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THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF EVENING UNDERGRADUATE  
EDUCATION IN CHICAGO: 1891-1939

by

Sandra Averitt Cook

A Dissertation Submitted to  
the Faculty of the Graduate School of  
Loyola University of Chicago  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May

1993

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## VITA

The author, Sandra Averitt Cook, graduated from Loyola's University College in 1974 with a Bachelor of Science degree in psychology. This degree allowed her to take a position in the Office of Registration and Records at Loyola where she worked until 1977 when she was made Assistant to the Dean of the University College. She completed a Master of Arts in Urban Studies in 1980 and became Assistant Dean of University College. In 1983, she began her doctoral studies. She is currently Associate Dean of Mundelein College of Loyola and Director of Part-time College Programs. Loyola's Mundelein College is the affiliation of the previously independent Mundelein College's Weekend College Program and Loyola University's University College.

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## INTRODUCTION

The history of higher education in the United States is generally a history of expansion. In the nation's colonial beginnings, colleges were elite, rural, religiously affiliated, and offered only a classical curriculum. Today, American higher education is distinguished for the breadth and diversity of its institutions, curricula, and students. An impetus for the expansion of higher education was the Morrill Act of 1862 in which the federal government granted the states a financial incentive for the founding of colleges which would specialize in agricultural and mechanical arts. The Morrill Act opened the doors of higher education to new subjects and new clientele. These land grant colleges, "together with the first state universities and municipal colleges, represented the force of democracy working as a mighty leaven in the world of American higher education."<sup>1</sup>

One phase of the growth and expansion of American higher education that has been virtually ignored by historians is the origin and development of undergraduate course offerings for students who were unable to attend

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<sup>1</sup>John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976 (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 64.

college full time or during the day for myriad reasons, but usually due to the economic necessity of employment.

Undergraduate college classes for credit which would lead to a degree (usually offered in the late afternoon, evening, or on Saturday) first appeared in colleges and universities in America at the end of the nineteenth century. The advent of these evening classes allowed working adults the opportunity to pursue formal higher education without having to give up their employment. For this group, this evening schedule opened the previously closed doors to the social and economic mobility higher education is believed to provide.

A number of general socio-economic forces external to higher education, as well as forces within colleges and universities, came together in the early twentieth century to make the idea of evening higher education possible. It has been stated that the "evening college movement" was the product of consumer demand rather than a thoughtful philosophy. There is disagreement about whether this idea had its roots firmly planted in the adult education movement or whether it evolved from the need for prudent use of academic time and resources -- transplanting day sessions into the evening--and de facto came to serve working adult students. By examining these forces, this study will determine if there were any common national trends in the origin of evening classes for college credit. Since students in evening education programs, however, were

constrained by their geographic location, it is likely that patterns regarding the origin and development may differ between geographical units. These patterns on each micro level may or may not reflect those on the macro level.

To date, no study has concentrated on evening higher education on the micro, i.e., one "market," level. This study will demonstrate whether the origin and development of evening higher education in Chicago reflected what was happening nationally. It will identify and analyze those forces that led to the offering of late afternoon, evening, and Saturday courses for college credit in the major higher education institutions in the Chicago area. The intent of this study is to discern similarities and differences among the six institutions in this study with regard to educational philosophy, objectives, students, faculty, curriculum, administrative and organizational structure in the origins of their evening classes and to see if these characteristics changed substantially as the evening classes developed at each institution. The institutions in this study are The University of Chicago, Northwestern University, Loyola University Chicago, DePaul University, Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute. Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute merged in 1939 into Illinois Institute of Technology.

CHAPTER 1  
HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF EVENING UNDERGRADUATE  
EDUCATION IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

Origins

Dyer, who wrote the self-proclaimed "first full-length book on the subject"<sup>1</sup> of the university evening college movement, stated that the movement's roots were in the popularization of knowledge that took place between 1874 and 1925 which was borne out in two academic developments in the United States: (1) the university extension service and (2) the municipal university; and one nonacademic development which included the entire spectrum of library associations, Chautauquas, YMCAs, lyceums, reading circles, and home study schools.<sup>2</sup> He considered evening classes to be one phase of adult education. The theme that evening classes had their roots in adult education is repeated continually throughout the studies available. Adult education as a field of study is a historical product of the late 1920s. And while no one

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<sup>1</sup>John P. Dyer, Ivory Towers in the Market Place (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1956), vii.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 33. This study will not undertake to analyze the effect of the nonacademic influences on the development of evening classes. Some historians believe that the array of nonacademic options were all precursors of extension.



could effectively argue that early evening higher education and its precursors were not adult education, it only came to be so called much later.

The academic roots (university extension and the municipal university) were nurtured by such national trends as the sheer increase in the number and comprehensiveness of academic institutions between 1875 and 1915 and their need to find creative ways to survive fiscally. In addition, other forces that shaped these roots were the rapid urbanization taking place due to the expansion of industry and commerce, the American belief that social mobility could be accomplished through education, and that education should be available to all who could benefit.

Before discussing these influences in any detail, some clarification of terms is necessary. Adult education has been carried out by a wide variety of agencies and at many different levels. It is, in its broadest sense, any education for adults regardless of content, purpose, or level. Adult higher education is a subset of adult education and does not necessarily presume equivalence to college level education nor does it necessarily take place in a college or university, and is not always credit granting. It is learning for the sake of learning rather than credentialing. This study will use the term adult higher education when referring to non-credit initiatives and higher education for adults when referring to classes or

programs that grant college credit and are degree related.

### University Extension

University extension is virtually always mentioned as one of the roots of evening classes.<sup>3</sup> University extension has been defined variously as ". . .a popular, albeit an ill-defined adult education agency,"<sup>4</sup> ". . .the Salvation Army of education,"<sup>5</sup> and ". . .an organized effort to give to the people not in college some of the advantages enjoyed by the one-half of 1 percent who are able to attend campus classes."<sup>6</sup> The extension movement was imported from England to the United States in the 1880s. The English model was ". . .an attempt to carry the university to the people when the people cannot come to the university. . .not by inviting students to leave their homes, but by sending teachers to the men and women whose lives are fixed round

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<sup>3</sup>Comprehensive histories of university extension can be found in George M. Woytanowitz, University Extension, The Early Years in the United States: 1885-1915 (Iowa City, IA: National University Extension Association and the American College Testing Program, 1974); George M. Woytanowitz, "University Extension in the United States 1885-1915," Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society 1 (1972); Herbert Baxter Adams, "'University Extension' and Its Leaders," American Monthly Review of Reviews 3 (July 1891), 593-609; Louis E. Reber, "University Extension in the United States," in United States Bureau of Education Bulletin (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1914); and W. S. Bittner, "The University Extension Movement," in United States Bureau of Education Bulletin (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1920).

<sup>4</sup>Woytanowitz (1972), 1.

<sup>5</sup>Adams, 593.

<sup>6</sup>Bittner, 11.

the ganglia of industry."<sup>7</sup> The first "extension" attempts, however, were just another in a series of disparate educational ventures for the mature.

University extension, based on the English model, was introduced to the United States by Herbert Baxter Adams, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University. The first extension activity was a series of twelve lectures by Edward Bemis on "Economic Questions of the Day" conducted by the American Library Association at Baxter's request. The head of Chautauqua, Bishop John H. Vincent, appointed a committee composed of Baxter, Frederick Starr, Richard T. Ely, and William Rainey Harper to draw up plans for an extension program for Chautauqua. The committee called its 1888 proposal a "voluntary itinerant university."<sup>8</sup> Extension never became a significant aspect of Chautauqua, however. A third extension agency was the University and School Extension Society formed in New York by Brooklyn teachers in 1888. A fourth early extension agency was associated with Melvil Dewey, librarian of the New York State Library.<sup>9</sup>

These ventures had caught the attention of other university leaders. In the early 1890s, three American university extension agencies more firmly based on the English model were developed. The first was the

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<sup>7</sup>Adams, 594.

<sup>8</sup>Woytanowitz (1972), 3.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid, 4.

Philadelphia (later American) Society for the Extension of University Teaching. The second was developed at the University of Wisconsin in 1891 with the support of the president, Thomas C. Chamberlain, and distinguished faculty members which included Frederick Jackson Turner, Richard Ely, and Lyman P. Powell. Despite its early success, it faltered after two years when faculty enthusiasm cooled due to the rigors of extension teaching and Chamberlain left the presidency of Wisconsin.<sup>10</sup> The third was organized in 1891 in Chicago as the Chicago Society by Henry Wade Rogers, president of Northwestern University and William Rainey Harper, who had been selected as the head of the nascent University of Chicago. This endeavor, while initially successful, was soon doomed when the University of Chicago entered the extension scene. Harper incorporated university extension as an organic part of the total university. Harper divided his extension division into five departments, the two most important of which were Lecture Study which followed the English model, and Class Study which offered regular courses of class instruction in university subjects given in the city of Chicago and at points more or less distant.<sup>11</sup> The University of Chicago extension program remained the most viable in the midwest during the early

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<sup>10</sup>Woytanowitz (1972), 4-5.

<sup>11</sup>"The University Extension Division," The University of Chicago Official Bulletin No. 6, May 1892, 3.

twentieth century. In 1911, the Lecture Study component was discontinued and the Class Study division had been transformed into an evening school called University College.

Twelve institutions organized extension teaching between 1892 and 1906. Twenty-eight other institutions organized their extension work and twenty-one more reorganized it by 1913.<sup>12</sup> Except for the University of Chicago, however, the work was chiefly agricultural and concentrated in the large state universities. In 1906, the University of Wisconsin reorganized and expanded its university extension which marked the beginning of its exceptionally vigorous program during the Progressive period.<sup>13</sup>

With an expansion of extension work in the endowed universities such as Harvard, Columbia, Brown, Tulane, and Pittsburgh, university extension programs divided into two types. The first type was called "agricultural extension" and was offered by the land-grant universities. The second

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<sup>12</sup>Reber, 6.

<sup>13</sup>The "Wisconsin Idea" conceptualized the university as an institution for all the people of the state. The university formed a partnership with the state government to work together toward the solution of agricultural, political, economic, and social problems. The success of the extension idea and the degree to which it served the Progressive emphasis was borne out in the passage of the Smith-Lever Act in 1914 which put the federal government on a permanent relationship with the extension services of the land-grant colleges. Frederick Rudolph, American College and University, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 364.

type became known as "general extension" which included lecture series, evening courses, and correspondence courses. General extension became the province of the urban universities.<sup>14</sup> These urban universities took on several institutional forms, privately endowed universities, religiously affiliated universities, and municipal universities. Behind both forms of extension, however, was the concept of service.

### Municipal Universities

A second potent force in the evolution of evening classes, according to Dyer, was the founding of municipal universities. A municipal university is defined as an institution of higher learning which

- (1) is controlled either by a board appointed by the municipal authorities, by the city board of education, or by a board representing one or both of these;
- (2) is supported in whole or in large part by local public funds;
- (3) requires for entrance graduation from a standard high school or equivalent training;
- (4) gives one or more standard degrees;
- (5) may have, in addition to a college of liberal arts, one or more professional or graduate schools.<sup>15</sup>

The municipal university has been called "a related

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<sup>14</sup>Malcolm S. Knowles, Higher Adult Education in the United States (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1969), 10-11.

<sup>15</sup>This definition excludes from consideration certain city-maintained institutions which give instruction beyond high school such as junior colleges, normal schools, or vocational schools. Roscoe Huhn Eckelberry, "The History of the Municipal University in the United States," in United States Bureau of Education Bulletin (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932), 2, 6.

phenomenon" to the Wisconsin Idea which sought to bring the university to the people and to serve the state:

It provided for the urban areas, the same educational opportunities that the state university and the land-grant colleges afforded to more rural regions. The net result was further to accelerate and broaden the already powerful movement for democratic higher education. . . It survived and expanded as a part of the American system of higher education because it was helping to meet the sweeping public demand for more diversified college courses, greater educational opportunity, and more direct service to a fast-industrializing and urbanizing society. In this respect, it not only paralleled but supplemented the work of the state university. Like the latter, it fostered the concept of "equality of studies"; it sought, and achieved, a close articulation with local systems of public education on the elementary and secondary level; it stressed adult education and popularized the higher learning in every way that it could; and it enthusiastically espoused the "watchtower" idea of service to the life of the sustaining community.<sup>16</sup>

In 1915, there were ten municipal universities in the United States (in order of date of founding): College of Charleston (1790), University of Louisville (1837), City College of New York (1849), Hunter College (1870), University of Akron (1872), University of Cincinnati (1873), University of the City of Toledo (1875), Municipal University of Wichita (1892), Municipal University of Omaha (1909), and the College of the City of Detroit (1915).<sup>17</sup>

The development of these urban institutions was influenced by a variety of factors. There was a need to

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<sup>16</sup>Brubacher and Rudy, 168-170.

<sup>17</sup>Brooklyn College was the last municipal university to be founded in 1930. Eckelberry, 7.

educate youth who lived at home in order that they may stay under parental influence for a longer time at an important period in their lives. It was believed that the existence of public higher education institutions open to pupils of the public schools would greatly improve these schools. There was a desire to provide a more practical education than that afforded by existing colleges. It was believed that these colleges could provide a better means for the training of teachers and preprofessional students. They were a source of civic pride. The municipal university reflected another trend and perceived need in American education -- the secularization of education. Probably the most influential reason for their creation, however, was "the democratic desire to provide educational opportunities for those who otherwise would be unable to go to college."<sup>18</sup>

All municipal universities conducted evening classes. Indeed, City College of New York claimed to be the first institution of higher education to offer a full collegiate course at night with the establishment of its Evening Session in 1909.<sup>19</sup> The first City College of New York student to complete all courses in the Evening Session

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid, 169.

<sup>19</sup>With an initial enrollment of two hundred and one students CCNY had an evening freshman class that was larger than that of most of the colleges of the state. Stephen P. Duggan, "The Night College of the City of New York" The Independent, 67 (1910), 876.



graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1917.<sup>20</sup> That first evening school class at the City College of New York was male.<sup>21</sup> The average age was twenty-two. Jews comprised the largest religious group at thirty-eight percent, Protestants comprised thirty percent and Catholics twenty-one percent. The students were primarily clerks, stenographers, bookkeepers, mechanics, businessmen, and salesmen. The evening session was a duplicate of the day session in all respects.<sup>22</sup> By 1913, evening session enrollment at the City College of New York had reached 863.<sup>23</sup> The first attempt to organize evening education at the University of Cincinnati was in 1902. Professor Christian W. Marx had been requested by the university's president to organize evening classes in engineering which were to be patterned after the Ohio Mechanics' Institute. Faculty were expected to donate their time and this program failed the next year.<sup>24</sup> Evening courses in commerce began in 1906 and in liberal arts in 1912. The commerce courses

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<sup>20</sup>S. Willis Rudy, The College of the City of New York: A History 1847-1947 (New York: The City College Press, 1949), 316; and New York Times (New York), 21 June 1917, 14.

<sup>21</sup>Women were not admitted to the City College of New York until 1917 when they were admitted to their evening session. Keefer, 31.

<sup>22</sup>Duggan, 861-62.

<sup>23</sup>Rudy, 315.

<sup>24</sup>Reginald C. McGrane, The University of Cincinnati: A Success Story in Urban Higher Education (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 182.

began as evening courses and eventually expanded into day courses. The liberal arts courses were organized through the College of Liberal Arts.<sup>25</sup> The evening college of the University of Cincinnati would not become an autonomous, integrated unit until 1938.

When asked the question, "Can the entire college course leading to a degree be secured at night?" Parke Kolbe of the Municipal University of Akron said, "The answer is 'No,' since only a few institutions in the larger cities are offering enough night work to constitute a full college course."<sup>26</sup> He viewed the evening work of a university as analogous to the "second shift" of a factory. His institution used the evening session to stem the overcrowding in day classes. At most institutions, evening classes generally existed before a complete evening collegiate program.

#### Urban Extension in Privately Endowed and Religiously Affiliated Institutions

Extension in urban universities began to take on unique forms. According to Carey

. . . extension tended to bifurcate. One branch was defined by its concern for spatial expansion (embodied in the notion "the state is our campus"). The other branch was characterized by concern for time expansion ("the busiest nightspot in town"). By usage the term

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<sup>25</sup>Raymond Walters, Historical Sketch of the University of Cincinnati, privately published, undated, 34.

<sup>26</sup>Parke R. Kolbe, "Evening Courses in Public Urban Institutions," in School and Society, vol. XVII, no. 425 (17 February 1923): 178.

"extension" came to be confined to activities of the former. The evening phase of extension, meanwhile, was assuming significant proportions; thus we distinguish "extension schools" and "evening schools."<sup>27</sup>

Other universities besides those under municipal control also recognized the educational needs and opportunities created by modern urban conditions. A number of privately endowed urban universities became so closely identified with their communities as to approximate the municipal university in everything but support and control. Brubaker and Rudy credit the following institutions with being pioneers in new fields such as coeducation, extension, afternoon and evening instruction, and specialized service to the sustaining urban society: New York University, Boston University, Temple University, The University of Buffalo, the University of Rochester, the University of Pittsburgh, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Washington University, University of Denver, George Washington University, Western Reserve University, Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Stanford, the University of Chicago and the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>28</sup>

Many other urban universities were established by religious denominations. The Methodists established Northwestern University in 1850; Syracuse in 1870. The

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<sup>27</sup>James T. Carey, Forms and Forces in University Adult Education (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1961), 29.

<sup>28</sup>Brubaker and Rudy, 169.

Disciples of Christ established Butler in 1851 and Drake in Des Moines in 1881. Another common urban origin was the development from an academy to a college to meet the needs of the growing cities. The University of Pittsburgh and Washington University in St. Louis are examples of this. Catholic higher education has followed this pattern of growth -- Marquette developed from St. Aloysius Academy, John Carroll from St. Ignatius Academy.

Keefer, in his study of thirty-five selected institutions in six of the largest urban areas, listed the institutions that were the first to offer evening courses for college credit as the University of Chicago (1892), Columbia University (1898), New York University (1900), Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn (1904), University of Pennsylvania (1905), The University of Pittsburgh (1907), Northwestern University (University College, 1907; Commerce, 1908), St. John's (New York) Teachers College, 1908, and the College of the City of New York, 1909, St. Louis University (Commerce), 1910, DePaul University, 1911, Washington University, 1914, Temple University (Commerce), 1915, Fordham University (Education), 1916, Hunter College, 1917, and Lewis Institute, 1917.<sup>29</sup>

In response to the pressures of rapid urbanization,

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<sup>29</sup>Daryle E. Keefer, "A Study of Evening Institutions of Higher Education in the Larger Metropolitan Communities" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1946), 50-51. His date for Northwestern University's arts and sciences classes will be disputed later in this study.

some of the urban schools (including such extension pioneers as Johns Hopkins and the University of Chicago) began withdrawing from extramural services and devoted their efforts to their evening programs -- a move toward "extension in residence." The growth of cities increased the number of urban institutions of higher education and fostered the development of new municipally founded universities. The origin of evening classes appeared to be a phenomenon which was concentrated in these several forms of urban institutions of higher education.

#### Early Educational Experiments

In addition to the two academic forces (extension and the municipal university) claimed by Dyer to be behind the emergence of university evening classes, Sterling added one other -- early educational experiments made by various colleges and universities.<sup>30</sup>

The early educational experiments that Sterling referred to included popular lecture series offered by university professors, admission of the public to regular classes, a partial course open to non-degree candidates, lectures on trade subjects, and the opening of these classes to women. These experiments began as early as 1785. They were sporadic, unorganized, and diverse, but did offer

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<sup>30</sup>Keir B. Sterling, "History and Development of Evening Colleges and University Extension Divisions in the United States" in Martha L. Farmer (ed.) Student Personnel Services for Adults in Higher Education (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1967), 13.

educational opportunities to those traditionally outside the ivy walls.

These early experiments and the nonacademic initiatives such as library associations, YMCAs, lyceums, and reading circles, probably had a greater impact on the emergence of adult higher education than they did on traditional higher education for adults; but what they shared was an eager adult clientele, offerings at non-traditional times, and the startling knowledge that adults were capable of learning.

#### Analysis of Origins of Evening Classes

Raison d'Etire. The impetus for evening classes, according to McMahon, was definitely vocational -- the desire to provide professional instruction to employed persons. Seven (Boston College, Boston University, University of Buffalo, Teachers College of Columbia, Johns Hopkins, University of Rochester, and Seton Hall University) of the ten institutions that he studied had courses for school teachers in their earliest evening programs. Also popular were courses in business administration. The Schools of Business Administration at Boston University, University of Buffalo, Columbia, and Seton Hall began as evening programs.<sup>31</sup> In his study of the evening courses offered in institutions in six urban areas (New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh), Keefer stated that 71.43% of

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<sup>31</sup>Ernest E. McMahon, The Emerging Evening College (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960), 3-4.

these institutions first offered evening courses to satisfy vocational objectives. Teacher training was ranked first and business training and technical training were tied for second.<sup>32</sup> Carey also stated that a pattern emerged in that the first evening courses to be offered were usually in either the area of business or teacher education.<sup>33</sup>

The Rise of the American University. In a real sense, the rise of the American university helped to set the stage for the development of evening offerings. The emergence of evening sessions seemed to be a university, not a college phenomenon. The incorporation of professional schools into the university was helped along by the spirit of vocationalism that flourished at this time. Coeducation served this tendency toward vocationalism by helping to turn many American colleges and universities into teacher-training institutions. As we became an egalitarian and industrial society, the American university took what were vocations and turned them into professions. Teacher training and preprofessional studies were two major purposes of the early evening sessions.

The evolving American university was also shaped by the rise of administration and a new breed of college president

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<sup>32</sup>Keefer, 59.

<sup>33</sup>James T. Carey, "The Development of the University Evening School in Urban America: An Aspect of Institutionalization in Higher Education," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1958), 7-8.

at the turn of the twentieth century. We see the beginnings of the traditional dichotomy between cynical business practices and high-minded professional ones -- between the self interest of the university administration and the creative interest of the scholar. It was an age of professionalization and the college presidents were not immune from wanting to professionalize themselves. Thorstein Veblen called these men "captains of erudition," business-minded predators who corrupted the scholarly mission of a real university by packaging education in salable units, measuring a university by the size of its bank statement, and selling higher education to the public under the premise that the consumer knows best.<sup>34</sup> Evening sessions are said to have been the product of consumer demand rather than of ideology<sup>35</sup> and they have frequently been a money-making arm of the university. That Dyer named his book Ivory Towers in the Market Place reinforced the notion that evening classes were consumer driven.

Social Forces. There was a culture of professionalism operating which encouraged the university to be used as a "vehicle of ambition"<sup>36</sup> by the administration, the faculty,

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<sup>34</sup>Thorstein Veblen, The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum of the Conduct of Universities by Business Men (New York: Sagamore Press, 1957), first published in 1918.

<sup>35</sup>Carey, Forms and Forces, 32.

<sup>36</sup>Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1976),



and the students. The university satisfied an essential need of its middle class participants -- higher education was a means to a worldly end. The creation of higher education opportunities made a difference at a crucial moment when aspiring middle-class persons were struggling to define new career patterns, establish new institutions, pursue new occupations, and forge a new self identity.<sup>37</sup> The American university was basic to this struggle -- its rise paralleled the rise of the middle class.

One characteristic both the old colleges and the new universities shared: they were both agencies of social mobility. The rising universities enlarged this function as indeed their founders intended that they should.<sup>38</sup>

As the university developed, so too did the public high school without which higher education would have been impossible for the masses. Its greatest acceleration took place around the turn of the century. Enrollments tripled between 1890 and 1910.<sup>39</sup> Evening high schools which developed a little later, were also a source of students for evening higher education.

The demand for higher educational opportunities for women increased considerably during this time period. These

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<sup>37</sup>Bledstein, 333.

<sup>38</sup>Richard Hofstadter and C. DeWitt Hardy, The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 37.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 31.

factors increased the potential student body for urban institutions and also for evening sessions. While there was a slight shift toward a liberal arts objective, most evening sessions' curricula were still focused on vocational, mostly teacher, training.<sup>40</sup> Some institutions, particularly Catholic institutions, allowed women into their evening sessions many years before allowing them into their day sessions.

### Conclusion

So it is from this complicated set of circumstances that evening classes to serve working adult students appeared in institutions of higher education. Without urbanization, the clientele would not have existed in sufficient quantity. Without the tendency toward professionalism, the need to attend a higher education institution would not have been as crucial. Without the expansion of the purposes of the American university and its administration, there would not have been the expansionist mentality necessary for breaking tradition. Without the American philosophy of democratic higher education, only elites would have continued to be served.

Popularization of learning created a demand for various nonacademic adult education programs such as lecture bureaus, lyceums, and Chautauqua. Educational experiments as early as the late eighteenth century offered by colleges

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<sup>40</sup>Keefe, 86.

and universities set the stage for the appearance of adult education within a higher education setting.

Extension, the concept of bringing the university to the people, brought to the university the idea of service. This, combined with the trend toward popularization of knowledge, gave adult higher education its permanent foothold in the university by the turn of the century. Rapid urbanization of the country not only provided the clientele and demand for evening classes, but encouraged the development of urban institutions of higher education, it encouraged the adaptation of extension to urban institutions -- extending the time of day when classes were offered in order to bring the people to the institution, rather than bringing the institution to the people.

The origin of evening classes "is the despair of the historian who tries to fasten on something specific. . ." <sup>41</sup> There was no one model from which each institution drew inspiration, rather they plowed new ground as they attempted to meet the needs of their community. Similarities, however, did exist among institutions with regard to early evening classes. Their evening classes usually began in the heart of urban areas. If a campus was not located in the downtown area, space was rented. Evening classes were first offered for vocational reasons despite the fact that these classes were generally the same as those offered to the day

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<sup>41</sup>Dyer, 31.

students. Evening classes were offered for college credit, and the regular university faculty taught these classes as an overload. Because the classes were offered through the day colleges, the faculty attitude toward these early evening classes was generally favorable. Differences also existed in the evening student body, which usually consisted of working adults, but also began to include an overflow of traditional college students. Some institutions founded entire evening sessions that led to the possibility of a degree, but most required a year of full time residency or did not offer an entire program in the evening in these early days.

#### Development

Evening colleges became the norm by 1939. The structure, form, curriculum and faculty may have differed somewhat, but typically these "colleges" exercised administrative control over the evening classes, but may or may not have had a separate faculty. There was a person who was designated as the director or dean. Most evening colleges in 1939 were still duplicating at night the day curriculum, but a shift toward an adult education model was evident at some institutions. In the process of moving from a model which offered assorted, but not sequenced, evening classes to a degree-granting evening college, institutions followed some general patterns. These patterns are discussed below.

Only seven of the fifty-five largest evening colleges had been established by 1900. Between 1900 and 1929, forty-one more were established and the balance came after 1929.<sup>42</sup> Clearly, these numbers identify the time prior to 1929 as an important period of growth and development for evening colleges.

### Theories of Development

Carey hypothesized that the development of the evening college could be traced through an unplanned but predictable life cycle consisting of three major phases:

- (1) formal control by the day department with a part-time director
- (2) emergence of the "promoter" or "coordinator" type, usually called a director
- (3) appointment of an adult education "dean."<sup>43</sup>

He studied the process of institutionalization of evening classes beginning with their status as a "weak service agency" to divisional status. He applied his hypothesis to ten institutions and reported on the developmental stage of each program.

