

Fuller

THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY BILL.

[In pursuance of authority from the National Committee of One Hundred, to promote the establishment of "The University of the United States," the Executive Council, formed by it of members conveniently circumstanced for having a more immediate direction of the movement, held its first meeting in Washington on November 30, 1895, with all but two of its members present, the Honorable Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice, presiding. This meeting was wholly given to a discussion of the provisions to be incorporated in a bill for the action of Congress, and at its conclusion a special committee, with ex-Senator Edmunds as chairman, was appointed for a fuller revision of the draft submitted, and with instructions to report to the Council on December 11, to which time an adjournment was taken. The said committee on revision met on December 7, and after an exhaustive discussion of the measure finally arrived at a substantial agreement, reporting to the Executive Council on December 11; when, after a further revision by the whole body, the following bill was unanimously agreed to.]

A BILL TO ESTABLISH THE UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be, and is hereby established, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate with the name of and to be known as The University of the United States, for the purpose of promoting the advancement of knowledge in its higher branches, and to carry on instruction, research, and investigation for the benefit of mankind. Said corporation shall have a common seal, and may alter the same at pleasure; it may acquire and hold real and personal estate, and accept any devises, bequests, grants, and donations of money or of other property, provided that any condition thereof shall not be repugnant to this act and shall be agreed to by the Board of Regents, to be devoted to the uses and purposes aforesaid; it shall appoint the necessary officers and employés and have power to remove the same; and it may make and change by-laws and do such acts, not inconsistent with law, as shall be necessary or proper to carry out the purposes of its establishment.

SEC. 2. The government of said University shall be vested in a Board of Regents and a University Council, respectively, as hereinafter set forth.

SEC. 3. The Board of Regents shall be composed of the President of the United States, who shall be president of the Board, the Chief Justice of the United States, the Commissioner of Education, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the President of the National Academy of Sciences, the President of the National Educational Association, and the President of the University, and

of nine other citizens of the United States, no two of whom shall be citizens of the same State, and who, with their successors, shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Any vacancy occurring in the office of any regent thus appointed shall be filled in like manner. The regents thus appointed in the first instance shall be divided into three classes to be determined by lot. The first class shall hold office for two years; the second class shall hold office for four years, and the third class shall hold office for six years; and the term of office of regents appointed to fill vacancies occurring in the three classes thus formed shall be filled in the same manner by appointments for the residue of the term. Vacancies occurring by expiration of a term shall be filled by appointments for six years. A majority of all the members of the Board of Regents shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 4. The University Council shall consist of the Board of Regents and of twelve other citizens of the United States, to be appointed by the Board of Regents from among eminent educators connected with institutions of learning in the United States; but no more than one shall be appointed or hold office from any one State at the same time. The twelve members first so appointed shall at the time of their taking office be divided by lot into three classes; the first class shall hold office for two years; the second class shall hold office for four years, and the third class shall hold office for six years. Vacancies happening during their terms in any of the classes shall be filled by appointments by the Board of Regents for the residue of the vacant terms. Vacancies in any of the classes, occurring by expiration of the term of office, shall be filled by appointments by the Board of Regents, for the term of six years, from among eminent educators connected with institutions of learning in the United States; but no more than one shall be appointed from any one State; and after all the States shall have had such appointments, the appointments shall be made on the principle and rule that each State shall in due order be represented in the council. In all proceedings of the council the President of the Board of Regents shall preside, if present, and shall have the casting vote in cases of equal division; and in the absence of the President the council shall choose a presiding officer for the time being. A

majority of all the members of the University Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 5. The Board of Regents shall have exclusive control of the financial administration of the University and of all its affairs not by this act confided to the University Council.

SEC. 6. The University Council shall have power to prescribe and direct the work of the University in such courses of higher instruction, research, and investigation, for the increase of knowledge, as the council shall from time to time deem to be for the public welfare. All officers of instruction shall be appointed by the University Council, which shall have power to remove the same. The council shall have power to adopt such regulations, in respect of the subjects in this section mentioned, for the internal administration of the University, as it shall from time to time deem proper.

SEC. 7. The Board of Regents and the University Council shall each hold a meeting at least once in each year for the transaction of business; and other meetings of each may be held at any time under such regulations as shall be provided for in the by-laws of the corporation.

SEC. 8. In all the operations of the University, neither sectarian nor partisan preferences shall be allowed in any form.

SEC. 9. The opportunities and facilities afforded by the University shall be free to all persons who, in the judgment of the University Council, shall be deemed competent to use them; but admissions to the University shall be of those only who shall have shown such advancement in and possession of knowledge as to qualify them to pursue the higher branches of learning, research, and investigation. Degrees may be conferred by the Board of Regents, upon the recommendation of the University Council, upon such persons only as shall have previously received a baccalaureate degree from some institution recognized for this purpose by the University Council, or who shall have shown such attainments and capacity as shall, in the opinion of the University Council, be judged to entitle them to the degree conferred by the University.

SEC. 10. The University shall have authority to establish with other institutions of education and learning in the United States such coöperative relations as shall be deemed advantageous to the public interest.

SEC. 11. That the grounds in Washington city, which were designated by President Washington as a site for a national university and which for this reason were long known as "University Square," and recently occupied by the Naval Observatory, are hereby granted to the said corporation to be utilized for the benefit of the University in such manner as the Board of Regents may deem most advantageous.

SEC. 12. For the organization, preliminary work, and support of the University for the two fiscal years ending June 30, 1898, there are hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$15,000 for the fiscal year ending on the 30th day of June, 1897, and the sum of \$25,000 for the fiscal year ending on the 30th day of June, 1898.

SEC. 13. All payments of moneys out of the Treasury for the purposes in this act mentioned shall be made upon the order of such officer as the Board of Regents shall designate, and countersigned by the Secretary.

SEC. 14. All gifts and bequests of money to the University shall, unless otherwise directed by the donor, be deposited in the Treasury of the United States in trust, and shall be invested in bonds of the United States at an interest of 5 per cent. per annum, so far as may be consistent with the conditions of such gifts or bequests; which interest shall be devoted from time to time to the payment of the expenses of the University.

SEC. 15. A detailed account of all expenditures of all moneys appropriated by the United States or in charge of the Treasury made by or under the authority of the University shall, in each year, be reported to the accounting officers of the Treasury and passed upon according to the usual course of accounts in the public service.

SEC. 16. At the close of each fiscal year the Board of Regents shall make a full and detailed report of the operations of the University, showing its receipts and expenditures and its condition, to the President of the United States, to be by him transmitted to Congress.

SEC. 17. The Congress shall at all times have power of visitation in respect of the University in such manner as it shall deem expedient.

SEC. 18. The Congress may at any time alter, amend, or repeal this act as it shall deem fit.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE

OF

ONE HUNDRED,

TO

PROMOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

[A Council formed of its own members by the National Committee, for the framing of a bill to be offered to Congress and for the more immediate direction of the National University enterprise.]

The Honorable MELVILLE W. FULLER, LL. D., Chief Justice of the United States.
Ex-United States Senator GEORGE F. EDMUNDS, LL. D., of Vermont.
Ex-President WILLIAM PEPPER, M. D., LL. D., University of Pennsylvania.
Hon. ANDREW D. WHITE, LL. D., ex-President of Cornell University, ex-United States Minister to Russia, etc., New York.
Ex-Governor JOHN LEE CARROLL, LL. D., General President Society of Sons of the Revolution, Maryland.
General HORACE PORTER, LL. D., President-General Society of Sons of the American Revolution, New York.
Ex-United States Senator EPPA HUNTON, LL. D., Virginia.
Ex-United States Senator A. H. GARLAND, late Attorney-General of the United States, Arkansas.
Colonel WILBUR R. SMITH, Kentucky University.
General JOHN EATON, LL. D., ex-United States Commissioner of Education, etc., New Hampshire.
Hon. GARDINER G. HUBBARD, LL. D., President National Geographic Society, Regent of Smithsonian Institution, etc., District of Columbia.
SIMON NEWCOMB, LL. D., Director of the Nautical Almanac, District of Columbia.
Hon. JOHN A. KASSON, ex-United States Minister to Austria and Ambassador to Germany, Iowa.
Hon. OSCAR S. STRAUSS, ex-United States Minister to Turkey, New York.
G. BROWN GOODE, LL. D., Assistant Secretary of Smithsonian Institution, in charge of the National Museum.
Ex-Governor JOHN W. HOYT, M. D., LL. D., Chairman of National University Committee.

AUTHORIZED LIST OF MEMBERS.

The Honorable Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States.

Lieutenant-General J. M. Schofield, late Commander-in-chief of the United States Army.

Ex-United States Senator George F. Edmunds, of Vermont.
Ex-United States Senator Eppa Hunton, of Virginia.
Ex-United States Senator A. H. Garland, of Arkansas.
Ex-United States Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin.
Ex-United States Senator Carl Schurz, of New York.
Ex-United States Senator John J. Ingalls, of Kansas.
Ex-United States Senator Patrick Walsh, of Georgia.
Ex-United States Senator W. D. Washburn, of Minnesota.
Ex-United States Senator Joseph M. Carey, of Wyoming.
Ex-United States Senator Joseph N. Dolph, of Oregon.
Hon. Andrew D. White, LL. D., of New York, late U. S. Minister to Russia.
Hon. John A. Kasson, LL. D., of Iowa, late United States Minister to Austria and Germany.
Hon. Oscar S. Strauss, of New York, late United States Minister to Turkey.
Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, LL. D., United States Ambassador to Italy.

President B. L. Whitman, D. D., Columbian University, District of Columbia.
President Daniel C. Gilman, LL. D., Johns Hopkins University, Maryland.
Ex-Provost William Pepper, M. D., LL. D., University of Pennsylvania.
President George W. Atherton, Ph. D., LL. D., Pennsylvania State College.
President Henry Coppée, A. M., D. D., Lehigh University, Pennsylvania.
President Charles De Garmo, Ph. D., Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.
Ex-President Edwin H. Magill, LL. D., Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.
President A. H. Fetterhoff, LL. D., Girard College, Pennsylvania.
President H. W. MacKnight, D. D., LL. D., Pennsylvania College.
President W. P. Johnston, D. D., Geneva College, Pennsylvania.
President Isaac Sharpless, Sc. D., LL. D., Haverford College, Pennsylvania.
President Theophilus B. Roth, D. D., Thiel College, Pennsylvania.
President Thomas L. Seip, D. D., Muhlenburg College, Pennsylvania.
Chancellor W. J. Holland, Ph. D., LL. D., Western University of Penn.
Chancellor H. M. McCracken, D. D., LL. D., Univ. of the City of New York.
President George William Smith, D. D., Trinity College, Connecticut.
President Homer T. Fuller, Ph. D., Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Mass.
President Edwin Hewitt Capen, D. D., Tufts College, Massachusetts.
President E. Benjamin Andrews, LL. D., Brown University, Rhode Island.
President Nathaniel Butler, D. D., Colby University, Maine.
President Ezra Brainerd, LL. D., Middlebury College, Vermont.
President J. G. Schurman, Sc. D., LL. D., Cornell University, New York.

Director R. H. Thurston, Sibley College, Cornell University, New York.
 President John Hudson Peck, LL. D., Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, N. Y.
 President Harrison E. Webster, LL. D., Union College, New York.
 President David J. Hill, LL. D., University of Rochester, New York.
 President Arthur E. Main, A. M., D. D., Alfred University, New York.
 President P. B. Reynolds, LL. D., West Virginia University.
 President D. Powell, A. M., Ph. D., West Virginia College.
 President J. C. Rankin, D. D., LL. D., Howard University, D. C.
 President Lyon G. Tyler, Ph. D., William and Mary College, Virginia.
 President H. B. Frissell, D. D., Hampton Institute, Virginia.
 President J. M. McBryde, Ph. D., Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical Col.
 President George T. Winston, LL. D., University of North Carolina.
 President Charles F. Meserve, Ph. D., Shaw University, North Carolina.
 President J. Woodrow, Ph. D., LL. D., South Carolina College.
 President Horace Bumstead, D. D., Atlanta University, Georgia.
 President Richard C. Jones, LL. D., University of Alabama.
 President A. S. Andrews, D. D., LL. D., Southern University, Alabama.
 President William Le Roy Brown, Ph. D., Alabama Polytechnic Institute.
 President J. W. Nicholson, LL. D., Louisiana State University.
 Ex-President D. F. Boyd, LL. D., Louisiana State University.
 President Oscar Alewort, LL. D., Straight University, Louisiana.
 Chancellor R. B. Fulton, LL. D., University of Mississippi.
 General Stephen D. Lee, LL. D., President Mississippi State Agricultural Col.
 President Charles W. Dabney, Ph. D., LL. D., University of Tennessee.
 Chancellor W. H. Payne, LL. D., University of Nashville, Tennessee.
 President Erastus M. Cravath, D. D., Fisk University, Tennessee.
 President J. Braden, D. D., Central Tennessee College.
 Chancellor Nathan Green, LL. D., Cumberland University, Tennessee.
 Chancellor George W. Sweeney, D. D., etc., S. W. Presb. University, Tenn.
 President S. W. Boardman, D. D., LL. D., Mayville College, Tennessee.
 President B. Lawton Wiggins, M. A., etc., University of the South, Tennessee.
 President Charles L. Loos, A. M., LL. D., Kentucky University.
 Colonel Wilbur R. Smith, President Commercial College of Kentucky Univ.
 President S. Ryland, D. D., Bethel College, Kentucky.
 Chancellor L. H. Blanton, D. D., Central University, Kentucky.
 President William A. Oberchaine, Ph. D., Ogden College, Kentucky.
 President J. H. Canfield, A. M., LL. D., Ohio State University.
 Ex-President William H. Scott, M. A., LL. D., Ohio State University.
 President Charles V. Thwing, D. D., Western Reserve College, Ohio.
 President W. O. Thompson, D. D., etc., Miami University, Ohio.
 President L. Bookwalter, LL. D., Western College, Ohio.
 President S. A. Ort, D. D., Wittenberg College, Ohio.
 President Cady Staley, Ph. D., LL. D., Case School of Applied Science, Ohio.
 President Jesse Johnson, Ph. D., Muskingum College, Ohio.
 President J. A. Peters, A. M., D. D., Heidelberg University, Ohio.
 President John W. Simpson, LL. D., Marietta College, Ohio.
 President E. V. Zollars, LL. D., Hiram College, Ohio.
 President Charles W. Super, LL. D., Ohio University.
 President F. Scovel, LL. D., University of Wooster, Ohio.

President D. T. McClurg, LL. D., Muskingum College, Ohio.
 President W. G. Ballentine, D. D., LL. D., Oberlin College, Ohio.
 President Theodore Sterling, M. D., LL. D., Kenyon College, Ohio.
 President Faye Walker, D. D., Oxford College, Ohio.
 President Daniel Albright Long, D. D., LL. D., Antioch College, Ohio.
 President W. A. Sproull, LL. D., University of Cincinnati, Ohio.
 President James B. Angell, LL. D., University of Michigan.
 President George W. Cairnes, Ph. D., Battle Creek College, Michigan.
 President George F. Mosher, D. D., LL. D., Hillsdale College, Michigan.
 President Joseph Swain, LL. D., Indiana State University.
 President George S. Burroughs, Ph. D., D. D., Wabash College, Indiana.
 President J. H. Smart, LL. D., Purdue University, Indiana.
 President William R. Harper, LL. D., University of Chicago, Illinois.
 Acting Regent T. J. Burrill, Ph. D., LL. D., University of Illinois.
 President J. H. N. Standish, Ph. D., Lombard University, Illinois.
 President J. B. McMichael, D. D., Monmouth College, Illinois.
 President A. E. Turner, Ph. D., Lincoln College, Illinois.
 President Holmes Dysinger, D. D., Carthage College, Illinois.
 President John M. Coulter, Ph. D., LL. D., Lake Forest University, Illinois.
 President C. K. Adams, LL. D., University of Wisconsin.
 Ex-President T. C. Chamberlin, late of University of Wisconsin.
 President Arthur Piper, S. T. D., Racine College, Wisconsin.
 President A. T. Ernst, Ph. D., Northwestern University, Wisconsin.
 President Cyrus Northrup, LL. D., University of Minnesota.
 President James W. Strong, LL. D., Carleton College, Minnesota.
 President Charles A. Schaeffer, LL. D., University of Iowa.
 Chancellor J. C. Gilchrist, D. D., University of the Northwest, Iowa.
 President William M. Beardspear, LL. D., State College, Iowa.
 President W. S. Perry, D. D., Griswold College, Iowa.
 President Ambrose C. Smith, D. D., Parsons College, Iowa.
 President George A. Gates, D. D., Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa.
 President R. H. Jesse, LL. D., University of Missouri.
 President J. P. Green, LL. D., William and Jewell College, Missouri.
 President F. H. Snow, Ph. D., LL. D., University of Kansas.
 President F. W. Colegrove, LL. D., Ottawa University, Kansas.
 President George E. MacLean, LL. D., University of Nebraska.
 President J. M. Mauck, Ph. D., University of South Dakota.
 President William M. Blackburn, Ph. D., Pierre University, South Dakota.
 President Webster Merrifield, Ph. D., University of North Dakota.
 President James H. Baker, LL. D., University of Colorado.
 Ex-President Horace M. Hale, LL. D., University of Colorado.
 President William F. Slocum, LL. D., Colorado College.
 President William F. McDowell, LL. D., University of Denver, Colorado.
 President J. T. Kingsbury, Ph. D., University of Utah.
 President C. H. Chapman, Ph. D., University of Oregon.
 President C. C. Stratton, LL. D., Portland University, Oregon.
 President Mark W. Harrington, LL. D., University of Washington.
 President Martin Kellogg, LL. D., University of California.
 President David Starr Jordan, LL. D., Leland Stanford University, Cal.

Hon. Frank A. Hill, Secretary of State Board of Education, Massachusetts.
 Hon. J. W. Dickinson, ex-Secretary of Mass. State Board of Education, Mass.
 Hon. Charles R. Skinner, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, N. Y.
 Hon. Ed. Porter Thompson, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ky.
 Hon. John R. Kirk, State Superintendent of Schools, Missouri.
 Hon. L. E. Wolfe, ex-State Superintendent of Schools, Missouri.
 Hon. Nathan C. Schaeffer, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Pa.
 Hon. Charles D. Hine, State Superintendent of Education, Conn.
 Hon. Thomas P. Stockwell, State Commissioner of Schools, Rhode Island.
 Hon. E. B. Prettyman, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Md.
 Hon. John E. Massey, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Virginia.
 Hon. E. T. Bates, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota.
 Hon. L. J. Eisenhuth, ex-State Superintendent, North Dakota.
 Hon. C. W. Bean, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Washington.
 Hon. John C. Scarborough, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, N. C.
 Hon. Frederick Gowing, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, N. H.
 Hon. Mason S. Stone, State Superintendent of Education, Vermont.
 Hon. Edwin F. Palmer, ex-State Superintendent for Vermont.
 Hon. J. R. Preston, State Superintendent of Public Education, Mississippi.
 Hon. Cortez Salmon, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, S. Dakota.
 Hon. Henry Sabin, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Iowa.
 Hon. W. W. Pendergast, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Minn.
 Hon. A. B. Poland, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, New Jersey.
 Hon. Josiah Shinn, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Arkansas.
 Hon. Samuel T. Black, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, California.
 Hon. J. W. Anderson, ex-State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Cal.
 Hon. J. M. Carlisle, State Superintendent of Public Education, Texas.
 Hon. Henry R. Pattengill, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mich.
 Hon. Henry Raab, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Illinois.
 Hon. E. Stanley, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Kansas.
 Hon. H. N. Gaines, ex-State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Kansas.
 Hon. A. K. Goudy, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Nebraska.
 Hon. David M. Geeting, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Indiana.
 Hon. Hervey D. Vories, ex-Superintendent for Indiana.
 Hon. W. W. Stetson, State Superintendent of Schools, Maine.
 Hon. W. D. Mayfield, State Superintendent of Education, South Carolina.
 Hon. F. J. Netherton, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Arizona.
 Hon. S. G. Gilbreath, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tennessee.
 Hon. John O. Turner, State Superintendent of Education, Alabama.
 Hon. T. B. Lewis, Territorial Commissioner of Schools, Utah.
 Hon. H. C. Cutting, Superintendent of Public Instruction for Nevada.
 Hon. Amado Chavez, Superintendent of Public Instruction for N. Mexico.
 Hon. A. J. Peavey, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Colorado.
 Hon. Albert J. Russel, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Florida.
 General John Eaton, LL. D., for many years United States Commissioner of Education.
 Hon. Arthur MacArthur, LL. D., ex-Justice of the Supreme Court of District of Columbia.

