21, 2006*, p. 7.
6. *Ibid.*, *May 12, 2000*, p. 36; and *February 18, 2005*, pp. 126–27; and “Mission Accomplished,” *Illinois State University Foundation Report*, 2005.
7. *Board of Trustees, Bi-Annual Proceedings, July 29, 1997*, p. 127; and *Biennial Proceedings, May 7, 1999*, pp. 184–86; and *July 30, 1999*, p. 196 (Sulaski quotation), p. 220 (Boschini’s words); and *The Pantagraph*, June 7, 1997, A11; February 24, 1999, A3; February 25, 1999, A1; and October 26, 1999, A1.
8. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, July 21, 2000*, p. 59 (Boschini quotation); *February 16, 2001*, p. 127 (Board endorsement); *February 22, 2002*, pp. 18, 25–26; *July 25, 2003*, p. 128; and *October 27, 2006*, p. 9; and “*Educating Illinois: An Action Plan for Distinctiveness and Excellence at Illinois State University 2000–2007*,” Draft 2, November 1, 2000, esp. pp. 12–14 (items 22 to 25).
9. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, October 25, 2002*, p. 69; *February 20, 2004*, p. 31; *February 18, 2005*, pp. 124–26; *July 22, 2005*, pp. 169–70 (Adams quotation); and *May 12, 2006*, p. 3; *Chicago Tribune, Metro Edition*, May 12, 2006, Section 2, p. 7; *Educating Illinois*, pp. 33–34 (item 78); and *Illinois State University Report* 44/14 (October 25, 2007), p. 1.
10. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 22, 2002*, p. 30.
11. *Ibid.*, *February 16, 2001*, pp. 117–18; *February 22, 2002*, pp. 28–29; *October 25, 2002*, p. 70; *February 18, 2005*, p. 124 (Bowman quotation on the plans); *October 27, 2006*, pp. 15–20; and *May 11, 2007*, p. 6; and *The Pantagraph*, October 20, 2001, A3; January 21, 2006, A1; September 26, 2007, A4; and October 18, 2007, A3.
12. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 22, 2002*, p. 20; *July 25, 2003*, p. 116; *July 23, 2004*, p. 67; *July 22, 2005*, pp. 159–60; and *October 27, 2006*, p. 4; and *The Pantagraph*, October 3, 2006, A4.
13. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, July 30, 1999*, p. 221; *May 12, 2000*, pp. 49–50; *July 21, 2000*, pp. 74–75; *October 20, 2000*, pp. 92–93; *July 26, 2002*, p. 50; *February 17, 2006*, p. 14; *May 12, 2006*, p. 12; and *October 27, 2006*, p. 5; and *The Pantagraph*, June, 19, 2002, C1; July 25, 2002, C1; September 24, 2004, B1 (Bowman quotation); and July 28, 2007, A1, A14.
14. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, May 7, 2004*, pp. 47–51; and *May 12, 2006*, p. 2.
15. *Ibid.*, *July 30, 1999*, p. 206 (Bragg quotation); *February 18, 2000*, pp. 26–28; *May 12, 2000*, pp. 46–47; *February 16, 2001*, pp. 123–25; and *July 20, 2001*, p. 159; and *The Pantagraph*, January 9, 2005, A5.
16. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 18, 2000*, pp. 24–26; *February 16, 2001*, p. 125; and *February 22, 2002*, p. 25.
17. *Ibid.*, *July 21, 2000*, pp. 64–65; *February 16, 2001*, pp. 117–18; and *May 11, 2001*, p. 140.
18. *Ibid.*, *October 19, 2001*, pp. 171–72; *The Pantagraph*, September 14, 2001, A1, A8; *May 22, 2003*, A1; and *February 3, 2005*, A1; and *Vidette*, September 14, 2001, A1, A13. I wish to thank Judith E. Curtis and Kathleen Ann Pollock with providing me with the names of Cawvey and Ridlen.
19. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, October 19, 2001*, pp. 178, 183–84; *February 22, 2002*, pp. 23–25; *May 10, 2002*, p. 37; and *July 26, 2002*, pp. 59–62; *The Pantagraph*, November 29, 2001, A1; November 30, 2001, A1, A13; January 9, 2002, A5; March 6, 2002, A1; June 13, 2002, A12; and July 12, 2002, A1, A18; and *Vidette*, January 15, 2002, pp. 1, 12.
20. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, May 9, 2003*, pp. 103–06; *July 25, 2003*, p. 119; and *October 24, 2003*, p. 137; *Illinois State University, Academic Senate Minutes*, November 7, 2007; and *The Pantagraph*, January 28, 2003, A1, A10; January 31, 2003, A14 (editorial); February 13, 2003, A5; February 14, 2003, A1, A14; March 6, 2003, A1, A12; March 13, 2003, A3; March 18, 2003, A1, A10 (Boschini quotation); April 10, 2003, A1, 16; May 3, 2003, A1, A16; May 6, 2003, A3; May 10, 2003, A1; May 25, 2003, A1, A3; June 4, 2003, A3; June 8, 2003, C2 (editorial); and July 1, 2003, A1, A12; and *Vidette*, March 20, 2003, pp. 1, 12.
21. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 21, 2003*, p. 88; *February 20, 2004*, pp. 27–28; and *February 18, 2005*, p. 122.
22. *Ibid.*, *February 21, 2003*, p. 86 (Nnamani); and *The Pantagraph*, January 29, 2003, A1, A10; January 30, 2003, A1, A8; January 31, 2003, A1, A5, A14 (editorial); February 1, 2003, A1, A16 (Boschini quotation); February 2, 2003, B1; and January 16, 2007, A5 (number of legislators).
23. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 21, 2003*, pp. 95–96; and *February 23, 2004*, pp. 36–39; and *The Pantagraph*, January 30, 2003, A1; February 5, 2003, A3; February 22, 2003, A1, A16; February 23, 2003, A1, A14; March 2, 2003, A1, A10; March 6, 2003, A3; May 6, 2003, A4; June 3, 2003, A1, A3, A10;