Two other histories of the evening college development are based on fictitious institutions. Cyril Houle's New Francisco University evolved in the following manner. No

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<sup>42</sup>Dyer, 38.

<sup>43</sup>James T. Carey, "The Development of the University Evening School in Urban America: An Aspect of Institutionalization in Higher Education." (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1958).

one is quite sure when the evening college was founded, but classes were offered at a building located downtown. The first classes offered were for teachers. Classes in engineering began just before World War I and classes in business administration in the 1920s. Social service classes appeared during the Depression. In 1931, these activities were consolidated under a part-time director who later became the dean. New Francisco State's evening college grew, it made money, and the faculty questioned its standards.<sup>44</sup>

Ernest McMahon presented the founding, growth, and present situation of Composite University, "a hypothetical institution whose history reflects the happenings in many real institutions."<sup>45</sup> In the beginning, evening classes were given by the faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences for local school teachers. The Department of Economics became interested in offering classes for young businessmen. Initially the classes were identical with those of the "regular" students, but others were created to meet professional needs. The courses carried college credit for students who wished to apply for it and who could meet the matriculation requirements. However, degrees could be earned only with a year of full-time resident study.

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<sup>44</sup>Cyril O. Houle, "The Evening College" The Journal of Higher Education, XXV, No. 7, 1954, 362-373.

<sup>45</sup>McMahon (1960), 5-27.

Consequently, the credit did not have much value since few students were ever able to take off from their employment for a year of study. Courses were taught by members of the regular faculty as an overload. As new courses not offered in the day program were offered, the number of part-time faculty increased. As the evening college grew, the director became known as the dean of the evening college. However, the whole matter of evening college jurisdiction remained in a state of uneasy quiet and ambiguity.

Houle and McMahon's composite technique obscured the subtle differences that may have existed due to varying institutional types, leadership, or location. What is clear is that there was a movement toward the institutionalization of evening classes. The movement was not without its issues, concerns about quality, power struggles, internal and external disagreements.

### Seeking Identity and Acceptance

The years 1915 to the late 1920s were ones in which the undergraduate evening classes for credit in most urban universities were struggling for identity. The term "extension" was still used, but newer terms such as evening school, evening session, or university college were coming into use. By the mid 1920s, the term "extension" was rarely used to refer to evening classes.

. . . most urban universities do not use the expression "extension work." We rather use the expression "evening sessions." The general tendency in the country is to duplicate at night the courses which are

offered by day in the undergraduate college and in certain professional schools. Naturally enough, extension courses with or without credit and of a more popular or diluted variety have their place, but the great movement today is not for the university extension in the cities, but for duplication in an evening session, so far as possible, of all the advantages which are open in the day sessions.<sup>46</sup>

The recognition of the needs of urban universities led to the formation in November, 1914, of the Association of Urban Universities whose membership included municipal, state, and privately controlled institutions. As the years passed, more and more of the delegates attending the annual meeting tended to be evening deans of the member schools. The Association served as a forum for evening colleges whose services were not likely to qualify them for admission to the National University Extension Association (founded in 1915). The fifteen charter members of the Association of Urban Universities were Boston University, The College of the City of New York, Hunter College of the City of New York, Johns Hopkins University, Municipal University of Akron, Northwestern University, Reed College, Temple University, Toledo University, University of Buffalo, University of Cincinnati, University of Louisville, University of Pennsylvania, University of Pittsburgh, and

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<sup>46</sup>In a letter dated May 28, 1925 by the Dean of the School of Business and Civic Administration and Director of the Evening Session at the City College of New York, Frederick B. Robinson, quoted in Alfred Lawrence Hall-Quest, The University Afield (New York: MacMillan and Company, 1926), 190.



Washington University.<sup>47</sup> Conspicuous in their absence were the denominational, particularly Catholic, colleges and universities. By 1920, there were still no denominational colleges listed as members of the Association of Urban Universities although many of them were urban (particularly the Jesuit institutions) and had already initiated evening programs and had needs similar to other, nondenominational urban institutions.

The Association of Urban Universities became the national forum where directors of evening sessions and faculty who found themselves administratively responsible for evening classes discussed the major issues, worked toward common definitions and goals, and tried to instill a professionalism in their endeavors.

In 1919, at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Association of Urban Universities held in Boston, two sessions dealt with the topic "Evening Education in Centers of Large Population" and one session discussed whether evening classes were worthwhile. Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, Director of The Evening Session of the College of the City of New York and Dean of the School of Business and Civic Administration, professed the philosophy that

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<sup>47</sup>Association of Urban Universities, Proceedings of the First Meeting Held in Washington, D.C. on 9 & 10 November, 1914 in United States Bureau of Education Bulletin (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1914) No. 38.

Evening work should be arranged in a large city so as to exclude no group which has a discernable, legitimate educational need. . . In every large city there should be provided opportunity to obtain standard education in all fields and at all levels of progress by night as well as by day.<sup>48</sup>

He cited the City College of New York and Hunter College as examples where a person working during the day could earn a complete academic education at night. Dr. George Wheeler, who was Associate Superintendent of Public Instruction in Philadelphia, stated that placing the topic of evening education on the program signified an important development in higher education. He cited Temple University as a pioneer in evening courses of collegiate rank. He closed with the statement that "Evening education has won a secure place by merit."<sup>49</sup>

Dr. Adolf Busse, Director of the Evening Session of Hunter College, "tested" the evening and day students on general intelligence and knowledge. He found

The result was a happy surprise. . . To be sure, the evening students did not surpass the day students in scholarship--that I presume no fairminded person will expect--but in all cases, they attained at least the same average.<sup>50</sup>

He believed his questionnaire brought out one fact -- that

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<sup>48</sup>Frederick B. Robinson, "Evening Education in Centers of Large Population" in The Summary of Proceedings of the Association of Urban Universities Held in Boston December, 1919, 27-33.

<sup>49</sup>George E. Wheeler, *ibid.*, 33-36.

<sup>50</sup>Adolf Busse, "Are Evening Classes Worth While?", *ibid.*, 36-43.

the whole matter of credits is not a vital factor in evening courses. Only a limited number of students are really working for credits toward a college degree. The others came with a great variety of purposes. He concluded by saying that he would welcome the establishment of certain standards with regard to course of study, number of hours allowed each student, admission requirements, types of teachers, etc. He believed that urban institutions had a responsibility to make evening courses worthwhile in every respect.

The Summary of Proceedings from the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Association of Urban Universities held in Philadelphia in 1920, included a lengthy discussion regarding evening education in which the following differences were brought out:

(1) Some businesses had initiated evening work at higher education institutions by guaranteeing coverage of any possible cost deficits.

(2) At some institutions, faculty were expected to work evenings as part of their regular load, at others, evening work was done for additional salary.

(3) In some institutions, evening classes were not offered for college credit and no entrance requirements were necessary. In other places, full collegiate standards were maintained and the courses duplicated those of the day session. Three institutions with this arrangement were

named: Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, City College of New York, and Columbia University.

(4) Institutions which gave courses for degrees also admitted mature people as non-matriculated students.

(5) There were still doubts about whether anyone could do justice to higher education course work with such limited time.<sup>51</sup>

The session which followed this discussion was an address by J. Elliott Gilpin, Professor of Chemistry, Johns Hopkins University. Professor Gilpin discussed the marked growth of the industrial life in Baltimore as an opportunity for Johns Hopkins to play its part in the community. To do this, it established evening classes for those who could not matriculate and take regular daytime classes for a degree. After five years, classes were added and enrollments increased considerably. Gilpin discussed the differences in teaching evening students and the vocational reasons why evening students took these classes.<sup>52</sup>

The controversy over whether students wanted and/or should be able to get a degree exclusively through evening classes and whether evening students were able to succeed academically was one which was discussed repeatedly, but not

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<sup>51</sup>The Summary of Proceedings of the Association of Urban Universities Held in Philadelphia December, 1920, 31-32.

<sup>52</sup>J. Elliott Gilpin, "Teaching Chemistry at Night," *Ibid.*, 32-35.

resolved. The "best" structure was also the subject of repeated discussion. Interest in teaching adults began to be expressed.

Parke Kolbe stated that, "We have found to our sorrow that a successful instructor in regular day classes is not necessarily successful in evening work. . .As a result, the evening college teacher who is merely a dry drillmaster is rarely successful."<sup>53</sup>

The evening colleges' search for an identity is one which would continue for many years. There was no one unifying philosophy which inextricably bound evening colleges together. Their existence was the result of a "silent revolution,"<sup>54</sup> -- an attempt to meet the needs of the thousands of students who kept appearing on their doorsteps.

#### Status of Evening Colleges in 1929

By 1929, controversial or not, sharing a common philosophy or not, evening colleges had become a part of higher education in urban institutions. New York City had the largest student body with Chicago a close second. Washington University in St. Louis organized its University College in 1931. It had been offering Saturday classes

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<sup>53</sup>Parke Kolbe, "Evening Courses in Public Urban Institutions," School and Society, Vol. XVII, No. 425, 17 February 1923, 174.

<sup>54</sup>Carey (1961), 31.

since 1908.<sup>55</sup> Boston University's evening program was sixteen years old and enrolled 3500 students. Brown University enrolled 1115 students in its evening program. The City College of New York led all other institutions with an evening student body of 13,448.<sup>56</sup> Hunter College enrolled 8000 evening students and Columbia University enrolled 9500. Fordham University offered its night classes in the Woolworth Building in downtown Manhattan. An interesting feature of this University's evening work was that it drew many of the city's policemen to its courses. The New York City evening population in general, however, averaged between twenty-five and thirty-five years of age and students included doctors, lawyers, clerks, housewives, and the policemen already mentioned.<sup>57</sup> This time of growth of evening classes/colleges paralleled growth of American higher education in general. The evening work at some universities was analogous to the "second shift" of a factory. The Municipal University of Akron used the evening session to alleviate the overcrowding in day classes. This issue would remain a viable concern for many years.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Keefer, 29.

<sup>56</sup>It is interesting to note that only one-third of these enrollments were women.

<sup>57</sup>"Going to College at Night," The Review of Reviews, 79, 90-91.

<sup>58</sup>Kolbe, 178; McMahon (1960), vi, believed that using the evening sessions to alleviate the overflow crowds from the day school threatened any attempt by evening colleges to

Issues Affecting the Development of Evening Colleges  
1929-1939

North Central Association. Many of the students enrolling in evening classes were there to complete a university education and desired to earn a degree. There was still much debate about the desirability of allowing students to pursue degrees exclusively through evening classes, despite the fact that many prestigious institutions already allowed it. In 1929, a committee of the North Central Association recommended

. . .that the acceptance of an institution as an accredited institution by this Association automatically accredits the work in its courses for college credit for part-time students on the same basis as in other divisions of the institution.<sup>59</sup>

This action raised so much objection and criticism that it was amended during discussion on the floor by adding the following, "provided that not more than thirty semester hours of extension work be credited toward a degree and that at least one year be spent in residence toward a degree."<sup>60</sup>

This amendment also caused considerable consternation and the matter was referred to the Committee on Revision of Standards for reconsideration. Thus began a rather heated national debate about just what courses constituted

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define themselves.

<sup>59</sup>R. A. Kent, A. Caswell Ellis, and George F. Zook, "Evening and Other Part-time Education," The North Central Association Quarterly, 1929-30, 242.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

residency. The amended recommendation was all but ignored after it became apparent that the North Central Association was experiencing its own difficulties with interpretation. George Zook, the chairman of the North Central committee, gave his own interpretation.

I need not tell you that it is not always easy to distinguish between resident and extension work. The North Central Association regards anything that is given on the campus whether day or evening as resident work. I would be inclined to say the same thing about anything that is done "across the street." If done downtown, it may be a different matter. In other words, the real test is whether substantially the same facilities are available as for so called resident work. Correspondence and work done in classes sufficiently distant from the campus as not to make substantially the same or equivalent facilities accessible should be regarded as extension work.<sup>61</sup>

Zook was associated with the University of Akron, a municipal university. His stand on the subject of whether evening classes constituted resident work was probably colored by this association. Had the stricter interpretation of resident work become the working definition, the history of evening classes might have taken quite a different turn.

The Depression. The rate of growth of evening colleges in that period that preceded the Depression slowed considerably between 1929 and 1939. The 1930s posed economic and educational challenges to higher education institutions. The evening colleges, however, had one distinct advantage.

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<sup>61</sup>Letter from George F. Zook, 22 November 1930, quoted in Rae Wahl Rohfeld, ed., 64.



Evening classes became a more feasible alternative for many who had suffered economic upheaval. This included students who could not afford to attend a residential college as well as unemployed workers. Some colleges, despite their own severe financial pressures, arranged for students to fund their evening education through creative means. At some institutions, like Northwestern University, evening enrollments actually grew during the Depression.<sup>62</sup> So did the enrollments at the City College of New York. They called the increase in students between 1929 and 1939 "nothing less than remarkable." Their evening session student population in 1940 was 14,282.<sup>63</sup> Their tuition-free status probably contributed to these huge enrollment increases. The University of Cincinnati had a decrease in evening enrollments in 1933 but then they steadily rose until they peaked in 1938.<sup>64</sup>

A number of universities established or reorganized their evening schools during this decade. John Carroll University in Cleveland organized its evening session in 1933. St. Louis University inaugurated its evening session in 1932 to meet the needs of social workers.<sup>65</sup> These

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<sup>62</sup>Harold F. Williamson and Payson S. Wild, Northwestern University: A History 1850-1975 (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1976), 188.

<sup>63</sup>Rudy, 459.

<sup>64</sup>McGrane, 287.

<sup>65</sup>Keefer, 36-37.

difficult economic times did not deter the evening school leaders from continuing their search for a common identity and professionalization.

Social and Economic Issues. American society experienced changes between 1929 and 1939. It became predominantly urban, rose in average age, became better educated, and dropped slightly the ratio of foreign born in it.

Urbanization and the subsequent rise of urban universities made higher education more accessible. The sheer numbers of people grew. The country, which had experienced prosperity after World War I, experienced unprecedented economic disaster during the ten years of the Great Depression.<sup>66</sup>

One fallout from the Depression was the desire on the part of many to acquire credentials to secure a safe future. The value of a higher education increased.<sup>67</sup> This is perhaps most eloquently stated by Levine

Education became the secular religion of twentieth-century American society. To progressives and their successors, institutions of higher education could train and socialize the expert leaders needed to guide society in such disparate fields as business, teaching, and government. . . In 1936, employing a common metaphor, Roscoe Pound, the law educator and social observer, commented that "in its hold upon popular faith and popular imagination, organized higher learning has the place in American society of today which organized religion had in the society of the Middle Ages." . . . The urban university was our largest cathedral: there Americans paid homage to the culture

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<sup>66</sup>Knowles (1960), 22.

<sup>67</sup>Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), 94.

of aspiration and prepared themselves to seize its opportunities.<sup>68</sup>

The opportunity to pursue one's higher education on a part-time basis, while employed, through evening classes played a large part in the economic advancement of many Americans.

Adult Education. In the late 1920s, another educational trend, like university extension, was transplanted to America from Europe. The phrase "adult education" was coined in early nineteenth century England.<sup>69</sup> The term "adult education" was practically unknown in America prior to 1924. Agencies occupied with the education of adults were unrelated and not bound together in any organized manner. In 1924, Frederick P. Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation, returned from a trip to Europe eager to plant in this country the seeds of the national integrated adult education movement he brought with him. A series of meetings with various leaders resulted in the founding in 1926 of the American Association for Adult Education. While the concept and purposes of adult education were broad, one phase of it was directly related to higher education.

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<sup>68</sup>David O. Levine, The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 87-88.

<sup>69</sup>For a detailed history of the birth of adult education in England and Wales see C. Hartley Grattan, In Quest of Knowledge (New York: Association Press, 1955), Part III.

This phase was the beginning of research on adult education and, ultimately, the development of adult education as an academic discipline. One particular research study which had far-reaching effects on the acceptance of adult education was Edward L. Thorndike's Adult Learning which was published in 1928. This study proved that an adult's ability to learn declined very little with age. This was, for its time, a startling discovery. It was commonly believed that formal education was the exclusive domain of youth. Further research began to recognize that adults differ from children in many ways as learners. Experiments with a differentiated curriculum and methodology followed.<sup>70</sup>

By 1936, forty-nine institutions of higher education offered courses in adult education.<sup>71</sup> Columbia University had offered courses for teachers in special areas of adult education as early as 1917. Its Teachers College created an academic department of adult education in 1930 and developed curricula for advanced degrees in this field within the next year. In 1931, Ohio State University became the second institution of higher education to create an academic department of adult education. The University of Chicago established its adult education department in 1935. The

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<sup>70</sup>Knowles (1960), 25.

<sup>71</sup>Dorothy Rowden, ed., Handbook of Adult Education in the United States (New York: American Book Co, 1936), 13.

department was created by Floyd W. Reeves who directed it until 1939. The next director was Cyril O. Houle who took over in 1939. Houle became the dean of the University of Chicago's University College in 1944.<sup>72</sup> As dean of University College, Houle attracted to his staff many bright young scholars who became leaders in the field of adult education.<sup>73</sup>

The development of adult education as a scholarly field professionalized the people who espoused it. Attempts to make this professionalization concrete began by applying its budding philosophy and theories to the units within higher education which served adult students --the evening colleges. This led to the beginnings of a conceptual shift in some evening colleges -- from an instrument offering degree programs to part-time working students to the broader design and manufacture of new ideas in non-credit adult offerings. This broader concept embraced lifelong learning, continuing education for personal development, self-fulfillment, and public responsibility.<sup>74</sup> In 1939, University College of Washington University in St. Louis

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<sup>72</sup>Rae Wahl Rohfeld, ed., Expanding Access to Knowledge: Continuing Higher Education (Washington, D.C.: National University Continuing Education Association, 1990), 106.

<sup>73</sup>Robert M. Roth, ed., A Conspectus to the Self-Study Project of University College The University of Chicago (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1964), iv.

<sup>74</sup>Rohfeld, 205.

organized an Adult Study Center in which courses were given for adults not interested in college credit. It also began publication of the Adult Education Bulletin. Brooklyn college offered credit evening courses since its founding in 1930, but added non-credit adult education courses soon thereafter.<sup>75</sup>

The similarities of "adult education" in a university setting to "university extension" are striking. Both reach out to a broad audience interested in learning. Both are vehicles of personal development more than vocational development. Both take the learning to the student and are concerned with the quality of the enterprise. It might seem as if, in adopting the adult education model, universities had returned to the philosophy of university extension but in a modern form.

The adult education movement and its eventual scholarly status appealed to many evening college leaders. The lack of a common definition for evening colleges, the confusion with regard to its structure within the organization, and its perceived marginality, made the shift to a broader, more autonomous unit attractive. In 1939, however, this shift preceded by many years, student demand as great as that for degree-related evening courses.

Association of University Evening Colleges. Gradually the evening deans came to dominate the Association of Urban

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<sup>75</sup>Keefe, 30 & 36.

Universities meetings, confounding those who wanted to abide by the original reason for the association -- consideration of the total urban university.

At a meeting of the Association of Urban Universities in New York in 1939, the leaders made it clear that they wanted the university presidents and not the evening college deans to represent each institution. The latter, not wishing to lose the benefits they reaped from meeting collectively, were inspired to form their own organization. It became known as the Association of University Evening Colleges (AUEC). The first president was Vincent H. Druifner of the University of Cincinnati.<sup>76</sup> There were thirty-three founding members.<sup>77</sup>

Dyer described the split as one that did not engender bitterness. Indeed, the two groups met concurrently for a number of years before drifting apart. The separation could be construed as a tacit recognition of the fact that evening education was attaining a personality of its own.<sup>78</sup> It is the establishment of this association which ended the first phase of evening college development.

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<sup>76</sup>Earl McGrath, Proceedings of the Association of University Evening Colleges, 1953, 21.

<sup>77</sup>Howell W. McGee to Roy J. Ingram, 16 April 1964, ACHE Archive, The George Arents Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University Library, Syracuse, New York.

<sup>78</sup>Dyer, 39.

## Conclusion

By 1939, what had begun as extension divisions, assorted classes with no particular scope or sequence, or academy-level evening classes, had formed itself into an evening college model. This evening college (which sometimes was not really a college at all) model dominated most urban institutions of higher education. Its purpose was primarily to offer part-time students the opportunity to earn a degree while working. Its structure consisted of a unit headed by a dean or director. It usually shared faculty with the other units of the university. The students came to enhance their professional lives. Many were teachers (although this population began to decrease as it increasingly required a degree for entrance), clerical workers, policemen, young businessmen, housewives, and social service workers. Most were first generation college attenders. The courses were offered in the heart of the urban area. If the institution proper was not located there, it would either establish a second campus or rent suitable space.

The evening college model was the product of student demand. Increased economic security was perceived to be a result of higher education. Additionally, higher education was also seen as a means for upward mobility. These reasons joined together to create the demand for evening education and the institutions responded.



While evening higher education was on its way to becoming institutionalized by 1939, it had not gotten to that point without some battles. Many educators did not believe that a higher education could be attained in this manner. They believed that some residency requirement must be met.<sup>79</sup> Others did not believe that quality could be maintained -- students and teachers would be too tired at the end of a working day to be able to benefit fully.

Despite the controversies, evening school leaders attempted to formulate some semblance of common structure, shared successes and failures, and worked toward professionalization of their field. Some continued to embrace the "duplication of university offerings at night" ideology as the "best" model of evening education. Others began to expand their mission to include all forms of higher education for adults. Some did both.

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<sup>79</sup>Confusion over terminology exacerbated this problem. Some evening colleges still used "extension" to refer to evening classes and some used it to refer to off-campus lecture series. This caused some to erroneously view the terms as synonymous.

## CHAPTER 2

### HIGHER EDUCATION IN CHICAGO

#### Background

The nineteenth century brought about a number of innovations in higher education that changed the institutional pattern inherited from the colonial colleges. These innovations brought about the multiplication and variation of the types of colleges, and stimulated the emergence of the university as the dominant structure of American higher education.<sup>1</sup> The "new types" of colleges that appeared during the nineteenth century, according to Brubaker and Rudy, included technical institutes, land-grant colleges, women's colleges, and denominational colleges.

The Chicago metropolitan area generally reflected the national scene in terms of the number and variety of colleges. One major and very startling exception, however, was that there were no public institutions of higher education, either of the land grant or municipal type.

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<sup>1</sup>For a complete discussion of the pattern of growth and variation of colleges, see John S. Brubaker and Willis Rudy's Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976 (Harper & Row, 1976), pp. 59-83. Laurence R. Veysey's The Emergence of the American University (The University of Chicago Press, 1965) is the seminal work on the forces behind the development of the American University.

Founded as technical institutes in 1892 and 1896 respectively, were the Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute. Chicago's women's colleges were predominately Roman Catholic because of an historical opposition to coeducation in Catholic educational circles, and because of Chicago's large and upwardly mobile Catholic population. These Catholic women's colleges included Barat College, established as Barat College of the Sacred Heart, which first offered postsecondary work in 1858 and then a baccalaureate starting in 1918; Mallinckrodt College of the North Shore which was founded as a junior college for the teaching sisterhood in 1918; Mundelein College which was established in 1929; Rosary College, chartered as St. Clara Academy (a secondary school) in 1848, became St. Clara College in 1901, but did not award the baccalaureate until 1923; and Saint Xavier College, founded as Saint Francis Academy for Females in 1847, which offered its first postsecondary instruction in 1901, and its first baccalaureate in 1912.<sup>2</sup> The denominational colleges also

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<sup>2</sup>More detailed histories of all these Chicago institutions can be found in the American Council of Education's American Universities and Colleges, 13th Ed. (New York: W. deGruyter, 1987). Historical information regarding Catholic education and Catholic education for women can be found in James W. Sanders, The Education of an Urban Minority: Catholics in Chicago, 1933-1965 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); Robert Hassenger, ed., The Shape of Catholic Higher Education (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967); Harry C. Koenig, Caritas Christi Urget Nos: A History of the Offices, Agencies, and Institutions of the Archdiocese of Chicago, vol. 1 (Chicago: Catholic Bishop of Chicago, 1981); Helen M. Larkin,

had substantial Catholic representation as evidenced by the presence of DePaul University (formerly St. Vincent's College), Illinois Benedictine College (formerly St. Procopius College), and Loyola University (formerly St. Ignatius College). In addition to the Catholic institutions, there were also Concordia Teachers' College (Lutheran), Lake Forest College (Presbyterian), North Park College and Theological Seminary (Evangelical Covenant Church of America), North Central College (Methodist), and Olivet Nazarene College (Church of the Nazarene). Northwestern University was originally established in 1850 under Methodist auspices as a small traditional liberal arts college. By 1892, Northwestern was on its way to expanding and adapting itself to fit the emerging new university mould.

Chicago also possessed a number of specialized higher educational institutions. Among them were The School of the Art Institute which first offered postsecondary work in 1866 and awarded its first baccalaureate in 1925; Columbia College of Oratory which offered postsecondary work in 1907 and awarded its first baccalaureate in 1911; the American Conservatory of Music which was founded in 1886; VanderCook College of Music which was founded in 1909 as the VanderCook

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"Catholic Education in Illinois," Illinois Catholic Historical Review, vol. iv, no. 4 (April 1922): 339-54; and Eileen Mary Brewer, Nuns and the Education of American Catholic Women, 1860-1920 (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1987).

Cornet School; the Chicago Normal School which was founded in 1867 as Cook County Normal School and awarded its first baccalaureate in 1939; National Louis University which was established as Chicago Training School first offered postsecondary instruction in 1886, became National Kindergarten College in 1912, became a four-year institution called National College of Education in 1930 and awarded the first baccalaureate in 1932.

The University of Chicago was created by William Rainey Harper in 1892. Harper desired it to be an American university of the highest order from its inception and worked diligently toward that end.

It was not always easy to distinguish the level of instruction offered in these institutions. President William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago estimated in 1900 that approximately one quarter of these institutions were really offering secondary education equivalent to that of an academy or high school.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Institutions in this Study

Brief histories of the six institutions of higher education in Chicago destined to become the largest and most influential in evening higher education as well as more traditional higher education are given below. Two of the

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<sup>3</sup>William R. Harper, The Trend in Higher Education (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905), 377. Sanders (p.162) described the Catholic girls' academies as finishing schools "for a selected few under the watchful eye of solicitous sisters."

institutions, the University of Chicago and Northwestern University, became nationally known universities of first rank. Two others, Loyola University and DePaul University, began as small, Catholic mens' colleges which, by 1939, still served a very local need. The last two, Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute, while secular, were also local institutions which were virtually unknown outside of Chicago. Each of these institutions enjoyed unique beginnings and development. Each sought to carve its singular niche in the higher education community in Chicago.

#### The University of Chicago

It was the University of Chicago, founded with John D. Rockefeller's money and William Rainey Harper's vision, that entered the educational world in 1892 as an outright university rather than as a college destined to mature into university status. There was another institution called the University of Chicago which preceded Harper's University.<sup>4</sup> It was founded in 1857, began as a preparatory school and soon thereafter became a college. It was a Baptist institution, but it was not purely denominational in its governance or financing. Instruction stopped in 1886 because of failure to meet its financial obligations. This

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<sup>4</sup>For a complete history of the founding and early years of the University of Chicago see Richard J. Storr, Harper's University (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966) and Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed, A History of the University of Chicago: The First Quarter Century (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1916).

failure could have permanently defeated the educational interests of the Baptists in Chicago, but instead it made them vow to never make that mistake again.