Hon. Frederick T. Greenhalge, Governor of Massachusetts.
 Hon. Cephas Brainerd, of New York, Chairman American Branch of Committee on an International Court of Arbitration.
 William D. Cabell, Ph. D., President Alumni Association of the University of Virginia.
 Andrew J. Rickoff, Ph. D., formerly Superintendent of Education, N. Y.
 Marshall Field, Esq., Chicago.
 Col. William O. McDowell, Chairman Pan Republic Committee, etc., N. J.
 Mr. Justice C. Strawbridge, Philadelphia.
 John Henry Barrows, D. D., LL. D., President of late World's Congress of Religions, Chicago.
 Edward Everett Hale, D. D., LL. D., Massachusetts.
 Right Rev. Ethelbert Talbot, D. D., LL. D., Episcopal Bishop of Wyoming and Idaho.
 O. Vincent Coffin, Governor of Connecticut.
 President Samuel R. Shipley, Philadelphia.
 Thomas Dolans, Esq., Philadelphia.
 N. H. Winchell, Ph. D., State Geologist for Minnesota.
 George Dana Boardman, D. D., LL. D., Philadelphia.
 Elmer Gates, Ph. D., Philadelphia.
 Lester F. Ward, LL. D., Washington, D. C.
 Charles Sprague Smith, Ph. D., Columbia College, New York.
 Hon. H. McGraw, Governor of Washington.
 Hon. Newton Bateman, LL. D., former State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Illinois; also ex-President of Knox College.
 J. M. Gregory, LL. D., former President State University of Illinois.
 Hon. Richard Edward, LL. D., formerly State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Illinois.
 Hon. John E. Jones, Governor of Nevada.
 Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D., of Johns Hopkins, Secretary of American Historical Association.
 Henry Baldwin, LL. D., Custodian of American History.
 William A. Mowry, Ph. D., ex-Superintendent of Public Instruction, late Editor of *Education*, etc.
 M. Schele de Vere, LL. D., late of University of Virginia.
 Hon. Ezra S. Carr, M. D., LL. D., former State Superintendent of Public Instruction for California, etc.
 Hon. Eugene A. Smith, Ph. D., State Geologist for Alabama.
 Dr. E. P. Powell, Clinton, N. Y.
 Hon. E. C. Shortridge, Governor of South Dakota.
 James Hall, LL. D., State Geologist for New York.
 Ulysses S. Grant, Ph. D., Geological Survey of Minnesota.
 Hon. Louis C. Hughes, Governor of Arizona.
 Hon. Frederick W. Smyth, ex-Governor of New Hampshire, Bank and Railroad President.
 Hon. Roger Allin, Governor of North Dakota.
 Ex-Gov. John Lee Carroll, LL. D., General President of the Society of the "Sons of the Revolution."

General Horace Porter, LL. D., President-General of the Society of the "Sons of the American Revolution."

Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner, LL. D., Secretary-General, Society of the Cincinnati

Hon. Gardiner G. Hubbard, LL. D., President National Geographic Society, Regent of the Smithsonian, and Trustee of Columbian University.

D. G. Brinton, LL. D., ex-President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Edmund J. James, LL. D., President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

H. Randall Waite, Ph. D., President of the American Institute of Civics.

George F. Barker, LL. D.

D. H. Boardman, President of the National Statistical Association.

David L. James, President Cincinnati Society of Natural History.

Major Henry E. Alvord, President American Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experimental Stations.

S. P. Langley, LL. D., Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

G. Brown Goode, LL. D., assistant Secretary, in charge of the National Museum.

Commodore R. L. Pythian, U. S. N., Superintendent of the Naval Observatory.

Simon Newcomb, LL. D., Director of the Nautical Almanac.

General W. W. Duffield, LL. D., Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

T. C. Mendendall, LL. D., late Superintendent Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Charles D. Walcott, LL. D., Director of the U. S. Geological Survey.

Major J. W. Powell, LL. D., Director United States Bureau of Ethnology.

J. S. Billings, M. D., LL. D., late Superintendent of Army Medical Museum.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, LL. D., United States Commissioner of Labor.

Wheelock G. Veazey, LL. D., Interstate Commerce Commissioner.

Ex-Gov. John W. Hoyt, LL. D., *Chairman of the Committee, 4 Iowa Circle, Washington, D. C., to whom communications may be addressed.*

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE

OF

ONE HUNDRED,

TO

PROMOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

[A Council formed of its own members by the National Committee, for the framing of a bill to be offered to Congress and for the more immediate direction of the National University enterprise.]

The Honorable MELVILLE W. FULLER, LL. D., Chief Justice of the United States.
Ex-United States Senator GEORGE F. EDMUNDS, LL. D., of Vermont.
Ex-President WILLIAM PEPPER, M. D., LL. D., University of Pennsylvania.
Hon. ANDREW D. WHITE, LL. D., ex-President of Cornell University, ex-United States Minister to Russia, etc., New York.
Ex-Governor JOHN LEE CARROLL, LL. D., General President Society of Sons of the Revolution, Maryland.
General HORACE PORTER, LL. D., President-General Society of Sons of the American Revolution, New York.
Ex-United States Senator EPPA HUNTON, LL. D., Virginia.
Ex-United States Senator A. H. GARLAND, late Attorney-General of the United States, Arkansas.
Colonel WILBUR R. SMITH, Kentucky University.
General JOHN EATON, LL. D., ex-United States Commissioner of Education, etc., New Hampshire.
Hon. GARDINER G. HUBBARD, LD. D., President National Geographic Society, Regent of Smithsonian Institution, etc., District of Columbia.
SIMON NEWCOMB, LL. D., Director of the Nautical Almanac, District of Columbia.
Hon. JOHN A. KASSON, ex-United States Minister to Austria and Ambassador to Germany, Iowa.
Hon. OSCAR S. STRAUSS, ex-United States Minister to Turkey, New York.
G. BROWN GOODE, LL. D., Assistant Secretary of Smithsonian Institution, in charge of the National Museum.
Ex-Governor JOHN W. HOYT, M. D., LL. D., Chairman of National University Committee.

AUTHORIZED LIST OF MEMBERS.

The Honorable Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States.

Lieutenant-General J. M. Schofield, late Commander-in-chief of the United States Army.

Ex-United States Senator George F. Edmunds, of Vermont.
Ex-United States Senator Eppa Hunton, of Virginia.
Ex-United States Senator A. H. Garland, of Arkansas.
Ex-United States Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin.
Ex-United States Senator Carl Schurz, of New York.
Ex-United States Senator John J. Ingalls, of Kansas.
Ex-United States Senator Patrick Walsh, of Georgia.
Ex-United States Senator W. D. Washburn, of Minnesota.
Ex-United States Senator Joseph M. Carey, of Wyoming.
Ex-United States Senator Joseph N. Dolph, of Oregon.
Hon. Andrew D. White, LL. D., of New York, late U. S. Minister to Russia.
Hon. John A. Kasson, LL. D., of Iowa, late United States Minister to Austria and Germany.
Hon. Oscar S. Strauss, of New York, late United States Minister to Turkey.
Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, LL. D., United States Ambassador to Italy.

President B. L. Whitman, D. D., Columbian University, District of Columbia.
President Daniel C. Gilman, LL. D., Johns Hopkins University, Maryland.
Ex-Provost William Pepper, M. D., LL. D., University of Pennsylvania.
President George W. Atherton, Ph. D., LL. D., Pennsylvania State College.
President Henry Coppée, A. M., D. D., Lehigh University, Pennsylvania.
President Charles De Garmo, Ph. D., Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.
Ex-President Edwin H. Magill, LL. D., Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.
President A. H. Fetterhoff, LL. D., Girard College, Pennsylvania.
President H. W. MacKnight, D. D. LL. D., Pennsylvania College.
President W. P. Johnston, D. D., Geneva College, Pennsylvania.
President Isaac Sharpless, Sc. D., LL. D., Haverford College, Pennsylvania.
President Theophilus B. Roth, D. D., Thiel College, Pennsylvania.
President Thomas L. Seip, D. D., Muhlenburg College, Pennsylvania.
Chancellor W. J. Holland, Ph. D., LL. D., Western University of Penn.
Chancellor H. M. McCracken, D. D., LL. D., Univ. of the City of New York.
President George William Smith, D. D., Trinity College, Connecticut.
President Homer T. Fuller, Ph. D., Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Mass.
President Edwin Hewitt Capen, D. D., Tufts College, Massachusetts.
President E. Benjamin Andrews, LL. D., Brown University, Rhode Island.
President Nathaniel Butler, D. D., Colby University, Maine.
President Ezra Brainerd, LL. D., Middlebury College, Vermont.
President J. G. Schurman, Sc. D., LL. D., Cornell University, New York.

Director R. H. Thurston, Sibley College, Cornell University, New York.
 President John Hudson Peck, LL. D., Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, N. Y.
 President Harrison E. Webster, LL. D., Union College, New York.
 President David J. Hill, LL. D., University of Rochester, New York.
 President Arthur E. Main, A. M., D. D., Alfred University, New York.
 President P. B. Reynolds, LL. D., West Virginia University.
 President D. Powell, A. M., Ph. D., West Virginia College.
 President J. C. Rankin, D. D., LL. D., Howard University, D. C.
 President Lyon G. Tyler, Ph. D., William and Mary College, Virginia.
 President H. B. Frissell, D. D., Hampton Institute, Virginia.
 President J. M. McBryde, Ph. D., Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical Col.
 President George T. Winston, LL. D., University of North Carolina.
 President Charles F. Meserve, Ph. D., Shaw University, North Carolina.
 President J. Woodrow, Ph. D., LL. D., South Carolina College.
 President Horace Bumstead, D. D., Atlanta University, Georgia.
 President Richard C. Jones, LL. D., University of Alabama.
 President A. S. Andrews, D. D., LL. D., Southern University, Alabama.
 President William Le Roy Brown, Ph. D., Alabama Polytechnic Institute.
 President J. W. Nicholson, LL. D., Louisiana State University.
 Ex-President D. F. Boyd, LL. D., Louisiana State University.
 President Oscar Alewort, LL. D., Straight University, Louisiana.
 Chancellor R. B. Fulton, LL. D., University of Mississippi.
 General Stephen D. Lee, LL. D., President Mississippi State Agricultural Col.
 President Charles W. Dabney, Ph. D., LL. D., University of Tennessee.
 Chancellor W. H. Payne, LL. D., University of Nashville, Tennessee.
 President Erastus M. Cravath, D. D., Fisk University, Tennessee.
 President J. Braden, D. D., Central Tennessee College.
 Chancellor Nathan Green, LL. D., Cumberland University, Tennessee.
 Chancellor George W. Sweeney, D. D., etc., S. W. Presb. University, Tenn.
 President S. W. Boardman, D. D., LL. D., Mayville College, Tennessee.
 President B. Lawton Wiggins, M. A., etc., University of the South, Tennessee.
 President Charles L. Loos, A. M., LL. D., Kentucky University.
 Colonel Wilbur R. Smith, President Commercial College of Kentucky Univ.
 President S. Ryland, D. D., Bethel College, Kentucky.
 Chancellor L. H. Blanton, D. D., Central University, Kentucky.
 President William A. Oberchaine, Ph. D., Ogden College, Kentucky.
 President J. H. Canfield, A. M., LL. D., Ohio State University.
 Ex-President William H. Scott, M. A., LL. D., Ohio State University.
 President Charles V. Thwing, D. D., Western Reserve College, Ohio.
 President W. O. Thompson, D. D., etc., Miami University, Ohio.
 President L. Bookwalter, LL. D., Western College, Ohio.
 President S. A. Ort, D. D., Wittenberg College, Ohio.
 President Cady Staley, Ph. D., LL. D., Case School of Applied Science, Ohio.
 President Jesse Johnson, Ph. D., Muskingum College, Ohio.
 President J. A. Peters, A. M., D. D., Heidelberg University, Ohio.
 President John W. Simpson, LL. D., Marietta College, Ohio.
 President E. V. Zollars, LL. D., Hiram College, Ohio.
 President Charles W. Super, LL. D., Ohio University.
 President F. Scovel, LL. D., University of Wooster, Ohio.

President D. T. McClurg, LL. D., Muskingum College, Ohio.
 President W. G. Ballentine, D. D., LL. D., Oberlin College, Ohio.
 President Theodore Sterling, M. D., LL. D., Kenyon College, Ohio.
 President Faye Walker, D. D., Oxford College, Ohio.
 President Daniel Albright Long, D. D., LL. D., Antioch College, Ohio.
 President W. A. Sproull, LL. D., University of Cincinnati, Ohio.
 President James B. Angell, LL. D., University of Michigan.
 President George W. Cairnes, Ph. D., Battle Creek College, Michigan.
 President George F. Mosher, D. D., LL. D., Hillsdale College, Michigan.
 President Joseph Swain, LL. D., Indiana State University.
 President George S. Burroughs, Ph. D., D. D., Wabash College, Indiana.
 President J. H. Smart, LL. D., Purdue University, Indiana.
 President William R. Harper, LL. D., University of Chicago, Illinois.
 Acting Regent T. J. Burrill, Ph. D., LL. D., University of Illinois.
 President J. H. N. Standish, Ph. D., Lombard University, Illinois.
 President J. B. McMichael, D. D., Monmouth College, Illinois.
 President A. E. Turner, Ph. D., Lincoln College, Illinois.
 President Holmes Dysinger, D. D., Carthage College, Illinois.
 President John M. Coulter, Ph. D., LL. D., Lake Forest University, Illinois.
 President C. K. Adams, LL. D., University of Wisconsin.
 Ex-President T. C. Chamberlin, late of University of Wisconsin.
 President Arthur Piper, S. T. D., Racine College, Wisconsin.
 President A. T. Ernst, Ph. D., Northwestern University, Wisconsin.
 President Cyrus Northrup, LL. D., University of Minnesota.
 President James W. Strong, LL. D., Carleton College, Minnesota.
 President Charles A. Schaeffer, LL. D., University of Iowa.
 Chancellor J. C. Gilchrist, D. D., University of the Northwest, Iowa.
 President William M. Beardspear, LL. D., State College, Iowa.
 President W. S. Perry, D. D., Griswold College, Iowa.
 President Ambrose C. Smith, D. D., Parsons College, Iowa.
 President George A. Gates, D. D., Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa.
 President R. H. Jesse, LL. D., University of Missouri.
 President J. P. Green, LL. D., William and Jewell College, Missouri.
 President F. H. Snow, Ph. D., LL. D., University of Kansas.
 President F. W. Colegrove, LL. D., Ottawa University, Kansas.
 President George E. MacLean, LL. D., University of Nebraska.
 President J. M. Mauck, Ph. D., University of South Dakota.
 President William M. Blackburn, Ph. D., Pierre University, South Dakota.
 President Webster Merrifield, Ph. D., University of North Dakota.
 President James H. Baker, LL. D., University of Colorado.
 Ex-President Horace M. Hale, LL. D., University of Colorado.
 President William F. Slocum, LL. D., Colorado College.
 President William F. McDowell, LL. D., University of Denver, Colorado.
 President J. T. Kingsbury, Ph. D., University of Utah.
 President C. H. Chapman, Ph. D., University of Oregon.
 President C. C. Stratton, LL. D., Portland University, Oregon.
 President Mark W. Harrington, LL. D., University of Washington.
 President Martin Kellogg, LL. D., University of California.
 President David Starr Jordan, LL. D., Leland Stanford University, Cal.

Hon. Frank A. Hill, Secretary of State Board of Education, Massachusetts.
 Hon. J. W. Dickinson, ex-Secretary of Mass. State Board of Education, Mass.
 Hon. Charles R. Skinner, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, N. Y.
 Hon. Ed. Porter Thompson, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ky.
 Hon. John R. Kirk, State Superintendent of Schools, Missouri.
 Hon. L. E. Wolfe, ex-State Superintendent of Schools, Missouri.
 Hon. Nathan C. Schaeffer, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Pa.
 Hon. Charles D. Hine, State Superintendent of Education, Conn.
 Hon. Thomas P. Stockwell, State Commissioner of Schools, Rhode Island.
 Hon. E. B. Prettyman, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Md.
 Hon. John E. Massey, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Virginia.
 Hon. E. T. Bates, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota.
 Hon. L. J. Eisenhuth, ex-State Superintendent, North Dakota.
 Hon. C. W. Bean, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Washington.
 Hon. John C. Scarborough, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, N. C.
 Hon. Frederick Gowing, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, N. H.
 Hon. Mason S. Stone, State Superintendent of Education, Vermont.
 Hon. Edwin F. Palmer, ex-State Superintendent for Vermont.
 Hon. J. R. Preston, State Superintendent of Public Education, Mississippi.
 Hon. Cortez Salmon, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, S. Dakota.
 Hon. Henry Sabin, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Iowa.
 Hon. W. W. Pendergast, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Minn.
 Hon. A. B. Poland, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, New Jersey.
 Hon. Josiah Shinn, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Arkansas.
 Hon. Samuel T. Black, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, California.
 Hon. J. W. Anderson, ex-State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Cal.
 Hon. J. M. Carlisle, State Superintendent of Public Education, Texas.
 Hon. Henry R. Pattengill, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mich.
 Hon. Henry Raab, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Illinois.
 Hon. E. Stanley, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Kansas.
 Hon. H. N. Gaines, ex-State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Kansas.
 Hon. A. K. Goudy, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Nebraska.
 Hon. David M. Geeting, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Indiana.
 Hon. Hervey D. Vories, ex-Superintendent for Indiana.
 Hon. W. W. Stetson, State Superintendent of Schools, Maine.
 Hon. W. D. Mayfield, State Superintendent of Education, South Carolina.
 Hon. F. J. Netherton, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Arizona.
 Hon. S. G. Gilbreath, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tennessee.
 Hon. John O. Turner, State Superintendent of Education, Alabama.
 Hon. T. B. Lewis, Territorial Commissioner of Schools, Utah.
 Hon. H. C. Cutting, Superintendent of Public Instruction for Nevada.
 Hon. Amado Chavez, Superintendent of Public Instruction for N. Mexico.
 Hon. A. J. Peavey, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Colorado.
 Hon. Albert J. Russel, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Florida.

General John Eaton, LL. D., for many years United States Commissioner of Education.

Hon. Arthur MacArthur, LL. D., ex-Justice of the Supreme Court of District of Columbia.

Hon. Frederick T. Greenhalge, Governor of Massachusetts.
 Hon. Cephas Brainerd, of New York, Chairman American Branch of Committee on an International Court of Arbitration.
 William D. Cabell, Ph. D., President Alumni Association of the University of Virginia.
 Andrew J. Rickoff, Ph. D., formerly Superintendent of Education, N. Y.
 Marshall Field, Esq., Chicago.
 Col. William O. McDowell, Chairman Pan Republic Committee, etc., N. J.
 Mr. Justice C. Strawbridge, Philadelphia.
 John Henry Barrows, D. D., LL. D., President of late World's Congress of Religions, Chicago.
 Edward Everett Hale, D. D., LL. D., Massachusetts.
 Right Rev. Ethelbert Talbot, D. D., LL. D., Episcopal Bishop of Wyoming and Idaho.
 O. Vincent Coffin, Governor of Connecticut.
 President Samuel R. Shipley, Philadelphia.
 Thomas Dolans, Esq., Philadelphia.
 N. H. Winchell, Ph. D., State Geologist for Minnesota.
 George Dana Boardman, D. D., LL. D., Philadelphia.
 Elmer Gates, Ph. D., Philadelphia.
 Lester F. Ward, LL. D., Washington, D. C.
 Charles Sprague Smith, Ph. D., Columbia College, New York.
 Hon. H. McGraw, Governor of Washington.
 Hon. Newton Bateman, LL. D., former State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Illinois; also ex-President of Knox College.
 J. M. Gregory, LL. D., former President State University of Illinois.
 Hon. Richard Edward, LL. D., formerly State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Illinois.
 Hon. John E. Jones, Governor of Nevada.
 Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D., of Johns Hopkins, Secretary of American Historical Association.
 Henry Baldwin, LL. D., Custodian of American History.
 William A. Mowry, Ph. D., ex-Superintendent of Public Instruction, late Editor of *Education*, etc.
 M. Schele de Vere, LL. D., late of University of Virginia.
 Hon. Ezra S. Carr, M. D., LL. D., former State Superintendent of Public Instruction for California, etc.
 Hon. Eugene A. Smith, Ph. D., State Geologist for Alabama.
 Dr. E. P. Powell, Clinton, N. Y.
 Hon. E. C. Shortridge, Governor of South Dakota.
 James Hall, LL. D., State Geologist for New York.
 Ulysses S. Grant, Ph. D., Geological Survey of Minnesota.
 Hon. Louis C. Hughes, Governor of Arizona.
 Hon. Frederick W. Smyth, ex-Governor of New Hampshire, Bank and Railroad President.
 Hon. Roger Allin, Governor of North Dakota.

Ex-Gov. John Lee Carroll, LL. D., General President of the Society of the "Sons of the Revolution."

General Horace Porter, LL. D., President-General of the Society of the "Sons of the American Revolution."

Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner, LL. D., Secretary-General, Society of the Cincinnati

Hon. Gardiner G. Hubbard, LL. D., President National Geographic Society, Regent of the Smithsonian, and Trustee of Columbian University.

D. G. Brinton, LL. D., ex-President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Edmund J. James, LL. D., President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

H. Randall Waite, Ph. D., President of the American Institute of Civics.

George F. Barker, LL. D.

D. H. Boardman, President of the National Statistical Association.

David L. James, President Cincinnati Society of Natural History.

Major Henry E. Alvord, President American Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experimental Stations.

S. P. Langley, LL. D., Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

G. Brown Goode, LL. D., assistant Secretary, in charge of the National Museum.

Commodore R. L. Pythian, U. S. N., Superintendent of the Naval Observatory.

Simon Newcomb, LL. D., Director of the Nautical Almanac.

General W. W. Duffield, LL. D., Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

T. C. Mendendall, LL. D., late Superintendent Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Charles D. Walcott, LL. D., Director of the U. S. Geological Survey.

Major J. W. Powell, LL. D., Director United States Bureau of Ethnology.

J. S. Billings, M. D., LL. D., late Superintendent of Army Medical Museum.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, LL. D., United States Commissioner of Labor.

Wheelock G. Veazey, LL. D., Interstate Commerce Commissioner.