February 13, 2004, A1, A14; February 14, 2004, A1, A14; February 21, 2004, A1, A14; February 22, 2004, B1; and February 24, 2004, A1, A10, A12.

24. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, October 24, 2003*, p. 134 (Bowman quotation); *February 20, 2004*, pp. 18, 20–21, 28; *May 7, 2004*, p. 50; *July 23, 2004*, pp. 72, 75, 86–87; and *October 22, 2004*.

25. *Ibid.*, *July 22, 2005*, pp. 168–69, 171; *October 21, 2005*, pp. 189–91; *May 12, 2006*, p. 3; *July 21, 2006*, pp. 10–12; and *October 27, 2006*, pp. 9–12; and *Illinois State Report, 44/15* (November 1, 2007), pp. 1–2.

26. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, October 24, 2003*, pp. 140–41; and *May 11, 2007*, pp. 8–10.

27. *Ibid.*, *July 30, 1999*, pp. 218–19; *October 22, 1999*, p. 241; *July 21, 2000*, p. 72; *February 16, 2001*, p. 127; *May 11, 2001*, pp. 145–47; *February 22, 2002*, p. 28; *May 10, 2002*, p. 41; *July 26, 2002*, pp. 63–64; *July 25, 2003*, p. 127; *October 24, 2003*, pp. 139–40; *May 7, 2004*, pp. 58–59; *February 18, 2005*, pp. 128–29; *May 13, 2005*, pp. 152–53; *February 17, 2006*, p. 9; *May 12, 2006*, p. 10; and *May 11, 2007*, pp. 15–17.

28. *Ibid.*, *October 24, 2003*, pp. 145–46; and *The Pantagraph*, November 15, 2007, A1, A12.

29. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents, October 17, 1991*, p. 35; and *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, July 28, 1998*, p. 61; *July 30, 1999*, pp. 196–98; *October 22, 1999*, p. 229; *February 18, 2000*, pp. 28–31; *May 12, 2000*, p. 36; *July 21, 2000*, pp. 58–59; *May 11, 2001*, pp. 133–35; and *May 10, 2002*, p. 33.

30. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, July 20, 2001*, p. 155; and *October 19, 2001*, p. 173; and *The Pantagraph*, September 29, 2000, A1 (Andes Chair); November 21, 2001, A4 (Cross Chair); February 23, 2002, A3; March 5, 2002, A5 (Heimsoth Chair); March 16, 2002, A1; March 22, 2002, A1, A16 (Caterpillar gift); March 23, 2002, A1, A6; March 24, 2002, A1, A10, B4; and March 31, 2002, C2.

31. *Board of Trustees, Biennial Proceedings, February 18, 2005*, pp. 126–27; and *May 13, 2005*, p. 136 (O'Daffer organ); *The Pantagraph*, October 5, 2002, A12 (Edmondson-Miller Chair); October 19, 2002, A18 (Benway gift); February 20, 2004, A1, 12 (neurosciences); May 24, 2004 (O'Daffer); and April 24, 2005, D1 (Owen Center); and "Mission Accomplished."

32. *Illinois State University Report 44/15* (November 1, 2007), p. 2.



A Personal Conclusion

Like so many others in the 1960s, I chose an academic career, in part, because I believed the predictions of educators like Robert Bone that the United States would need by 1970, 35,700 new professors a year. By the time I was completing my dissertation in the spring of 1969 and looking for my first position, the job market had mysteriously dried up. My fellow graduate students and I viewed it as a temporary aberration; none of us realized that an entire generation of scholars was about to be lost to the academic world. My own department did not hire a single tenure-track faculty member, except for an African American historian, between 1971 and 1986, a loss of talent that has affected it ever since. I was thus grateful to secure a position at Illinois State, a school I had never heard of. However, a friend of my parents who was the principal of New York's school for the deaf informed them that he was always eager to hire the University's graduates. It was my first inkling of Illinois State's national reputation in Special Education. I was the fourth medievalist whom the department had hired in less than a decade; and I took comfort in the knowledge that the University was merely, as one of my fellow graduate students pointed out, "a parking garage" until I obtained a more appropriate appointment.