John D. Rockefeller pledged \$600,000 for the endowment of a Baptist college in Chicago, provided an additional \$400,000 could be raised elsewhere for land and buildings. The Baptist Educational Society had one year to meet the terms of the pledge. They were able to do so by extending their hands beyond the Baptist community to the larger (and wealthier) community of Chicago businessmen. Many of these men were selected to serve on the Board of Trustees, reinforcing the shift from clergyman to businessman in the governance of higher education.<sup>5</sup> As a member of this Board, William Rainey Harper's influence on the character of the institution was limited. However, the Board created a committee of which Harper became a member, to organize the work of the University of Chicago. This committee was also charged with finding a man to lead the new institution. William Rainey Harper, who was the only academic on the Board, was the obvious choice. Harper was considered an academic "whiz kid," having received his Ph.D. from Yale at age nineteen. He taught at various academies and at

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<sup>5</sup>Despite the shift away from clergy on the board, the University of Chicago Board consisted of thirty trustees, three-fifths of whom were required to be members of a Christian church and, of this three-fifths, a majority, or ten, were to be Baptist. Clarence Stephen Marsh, ed., American Universities and Colleges, 3d ed., (Washington: American Council on Education, 1936), 284.

Chautauqua before becoming a professor of Semitic languages at Yale in 1886. He was thought of as highly creative and energetic, offering in addition to his regular classes, summer school, correspondence courses, and public lectures. Harper began to advocate the formation of a university "in the highest sense" rather than a college. This would allow him to continue his theological studies (which he considered his life work) as well as embark on a new role as administrator. Harper expressed his doubts that this dual role could be accomplished. As one incentive, Rockefeller pledged another million dollars to support graduate and theological studies with \$800,000 specified for graduate work. Harper had still not decided to accept the presidency when he wrote the first "official bulletin" which announced the proposed organization of the new University. Much of the attraction of the presidency of the University of Chicago for Harper came from the opportunity to create the new institution. In the Official Bulletin No. 1, Harper arranged the work of the university under three general divisions: the University Proper, the University Extension, and the University Publication Work. The University Proper was to include academies, colleges (liberal arts, sciences, literature, practical arts), affiliated colleges, and schools (graduate, divinity, law, medicine, engineering, pedagogy, fine arts, music). The University Extension was to include courses of lectures, evening, correspondence, and



special courses, and library extension work. The University Publication Work would assure that "the usefulness of the University would be immensely enlarged and carried to the ends of the earth."<sup>6</sup> Storr asserted "that tripartite design for a University plainly bore the personal stamp of a teaching investigator, an educator of the public at large, and a writing editor."<sup>7</sup> Harper shortly thereafter added a fourth and fifth component to his plan -- the University Libraries, Laboratories, and Museums; and University Affiliations (both of these divisions were more commonly associated with universities and less revolutionary for their time than his first three components). Affiliation with the smaller secondary and higher education institutions of the Middle West was conceived as a means to assist these smaller institutions in raising their standards and strengthening their programs and thus to more thoroughly prepare these students for eventual University work.<sup>8</sup>

Harper organized the academic year into four quarters beginning in October, January, April, and July, separated by a one week break. Each quarter was divided into two equal six week "terms." This organization would allow a student to concentrate in depth on a subject during a term. The faculty were organized into eleven classes: scholar,

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<sup>6</sup>Goodspeed, 137.

<sup>7</sup>Storr, 61.

<sup>8</sup>Goodspeed, 136; Storr, 213.

fellow, lecturer, reader, docent, tutor, instructor, assistant professor, associate professor, professor, and head professor. Harper used his considerable powers of persuasion, as well as somewhat inflated salaries for head professors, to attract a first-class faculty from across the country. There were nine women in the first faculty which contained 147 members (seventy-seven members of the rank of instructor and above).<sup>9</sup> Harper never communicated the religious affiliations of the faculty to the Board when making his recommendations for appointment. No religious test or profession was required as a requisite to a professorship or for admission to the university.<sup>10</sup> While Harper claimed that he was not aware that a religious census of the faculty had ever been taken, just such a census had been sent to Mrs. J. D. Rockefeller in 1892.<sup>11</sup>

The first year's student body consisted of approximately 750 students. Goodspeed claimed that these students represented thirty-three states and fifteen foreign countries. And while this is most certainly true, Storr

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<sup>9</sup>Goodspeed, 214 and Storr, 76.

<sup>10</sup>The charter of the University of Chicago, incorporated September 10, 1890.

<sup>11</sup>"There were forty-four Baptists, twenty-four Congregationalists, ten Presbyterians, seven Lutherans, seven Unitarians, six Episcopalians, three Methodists, two Jews, two "Japanese," and one Campbellite; twelve men were delicately listed as "unascertained." Note the absence of Roman Catholics." Quoted in Laurence Veysey, The Emergence of the American University (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 373.

clarifies the perception by stating that almost three-quarters of the students came from homes in Chicago and the Midwest. More than one-quarter were women, giving co-education (despite Harper's personal objection to it) a firm foothold in the new institution. The religious affiliation of the students was not asked. However, in a 1903 informal survey of 119 students, approximately seventy percent were Protestant, 8.5 percent were Jewish, and seven percent were Roman Catholic (the remainder representing other denominations or independents).<sup>12</sup>

The first student body was not actively recruited and yet, if it were not for the requirement of a rigorous entrance examination, the new university could have enrolled more students than it could accommodate. The new University divided its undergraduates into three categories--two formal and one informal. Students in their freshman and sophomore years were enrolled in the Junior Colleges,<sup>13</sup> students in their junior and senior years were enrolled in the Senior Colleges, and nonmatriculated or "unclassified" students

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<sup>12</sup>Goodspeed, p. 190 and Storr, p. 109-110.

<sup>13</sup>Harper tried for years to remove the work of the Junior Colleges to affiliated colleges or to the high schools, maintaining that the real work of a university took place in the upper division (or Senior Colleges) and graduate study. The professors never did fully embrace this scheme of Harper's. "The high schools should become the colleges of the future. I believe this is their destiny". William Rainey Harper to Lyman H. Ford, 5 February 1897, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

constituted the last undergraduate category. Torn between the conflicting desires of wanting to allow all earnest and mature learners to drink from the fountain of knowledge and wanting to define and control what constitutes a serious course of study, the university continually tried to reconcile the ambiguous presence of the unclassified student. Between 1892 and 1898, the percent of unclassified students in the undergraduate student body ranged from a low of seventeen percent in Spring, 1897 to a high of sixty-five percent in Summer, 1895.<sup>14</sup> The higher percentages during the summer quarters were attributed to the large number of Chicago public school teachers desiring to earn salary increases and promotions by strengthening their academic credentials.

Harper wanted his institution to be a University in the purest sense -- to make the work of investigation primary. The original Graduate Division (part of the University Proper) was soon divided into two -- the Graduate School of Arts and Literature and the Ogden Graduate School of Science. Founding a research institution in Chicago was, for scholars in the more established Eastern universities, akin to "putting it in the Fiji Islands." The students did come, however, attracted by the new laboratories, the new buildings, the new departments, the eminent scholars on the

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<sup>14</sup>W. D. McClintock, "The Unclassified Students," President's Report, 1897-984, p. 100.

faculty, and the great number of advanced courses. By 1905-06, the Graduate Schools enrolled 1120 students (these figures do not include students in the Divinity Schools or Law School).<sup>15</sup>

Harper's educational plan was as daring as it was unique and, under his tireless leadership, it was taking shape. Unfortunately, at age fifty, after only fifteen years as president of the new University of Chicago, Harper died on January 10, 1906. Harry Pratt Judson, who had been with the University since its founding, serving as Dean of Faculties and Acting President, was made President in February, 1907.

Judson set about placing the new University on firmer financial footing. He eliminated the annual operating deficit within four years and in so doing, assured the perpetuation of Harper's accomplishment. In order to do this, however, some of Harper's experiments were sacrificed. These included the lecture-study department of Extension, the preparatory work at Morgan Park Academy and the collegiate affiliation work. Under Judson's administration, the University continued to grow. The student enrollments continued to rise impressively, new academic departments were organized, new buildings were built, investigation continued to be stressed, and the University's financial position strengthened. Judson was president for sixteen

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<sup>15</sup>Goodspeed, 371-72.

years, until 1923.<sup>16</sup>

For the next six years, the University of Chicago was administered by a series of three short-term presidents. Ernest DeWitt Burton served from July, 1923 to May, 1925. Max Mason served from October, 1925 to June, 1928. Frederic C. Woodward served as acting president from July, 1928 to May, 1929. On July 1, 1929, Robert Maynard Hutchins, who would serve as president for the next twenty-two years, was elected.<sup>17</sup>

Hutchins, like Harper, was considered a boy wonder. He was thirty years old at the time of his election as president of the University of Chicago. This made him the world's youngest head of a major educational institution.<sup>18</sup> He, too, had been educated at Yale, receiving his Bachelor of Arts in 1921 and his Bachelor of Law in 1925. He became Dean of the Yale Law School in 1928.<sup>19</sup> He believed that lawyers would be more properly prepared if their education concentrated on the "philosophic roots of jurisprudence and the social responsibilities of law" rather than on the rules themselves and clever manipulations of them. He brought

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<sup>16</sup>Storr, 370. University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>"Robbing the Cradle for A University 'Prexy'." Literary Digest, 101: 44, May 18, 1929.

<sup>19</sup> Gerald L. Gutek, Philosophical Alternatives in Education (Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1974), 77.

this educational philosophy, which concerned itself with cultivating a person's rational powers, with him to the University of Chicago. To Hutchins, education was universal and timeless. He believed in the primacy of ideas over facts, of rationality over emotion. He rejected the materialism of American society and the specialization and vocationalization of its schools. He was outspoken and self assured. He looked to his presidency at the University of Chicago as a means to set higher education in America straight.<sup>20</sup>

Two concrete, albeit controversial, results of Hutchins' presidency were the abolition of football<sup>21</sup> and the development of the Chicago Plan. The Chicago Plan organized the work of the University in Arts, Literature,

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<sup>20</sup>Biographical information about Robert Maynard Hutchins can be found in: Harry S. Ashmore, Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins (Waltham, MA: Little Brown, 1989); Ron Grossman, "Aristotle of Academe," Chicago Tribune, 17 November 1989, sec. 5, p. 1 and 4. Information about his educational philosophy can be found in Allen C. Ornstein and Daniel U. Levine, Foundations of Education, Fourth Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989), 149-50 and 209-13; Robert Maynard Hutchins, The Higher Learning in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936); Robert Maynard Hutchins, Education for Freedom (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943).

<sup>21</sup>Given the magnitude of the team's losses, some have called this action a mercy killing. Hutchins believed that, "By getting rid of football, by presenting the spectacle of a university that can be great without football, the University of Chicago may perform a signal service to higher education throughout the land". Robert Maynard Hutchins, speech given at Undergraduate Assembly, 12 January 1940 quoted in William Michael Murphy and D. J. R. Bruckner, The Idea of the University of Chicago (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 224.

and Science into five divisions -- the College (a lower division for the junior college program), and the four upper divisions of Biological Sciences, Humanities, Physical Sciences, and Social Sciences. The College, while maintaining a separate administration, was closely knit to the upper divisions. The title of Associate of Arts would be awarded to any student who passed the seven comprehensive examinations<sup>22</sup> designed to test general education. Course credits and marks were abolished. While the courses prepared the students to pass the comprehensive examinations, they could be taken by any student regardless of how many courses had been pursued or his length of time in residence. The receipt of the title of Associate of Arts confirmed the student's general education. If the student had shown himself qualified for work of an advanced nature, he could proceed into one of the Divisions and begin specialization.

The Chicago Plan was inaugurated in Fall, 1931. The Plan ran against the fixed patterns of American higher education, and against the interests and convictions of many of Hutchins' faculty. But during his tenure, Hutchins

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<sup>22</sup>Five of the seven comprehensive examinations were required of all students and were in the following fields: English composition, the biological sciences, the humanities, the physical sciences, and the social sciences. The two additional examinations were elective. An extensive description of The Plan can be found in Chauncey Samuel Boucher, The Chicago College Plan (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935).



succeeded in having it his way. It was another chapter in the history of the University's uniqueness.

Through all of its development, growth, and experimentation, however, the University of Chicago never lost sight of its primary mission as a university -- a place of research and original investigation. This is what singles it out in the history of the other higher education institutions in Chicago. The other major institutions may presently enjoy university status, but they did not begin that way.

#### Northwestern University

On May 31, 1850, a group of Methodist businessmen initiated the founding of a university for the Methodist youth of the Northwest.<sup>23</sup> On January 28, 1851, Northwestern University was legally incorporated. The charter made provision for 24 of the 36 trustees to be Methodist, but no particular religious faith was required for the students or the faculty.

The next task was to raise the funds necessary to

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<sup>23</sup>The university was named after the geographical area it planned to serve -- the Northwest Territory created by Congress in 1787. The most complete history of Northwestern University is Harold F. Williamson and Payson S. Wild, Northwestern University: A History 1850-1975 (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 1976). Other, less scholarly histories include Estelle Frances Ward, The Story of Northwestern University (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1924); Arthur Herbert Wilde, ed. History of Northwestern University, 4 vols. (New York: University Publishing Society, 1905); Grace Hoadley, "Significant Chapters in the History of Northwestern University, 1905-1923" (M.A. thesis, Northwestern University, 1923).

purchase land and build the college. One way this was done was to offer, for \$100, a perpetual scholarship which would entitle three generations to free tuition. The land purchased on the lake was relatively distant, considering the north edge of Chicago at that time was Fullerton Avenue, but it was in proximity to a proposed line of the Chicago-Milwaukee Railroad.

The academic plans were next. Northwestern was designed to be a university -- in the sense of what defined a university at this point in time.<sup>24</sup> However, the medical school and law school were deferred until a later date and the emphasis was placed on organizing the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts. A frame building was erected in July, 1855 as the first structure. The University officially opened on November 5, 1855 with ten students and two faculty members. After the death of Northwestern's first president, Clark T. Hinman, in 1854, the Board of Trustees virtually ran the institution themselves for the next fourteen years. Financial problems continued to plague the new university. A preparatory school was added in 1859 to supply qualified applicants for the college. In March, 1870, the Chicago Medical College affiliated with Northwestern. In 1873, the "old" University

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<sup>24</sup>The addition of a medical school and/or a law school to the arts and sciences college constituted a university in the 1850s. It was not until later in the nineteenth century that original research and graduate divisions came to redefine the institution.

of Chicago and Northwestern reached an agreement for joint support of the Union College of Law. An undergraduate college of Technology was founded in 1873 to allow students training in applied sciences and engineering (this venture failed by 1876 because of Northwestern's inability to finance the necessary laboratories and equipment). In 1874, with the affiliation with the Evanston College for Ladies, the forerunner of the School of Music became part of Northwestern.

The founders had probably not intended for Northwestern to be coeducational; however, by June, 1869, they voted to admit young women on the same terms as the men. This was precipitated by the impending opening of the Evanston College for Ladies and the advocacy for coeducation of Northwestern's incoming president, Erastus O. Haven. Before the Evanston College for Ladies opened, it proposed a merger with Northwestern which was effected in 1870.

The depression of the 1870s and the increasing competition for the small number of qualified students, made the growth and development of Northwestern difficult at best during this time. By the late 1880s, however, the economy had recovered and the university had launched a successful campaign to attract more students. By 1889, there were 492 students in the college and 590 in the preparatory school. In 1886, the Illinois College of Pharmacy became a department of Northwestern. In 1887, a

Dental College was added.

Upon the death of Northwestern University president Joseph Cummings in 1890, the trustees looked to hiring an executive rather than a philosopher-minister. Influenced by Cummings himself, the fledgling "new" University of Chicago with its dynamic president, and the growing national trend away from the traditional paternalistic presidential role, the board appointed Henry Wade Rogers. Rogers had experience as the dean of the University of Michigan Law School which he was credited with building into the largest in the country. Rogers was president of Northwestern until 1900. During his tenure he worked toward making Northwestern a university of first rank. The enrollment in the college grew from 383 to 763 and the enrollment in the professional schools from 688 to 1434. Construction of the Orrington Lunt Library, the Medical and Pharmacy schools, Swift Hall, Fisk Hall, and the purchase of the Woman's Medical School facilities were accomplished during Rogers' ten year administration. Graduate studies matched those of universities of the highest grade and a doctoral program was initiated in 1891. Unfortunately, despite his apparent success, and to the surprise of many, Rogers resigned in 1900 due to unreconcilable differences with certain trustees.<sup>25</sup>

Rogers was succeeded by Acting President Daniel

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<sup>25</sup>Williamson and Wild, 97.

Bonbright who had previously served as the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. During Bonbright's two-year tenure as acting president (1900-1902), the University purchased a building downtown at Lake and Dearborn for use by the Schools of Pharmacy, Law, and Dentistry. Edmund Janes James was appointed president of Northwestern in 1902.

James had most recently been a faculty member at the University of Chicago. He had worked closely with William Rainey Harper and Henry Wade Rogers with the University Extension movement in Chicago and later was closely associated with Extension at the University of Chicago. James, like Harper and Rogers, made no small plans. He wanted to expand the curriculum in more professional and technical directions. He desired to expand the physical facilities considerably. He wanted to free the faculty's time by hiring clerks to handle bureaucratic details. He made several unsuccessful, but inspired fundraising attempts -- wooing Andrew Carnegie whom, he hoped to persuade to be Northwestern's Rockefeller, and reorganizing of alumni efforts. His vision, like that of Rogers, was larger than that of the Board. After two years he left Northwestern in 1904 to become the president of the University of Illinois.

Thomas Franklin Holgate, Dean of the Liberal Arts College, was selected president ad interim, a position which he held for two years from 1904 to 1906 while the Board

again searched for a president. They appointed Abram Winegardner Harris in 1906. Harris, an experienced administrator, worked well with the Board. As a result, he had their backing for most of his plans. During his administration a school of engineering was built, as well as a gymnasium, men's dormitories, and a classroom building. Additionally, the Graduate School and Library were reorganized, a summer session was instituted, and standards for the professional schools were strengthened. Professional education at Northwestern became associated with the Chicago Campus. A College of Commerce was established in 1908 under the direction of Dean Willard E. Hotchkiss. The College of Commerce which was strictly an evening school was immediately successful and self supporting.<sup>26</sup> Due to the success of the professional schools, a proposal to consolidate them in one Chicago location was presented in 1916. That same year, Harris left Northwestern to take a post with the Methodist Episcopal Board of Education. He had served Northwestern for ten years -- a Northwestern presidential tenure heretofore matched only by Henry Wade Rogers.

Thomas Franklin Holgate was reappointed interim president while the search began again. Holgate would serve

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<sup>26</sup>The history of the School of Commerce can be found in Michael W. Sedlak and Harold R. Williamson, The Evolution of Management Education: A History of the Northwestern University J. L. Kellogg Graduate School of Management 1908-1983 (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1983).

for three years in the position, 1916-1919. During these war years, the preparatory academy was closed and the School of Pharmacy moved to the University of Illinois. In 1919, the Board chose Lynn Harold Hough, a theology professor from Garrett Theological Seminary as the next president. Hough and the trustees organized a major fundraising campaign, the two major goals of which were to eliminate the operating deficit and purchase land for the Chicago campus. Hough resigned in 1920 after only one year in office citing health reasons.

Walter Dill Scott was Northwestern's tenth president. He was not only an alumnus, but had served as chairman of the Psychology Department since 1906 and professor of advertising in Northwestern's School of Commerce. Scott's scholarly interest was the application of psychology to the solution of business problems. His acceptance of the presidency would give him the opportunity to put his theories into practice. Scott's main plan for Northwestern focused on building the endowment. The resulting campaign was well organized. He made himself available day or evening to personally follow up on leads for major donations. Scott's presidency, which lasted nineteen years (until his retirement in 1939), saw contributions amounting to \$47,000,000, despite the Depression. In the sixty-nine years prior to that, contributions to Northwestern amounted to only \$6,800,000. Three new schools were added during

Scott's administration: the School of Journalism (1921), the School of Education (1926), and the University College (1934). The possibility of a merger with the University of Chicago (1933) came and went. The Chicago Campus was well built and well equipped, and the Evanston Campus enjoyed a new library (Deering Library) and Women's Quadrangles. Walter Dill Scott had succeeded in accomplishing for Northwestern what his predecessors had only dreamed of -- establishing Northwestern University as a modern university of first rank.

#### Loyola University

Roman Catholic higher education in the United States began with the founding of Georgetown College in 1789. By 1860, fourteen Catholic colleges were established; and by the turn of the twentieth century, sixty-three Catholic colleges were in operation.<sup>27</sup> These Catholic colleges were controlled by various Catholic religious orders, but particularly by the Jesuits.<sup>28</sup> Many of these colleges were placed in the cities where an ever-increasing Catholic,

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<sup>27</sup>Brubacher and Rudy, 72.

<sup>28</sup>The Jesuits were in charge of 13 of the 28 Catholic schools in operation in 1850; 19 of the 60 existing in 1866; and 26 of the 84 institutions for men in 1916. Quoted in Philip Gleason, "American Catholic Higher Education: A Historical Perspective," in Robert Hassenger (ed.) The Shape of Catholic Higher Education (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), 33.



immigrant population settled.<sup>29</sup> One such example was St. Ignatius College founded on Chicago's near west side next to Holy Family Church in 1870 by Fr. Arnold Damen, S.J. Fr. Damen served as the first president (he was also rector of the community) of the new college. The college was modeled on the European Jesuit schools and offered an academic (secondary) and well as collegiate curriculum (a slightly modified Ratio Studiorum) based on the Latin and Greek classics, plus science and mathematics, history, philosophy, religion, some modern languages, and English literature. Economic realities (as well as academic ones) expanded this curriculum to include a preparatory department and a commercial department. Only males were admitted.<sup>30</sup> St. Ignatius College opened its doors on September 5, 1870 with thirty-seven students. This number grew to ninety-eight by

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<sup>29</sup>More than one million Irish Catholics came to the United States between 1845 and 1855. Examples of the overwhelming negative regard of Protestants toward Roman Catholics and their colleges (particularly the Jesuits) is cited in Donald G. Tewksbury, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War With Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing Upon the College Movement (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), 74-75. One such example: ". . . [the Jesuits are attempting to use] the unobtrusive, unobserved power of the College, to subvert the principles of the Reformation, and to crush the spirit of liberty. There, Brethren, there our great battle with the Jesuit, on Western soil, is to be waged. We must build college against college. . . a Protestant College must annihilate the rival system of Jesuitical instruction".

<sup>30</sup>Rev. Msgr. Harry C. Koenig, S.T.D. (ed.), Caritas Christi Urget Nos: A History of the Offices, Agencies, and Institutions of the Archdiocese of Chicago, vol. 1 (Chicago: Catholic Bishop of Chicago, 1981), 382-83.

the end of the school year. None of these students, however, were ready for collegiate work. It was not until 1872 that the first collegians enrolled.<sup>31</sup>

Fr. Damen was president for two years, until 1872. Seven other Jesuit presidents served between 1872 and 1894.<sup>32</sup> The president was also the rector of the community and played a significant role in the administration of the institution. In 1894, the year prior to its twenty-fifth year, St. Ignatius College enrolled 101 collegiate students, 261 academic students, eighty-nine commercial students, and forty-three preparatory students. St. Ignatius offered Catholic higher education to the Catholic males of the Chicago area and prepared future priests for seminary study.<sup>33</sup> Despite its affiliation with a "minority" religion, it resembled the old-time classical college.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the demographics

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<sup>31</sup>Lester F. Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest, 1842-1980: A Comparative Case Study of the Effects of Strategic Policy Decisions upon the Mission of the University of Notre Dame, Loyola University of Chicago, and DePaul University," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1986), 190-91.

<sup>32</sup>These presidents were: Ferdinand Coosemanns, S.J. (1872-1874), John DeBlicck, S.J. (1874-1877), Thomas H. Miles, S.J. (1877-1880), Thomas O'Neill, S.J. (1880-1884), Joseph P. Zealand, S.J. (1884-1887), Edward A. Higgins, S.J. (1887-1891), and Thomas S. Fitzgerald, S.J. (1891-1894). "One Hundred Years of Knowledge in the Service of Man," (Chicago: Loyola University, 1970), 2-3.

<sup>33</sup>Goodchild, 191, 203-4.

of St. Ignatius' near west side Chicago neighborhood began to shift. The number of Catholic Irish and German Catholic immigrants who originally settled there dwindled as they moved elsewhere due to the influx of Russian Jews. The tremendous decrease in the Catholic population of the neighborhood caused financial problems for St. Ignatius College because much of its operating income came from the collections from Holy Family Church. Student enrollment was increasing. The Jesuits decided to purchase land in a more desirable part of the city and establish a new parish and campus. Considerable consternation on the part of St. Vincent's College (also on the north side) and Archbishop Patrick A. Feehan (who was rumored to favor St. Vincent's over St. Ignatius) kept the approval from becoming final until 1906. This approval was initiated by Feehan's successor, Archbishop James E. Quigley.<sup>34</sup> Although the twenty-five acres of land at Sheridan and Devon was purchased by St. Ignatius in late 1905 for the purpose of an institution which "may in time attain the dignity of a university,"<sup>35</sup> in order to placate the Vincentians, the Jesuits planned initially to use this property to build an academy to act as a feeder to the west side college. Fr. Henry J. Dumbach, S.J., St. Ignatius' eleventh president, was instrumental in laying this foundation for the expansion

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<sup>34</sup>Goodchild, 344-49.

<sup>35</sup>Sanders, 171.

of the college's influence. Unfortunately, his resignation in 1908 due to ill health, relegated his vision to his successor, Fr. Alexander Burrowes, S. J.<sup>36</sup>

Burrowes had served as president of Marquette University since 1899. He was instrumental in rechartering Marquette and affiliating it with a medical school in 1907. He planned to do the same for St. Ignatius:

It is our aim to eventually build up a university out of St. Ignatius College. Just how soon, we shall be able to attain that end I cannot say. We want to establish a medical school and a school of pharmacy, law and dentistry...I am firmly convinced that the field in Chicago for a Jesuit University of high rank is promising of good results.<sup>37</sup>

The establishment of a law department began as early as 1905 under Fr. Dumbach's administration when five Chicago lawyers announced that they wanted to organize one for St. Ignatius. The result, in 1908, became the Lincoln College of Law which was located in the Ashland Block in downtown Chicago. The school offered a four-year course in the evening.<sup>38</sup>

In 1909, the Illinois Medical College affiliated with the college. This same year, Burrowes received permission to proceed with the re-chartering of St. Ignatius College as

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<sup>36</sup>Goodchild, 349-50.

<sup>37</sup>Cited by Thomas Q. Beesley, "Loyola University," The St. Ignatius Collegian 9 (November 1909):3, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>38</sup>"One Hundred Years of Knowledge in the Service of Man," 14.

Loyola University. The State of Illinois approved the rechartering in November, 1909.<sup>39</sup> Several months later the Bennett Medical School (which had its own hospital) was also affiliated with the new university. Interestingly, this medical school was coeducational, and overwhelmingly non-catholic. This represents the beginning of what Goodchild has called an "embryonic ecumenism" and a move toward the Americanist spirit in education.<sup>40</sup> In 1917, a third medical school, The Chicago College of Medicine was affiliated.