Ex-Gov. John W. Hoyt, LL. D., *Chairman of the Committee, 4 Iowa Circle, Washington, D. C., to whom communications may be addressed.*

Dr. G. Brown Goode, of the Smithsonian Institution.
Professor Herbert B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University.

10. By that great body of educators, the National Educational Association, which in three successive annual meetings unanimously endorsed the proposition to found a National University, which approved the bill introduced in Congress in 1873, and whose permanent committee is still in the field.
11. By the general committee of three hundred of the Pan Republic Congress.

VI.—*Reasons for a renewal of the effort for a National University at this time:*

1. The need not only remains, but increases with the years, as shown by the fact that some two thousand American graduates are now seeking opportunities for further study abroad.
2. Since this need can only be met by the nation and can be met by it immediately, now should be deemed the appointed time.
3. No other important educational measure is now likely to interfere with its consideration by Congress.
4. There is now a marked appreciation of the higher education, as shown by unprecedented benefactions in that behalf. A beginning now on the part of the National Government would be certain to attract large donations from private sources for the endowment of fellowships, professorships, faculties, and departments.
5. The growing power of the United States among the nations suggests the corresponding present need of such forces and influences at the seat of Government as shall be worthy to impress and lead the world.

VII.—*The proposition of today is this:*

To urge upon Congress the early establishment of a National University of the highest type and to be known as The University of the United States—

- Whose form of constitution shall secure it against partisan control of every sort—a thing not difficult, as shown by the acknowledged success of State universities and of scientific institutions controlled by the General Government;
- Whose internal management shall be with its educational members;
- Whose conditions of admission shall be character and competency;
- Whose applicants aiming at degrees shall have received the bachelor's degree already;
- Whose fellowships shall be duly endowed and open to the best qualified;
- Whose professoriate shall be so constituted as to secure to it the highest possible character and efficiency;
- Whose colleges of letters, science, and philosophy shall be centers for the grouping of high professional schools of every class;
- Whose beginnings shall be with such means as befit the great undertaking and shall encourage liberal endowments from other than governmental sources; thus early making it the leading university of the world.

VIII.—*The conditions of success are these:*

1. A thorough awakening on the part of once active friends of the proposition.
2. Readiness of all to co-operate, without regard to minor differences.
3. Systematic organization, with a view to the most effective service.
4. Full unity of plan and purpose, with concentration of forces under a common leadership.

Bill under
CONCERNING A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

BEING AN OUTLINE OF THE MEMORIAL OF JOHN W. HOYT TO THE U. S. SENATE, 1892.

I.—*A great and true University the leading want of American Education.*

II.—*The offices of a true University are these:*

1. To supplement existing institutions by supplying full courses of post-graduate instruction in every department of learning.
2. By its central faculties and cluster of professional schools of highest grade, to represent at all times the sum of human knowledge.
3. To lead in the upbuilding of new professions by its applications of science.
4. To lead the world in the work of research and investigation.

III.—*Reasons why the Government should establish such a University:*

1. Neither existing institutions nor the great denominational universities in prospect can meet the demand. The nation only is equal to the founding of such a university as the nation needs.
2. The nation needs the influence of a National University upon the Government service.
3. The American system of education can only be made complete by the crowning university it lacks as a source of co-ordinating influence, inspiration and elevating power.
4. A National University would powerfully strengthen the patriotic sentiment of the country.
5. A National University would more strongly than any other attract men of genius from every quarter of the world to its professorships and fellowships, thus increasing the cultured intellectual forces of both institution and country.
6. A National University would especially attract students of high character from many lands, whose return after years of contact with free institutions would promote the cause of liberal government everywhere.
7. The founding of a National University would be, therefore, a most fitting thing for a great nation ambitious to lead the world in civilization.

IV.—*Reasons for founding such University at Washington:*

1. Washington was designated by the Father of His Country in his bequest of property in aid of its endowment and by his selection of land for a site.
2. Washington is the only sufficient and convenient spot where the Government has both exclusive and perpetual jurisdiction.
3. There are in the Government departments and connected therewith vast amounts of material that could be made auxiliary and which, being now but partially utilized, are in some part an enormous capital running to waste.
4. There are hundreds of experts in the departments whose services could be more or less utilized with mutual advantage.
5. Such a university in Washington would exert a great influence upon the National Government itself in every branch and department.

V.—*Summary of the notable efforts hitherto made in this behalf:*

1. By General George Washington at the close of the Revolution, and again soon after the location of the seat of government.

2. By members of the Constitutional Convention, including General Washington and Messrs. Adams, Pinckney, Wilson, Johnson, Rutledge, and Franklin.

3. By the following Presidents of the United States, namely:

George Washington, in—

His inaugural address, January 8, 1790;

His letter of November 27, 1794, to John Adams, Vice-President;

His letter of December 15, 1794, to Mr. Randolph, Secretary of State;

His letter to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia;

His letter to Governor Brooke, of Virginia, March 16, 1795;

His letter to Thomas Jefferson, March 15, 1795;

His two letters to Alexander Hamilton, September 1 and September 6, 1796;

His letter to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia designating a site;

His last message to Congress;

His dying bequest, leaving what, if duly husbanded, would now have amounted to nearly four and a half millions of dollars.

John Adams, inaugural address, March, 1797, and message of 1832.

Thomas Jefferson, message of December, 1806.

James Madison:

Message of December, 1810.

Message of March, 1817.

Last annual message.

James Monroe, message of March, 1828.

John Quincy Adams, first annual message.

Andrew Jackson, 1832. [Approval of bill in aid of Columbian College.]

Ulysses S. Grant, annual message of December, 1875.

Rutherford B. Hayes:

Annual message of December, 1877.

Annual message of December, 1878.

4. Efforts to the same end by the founders of the Columbian Institute and the Columbian College; in the hope of their becoming at length the much-desired National University, to wit, the efforts of Drs. Meigs, Cutbush, Williams, and Sewall and of Judge William Cranche.

5. The interest manifested in more recent times by distinguished statesmen, including—

Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase.

General W. T. Sherman.

Senator Charles Sumner.

Senator Timothy O. Howe.

Senator A. H. Garland.

Senator Justin S. Morrill.

Senator Carl Schurz.

Senator Stanley Matthews.

Senator L. Q. C. Lamar.

Senator James R. Doolittle.

Senator Matthew H. Carpenter.

Senator John James Ingalls.

Senator George F. Edmunds.

Also many members of the House of Representatives, such as Samuel Shellabarger, George F. Hoar, and James A. Garfield.

6. The interest shown by leading educators throughout the country, including the presidents of colleges and universities—*e. g.*:

President Hill, of Harvard University.

President Barnard, of Columbia College.

President White, of Cornell University.

President Winchell, of Syracuse University.

President Haven, of Michigan University.

President Pickard, of Iowa University.

President Chadbourne, of Wisconsin University.

President Gregory, of Illinois University.

President Read, of Missouri University.

President Holley, of Transylvania University.

President Bowman, of Kentucky University.

President Boyd, of Louisiana University.

President Welling, of the Columbian University.

President Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University.

7. Support of the proposition by State Superintendents of Public Instruction in nearly every one of the States.

8. Support of the proposition by eminent scientists, especially—

Professor Louis Agassiz, of Harvard University.

Professor Joseph Henry, of the Smithsonian Institution.

Professor Asa Gray, of Harvard University.

Professor Benjamin Pierce, former Superintendent of Coast Survey.

Professor Spencer F. Baird, former Secretary of Smithsonian Institution.

Professor H. V. Hayden, United States Geologist.

Professor John W. Powell, Director of the U. S. Geological Survey.

Professor E. L. Youmans, of *The Popular Science Monthly*.

Professor J. Lawrence Smith, Pres't Am. Asso. Advancement of Science.

Professor N. S. Shaler, of Harvard University.

Admiral Sands, former Superintendent of National Observatory.

Lieut. M. F. Maury, former Superintendent of the Naval Observatory.

Dr. S. P. Langley, present Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Dr. G. Brown Goode, Smithsonian Institution.

Dr. Simon Newcomb, Superintendent of the Nautical Almanac.

Professor James C. Watson, astronomer, Mich. and Wis. State University.

Professor T. C. Mendenhall, Superintendent of the Coast Survey.

9. Its earnest support by eminent writers on educational and national themes, such as—

Dr. Benjamin Rush, signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Samuel Blodget, author of the first American work on political economy, a work the copyright of which was donated by him as a modest supplement to the endowment bequeathed by Washington.

Joel Barlow, U. S. Minister to France under Jefferson's Administration.

Dr. Charles B. Caldwell, of Transylvania University.

General John Eaton, late Commissioner of Education.

Dr. William T. Harris, now Commissioner of Education.

Dr. Andrew D. White, late President of Cornell University.

Professor Hinsdale, of Michigan University.

Dr. William A. Mowry, editor of *Education*.

Rev. Dr. George D. Boardman, of Philadelphia.

Dr. James C. Welling, President of Columbian University.

Dr. Clark Ridpath, of Indiana.

Hon. Arthur MacArthur, Associate Justice of Supreme Court D. C.

A BILL

To establish the University of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,

That there shall be, and is hereby, established in the District of Columbia a body corporate to be known as The University of the United States.

Sec. 2. That the government of said University shall be vested in a board of regents and an academic council.

Sec. 3. That the board of regents shall be composed of the President of the United States, who shall be honorary president of the board, the Chief Justice of the United States, the Commissioner of Education, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the President of the National Academy of Sciences, the President of the National Educational Association, and the President of the University, together with nine citizens of the United States, no two of whom shall be citizens of the same State, and who, with their successors shall be appointed by a concurrent resolution of the two Houses of Congress. Any vacancy occurring in the office of any regent thus appointed shall be filled in like manner. The nine citizens so appointed as regents shall, as soon as may be after their appointment be divided by the board of regents into three classes of three each. The members of the first class shall hold office for two years, those of the second class for four years, and those of the third class for six years,-- and when a new appointment is needful for the continuation of each of the said classes, it shall be made for six years. And if a vacancy shall occur in any of the classes it shall be filled by appointment for the remainder of the term, only, in respect of which the vacancy exists.

Sec. 4. That the corporation so constituted shall have all the rights and powers usually accorded to literary and scientific bodies corporate, and such further powers as are requisite to the upbuilding and maintenance of a post-graduate university of the highest type, with every possible facility for the advancement of knowledge by means of research and investigation, to incorporate as constituent parts other institutions able to offer the requisite inducements, and to establish with the higher institutions of the country generally such co-operative relations as shall be deemed mutually advantageous.

Meetings of the board shall be held annually, for the transaction of general business and the conferring of such degrees as are recommended by the Academic Council.

Sec. 5. That the Academic Council shall consist of the president of the university, who shall also be president of the council, and the deans of faculties. It shall be charged with the planning and direction of instruction and discipline in all the departments, with the designation of those who may be accorded either fellowships or degrees, and with such other duties as are prescribed in the University statutes, or as may be imposed by the board of regents.

Sec. 6. That the immediate government of each faculty may be entrusted to its own members. Its chairman to be known as dean of the faculty, shall be chosen by the board of regents, on the recommendation of the president of the university, and shall be responsible for the supervision of its internal affairs.

Sec. 7. That in the conduct of the university neither sectarian nor partisan preference shall be allowed in any form.

Sec. 8. That the opportunities afforded by the University shall be free to all who are competent to use them. But degrees shall be conferred upon such persons only as shall have previously received the degree of bachelor of arts, or an equivalent degree from some institution recognized for this purpose by the University authorities.

Sec. 9. That the grounds in Washington City, which were designated by President Washington as a site for a national university, which for this reason were long known as "University Square", and until recently for some years occupied by the Naval Observatory, are hereby granted to the said corporation, to be utilized for the benefit of the University in such manner as the regents may deem most advantageous.

Sec. 10. That further establishment, support and maintenance of the University, there are hereby appropriated and set apart first, the sum of----- for the year 1896, and -----
-----for the year 1897, payable out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, as a means of enabling the board of regents to organize, to determine the order of development of the several departments to be embraced and to take proper steps towards securing building sites for the institution; and secondly, the further sums of one million dollars per annum for the ten years next after 1897, for the development and support of the University. Said annual amounts of one million dollars shall not be paid out of the Treasury, but shall remain therein as a permanent fund in trust, yielding interest at the rate of five per cent per annum, payable quarterly as needed, upon the order of the president and secretary of the board of regents.

Sec. 8. That the opportunities afforded by the University shall be free to all who are competent to use them. But degrees shall be conferred upon such persons only as shall have previously received the degree of bachelor of arts, or an equivalent degree from some institution recognized for this purpose by the University authorities.

Sec. 9. That the grounds in Washington City, which were designated by President Washington as a site for a national university, which for this purpose were long known as "University Square", and until recently for some years occupied by the Naval Observatory, are hereby granted to the said corporation, to be utilized for the benefit of the University in such manner as the regents may deem most advantageous.

Sec. 10. That further establishment, support and maintenance of the University, there are hereby appropriated and set apart first, the sum of ----- for the year 1896, and ----- for the year 1897, payable out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, as a means of enabling the board of regents to organize, to determine the order of development of the several departments to be embraced and to take proper steps towards securing building sites for the institution; and secondly, the further sum of one million dollars per annum for the ten years next after 1897, for the development and support of the University. Said annual amounts of one million dollars shall not be paid out of the Treasury, but shall remain therein as a permanent fund in trust, yielding interest at the rate of five per cent per annum, payable quarterly as needed, upon the order of the president and secretary of the board of regents.

Sec. 11. All donations and bequests in favor of the University shall, unless otherwise ordered by the donor, be deposited in trust with the Treasurer of the United States, who shall in like manner pay the interest thereon at five per cent per annum, subject to any stipulations of the persons, corporations or other bodies granting the same. And all expenses duly incurred by authority of the board of regents shall be reported by them to the proper accounting officers of the Treasury, and passed upon according to the usual course of accounts for the public service.

Sec. 12. That at the close of the fiscal year the board of regents shall make a report to Congress, showing the operations, condition and wants of the University, one copy of which shall be transmitted free to all institutions of learning endowed by the Government under any act of Congress and to all other institutions of learning whose degrees are recognized by this university. And Congress shall have power by any committee of either house appointed for that purpose to inquire into and report upon the operations of the university hereby established.

Sec. 11. All donations and bequests in favor of the University shall, unless otherwise ordered by the donor, be deposited in trust with the Treasurer of the United States, who shall in like manner pay the interest thereon at five per cent per annum, subject to any stipulations of the persons, corporations or other bodies granting the same. And all expenses duly incurred by the authority of the board of regents shall be reported by them to the proper accounting officers of the Treasury, and passed upon according to the usual course of accounts for the public service.

Sec. 12. That at the close of the fiscal year the board of regents shall make a report to Congress, showing the operations, condition and wants of the University, one copy of which shall be transmitted free to all institutions of learning endowed by the Government under any act of Congress and to all other institutions of learning whose degrees are recognized by this University. And Congress shall have power by any committee of either house appointed for that purpose to inquire into and report upon the operations of the University hereby established.

Chicago, February 5, 1914.

My dear Sir:-

Your favor of the 26th of January with enclosure is received. I am interested in the bill to create a National University. Of course the idea of the university as contemplated by Washington and the ideas which may exist at the present time are materially different. I should not regard the ideas of a century ago or more as being very valuable under our present conditions. The purposes of the University, as provided in Section 2, seem to me on the whole proper. At the same time the only one that especially appeals to me is the first. If the third is to be construed as simply an application of the first I should approve that. I hardly see the advisability of the second. The first part of the second

Chicago, February 8, 1914.

My dear Sir:-

Your favor of the 28th of January with enclosure is received. I am interested in the bill to create a National University. Of course the idea of the university as contemplated by Washington and the ideas which may exist at the present time are materially different. I should not regard the ideas of a century ago or more as being very valuable under our present conditions. The purposes of the University, as provided in Section 2, seem to me on the whole proper. At the same time the only one that especially appeals to me is the first. If the third is to be considered as simply an application of the first I should approve that. I hardly see the advisability of the second. The first part of the second

may possibly be of use. The last part would merely involve the duplication of the existing agencies. Sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 I should approve. Section 7 contains desirable material. Perhaps there is no other solution, in case there is no state university in the state, than to ask the Governor to appoint. At the same time I think it would be better to keep all appointments of that character in educational hands, if possible. The remaining sections seem to me desirable.

Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Hon. S. D. Fess,
House of Representatives, U. S.,
Washington, D. C.

may possibly be of use. The last part would merely involve the duplication of the existing agencies. Sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 I should approve. Section 7 contains desirable material. Perhaps there is no other solution, in case there is no state university in the state, than to ask the Governor to appoint. At the same time I think it would be better to keep all appointments of that character in educational hands, if possible. The remaining sections seem to me desirable.

Very truly yours,

H. P. J. - L.

Hon. S. D. Pease,
House of Representatives, U. S.,
Washington, D. C.

House of Representatives U. S.
Washington, D. C.

#44

7

January 26, 1914.

My dear Sir:

I am enclosing to you the bill for the proposed National University to be established here in the capital together with a statement of the importance of the project. Will you do me the honor to read both the bill and the statement and write me your opinion of the project. If it is favorable I shall use it before the committee and among the members of Congress.

I yearn to see this project so ardently entertained by Washington and the statesmen of his day taken up and carried to its consummation.

Thanking you in advance,

I am,

Yours very truly,



Division of Investigation, U. S.

Washington, D. C.

January 28, 1914.

My dear Sir:

I am enclosing to you the bill for the proposed
National University to be established here in the capital
together with a statement of the importance of the project.
Will you do me the honor to read both the bill and the state-
ment and write me your opinion of the project. If it is
favorable I shall use it before the committee and among the
members of Congress.
I yearn to see this project so ardently entertained
by Washington and the statesmen of his day taken up and carried
to its consummation.

Thanking you in advance,

I am,

Yours very truly,



House of Representatives H. S.
Washington, D. C.

January 22, 1914.

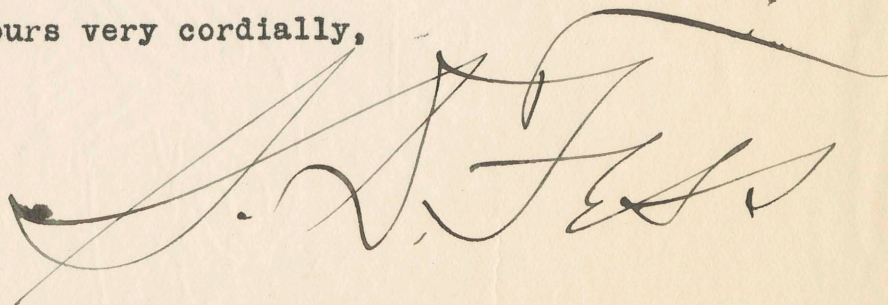
My dear Colleague:

I am enclosing you the bill for the establishment of a National University here at the capital; also a statement relative to the importance of such an institution.

I wish you might do me the honor to read the latter and in case the project shall meet with your approval, you might give me your assistance in pushing to a consummation this enterprise so ardently cherished by General Washington and his contemporaries.

The bill has the approval of most of the educators of the country, as it is endorsed by both the National Educational Association and the Association of Presidents of the State Universities of the nation.

Yours very cordially,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, likely belonging to S. D. Fess, is written over the typed name and extends across the bottom right of the page.

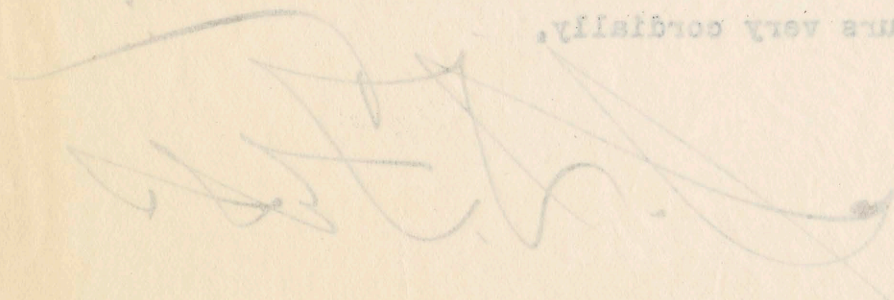
House of Representatives H. S.
Washington, D. C.

January 22, 1914.

My dear Colleagues:

I am enclosing you the bill for the establishment of a National University here at the capital; also a statement relative to the importance of such an institution. I wish you might do me the honor to read the latter and in case the project shall meet with your approval, you might give me your assistance in pushing to a consummation this enterprise so ardently cherished by General Washington and his contemporaries. The bill has the approval of most of the educators of the country, as it is endorsed by both the National Educational Association and the Association of Presidents of the State Universities of the nation.

Yours very cordially,



63D CONGRESS,
2D SESSION.

H. R. 11749.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JANUARY 16, 1914.

Mr. Fess introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

To create a national university at the seat of the Federal Government.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 That there shall be established at the seat of the Federal
4 Government of the United States an institution of higher
5 learning, to be known as the National University of the
6 United States.

7 SEC. 2. That the purpose of said university shall be
8 threefold.

9 First. To promote the advance of science, pure and
10 applied, and of the liberal and fine arts by original investi-

1 gation and research and by such other means as may appear
2 suitable to the purpose in view.

3 Second. To provide for the higher instruction and
4 training of men and women for posts of importance and
5 responsibility in the public service of State or Nation, and for
6 the practice of such callings and professions as may require
7 for their worthy pursuit a higher training.

8 Third. To cooperate with the scientific departments of
9 the Federal Government, with the colleges of agriculture
10 and the mechanic arts founded upon the proceeds of the
11 Federal land grant of the Act of eighteen hundred and sixty-
12 two, with the State universities, and with other institutions
13 of higher learning.