My first year of teaching at Illinois State, 1969–70, Roger Champagne's infamous "year of disruption," was the worst year in the University's recent history. I did not share his dream that Illinois State would become, as *Master Plan II* envisioned, a "liberal arts university." As a naïve and arrogant newcomer, I saw only the deficiencies. I parked in the unpaved yards of the houses that stood on the site of the future Bone Student Center; and in the spring they turned into a sea of mud. One of my most vivid memories is of one of the most distinguished and formidable members of the faculty, Helen Cavanagh, dressed in a Persian lamb coat, trudging through the muck. I taught the first semester in what had been the gymnasium of the original Metcalf (now Moulton Hall) and then in the combination auditorium and gym of Normal's old district school on School Street, which had been built in the 1860s (now the site of the basketball court in front of Manchester-Hewett). Bats roosted overhead. Books filled the overflowing drawers in old Milner and would fall every which way when the drawer was pulled out. For all their structural and design deficiencies, the lecture halls in the rotunda of the Center for the Visual Arts and the new library were a great improvement.

In reading the *Proceedings* of the Board of Regents, I realized that the 1970s and '80s were truly as awful as I remembered them. *Master Plan III* had left the University without a clearly defined mission, and the steady decline in state funding, in an era of rampant inflation, eroded faculty salaries. New construction ceased, and the

existing buildings were dirty and badly maintained. Many students, unable to find employment in the “real” world, were reluctant attendees and badly prepared to do college-level work. I will never forget how a young man asked me in 1973, at the height of the OPEC oil embargo, after I had lectured in the survey course on western civilization about the Arabs and the origins of Islam, whether “any such peoples still existed in the world today.” I despaired that I could ever reach students like him. I felt that, in obtaining a job in Normal, I had managed to board the ark as it was leaving the dock but that I was sailing steerage.

However, in reading the Board records I have gained a new respect for Lloyd Watkins and even for the maligned Regents. They were acutely aware what impact the State’s perennial underfunding of higher education was having on faculty morale, the quality of instruction, and student accessibility. Watkins and the Regents were frustrated that they were unable to persuade the legislators and the State’s citizens to change course. Their mistake, if it was such, was to believe that the State had an obligation to provide even its poorest and most disadvantaged citizens with an affordable college education. Oddly, it was the cantankerous Charles Shuman, for all his anti-intellectual prejudices, who grasped that while such a low-tuition policy had made sense when institutions like Illinois State had been normal schools and teachers colleges preparing farm youth to be poorly paid servants of the people, it no longer did when the institutions had become multi-purpose universities educating the affluent children of the suburbs for careers in business. Middle-class parents could afford to make a substantial contribution toward their sons’ and daughters’ education.

Thomas Wallace articulated the change in tuition policy and, in hindsight, began a new era in the University’s history. Since the University could no longer rely on state appropriations for the major portion of its income, it would have to increase tuition, provided suitable financial assistance was available for poorer students, and stress external fundraising. The president’s personal shortcomings have obscured his achievements, but his equally able but more likeable successors, David Strand, Victor Boschini, and Al Bowman, have continued on the path Wallace set. Today, Illinois State is, along with the University of Illinois, the school of choice for the State’s students, enjoys a degree of internal harmony that was inconceivable even a decade ago, and has gained the respect and support of the community, the State’s citizens, and their elected representatives.

In writing the sesquicentennial history of Illinois State, I have gained a new appreciation for the University. It was and is the foremost teacher preparatory institution in the nation. Its founders, Abraham Lincoln’s friends and political

associates, intended it to be the state university of Illinois, as its designation in 1857 as a **University** attests, and fought for the admission of African Americans. The Normal University played a role after the Civil War in the education of the citizens of Illinois unlike that of any normal school anywhere else. It was, as Jurgen Herbst put it, the “people’s university” par excellence. Its graduates went to Germany in the late nineteenth century and upon their return revolutionized elementary school teaching.

David Felmley, a committed democrat in both meanings of the word, believed that everyone, not only the college bound, was entitled to a secondary education and that teachers colleges were the appropriate place to prepare high school teachers. He thus led the fight, very much alone, to convert the State’s normal schools into four-year institutions. His successor Raymond Fairchild continued the battle, this time to expand the school’s mission to include both graduate and special education. Regrettably, their focus on the professional content of a teacher’s preparation and the Normal University’s very success in its assigned mission made it especially difficult for the school to become a multi-purpose institution.

The fight over the name change pitted the defenders of the school’s teacher preparatory mission, many of them, like Helen Marshall, talented women who could not easily find employment at liberal arts colleges, against younger male faculty who hoped to replicate their own graduate institutions in Normal. The tragedy of Samuel Braden’s administration was that fiscal and demographic realities turned the latter’s hopes into a hollow dream. It took three decades for Illinois State to find the new direction that is set forth in *Educating Illinois*.

After Victor Boschini announced in January 2003 his resignation, he said: “If I have a proudest accomplishment, it’s having some small part in making people on campus realize that they are too good not to be better.” I hope that readers will learn that lesson from reading this history.



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