In 1910, Loyola established a Department of Engineering (which was dissolved in 1920) and Department of Pharmacy (which was discontinued in 1915.)<sup>41</sup>

Another movement toward professionalism was Loyola's School of Sociology which was the creation of Fr. Frederic Siedenburg, S.J., a leading national figure in Catholic social welfare work. This School of Sociology, which developed from a lecture bureau which began in 1912, was the first school of social work in a Catholic university in America. The classes were held at the Ashland Block along

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<sup>39</sup>"Recreation was granted today in honor of the foundation of the new University -- Loyola University. The charter, etc. was adopted this week." Vice President's Diary, 29 November 1909, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>40</sup>Goodchild, 254, 372.

<sup>41</sup>"Historical Enrollment Survey," Loyola University Chicago, Office of Registration and Records.

with those of the Law School. The curriculum was a two-year upper division course leading to the Bachelor of Philosophy degree. It provided working men and women the opportunity to obtain a university degree.<sup>42</sup> This movement represented the first time women were allowed in undergraduate courses at Loyola. These classes were held in the Ashland Block rather than on either of the "regular" campuses. This is an early example of "coeducation" in undergraduate Catholic higher education -- comatriculation, never co-mingling.

While the professional school affiliations and development helped the overall enrollments of the institution, the liberal arts college enrollments were suffering due to the location of the College and the restrictive curriculum. By the fall of 1913, the first year of college was added at the north side campus where more than half of the freshmen enrolled. In 1922, with the addition of a new faculty building, the entire College moved to the Rogers Park campus.

The downtown campus operated out of rented rooms in the Ashland Block building located at Randolph and Clark Streets. The enrollments in the Schools of Law and Sociology were increasing. In 1919-20, when the College of Arts and Sciences enrolled 124 students, the School of

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<sup>42</sup>"One Hundred Years of Knowledge in the Service of Man," 17.

Sociology enrolled 1094 and the School of Law enrolled fifty-eight.<sup>43</sup> The Consultors authorized the renting of more offices for Law and Sociology to accommodate their growth.<sup>44</sup>

Fr. Siedenbug was also instrumental in the founding of the Home Study Division (1922), the School of Commerce (1924), and expanding the course offerings of the School of Sociology to include regular undergraduate classes for working, part-time students.<sup>45</sup> So successful were these endeavors that the University purchased a building at 28 North Franklin Street to use as its "Downtown College" in 1926.<sup>46</sup> The Chicago College of Dental Surgery was annexed in 1923. Most of this growth occurred under the administration of William H. Agnew, S.J., Loyola's president from 1921 to 1927. Under President Samuel K. Wilson, S.J.

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<sup>43</sup>"Enrollment of the Various Divisions of Loyola University from 1909 Until 1936."

<sup>44</sup>Consultors' Meeting Minutes 9 September 1891 to 1 July 1930, 22 December 1919, 185, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>45</sup>The addition of the School of Commerce to the downtown offerings was seen as "desirable and self-supporting." Consultors' Meeting Minutes 9 September 1891 to 1 July 1930, 5 May 1924, 208, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago. Also the demand for more evening courses was spurred by the increasing college requirements to enter the professions as well as the promotional and salary increase benefits afforded to teachers who pursued higher education.

<sup>46</sup>Consultors' Meeting Minutes 9 September 1891 to 1 July 1930, 10 September 1926, 227, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

(president from 1927 to 1933), a School of Nursing was established in 1935 with Sister Helen Jarrell, R.N. as the first dean.<sup>47</sup>

In early 1921, the College of Arts and Sciences and St. Ignatius High School were accredited by the North Central Association.<sup>48</sup> The stature conferred by this approval also necessitated adoption of its criteria for a modern university which had definite ramifications for faculty qualifications, endowment, and doctoral studies. During the previous two decades, Loyola had determined to become a university according to the traditional European model by annexing professional schools. The German research model of a university was embraced by the accrediting agencies. Loyola had to adopt "some aspects of this modern American university" to maintain university status and accreditation.<sup>49</sup> A Graduate School was begun in 1926 and the doctorate was initiated in 1927.

By 1939, Loyola University enrolled 4448 students in its professional schools (Law, Medicine, Dentistry, Nursing), its Downtown College (Arts and Sciences, Social Work, Commerce), its Graduate School, and its College of

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<sup>47</sup>"One Hundred Years of Knowledge in the Service of Man," 33.

<sup>48</sup>"This accrediting means a great deal to this school." Vice Presidents' Diaries, 17 March 1921, 302, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>49</sup>Goodchild, 410.



Arts and Sciences.<sup>50</sup> It was developing along the pattern of the American university model of melding teaching, research, and service. As a Catholic institution in a predominantly Protestant society, however, Loyola's mission also included a commitment to educating Catholic leaders, teachers, lawyers, physicians, and social workers in an atmosphere which embraced and enhanced their faith. To be called a Catholic university was seen as a contradiction in terms. . .one that had yet to be reconciled.

### DePaul University

DePaul University began its existence as St. Vincent's College in 1898 on the site (Webster Avenue and Osgood Street) where the priests of the Congregation of the Mission had founded their first church in Chicago in 1875.<sup>51</sup> An

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<sup>50</sup>"Historical Enrollment Survey," Loyola University Chicago, Office of Registration and Records.

<sup>51</sup>For detailed histories of the founding of St. Vincent's College, see Goodchild, The Mission of the Catholic University. . ., 208-233; Lester F. Goodchild, "The Americanist University: DePaul at the Turn of the Century," DePaul University Magazine (Summer 1987), 4-130; Harry C. Koenig, Caritas Christi, 369-372; Daniel J. McHugh, C.M. "The Background and First Year," The DePaul University News (June 1935): and 4-5; Patrick J. Mullins, C. M. "A History of the University," DePaul University Magazine (Winter, Spring 1976): 7-13. For histories which refer to specific units of DePaul, see Frances R. J. Gregalunas, "Progressive Education and the Evening College of Commerce," The DePaul University News, June 1935, 8-9; Harry D. Taft, "Twenty Years at DePaul," The DePaul University News, June 1935, 7 & 16; Lester F. Goodchild, "DePaul's School of Music," DePaul University Magazine, Summer 1987, 14-30; Lester F. Goodchild, "The College of Law's First Thirty Years," DePaul University Magazine, Winter 1987-88, 8-13; Lester F. Goodchild, "American Catholic Legal Education and the Founding of DePaul's College of Law," DePaul Law Review,

elementary school was opened there in 1883 which was directed by the Sisters of Christian Charity of the Blessed virgin Mary. The success of this school reflected the growing need for Catholic educational opportunities for the north side of Chicago where many Irish and German families settled. The pastor of St. Vincent DePaul Church, Thomas J. Smith, C.M. and Bishop Patrick A. Feehan discussed these educational needs, particularly for a secondary school and a college which would not only prepare Catholics for professions, but also for the priesthood. Smith added a third floor to the church to accommodate the new school. In June 1898, a charter for St. Vincent's College was granted.<sup>52</sup> In September, 1898, some seventy students (mostly high school and elementary school students) began classes taught by eight faculty -- two priests and six scholastics.<sup>53</sup> The lowest class was called "preparatory" and the next called "commercial" or "academic". The college-level students were enrolled in the "collegiate"

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Vol. 37, No. 3, 379-410; Daniel J. McHugh, "Glimpses Into the Early Days of DePaul's College of Law," DePaul Alumni News, 4, October 1947, 2; Lester F. Goodchild, "DePaul Means Business: From the Founding of the College of Commerce to the Present," DePaul Diamond Jubilee Publication, 1988, 6-16; Daniel J. McHugh, "Glimpses," n.d. typewritten sheet, McCabe Personnel File, DeAndreis Rosati Memorial Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, MO.

<sup>52</sup>Goodchild, "The Americanist University...", 6-7.

<sup>53</sup>Koenig, 371.

class.<sup>54</sup>

The college's first president, Peter V. Byrne, C.M., did not arrive until four months after the school term had started. He was a capable administrator and under his administration, St. Vincent's College grew to more than 200 students by 1903-04.<sup>55</sup> With the prospects for the future growth of the college apparently assured, Fr. Byrne began an ambitious building program in 1904. He erected the Administration Building and razed the old college building and replaced it with a more beautiful, more useful, and larger structure. Several unforeseen circumstances took place which challenged the new college. With the death of Feehan, his successor, Archbishop Quigley assumed control. Quigley made three decisions which acted to undermine St. Vincent's enrollment. He decided that all seminarians were to study under Jesuit auspices at St. Ignatius College. He established his own seminary at the cathedral. Lastly, he favored the Jesuits' move to a north side location. These actions caused St. Vincent's enrollments to plummet to 130 by spring of 1906.<sup>56</sup>

Catholic students were attracted to non-Catholic schools because of their professional programs. Clearly,

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<sup>54</sup>McHugh, 5. There were only two students in the collegiate level in the first class.

<sup>55</sup>Mullins, 9.

<sup>56</sup>Goodchild, "The Americanist University...", 8.

St. Vincent's competed for Catholic students with the University of Chicago and Northwestern University as much as with St. Ignatius College. Fr. Byrne concluded that the survival of St. Vincent's College was incumbent upon it becoming a modern Catholic University complete with professional programs and a modified elective undergraduate system to counter the Jesuit's inflexible Ratio Studiorum.<sup>57</sup>

Byrne soon added departments of mechanical, electrical, and civil engineering and pre-medical courses in science immediately with plans to ultimately add professional schools of oratory, music, pharmacy, and dentistry.<sup>58</sup>

St. Vincent's College was rechartered as DePaul University on December 24, 1907 by the State of Illinois. As testimony to Byrne's desire to make DePaul a modern university, he used the charter of the University of Chicago as his model for DePaul, substituting the "Catholic" for "Baptist," but leaving all else virtually the same.<sup>59</sup> Byrne had also desired that the name of this new university would be "The University of North Chicago." Thomas O.

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid, 9.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid, 9.

<sup>59</sup>This included the provision for educating persons of both sexes on equal terms, no test or particular religious profession required, and lay representation on the Board of Trustees. "The Charter of the University," The University of Chicago Official Bulletin No. 1, May 1892, 3-6; "Articles of Incorporation," DePaul University Manual of Organization, May 1967, 2-9.

Finney, C.M., the visitor (rector) of the province, and an advisor on the new corporate character of the institution, thought the university's name should be "suggestive of the fact that the institution is Catholic."<sup>60</sup> Justin A. Nuelle, C.M., the Prefect of Studies and also an advisor on the new corporate character of the institution, suggested it be called DePaul University.

Fr. Byrne delegated the revision of the collegiate curriculum to Fr. Nuelle. This modified elective system was to be patterned on the model at Harvard. Nuelle restructured the collegiate branch<sup>61</sup> of the new University into the College of Liberal Arts, the College of General Science, the College of Engineering, and the Medical Department. In this program of studies, Nuelle combined the classical emphasis on culture with the practical scientific and also gave students the freedom to elect courses. Religious studies on the collegiate level were not part of the formal curriculum, but relegated to one hour per week extra-curricular catechetical instruction for Catholic

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<sup>60</sup>Thomas O Finney, C.M. to Peter V. Byrne, C.M., 11 November 1907, Finney Papers, DePaul University Archives, Chicago, quoted in Goodchild, The Mission of the Catholic University. . ., 247.

<sup>61</sup>DePaul still operated The Academy, a boy's preparatory school, and the University School for Girls, "conducting for present a High School, and contemplating the early establishment of a College of Arts and Sciences." Bulletin of DePaul University, 1909-10, 12-13.

students only.<sup>62</sup>

Fr. Byrne had erected four buildings in succession with a cost of between \$400,000 and \$500,000. The financial panic of 1907 made financing impossible. Byrne went so far as to make a personal appeal for funds to Andrew Carnegie, who turned him down. Despite his attempts to establish his new university on solid ground, Byrne was frustrated by the lack of finances and resigned on May 1, 1909.<sup>63</sup>

Byrne was succeeded by John Martin, C.M., who was president from May 1, 1909 until August 1, 1910. Fr. Martin planned to expand the engineering department and open a medical school. The trustees, still alarmed about the institution's financial condition, did not want to embrace such expensive academic programs and refused to let Martin proceed. He was transferred shortly to a smaller Vincentian college.<sup>64</sup>

DePaul's third president was Francis X. McCabe, C.M. who came to DePaul in July, 1910. The survival of the new institution was dependent on placing it in better financial condition. McCabe did so by curbing costly programs like medicine and engineering and diverting funds into more cost

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<sup>62</sup>Goodchild, "An Americanist University. . .", 10-11; Goodchild, The Mission of the Catholic University. . ., 253-7; Justin A. Nuelle, C.M., "Excerpts from the Report of the Director of Studies," DePaul University Bulletin, Series III, No. 3, 1909-10, 1.

<sup>63</sup>Koenig, 372-3.

<sup>64</sup>Goodchild, "An Americanist University. . .", 12.

effective programs.<sup>65</sup> In 1911, at the request of Archbishop Quigley who, in turn, was responding to the appeal of Catholic women, McCabe opened DePaul's Summer School to women. This summer school was attended by about one hundred sisters and lay teachers.<sup>66</sup> The success of this venture led to the "Extension Courses" for the following Autumn term which had the approval of the superintendent of the city schools for promotional credit.<sup>67</sup> The announcement for the 1911 summer session said

The Charter of De Paul University, which bears the seal of the State of Illinois under date of December 24th, 1907, gives the right "to provide, impart and furnish opportunities for all departments of higher education to persons of both sexes on equal terms." Hence degrees may be conferred on women.<sup>68</sup>

In 1912, the Illinois College of Law was affiliated

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid, 13.

<sup>66</sup>Daniel J. McHugh, C.M., "Summer School History - 1911," Notes of Fr. McHugh, McCabe Personnel File, DeAndreis Rosati Memorial Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, MO.

<sup>67</sup>"University Extension," Vincentian Weekly, Vol. II (10 September 1911), 4; Francis X. McCabe, C. M. to My Dear Friend, September 1911, Fr. McCabe Personnel File, DeAndreis Rosati Memorial Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, MO.

<sup>68</sup>"The Summer Session," General Information and Outline of Courses, DePaul University, Vol. IV, No. 1, May 1911, 2-3.

with DePaul University.<sup>69</sup> The College of Music was founded in summer, 1912. Its enrollment was aided by the emphasis on teacher training during that time.<sup>70</sup> The College of Commerce was organized in 1912 and began offering classes in January 1913. The College of Commerce's objective was "to fit ambitious and energetic young men for positions and to help older men already engaged in business to equip themselves for more responsible and more lucrative positions."<sup>71</sup> Originally located on the near north campus, the College of Commerce was relocated downtown in September, 1914. McCabe's intention to open Commerce to women is reflected in the 1914 bulletins, but commerce did not open to women for three more years because of Archdiocesan disapproval of coeducation. By 1915, the College of Law and the extension classes were moved downtown with the College of Commerce.<sup>72</sup>

McCabe introduced full coeducation at DePaul by enrolling women in the day school in the year after

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<sup>69</sup>Goodchild, "The College of Law's First Thirty Years," 11. This affiliation expanded DePaul's degree granting powers as well as their enrollment of non-Catholics and women.

<sup>70</sup>Goodchild, "DePaul's School of Music. . .", 14.

<sup>71</sup>Goodchild, "DePaul Means Business. . .", 8.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid, 9; Goodchild, "American Catholic Legal Education. . .," 400.



Archbishop Quigley's death, 1916.<sup>73</sup> When McCabe asked the new Archbishop, George Mundelein, for permission to enroll women, he was told "I do not desire DePaul University to accept young women as students in your College of Liberal Arts and Sciences."<sup>74</sup> McCabe disregarded Mundelein's objections. While operating within the right of the exempt apostolistic community,<sup>75</sup> McCabe probably thought that this issue would be moot as soon as his "Jeanne D'Arc College" for women was established. Despite much publicity and attempts at fund raising, this venture mysteriously failed.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Goodchild, Mission of the Catholic University. . ., 266-7.

<sup>74</sup>Archbishop George Mundelein to Francis X. McCabe, C.M., 25 September 1917, McCabe Personnel File, DeAndreis Rosati Memorial Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, MO.

<sup>75</sup>Goodchild, The Mission of the Catholic University. . ., 267.

<sup>76</sup>The idea of a college for women which would grant DePaul degrees had been planned as early as 1911, "Summer School - History -1911," Notes of Fr. McHugh, McCabe Personnel File, DeAndreis Rosati Memorial Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, MO. Its failure was attributed to the shortage of teachers and funds available to the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (BVMs) who were first approached to operate this college and also to the Sinsinawa Dominicans whom he approached later. Mary Eva McCarty, O.P., The Sinsinawa Dominicans: Outlines of Twentieth Century Development 1901-1949. Sinsinawa, WI: St. Clara Convent, 1952. A personal appeal for funds was made by Fr. McCabe in a letter which said, "In September of this year [1917] we shall open the Freshman year of the Jeanne d'Arc College for Women, and I am asking you to give me as generous a donation. . .," Francis X. McCabe to My dear Friend, [1917], Fr. McCabe Personnel File, DeAndreis Rosati

When Fr. McCabe left DePaul in 1920, he left a ten-year legacy of expansion, innovation, and a semblance of financial stability (DePaul never erased the deficit left from Fr. Byrne's administration until after World War II). He was succeeded by Thomas Francis Levan, C.M. Under Fr. Levan's administration, DePaul continued to grow, physically and in terms of student enrollment. On the north campus, a Liberal Arts Building (later named Levan Hall) was constructed. Property at 64 East Lake Street was leased, plans for the new seventeen-story downtown building were approved, and on July 28, 1928, the downtown departments moved into their new quarters.<sup>77</sup> In 1926, the School of Nursing was established and the Graduate School became an autonomous division in 1928.<sup>78</sup> Student enrollment had virtually doubled from 2109 students in 1920-21 to 4064 students in 1930-31. The Depression caused enrollments to decrease slightly in the early to mid-1930s, as well as dampened any other plans for expansion.<sup>79</sup>

From 1930 to 1935, the task of Fr. Francis Vincent Corcoran, C.M., DePaul's fifth president, was to assure the

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Memorial Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, MO. Other publications also announced the "impending" women's college. Vincentian Weekly, Vol. VII, 11 February 1917, 7 and 15 April 1917, 1; DePaul Minerval, December 1916, 165-6.

<sup>77</sup>Mullins, 8.

<sup>78</sup>Koenig, 375.

<sup>79</sup>Goodchild, The Mission of the Catholic University. . ., 478.

university's survival during those bleak years. Most of his initiatives were administrative. He asked everyone to reduce salaries by ten percent. He unified the control of several colleges under a University Council which oversaw and enhanced scholastic standards. He restored compulsory religion courses to the curriculum for all Catholic students.<sup>80</sup> The Drama Department also was organized under Corcoran's tenure.<sup>81</sup> Fr. Corcoran resigned due to illness in 1935.

He was succeeded in 1935 by Michael J. O'Connell, C.M. who had previously served as the dean of the College of Liberal Arts. Fr. O'Connell began a building and endowment fund which would provide more facilities for the now expanding university. From this fund, the new science building (now known as O'Connell Hall) was built in 1938. The Department of Elementary Education began offering normal courses to the nuns who planned to teach in the parochial schools of the Chicago Archdiocese. One of the few programs of its kind in the country, it was an immediate success.<sup>82</sup>

By 1939, DePaul University's enrollment was near 5,000 and while its financial status was still weakened from past debt, the Depression, and being primarily tuition-driven, it had survived the worst. It aspired to university status,

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid, 443, 477.

<sup>81</sup>Mullins, 9.

<sup>82</sup>Koenig, 374-5.

but was satisfied for the time being to continue to educate a local, primarily Catholic population for leadership roles.

### Armour Institute of Technology

The early history of Armour Institute of Technology<sup>83</sup> is interwoven with that of the Armour Mission. Armour Mission was a school supported by the Plymouth congregational Church which offered supplementary education to the children of the neighborhood. The neighborhood, on the near South Side of the city, grew rapidly with the influx of immigrants who found employment in the nearby and growing meat packing industry. A new, modern building for the mission opened on December 5, 1886 on the corner of 33rd and Armour Avenue (later Federal Street).<sup>84</sup> It was built from funds bequeathed by Joseph Armour and received continuing financial support from his brother, Philip D. Armour.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>There are two more detailed histories of Armour Institute which can be found in the archives at the Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago: Irene Macauley, The Heritage of Illinois Institute of Technology (Chicago: Privately printed, 1978); and James C. Peebles, A History of Armour Institute of Technology (unpublished, 1940).

<sup>84</sup>Macauley, 10.

<sup>85</sup>Philip Armour built the Armour Mission Flats, apartments for officials and upper-level employees of Armour & Company in 1886-87 and the Armour Flats in 1888. Both buildings contained 45 apartments, the income from both designated to support the Armour Mission. Board of Trustees Minutes, Armour Mission 1887-1902, 3 October 1890, 68, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago; Macauley, 11.

classes in clay-modeling, woodworking, tile-making, sketching, mechanical drawing and designing were offered to the boys. The girls received instruction in millinery, dressmaking, and cooking. There were also a library and music programs.<sup>86</sup> A kindergarten, using the Froebel system of instruction, was instituted soon after the opening of the Mission, with a paid principal and volunteer teachers who were students at the National Kindergarten Association. The kindergarten served girls and boys four to seven years of age. Average attendance was 100 in December, 1888.<sup>87</sup> The Mission also supplied medical and social services to the community. The Armour Mission was highly successful in its educational endeavors and influenced Philip D. Armour to do something more.

Frank Wakely Gunsaulus, a commanding public speaker, became the pastor of Plymouth Church in May, 1887. The origin of the Institute is told in the institutional saga of the "one million dollar sermon." One Sunday in 1890, Gunsaulus is said to have delivered a sermon in which he said, given a million dollars, he would establish a school to help young people who wanted to help themselves. There was a need to train technicians to serve a rapidly growing industrial society. Philip Armour approached Gunsaulus

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<sup>86</sup>Macaulay, 11-12.

<sup>87</sup>Board of Trustees Minutes, Armour Mission 1887-1902, 61-62, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

after the sermon and agreed to provide the funds if gunsaulus would provide the leadership. The result of this interesting partnership became known as Armour Institute.

The Armour Institute was established in connection with the Armour Mission. The cornerstone for the building was laid in 1891 and it was completed in 1892.<sup>88</sup> The decision was made that Armour Institute

will be to this city all that the Drexel Institute is to Philadelphia and the Pratt Institute is to Brooklyn . . . all that money and brains and labor can do will be done toward making it the greatest institute for manual training, science, and art in this country. It will be a school good enough for the richest, but it will reach out to the poorest. . . Mr. Armour's idea in the establishment of the institute is that education in every other line but that of manual training has been more bountifully provided for in Chicago. The building would have been a welcome addition in the down-town districts where it would have commanded more attention. Mr. Armour preferred, however, to locate it in a part of the city where its influence will be most largely felt for good.<sup>89</sup>

Frank Wakely Gunsaulus was appointed president of the Armour Institute.

Many of the educational programs of the Mission were merged into the Institute, including Industrial Arts, the Kindergarten, and the Library.<sup>90</sup> The Institute was organized into the following departments: the Scientific Academy which was "that part of the Institute in which the

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<sup>88</sup>Peebles, 7-8.

<sup>89</sup>Chicago Tribune (Chicago), 12 December 1892.

<sup>90</sup>Board of Trustees Minutes, Armour Mission 1887-1902, 13 May 1895, 120-21. Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

students are prepared for admission to the scientific course of other Colleges, and to the advanced courses of the Institute" and the Technical College comprising the departments of mechanical engineering, electricity and electrical engineering, chemistry and chemical engineering, architecture, library science, domestic arts, commerce, music, and kindergarten.<sup>91</sup> In 1893, the trustees of Armour Institute and the Art Institute decided to run their architectural branches jointly as the Chicago School of Architecture of the Armour Institute.<sup>92</sup>

Opening day was September 14, 1893. There were 700 students accepted from the 1200 who applied for admission. The largest enrollments were in Domestic Arts with 100 girls and Engineering with eighty boys. The Kindergarten Department had been operating as the Chicago Free Kindergarten Association before its transfer to Armour Institute and in 1893, 50 young women received their diplomas before classes officially opened at Armour making the first graduating class all women.<sup>93</sup>

Gunsaulus, impressed with the German application of science to industry that he observed in his travels, and undoubtedly influenced by his friend and colleague, William

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid, 126-7.

<sup>92</sup>Macauley, 20.

<sup>93</sup>Macauley, 20-1. This is ironic because coeducation would end at Armour in 1901.

Rainey Harper,<sup>94</sup> reconsidered his original plan for the Institute. Instead of training young men to be better mechanics and technicians, Armour would train students for a professional career in engineering.<sup>95</sup> This new character of the institution warranted a new organization so that it could confer degrees and honors. A separate corporation, to be called Armour Institute of Technology, was recognized by the State of Illinois on June 20, 1895.<sup>96</sup>

This initiated the beginning of additional engineering programs (Civil Engineering in 1899, Chemical Engineering in 1901, Fire Protection Engineering in 1903)<sup>97</sup> and the end of Library Science (1897), Shorthand and Typing (1899), the Kindergarten Normal Department (1900), Domestic Arts (1901), Music (1901) and coeducation.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup>Correspondence between Gunsaulus and Harper located in the archives at the University of Chicago indicates that an affiliation of Armour Institute and the University of Chicago was considered as early as 1897. Harper also sought to involve Gunsaulus in extension work, offered him a position in the Divinity School, and ribbed him considerably about a rumor that he (Gunsaulus) was going to be the next president of Northwestern (ironically it was Edmund J. James of the University of Chicago who really became the next president of Northwestern).

<sup>95</sup>Peebles, 8.

<sup>96</sup>Board of Trustees Minutes, Armour Mission 1887-1902, 143; Board of Trustees Minutes, Armour Institute of Technology, 1895-1901, 1; Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>97</sup>Bulletin of Armour Institute of Technology, New Series Vol. XI, No. 1, May 1917, 5.

<sup>98</sup>Macauley, 20-2.



Gunsaulus resigned due to ill health in September, 1900. This resignation was regrettably accepted by the board effective February 1, 1901. In April, 1901 Gunsaulus, who had regained his health, was invited to resume the presidency of Armour Institute of Technology. He accepted.<sup>99</sup> Victor C. Alderson, the dean of faculty, who was responsible for the organization of the academic programs, resigned in 1903 to take a position at the Colorado School of Mines. His departure encouraged academic reorganization of the Institute into two schools -- liberal arts and engineering -- each with its own dean. Louis C. Monin was appointed dean of liberal arts and principal of the Scientific Academy (which was discontinued in 1910). Howard M. Raymond was appointed dean of engineering. Raymond also became responsible for evening classes (which were preparatory, not college level).<sup>100</sup>

The enrollment of Armour Institute of Technology continued to grow between the early 1900s and 1917, but then began to decrease. There were 1585 students enrolled in 1904-05, 592 of which were enrolled in the College of Engineering. In 1907-08, there were 1805 students, 616 of which were in the College of Engineering. In 1917-18, there

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<sup>99</sup>Board of Trustees Minutes, Armour Institute of Technology 1895-1901, 11 September 1900, 1 May 1901, 30 May 1901, 40-1 & 50-1, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>100</sup>Macauley, 33-4.

were 1979 students, only 412 of which were enrolled in the College of Engineering.<sup>101</sup> Many young men enlisted after the United States' entry into World War I, affecting college enrollments nationwide. In addition to the war, population shifts occurred in the neighborhood surrounding the Institute. It was no longer viewed as a desirable place to live. Faculty members no longer desired to live in the Armour flats and it became difficult to find desirable tenants to rent them. Between 1917 and 1919, most of the flats were razed and the remainder were taken over for academic use.<sup>102</sup>

Plans for a new campus in South Shore were announced on February 21, 1921. J. Ogden Armour had purchased a \$1 million, 80-acre tract of land between 75th and 79th Streets and Yates and Colfax Avenues. He also agreed to provide \$15 million to finance the development of the campus. There was great enthusiasm for this new endeavor which was quickly dashed with the unexpected death of Gunsaulus on March 17, 1921. Ten days later, Howard M. Raymond was appointed acting president. Fourteen months after that he was named president. In the fall of 1922 the South Shore property was sold striking a serious blow to the campus morale.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup>Armour Institute of Technology Yearbook, 1904-05, 176; 1907-08, 159. Bulletin of Armour Institute of Technology, Vol. XII, No. 1, 160.