14 SEC. 3. That no student shall be admitted to the uni-
15 versity unless he shall have obtained the degree of master of
16 science or of master of arts from some institution of recog-
17 nized standing, or shall have pursued a course of study
18 equivalent to that required for such degrees.

19 SEC. 4. That the university shall confer no academic
20 degrees.

21 SEC. 5. That the university shall be governed and
22 directed by a board of trustees in cooperation with an ad-
23 visory council.

24 SEC. 6. That the board of trustees shall consist of the
25 Commissioner of Education of the United States and twelve

1 additional members appointed by the President of the United
2 States for a term of twelve years. The appointed members
3 shall be arranged in classes, so that the term of one member
4 shall expire each year. The President of the United States
5 may at any time remove any member of the board for neglect
6 of duty or malfeasance in office.

7 SEC. 7. That the advisory council shall consist of one
8 representative from each State in the Union. The repre-
9 sentative from each State shall be the president or acting
10 president of the State university in case there be a State
11 university in said State; if not, the governor of the State may
12 appoint a citizen of the State, learned and experienced in
13 matters of education, to represent said State in the advisory
14 council.

15 SEC. 8. That the board of trustees shall make all
16 statutes, by-laws, and general rules in accordance with which
17 the affairs of the university shall be conducted. But all
18 such statutes, by-laws, and general rules shall, before going
19 into effect, be submitted to the advisory council for its
20 consideration. If the advisory council shall, by a majority
21 vote of all the qualified members, disapprove of any such
22 statute, by-law, or general rule, it shall not go into effect
23 until it shall have been reenacted by a two-thirds vote of
24 the board of trustees: *Provided*, That if the advisory council
25 shall take no action within six months after submission of

1 such statute, by-law, or general rule, the said statute, by-law,
 2 or general rule shall go into effect: *Provided further*, That
 3 the advisory council may at any time take up the con-
 4 sideration of such statute, by-law, or general rule, and if it
 5 disapprove of the same, the said statute, by-law, or general
 6 rule shall cease to be in effect from and after six months
 7 from the date of such action unless the board of trustees
 8 shall in the meantime have reenacted such statute, by-law,
 9 or general rule by a two-thirds vote: *And provided further*,
 10 That in case the advisory council shall disapprove of any
 11 statute or other action of the board of trustees the said
 12 board shall, before taking final action in the premises, give
 13 a formal hearing to a representative or representatives ap-
 14 pointed by the council for the purpose of presenting the
 15 matter to the consideration of the board.

16 SEC. 9. That the board of trustees shall provide for
 17 the administration of the affairs of the university within the
 18 statutes thus enacted. It shall make all appointments and
 19 all assignments of funds. It shall issue all orders and in-
 20 structions necessary to the management of the university.
 21 It shall provide suitable grounds and buildings for the work
 22 of said university; but in no case shall it incur financial obli-
 23 gations in excess of actual appropriation by Congress, or
 24 of actual income from tuition, fees, endowments, or gifts for
 25 special purposes. The actual administration of the univer-

1 sity shall be intrusted to properly qualified agents of the
 2 board, who shall be responsible to the board for the per-
 3 formance of their duties. The board may delegate by statute
 4 to a president of the university, or to such separate faculties
 5 or other officers or employees as it may provide for, such
 6 functions in the administration of the university as may seem
 7 to it wise; and it may reassign such functions at any time.
 8 It may create such boards or commissions as in its judgment
 9 may best serve the interest of the institution and may
 10 abolish them at will. But the advisory council may at any
 11 time protest against any order, vote, resolution, appoint-
 12 ment, appropriation, or instruction made by the board of
 13 trustees. In such case said order, vote, resolution, and so
 14 forth, shall stand suspended until the board of trustees shall,
 15 by a two-thirds vote, reenact such order, and so forth.

16 SEC. 10. That the advisory council may at any time
 17 make recommendations to the board of trustees respecting
 18 any matter concerning the university, and it shall be the
 19 duty of the board of trustees to give formal consideration
 20 to all such recommendations and to take such action in the
 21 premises as may seem to it good.

22 SEC. 11. That no member of the board of trustees or
 23 of the advisory council shall receive any pecuniary
 24 remuneration for his services as member of said board of
 25 trustees or advisory council; but the necessary expenses in-

1 curred by members in attendance upon meetings of said board
2 or advisory council shall be defrayed by the university.

3 SEC. 12. That the board of trustees and the advisory
4 council shall elect their own officers and define their respec-
5 tive duties, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum
6 to do business.

7 SEC. 13. That the board of trustees shall meet in regular
8 session four times each year, namely: On the first Wednes-
9 day after the first Monday in January, April, July, and
10 October. Special meetings may be called at any time by the
11 chairman and shall be called by him on request of five
12 members of said board. One month's notice shall be given
13 in case of all special meetings. The advisory council shall
14 hold two regular meetings in each year, during or immedi-
15 ately following the regular meetings of the board of trustees
16 in January and July. Special meetings may be called by the
17 board of trustees, by the chairman of the advisory council, or
18 upon the request of ten members of the advisory council.
19 One month's notice of all special meetings shall be given.

20 SEC. 14. That the board of trustees may accept uncon-
21 ditional gifts, legacies, donations, and so forth, from private
22 individuals for the benefit of the university; but no such gift,
23 donation, or legacy shall be accepted with any condition
24 unless the same shall be approved by the board of trustees,
25 the advisory council, and the Congress of the United States.

1 SEC. 15. That the various museums, libraries, bureaus,
2 observatories, and departments of expert research belonging
3 to the Federal Government shall be open for the use of
4 graduate students without interference with the real function
5 of such establishments.

6 SEC. 16. That the sum of \$500,000 is hereby appro-
7 priated for the uses of said university for the fiscal year
8 nineteen hundred and fourteen and nineteen hundred and
9 fifteen.

10 SEC. 17. That the board of trustees shall, as soon as
11 the members shall have been appointed, proceed to organize
12 under this Act and carry out the intent and purpose of the
13 same.

63D CONGRESS, }
2D SESSION. } H. R. 11749.

A BILL

To create a national university at the seat of
the Federal Government.

By Mr. Fess.

JANUARY 16, 1914.—Referred to the Committee on
Education and ordered to be printed.

VOLUME TEN

NUMBER ONE

College Bulletin

ISSUED IN FEBRUARY, APRIL, JULY AND DECEMBER

The National University

BY

HON. S. D. FESS



ANTIOCH COLLEGE

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

1913-1914

Entered March 3, 1905, as second-class matter under Act of Congress
of July 16th, 1894.

Published by Antioch College December, 1913

THE CHAMPLIN PRESSES, COLUMBUS, OHIO

THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

"INDIFFERENCE A NATIONAL MISFORTUNE"

Of the many national inconsistencies noticed in our history the most striking, and most difficult to explain, is the nation's treatment of Washington's desires for the establishment in the capital of a national University. Any cursory reading of his letters and papers, private and public, will indicate his insistence upon such a consummation. He made it a specific item of recommendation at different times in his messages to Congress. He communicated his views in writing to such men as Randolph, Hamilton and Jefferson, members of his cabinet. He made specific recommendations to State officials of Virginia, including Governor Brooke, in 1795; he solemnly urged it in his "Farewell Address" in 1796, and in the same year he communicated his wish to the commissioners of the District of Columbia, even going so far as to indicate his willingness to set aside a fund for its establishment, and to specify the probable site of the plant.

Before his death he had the endorsement of most public men, inside and outside of the two houses of Congress. In 1799 his will contained a bequest of fifty shares (\$500 each) of Potomac stock for the beginning.

His scheme was most heartily endorsed in official capacity by John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, J. Q. Adams, and Andrew Jackson. Jefferson, one of the country's earliest patrons of education, even went to the extent of proposing to General Washington, the transplanting of a European College, faculty and all, as an early step in the enterprise.

The appearance near the forties of sectional differences and the expression of the fear of too much centralization caused the friends of the enterprise to rest. In the forties and fifties much talk and some efforts were active in building such an institution at Albany, N. Y. The Civil War further shut out interest in the Washington project.

Interest was finally revived in 1869 by John W. Hoyt who had made a tour of careful inspection of the European institutions of higher learning. The merits of Commissioner Hoyt's efforts lie in his effective work in creating a favorable impression among educators in the country. The results of his propaganda were noticed in the interest of the National Teachers' Association. At its annual meeting in 1869 held at Trenton, N. J., the association adopted a resolution offered by A. J. Rickoff of Ohio, committing the association to the project. It also appointed a committee of thirty-five, representing all parts of the Union and all the liberal as well as business professions, and upon which appear the names of Rickoff of Ohio and Wickersham of Pennsylvania. From that day to this, this great association has stood committed to the consummation of the great undertaking. Of all its many great heads not one has rendered more valiant service than its present head, President Swain of Swarthmore College.

It was largely through this body, ably seconded by numerous great scholars in college and university circles, that there was won support of such men as Senator Charles Sumner, T. O. White, J. W. Patterson, M. H. Carpenter, J. J. Ingalls, W. B. Allison, L. Q. C. Lamar, A. H. Garland, and many others. Through the influence of these men a bill was introduced in both Houses of Congress in 1872. By this time the propaganda was winning the support of most of the college heads of the country. One very important exception was President Chas. W. Eliot. In 1873 President Grant made the University proposition an item of favorable recommendation in his annual message. The National Education Association continued by resolution and addresses to keep the matter before the public. President Hayes endorsed the project in 1878. L. Q. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior under Cleveland, called the attention of the country to the neglect in his report to the President. In 1890 the Senate created a special standing committee to be known as the National University Committee, which is still in existence,

although quite dormant. The National Association of State University Presidents representing all the State Universities of the nation, is also another significant association backing the movement.

Looking over the activities working for this consummation, one is bewildered over the fact that in the face of it all, there is nothing accomplished by the government.

Note the factors:—

1. Urged by Washington.
2. Seconded by at least ten of his successors.
3. Supported by at least half a dozen justices of the Supreme Court including Chief Justices Jay, Rutledge, Marshall and Chase.
4. Formally recommended by at least twenty cabinet ministers, among them the most brilliant lights of our nation.
5. Formal support by the heads of both the army and navy.
6. Enthusiastic advocacy of the heads of colleges and Universities, at least 400 of them, including Cornell, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Chicago and Leland Stanford.
7. Almost unanimous endorsement of both the scholars and learned associations of the country.
8. Advocacy by the leading clergymen of the country.
9. Advocacy of the Public School men and women in the country.
10. Support of various women's organizations of the land.
11. Warm support at different times of the Senate as a body.

This array of advocates would seem enough to enact any law, that had an element of merit in it.

This support is based upon the following facts:

Notwithstanding the galaxy of American higher educational institutions, its colleges, universities and technical institutions, many of which stand very high educationally, the country does not have a University in the true sense.

In every American institution however good, the chief work, the mass of students, the large proportion of teaching force, the major use of laboratories, etc., are devoted to under-graduate work, to college rather than University work. We have no single institution devoted to the sort of work chiefly done by the Berlin University.

What we must have in Washington is an institution to multiply, to develop scholarship; not to teach learners, but to produce research workers; not so much to disseminate knowledge already known, but to cultivate the power to find what is yet unknown.

Such an institution will not interfere with nor supersede the hundreds of institutions already existing, but it will supplement them, as it will indeed depend upon them for its supply of students seeking the rank of special experts. Instead of weakening the existent university or college, like the multiplied collective strand, it gains all its strength from a combination of all, without weakening any one. Such an institution will not compete by duplicating simply because entrance here will not be allowed to any one who has not, in at least some line, reached the rank of a degree from the standardized institutions. This instead of crippling the existent university will be a spur to improve its work and maintain its standard. While it will largely depend for material upon the hundreds of institutions of higher learning, it will in turn substantially assist them by returning to them at divers time the best trained investigators in the world to fill up their teaching force. This institution will hold a relation to the people of the states that is not now known by any institution in the country. It will be looked upon by our citizens with that sense of ownership with which we look upon our national capital. It will be in a unique sense OUR UNIVERSITY, and will develop the sense of pride and support not now felt by any institution. It will thus be sought by all our ambitious men as they pass from University to the more specialized field of expert investigation. Graduate, as well as professor, who may be desired for some special work now and then, will look toward it. It will thus divert the flow of American students

from Berlin, Paris, Oxford, Jena, and Vienna to Washington.

Not only this, but it will most certainly become the most metropolitan institution patronized by the largest groups of European students, as well as students from all other progressive countries in the world. The records of immigration to America for the past fifty years are conclusive of this statement. There is no doubt that the reflex influence of such an institution in which these advanced thinkers of the world will be submerged in an atmosphere of freedom and self-government, is beyond our comprehension. In these days of armament when the fear of war is causing all nations insanely to impoverish themselves in building up a defensive foundation, it would not be chimerical to say that a National University filled with the investigators from the warlike countries would be a surer defense than battleships. For such an institution will further and complete our university affiliations begun by President Harper by which exchanges are made between University professors. We can send a professor for a year to each of the great National Universities in Europe in exchange for one from each university there. Such an amicable association between the great thinkers of this and European countries would insure a better understanding of each.

There cannot be serious doubt of the effect of such a National University upon scholarship in our own country. Washington long ago had come to be one of the greatest scientific centers of the earth. Here are assembled the most remarkable collections in the way of scientific material known to the scientific world. Here the various departments of scientific investigation headed by the world's best experts, aided by a group of trained workers, with separate laboratories and experimental facilities, run up into the hundred. Here also are domiciled almost a score of associations devoted to the investigations of truth in various spheres. These make Washington attractive to the scholar of all countries. Many of the societies that are not domiciled here hold their annual meeting at the Capital.

If anyone should doubt the wisdom of the establishment of such an institution upon the ground that we do not need it, or upon the ground of expense, or of corrupt control, or upon any other ground, a complete answer is—the Smithsonian Institution. This institution, established in 1846 with a \$500,000 bequest, has proved itself to be one of the most successful in the advancement of knowledge. To-day it is well-housed in buildings worth at least as much as the original gift, and it has accumulated collections of books and manuscripts by the simple method of government exchange, with slight cost to any one of an amount beyond the original gift. Besides this, here under such men as Henry Baird, Powell, Newcomb, Goode, Langley, and others, have grown up these rare agencies of advancement in useful knowledge. Here was where Telegraphy was perfected, and then turned over to the government. Research on the lines of climate, meteorology, etc., was conducted by these leaders of science and was finally allowed to grow under governmental agencies into the present Weather Bureau. Under the direction of Professor Baird, investigations of life in the sea, with special relation to fish purely in a scientific interest, grew into the government Fish Commission, now so important as an agency under experts attempting to find the secret that will enable the race to multiply and thus supply needed food from the wastes of ocean waters. Other important governmental agencies had their beginnings here. The Congressional library, America's greatest collection of books, rare and otherwise, housed in the world's most beautiful building, was started in the same way by the same institution.

In view of such results flowing from this single establishment, well may we ask, what is the possibility of a National University under a similar management with means multiplied, and a field unlimited? Even to-day there exists in the Capital the university, only awaiting organization, housing and research students. Probably in no one place in the world is there such a rare and numerous aggregation of material for laboratory use as in Washington. Located in various parts of the city are museums,

bureaus, observatories, exchanges, laboratories, etc., any one of which is not to be found in equal richness of material in any place in the country. The Agricultural department alone is a good example. Here in one department of investigation are found: (a) the Weather Bureau, with almost a score of experts at work; (b) the Bureau of Animal Industry with over a dozen experts; (c) the Bureau of Plant Industry with nearly forty experts; (d) the Forest Reserve with about thirty experts; (e) the Bureau of Chemistry with at least thirty-five experts; (f) the Bureau of Soils with seven experts; (g) the Bureau of Entomology with more than a dozen experts; (h) the Bureau of Biological Survey with a half-dozen experts; besides experts from six to fifteen in charge of separate Bureaus of Accounts and Disbursements, Publications, Statistics, Library, Experiment Stations, and Public Roads. This last is the youngest of dozens of research foundations here in the Capital, which fitly represent the scientific operations of the government. There is scarcely a single field of expert investigation that is not well worked here, and by the world's greatest experts, and with the highest results. The Annual Reports of these various bureaus that number in the hundreds, would make a library. The monetary value represented will reach at least forty millions of dollars. To operate them requires about five millions a year. The experts employed, and those elsewhere affiliated with the work here, will number into the hundreds.

The new discoveries announced from time to time are world-wide in import, and some of them revolutionize scientific knowledge. Air navigation will be solved by governmental investigation. The Panama Canal was made possible by governmental engineering skill. Yellow fever was annihilated by a government expert. Probably more useful applications of scientific knowledge have been perfected in Washington than in any other place in the world.

Those who yearn for the establishment of a National University are moved by the easy possibility of utilizing these unequalled resources for stimulating wide-awake

students of research to new fields of discovery. Not to disseminate knowledge already known, but to aid in finding knowledge not yet known—that is the function of a National University. The various State, denominational and independent institutions are to supply the graduate students, and the government must open to them these rich fields—laboratories, museums, observatories, etc.—for further investigation and discovery.

Scholarships may be supplied representing from \$500 to \$2500 annually. These can be employed by the student, so cooperating with the government, that the student can work part time and investigate part time as is done in some cities where college and vocation are affiliated. In this way the civil service can be raised, and at the same time ambitious learners can continue the work of discovery. It will mean economy and efficiency in government service, and employment and education of research men and women. It would be difficult to estimate the possibilities of such an establishment. This is not chimerical, but most rational. It but awaits the shaping hand.

Congress should at once authorize the President to appoint a Board of Control with power to select sites. To be effective it should make an ample appropriation. The University organization need not be difficult, but it must attempt to be representative without losing efficiency. There is no need to fear political control, since such an aggregation of scholarship as is contemplated would elevate it above even the hint of party bias. Indeed such an association of men, of the type, for example, of President Wilson, would be proof against cheap political influence, and would be most salutary in elevating the political tone of the capital. It would at once appeal to men of great means, which would make it easy for the small contribution of General Washington to be increased into the hundred million figure.

I doubt not that in a brief time such an institution would be the most intellectual center in the world. It would surpass the Universities of Paris and Berlin in every phase. If limited to graduate work, whether it

granted degrees or not (probably not), and taking its material from the more than four hundred institutions of higher learning (not duplicating their work, but supplementing it) it will be the culmination of a structure with its supports in every institution in the various states, all of which will look to it as their own goal; and it will easily become a center of research unlike anything known to man.

This possibility has awakened the intellectual interests of our country. It is the explanation of the enthusiastic support of the National Educational Association, the Association of State University Presidents, various Philosophic and Scientific Associations, the clergy of the country, the Committee of 400 representing the best thought and action in America, and the support of the Senate and House Committees and at three different times by favorable action of the Senate as a body. Political indifference, party jealousy and fear, together with unwillingness to inaugurate a movement that must be perpetual, are the explanation of no definite action by Congress. It would seem time for successful action by the Sixty-third Congress.

COLLEGE NOTES

The high standard of the work done in the Antioch Academy is recognized by the Ohio State University. After an investigation by the official examiner of the University, the Academy was put upon her accredited list, which means that a graduate of the Academy may enter the University without examination. This is and has been Antioch's standard for entering the Freshman class and the same high standard is maintained throughout the college course.

A new feature of the Academy will be introduced during this collegiate year. Heretofore there has been no regular graduation from the Academy and no certificates of graduation have ever been given. A part of the program of Commencement week hereafter will be the graduating exercises of the Academy when certificates of graduation will be given.

The Summer School has become an important feature of the college, but it has been to some disadvantage by beginning a week later than other Summer Schools. To obviate this disadvantage it is proposed to have Commencement a week earlier than usual and so be able to begin the Summer School a week earlier. Commencement will therefore be held on June 10th, instead of June 17th, as announced in last year's catalogue.

Although Dr. Fess has been in Congress but eight months he has already won unusual distinction. Besides membership on other committees he is a member of the important committees on Insular Affairs and Education, and what is quite unusual for a new member, he has participated in some of the important debates. To him is due the credit of retaining the gold standard in the House Currency Bill. At a meeting of the Association of Presidents of State Universities, held in Washington in November, Dr. Fess gave an address advocating the establishment of a National University, and during the present session of Congress he will introduce a bill to this end.

It is interesting to note that three of the men named in Dr. Fess' paper, as encouraging the establishment of a National University, were connected with Antioch College in the early days of her history. They are Hoyt, Newcomb, and Langley. Some six or eight years ago, Mr. Hoyt was very active in promoting the project of a National University. A letter written at that time to the writer of these notes showed his ardent enthusiasm for the great idea of Washington. He believed such a University to be essential to round out and complete the educational system of this country. His own idea was that the University should be named George Washington University, and regretted very much that this was made impossible because of the fact that there is already a George Washington University in the city of Washington.

S. F. W.

ANTIOCH SUMMER SCHOOL

June 15 to July 24, 1914

Antioch offers ideal advantages for a Summer School. It has a beautiful location, a fine educational spirit, good comradeship and excellent instruction. It has also a fine library and is well equipped for laboratory work in all of the sciences.

Regular courses will be offered in high school and college subjects for which credits will be given, but the chief emphasis of the Summer School is given to the teacher that desires to attain to greater efficiency. To this end the following courses will be offered:

Review of the Common Branches.

Educational Psychology.

Theory and Practice in Teaching.

Regular Normal Work.

Model School Work for Training of Teachers.

Primary Work.

Agriculture.

Domestic Science.

Public School Music.

Penmanship.

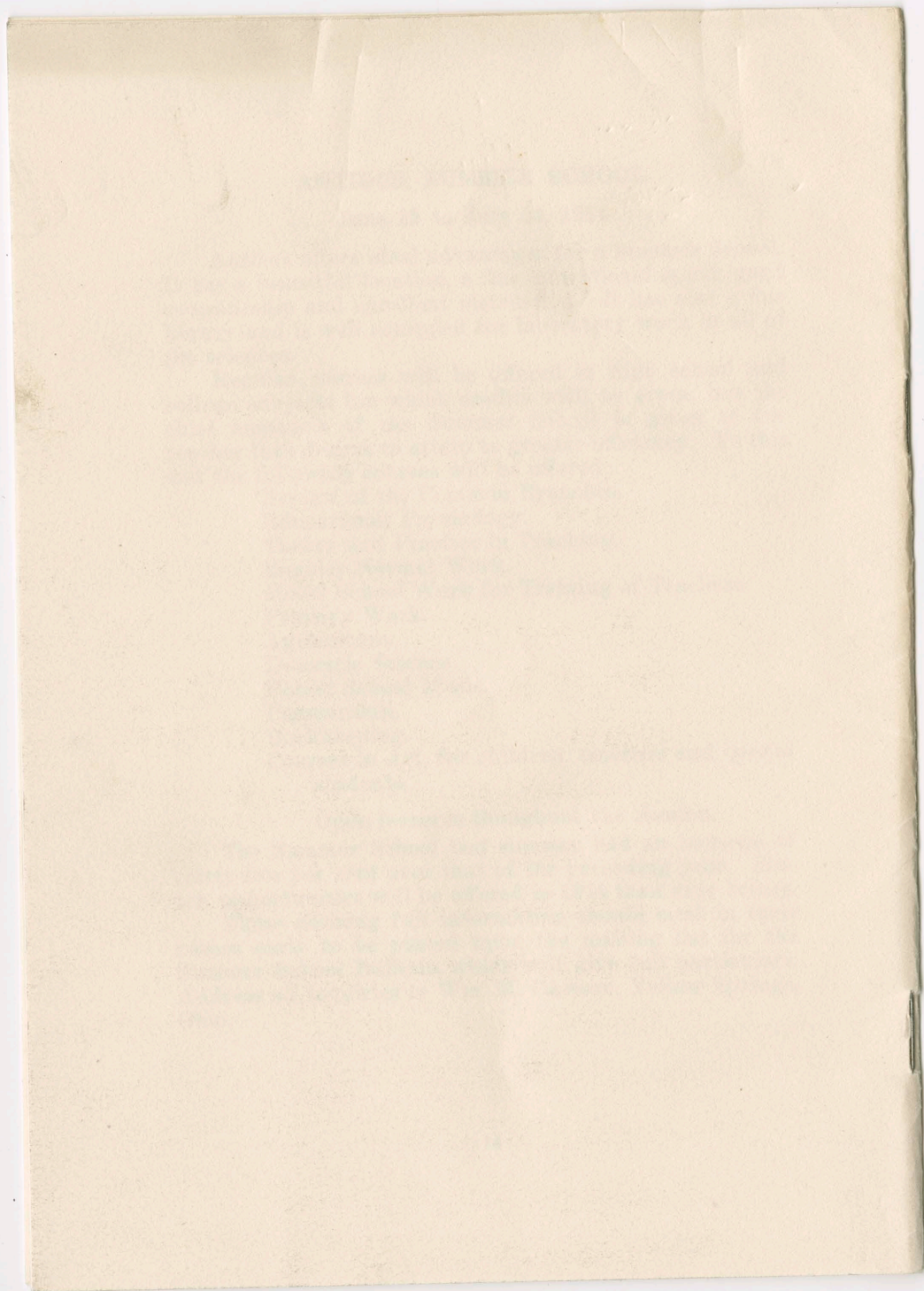
Bookkeeping.

Courses in Art, for children, teachers and special students.

Open lectures throughout the Session.

The Summer School last summer had an increase of thirty-five per cent over that of the preceding year. Better opportunities will be offered in 1914 than ever before.

Those desiring full information should send in their names early to be placed upon the mailing list for the Summer School Bulletin which will give full particulars. Address all inquiries to Wm. M. Dawson, Yellow Springs, Ohio.



Chicago, June 20, 1917

Dear Mr. Fess:

I am writing, I suppose, on a matter of ancient history, but there happens to lie on my desk a copy of hearings before the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives, Sixty-third Congress, second session, on HR 11,749, the National University matter. This purports to contain the statements of Mr. George H. Shibley, who is recorded as "Director of the American Bureau of Political Research, Washington, D. C." If Mr. Shibley is still Director of that institution I can only say that he is totally unfit for any such place. The statements which he made before the Committee were ridiculous. He quotes, for instance, a letter from "Professor Foxwell, Cambridge University, England," who calmly writes as to the positions held by professors in American universities. He knew absolutely nothing of what he was writing. He says "the professors in the

Chicago, June 20, 1917

Dear Mr. Foss:

I am writing, I suppose, on a matter of ancient history, but there happens to lie on my desk a copy of hearings before the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives, Sixty-third Congress, second session, on HR 11,749, the National University matter. This purports to contain the statements of Mr. George H. Shibley, who is recorded as "Director of the American Bureau of Political Research, Washington, D. C." If Mr. Shibley is still Director of that institution I can only say that he is totally unfit for any such place. The statements which he made before the Committee were ridiculous. He quotes, for instance, a letter from "Professor Foxwell, Cambridge University, England," who calmly writes as to the positions held by professors in American universities. He knew absolutely nothing of what he was writing. He says "the professors in the

science of wealth and government as well as the other professors are selected by boards of private individuals in all except the state universities, and are hired from year to year, and so can be dropped at any time, and the payment for their services in these private universities is from donations from private individuals." In point of fact, there is no university in the United States within my knowledge in which professors are "hired from year to year." Professors and Associate Professors are on permanent tenure, and are removable only for cause.

He says also that in England "the tenure of service is during good behavior." That is exactly the situation with full Professors in the United States.

He says also that Professor Edward W. Bemis had been "discharged from the Chicago University for exposing the Chicago gas monopoly and continuing to do so after being warned that he would suffer should he continue his course." I suppose Mr. Shibley refers to the University of Chicago. Mr. Bemis was not discharged from the University on any such ground whatever. The statement to that effect made by Mr. Shibley is unqualifiedly false.

I don't object to Mr. Shibley's having any fantastic

science of wealth and Government as well as the other professors are selected by boards of private individuals in all except the state universities, and are hired from year to year, and so can be dropped at any time, and the payment for their services in these private universities is from donations from private individuals." In point of fact, there is no university in the United States within my knowledge in which professors are "hired from year to year." Professors and Associate Professors are on permanent tenure, and are removable only for cause. He says also that in England "the tenure of service is during good behavior." That is exactly the situation with full professors in the United States. He says also that Professor Edward W. Bemis had been "discharged from the Chicago University for exposing the Chicago gas monopoly and continuing to do so after being warned that he would suffer should he continue his course." I suppose Mr. Shipley refers to the University of Chicago. Mr. Bemis was not discharged from the University on any such ground whatever. The statement to that effect made by Mr. Shipley is unqualifiedly false. I don't object to Mr. Shipley's having any fantastic

views he pleases or publishing them in his own way, but I object to allowing the publications of the United States, issued by the Government Printing Office, to go broadcast by frank throughout the country containing falsehoods and slanders against the educational institutions of the nation.

Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Hon. Simeon D. Foss
Yellow Springs, Ohio

views he please or publishing them in his own way, but I
object to allowing the publications of the United States,
issued by the Government Printing Office, to be broadcast
by frank throughout the country containing falsehoods and
slanders against the educational institutions of the nation.
Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Hon. Simon D. Ross
Yellow Springs, Ohio

J Fess
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. R. 11749

A BILL TO CREATE A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY AT THE
SEAT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

STATEMENT OF

MR. GEORGE H. SHIBLEY

DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN BUREAU OF POLITICAL RESEARCH
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MARCH 5, 1914

SEE P. 3

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

HEARINGS

REPORT OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

DUDLEY M. HUGHES, Georgia, *Chairman*.
WILLIAM W. RUCKER, Missouri. JAMES F. BURKE, Pennsylvania.
ROBERT L. DOUGHTON, North Carolina. CALEB POWERS, Kentucky.
JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE, Alabama. HORACE M. TOWNER, Iowa.
J. THOMPSON BAKER, New Jersey. EDMUND PLATT, New York.
JOHN R. CLANCY, New York. ALLEN T. TREADWAY, Massachusetts.
THOMAS C. THACHER, Massachusetts. SIMEON D. FESS, Ohio.
STEPHEN A. HOXWORTH, Illinois. ARTHUR R. RUPLEY, Pennsylvania.
JAMES L. FORT, *Clerk*.

II

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

STATEMENT OF MR. GEORGE H. SHIBLEY, DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN BUREAU OF POLITICAL RESEARCH, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now hear from Mr. Shibley.

MR. SHIBLEY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, as you will wish to know something of my experience on the subject before you, I will state that I am Director of the American Bureau of Political Research in this city. This bureau is one of the successors of the Bureau of Economic Research, founded by me in 1899, and will be referred to presently in my remarks.

In my work I have come across certain important facts in connection with the university systems, and these I wish to relate to you before proposing a system of government for the University of the United States.

Twenty-five years ago I became a lawyer, and after securing a competence in law publishing and legal research I retired from business at the age of 29 years. For a time I devoted myself to legal research, and also I matriculated at the University of Chicago in the extension department. This was in 1893. I studied political economy, political science, and social science in general.

Being an expert in weighing evidence and arguments, I afterwards found out that on the money question, which had become the dominant issue in this country and abroad, the university professors in the United States were teaching views the exact opposite of those put forth by the university professors in England. I wrote to Prof. Foxwell, of Cambridge University, England, and asked him how he could hold his position and combat the money power as he was doing. He replied in an illuminating letter. He pointed out the fundamental differences between the university system in England and the one in the United States.

DIFFERENCES IN THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

He stated that he had been selected for his professorship by fellow specialists and given a tenure during good behavior—life tenure—as was the case with all full professors in England; and the payments for his services did not come from gifts from private individuals. This resulted, as he pointed out, in freedom of thought and speech—academic freedom.

But in the United States, he said, whose people boast of their liberties, the professors in the science of wealth and government, as well as the other professors, are selected by boards of private individuals in all except the State universities, and are hired from year

// to year and so can be dropped at any time; and the payment for their services in these private universities are from donations by private individuals. The result, Prof. Foxwell pointed out, is an absence of freedom of thought and speech by the professors. They can not tell the truth concerning the science of wealth and of government if their statements would be thoroughly disliked by their employers—

Mr. FESS (interposing). Do you mean to state that as a fact now?

Mr. SHIBLEY. Yes, sir. I am very glad you have called attention to it. You can find the facts in the articles of periodicals that are indexed in Current Periodical Literature under the title "Academic freedom."

Mr. FESS. How general is that?

Mr. SHIBLEY. I can cite the cases of Profs. Bemis, Commons, Ross, and others.

Mr. THACHER. Is it not somewhat remarkable that in the private institutions the instructors do not teach the truth? We have had in the past few years three Presidents—one from Yale, Mr. Taft; one from Harvard, Mr. Roosevelt; and one from Princeton, Mr. Wilson. I think those men were all taught the truth at those institutions, but you apparently think otherwise.

Mr. SHIBLEY. I wish to place in the record the fact that the President of our great country while he was a professor taught the short ballot, a progressive idea, but he denied the need for the initiative and referendum; however, when he got out into politics he took the opposite view.

Mr. FESS. Do you mean to say that he could not have said that while he was in Princeton?

Mr. SHIBLEY. No. What I say is that he was progressive when he was there, as he advocated the short ballot.

Mr. FESS. Do you mean to tell me that President Wilson did that because—

Mr. SHIBLEY (interposing). No; I say he did not believe in the initiative and referendum.

Mr. FESS. What do you mean by saying that a man in a private institution can not afford to tell the truth?

Mr. SHIBLEY. He is hired there from year to year and if his employers do not like him they can drop him. I know of quite a number of professors who have been dropped. In 1898 one of the members of the board of trustees of the Northwestern University—and you will find this in the Chicago Tribune of September 3, 1897—said that a professor in political and social science in our universities should not have freedom of thought and speech; that "he must of necessity be an advocate and that his advocacy must be in harmony with the powers that be, with the aims and main purposes of the institution, and with the teachings of his collaborators." I am quoting the exact words of this published statement by a member of the board of trustees of the Northwestern University, a private corporation. Afterwards I interviewed this trustee and other members of that board, and also one or more members of the boards of trustees of nearly all of the leading universities under the control of private individuals in this country, and the unanimous statements were that a professor in economic, political, or social science must

be in accord with his board of directors on fundamentals or "walk the plank."

Mr. FESS. How do you account for university men remaining in their places so long? Do you mean to say that they are truckling and obeying the powers above them?

Mr. SHIBLEY. I say this: In the plutocratic era just passed they did not teach as they would have done had they been free men, for those who did not teach as they were expected to do were mostly "fired."

Mr. FESS. Oh, you are mistaken.

Mr. SHIBLEY. I point to the fact that when the professors in this country were teaching monometallism and defending the increase in the purchasing power of money—falling prices for commodities—the professors in Europe were teaching bimetalism and the need for stability in the purchasing power of money.

Mr. FESS. You are mistaken about that; not all of the professors were teaching monometallism.

Mr. THACHER. Last week a gentleman made a statement before this committee to the effect that the instructors in some of the private colleges were influenced by the private benefactors and apparently did not teach the truth, and I and another gentleman immediately challenged that statement, and I challenge your statement to-night, as Dr. Fess has done.

Mr. SHIBLEY. The whole point is this: That any national university that is established in this country should provide a system that will result in academic freedom the same as abroad. In England, the truth concerning the vital issues in industry and in government are being told by the professors, as the result of freedom of thought and of speech—the tenure of office is during good behavior, and that explains why in 1896 the utterances on the money question by the university professors in England were the exact opposite of the professors in the private universities in the United States. Academic freedom is absent in the private universities in this country, while academic freedom exists in England. In our State universities in this country there was little freedom of speech back in 1897 when Prof. Foxwell wrote to me. At that time in each State in our Union, the "machine" rule leaders were in power, thoroughly the creatures of the special interests, such as the railway monopolists and the industrial monopolists.

In short, plutocracy existed here in the United States, and it throttled free speech in our universities; and through this control of the sources of academic learning the plutocracy hoodwinked the people, thereby holding them in serfdom. The situation was appalling.

During 1899 I founded the Bureau of Economic Research, in New York City. Associated with me were Profs. John R. Commons and Edward W. Bemis. Bemis had been discharged from the Chicago University for exposing the Chicago gas monopoly, and continuing to do so after being warned that he would suffer should he continue his course; and Prof. Commons had been discharged for voting for Mr. Bryan.

Mr. THACHER (interposing). From what college?

Mr. SHIBLEY. Syracuse University.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Clancy, can you speak on this point?

Mr. CLANCY. Of course I know that he was there. But just at this moment I can not verify that statement or discredit it, either one.

Mr. THACHER. I hardly think it is possible for a man to be discharged for voting for any man for President.

Mr. SHIBLEY. In the Bureau of Economic Research our object was to discover the truth concerning the then vital issues of monopoly and the money question, and thereby help the reform party leaders to develop a feasible political program. This was in 1899 and 1900. My department was money and banking, and the program I developed was adopted by the leading minority party—the progressive Democratic Party—and the substance of that program is now incorporated in the Federal reserve act, recently placed in our laws by the party in power. The policies put forward by Profs. Bemis and Commons have been coming into force in proportion as the people have recovered control of the Government in this country and have had time to legislate.

The fundamental progressive policy that won out in the solution of the currency problem and is winning out in the solution of the monopoly problem is that the people's representatives shall be charged with the duty of regulating the monopolies and thereby abolish private monopoly. Educational institutions such as universities should be thoroughly regulated so as to insure the putting forth of truth.

Applying this principle to the proposed university of the United States there should be freedom of thought and of speech, unquestionably; and as the funds for this national university are to be supplied by the people of the country, through their Federal Government, their representatives should control the university of the United States, supplying it with ample funds for research and for graduate instruction. In that way, through the University of the United States, the entire body of science would be applied to the promotion of human welfare, in close connection with a legislative body representing the people's will. To that end I suggest the following bill:

[A BILL To establish the University of the United States.]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby established in the Federal Government a department to be known as the University of the United States, to be under the exclusive control of the legislative power in the said Government.

SEC. 2. The function of the said university shall be to employ experts in science and art whose duties shall be (1) to conduct researches, aiding so far as possible the departments in the Government in solving the problems they encounter; and (2) to give courses of instruction to graduate students, both as to the technique called for in the work of the institution and the subject matter of science and art. The executive council shall prescribe rules for the admission of those who are to receive instruction, and may include persons who are not college graduates upon condition that they are not to be granted the doctorate degrees. Bachelor degrees shall not be conferred.

There shall be amalgamated with the said university the Smithsonian Institution and its affiliated bodies, also the National Botanic Garden.

SEC. 3. Subject to the legislative power in the Government the university shall be under the direction of a board of control to be known as the Executive Council, the members of which shall consist of the chairmen of the boards of management of the several departments in the university. Each of the said

boards of management in the departments shall elect its chairman annually. The membership in each board of management shall consist of the heads of the sections in the department. The executive council shall specify what shall constitute a section in a department.

SEC. 4. Everyone employed in the University of the United States shall be selected under a competitive system as follows: The professors shall be those who, in their several fields, have best served the people of the Nation and are willing to accept the remuneration attached to the respective offices. For the maintenance of freedom of thought and speech the term of office for the full professors shall be that which experience has found to be necessary, namely, during good behavior. All sides of contested issues shall be presented and by the leaders of the respective sides wherever practicable as special lecturers. The appointment of professors and their expert assistants shall be by the executive council, except that it shall nominate for full professorships subject to confirmation by the President.

The selection of all employees other than the professors and their expert assistants shall be under the regulations of the Federal Civil Service Commission.

SEC. 5. The university may exercise whatever powers are necessary for the furtherance of its objects. Gifts may be accepted by the executive council subject to the express approval of the legislative power in the Federal Government where the amount is more than \$900,000.

SEC. 6. For the preparation of plans for the further development of the university, the executive council for the first year shall consist of the Commissioner of Education, Department of the Interior; Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution; Surgeon General of the Bureau of Public Health, Treasury Department; Surgeon General of the War Department; Chief of Bureau of Navigation and Chief of Bureau of Steam Engineering, Navy Department; Chief of Chemistry, Chief of Bureau of Biological Survey, Chief of Bureau of Entomology, and Director of Office of Experiment Station, of the Agricultural Department; Director of the Bureau of the Census, Commission of Bureau of Corporations, Chief of Bureau of Domestic and Foreign Commerce, Director of Bureau of Standards, Commissioner of Bureau of Fisheries, and Superintendent of Coast and Geodetic Survey, of the Department of Commerce; Commissioner General of Immigration, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, and Chief of Children's Bureau, of the Labor Department; and three commissioners of the university of the United States, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The term of office for the said commissioners shall be one year, and the salary per member \$25 per day devoted to the work, and expenses other than cost of living. The President shall specify who shall serve as chairman.

The plans for the university shall be submitted to the President and to Congress.

SEC. 7. There is hereby appropriated for the use of the university until July first, nineteen hundred and fifteen, the sum of \$20,000.

ADVANTAGES OF THE PROPOSED BILL.

Reviewing the system proposed, its advantages are, first, that the experts who shall become full professors shall be free to search for the truth and tell what they find; and second, no set of citizens appointed by the head of the Government would control the appointments in the universities nor interfere in any way between Congress and the experts at work in the university.

In other words, under my proposal each appropriation for research work in the university would first be asked for by the professor planning the work; next the subject matter would go before the board of experts in a professor's department; then the executive council of the university would pass upon the subject, after which it would be incorporated in the budget prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury for presentation to Congress. In this way it would go direct to the President and to Congress and to the Committees on the University of the United States in both the House and the Senate.

Thus the great questions that will arise in connection with research would be directly handled by the experts and the Congress. And so our present question of how to exterminate the boll weevil would be handled; and how to exterminate the brown-tail moths; how to fight the hog cholera and other diseases.

This proposed direct contact between the experts in the university and Congress is absolutely essential. At present such is the case between the scientific men in the Departments and Congress, and under a University of the United States as I am proposing the work of the experts would be made more effective. The experts would be in departments by themselves and directly answerable to Congress and to the President, instead of being under the heads of the executive departments of the Government, and who are not experts in science. Therefore the establishment of the University of the United States along the lines I am proposing would be a distinct step in advance.

But the bills proposed by Representative Fess and by Senator Dillingham are along entirely different lines, and the enactment of either of them into law would not be for the best interests of the people of this country, in my judgment. Both of these bills would interpose two boards of nonexperts between the people's representatives and the experts in the university. And to make a bad situation worse, the proposal is that the members of both of these interposing boards shall work without pay. Furthermore, the members of one of the boards are to be representatives of the State universities—organizations in competition with the national university to the extent that the State universities will be doing research work and giving other forms of graduate instruction.

The fact is that the national university within the field of graduate work should be entirely unhampered by the State universities, just as the State universities are to be unhampered in undergraduate work. In short, within its field the national university should be as completely sovereign as is the Federal Government in its field. Therefore the national university should not be hampered by a council of representatives of the State universities.