<sup>102</sup>Macauley, 36.

<sup>103</sup>Macauley, 39.

shortly before Gunsaulus' death, there was renewed (the first being in 1897, the second in 1902) speculation about the advantages of Armour affiliating with the University of Chicago.<sup>104</sup> Nothing was to come of this, although the University of Chicago kept current on Armour's financial statements, faculty salaries, physical plant, and student body. Northwestern University had also contacted Gunsaulus about a possible consolidation of Armour Institute of Technology with its Swift School of Engineering. Gunsaulus said this "scheme was not possible."<sup>105</sup>

It was the new president's task to lead the Institute through the difficult days ahead. Raymond said his sole aim would be "to administer the affairs of the Institute in the

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<sup>104</sup>As early as 1920, the president of the University of Chicago, Harry Pratt Judson, was in correspondence with the Armour family about the relationship between the two institutions. In 1921, Harold H. Swift, the President of the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago, urged Judson and Ryerson (also on the Board of Trustees) to take the matter directly to Armour. In response to this Judson told Swift that "Gunsaulus told me certain members of the Armour family are insuperably opposed to union with the University of Chicago. I believe the ground to be not to have the Armour name overwhelmed by the Rockefeller name." H. P. Judson to J. Ogden Armour, 12 March 1920; Harold H. Swift to Harry Pratt Judson, 7 June 1921; Harry Pratt Judson to Harold H. Swift, 9 June 1921, University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>105</sup>John H. Wigmore to Frank W. Gunsaulus, 22 August 1919, Heald Papers, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

most efficient and economical manner possible."<sup>106</sup> Raymond would serve as president until 1932 when health reasons forced him to resign. His tenure was fraught with financial problems due to the Depression, which hit their zenith near the end of this term. The Armour family had also suffered financial reverses, and although the Institute still received funds from the Armour Mission<sup>107</sup>, it found it necessary to look in new directions for an endowment. During major fund-raising efforts, the announcement was made in early 1926 by members of the Boards of Trustees of an affiliation agreement between Armour and Northwestern.<sup>108</sup> By 1929, however, this contract was abandoned by mutual agreement.<sup>109</sup>

In 1931, the Armour Institute Development Committee was formed to raise \$5 million in two years and to develop a plan for the Institute. Their recommendations were to provide more instruction in cultural subjects, to revise

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<sup>106</sup>Howard Monroe Raymond to J. Ogden Armour, 24 May 1922, Armour/Keating File, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>107</sup>The Institute received between \$10,000 and \$30,000 a year from the profits of the Mission. Armour Mission Minutes 1921-1931, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>108</sup>This was January 12, 1926. For a complete analysis of this almost-merger, see W. T. Covington, "The Proposed Armour Institute-Northwestern University Merger," (Unpublished, 1977), Deering Library, Northwestern University, Evanston.

<sup>109</sup>Howard Monroe Raymond, President's Report 1928-29, 1.

shop courses, establish a school of science, initiate a five-year master's program in engineering and in science, establish off-campus courses, establish a placement office, found a research institute, and organize a technical institute to train personnel for industry.<sup>110</sup> The possibility of affiliating with another school had not been completely abandoned and, in 1931, discussions resumed with the University of Chicago.<sup>111</sup>

Some of the recommendations of the Development Committee were beginning to be implemented. In September, 1932, a degree-granting curriculum in science was first offered. With Raymond's resignation in 1932, the Institute was administered by a faculty committee until the appointment of its third president, Dr. Willard Eugene Hotchkiss. Hotchkiss had been responsible for the founding of the School of Commerce at Northwestern in 1908. He was dean of the graduate school of business at Stanford prior to coming to Armour. His talents as an economist probably influenced his selection as president in 1933.<sup>112</sup>

Under Hotchkiss' administration, many aspects of the

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<sup>110</sup>Macauley. 43.

<sup>111</sup>B.E. Sunny to Robert Maynard Hutchins, 12 January 1931; Emery T. Filbey to Frederic C. Woodward, 24 July 1931; "Suggested basis for the amalgamation of the Armour Institute of Technology and the University of Chicago," 28 July 1931; "Memorandum of Conference on Armour Institute," 1 August 1931, University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>112</sup>Macauley, 44.

Development Plan were instituted. A Department of Social Science was established, a Placement Office created, shop courses were suspended, and advanced study was expanded (including evening courses in graduate study).<sup>113</sup> Credit was given for undergraduate evening classes and in 1936, the first two years of a degree program could be completed at night. He initiated a cooperative education program wherein students divided their time between academic study and work in industry. A research foundation was organized in 1936.

Hotchkiss believed that a new site for the Institute was imperative to its success. As early as 1933, he began campaigning for a downtown location for the school.<sup>114</sup> An option on land on Lake Shore Drive between Erie and Ontario was secured in April, 1935. Lack of funds made the purchase impossible. Talks with the University of Chicago re-opened for a possible affiliation.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup>Maccauley, 45; Peebles, 116.

<sup>114</sup>Development Committee Minutes, 18 July 1933; 28 July 1933; 9 May 1933, Hotchkiss Papers; Henry Heald to Alfred S. Auschuler, 18 April 1934, Heald Papers 1930s, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago. He continually stressed the intolerable neighborhood in which the Institute was located. One location which was considered was the IWAC Building which became the downtown campus location for Loyola in 1945.

<sup>115</sup>"Bases for Discussions Concerning Possible Affiliation with the University of Chicago," 9 October 1935, University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago; J. D. Cunningham to Mrs. J. Ogden Armour, 20 March 1936, Hotchkiss Papers, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

Hotchkiss resigned effective October 11, 1937. Henry Heald was made acting president.<sup>116</sup> On May 10, 1938, he was named president. Under Heald's administration the boards of Lewis Institute and Armour Institute of Technology entered into a merger agreement. After all the prospective mergers that the Institute had encountered, this was to be the merger that was. The merger was officially approved on April 23, 1940.<sup>117</sup>

### Lewis Institute

Unlike John D. Rockefeller and the Armour family, Allen Cleveland Lewis was a wealthy, but virtually unknown Chicago area businessman. His legacy was

. . .to in some manner provide for and assist those in need of an education, and who are so circumstanced in life as to be unable without aid and assistance to obtain the instruction and gain access to books and papers of art and science that their future advancement in life requires. . .<sup>118</sup>

His estate was valued at \$550,000 which was required to increase to \$800,000 before a school could be opened. Eighteen years later, the trustees for the estate had increased the original amount to \$1,600,000 and, on November 21, 1895, this amount was turned over to the trustees of the

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<sup>116</sup>Board of Trustees Minutes, Armour Institute of Technology 1934-1940, 11 October 1937.

<sup>117</sup>Peebles, 147.

<sup>118</sup>Allen C. Lewis, Last Will and Testament, 3, 23 June 1875, University President's Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

Lewis Institute.<sup>119</sup>

It is unclear just what influenced Lewis' educational ideas, but he was very clear about how he wanted his school designed. There were five important curricular aspects to his plan. First, he required the establishment and maintenance of

a regular course of Instruction at night, free to all who shall attend. . .to be adapted as far as possible to the general uses and vocations of life, and of the kind and character not generally taught in the public schools of said city; and more particularly to the educating of persons in the special branches or studies that will be directly useful to them in their obtaining a position and occupation for life.<sup>120</sup>

He also desired that a course of Free Lectures, devoted to the Arts, Sciences and Natural Philosophy or Public Readings or whatever other useful form of evening exercises would best serve the public be maintained. A Free Reading Room was to be established. Lewis' last two requirements included a "School for the instruction of respectable females. . .as will enable them to gain a livelihood therefrom" and "a thorough POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL." The polytechnic school was not to interfere with the school for females, but could take the place for the course of night

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<sup>119</sup>"Historical Sketch," Circular of Information, Lewis Institute, 1896, 3, University President's Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>120</sup>Allen C. Lewis, Last Will and Testament, 5, 23 June 1875, University President's Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.



instruction if that was deemed best.<sup>121</sup>

Lewis' emphasis on education to prepare one directly for the world of work and self sufficiency is obvious. What was unique about his plan for its time was its expansive provisions for evening education and for the education of females who would need to earn a living.

The trustees turned to William Rainey Harper, president of the newly established University of Chicago, for help and advice in organizing the academic program of Lewis Institute. Harper's educational plans for the University were already receiving national rave reviews for their innovations. The Lewis trustees probably felt that Harper was one of the few educators who could understand and translate Allen Lewis' progressive ideas into reality. Harper eagerly seized the opportunity to develop his new ideas at Lewis Institute, some of which he had found impossible to implement at his own University.<sup>122</sup>

Harper recommended George Noble Carman, the principal of Morgan Park Academy (the academy of the University of Chicago) since 1893 and a member of the University of Chicago's English Department, to head the new institute. It was in May, 1895 that Carman first learned about the Lewis Institute from Harper. Carman met with the trustees, Dr.

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<sup>121</sup>Ibid, 5.

<sup>122</sup>Agness Joslyn Kaufman, "Lewis Institute," Illinois Tech Engineer, December, 1946.

Harper, and Dr. Gunsaulus of Armour Institute, and was asked to submit a statement on how the Institute should be organized and what its educational policy should be. He did this and was appointed Director on June 27, 1895.<sup>123</sup>

The plan structured Lewis Institute as a six-year program -- four years of a high school course in technical subjects and liberal arts, and an additional two years of college work in arts and engineering (in essence, a junior college). Despite its approval, there may have been some skepticism on the part of some members of the board about this plan. Carman and Harper wanted the courses at Lewis arranged so that upon completion, a student would be able to transfer to the University. This plan yielded obvious advantages to both Lewis and the University of Chicago. Lewis board members wanted assurance that the University of Chicago would be willing to cooperate on such a plan.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup>George N. Carman, "Lewis of Yesterday and Today," Lewis Union Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 1928, 1. While Carman seems to have taken credit for the academic plan of Lewis Institute, it has Harper's influence stamped all over it. Harper corresponded with Judge C. C. Kohlstaat, a member of the board of Lewis Institute, "I believe that I see a plan with which your personal approval and cooperation could be made to accomplish something phenomenal", William Rainey Harper to Judge C. C. Kohlstaat, 10 May 1895, University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>124</sup>Trustee Kohlstaat was somewhat apprehensive about the degree of academic equivalency that the University of Chicago would allow. George N. Carman to William Rainey Harper, 10 December 1895, Harper made it clear to his staff that "Lewis Institute is doing the College work of the highest order in the Freshman and Sophomore classes and as such should be recognized." William Rainey Harper to

The arrangement of work in the collegiate division was arranged into four groups, (1) science, (2) technology, (3) arts, and (4) commerce. Each group's emphasis differed. Two (technology and commerce) were designed so that upon completion a student would enter industrial work or mercantile pursuits. The other two (science and arts) were designed so that a student would be prepared to enter the junior year of either a school of technology or "the best colleges and universities."<sup>125</sup> After the initial conception, the educational programs and policies of the Institute fell under the jurisdiction of the Board of Managers. The Board of Managers consisted of the three trustees (John A. Roche, Christian C. Kohlstaat, and John McLaren), George N. Carman, William Rainey Harper, Thomas Kane, and Albert G. Lane.<sup>126</sup>

Lewis Institute opened on September 21, 1896 with a

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Salisbury, 15 July 1897, University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>125</sup>Circular of Information, Lewis Institute, 1896, 10. This arrangement addressed the needs of the trustees to fulfill the vocational spirit of Allen Lewis' will as well as allowing students the loftier (and more beneficial to Harper's University) goal of ultimately pursuing a four-year degree. If Harper's plans to affiliate Armour Institute of Technology with the University of Chicago had materialized, then all of the continuing Lewis students would have had the opportunity to do so at the University of Chicago.

<sup>126</sup>Lewis Institute Board of Trustees Minutes 1895-1918, Vol. 1, 7 January 1896, 16. Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

faculty of twenty.<sup>127</sup> The Institute enrolled 434 students in the day classes and 260 in the evening classes that year.<sup>128</sup> The main building was located at Madison and Robey (Damen) Avenues. As called for in Allen C. Lewis' will, it was "good, substantial, plain. . . constructed for use, utility, and durability. . . plainly and handsomely furnished. . . ." Lewis also wanted as much of the building as was feasible devoted to business purposes in order to increase the income.<sup>129</sup> The Lewis Institute building was six stories high above the basement. The first floor was devoted to business purposes, mostly retail establishments.<sup>130</sup>

The Institute was viewed as the epitome of modern education in its physical plant and innovative academic programs. In its second year, on February 12 and 13, 1897, Lewis Institute opened its modern facilities to host a group of educators led by Dr. Harper, with Director Carman, and Dr. Angell of Michigan. This group worked on establishing standards for colleges and high schools. This group was the North Central Association, which had been formed the

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<sup>127</sup>Thirteen of these twenty faculty had either received a degree from the University of Chicago, or taught there or at the Morgan Park Academy. Circular of Information, Lewis Institute, 1896, 3-4.

<sup>128</sup>First Annual Register of the Lewis Institute, 1897, 68.

<sup>129</sup>Will of Allen C. Lewis, 4.

<sup>130</sup>Circular of Information, Lewis Institute, 1896, 6.

previous year, and this was the first annual meeting.<sup>131</sup>

In 1897, the Institute was reorganized into two divisions: a School of Engineering and a School of Science and Literature. The School of Science and Literature comprised the preparatory (first two years of high school), academic (second two years of high school), and collegiate (freshman and sophomore years) levels. Beginning in 1899, the School of Engineering offered four years of instruction for students who wished to become professional engineers.<sup>132</sup>

The first years of the Institute's existence tested the acceptance of its new model. While the University of Chicago accepted the collegiate work of Lewis as equivalent to the freshman and sophomore years, other institutions questioned the practice of granting credit "for work done in an institution not conferring degrees."<sup>133</sup> Harper worked

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<sup>131</sup>Lewis Institute Faculty Minutes March 6, 1896 to September 30, 1916, 9 February 1897, 52; Joseph J. Semrow, Joseph A. Barney, Marcel Fredericks, Janet Fredericks, Patricia Robinson, BVM, and Allan O. Pfnister, In Search of Quality: The Development, Status & Forecast of Standards in Postsecondary Accreditation, in press, 1992, 44-5.

<sup>132</sup>The degree received was the degree of Mechanical Engineer. The first three of these degrees were awarded in 1901. George N. Carman, Director's Report, 19 February 1917, University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago; Macauley, 50-1; Fifth Annual Register of the Lewis Institute, 1901, 12, 63.

<sup>133</sup>The heads at Lewis were understood to be in the position of non-resident University Examiners in their departments and recommended that no one from Lewis should be recommended to the University of Chicago without having

diligently toward approval of this six year model as the standard in higher education. Lewis did send the University of Chicago a good number of students. By 1905, the plan had seemingly won over the skeptics on the board of trustees by virtue of the continuing growth and financial health of Lewis.<sup>134</sup>

In 1906, the Institute reorganized into three major divisions: (1) Engineering and the Mechanical Arts, (2) General Science, including Domestic Economy, and (3) The Liberal Arts.<sup>135</sup> Courses in Domestic Economy (originally called Household Science) were offered from the beginning of the Institute. Their popularity and growth led to the formalization of this two-year curriculum in 1907 with the title associate in domestic economy.<sup>136</sup> For the academic

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attended Lewis for at least one year. Lewis Institute Faculty Minutes March 6, 1896 to September 30, 1916, 6 March 1896, 3.

<sup>134</sup>It was the daughter of the skeptical trustee, Christian Kohlstaat, who found Vassar unwilling to give her credit for her work at Lewis Institute. George N. Carman to William Rainey Harper, 31 January 1901; Carman, much to Harper's delight, sent ten good men to the University of Chicago in 1901 and only one woman, saying "the tide has turned", George N. Carman to William Rainey Harper, 24 September 1901; Kohlstaat seemed convinced finally that Lewis would prosper under Harper's influence, C. C. Kohlstaat to William Rainey Harper, 26 December 1905; University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>135</sup>Tenth Annual Register of the Lewis Institute, 1906, 14.

<sup>136</sup>Kaufman, 3; Director's Report, 19 February 1917, University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

year 1907-08, Lewis Institute enrolled 1326 day students (of which 827 were academy students) and 1262 evening students.<sup>137</sup>

Despite the wishes of Allen C. Lewis for his school to provide for less fortunate students, during its first twelve years of existence, Lewis earned the reputation as a fashionable prep school. This was partly because the Institute was built in a well-to-do district of the city, and the students were "superior in appearance and well-bred, although some of them were not especially brilliant scholastically".<sup>138</sup> In 1908, this situation began to change when the neighborhood began to change as the well-to-do population moved elsewhere and the Institute began to enroll more working students.

In keeping with the times and needs of the students, a cooperative course in mechanic arts was created in 1909 by LaVerne Noyes, one of the trustees. This course allowed high school age boys the opportunity to work in industry for a salary and attend school on an alternating schedule. Noyes personally paid the tuition of \$50 for each boy (up to a maximum of 200) who did satisfactory work. The total number of students enrolled in the first two years of the

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<sup>137</sup>"Director's Report for 1908," Lewis Institute Bulletin, January 1909, 31.

<sup>138</sup>Armour Engineer and Alumnus, December, 1939 quoted in Macauley, 52.

cooperative course was 112.<sup>139</sup> In 1913, Lewis Institute and the Portland Cement Association contracted to establish the Structural Materials Laboratory at the Institute for research and training.<sup>140</sup>

The degree of Mechanical Engineer was changed to a Bachelor of Science in Mechanical Engineering in 1909. In 1912, a Bachelor of Science in Domestic Economy was first offered.<sup>141</sup> These initiatives changed the Institute to a degree-granting four-year institution in response to the needs of the student population and to assure the continued growth of the Institute. Twenty years prior the combination of two years of college with four years of high school was an innovation. By 1916, the public high school opportunities had expanded (including well-equipped technical schools) and the public Chicago junior colleges (Crane, Lane and Senn) created new competition for Lewis.<sup>142</sup>

The attendance in the academy had decreased (from a

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<sup>139</sup>Macauley, 53; LaVerne Noyes to the Board of Managers, Lewis Institute, 19 January 1910, Minutes of the Board of Managers 1896-1918, Vol. 1, 156, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>140</sup>Kaufman, 4.

<sup>141</sup>Lewis Institute Bulletin, October 1910, 11; Kaufman, 4.

<sup>142</sup>George N. Carman, Director's Report, Lewis Institute, 19 December 1916, University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.



high of 782 in 1911 to 494 in 1916) and the attendance in the college (from sixty-four in 1896 to 429 in 1916) and evening classes (from 260 in 1896 to 2192 in 1916) had increased. It became clear that a new course for the future must be adopted.<sup>143</sup> In 1917, the general degree of Bachelor of Science was added to the Engineering and Domestic Economy degrees and, for the first time, the evening session courses were offered on the college level. The academy was discontinued.<sup>144</sup>

Despite its unique beginnings, Lewis appeared, at least on the surface, to have moved in the direction of becoming the typical four-year college which served a local population. Looking under the surface, however, one found that the Institute served an atypical population. Of the sixty-eight students in engineering, forty-five were adults; of the forty-five pre-medical students, twenty-five were adults; of the 146 students in domestic economy, ninety were adults.<sup>145</sup> While the Institute conformed substantially to the requirements of the standard American college, including entrance requirements of graduation from a four-year high school, it recognized the needs of students who had been obliged to step aside for a time. For these students the

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<sup>143</sup>Lewis Institute Minutes of the Board of Managers 1896-1918, Vol 1, 23 February 1917, 247.

<sup>144</sup>Kaufman, 4.

<sup>145</sup>George N. Carman, Director's Report, Lewis Institute, 19 December 1916.

distinction between high school and junior college blurred and was accommodated. Carman explained the Institute's position of admitting mature students

These are often superior young men and women, dependent on their own resources and sometimes obliged to help their parents; they reach the point where they see the need of further education, and are able to make up deficiencies if given the opportunity to do so. Though they may lack a year or more of high school attendance, they are often better educated than high-school graduates. That the doors of colleges should be shut against them is often an injustice, and therefore, the Institute includes in its junior college many courses which would commonly be classified as secondary, except that the student pursues them more rapidly and intensively than young students are able to do.<sup>146</sup>

In addition to serving a mature student population, Lewis now also served an immigrant population as well as one of considerable religious diversity.<sup>147</sup>

Some of Lewis' uniqueness in student population was also reflected in its curriculum. A Certificate in Household Management was granted after one year's work to students over twenty-five years of age who desired to find work as trained managers of school dormitories, Christian Association dining rooms, hospital diet kitchens, clubs,

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<sup>146</sup>George N. Carman, Circular of Information, Lewis Institute, July 1922, 12.

<sup>147</sup>Eleven of the twenty-eight engineers who graduated in 1922 were from Austria, Canada, China, Germany, Greece, Poland, India, and Sweden; sixteen graduates in arts and home economics were from Russia, Canada, Italy, Africa, Austria, Brazil, and Honolulu. Ibid, 13. While no religious census has been found, the names listed on student registers from early on reflect this diversity. Allen C. Lewis required that "Trustees shall not make any discrimination or preference on account of religious views. . .", Will of Allen C. Lewis, 9.

settlements, cafeterias, tea rooms, etc. By the 1920s, the majority of enrollments were evening students.<sup>148</sup>

The Institute was able to maintain financial solvency throughout its history until the early 1930s. There had been several defaults in bond and mortgage investments which reduced endowment income. The Depression made it difficult to collect tuition and fees. Minor gains were made when the Chicago junior colleges closed during the Depression and Lewis' enrollment hit an all-time high, but these gains reversed when the junior colleges reopened. On June 10, 1933, the Board of Trustees approved a merger with the University of Chicago citing financial concerns and the imminent retirement of Director Carman who was then 76 years old. No agreement could be reached, however, and the proposal was dropped.<sup>149</sup>

Carman retired in 1935 and was succeeded by Dugald Caleb Jackson, Jr. who held the directorship until 1938 when two co-directors were appointed. They were Fred A. Rogers who was the Dean of Engineering and Clarence L. Clark, the

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<sup>148</sup>There were 1700 day students and 2355 evening students in 1921-22. Circular of Information, Lewis Institute, October 1922, 50.

<sup>149</sup>Carman seemed concerned that the spirit of Lewis would be lost by virtue of the University of Chicago's dissimilar approach to education. Macauley, 55-6. Many alumni were opposed to the merger because it would increase tuition and most likely move the Institute from its West side location. University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

Dean of Liberal Arts.<sup>150</sup> Financial difficulties as well as a failure on the part of the new leadership and the board to agree on a direction, led to the merger of Lewis Institute with the Armour Institute of Technology in June, 1940.

#### Summary

These six institutions of higher education played a major role in the history of evening undergraduate education in Chicago. Because of the circumstances of their founding, their financing, their philosophy of education, and their leadership, each of their programs of evening education originated and developed uniquely and each contributed distinctively to the whole. The following chapters describe each institution's contribution to evening undergraduate education in Chicago.

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<sup>150</sup>Macauley, 56.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO EVENING CLASSES

#### Origins, 1891-1900

When William Rainey Harper conceived his educational plan for the University of Chicago in early 1891, he was confident enough to send copies of it to some of the most distinguished educators in the country. Their reactions to it were varied, but generally positive. President Eliot of Harvard said, "While Professor Harper's ideas are not altogether original--and I do not understand that it is pretended that they are--the scheme as a whole is new". Eliot particularly praised the inclusion of university extension work and the summer term.<sup>1</sup>

Harper's inclusion of university extension as an organic part of the new University of Chicago can be traced to his conviction that higher education should be available to those who, for social or economic reasons, could not attend the university at its campus location. Harper believed it was the university's duty to assure that this

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<sup>1</sup>Eliot's statement and those of others relating to Harper's educational plan are quoted in Goodspeed, 146-147. Also see "Innovations at the University of Chicago," Nation 55 (October 1892): 255-56.

work was "systematic in form and scientific in spirit".<sup>2</sup> His strong conviction was probably shaped through his long association with Chautauqua which began in 1883, and by the first University Extension movement which swept America between 1885 and 1899. In 1885, Harper was appointed principal of the Chautauqua School of Hebrew. In 1887, he became principal of the College of Liberal Arts (later Chautauqua University), a position which he held until 1898. Harper excelled at providing correspondence instruction to the students who wished to continue their studies beyond Chautauqua's summer school. Gould has found the Chautauqua organizational scheme to be similar to Harper's plan at the University of Chicago which was outlined in Official Bulletin No. 1.<sup>3</sup>

Chautauqua, the name of a lake and county in New York, became associated with a system of popular summer education. The first Chautauqua assembly took place in August, 1873 as a means to improve Sunday school instruction. It evolved into a broader system of education to extend higher education to all, young and old, rich and poor. This broader system included, in addition to its summer school, class study, popular lectures, a system of home study and

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<sup>2</sup>Official Bulletin, No. 6, (Chicago: The University of Chicago, May 1892), 2.

<sup>3</sup>Joseph E. Gould, The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the continuing American Revolution (New York: State University of New York, 1961), 60-63.

reading, and The Chautauqua University.<sup>4</sup>

Soon after English university extension was introduced in this country by Herbert Baxter Adams in 1885, Bishop John H. Vincent of Chautauqua appointed a committee to develop an extension program for Chautauqua. William Rainey Harper, along with Richard T. Ely, Frederick Starr, Herbert Baxter Adams, and George E. Vincent (Bishop Vincent's son), served on this committee. Their extension prospectus appeared in September, 1888 and was distributed privately. Correspondence between Harper and George Vincent indicated a concern for the variations of University Extension which began appearing rapidly. In response to a letter from Harper which described an extension initiative by the Brooklyn teachers, Vincent wrote, "[I] have obtained full information concerning the new plan. Confidentially, I do not anticipate for it any great success, nor do I think that it trespasses to any extent upon Chautauqua grounds. . . The prime mover knows nothing about 'University Extension' in

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<sup>4</sup>For more detailed information about Chautauqua, see Herbert B. Adams, "Summer Schools and University Extension", in Nicholas Murray Butler, ed., Monographs on Education in the United States (Washington D. C.: Department of Education for the United States Commission to the Paris Exposition of 1900); and George E. Vincent, "The Chautauqua System of Education", The University Extension World (January 1893): 3-4. For a detailed account of Chautauqua and William Rainey Harper's involvement with it, see Joseph E. Gould, The Chautauqua Movement: An Episode in the Continuing American Revolution (New York: State University of New York, 1961).