Another unfavorable element in the Fess and Dillingham bills, which I desire to emphasize, is the provision for two sets of Government officials in connection with the university who are to serve without pay.

The inevitable result in nearly every case where service by a Government official is without pay is to shut out the citizens who are earning their living. That is self-evident. And why should citizens who are earning their living be shut out from service in connection with the control of the University of the United States? Before answering it I will cite the noted instance of where, after the overthrow of Cromwell and the English Republic in the seventeenth century, the opponents of the people's rule provided that thenceforth the members of the British House of Commons should serve without pay.

That system continued until after the victory of the Liberal Party in England a few years ago—1906—since which time a law has been enacted establishing pay for the members in the House of Commons. With this noted example before us, there is no doubt but that the

result of the Fess or of the Dillingham bill, if enacted into law, would be that the control of the university of the United States would be in citizens not selected by the people and who would serve without pay and thereby lessen the people's power in the national university.

Reviewing the points in the Fess and the Dillingham bills, it is clear that the system proposed is such as to greatly lessen the people's control over the university of the United States. The suggestion is that two boards of nonexperts, who shall serve without pay, shall be interposed between the people's representatives and the experts in the university, while freedom of thought and speech on the part of the experts is not provided for. Why this fear of the people? Only the holders of special privilege need fear the people's rule. But the party of which Representative Fess and Senator Dillingham are members is opposed to the people's rule, as is evidenced by its history in the last national campaign. However, the party in power is representing the people, as is evidenced by its legislation and its administration. So there is not the slightest possibility that the Fess or the Dillingham bill will become law. Those bills will fail just as did their party's bill for a banker's control of the currency system of the United States—the Aldrich bill—whereas the Democratic currency law recently enacted places the control in a Government board. Not one member of that board is to be a representative of private interests. All are to be responsible to the President of the United States and he is responsible to the people. Thus the people are to control the currency system. Contraction will not be permitted nor inflation. That settles the currency question for all time. I speak as the recent expert to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. THACHER. Do you think that politics has had anything to do with this bill?

Mr. SHIBLEY. Most assuredly, sir, it is a political question.

Mr. THACHER. Well, I think you are very much mistaken. We never thought of politics in this bill.

Mr. SHIBLEY. I will give you some more history shortly. This is a very important question.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Chairman, I think we should not allow to go unchallenged such pusillanimous innuendo that the gentleman is pursuing, but I take it that it is another evidence of the opposition to this bill. Anyone that will come up here and make such statements as he is making is unworthy of a hearing. But go ahead.

Mr. SHIRLEY. I am stating facts. I am stating that the Fess bill does propose to lessen the people's power—

Mr. THACHER (interposing). I think you are the only person in the room that thinks so, but you can go on.

Mr. SHIBLEY. Now, as to the forthcoming national university: The same party leaders who enacted legislation placing the people in control of the currency system, and thereby settling the money question, can be depended upon to establish a national university in which private interests will not be able to interpose their will; and, at the same time, the experts in science will be employed in such a manner as to give them freedom to think and freedom to speak to the people—the one who are to pay their salaries and who are to be the real sovereigns in this country. The people's era is here; the rule of the special interests is ended.

I shall be glad to answer questions.

Mr. FESS. You are a candidate, are you not, for an office?

Mr. SHIBLEY. I am not a candidate, sir.

Mr. FESS. What favor are you expecting from the party in power?

Mr. SHIBLEY. I am stating the truth. For 20 years I have fought machine rule and the men who have deprived the people of their rights, and now I am telling you about it.

Mr. FESS. You are telling us by courtesy of this committee.

Mr. SHIBLEY. This committee is asking for facts, and I am telling it facts.

Mr. FESS. Do you mean to say that this bill is written in the interest of sordid interests?

Mr. SHIBLEY. I say that this bill proposes that two boards of nonexperts shall be interposed between the people's representatives and the experts who are to do the research work, and, as Mr. Phillips has just pointed out, in a university of that kind it would be almost impossible to get any actual work done.

Mr. FESS. This council that is provided for is made up of the presidents of State universities. Do you mean to say that the presidents of the State universities can not be depended upon, that their motives would be such as you are announcing that my motives are here?

Mr. SHIBLEY. I am stating that they are competing institutions because they do graduate work and research work. Now, the State universities should not be given control over—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You do not mean to reflect upon the doctor here, do you?

Mr. SHIBLEY. No, sir. I am glad that you speak in that way, Mr. Chairman. I enter a disclaimer to anything of that kind, I am not imputing motives to any one, but I do say that I oppose the interposition of these two boards between the people's representatives and the experts.

Mr. FESS. How do you get around the appointment by the governor who is elected by the people?

Mr. SHIBLEY. The State governments should have no control over the Federal Government.

Mr. FESS. If this is to be a national university it ought to represent every State. How are you going to allow all the States to share in this university unless you have representatives from each State and who is a better representative educator in a State than the president of a State university?

Mr. SHIBLEY. We have the Congress of the United States and it should control the national university; what more do we want?

Mr. FESS. Well, but the Congress of the United States might listen to people like you.

Mr. RUCKER. It might not always be a good Congress such as we have now.

Mr. SHIBLEY. But for people to come in and handle work of that kind without salary is not a good idea.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Shibley, in what instance did you lose out?

Mr. SHIBLEY. I have not lost out in anything. I have won because I have been standing for this progressive movement for 20 years.

Mr. PLATT. A really democratic university ought to have its president elected by the students. That is the old Italian plan.

Mr. SHIBLEY. In my judgment the University of the United States should be controlled by the people's government, and under such a system it would become one of the most helpful institutions in the United States.

Mr. FESS. Do you make any distinction between the regents and the heads of the departments?

Mr. SHIBLEY. Well, the ideal system is that the experts who are doing the research work shall come into direct contact with the committees of Congress and tell them what is necessary for this research work.

Mr. FESS. They are doing that anyway.

Mr. SHIBLEY. They are doing it now, but you would interpose these two boards between them. You say they must first go to the board of regents, and then its action be subject to a veto by the presidents of the State universities, and only after these two boards have threshed each question out can come to Congress. Is not that what you propose?

Mr. FESS. Well, that is better than what you propose. These men can appeal to Congress through the regents.

Mr. SHIBLEY. What is the objection to having the experts themselves come up to Congress and tell the committees what they want?

Mr. FESS. There is a good deal of objection. It should not be so multiplied and diversified. The whole movement in short ballot, of which you presume to be the exponent, is for the sake of economy and efficiency to reduce the number and multiply the product.

Mr. SHIBLEY. That is an argument for the national university, but why interpose these two boards?

Mr. FESS. Because we do not want to have 50 or 60 people in the regency. We want to have a smaller number. There are 435 Members in this Congress, and we can not get anything in a short time. It takes us some time to get anything out of this committee, and there are only 15 members on it.

Mr. SHIBLEY. But you are putting two boards between the experts and the people's representatives. Under the plan I propose the experts themselves will come direct to Congress.

Mr. FESS. Then you will have a large board—

Mr. SHIBLEY (interposing). I beg your pardon. My bill says that the chairmen of the departments in the national university shall constitute the executive council of 10 or 12 members; and that back of the departments will be the sectional boards, and back of them the individual professors, so that the experts will thus be cooperating together.

Mr. FESS. You have named many more than 12. You have named the head of the Smithsonian Institution—

Mr. SHIBLEY (interposing). Oh, no, Dr. Fess. The large number that I have named in the bill is only for the first year for the framing of a plan for developing the national university. Now, I will pass on because I have other matters to present to you.

I desire to consider more fully the plan in both the Fess and the Dillingham bills that a veto power shall be exercised by representatives of the State universities. These universities are doing gradu-

ate work, to some extent, and most of them are desirous that the national university shall be made as inconspicuous as possible. The fact is that the State universities are poorly equipped to do research work, as compared with a great central institution devoted wholly to research work and graduate instruction, as will be the university of the United States.

It follows that this central institution should not be controlled in any way by the competing State universities.

I wish to briefly outline the field to be covered by the social-science department of the national university.

There is only one place in the Federal Government where the social-science department of the national university can be developed to any extent, and that is in connection with the legislative reference bureau in the Library of Congress, and the use of the material therein, combined with teaching graduate students. In something like ten or a dozen States these three phases of the social-science work are being done in connection with the State governments. In Congress the leaders in power decided more than a year ago that a legislative reference bureau shall be established in the Library of Congress and that experts shall be employed to use the material. In the House, bill No. 18720 was reported favorably February 18, 1913, together with House resolution 833, in Reports Nos. 1533 and 1534. In the Senate also, on February 20, 1913, bill No. 8337 was favorably reported in Report No. 1271. In the present Congress that Senate bill has been reported and is now on the calendar. Thus it is clear that the present party leaders in Congress are favorable to the establishment of practical social-science work in the Federal Government. Under the prevailing system of legislative reference bureaus the method of work is thorough research, thereby supplying an indispensable aid to the legislative department.

The university of the United States, if devoted to research work in an up-to-date manner, will become a money-making investment to the people, as well as helpful in other directions. Investigations into the secrets of nature are doubtless only just begun. Large outlays of capital will become necessary in various directions, and therefore the National Government of the American people should undertake the work. In France the discovery of radium was the result of a large outlay of funds by the French Government. That illustrates the need for Government support.

A large number of scientific discoveries are greatly needed at the present time for the alleviation of human suffering and of economic waste. By establishing the university of the United States and coordinating its work in chemistry, physics, and other lines, and transferring thereto the work that is now being done in the Government departments, more perfect results will be obtained. At present the work is under heads of departments who are not scientists, but are in political life.

Also, the present method of employing experts in the Government bureaus is not so attractive to the men who are at the head of their several professions as would be the case in a national university.

These factors, combined with the advantages that would come from an executive council composed of scientists in direct touch with Congress, where the money is to come from, would greatly accelerate

scientific research and secure favorable results. Therefore it is clear that the proposed university of the United States along up-to-date lines would be a money-making investment for the people.

Now that the people of the country are again self-governing there is an imperative need for the establishment of the university of the United States. The many advantages that would flow from the system are the imperative reasons for its establishment.

For a century and a quarter the reactionist element in this country has prevented the establishment of a national university. President Washington urged and urged the establishment of a national university, as also did Thomas Jefferson and other patriots. But the opponents of popular government fought the idea and won.

They also won in various other directions. While Washington was President, and located at Philadelphia, he saw the State university dismantled, it being turned over to a board of private individuals, with power to appoint their successors. That institution to-day is the University of Pennsylvania, a private corporation.

Washington's will contained a bequest of \$25,000 in the stock of the Potomac Canal, but even then, and with other gifts promised, there was again defeated the establishment of a national university. During Madison's administration the people of New Hampshire endeavored to get control of Dartmouth College, but the United States Supreme Court interfered in the famous Dartmouth College case, whereby the people's power over the corporations was greatly restricted. During the progressive era of the first quarter of the century the land-grant colleges in the several States were provided for.

But when Smithson, of England, bequeathed a large fortune to the United States Government for the founding of an institution that would benefit humanity the resulting Smithsonian Institution was planned along lines that did not touch the vital questions at issue, nor has it to the present day. After the Civil War, when the paper-money question was at its height, Yale University and Harvard University, which then were considerably controlled by the people, were taken from them.

In our own time during the contest for the restoration of bimetalism the president of Brown University was forced to retire because of his views on that question.

In not one of the universities in the United States is there academic freedom full and complete, such as exists in most of the countries of Europe. The system whereby the professors are employed is on a wrong basis. Therefore it is high time that at the National Capital, in the new and progressive era of to-day, a thoroughly up-to-date university of the United States shall be established, devoted to research work and to graduate instruction.

That it will come and come soon I thoroughly believe. Under self-government by the people the discovery of truth and dissemination of the facts discovered are always considered of prime importance. For example, in the city of Geneva, Switzerland, with a population of 118,000 souls, there is maintained at public expense a university with a faculty of 100 professors. This is the statement of Prof. Vincent in his book on Government in Switzerland. Surely the hundred million people in the United States of America will establish the most up-to-date university in the whole world.

In this university of the United States there surely will be academic freedom—a tenure of office during good behavior. If a struggle for reappointment lay ahead of each full professor then in self-defense he would be obliged to shape his utterances with that end in view. Such a system would result in a species of swindling of the people and be terribly injurious to them.

The fact that judges should not be given a tenure during good behavior is no reason why professors in social science should be treated the same way. The judges construe the meaning of the written words in the people's law, and thus by construction may repeal or enact law, and therefore the judges who possess this great power over the people's law should come up for reelection at somewhat frequent intervals, so that they shall not possess freedom of speech and thereby express their own will and nullify the people's will. In other words, in construing the law the judge should be obliged to heed the people's will. On the other hand, the people's self-interest requires that the professors in social science, who have no direct power to change any law, and whose errors, if they make them, can be shown to the public, should, after having served their apprenticeship, be given office during good behavior. This is fully borne out by the history of social science here and in Europe. The effective warfare which plutocracy in this country has waged against the people's rule, and therefore against social science—truth—is one of the worst chapters in human history. In the universities, of all places, accurate and scientific truth is looked for.

However correct may be a plan for expert research work and constructive undertakings, the principal thing is to secure the selection of the most capable and industrious experts that can be found. In this respect the provisions in my bill are ideal I submit. A competitive system is suggested and the full professors to be confirmed by the President of the United States. Only the full professors would possess a tenure of office during good behavior, as they would be the ones who would direct the work.

Gentlemen, I thank you for your attention. Are there any questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Shibley, I hope that you did not intend to reflect upon our distinguished member of this committee in that which you uttered during the course of your remarks to-night.

Mr. SHIBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I want to say that this committee has not been partisan in any manner, form, or shape, and the united efforts of this committee have been to arrive at a true solution of the questions without regard to politics.

Mr. SHIBLEY. And I presume you want all the facts you can get.

Mr. RUPLEY. Dr. Fess says that you discredit his motives.

Mr. SHIBLEY. I do not question anyone's motives.

Mr. FESS. I think the gentleman stated very clearly that this bill can not become a law of this Congress because this bill is not written in the interests of the people.

Mr. SHIBLEY. That is my judgment. A person has a right to his judgment.

Mr. RUPLEY. Well, we want your judgment.

Mr. RUCKER. I think so far as that is concerned that every member of the committee, most of us being Democrats, and most of us being ardent Democrats, would resent any imputation of the motives of any member of this committee, and especially of Dr. Fess.

Mr. SHIBLEY. Certainly. I did not question his motives.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not think you did.

[References submitted by Mr. Shibley.]

After the above statement by Mr. Shibley had been presented he wrote to the Federal Commissioner of Education, Dr. P. P. Claxton, asking for references to descriptions of the systems of government in the national universities in the leading countries in Europe. Dr. Claxton supplied references and copies of Government publications, from which Mr. Shibley has grouped the following:

SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT IN NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES IN LEADING COUNTRIES IN EUROPE.

FRANCE.

From "Education in France," a chapter by the United States Bureau of Education, 1903:

"The governing body of each [of the 15 State universities in France] is a council consisting of the rector, the deans of the faculties, and two delegates from each faculty, elected triennially by the professors. This council, subject in certain cases to the approval of the superior council of public instruction, has control over the teaching, discipline, and property of the university. Since, however, the State appoints all of the professors and pays their salaries, the council has merely advisory power with respect to the appointments and the creation, abolition, or modification of professorships. The dean of each faculty, who is its administrative head, represents in the university council both his faculty and the central authority. He is therefore appointed by the minister of public instruction, but for three years only, and from candidates agreed upon by the faculties.

"The central authority is represented more fully by the rector of the university, who is presiding officer of the university council, and appointed by the President of the Republic." (Report of Commissioner of Education for 1902, p. 702.)

This is under the French law of July 10, 1896. Leading up to this were the reforms of 1875, 1888, and 1890, as follows:

Four years after the establishment of the present Republic in France there was granted by act of 1875 a liberty of higher education to the church and other interests and also "this same law charged the Government to proceed with the preparation of a measure for the reorganization of higher education, having especial regard to the unification of the isolated faculties and making adequate provision for the new studies which modern conditions required. From that time successive ministers and the superior council were constantly occupied with the subject. Measure after measure was elaborated, but without results other than the increase of interest in the proposed reforms. In 1883 Minister Jules Ferry addressed a letter of inquiry to all the faculties, setting before them the purpose which had taken shape in his own mind, and calling upon the professors for the expression of their own views in the matter.

"It is easy to see," observed Minister Ferry, "from the various measures that I have taken respecting the faculties during the last five years, that I attach the greatest importance to measures that promise to develop in our institutions of higher education the sense of responsibility and the habit of administering their own affairs. We should achieve great results if it were possible for us to constitute universities comprising, in intimate relation, the most varied departments of knowledge, managing their own affairs, conscious of their duties and of their importance, and animated each with purposes appropriate to their respective localities, but with due regard to the interests of national unity, rivaling the universities of neighboring countries, and exciting, also, between the great cities in which they are located a spirit of emulation which will react to their own advantage. I am aware that time is necessary for such an achievement; that in enterprises of this sort, however worthy the ambition, we should

avoid hasty and rash action. I am convinced, however, that the time has come when the question should at least be thoroughly examined. In this serious matter, as in all others, it is through the opinion of the professors themselves, through their experience and devotion, that progress may be hoped for. In this connection I believe it my duty to ask for the expression of their views.

"The replies to this circular letter showed that the greater part of the faculties, and especially those that were most fully possessed of the scientific spirit, were in favor of a university constitution. But in the opinion of the Government neither public opinion nor the experience of the faculties themselves justified an immediate radical change of their constitution.

"The result of the inquiry, however, strengthened the Government in its purpose of accomplishing the proposed end by successive measures. The first decisive step was taken in 1885 by the passage of two important decrees. Of these decrees the first, bearing date July 25, empowered the faculties to hold and manage the property, and created a general council of each group of faculties as its legal representative. The second decree, dated December 28, extended the authority of this general council to all matters pertaining to the internal affairs of the group, and created also a council of each faculty to administer its separate affairs. A subsequent decree, February 21, 1890, gave the faculties control of their resources and internal affairs. Thus the faculties were gradually freed from slavish dependence upon the State and accustomed to administrative duties. The law of July 10, 1896, restored the old title of university and completed the work of internal organization, which distinguishes an institution from a group of independent bodies. The discussion of these successive measures in the report before us affords an interesting commentary on the persistence of that relation between the Government and higher education which was elaborated by Napoleon. The law of 1896 modified, but did not destroy, that relation, so that even now the French universities, as we have seen, are integral parts of an administrative system. * * *

"In 1885, when the council general of a group of faculties was created, it was decided that the rector was the proper representative of the Government. During the discussion upon the law of 1896 it was suggested by some of the faculties that the president of the council should be chosen from among themselves, and that the rector, representing the State, should simply have a seat in the council, like the curator of a German university. This opinion, however, did not prevail. The rector, who must always be a university man with the degree of Doctor, was accepted as the representative of the State, to which function are added those of executive head and legal representative of the university.

"As to the authority exercised by the universities, the law defines the particulars in respect to which they may act independently and those in respect to which their views must be submitted for the final decision of the central authority.

"The attributes of the university councils,' says M. Liard, 'may be considered under three heads—civil life, scientific life, and judicial functions. The civil life is the outcome of moral personality. It is a means of the scientific life; it is, indeed, closely related to the latter. Logically, however, it precedes this.'

"The civil life of the universities, according to M. Liard (director of the department of education), pertains chiefly to the management of their resources. The university council, as the legal representative of a civil personality, an organ of the State and subject to the State, regulates the actual administration of the property of the university. It may deliberate upon but may not decide as to the disposition, acquisition, surrender, and exchanges of these properties; in respect also to loans, the acceptance of gifts and legacies, when these are subject to charges, claims, or special conditions, the council has only deliberative functions. With regard to the offer of subventions, the council can only give advice, for since these subventions might be intended to support teachings opposed to the public order, it seems necessary to leave their acceptance to the decision of the minister who is responsible to the national legislature. Finally, the council gives its advice respecting the annual budget of the university, of which the amount and the expenditure therefrom are determined by the minister.

"Each university has its own income, which is divided into the ordinary income and the extraordinary income. The former comprises the revenues from property and the interest of invested funds, the fees for matriculation, lecture fees, library and laboratory fees, the receipts from university publications, the State appropriations for current expenditures, appropriations by the depart-

ments and cities, and all other resources of a permanent character. The extraordinary income includes gifts and legacies, loans, appropriations for building or other special purposes, and all other funds intended to meet temporary demands. Each faculty comprised within a university has its own separate budget. The salaries of all professors are paid from the State appropriations, estimates for the same being annually submitted to the legislature by the minister of public instruction. The university may, however, make arrangements for additional service to be paid for out of its resources.

"In giving up to the universities the receipts from fees which were formerly turned over to the State treasury, the legislature decided that they must be applied wholly to objects of immediate advantage to the students, such as the equipment of laboratories, libraries, new buildings, etc. Apart from these specific limitations, the universities have free disposal of their resources.

"With respect to the scientific life or scholastic freedom of the universities, M. Liard says:

"In each faculty this is the work of the professors; its first condition is scientific liberty; in the limits imposed by his professional title the teacher should be master of his program. * * * But a professor is not the whole of a faculty, nor a faculty the whole of a university. * * * In the interests both of learning and of students it is necessary that, first, in each faculty, and then in all the faculties, of a university the studies should be coordinated. But the university council alone is competent to make this coordination. To this body is delegated the power of deciding absolutely what shall be the course of study, the lectures, and experimental or practical exercises for each school year in all the faculties and schools of the respective universities. In the exercise of this authority the council is limited only by the requirements for the degree examinations established by the State. * * *

"In transforming the faculties into universities the law has not suppressed their function of preparing for these examinations.

"But, however important this function may be, it does not mark the limit of the scientific life of the universities any more than the degree marks the limits of science.

"One of the reasons advanced in favor of the creation of universities is the daily increase of relations, many and vital, between the different sciences and the appearance of new sciences as yet scarcely defined upon the confines of the older sciences. In order, then, that the development of science itself should be followed it becomes necessary in the organization of higher education to provide for these new relations and interchanges.

"In conformity with this view a decree of July 21, 1897, empowered the university councils to control 'the organization and the regulation of courses of study, lectures, and experimental work common to several faculties.' In the interest of science the councils are also authorized to establish and regulate independent courses of study. * * *

"With a view to the same interest, also, the councils have been authorized to create university degrees entirely distinct from the State degrees and having a purely scientific value. * * *

"In this respect full liberty has been given to the councils. They may create certificates for special studies, and diplomas which, while carrying no legal sanction—that is, as admitting the holder to a professional career in France—are proofs of scientific attainments. The value of these diplomas both in France and in foreign countries will be increased as science is more and more developed in the universities that award them.

"As a result of these departures it has been necessary to give greater recognition to science in the degree examinations and a freer choice of studies. The old system has been modified, the programs are less rigid, the professors have larger initiative, and the students have some chance to elect their studies.'

"In continuing the report which has been thus far followed M. Liard considers finally the juridical and disciplinary functions of the newly constituted universities. These relate to two particulars, the status of different classes of students and the character of the university discipline. These matters are fully set forth in a ministerial decree of July 21, 1897, which is included in the report by M. Liard. We note here simply that all persons desiring to pursue their studies in the French universities must be matriculated. Formerly this was required only in the case of candidates for a degree. The extended requirement brings all who seek the privileges of a university under its juris-

diction. This measure, with the extensive authority conferred upon the councils, increases the dignity of the universities and their organic unity.

"The following details, completing the survey of the transformed universities, are cited from the report of M. Maurice-Faure, of the financial committee of the Chamber of Deputies, on the budget for 1902:

STIMULATING EFFECT OF NEW RÉGIME.

"The hopes which prompted the law of July 10, 1896, are being daily realized. Each year gives clearer and clearer evidence of the value of the new régime, and the results accomplished show conclusively that the universities make the best use of their autonomy.

"We have found that during the scholastic year 1900-1901, as was the case also in the preceding years, their chief efforts had been expended upon the sciences applicable to agriculture and industry, and that the new equipments furnished were designed in particular to meet local or regional demands.

"This fact is of special importance, both as indicating the creation of new interests for a part of the youth of France and the services which the universities are called to render to their immediate neighborhood.

"For a long time higher education in France has had no practical aims outside the province of medicine and pharmacy. For a long time the careers for which it prepared were not productive careers in the economic sense of the word. Thanks to the constitution of the universities, to the inspiration coming from the sense of a public mission, and to the general direction given by the minister of public instruction, this condition has changed. The universities now realize that to prepare a great number of men ready to enter into the industrial world with a training appropriate to the economic demands of the country is no unworthy purpose.

"Without doubt the universities will continue their researches in pure science, which is the supreme cause of their existence (*suprême raison d'être*), and whose results are a source of wealth for the nation, but we must approve the many efforts on the part of our universities to turn their energies and resources to the organization of instruction in the sciences corresponding to the needs of their respective localities.

"Furthermore, we must approve that comprehensive view of the interests of the country which led the administration to open the universities not only to students who have obtained the bachelor's degree in the modern course the same as to those who have the classical diploma, but also to make them accessible to the ablest pupils of the high schools (*enseignement primaire supérieur*).

"Thus relations have been established between primary and higher education which, in the interests of social equality, must be constantly strengthened. This is a very important fact to which the attention of the Chamber of Deputies has not been sufficiently directed. It marks a characteristic evolution in accord with all the opinions and aspirations of French democracy.

"The universities respond thus to the hopes of Parliament by constantly new efforts which draw to them more and more the sympathies of the people. Their laboratories have ceased to be mere marble towers in which savants conceal themselves; their doors are freely opened to all forms of human activity. From the high spheres of pure and speculative science they have descended to the more modest applications of science to industry, to commerce, and to agriculture. Besides the official programs, which, in respect to the examinations for State degrees, must be strictly limited, the universities have created courses adapted to their particular localities which have stamped upon each an individual and original character.

"The physical conditions of the different portions of the country have given rise to various industries, commercial and agricultural, and serve not only the interests of a single province or university but those of the entire country. Thus the waterfalls of Auvergne, which furnish motive power that may be utilized at a distance, have given rise in the University of Clermont to a course in industrial electricity which will be of great value to electricians in that region.

"France, so richly provided with maritime laboratories, was destitute, until recently, of stations equipped for the study of the flora and fauna of fresh water. In the immense plain of Mont-Dore, in the midst of a series of 20 lakes, the University of Clermont has established a limnologic laboratory. The department of Puy-de-Dôme has promised to aid in the work, which is certain to be profitable to Auvergne and to the entire country.

"The University of Besançon has entered upon the work of exploiting the electrical energy of the water courses of the Franche-Comté. It has recently created a course in industrial electricity under the direction of a practical engineer, and subventioned by the department of Doubs and the city of Besançon. The same university had already organized a course in industrial chemistry, which is in full operation, and a course in agricultural botany, which, although only a year old, has already enrolled many students. This year, with the co-operation of the departments of the Franche-Comté, the university has made provision for researches of special interest to that locality as follows: A laboratory for agricultural analysis, a laboratory of agricultural bacteriology, and two stations, one for experiments with seeds, the other for the culture of coniferæ and of the most fruitful plants. Recently, at the request of the council general of Doubs, the university has undertaken an agronomic map of the department.

"The latest enterprise of this university deserves special mention. To the chair of mechanics has been annexed a course of higher instruction in chronometry and the regulation of watches, leading to the diploma of horologic engineer. This course completes the work of the observatory long since established at Besançon, and which has been of great service to the watch-making industry of the region.

"The University of Bordeaux continues its work in aid of agriculture. For a long time its laboratories have been devoted to researches into the diseases of the vine. In one of these the remedy for mildew was discovered. The proximity of the university to the department of Landes, where the pine abounds and resin is obtained in great quantities, has led to special equipment for the study of this product. In this work the departments of the Gironde and of Landes, and the chamber of commerce of Bordeaux and of Mont-de-Marsan have cooperated. The theoretic instruction respecting the resinous product is completed by manipulations of the material and visits to the manufacturing factories. In the laboratory experiments are made in new industrial applications of resin.

"The creation of a colonial institute at Bordeaux must also be mentioned, for although this is not the work directly and exclusively of the university, nevertheless it has been greatly promoted by the study of exotic diseases in the faculty of medicine and by the courses in ethnography and by the chair of colonial geography in the faculty of letters.

"Situated in the center of a region justly celebrated for vine growing, the University of Dijon, in view of the work of Pasteur, is not likely to forget that science has a part to perform in saving the vine. This university has long maintained an important experiment station, but for several years an extension of the work has been greatly needed. Thanks to the cooperation of the city of Dijon and the department of the Côte-d'Or, this has been accomplished by the establishment of the agronomic and œnologic institute of Bourgogne, which is intended not alone for free scientific research or for the formation of future professors, but more particularly for the education of future proprietors.

"The University of Grenoble, situated in the midst of a region destined by nature to become a powerful center of electrical industry, has for a long time clearly recognized the particular service that science might render to this locality. The first effort of the university in this direction was the establishment of a course in industrial electricity. The success of this effort has led to other measures of the same kind. From its own resources, aided by the city and by manufacture, the university has founded an electrotechnic institute, which has just been opened to students.

"In the laboratories of this institute will be formed electrical engineers and foremen of electrical industries. This foundation is evidently destined to a great future and well deserves a subvention from the State.

"The admirable development made by the University of Nancy, through the application of the law of 1896, is well known. This university, always solicitous for the public welfare, has not been satisfied with the finest assemblage of industrial institutes to be found in France. To the institute of chemistry, the institute of brewing, and the electrotechnic institute opened last year and already as prosperous as those of older date, it was determined to add an agricultural institute of the highest order. The new establishment was opened at the beginning of the session of 1901-2. It comprises, as courses of instruction common to all students, agricultural botany, agricultural zoology and zootechnics, and agricultural chemistry and geology, and as special courses of instruction, economic branches, forestry, physics, and practical agriculture.

"This provision, which is appreciated by the whole federation of farmers of the northeast of France, will direct many young men toward agriculture, who, without this institute, would turn their minds to pursuits much less useful to the country.

"It should be added that through a regulation which permits the forestry school of Nancy to admit nonresident students, students of the forestry section of the agricultural institute of the university will pursue a part of their studies in the school of forestry. It is a cause of congratulation that the university has taken advantage of this provision, instead of endeavoring from false pride to duplicate instruction already admirably organized near by.

"At Caen the professors of the courses in industrial and agricultural chemistry have devoted themselves to valuable scientific investigations relative to the manufacture of cheese and of butter. The results are such that the university expects to be the means of founding cooperative societies similar to those of Denmark, and thereby to contribute to the development of one of the principal agricultural resources of Normandy.

"In fine, the University of Lyon has created a course in electrotechnical studies and a course in rural economics as a complement to the agronomic course instituted in the faculty of sciences.

"The university hopes soon to establish an agronomic institute which "will not be inferior even to that of Paris, and which will contribute powerfully to the diffusion of rational methods, without which our national agriculture could scarcely withstand the competition with new countries."

"The University of Lyon has already a French school of tannery, a school of chemistry, and a school for notaries. It will soon have a school of electricity and it seeks to complete its colonial department with the aid of the chamber of commerce.

"The latter, collaborating with the Indo-Chinese Government, has already established several courses of instruction relative to colonial affairs, among others a course in the Chinese language. This colonial section is "not intended to form functionaries for the colonial service, but persons who desire to engage in industries or commerce, or whose purpose it is to employ, in these distant regions conquered by our own arms or acquired by our influence, activities not employed in the mother country."

"Marseille, which has entered resolutely into the scientific movement, and which deserves every encouragement, has established with the cooperation of the chamber of commerce several courses in subjects relating to colonial life. The creation of a complete colonial department is contemplated." (Report of Commissioner of Education, 1902, pp. 701-704.)

COMPARATIVE EXPENDITURES IN FRANCE AND GERMANY, 1907.

In the French budget estimates for 1907 by M. Couyba there appears the following comparative data:

"The French Government contributes to higher education, in round numbers, the sum of 16,000,000 francs (\$3,200,000). The German States give 10,000,000 francs (\$2,000,000) more, without counting the five and one-half millions of personal revenues belonging to the old German universities. If for France we add to the State appropriation: (1) The subventions by departments, municipalities, and private individuals; (2) the fees for matriculation, registration, and laboratories, we have a total of 21,000,000 francs (\$4,200,000). In Germany the total reaches 35,500,000 francs (\$7,100,000). The difference is considerable. Our neighbors have then the advantage of us in money, and hence superiority in numbers (personnel) and appliances. * * *

"From this comparison [he continues] we should draw a lesson, not of disparagement or discouragement, but of energy and liberality. State, departments, municipalities, and individuals should rather be spurred on to emulate each other in contributions for the development and prosperity of our higher education. We should all be resolutely determined that the glory of French science shall neither be lessened nor eclipsed.

"The considerations specially urged by M. Couyba for increasing the force and efficiency of the higher institutions are as follows: (1) Closer coordination between the University of Paris and the special schools of higher education in that city; (2) consolidation of courses of study and research to prevent the needless waste of funds; (3) more equitable division of funds between the University of Paris and the provincial universities, and between the several faculties.

"The efforts of the Government, at present time [1907], are particularly directed to measures for the development of the medical faculties." (Report of Commissioner of Education for 1907, p. 162.)

The following are verbatim statements by the specialist in the Bureau of Education:

ITALY.

Italy has 21 universities, of which number 17 are under Government control and bear the distinctive title of Royal Universities. The government and internal organization of these institutions closely resembles that of the French universities under the present law.

Sources of information.—Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1902, volume 1, chapter 17, pages 757-767, et seq.

Fanti, A. Italy. In *Cyclopedia of Education*, volume 3.

THE NETHERLANDS.

The Kingdom of the Netherlands has three State universities, organized in accordance with the law of April 28, 1876, amended by the following laws: May 7, 1878, June 28, 1881, June 15, 1883, July 23, 1885.

Sources of information.—Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 2, 1877. Education in the Netherlands; its history and present condition.

Parve, D. J. S. Organisation de l'instruction primaire, secondaire, supérieure dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas.

Cyclopedia of Education, volume 4; article, The Netherlands.

AUSTRIA.

Austria has eight universities, all subject to the ministry of instruction, but enjoy a high degree of autonomy.

Sources of information.—Ministry of education. Sammlung der für die österreichischen universitäten giltigen Gesetze und Verordnungen.

GERMANY.

In Germany the change in the status of universities from that of clerical or royal foundations to that of State institutions has been gradually accomplished since the middle of the seventeenth century. The transforming process and the present organization of the universities are fully treated by Friedrich Paulsen in his work *Die Deutschen Universitäten*. The substance of this volume was given in a briefer statement prepared by Paulsen for the Chicago Exposition. An English translation of this statement will be found in the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1891-92, volume 1, Chapter X.

For the statutes and ordinances governing the different universities it would be necessary to consult the special history of each.

DENMARK.

The University of Copenhagen is under the general direction of the minister of ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction, but enjoys a high degree of autonomy. The present organization dates from an ordinance of 1780. For brief account see *Cyclopedia of Education*, volume 2, article, Denmark. For historic review covering legal requirements see Matzen, Henning. Kjobenhavns universitets retshistorie 1479-1879, efter konsistoriums opfordring.

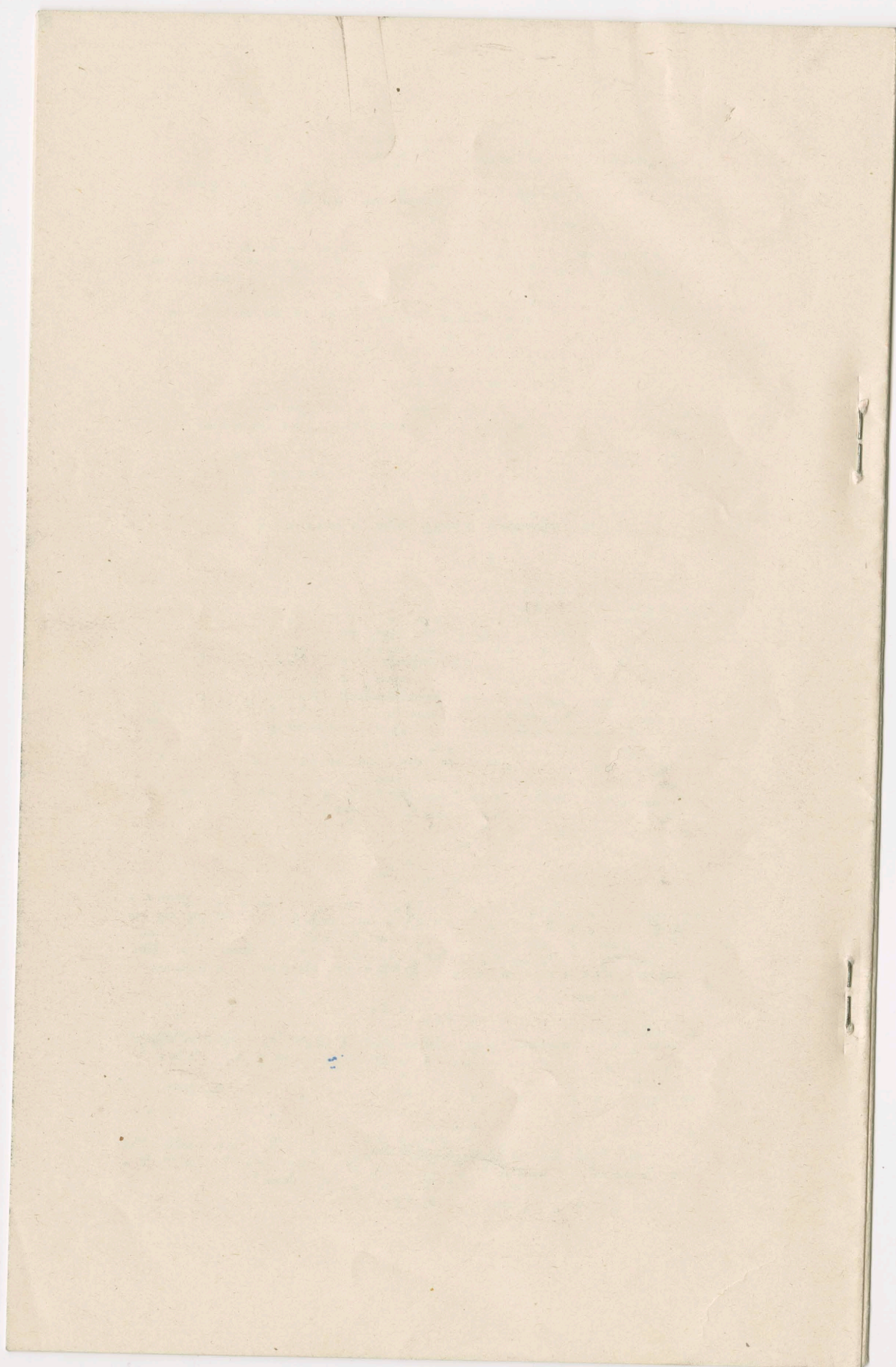
NORWAY.

The Royal Frederick University at Christiania is under the general direction of the ecclesiastical and education department, but has a high degree of autonomy.

For brief account see *Cyclopedia of Education*, volume 4, article, Norway.

SWEDEN.

Sweden has two State universities, Upsala and Lund, which are under the general supervision of the ministry of education and ecclesiastical affairs, but enjoy a high degree of autonomy. For the ordinances determining the organization, consult the history of each university.



S. D. FESS
7TH DISTRICT OHIO

75

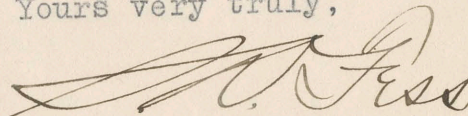
House of Representatives U. S.
Washington, D. C.

August 13, 1917.

My dear President Judson:-

I am returning your letter of the 20th of
June for such revision as you care to make in order
that it may be printed in connection with further
hearings on the subject on a National University.

Yours very truly,



Pres. Harry Pratt Judson,
Chicago, Illinois.

SDF

U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
7TH DISTRICT CHIEF

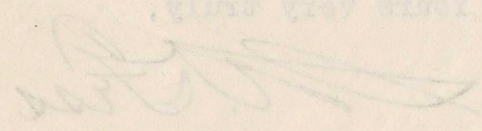
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

August 13, 1917.

My dear President Johnson:

I am returning your letter of the 20th of June for which I am sorry in order that it may be printed in connection with the hearing on the subject of a National University.

Yours very truly,



Henry Pratt Brown,
Chicago, Illinois.

7 49

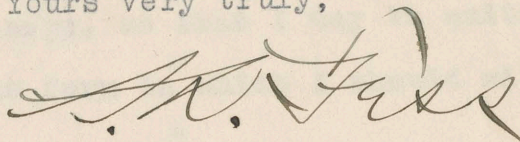
House of Representatives U. S.
Washington, D. C.

July 3, 1917.

My dear President Judson:-

I have your letter in which you comment upon one George H. Shibley who appeared before our Committee on Education when it was giving hearings upon the proposed National University. This man's reference to the University of Chicago in its relation with Professor Bemis was on a par with other utterances in connection with other educational institutions. It was all so palpably false that I did not care to go to the bother of attempting to refute it with authoritative information. I would have moved in the committee to strike out these statements if it had not been regarded by some members as an incomplete publication of the proceedings. In a future hearing which will be held probably in the first regular session of the 65th congress I will be glad to insert your letter if you will permit it. I think a statement from you similar to this letter in regard to the Bemis item should be made a matter of our record.

Yours very truly,



President Harry Pratt Judson,
Chicago, Illinois.

SDF

Journal of Representative H. C.

Washington, D. C.

July 6, 1917

My dear President Johnson:

I have your letter of the 1st inst. and am glad to hear that you are so interested in the work of the National University of Chicago. I am sure that the University of Chicago is the only one in the country that is so thoroughly equipped for the study of the history of the United States. I am sure that the University of Chicago is the only one in the country that is so thoroughly equipped for the study of the history of the United States. I am sure that the University of Chicago is the only one in the country that is so thoroughly equipped for the study of the history of the United States.

Yours very truly,
W. B. Ewing

President Harry Pratt Johnson, Chicago, Illinois

Chicago, Illinois

49
7 49
House of Representatives U. S.

Washington, D. C.

Chicago, August 9, 1917

July 3, 1917.

Dear Mr. Fess:

My dear President Judson:

Your favor of July 3 came during

I have your letter in which you comment upon my absence from the city. You are quite right in paying little attention to such statements as those of Mr. Shibley. At the same time, it is not quite just that a statement of that sort should appear in the official publications of the Government of the United States. I have no objection to your using my letter as you indicate, if you think best. Perhaps it might be well for you to return it to me, as I fail to

find the carbon copy, so that I may be quite sure that it is in the form in which I should wish it to appear.