England, but simply picked up the name as a good title".<sup>5</sup> He saw no conflict between this new movement and his own.

Another form of American University Extension began in February, 1890 as the Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching. Its secretary was George Henderson who had made a careful study of the English system. Richard G. Moulton was one of the most popular and experienced extension lecturers from Cambridge, England. He was brought to the United States under the auspices of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau of Boston. His masterly lectures on ancient and modern literatures drew large and appreciative audiences. Moulton spread the word about University Extension in the United States with the zeal of a missionary.<sup>6</sup> In the fall of 1890, the Philadelphia Society brought Richard G. Moulton to Philadelphia to initiate its coursework. By December, 1890, this organization changed its name to the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. Professor Edmund Janes James was elected president. James had studied at Northwestern University and Harvard before travelling to Germany to study economics. After receiving his doctorate in 1877, he returned to his

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<sup>5</sup>George E. Vincent to William Rainey Harper, 1 December 1888, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>6</sup>W. Fiddian Moulton, Richard Green Moulton (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), 101; Herbert B. Adams, "'University Extension' and Its Leaders," Review of Reviews 3 (July 1891): 606.



native Illinois as principal in the state Normal School. From there he went to the newly established Wharton School in Pennsylvania in 1883 where he actively promoted professional education for businessmen. He also formed the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. Although James had not identified himself with the extension movement prior to this appointment, he proved to be a capable administrator and promoter of University Extension.<sup>7</sup> Harper was invited to serve on its general advisory committee.<sup>8</sup>

As the University Extension movement moved west to Chicago, there was not yet a university to organize it as in Philadelphia, so an independent, local society was formed to develop the extension program. William Rainey Harper and Henry Wade Rogers, president of Northwestern University, were instrumental in bringing Edmund J. James to Chicago in May, 1891 to introduce University Extension to Chicago

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<sup>7</sup>George M. Woytanowitz, University Extension: The Early Years in the United States, 1885-1915 (Iowa City, IA: National University Extension Association and The American College Testing Program, 1974), 43-44.

<sup>8</sup>The American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to William Rainey Harper, New Haven, Connecticut, 5 February 1891, President's Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago. This letter also included the statement of purpose of the Society, "(1) To promote and assist in the formation of Societies for the Extension of University Teaching in the United States and Canada. (2) To direct study in the university courses for isolated students and as far as possible to bring university teaching within the reach of all persons, of all classes and of both sexes".

through a public address at the Newberry Library. The following November, the newly formed organization of Lake Forest College, University of Wisconsin - Madison, University of Beloit, Northwestern University, and the University of Illinois; and Dr. Harper representing the nascent University of Chicago, announced their Chicago extension plan and organized courses. The first lecture in the first course was given by Dr. James Albert Woodurn of the University of Indiana on American political history, 1776-1832 at the Workers' Church.<sup>9</sup> The Newberry Library, where Nathaniel Butler taught the first course in Spring of 1892, was a most active center during the Chicago Society's brief existence.

With the entrance of the University of Chicago on the University Extension scene, the Chicago Society was severely overshadowed and outdone. Harper believed that University Extension should be organically related to a university.<sup>10</sup> He felt that this work, while it must be in a good sense popular, must also be systematic in form and scientific in spirit; and to be such it must be done under the direction

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<sup>9</sup>The Northwestern. 21 November 1891. The Chicago Daily News. 7, 9, 20 November 1891.

<sup>10</sup>William Rainey Harper, "The University Organization in Relation to University Extension," Book News 9 (May 1891), 343-345.

of a university.<sup>11</sup> His recruitment of faculty to the University of Chicago Extension Division was a veritable raid on the top extension organizers and lecturers of the time. He made offers to Herbert Baxter Adams, the Johns Hopkins historian; and Melvil Dewey, the famous librarian and inventor of the Dewey decimal system of book classification, who turned him down. However, among those he did recruit were Richard G. Moulton, the most popular extension lecturer; Edward Bemis, an economist with controversial political views, who had delivered the first extension lecture in the United States; Charles Zueblin, a sociologist and a prolific lecturer, who was the secretary of the soon to be defunct Chicago Society; Edmund J. James, an economist and political scientist, who was the president of the American Society; George Henderson, who had spent much time studying the English extension experience and was general secretary of the American Society; and Nathaniel Butler, whose specialty was English literature and who taught the first course for the Chicago Society.

The work of Harper's University Extension Division was differentiated from that of the University proper

That part of the work of the university which is conducted at the University and for students in residence, constitutes the work of the University proper. That, however, which is organized and conducted for students not in residence, and at some point other

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<sup>11</sup>Walter A. Payne, "The University Extension Division," The Decennial Publication of the University of Chicago, President's Report, First Series I, Dean's Report, 304.

than the University, constitutes University Extension work.<sup>12</sup>

The University Extension Division, first directed by George Henderson, was structured into six distinct departments, three teaching departments and three service units, each with their own secretary:

1. Lecture-study: Regular courses of lecture-studies, with syllabi, conversational classes, exercises, and examinations, given at points more or less distant from the University.
2. Class-work: Regular courses of class instruction, in college and university subjects, given in the city of Chicago, and at points more or less distant.
3. Correspondence-teaching: Regular courses in college and university subjects, conducted by correspondence with students residing in various parts of the country.
4. Examination: To accredit the work done in the University Extension and as otherwise provided for.
5. Library and publication: 1. To provide works of reference for students of the University Extension, and such others as may be admitted to its privileges; and to encourage the better utilization of existing facilities. 2. To publish through the University Press, the official organ of the university extension, manuals, syllabi, and other literature pertaining to the work of the Division.
6. District organization and training: To group towns closely connected, for organization into District Associations; and to train those wishing to engage in University Extension work, either as lecturers or as organizers.<sup>13</sup>

George Henderson was the director of University Extension for one year, from 1892 to 1893; Nathaniel Butler for three years, from 1893 to 1896; and Edmund James for six years, from 1896 to 1902. Each department of university extension was under the direction of a secretary. By 1897,

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<sup>12</sup>Official Bulletin, No. 6, (Chicago: The University of Chicago, May 1892), 2.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid, 3.

for matters of economy, the three service departments were abolished as separate units and their duties assumed by the teaching departments.

The University of Chicago opened its doors on Saturday, October 1, 1892 to begin matriculating students. Classes were scheduled to begin on the following Monday, October 3, 1892. On Sunday, October 2, 1892, Richard G. Moulton opened the University Extension lecture-study program at All Souls Church, a local center, with a course in "Literary Study of the Bible," thus making the first course offered by the University of Chicago an extension course.<sup>14</sup>

In its first ten years of existence, the lecture study component of extension delivered 1,326 courses with 1,637,802 attendees at 368 centers in 21 states.<sup>15</sup> Despite its seeming success, lecture study was discontinued in 1911. A number of reasons contributed to its demise. After the turn of the twentieth century, enthusiasm for this form of popular education waned. However, it was more likely that a combination of problems, as well as Harper's death in 1906, that sealed its fate. These problems included the demanding travel requirements of lecturers, the inability to present a

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<sup>14</sup>Goodspeed, p. 246 and Robert M. Roth, ed. A Conspectus to the Self-Study Project of University College, The University of Chicago (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1964) p. 11.

<sup>15</sup>Walter A. Payne, The Decennial Publication of the University of Chicago, First Series I, Dean's Report to the President, The University Extension Division, p. 304.

relevant and cohesive curriculum in this format, the expectation for extension to be financially self-supporting, and, eventually, the shortage of lecturers.<sup>16</sup>

Another not so obvious reason for the demise of lecture study was the erroneous assumption on the part of the University of Chicago that men and women were not interested in converting their work into university credits. In considering the relation of university extension work to regular university studies and university degrees, one of the committees of the University Extension Congress, which met in London, reported through Nathaniel Butler:

. . .that University Extension in America --at least at the University of Chicago -- does not find its chief motive in the attempt to enable men and women not resident at the universities to do the work accomplished in the university class-rooms, or in any way to do work that shall be convertible into university credits  
 ...University Extension in America has primarily this class of men and women in view. . . .  
 . . .But while this is primarily the great function of this movement that has enlarged the activities of the universities, we are forced to recognize distinctly another class of constituents -- namely, those who, for various reasons, are unable to reside at the university, but who nevertheless desire to pursue non-resident study parallel with that given in the class-rooms of the colleges and universities. . .Many of them have in mind subsequent residence, the completion of the courses thus begun, and the taking of degrees".<sup>17</sup>

Indeed, the demand for university classes for credit for "non-resident" students was growing. The concept itself

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<sup>16</sup>Roth, 12-13.

<sup>17</sup>Nathaniel Butler, "University Extension and University Degrees," The University Extension World (January, 1895), 143-144.

was new to higher education. It was made possible by the establishment of urban universities where students were not required to live on campus (or away from home). W. O. Sproull of the University of Cincinnati introduced this "innovation" to the National Conference on University Extension in Philadelphia in 1891. He felt evening instruction consisting of full courses in graduate and undergraduate studies offered by the urban universities would appeal to high school graduates who had to work, pre-professionals, and teachers. He proposed lengthening the time necessary to earn degrees so that a student could continue to earn a living while attending college. "If university extension brings this about it will have done more for higher education than any other movement of this century."<sup>18</sup>

The Class-Study Department of University Extension duplicated the regular course offerings of the quadrangles at various sites<sup>19</sup> in Chicago. Students wishing to earn credit for these courses toward a bachelor's degree had to take and pass an examination given at the university. The

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<sup>18</sup>W. O. Sproull, "College Classes in the Evening," presented at the National Conference on University Extension, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 1891.

<sup>19</sup>Sites could consist of libraries, institutes, YMCA halls, schools, etc. The policy was flexible enough, however, so that if a class was to be managed entirely by individuals, they could meet wherever would be most convenient, even in a private home. "The Class-Work Department," Official Bulletin No. 6, May 1892, 17.

university envisioned the constituency of the classes to be teachers in search of technical instruction, and others who wished to reduce the time in residence necessary to secure a degree.<sup>20</sup> Initially up to one-half of the credit for a bachelor's degree could be accomplished through class study. In 1895-96, despite the current inclination for students to desire degree credits, the University of Chicago reduced the number of credits obtainable via extension from one half to one third. Roth contends that the basic policy of the extension or part-time division of the University of Chicago historically had been one of NOT being degree granting, and therefore, the number of extension credits applicable toward a degree was irrelevant.<sup>21</sup>

In what was probably his first report to President Harper on the condition of the Class-Work Department, Richard Waterman, its secretary, described the difficulties and obstacles which inhibited his ability to progress more quickly. He felt it was imperative to the division's success that there exist a clear understanding of its work. There was apparently confusion between the class-work and lecture-study departments and a suspicion of academic work not done in residence. The World's Fair caused many applicants to put off their starting dates until November or

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<sup>20</sup>Official Bulletin, No. 6, (Chicago: The University of Chicago, May 1892), 22.

<sup>21</sup>Roth, 10.



January. Courses were announced rather than offered, and while classes could be formed in any regular university subject with six or more students, Waterman found this lack of definiteness to be a significant obstacle. The Class-study Department did not have a dedicated physical location for the first six years of its existence and classes were held in schools, churches, or other places, suitable or not for classroom work. An agreement with the Chicago Athenaeum to use its centrally-located rooms and supplement its curriculum quickly proved unsuitable. It was under these conditions that the courses in the Class-Work Division were first offered.<sup>22</sup>

In its first year of existence, 1892-93, despite the problems the Class-Study Division encountered, eleven courses were offered in the autumn and winter quarters (none in the spring) with a total enrollment of 129. Two years later, there were 1142 enrollments in 111 courses.<sup>23</sup> Despite this phenomenal growth, many problems continued to challenge the continued health of the Class-Study division. The new secretary of Class-Study, Ira Howerth, believed "that University Extension on the present basis, while it can be pushed much farther, is doomed sooner or later to

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<sup>22</sup>Richard Waterman, Jr. to William Rainey Harper, 25 November 1893, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>23</sup>William Rainey Harper, "President's Report," in The Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1902), lxxxvii.

fall into discredit." He presented his suggestions "to insure its healthy growth". These included: an endowment sufficient for the division to carry out its plans; a suitable building in downtown Chicago; no distinction between extension faculty and regular faculty and that all faculty required to teach in extension; classes be given regardless of enrollment, a minimum salary of \$30 and a maximum of \$80 be paid an instructor for a course.<sup>24</sup> The issue of appropriate physical space centrally located downtown is one which was never settled adequately. While the secretaries of the Class-Study Division appealed for a building centrally located, Harper had his own ideas. Using the Athenaeum severely limited the nature of the courses the University could offer because it could not duplicate those offered by the Athenaeum. When asked whether he considered making the Athenaeum the downtown headquarters for the University, he replied, "the University must have some where in the city a downtown headquarters. My own feeling is that we should have a headquarter on each side of the city, and I am now negotiating with this in view."<sup>25</sup>

The student body of the Class-Study Department was 87% female and approximately 78% of them were teachers. The

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<sup>24</sup>Ira Howerth to William Rainey Harper, 7 December 1895, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>25</sup>William Rainey Harper to Ferd W. Peck, 10 May 1895, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

most popular courses were in English, philosophy, and pedagogy.<sup>26</sup> Only ten percent of the 5,000 teachers in the Chicago public school system had a college degree. While Harper undoubtedly saw this as a fertile business opportunity, he also desired to improve the education of individual teachers for the benefit of their students and the entire public school system as well as their own professional development. And he wanted to assure that the University of Chicago would do it.

Harper was appointed to an unexpired term on the Chicago Board of Education in 1896 by Mayor Carter Henry Harrison II. James B. Reynolds in a letter to Harper congratulated him on his pluck in going into this fray. "I'm sure you will make Rome howl."<sup>27</sup> Harper, no doubt, viewed his appointment as an opportunity to exert, even more directly, a large influence upon the schools and their teachers. A resolution passed by the Board of Education established that a four years' course in college would be considered the equivalent of four years' experience in teaching.

The teachers say the rule was passed at the instigation of President Harper of the Chicago University, who is not only anxious to procure places for the graduates of his college in the Chicago schools but desires to bring these schools as much under the influence of the

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<sup>26</sup>President's Report, 1898-99, 101.

<sup>27</sup>James B. Reynolds to William Rainey Harper, 25 July 1896, Presidents' Papers, 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

university as possible. . .an attempt would be made at the next meeting of the board to change the rule so as to require four years' experience in teaching, whether the applicant is a college graduate or not. The Mayor assured. . .of his sympathy in the movement.<sup>28</sup>

Harper's tenure as a board member was brief (two years), but not without controversy. He opposed and fought against a \$50 a year salary increase for teachers because he knew the tax levied to fund this increase was insufficient. During a newspaper interview, Harper allegedly proposed that one possible remedy to the lack of funds for salary increases would be to give the increases to the men and not the women.<sup>29</sup> The teachers viewed this as an act of suppression. Many wrote to Harper threatening to boycott the University of Chicago extension classes unless he changed his views. A delegation approached Mayor Harrison to protest Harper's reappointment. When he was not reappointed, Harrison sent Harper a handwritten letter explaining his decision. The problem, according to Harrison, was due to perceptions that the public schools were becoming a training quarters for college courses and of favoritism to the teachers enrolled at the University of Chicago. Harrison stated, "The public must have confidence

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<sup>28</sup>"Dr. Harper is Blamed," Chicago Tribune, 3 June 1898, 10.

<sup>29</sup>Harper maintained that "the statement in the morning papers that I expressed an opinion that the salaries of men and women must be differentiated is absolutely false". William Rainey Harper to Carter Henry Harrison II, 3 June 1898, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

in the public school system".<sup>30</sup> Carter did appoint Harper to chair a commission on education which resulted in the Harper Report, published as the Report of the Educational Commission of the City of Chicago in 1899.<sup>31</sup>

Harper's experience on the Chicago Board of Education reinforced his desire for the University of Chicago to play a major role in upgrading the educational background of Chicago's teachers. While still a board member, Harper raised the issue of organizing study for the Chicago teachers with some of his new acquaintances. One of these was Ella Flagg Young.<sup>32</sup> He asked her "whether it is not in the interest of the teachers in all our schools and consequently in the interest of public school education that

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<sup>30</sup>Carter Henry Harrison II to William Rainey Harper, 8 July 1898, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>31</sup>This 248-page report, which researched city school systems nationally, was hailed as "a valuable document which presents the problems of urban school administration at the turn of the century" by Robert Reid the editor of Margaret Haley's autobiography. Ms. Haley was less impressed. She claims the commission "almost literally composed of butchers and bakers and candlestick makers was nothing but a mouthpiece for Harper". She called Harper an "educational mossback" who "scorned women". Robert L. Reid (ed.), Battleground: The Autobiography of Margaret A. Haley (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1982), 35.

<sup>32</sup>Ella Flagg Young (1845-1918) was a woman of keen intellect. Her many capacities in the Chicago public schools included teacher, principal, district superintendent, principal of the Chicago Normal School, and ultimately superintendent from 1909 to 1915. She was also the first woman elected to the presidency of the National Education Association (NEA) in 1910. Joan K. Smith, Ella Flagg Young, Portrait of a Leader (Ames, IA: Educational Studies Press, 1979).

the work we are trying to accomplish through Lecture Study and Class Study in the university Extension become thoroughly organized". He asked her to encourage her teachers to work through the University of Chicago Extension Division.<sup>33</sup> He also began cultivating a relationship with Mrs. Emmons Blaine (Anita McCormick Blaine, daughter of Cyrus McCormick) who possessed an avid interest in education and who also just happened to have considerable financial resources.<sup>34</sup> Classes heretofore had been conducted anywhere space could be commandeered -- rooms of public or private schools, halls, private parlors, etc. The desire to organize this work at some central location, the fact that

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<sup>33</sup>William Rainey Harper to Ella Flagg Young, 28 October 1898, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. Ella Flagg Young completed the work for her bachelor's degree at the University of Chicago with Harper attending to the overestimation of the time that the dean said she needed to complete it. Ella Flagg Young to William Rainey Harper, 2 December 1899, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. She also taught there and completed her doctorate in 1900 under the direction of John Dewey.

<sup>34</sup>Harper employed an inspired strategy when corresponding with the strongly-opinioned Mrs. Blaine. In their earlier correspondence, Harper made it clear that he was not asking for money from her but, rather, wanted "to raise a question which involves the development of educational work on the North side and at the same time through the entire city". He claimed his experience on the board had compelled him to think very seriously with respect to the situation in Chicago. In a subsequent letter, Harper reiterated that he was not asking for money, but advice. William Rainey Harper to Mrs. Emmons Blaine, 16 March 1897 and 13 April 1897, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

most of the class-study students were teachers, and the potential for funding if educational opportunities for teachers in the Chicago schools were organized, led Harper to draw up "A Proposition to Organize Work at A Central point in the City, With Special Reference to the Work of Teachers in the Chicago Public Schools".<sup>35</sup> In his quarterly Convocation Statement of June, 1898, Harper made the first public statement of his proposition:

In a somewhat careful study of the public-school system of the city of Chicago, it has seemed to me that an important piece of work needed to be undertaken. Of the five thousand teachers in our public schools not more than 10 per cent have received a college education. I have no word to utter except in praise of this great army of conscientious workers. The work they do is the best they can do. It has seemed to me, however, that there is something which could be done and should be done in behalf of this body of teachers. Their expressed interest in advanced study and in the University suggests an attempt to meet their needs more adequately. There should be established for their benefit courses of study exactly equivalent to those now conducted at the University, and the satisfactory completion of these courses should count toward a degree.

. . . For the sum of six or eight thousand dollars a year a thousand or more of the teachers of Chicago could be enabled to do a work which would not only elevate the individual teacher, but also exert an influence upon the instruction of every child with whom the teacher comes

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<sup>35</sup>This undated document outlines the character of the work, admission requirements, faculty, courses, and itemized, estimated costs. A note in Harper's own hand on the document states, "File under Mrs. Blaine". It is probable that Harper was consulting with Mrs. Blaine about the needs of the teachers and how the University of Chicago might be able to meet those needs. "A Proposition to Organize Work at A Central Point in the City, With Special Reference to the Work of Teachers in the Chicago Public Schools", Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

in contact.<sup>36</sup>

In response to Harper's appeal, Mrs. Emmons Blaine agreed to contribute five thousand dollars a year for five years to support the newly formed College for Teachers of the University of Chicago.<sup>37</sup>

Edmund J. James, who had been director of the extension division since 1896, was appointed the first dean of the College for Teachers.<sup>38</sup> Classes began on September 30, 1898 in leased rooms in the Fine Arts Building (originally the Studebaker Building), 203 South Michigan Avenue. Mrs. Blaine was invited to the opening of rooms as was Graham Harris, the president of the board of education.<sup>39</sup>

Instruction was given during the afternoons (4:30 to 6:30 PM), evenings (7:30 to 9:30 PM), and on Saturdays (8:30

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<sup>36</sup>William Rainey Harper, "Quarterly Convocation Statement" June, 1898.

<sup>37</sup>Mrs. Emmons Blaine to William Rainey Harper, 1 August 1898, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago. The University of Chicago Board of Trustees accepted Mrs. Blaine's gift for what they termed "extension for public school teachers." Minutes of the Board of Trustees, The University of Chicago, 2:188, 2 August 1898.

<sup>38</sup>Harper apparently had to negotiate with Edmund J. James regarding the deanship and asked him to "rethink his arrangements desired for the deanship of Teachers College". William Rainey Harper to Edmund J. James, 12 August 1898, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>39</sup>William Rainey Harper to Mrs. Emmons Blaine, 14 September 1898, and William Rainey Harper to Graham Harris, 12 September 1898, Presidents' Papers, 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.



AM through 9:30 PM). There were 271 students in the Autumn Quarter 1898. Seventy-nine per cent of these students were women. Twenty-two courses were offered.<sup>40</sup>

Regarding the purpose for the College for Teachers, Harper said,

It is not our purpose to offer courses which shall teach teachers how to teach. In other words, the work is university work and not the work of a normal school. My own opinion is that in too many cases the instructors have fallen into this mistake. What teachers need is information, not method.<sup>41</sup>

Edmund James agreed that the object of the College was a "scientific, a cultural, (and) a disciplinary one. . .not a special, technological, or pedagogical one." James envisioned no small future for his new college. He would not rest content until

. . .we have organized here a great down town college in which, so far as possible all the work of the other colleges in the University shall be duplicated which can be of service to busy people in any line of active life. . . And this means something for everybody.<sup>42</sup>

Edmund James did not have a long tenure as the dean of

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<sup>40</sup>W. D. MacClintock, The Decennial Publication of the University of Chicago, Dean's Report, University College, 1902, 147-148.

<sup>41</sup>William Rainey Harper to Elizabeth J. Parker, 2 September 1898, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>42</sup>Edmund J. James, "The University of Chicago College for Teachers", address delivered the opening exercises of the College, September 30, 1898. University Record, 111 (October 28, 1898), 189.

Teachers College.<sup>43</sup> He resigned in January, 1900 and on February 27, 1900, Harper appointed William D. MacClintock, formerly dean of the Junior Colleges, as dean of the Teachers College.

The Class-Study Department continued to offer its classes at times working students could attend at sites around the city. Many of its classes now were being offered at the College for Teachers and 669 of their 895 students were teachers. The distinctions became increasingly blurred. The major distinction required the students in the College for Teachers to be matriculated. While Class-Study had no such requirement, 90% of their students were eligible for matriculation. During 1899, The Class-Study Department and the College for Teachers operated independently. In its second year of operation, the enrollment in the College for Teachers did not increase. The fact that Class-Study existed in the same quarters, offered many of the same courses, to the same students at the same time was viewed as the reason for this lack of growth. Clearly something needed to be done.

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<sup>43</sup>It was Harper's "great anxiety. . .for the success of the work" that apparently precipitated his letter to James asking him to return from Paris. "You haven't done much and will do less if not back". William Rainey Harper to Edmund J. James, 27 February 1900, Presidents' Papers, 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. W. D. MacClintock was appointed the dean of the Teacher's College in early 1900. James became the president of Northwestern University in 1902, and in 1905, president of the University of Illinois.

plans for a reorganization/consolidation began at this time.<sup>44</sup> The College for Teachers had the advantage of being organized as a college of the university, it had a larger endowment,<sup>45</sup> better rooms, and a more compact organization than the Class-Study Division of University Extension. The Class-Study Division found it increasingly difficult to attract faculty to teach at the many, frequently inconvenient sites where classes were offered and at salaries that depended upon class enrollment. Public school rooms, which had been used extensively for extension classes, were no longer easily available due to the action of the Chicago Board of Education.<sup>46</sup>

On April 7, 1900, The Board of Trustees adopted the

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<sup>44</sup>Harper had apparently requested written opinions about a proposed reorganization of the College for Teachers and the Class-Study Division from the leadership of these units. The response was favorable. "In fact, we are practically in agreement in regard both to the necessity of a reorganization and as to the general plan that should be adopted". Ira W. Howerth to William Rainey Harper, 23 November 1899, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>45</sup>The financial statement for the College for Teachers for the year ending June 30, 1899 showed the college operating with a deficit. Harper appealed to Mrs. Blaine for more help. William Rainey Harper to Mrs. Emmons Blaine, 25 July 1899, Presidents' Papers, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. Mrs. Blaine promised an additional \$1200 a year.

<sup>46</sup>"The University was subject to the accusation of demanding special favors". W. D. MacClintock, p 151. See also Arthur W. Dunn (Secretary, Class Study) to William Rainey Harper, 18 September 1899, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

following changes: (1) The name of the College for Teachers be changed to University College, (2) the separate faculty be disbanded and all students be placed under the University faculties, (3) the Class-Study Department of Extension be absorbed in the University College.<sup>47</sup>

#### Development, 1900-1939

The name change from the College for Teachers to University College was effected to prevent misconceptions that the college enrolled only teachers, and to emphasize its role and status as a college which conducted regular University courses at such times and at a central location convenient to working students. The name "university college" came into use in the middle of the nineteenth century when the English universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London organized extension centers which offered two years of credits toward a university degree at local sites. These centers were known as "university colleges" and eventually became permanent institutions; Sheffield and Nottingham Colleges in connection with Cambridge, and Reading College in connection with Oxford.<sup>48</sup>

The announcement of the reorganization was published in

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<sup>47</sup>Minutes of the Board of Trustees, The University of Chicago, 2:379, April 7, 1900.

<sup>48</sup>James Creese, The Extension of University Teaching (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1941), 32-36 as quoted in Betty Heycke, "A History of the Origins of Adult Education at the University of Chicago and of Sixty-two Years at the Downtown Center," (unpublished document, 1959), 36.

the Spring Bulletin of 1900. The work of the newly constituted University College began on October 1, 1900. On October 2, 1900, Harper wrote to Mrs. Blaine informing her that the registrations were larger than ever before and the class of students seems higher and stronger. "A larger element of outside people, who are not teachers seems to be coming in". A month later, he wrote her again

If each student is doing half the regular work of a college student, that makes the University College an institution in which over 200 regular students are enrolled doing the full work of college students. In other words, this college in two years is doing a larger work for a smaller sum of money than any college in the United States".<sup>49</sup>

During the Autumn and Winter Quarters of 1901; 515 (117 male and 398 female) students enrolled in the University College as graduate (69), undergraduate (23 senior college and 116 junior college), and unclassified (307) students.<sup>50</sup> In 1902, the total number of registered students in University College fell to 466. In 1903, it fell again to 436. The University of Chicago blamed the declining enrollment of students on the (Superintendent) Cooley promotional plan introduced in 1902. Cooley's plan provided that teachers with seven or more years of experience were to

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<sup>49</sup>William Rainey Harper to Mrs. Emmons Blaine, 2 October 1900 and 23 November 1900, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>50</sup>W. D. MacClintock, The Decennial Publication of the University of Chicago, Dean's Report, University College, 1902, 154.

receive salary increases upon passing subject matter promotional examinations.<sup>51</sup> No courses were required for the preparation of these examinations; however, the Chicago Federation of Teachers accused Superintendent Cooley of "playing into the hands of the University of Chicago and forcing teachers to come (there) for training."<sup>52</sup> The superintendent and the officers of the Chicago Normal School reacted to this criticism by hurriedly beginning free extension classes for teachers at the Chicago Normal School.

MacClintock pointed out that the Chicago Normal School's extension classes, while not competitive with the higher levels of college work, were free of cost, were held at more convenient places, and were, in the minds of the teachers, connected with the examinations.<sup>53</sup> Superintendent Cooley assured the Federation, the teachers, and the University of Chicago that the Normal School extension classes were intended as simply one convenient opportunity of studying the subjects included in the program for the promotional examinations. Private study or study at

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<sup>51</sup>Proceedings, Board of Education, 1902-3, 21.

<sup>52</sup>W. D. MacClintock to William Rainey Harper, 24 October 1903, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>53</sup>W. D. MacClintock, "Report of the Dean of University College", President's Report 1902-1904, 99.

another institution could also be undertaken.<sup>54</sup> Despite these assurances, and, perhaps to fulfill a more immediate need, the teachers enrolled for instruction in the Normal School extension classes in great numbers. In October, 1903, 2085 of the 5000 Chicago public school teachers were enrolled.<sup>55</sup>

MacClintock advised Harper to work toward convincing Superintendent Cooley and the Board to give credit toward promotional examinations for work done in academic institutions. Toward this end, MacClintock consulted with the presidents of Armour Institute (Dr. Gunsaulus who did not wish teachers at Armour), Lewis Institute (Dr. Carman who was enthusiastic), and Northwestern University (Dr. E. J. James who "was willing to go with us - though he was not particularly enthusiastic").<sup>56</sup> Cooley, however, intended to ask the Board of Education for \$100,000 to upgrade the Normal School. He proposed that the courses be made

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<sup>54</sup>E. G. Cooley to William Rainey Harper, 6 August 1903, Presidents' Papers, 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. In this letter, Cooley quotes from a printed statement in the announcements of the Board of Education which states, "The [promotional] examinations will not be based on the [Normal School] lectures."

<sup>55</sup>Undated, unnamed newspaper clipping attached to correspondence from W. D. MacClintock to William Rainey Harper, 24 October 1903, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>56</sup>W. D. MacClintock to William Rainey Harper, 24 October 1903, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

required courses for the promotional examinations and that their successful completion should replace the examinations. Cooley wanted four centers, including a downtown location to make it convenient for the teachers to take these courses. Without allowing other institutions of higher education the opportunity to have their classes count in lieu of the promotional examinations, University College faced an uncertain future.<sup>57</sup>

It must be noted that the public school teacher was not the only public which the leaders of University College thought should be served. In a wave of experiments that occurred during 1903-1906, programs of special courses for "workers in charitable and reformatory institutions", for religious workers and Sunday School teachers, and for clerical and managerial railroad employees were launched. These programs sought to extend the university's influence into the cultural, industrial, and business life of the city; a first bold step toward bridging the gap between college education and business and industry.<sup>58</sup>

The competition for enrollments with the Chicago Normal School was not the only uncertainty facing University College. Mrs. Blaine's yearly gift had been pledged for five years and was due to expire in May, 1903. She renewed

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<sup>57</sup>W. D. MacClintock to William Rainey Harper, 7 January 1904, Presidents' Papers, 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>58</sup>Roth, 17.



her endowment, annually for two more years, through the academic year 1905-06. Without this money, because of the University's insistence that University College "pay its own way", financial uncertainty now plagued the college. Harper had always justified the tuition differences between University College and the University proper because the University College student did not have the same access to the library, gymnasium, and other facilities that the on-campus students had, and because "it was intended to make a difference in favor of the student in the city." His financial worries had Harper wondering "[if] we have gone too far and that we must change".<sup>59</sup>

In early 1905, Harper informed his friends and colleagues that he had cancer and needed an operation.<sup>60</sup> In January, 1906, he died, taking his original vision of education with him. The future of University College was left to his successor, Harry Pratt Judson, during the nadir of its financial health.

Superintendent Cooley (who, incidently, was an alumnus

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<sup>59</sup>William Rainey Harper to Edwin Sparks, 2 November 1905, Presidents' Papers, 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. Sparks, who was the curator of the historical museum, was appointed to the deanship of University College in July, 1905.

<sup>60</sup>Letters of sympathy and encouragement arrived from around the country, including letters from David Starr Jordan (Stanford), Nicholas Murray Butler (Columbia), G. Stanley Hall (Clark), and Charles Van Hise (Wisconsin). Presidents' Papers, 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

of the University of Chicago) never did get the Chicago Board of Education to approve the funds necessary to carry out his plan for the Chicago Normal School. There was too much opposition from the Roman Catholics and competition for monies from other interests. Knowing that he could not provide the kind of teacher preparation necessary without these funds, in April, 1906, he proposed to the School Management Committee (the chair of which was Jane Addams) of the Board of Education that credit for promotion be awarded on the basis of class records of any accredited university and that promotional examinations be discontinued. W. D. MacClintock believed this plan would "make University College" and Harry Pratt Judson, given his challenges, was "watching Mr. Cooley's plan with interest".<sup>61</sup> Cooley's plan was adopted by the Board of Education on May 23, 1906, but not without controversy. The plan was received enthusiastically by the University of Chicago and the younger teachers. The Chicago Teachers Federation called Cooley's proposal "a method of keeping a long list of teachers on the short side of the payroll [and which] pretended to be one of academic advancement".<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>W. D. MacClintock to Harry Pratt Judson, 9 May 1906, and Harry Pratt Judson to W. D. MacClintock, 10 May 1906, Presidents' Papers, 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>62</sup>Reid (ed.), 104. Margaret Haley advised Jane Addams to have the proposal considered by the teachers before approving it. Her advice was not heeded. A copy of the plan was printed as "Study Course Plan for Promotion of

Unfortunately, even Cooley's plan could not sustain University College without Mrs. Blaine's endowment. It was a time for retrenchment and economy. The experiments with courses for social workers and railway employees were discontinued. The rent at the downtown center could not be afforded and the decision was made to move University College to "the commodious rooms" of Emmons Blaine Hall (a gift from Mrs. Blaine for the School of Education) on the Quadrangles.<sup>63</sup>

Despite the "advantages" to being on the quads, the students found it inconvenient and the commute difficult. The number of students attending classes in University College dropped to 150 in 1907-08.<sup>64</sup> A petition signed by 215 public school teachers was sent to Judson asking him to re-establish University College downtown.<sup>65</sup> Judson and the

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Teachers", (Adopted May 23, 1906, amended September 25, 1907), The Chicago Board of Education Bulletin, No. 33, November 4, 1907, 281-283.

<sup>63</sup>Minutes of the Board of Trustees, The University of Chicago, 5:414, June 9, 1906. Harper's successor, Harry Pratt Judson, rationalized the move to Mrs. Blaine by assuring her that the classes would be offered at the same times and days, that the campus was a superior learning environment to an office building, and the administration of the college would now be in the hands of the regular college deans. Harry Pratt Judson to Mrs. Emmons Blaine, 2 June 1906, Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>64</sup>David A. Robertson, "Report of the Secretary of University College", President's Report 1908-09, 89.

<sup>65</sup>Petition (undated), University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. Heycke, 42 indicated that this petition was

Board of Trustees were impressed with the demand for collegiate education by part-time students. Walter A. Payne, Dean of University College in 1908, said "The constituency of University College is a discriminating one and is satisfied with nothing but the best institution."<sup>66</sup> Discriminating perhaps, but higher education choices were limited for the part-time student population in Chicago during the first fifteen years of the twentieth century. In 1914, 2500 Chicago teachers petitioned President Edmund J. James and the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois to open a college in Chicago. The petition pointed to the University of Chicago as the sole institution of college grade in which work may be done in the evening and on weekends. Criticism was directed at the expense and lack of adequate course scheduling for students working on degrees.<sup>67</sup>

A balanced budget, an increase in endowments, and the availability of low-rent classrooms through the educational department of the YMCA, brought the University College back to a central location, 19 South LaSalle Street in 1908.

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written in 1907.

<sup>66</sup>Walter A. Payne, "Report of the Dean of University College", The President's Report 1908-09, 85.

<sup>67</sup>"Ask State University to Open College Here," Herald American, 26 November 1914. "U. of I. Branch Put Up to Board," Chicago Daily Tribune, 26 November 1914. Newspaper clippings in University Extension Records, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

classrooms were needed for late afternoons, evenings, and Saturdays. Through its arrangement with the YMCA, the University was able to pay for only the times it used the rooms. Enrollments rose from 429 students for academic year 1908-09 (this was even higher than the number of students enrolled in 1905-06 prior to the move to campus) and continued to rise to a high of 4438 students for academic year 1933-34.<sup>68</sup> The students who attended University College who were teachers earned promotional credits, but

There is manifest among an increasing number of the students of the college a desire to classify and become candidates for a degree. This attitude should be encouraged in every possible way. This will call for a gradual expansion of the curriculum of the college until it includes not only practically all of the required courses, but a generous provision of electives -- Senior College and graduate courses.<sup>69</sup>

The University College Dean, Walter A. Payne, knew that the finite and minimally appropriate accommodations of the YMCA Building would seriously hamper further growth and development of the college in spite of the demand for it. Additionally, the courses offered in University College were taught as an overload and salaries were once again dependent upon the enrollment in the class. Instruction was being limited by these conditions which, admittedly balanced the

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<sup>68</sup>"University College Attendance Report", University Extension Records, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>69</sup>Walter A. Payne, "Report of the Dean of University College", President's Report 1909-10, 82.

budget at the expense of the faculty.<sup>70</sup>

The lack of adequate space and the need to be financially solvent were major obstacles identified and bemoaned by the University of Chicago presidents and virtually every University College Dean throughout the college's history. Yet, University College never had an adequate or permanent home.

In 1913, the college moved to the Bryant and Stratton Building at 80 East Randolph Street. No rooms were rented in addition to the classrooms so students had no waiting or lounge space. There was no library until 1914 when the Chicago Public Library provided a separate room for their use. These quarters were also outgrown and in December, 1918, the University College moved to 116 South Michigan Avenue (The Lakeview Building). Great expectations were expressed about the new facilities, but the enrollments after World War I soared dashing any hopes for stability.<sup>71</sup> The University College would move three more times by 1945.<sup>72</sup> Harper's hopes for a building owned by the

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<sup>70</sup>Walter A. Payne, "Report of the Dean of University College," President's Report 1910-11, 86.

<sup>71</sup>Heycke, 43. Judson published a list of 11 buildings that were needed by the University. A building for University College was last on his list which further exacerbated the continually frustrating space situation for the college. Harry Pratt Judson, President's Report 1917-19, 13.

<sup>72</sup>In 1927, they moved to another floor of the Lakeview Building. Here they first had a downtown office for the college as well as a small reading room and a lecture room.

University and designed for educational purposes at a downtown center never become a reality.

Inadequate facilities did not deter student enrollments and the University College was not a financial drain on the University. It operated with a \$1350.39 deficit from 1908-1911, and a surplus of \$55,169.65 from 1912-1922.<sup>73</sup> It was during 1913 to 1917, however, when competition for the adult part-time student market finally entered the scene.

During the 1920s, University College, flush with its seeming prosperity, and perhaps, as a reaction to its new academic competition<sup>74</sup>, began to experiment with cooperative educational ventures. These included evening courses of college grade for the Institute of American Meat Packers in 1923-24 in cooperation with the School of Commerce and Administration; a training program for

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In 1930, the University College was quartered in the Gage Building at 18 South Michigan Avenue. In 1945, they were back at 19 South LaSalle Street (where they had been in 1908) prompted by the discontinuance of the YMCA College. Heycke, 44-45 and Roth, 19.

<sup>73</sup>Emery T. Filbey, "Financial Statement", University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. The surplus for academic year 1923-24 alone was \$3986.78.

<sup>74</sup>"University College, 1898-1948," Presidents' Papers 1925-1948 Addenda, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. This work, author unknown, confirmed the University's awareness of its competitors. "The situation in the Chicago School System has been such that Catholic schools offering the type of course desired have enjoyed gains in their enrollment and many teachers have expressed the feeling that they would rather go elsewhere where success is more assured and expense is less, rather than take their work at University College."

chemists, teachers, and engineers with the American Chemical Society and the Chicago Public Schools in 1925-26; cooperative courses in lithography with the lithography industry authorities and University faculty in 1927-28; and in Spring, 1926, public lectures were revived.<sup>75</sup> Enrollment in these initiatives was largely responsible for the increases seen during the 1920s.

From 1917 to 1923, Nathaniel Butler served as the dean of University College. Having been intimately involved in extension activities at the University of Chicago, Butler left to become the president of Colby College in 1896. He returned to the University of Chicago in 1901. In 1923, when he was 70 years old, President Ernest Burton asked him to leave the University College deanship and work in the president's office. His deanship could be described as one of benignity.

In 1923, Emery T. Filbey became the dean of University College.<sup>76</sup> His vision of the University College was

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<sup>75</sup>Heycke, 52. Roth, 20-21. Roth analyzed the revival of these public lectures as symptomatic of the need to broaden the base of extension service, rather than to resurrect Harper's lecture-study program.

<sup>76</sup>Between 1917 and 1923, University College had two deans, Nathaniel Butler and Emery Filbey. Between 1923, when Harry Pratt Judson left the presidency of the University after 16 years, and 1929, when Robert Maynard Hutchins took office, there were three presidents; Ernest DeWitt Burton (1923-1925), Max Mason (1925-1928), and Frederic C. Woodward (1928-1929). Hutchins would serve almost 22 years as president. Carl F. Huth, the dean of University College beginning in 1927, served until 1944.



multifaceted. He saw it as an agency for bringing the "fruits of investigation and research" conducted by the members of the University's staff to the community of Chicago, and expanding opportunities for investigation through staff contact with mature students. He believed the college fulfilled a demand for general cultural training. He wanted to offer credit courses in such a way as to afford systematic and progressive study toward a first degree for part-time students. Filbey did not envision serving the degree seeking students as "the major objective" of University College, but believed students of "marked ability" should be encouraged and able to take classes to accomplish this. In order to function properly, Filbey stressed the need to obtain a properly equipped building and an endowment to survive.<sup>77</sup> The issue was apparently important enough that the Board of Trustees formed a committee to look into the future directions for University College.<sup>78</sup>

Overall enrollments in University College steadily increased between 1923-24 and 1925-26. Beginning in 1926-27 (a year in which tuition and fees were increased),

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<sup>77</sup>Emery T. Filbey, "University College: Report and Recommendations," 10 December 1923, University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>78</sup>Minutes of the Board of Trustees, The University of Chicago, 13:449-450, December 13, 1923. No report from this committee has been found.

enrollments fluctuated between a high of 4438 in 1933-34 to 2994 in 1939-40. The number of graduate students and unclassified (non-matriculated) students increased, while the number of undergraduates decreased.<sup>79</sup> There were many explanations put forth for the decrease in undergraduate enrollments. The Dean of University College from 1926-1944, Carl F. Huth, outlined his personal impressions in a memo to Emery T. Filbey, who was now vice president under the presidency of Robert Maynard Hutchins. He stressed the following points. Many of the University of Chicago policies (many of them recent) were working against attracting the mature student. These included their higher tuition, refusal to invest in adequate physical space, misunderstanding of the admissions process, thesis/essay requirements, Hutchins' "New Plan" and the difficulty of implementing it for part-time education and its comprehensive examination requirement. Huth also cited the decreasing number of teachers without bachelor's degrees, hostility of the school administration toward the University of Chicago (and favor toward the Catholic institutions), and the favored position of the Chicago Normal College as external reasons for decreased enrollments. Other possible reasons included quite vocal faculty dissatisfaction regarding abridgement of their freedom, and the perception

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<sup>79</sup>"University College Attendance Report," University Extension Records, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

that the faculty and student body at the University of Chicago was radical and excessively Jewish.<sup>80</sup>

Additionally, in the early 1930s, the Depression, no doubt, required a number of prospective students to defer their academic dreams or to attend a less expensive institution.

The mounting problems during the 1930s forced a decision that had spent years being avoided. Should the University College continue and, if so, in what form? To compete with the other higher education institutions for the part-time student population seeking a traditional degree program, it would need to arrange for adequate facilities, staff and course offerings. Dean Huth favored the shift toward more informal, non-credit work for professional and community groups.<sup>81</sup> This direction was taken for a number of reasons. It would carve out a new market in Chicago for the University which was clearly finding it philosophically and financially difficult to support a systematic credit program downtown (and which was no longer the only show in

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<sup>80</sup>Carl F. Huth to Emery T. Filbey, 20 October 1937, University Extension Records, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>81</sup>As early as 1928, Dean Huth began advocating a move in the direction of cooperative, non-credit, professional programming. "Nowhere in the country is there so remarkably varied a chance as in Chicago to build up that fruitful interlocking of the practical concerns of the merchant, the industrial, the professional man and the executive with the specialist and research man in the several arts and sciences." "Summary of Dean Huth's Talk: Citizens Committee Meeting," 2 February 1928, University Presidents' Papers 1925-45, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

town); there was a growing interest in adult education as an academic subject; and it would be a vehicle for the University to exercise leadership and share the fruits of its research with the broader public.

Clearly, the advice that Hutchins received encouraged a move away from undergraduate part-time education.

Similar opportunities are presented in many of the social and business organizations of the city. The University should immediately take steps to appropriate these general community relationships on graduate training and research levels just as Northwestern, Loyola and the YMCA have appropriated the field of undergraduate training of employed men and women.<sup>82</sup>

The University College did not totally abandon its credit offerings, indeed, beginning in 1931, evening classes in business and related fields were offered through University College by the School of Commerce and Administration. These courses were offered systematically so that over a period of a few years the major portion of the School's program would be available to persons attending University College.<sup>83</sup> Over a reasonable period of time, a student could complete the necessary work for the degree, although one year of full-time residence was required. Between 1931 and 1939, the number of courses offered for

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<sup>82</sup>Author unknown to Robert M. Hutchins, 31 January 1930, President's Papers 1925-1948 Addenda, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>83</sup>"Downtown Evening Classes in Business," Bulletin, September, 1931, 2. University of Chicago, University Extension Records, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

credit by University College was virtually the same.<sup>84</sup>

The University of Chicago saw its mission toward adult education differently than its students. The University had stated many times that University College was not primarily a degree granting unit, but in the mid-1920s about 100 University College students were receiving degrees each year. Additionally, a 1930 questionnaire which polled 2,315 students enrolled in University College, found that 76.8% of them were working on degrees. This was clearly the majority.<sup>85</sup>

For Hutchins, the aim of education was the pursuit of truth, not degrees. Hutchins instituted an intellectual "open door" policy for admission to the university in 1934. It was designed for mature men and women who lacked high school credentials, but who were capable of university work. The plan was not for those whose chief objective in going to college was to acquire the prestige of a degree, but, rather for those who actually wanted an education. Indeed, they would not be eligible for degrees. These students were

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<sup>84</sup>There were 162 sections offered in 1930-31, 163 in 1935-56 (although the new business offerings were included in this figure), and 170 in 1939-40. University College Bulletins, University Extension Records, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>85</sup>Carl F. Huth, "Summary of Dean Huth's Talk: Citizens Committee Meeting," 2 February 1928, University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945. The University Extension Services, University of Chicago Survey Series, Volume VIII, March 1932. Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

admitted as students-at-large.<sup>86</sup>

Higher education was clearly becoming the vehicle for upward mobility, increasing the large demand for part-time credit degree programs. In spite of this market pressure, the University of Chicago resisted it and chose instead to pursue its academic ideal. By 1939, the University College had begun the process of focusing its curriculum on non-credit offerings. Whether this decision represented a return to the original goals of Harper's Extension Division, a transplanting of them into a new time frame, or a completely new direction had been debated, but never satisfactorily resolved.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>"Higher Education for Everybody," The Chicago American, 28 June 1934, 34. "U. of C. Will Give Adults a New Deal in Education," Chicago Tribune, 26 June 1934. "U. of C. Offers Education to Man in Street," Herald and Examiner, 26 June 1934.

<sup>87</sup>Roth, 25-26.

## CHAPTER 4

### NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY EVENING CLASSES

#### Origins, 1891-1933

By 1891, Northwestern University had already existed for forty years. Initially a small, liberal arts college set on the banks of Lake Michigan in Evanston, Illinois, it had dreams of building itself into a major, national university. It had affiliated with the Chicago Medical College in 1870, the Union College of Law in 1873, the Illinois College of Pharmacy in 1886, and added a College of Dental and Oral Surgery in 1887. These affiliated professional schools were located in Chicago and operated under their own budgets and boards of trustees.

Henry Wade Rogers, who was inaugurated as Northwestern's tenth president in February, 1891, made it clear that his vision for the university was a lofty one. One element of his vision was to unify the professional schools in Chicago and the College of Liberal Arts in Evanston by bringing them all under one board of trustees and president.<sup>1</sup> Rogers also was involved in bringing

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<sup>1</sup>The general history of Northwestern has been taken from Harold F. Williamson and Payson S. Wild, Northwestern University: A History 1850-1975 (Evanston: Northwestern

university extension to Chicago. In November, 1891, Northwestern, along with Lake Forest, Madison, Beloit, the University of Illinois, and Dr. Harper (who represented the nascent University of Chicago), announced their plan for carrying on university extension work in Chicago and its vicinity through a local extension society.<sup>2</sup> The faculty of the College of Liberal Arts elected faculty to serve as representatives of Northwestern on the Joint Board of University Extension.<sup>3</sup> The faculty's enthusiasm for university extension, however, did not match that of their president. By February, 1893, the faculty voted "that the question of announcing University Extension courses in the next issue of the catalogue should be left to the President".<sup>4</sup> Rogers did not miss the writing on the wall. He had many visions for the university but did not have the resources to realize all of them. Regarding University Extension he made the following statement after conceding his faculty's position:

The public interest in the work of the University Extension has not passed unnoticed. Some of the universities of the country have organized University

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University, 1976).

<sup>2</sup>The Northwestern. 21 November 1891, 1.

<sup>3</sup>"Minutes of the College of Liberal Arts, 1856-1896," 25 November 1891, 520. Northwestern University Archives, Deering Library, Evanston.

<sup>4</sup>"Minutes of the College of Liberal Arts, 1856-1896," 14 February 1893, 552. Northwestern University Archives, Deering Library, Evanston.



Extension Departments, and appointed instructors whose sole duty is to carry on the University Extension Work. This work is an experiment, and it may be too early to predict what the final outcome of it in this country is to be. Some of our professors have been engaged during the year in lecturing at University Extension centres, but only to a limited extent. It is evident that very little can be done in this direction without seriously interfering with the more important work which we have to do in the University itself. The Faculty of Liberal Arts have not thought it wise to encourage here the formation of a department of University Extension, and it seems to me that as a University we may well leave the experiment to be worked out by the institutions which have engaged in it. The work which we have to do inside the University is so great, and its needs so urgent, that it would seem the wiser policy for us, at present, to limit ourselves to the regular work of the University.<sup>5</sup>

Rogers resigned in June, 1900 because of apparent incongruity between his aspirations for Northwestern and those of some influential members of the board of trustees.

Daniel Bonbright, former dean of the College of Liberal Arts, became acting president for 18 months until the trustees appointed Edmund J. James to the presidency. During Bonbright's term as acting president, Northwestern purchased the Tremont Hotel Building at Lake and Dearborn in Chicago. This building became the Northwestern University Building and housed the professional schools beginning in fall of 1902.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Henry Wade Rogers, President's Report, 1892-93, November, 1893, 9.

<sup>6</sup>Williamson and Wild, 102. Maurice W. Sedlak and Harold F. Williamson, The Evolution of Management Education: A History of the Northwestern University J. L. Kellogg Graduate School of Management, 1908-1983 (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1983), 11.

Edmund J. James had been on the faculty of the Wharton school of Finance at the University of Pennsylvania before accepting a position at the University of Chicago in 1895 where he served as extension professor of public administration, director of the extension division, and, in 1900, dean of the University College. James had also been actively involved in extension work prior to his appointment at the University of Chicago. He had served as the first president of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching in Philadelphia in 1890. Henry Wade Rogers and William Rainey Harper had been instrumental in bringing James to Chicago in May, 1891 to introduce University Extension to Chicago through an address given at the Newberry Library.

James, as president of Northwestern, agreed with Rogers that Northwestern would rank among the leading centers of research and teaching. To do this he wanted to expand Northwestern's curricula into the fields of engineering, business, and education. He wanted to expand the physical plant dramatically, and he wanted to hire more clerical help to free the faculty for more important work.<sup>7</sup> He also did not want to sever his connections with the university extension effort. "The fact that one university in a country or a locality carries on university extension work

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<sup>7</sup>Williamson and Wild, 102.

with success is no reason why others may not do as well."<sup>8</sup>

James was unable to put many of his plans into effect. His attempts to raise an endowment were conceived on a large scale, but came to nought.<sup>9</sup> After two years, he began to question whether he could indeed effect major change at Northwestern. When he was offered the presidency of the University of Illinois in spring, 1904, he took it.

Once again the board had to search for a president and once again they appointed the current dean of the College of Liberal Arts to serve as acting president in the interim. Thomas F. Holgate came to Northwestern as a member of the mathematics faculty in 1893. He had become the dean of the College of Liberal Arts in 1903. As dean, he was instrumental in securing "Courses for Teachers":

Early in the year announcement was made of a number of courses of study which were offered in several departments, and especially adapted to the needs and

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<sup>8</sup>Edmund J. James, "New President of Northwestern Gives His Ideas on Education," Chicago Tribune, 23 January 1902.

<sup>9</sup>James tried to put to use some of the fund raising techniques that had worked so well with William Rainey Harper at the University of Chicago, such as publishing a report, "The Needs of Northwestern University" in April, 1902 in which he let the philanthropic public know just what types of projects needing funding. "We should have a department for the supervision of secondary schools connected with the University and put upon its accredited list, but no funds are available at present for this very necessary work". (p.2). James had also approached Andrew Carnegie without success. "I think it would be better to ask Mr. Carnegie to do something specific and definite like that of providing for a School of Technology for Northwestern University". Edmund J. James to Frank P. Crandon, 24 April 1902, Edmund J. James Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

convenience of teachers in the Evanston Public and High Schools. These courses were taken advantage of by about a dozen teachers, some of them registering as regular candidates for a degree. Among the courses so announced was one by Professor George A. Coe on "Education in Religion and Morals," to be given as a series of eight lectures during the second semester. Through the kindness of the Evanston Young Men's Christian Association these lectures were delivered in the Y.M.C.A. lecture hall and were opened to the general public. They were largely attended throughout and as a result there was organized a permanent branch of the Religious Education Association.<sup>10</sup>

A number of experiments with extending university courses to a wider public, teachers and others, were also initiated under Holgate's ad interim presidency. The School of Music established a Department of Public School Music in Fall of 1905. While these courses were designed to prepare students to teach music in the public schools, many of the courses were held in the late afternoon which would make them available to interested teachers. Miss Leila Harlow, Supervisor of Music in the Evanston public schools, had been placed in charge of "the practical application of the work." By the next term, the Quarterly Bulletin included special announcements to "School Teachers" which stated that the work of the Course in Public School Music was being arranged with special reference to the practical needs of teachers in the grade schools. "The course of nine lessons will include ear-training, dictation (oral and written) and elementary theory. The class will meet once a week on Thursdays from 5

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<sup>10</sup>Thomas F. Holgate, "Report of the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, 1903-04," in President's Report, 1902-04, November, 1904, 63.

to 6 o'clock in the Theory Class Room in Music Hall".<sup>11</sup>

This was the only bulletin in which a special announcement to teachers was made, but the class continued to be offered in the late afternoon.