President Harry Pratt Judson

With best wishes I am

Chicago, Illinois.

Very truly yours,

H. P. J. -D.

SDF Mr. S. D. Fess,
House of Representatives U. S.
Washington, D. C.

27

Chicago, August 9, 1917

Dear Mr. Pease:

Your favor of July 3 came during my absence from the city. You are quite right in paying little attention to such statements as those of Mr. Shipley. At the same time, it is not quite just that a statement of that sort should appear in the official publications of the Government of the United States. I have no objection to your using my letter as you indicate, if you think best. Perhaps it might be well for you to return it to me, as I fail to find the carbon copy, so that I may be quite sure that it is in the form in which I should wish it to appear.

With best wishes I am

Very truly yours,

H. P. J. -D.

Mr. S. D. Pease,
House of Representatives U. S.
Washington, D. C.

Chicago, August 15, 1917

Dear Mr. Fess:

Thanks for your favor of the 13th inst.
with enclosed letter of mine. I am making a few, and
only a few, amendments with reference to publication.

Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Hon. Simeon D. Fess
House of Representatives, U. S.
Washington, D. C.

Chicago, August 15, 1917

Dear Mr. Peas:

Thanks for your favor of the 13th inst.
with enclosed letter of mine. I am making a few, and
only a few, amendments with reference to publication.
Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Hon. Simon D. Peas
House of Representatives, U. S.
Washington, D. C.

7 June Ed B. 1
+209
ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

June 23rd, 1922.

Dear Dr. Judson:

When I met you in New York a few weeks ago, we had some little talk about the possibilities of building up a distinctive and distinguished University in Washington, using the George Washington foundation as a base. I promised to send you a Memorandum on the subject, which I am now forwarding under separate cover.

I find the best men in Washington, in no way connected with George Washington University, like Putnam of the Library, Merriam of the Carnegie Institute, Graves of the Forestry Service, Jameson of the Department of Historical Research, Willoughby of the Institute for Government Research, Capen of the American Council on Education, and others, tremendously interested in this matter. Most of these men and many others have been urging me for some time to accept the Presidency of the University, but I have told them that I would not consider it at all unless the ideals for the University which I have outlined met with the approval of its Trustees and unless a large fund, say ten million dollars, were available to make the carrying out of the plans possible. The first condition has been met, whether the second can be or not remains to be seen. I have had some excellent talks with Dr. Vincent, Mr. Rockefeller, Professor Farrand, Dr. Buttrick, and others about this matter. I believe that they think my plan an important one but I, of course, do not know what financial support may be forthcoming. I think it not unlikely that the matter will be discussed at our meeting at the Delaware Water Gap, in October. There are two or three people in Washington who could contribute largely if they would, but if the Institution is really to be a national University, it seems perfectly right and proper that a considerable ~~appropriation~~ of the entire fund should also be raised outside.

I shall welcome any suggestions, criticisms or reactions that you may have from your long experience. I have talked with perhaps twenty-five or thirty of the most representative educational ^{and} scientific men in this country about this proposal. All but two seemed very favorably impressed. Those two are Mr. Gates and Dr. Pritchett. Both think such a University would do a great deal of good if it could be established, but Mr. Gates does not think Washington has enough public spirit to give it adequate support. Mr. Pritchett feels that the first thing to do in Washington is to build up a strong college. He thinks the University proposition would cost more money than could be available.

My answer to Mr. Gates is that this is a National, not a local matter, and that Washington has developed a great deal both on the side of public spirit and of means since he investigated the situation there twenty-five years ago. My answer to Mr. Pritchard is that I do not think Washington a good place for a College but that I think it in many ways the best place in the United States for a University.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

June 28th, 1922.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

When I met you in New York a few weeks ago, we had some little talk about the possibilities of building up a distinctive and distinguished University in Washington, using the George Washington Foundation as a base. I promised to send you a Memorandum on the subject, which I am now forwarding under separate cover.

I find the best men in Washington, in no way connected with George Washington University, like Putnam of the Library, Merriam of the Carnegie Institute, Graves of the Forestry Service, Jameson of the Department of Historical Research, Wiloughby of the Institute for Government Research, Caden of the American Council on Education, and others, tremendously interested in this matter. Most of these men and many others have been urging me for some time to accept the Presidency of the University, but I have told them that I would not consider it at all unless the ideas for the University which I have outlined met with the approval of its Trustees and unless a large fund, say ten million dollars, were available to make the carrying out of the plans possible. The first condition has been met, whether the second can be or not remains to be seen. I have had some excellent talks with Dr. Vincent, Mr. Rockefeller, Professor Raymond, Dr. Buttrick, and others about this matter. I believe that they think my plan an important one but I, of course, do not know what financial support may be forthcoming. I think it not unlikely that the matter will be discussed at our meeting at the Delaware Water Gap, in October. There are two or three people in Washington who could contribute largely if they would, but if the institution is really to be a national University, it seems perfectly right and proper that a considerable appropriation of the entire fund should also be raised outside.

I shall welcome any suggestions, criticisms or reactions that you may have from your long experience. I have talked with perhaps twenty-five or thirty of the most representative educational, scientific men in this country about this proposal. All but two seemed very favorably impressed. Those two are Mr. Gates and Dr. Pritchett. Both think such a University would do a great deal of good if it could be established, but Mr. Gates does not think Washington has enough public spirit to give it adequate support. Dr. Pritchett feels that the first thing to do in Washington is to build up a strong college. He thinks the University proposition would cost more money than could be available.

My answer to Mr. Gates is that this is a National, not a local matter, and that Washington has developed a great deal both on the side of public spirit and of means since he investigated the situation there twenty-five years ago. My answer to Dr. Pritchett is that I do not think Washington a good place for a College but that I think it in many ways the best place in the United States for a University.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

June 23, 1922.

Dr. Judson

- 2 -

June 23rd, 1922.

My dear Mr. Judson:
Please do not trouble to reply to this at any length, merely think
the thing over as you have opportunity during the summer.

Sincerely yours,

Anson Phelps Stokes

Dr. Judson,
Pres. of University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

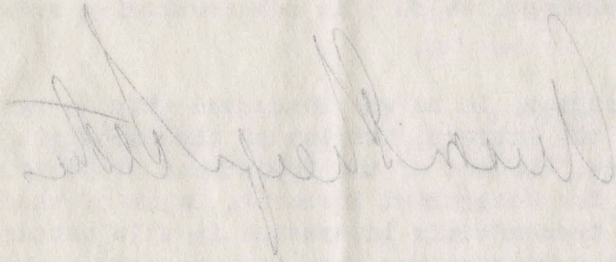
June 27th, 1922.

- 2 -

Dr. Judson

Please do not trouble to reply to this at any length, merely think
the thing over as you have opportunity during the summer.

Sincerely yours,



Dr. Judson,
Pres. of University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES
LENOX, MASSACHUSETTS

June 29, 1922.

June 23rd, 1922.

My dear Mr. Stokes:-

Thank you for yours of the 23rd. We had some little talk about the possibilities of building up a distinctive and distinguished University in Washington, D.C. under the George Washington Foundation as a base. I promised to send you a Memorandum on the subject, which I am now forwarding under separate cover. I am glad to have in mind your thoughts.

Very truly yours,

I find the best way in Washington, in any way connected with George Washington University, like Putnam of the Library, Merriam of the Carnegie Institute, Graves of the Forestry Service, Jameson of the Department of Historical Research, Willoughby of the Institute for Government Research, Chapin of the American Council on Education, and others, tremendously interested in this matter. Most of them, many others have been urging me for some time to accept the Presidency of the University, but I have told them that I would not consider it at all unless the ideals for the University which I have outlined met with the approval of its Trustees and unless a large fund, say ten million dollars, were available to carry out of the plans possible. The first condition has been met, whether the second can be or not remains to be seen. I have had some excellent talks with Dr. Vincent, Mr. Rockefeller, Professor Farrand, Dr. Buttrick, and others about this matter. I believe that they think my plan an important one but I, of course, do not know what financial support may be forthcoming. I think it not unlikely that the matter will be discussed at our meeting at the Delaware Water Gap, in October. There are two or three people in Washington who could contribute largely if they would, but if the Institution is really to be a national University, it seems perfectly right and proper that a considerable appropriation of the entire fund should also be raised outside.

I shall welcome any suggestions, criticisms or reactions that you may have from your long experience. I have talked with perhaps twenty-five or thirty of the most representative educational and scientific men in this country about this proposal. All but two seemed very favorably impressed. Those two are Mr. Gates and Dr. Pritchett. Both think such a University would do a great deal of good if it could be established, but Mr. Gates does not think Washington has enough public spirit to give it adequate support. Mr. Pritchett feels that the first thing to do in Washington is to build up a strong college. He thinks the University proposal would cost more money than could be available.

My answer to Mr. Gates is that this is a National, not a local matter and that Washington has developed a great deal both on the side of public spirit as means since he investigated the situation there twenty-five years ago. My answer to Mr. Pritchett is that I do not think Washington a good place for a College but that I think it in many ways the best place in the United States for a University.

June 29, 1922.

My dear Mr. Stokes:-

Thank you for yours of the 23rd
instant on the matter in regard to Washington.
I am glad to have in mind your thoughts.
Very truly yours,

Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes,
Lenox, Mass.

HPJ:OB

UNCIL.
EXECUTIVE CHIEF JUSTICE OF U.S.
HON. M. W. FULLEPPER, M.D., LL. D., VT.
EX-SENATOR G. D. WHITE, LL. D., N. Y.
EX-PROVOST S. STRAUS, N. Y.
EX-MINISTER LEE CARROLL, LL. D., MD.
EX-GOVERNOR PORTER, LL. D., N. Y.
GENERAL BUR R. SMITH, KY.
COLONEL EPPA HUNTON, LL. D., VA.
EX-SIR A. H. GARLAND, LL. D., ARK.
EX-JOHN EATON, LL. D., N. H.
EX-AGENT GARDINER G. HUBBARD, LL. D., D. C.
EX-SEN. NEWCOMB, LL. D., U. S. N.
EX-MINISTER JOHN A. KASSON, LL. D., IA.
EX-GOVERNOR JOHN W. HOYT, LL. D., WYO. & D. C.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED,

TO PROMOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

JOHN W. HOYT, CHAIRMAN,

4 IOWA CIRCLE, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

May 30, 1896.

My Dear Sir:

While the National University Movement has gathered much strength in the country at large, so that there is every reason to expect its ultimate if not quite early triumph it has nevertheless, for a number of reasons, made less progress than had been expected in Congress, and does not now seem likely to come up for final action in either House during the present session.

The hindrances, frankly stated, have been these:

1. The condition of the country, industrially and financially, causing extreme caution in dealing with measures involving, or supposed to involve, large expenditures, future, if not present, and which by the average legislator are at first thought deemed less than absolutely necessary.

2. The absorption of all members of Congress to a remarkable extent in questions of a more political bearing, and in the results of the coming conventions and elections; on which account no measure of national importance and wholly outside of this general range has received great consideration.

3. The open and active opposition of the Chancellor and other officers of the Methodist University, so-called "American"--opposition by no means confined to arguments before the Senate Committee to Establish the University of the United States (a review of which you have found upon pages 42--47 of the Report of said Committee submitted by Senator Kyle on March 10), but which extended to personal interviews with Senators and Members, and even to machinations and combinations quite outside of the usual course in such matters.

4. The consequent caution of some friends of our measure in both Houses, and their disposition, as it would seem, to pass the dangers incident to the coming conventions and elections before taking up a measure which it was feared might encounter the opposition of the Methodist Church as a body, if not as an organization.

5. Last but not least, the repeated and quite protracted absence from Washington of the Chairman and other members of the Senate Committee during the very period in the now closing session when our measure could reasonably have been expected to receive consideration and action--the period moreover, during which, on account of non-action and apparent laxity, the Minority Report was conceived, devised and brought forward, wholly contrary to the most positive assurances from responsible sources on both sides of the question.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED STATES

[illegible]

Mr. Deet. 217:

While the National University Movement has gathered much strength in the country at large, so that there is every reason to expect its ultimate if not quite early triumph it has nevertheless, for a number of reasons, made less progress than had been expected in Congress, and does not now seem likely to come up for consideration in either House during the present session.

and which by the average legislator are at first thought deemed supposed to involve large expenditures, future, if not present, causing extreme caution in dealing with measures involving, or 1. The condition of the country, industrially and financially. The hindrances, frankly stated, have been these:

2. The absorption of all members of Congress to a remarkable extent in questions of a more political bearing, and in the affairs of the coming conventions and elections; on which account no measure of national importance and wholly outside of this general range has received great consideration.

3. The open and active opposition of the Chancellor and other officers of the Methodist University, so-called "American" opposition by no means confined to arguments before the Senate Committee to Establish the University of the United States (a review of which you have found upon pages 42-47 of the Report of said Committee submitted by Senator Kyle on March 10), but which extended to personal interviews with Senators and Members, and even to manifestations and combinations quite outside of the usual course in such matters.

4. The consequent caution of some friends of our measure in both Houses, and their disposition, as it would seem, to pass the dangers incident to the coming conventions and elections before taking up a measure which it was feared might encounter the opposition of the Methodist Church as a body, if not as an organization.

of the question.

most positive assurances from responsible sources on both sides conceived, devised and brought forward, wholly contrary to the account of non-action and apparent inactivity, the Minority Report was consideration and action--the period moreover, during which, on when our measure could reasonably have been expected to receive Senate Committee during the very period in the now closing session absence from Washington of the Chairman and other members of the 5. Last but not least, the repeated and quite protested

Nevertheless, there is no occasion for despondency. The University proposition has among its friends many of the strongest men in either House, and there is a resolute purpose among them to get the measure up promptly at the opening of the next session and to put it through. It has a prominent place on the Calender in the Senate and is likely to receive early and favorable consideration.

The supreme arrogance of Bishop Hurst, Chancellor of the Methodist University, in assuming that a collegiate institution whose charter provides in perpetuity for more than a two-thirds Methodist rule can meet the demands of this great nation, with its soon-to-be one hundred millions of people of all denominations and of no denomination, for a truly American University of the highest post-graduate rank, and with such relations to all the schools, colleges and universities of lower grade as to ~~make~~ it worthily complete the whole series---this, I say, should have its fitting rebuke in the more resolute co-operation of all citizens with whom the highest learning, the progress of Science, and the growth of a genuine patriotism, are interests greater and dearer than mere sect-extension on the part of any ambitious organization however numerous and important.

But there is need of earnest, systematic and persistent work on the part of all who desire the early establishment of a great and free University of the United States--such a university, I mean, as shall be without shackles or trammels of any sort; that shall be superior to narrowing limitations of any kind, whether personal, partisan, or sectarian. And this great end it is especially the solemn duty of all members of the National University Committee of One Hundred to keep distinctly in view; contributing as they can of their counsel to its Chairman, and of their personal influence among political friends, with organized bodies, and especially with their Senators and Members of Congress, both present and prospective.

4. With renewed assurances of great respect, I remain, dear Sir,
Very truly and cordially yours,
Signature of John W. Hurst

Chairman National University Com. of 100.

5. Last but not least, the repeated and quite protracted absence from Washington of the Chairman and other members of the Senate Committee during the very period in the now closing session when our measure could reasonably have been expected to receive consideration and action--the period moreover, during which, on account of non-action and apparent laxity, the Minority Report was conceived, devised and brought forward, wholly contrary to the most positive assurances from responsible sources on both sides of the question.

Nevertheless, there is no occasion for despondency. The University proposition has among its friends many of the strongest men in either House, and there is a resolute purpose among them to get the measure up promptly at the opening of the next session and to put it through. It has a prominent place on the Calendar in the Senate and is likely to receive early and favorable consideration.

The supreme arrogance of Bishop Hurst, Chancellor of the Methodist University, in assuming that a collegiate institution whose charter provides in perpetuity for more than a two-thirds Methodist rule can meet the demands of this great nation, with its soon-to-be one hundred millions of people of all denominations and of no denomination, for a truly American University of the highest post-graduate rank, and with such relations to all the schools, colleges and universities of lower grade as to make it worthy to complete the whole series---this, I say, should have its fitting rebuke in the more resolute co-operation of all citizens with whom the highest learning, the progress of science, and the growth of a genuine patriotism, are interests greater and dearer than mere sect-extension on the part of any ambitious organization however numerous and important.

But there is need of earnest, systematic and persistent work on the part of all who desire the early establishment of a great and free University of the United States--such a university, I mean, as shall be without shackles or trammels of any sort; that shall be superior to narrowing limitations of any kind, whether personal, partisan, or sectarian. And this great end it is especially the solemn duty of all members of the National University Committee of One Hundred to keep distinctly in view; contributing as they can of their counsel to its Chairman, and of their personal influence among political friends, with organized bodies, and especially with their Senators and Members of Congress, both present and prospective.

With renewed assurances of great respect, I remain, dear Sir, Very truly and cordially yours,

Chairman National University Com. of 100.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

HON M. W. FULLER, LL. D., CHIEF JUSTICE OF U. S.
EX-SENATOR GEO. F. EDMUNDS, LL. D., VT.
EX PROVOST WILLIAM PEPPER, M. D., LL. D., PA.
EX-MINISTER ANDREW D. WHITE, LL. D., N. Y.
EX-MINISTER OSCAR S. STRAUS, N. Y.
EX GOVERNOR JOHN LEE CARROLL, LL. D., MD.
GENERAL HORACE PORTER, LL. D., N. Y.
COLONEL WILBUR R. SMITH, KY.
EX-SENATOR EPPA HUNTON, LL. D., VA.
EX-SENATOR A. H. GARLAND, LL. D., ARK.
EX-SENATOR J. B. HENDERSON, LL. D., MO. & D. C.
GENERAL JOHN EATON, LL. D., N. H. & D. C.
PRESIDENT GARDINER G. HUBBARD, LL. D., D. C.
SIMON NEWCOMB, LL. D., U. S. N., D. C.
EX-MINISTER JOHN A. KASSON, LL. D., IA.
EX-GOVERNOR JOHN W. HOYT, LL. D., WYO. & D. C.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED,

TO PROMOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

JOHN W. HOYT, CHAIRMAN,

4 IOWA CIRCLE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Nov. 28th. 1896.

My Dear President:

In view of the great need of more means for the work of the National University Committee of One Hundred than I can supply since Western collapses, and in consideration of the difficulty which seems to attend the efforts of the Finance Committee to create an established fund equal to the demands of the enterprise, I have determined to seek a position in the Government, the emoluments of which will suffice for a modest support and leave a surplus for this important use.

Such a place will become vacant by expiration of a six years term at the end of December, in the Interstate Commerce Commission. Out of the salary I could spare enough to strengthen the force in the Committee's office, pay for printing when needed, and meet other demands, thus enabling us to push the work more effectively than now, and without repeated drafts upon my colleagues.

Eligible under the law, which necessitates the appointment of a Republican, I am prepared to lay before the President such evidence of qualifications for the place as it is believed will fully satisfy him on that head; evidence not confined to a general account of my many labors, editorial, educational, scientific, patriotic, and other, but also in the form of important official papers, especially those relating--

(1) To my discharge of the duties of U. S. Executive Commissioner and Jury President at several international expositions; e. g., at Vienna, where I harmonized many differences, rescued the American Department from discredit, and so established it in the general good-will that I finally received the formal acknowledgments of all American exhibitors, of the Austrian Director-General, and of Imperial Ministers, besides knightly honors from His Majesty the Emperor.

(2) My experiences, as State Railway Commissioner, during the "Granger War" in Wisconsin, the demands of which very trying position were so met, by means of laborious investigations in many States, as well as by exhaustive reports and by discussions before

the Legislature, that, when I retired from office, I received in writing not only the thanks of the Democratic and "Granger" Governor, in the name of all the people, but also of the presidents of all the railway corporations operating roads in that State.

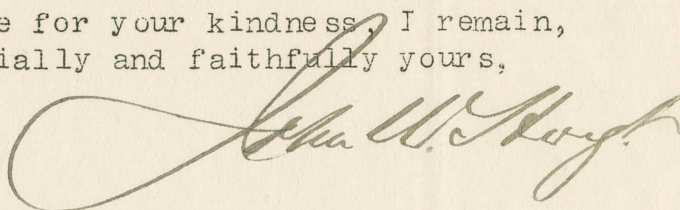
(3) My administration as Governor of Wyoming during a period of almost five years, with such service, in explorations, in the peaceful settlement of Indian troubles, and in the inauguration of many reforms and industrial enterprises, that near the expiration of my term, I was unanimously and very strongly endorsed by the Legislature for reappointment, one house being Democratic and the other Republican;

(4) My services as Special Representative for Foreign Affairs, in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition, where again I was fortunate in so dealing with the stormy conflict of opinions which for a time prevailed as to bring all the forty-six national commissions but one into cordial acceptance of the new American system of awards; myself receiving at length the cordial acknowledgements of the American authorities on the one hand, and of all the foreign commissions on the other.

Since it is manifest that the qualities which brought success in these several positions are the very same that will be often required in the one at present sought, what I now especially need is influence with the President, who will doubtless be appealed to by friends of other candidates. This will be my second candidacy of any sort in a whole life-time, and I must not fail, since it is chiefly in the interest of a great cause that I file my application

Accordingly, please favor me with a few of your best words, addressed to President Cleveland in my behalf, but sent to me, that I may include them with the other papers to be laid before him as early as possible.

Thanking you, in advance for your kindness I remain,
Cordially and faithfully yours,



President W. R. Harper, LL. D.
Chicago, Ills.