In his President's Report, 1905-06, Holgate reported:

During the fall months of 1905 an experiment was made in extending the work of the College by offering lectures in various subjects in Northwestern University Building in Chicago on certain evenings of each week. Courses were announced in History, Economics, Geology, French, and Spanish, and though the beginning was small, sufficient interest was shown on the part of young persons deprived of regular college instruction to justify the conclusion that in such work the University would find a wide field of usefulness. Courses properly announced and arranged there in the late afternoon or evening would, without doubt, be of great service, and would command much attention. The situation of the building makes it easy of access from all parts of the city.<sup>12</sup>

These courses were "arranged to meet the needs of persons who are unable to attend regular lectures in College during the day, and are open to all who may register for them". They were taught by regular members of the faculty and credit toward a degree would be given if entrance requirements were met and examinations passed. The classes met at 8 or 9 o'clock.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Quarterly Bulletin of School of Music, 1905-06, Nos. 3 & 4, October 1905 and February 1906, Northwestern University, Evanston.

<sup>12</sup>Thomas F. Holgate, President's Report, 1905-06, Northwestern University, November, 1906, 27.

<sup>13</sup>Northwestern University College of Liberal Arts, "Evening Courses" University College/Evening Division/Continuing Education, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

In 1907-08, rather than announcing "Evening Courses", the College of Liberal Arts announced "Lecture Courses for Teachers". This change was in reaction to Superintendent Cooley's plan.<sup>14</sup> The University of Chicago had moved their downtown operation to their south side campus in 1906 leaving a void that Northwestern may have hoped to fill. These courses were offered in the evenings, on Saturdays, and "such days as [would meet] the convenience of teachers of Chicago and vicinity." The announcement stated that the courses, although planned for teachers, were open to anyone who desired to take them. "It is expected that courses will be announced from year to year that will form a systematic program of study covering well defined fields in several departments of study".<sup>15</sup> Six courses were announced in the fall of 1907. In the next term, 15 courses were announced.<sup>16</sup> There were conflicting reports as to the

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<sup>14</sup>"What is expected to become the nucleus of a teachers' college in the business district of Chicago will be inaugurated Saturday, September 28 (1907). . .at Lake and Dearborn. . .This move is considered particularly significant in view of the action of the Board of Education in the early summer in placing the promotion of teachers in the elementary grades on a basis of credits received in college work covered by such a course, or an examination in certain of the subjects thus broadly treated". Evening Post, 20 September 1907.

<sup>15</sup>Northwestern University, College of Liberal Arts, "Lecture Courses for Teachers, 1907-08," University College/Evening Division/Continuing Education, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

<sup>16</sup>Northwestern University, College of Liberal Arts, "Special Teachers Courses, Second Series, 1907-08," University College/Evening Division/Continuing Education,

number of students enrolled in these courses during 1907-08. This probably had to do with their status as matriculated or non-matriculated, matriculated students being considered part of the university community. The number of students was between 108 and 125.<sup>17</sup>

These courses began attracting the attention of the faculty of the College of Liberal Arts who were almost exclusively located on the Evanston Campus. The members of the faculty who taught in Chicago were reasonably consistent from term to term. The faculty referred the matter of evening classes in the Northwestern University Building to their Committee on Admission in October, 1906. In November, 1907, they voted that an investigation and report be made on the relationship between the faculty of the College of Liberal Arts and the courses in the city building. In January, 1908, they made the following recommendation:

That the work in connection with the courses offered in Chicago be so arranged as to justify a credit of 2 semester hours as a minimum. To accomplish this it is recommended that the period of instruction be extended to 1 1/2 hours per week for 12 weeks and that additional work by the student of at least 5 hours per week be required. It is further recommended that the courses of the current circular be approved for college credit,

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Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

<sup>17</sup>Bulletin of Northwestern University, "Report of the President, 1907-08", "Report of the Acting Dean, College of Liberal Arts," November, 1908, 22. Bulletin of Northwestern University, "Report of the President, 1908-09, February, 1910, 18.

except Geometry, Latin I and II.<sup>18</sup>

The next year, 1908-09, "Extension Courses for Teachers" were announced and included other extension courses specifically arranged to meet the needs of medical school students who were entering without full preparation. Each course would entitle the student to one semester hour of credit (it seems the recommendation of the liberal arts faculty had yet to be heeded). There were a total of 12 courses offered.<sup>19</sup> Enrollment was 49 students which was considerably less than the previous year.<sup>20</sup>

Enrollments continued to fluctuate. In 1909-10, there were twenty-six students, in 1910-11, 125. In 1911-12, the extension courses offered by the College of Liberal Arts were discontinued.

In 1910, the organization of the courses fell to Dr. Arthur H. Wilde, Ph.D., Professor of History and Secretary of the University Council. Wilde was listed as Director of Extension Work in January, 1911.<sup>21</sup> He was a strong advocate of the extension courses, as was Thomas F. Holgate

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<sup>18</sup>Minutes of the College of Liberal Arts, 1906-1916; 30 October 1906, 5; 26 November 1907, 41; 21 January 1908, 43.

<sup>19</sup>Northwestern University, College of Liberal Arts, "Extension Courses for Teachers, '08-09," University College/Evening Division/Continuing Education, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

<sup>20</sup>Bulletin of Northwestern University, "Report of the President, 1908-09, February, 1910, 18.

<sup>21</sup>Northwestern University Bulletin, 12 January 1911, Vol. XI, Number 16, 4.



in his capacity as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and as President ad interim during 1904-06.<sup>22</sup> Despite this advocacy for the extension courses, the faculty of the College of Liberal Arts began flexing their governance muscles. For the 1910-11 academic year, a course of lectures by various members of the various faculties (primarily the medical and law faculty) of the University around the subject of "The Teacher as Public Servant" was, in general terms, approved by the College of Liberal Arts faculty. They reiterated their previous points as to how college credit would be given: (1) that preliminary matriculation and registration were required, (2) the course would consist of 16 lectures of seventy-five minutes each and require an additional five hours of work for each lecture in order to carry two hours credit, and (3) that the examinations be set and credits certified through the Department of Education of the College of Liberal Arts.<sup>23</sup> In addition to this new course of lectures for teachers, an advisory council of principals and teachers was established, summer courses in Evanston were announced (which included

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<sup>22</sup>When Abram W. Harris became president in 1906, Holgate returned full time to his position as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. No one appeared to have been appointed acting dean while he served as president. Holgate was on leave for academic year 1907-08 and U. S. Grant, Ph.D., Professor of Geology was appointed acting dean. Professor Grant had taught extension courses in Chicago since their inception.

<sup>23</sup>Minutes of the College of Liberal Arts, 1906-1916, Vol III, 4 June 1910, 139.

two courses in education as well as five sessions of a roundtable for superintendents and principals), college courses in Evanston at hours convenient for teachers were announced, and the School of Music began to offer certain of its courses in the theory and history of music at the University Building.<sup>24</sup> Clearly, it appeared that Northwestern was actively seeking this new student population.

The courses arranged by Professor Wilde in Chicago were approved for college credit and also to count as residence by the Committee on Undergraduate Study who had been given power for this approval. They also revised the basis of credit to be twelve lectures of one hundred minutes each, with additional work amounting to at least four hours per lecture to equal one and one-half semester hours credit.<sup>25</sup>

Two weeks later, the faculty voted to limit the credit allowed for extension work:

That the aggregate of credits for extension courses which may be counted for the individual student in meeting the requirement of a year of residence be limited to fifteen semester hours: and that the aggregate of such credits to be counted in making the total of one hundred and twenty semester hours be limited to thirty semester hours.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Northwestern University Bulletins, 7 June 1910, 20 September 1910, 27 September 1910, 12 October 1910, 19 October 1910, 5 January 1911, and 12 January 1911.

<sup>25</sup>Minutes of the College of Liberal Arts, 1906-1916, Vol. III, 6 December 1910, 154.

<sup>26</sup>Minutes of the College of Liberal Arts, 1906-1916, Vol. III, 20 December 1910, 157.

Wilde was infuriated that not only was he unaware that such a recommendation was being made but that it was passed at a meeting he was unable to attend. In a letter to the president, Abram W. Harris, Wilde predicted that this action would block the expansion of extension work.

Teachers will not transfer their work to us only to re-transfer it to the U. of Chicago to take their degree. We shall therefore lose what has seemed to me a large opportunity to gain the good will of the Chicago school teachers and their attachment to us in the relation of alumni. It is so much easier for them to go to the University of Chicago, whether in the Y.M.C.A. rooms or at the Midway, than to go to Evanston, on account of transportation facilities, that I anticipate that but very few, if any, will take their degrees with us. . . .Our instruction this fall has been highly appreciated by the teachers and the way has been opened for a helpful development. But this interpretation of residence seems to me very strict -- that the work must be done on the campus, rather than by members of the faculty in regular standing. In this way, in my view, residence attaches to buildings and grounds rather than to instruction.<sup>27</sup>

President Harris, who took office in 1906 and served until 1916 accomplished much during his tenure. He increased the size of the student body, increased Northwestern's resources by 30%, established two new schools (Commerce and Engineering), and added twenty new buildings to the campus. Between 1906-07 and 1912-13, however, the university experienced a series of deficits caused by increased expenditure for instruction. The teaching faculty

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<sup>27</sup>Arthur H. Wilde to Abram W. Harris, 30 December 1910, Harris Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

had increased 60%.<sup>28</sup> It is no wonder that President Harris was highly concerned with the financial health of the institution. Harris responded to an appeal for extension from Dean Holgate saying that despite the advantages of extension, they did not justify carrying the courses unless they could be carried on without detriment to the work of the College, unless a simple and satisfactory method of administration could be arranged, and unless the courses could be free of financial responsibility for the University. The first two issues could be satisfactorily resolved, but the financial question could not. Thus, Harris said, "I think it wise to withdraw the city extension courses. . . Unless something occurs to change the situation, I will recommend to the Trustees that the courses be discontinued".<sup>29</sup> In his yearly report, President Harris justified his decision by saying, "These were useful but not essential, and in consideration of the increasing number of students in Evanston, it was thought best to discontinue them".<sup>30</sup> Thus ended Northwestern's six year experiment with liberal arts courses for teachers and other working students.

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<sup>28</sup>Williamson and Wild, 121.

<sup>29</sup>Abram W. Harris to Thomas F. Holgate, 8 June 1911, Holgate Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

<sup>30</sup>Abram W. Harris, President's Report 1911-12, Vol. XIII, No. 8, November, 1912, 4.

A parallel, but more successful establishment of evening classes occurred with the creation of the School of Commerce.<sup>31</sup> Collegiate business education in the United States was in its infancy at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>32</sup> Edmund James had proposed the establishment of a College of Commerce and Finance at Northwestern during his presidency (1902-04), but despite his renown as an expert in business education, this proposal (along with most of his other efforts) was not supported by the trustees.

Abram W. Harris was aware of the potential benefit that a School of Commerce might have for Northwestern. He urged the faculty of the Economics Department to prepare a formal proposal for such a school. Two of the faculty members,

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<sup>31</sup>Much of the general history of the School of Commerce at Northwestern University is from Michael W. Sedlak and Harold F. Williamson, The Evolution of Management Education: A History of the Northwestern University J. L. Kellogg Graduate School of Management, 1908-1983 (Urbana: The University of Illinois, 1983).

<sup>32</sup>James cited four institutions, University of Pennsylvania, University of Chicago, University of California at Berkeley, and Columbia University as pioneers in collegiate business education prior to 1900. Edmund J. James, "Commercial Education," in Education in the United States, ed. Nicholas Murray Butler (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1900). Sedlak and Williamson refer to the establishment of four others in 1900, the University of Wisconsin, the University of Vermont, New York University, and Dartmouth College. In 1902, the University of Illinois undergraduate College of Commerce and in 1908, Harvard's Graduate School of Business were organized. New York University was the first institution to attempt to develop an evening program in 1902. Sedlak and Williamson, 4-5. Pennsylvania did so in 1904.

Willard E. Hotchkiss and Earl Dean Howard,<sup>33</sup> were instrumental in formulating two proposals. The first proposal clearly had a liberal arts focus -- three years of liberal arts on the Evanston Campus followed by one year of specialized business courses taken in the Northwestern University Building in Chicago. The possibility of a "night school" in Chicago for employed persons was also mentioned. Harris believed that the part-time evening program had more potential appeal to the business community (as was the case with New York University and Pennsylvania, their day programs were struggling).

Harris, Hotchkiss, and Howard took this second proposal to the business community. In his appeal to Joseph Schaffner (of Hart, Schaffner and Marx), Harris convincingly outlined the advantages to business, the university, and to the ambitious student of such a program.<sup>34</sup> Schaffner's interest was encouraging. By December, 1907, Hotchkiss

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<sup>33</sup>Willard E. Hotchkiss earned his Ph.D. from Cornell and had been a member of the faculty of the Wharton School before joining the Economics Department at Northwestern in 1905. Earl Dean Howard had his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and also served on the faculty of the Wharton School where he was a successful teacher of part-time students.

<sup>34</sup>Harris expressed the need for "closer relations between business and the universities. The business world needs the broadening effect of culture and the spirit of the scientific method, while the university needs the stimulus of contact with actual conditions and practical men. . .the graduates of the evening school will in time become the influential men of the city". Abram W. Harris to Joseph Schaffner, 11 May 1907, Harris Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

reported to Harris that they had "secured quite a body of representative men as Guarantors. . .The principal financial promoters of the movement thus far have been the officers of the Illinois Society of Certified Public Accountants."

Hotchkiss credited Professor Howard with keeping the matter before them and demonstrating the need and feasibility of this type of endeavor through his successful course (forty students registered) in Finance offered in the Northwestern University Building (since the American Institute of Banking had its rooms in the Northwestern University Building, a prospective clientele was at hand). A course in Accounting was also given by Mr. Seymour Walton, President of the Illinois Society of Certified Public Accountants, with Howard's assistance. This course enrolled twenty.<sup>35</sup>

Credit for these courses, according to Howard, could be transferred to the Northwestern University School of Commerce. While this promise may have been impetuous, it reflected the positive spirit that permeated this plan.

The guarantors were individuals associated with the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Industrial Club of Chicago, and the Illinois Society of Certified Public Accountants. By June, 1908, they had pledged a maximum of \$5,000 to guarantee the school's financial stability during the first three years. While the amount pledged was modest,

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<sup>35</sup>Willard E. Hotchkiss to Abram W. Harris, 20 December 1907 and 3 February 1908, Harris Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

it symbolized the support of the business community which would make Northwestern University's School of Commerce extremely attractive to prospective students.<sup>36</sup>

Hotchkiss was appointed dean of the School of Commerce in mid-June, 1908 and given a budget of \$5,000 for the first year. Classes began October 6, 1908. During the first semester, 165 students registered; the second semester, 225. Enrollment continued to grow in the school's first decade to 1,016 (172 of these were women) students in 1918-19.<sup>37</sup> That a need was being met was clear.

Hotchkiss was convinced that in order for the program to be successful, it had to emphasize the practical and applied aspects of business through courses developed by the faculty in close cooperation with the businessmen. To do this, Hotchkiss put together a faculty that consisted of full-time professors, C.P.A.s who taught the accounting courses, and "special lecturers" who came from the Chicago business community. The faculty grew from four full-time professors in 1908 to over 30 in 1917. Included among those faculty members whom Hotchkiss recruited were Arthur Andersen (founder of the accounting firm that bears his name and author of a multivolume accounting series), Walter Dill Scott (future president of Northwestern and a pioneer in psychology and advertising), and Horace Secrist (who

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<sup>36</sup>Sedlak and Williamson, 17.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid, 22.



organized courses in transportation, and later statistical analysis).

Students were required to be at least 18 years old (and a high school graduate if under 21 years of age), of good moral character, and show sufficient maturity to pursue coursework. Two academic options were available to students. They could enroll in a variety of courses as they desired, or they could enroll in a course of study which lead to a diploma in commerce. This diploma program required attendance in specified classes for either four evenings a week for three eight-month school years, or three evenings a week for four years. Despite the tremendous enrollments, by the end of academic year 1918-19, only 90 students had completed the diploma course. Hotchkiss acknowledged that market pressures compelled the faculty to accommodate student preference and develop the curriculum on the basis of the "demand" for subjects.<sup>38</sup>

Hotchkiss, while understanding the appeal of an evening program because of its definitely defined clientele and the difficulties that day commerce programs faced at other universities, never let go of his dream to "have a definite course of commercial instruction. . . form a part of the regular college work." He had laid out a plan for a course in commerce to fit into the regular arts and science degree curriculum in the spring of 1906 for the acting president

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 22-23.

(Holgate).<sup>39</sup> He continued to campaign for such a program. ". . . a degree course should be offered which could be effectively combined with regular college work." He proposed the establishment of a Bachelor of Business Administration degree to be granted to students who enter the School of Commerce with two years of credit in an approved university or college and who complete two years of work in commerce. In 1910, the University Council approved this on principle.<sup>40</sup> It wasn't until early 1912 that the trustees authorized a five-year course (two years of liberal arts followed by three years full-time in commerce) leading to the Bachelor of Business Administration. This was the first step in expanding the School of Commerce to include a more traditional curricula and student body.

Even this new program, however, did little to alter the composition of the students in the School of Commerce. In the 1915-16 academic year; 33% expected to qualify for a diploma in commerce, 66% were special students, 0.6% were postgraduates; and 0.6% were candidates for the B.B.A. The average age was 24 years, and 18.7% of the students were married. Occupations had shifted since the inception of the school. Routine clerical positions were held by 51.6%,

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<sup>39</sup>Willard E. Hotchkiss to Abram W. Harris, 3 February 1908, Harris Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

<sup>40</sup>Willard E. Hotchkiss, "Report of the Dean of the School of Commerce," President's Report, 1908-09 and 1909-10.

positions that required considerable discretion were held by 37.8%, and management positions by 6.5%.<sup>41</sup> When the school was begun, nearly 60% of the students were bookkeepers or accountants, 15% worked in brokerage houses, 15% were in clerical positions, 6% were in sales or advertising, and 4% were "other" (lawyers, teachers, etc.).<sup>42</sup>

Hotchkiss and his faculty wanted to emphasize extracurricular activities, but "The esprit de corps characteristic of day students, develops more slowly among men who come together for evening sessions only."<sup>43</sup> Nonetheless in its first decade, the Student Organization was formed in 1908-09 (this later became the Commerce Club in 1913), the Lydians ("to promote sociability and good feeling among the women students. . ." was formed in 1913, Alpha Kappa Psi was established in 1911, and Delta Sigma Psi in 1914. A Debating Club (1911) and the Commerce Glee Club (1915) were also founded.<sup>44</sup> The esprit de corps may have developed more slowly, but that it developed to the extent that it did, was truly admirable given the characteristics of the student body.

The School of Commerce began augmenting its commerce

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<sup>41</sup>Arthur Swanson, "The School of Commerce, Report of the Acting Dean," President's Report, 1915-16, 102-103.

<sup>42</sup>Sedlak and Williamson, 28.

<sup>43</sup>Willard E. Hotchkiss, "School of Commerce, Report of the Dean," President's Report, 1908-09, 46.

<sup>44</sup>Sedlak and Williamson, 29.

courses at the Northwestern University Building with some liberal arts course, most notably English and languages.

The College of Liberal Arts made the following working agreement with the School of Commerce:

1. Courses given by the School of Commerce in Chicago which are identical in character to courses given in the College of Liberal Arts and which are given by members of the faculty of the College of Liberal Arts will be accepted for credit, to a limited extent, towards the degree of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science.
2. Approved professional courses given by the School of Commerce in Chicago will be accepted for credit, to a limited extent, towards the degree of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science.
3. The total number of hours of credit acceptable by the College of Liberal Arts under paragraphs 1 and 2 shall not exceed thirty (sic) semester hours.
4. Courses in the School of Commerce Announcement of Courses for Teachers (Volume II, Number 24) are approved as in paragraph 2 above, except the following: Bookkeeping, Credits and Collections, Sales Correspondence, Business English, Business French, Business Russian, and Business English.<sup>45</sup>

In the 1919 academic year, the School of Commerce included an announcement to teachers in its bulletin outlining the convenience with which teachers could obtain credit to enhance their professional standing and increase their salaries via promotional credit.<sup>46</sup> Enrollment in the School of Commerce rose from just over 1,000 in 1918-19 to 2,598 in 1919-20. Whether this increase was due to an increase in teachers attending (not a likely possibility),

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<sup>45</sup>"Minutes of the Faculty of the College of Liberal Arts," Northwestern University, 20 September 1919, 4.

<sup>46</sup>Northwestern University Bulletin, School of Commerce, Vol. XX, No. 25. 20 December 1919, 2.

an influx of veterans from World War I, the effectiveness of the new administration<sup>47</sup>, or the introduction of the Bachelor of Science in Commerce degree is unclear, but the increase was significant.

President Harris resigned in 1916. Thomas F. Holgate was brought on as acting president once again from 1916 to 1919. Lynn H. Hough was elected by the trustees to take Northwestern through the postwar development. Hough was a professor of theology at Garrett Biblical Institute and a well-known public speaker. The need for an increased endowment faced Hough who launched a major campaign toward this end. He proposed the purchase of land for a North Side campus for the professional schools (which had been approved prior to the war with an option on a tract of land at Lake Shore Drive and Chicago Avenue). This initiative was controversial, but approved by the board.<sup>48</sup> Two weeks later Hough resigned, citing health concerns, having served about one year.

Walter Dill Scott, a Northwestern alumnus, became the

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<sup>47</sup>Appointed Dean of the School of Commerce in 1919, Ralph E. Heilman, Ph.D. (Harvard), had been a professor of social science and economics at Northwestern since 1916. He served in this capacity until 1937.

<sup>48</sup>At the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees, June 15, 1920, action was taken authorizing the purchase of the Fairbanks and Farwell tract of property on the North side of Chicago to be used as a North Shore Campus for Medicine, Commerce, Dentistry, and Law. Lynn H. Hough, President's Report, 1919-20, 6.

tenth president of Northwestern in September, 1920.<sup>49</sup> As a former member of the School of Commerce, Scott needed little convincing of the value of business education. Many of the initiatives (particularly significant was the development of a full-time undergraduate commerce program in Evanston) that Hotchkiss had tried unsuccessfully to implement under Harris, came to fruition under the concurrent deanship of Heilman and presidency of Scott. The Bachelor of Science in Commerce was introduced in the evening school. This program was in many respects parallel to the new Evanston program. The Bachelor of Business Administration degree (of which only four were awarded during 1912-1920) lapsed between 1920-1922. In 1922, Scott presented a proposal for a revised Bachelor of Business Administration for part-time students to the University Council. This proposal was approved.<sup>50</sup> Except for this and one small experiment, the

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<sup>49</sup>Scott received his Ph.D. in psychology from the University of Leipzig in 1900. He came to Northwestern in 1901 and by 1906 was the chairman of the psychology department. In 1909, he added the duties of professor of advertising in the School of Commerce, pioneering the application of psychology to problems in business. He left Northwestern for a visiting professorship at Carnegie Institute of Technology in 1916. Returning to Northwestern in 1919, he served for one year as president of the Scott Company, a consulting firm. His connection with this company was severed when he accepted the presidency, albeit reluctantly, of Northwestern University. Williamson and Wilde, 144.

<sup>50</sup>These requirements included entrance requirements of 15 units of credit from an approved high school, 120 hours of college work; 30 hours in non-professional subjects, 60 hours in professional subjects (some mandatory), not more than 30 hours "in the field of business in which the

evening commerce program remained academically quite unchanged during Heilman's tenure. It was a period of growth, not change. Enrollments increased substantially each year to 7,557 in 1938-39. The number of courses offered rose from 76 in 1921 to 173 in 1936.<sup>51</sup> The "small experiment" consisted of offering certain Liberal Arts subjects, such as English, literature, economics, psychology, government and political science. The response to these courses was tremendous, indicating a demand for such subjects by the working adult.<sup>52</sup> The Bulletin for the School of Commerce for the second semester, 1926-27, announced "Courses in Sociology, Anthropology, and Allied Subjects." These courses were for men and women interested in preparation for any one of the various fields of social work.

The Medill School of Journalism was established during Scott's tenure as president as a department within the School of Commerce in 1921. It was financially underwritten

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candidate has had continuous responsible employment. . . This study shall be done in seminar association and shall culminate in a thesis, the scientific value of which shall determine the number of semester hours of credit to be granted." Two years of residence in Commerce was also required. University Council, 10 June 1922, Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

<sup>51</sup>Sedlak and Williamson, 48.

<sup>52</sup>Walter Dill Scott, "Program for the John Doe Building and Foundation for Adult Education," 7 January 1924, Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

by the Chicago Tribune. Medill was to be operated on a part-time basis in Chicago and a full-time basis in Evanston, similar to the system of classes in Commerce. The main objective of the program was to provide "practical professional training" for those wishing to enter the field of journalism as well as for those already engaged in it.<sup>53</sup> part-time students who completed 48 semester hours of the courses offered by the school were awarded a Diploma of Journalism. In its first year, 180 students enrolled on the Chicago campus and 38 in Evanston. By 1929-30, there were 369 students enrolled in Chicago and 79 in Evanston.<sup>54</sup>

Plans and fund raising were underway for the development of the Chicago campus. In 1921, a pledge of \$250,000 was made by George A. McKinlock in consideration for which the trustees agreed to name the new campus after his son.<sup>55</sup> Scott was a tireless fundraiser and under his administration, the funds were acquired for the buildings for the professional schools on the Chicago campus. A gift from the Wieboldt Foundation, headed by William A. Wieboldt,

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<sup>53</sup>Walter Dill Scott, President's Report, 1920-21, 13.

<sup>54</sup>Williamson and Wild, 160-161.

<sup>55</sup>George McKinlock's son, Alexander had died in the First World War. Between 1921 and the early 1930s, McKinlock contributed \$156,000 of the \$250,000 (\$25,000 of which was spent on a memorial gate which was installed in 1929. The depression made it impossible for McKinlock to fulfill his pledge. The trustees not only cancelled the remainder of his pledge, but refunded his contribution to date and, at McKinlock's suggestion, renamed the campus the Chicago Campus. Williamson and Wild, 146.



made it possible to build Wieboldt Hall, new home to the School of Commerce in fall of 1926. As part of the fund raising campaign, in January, 1924, Scott had prepared a prospectus for a building and foundation for adult education. This prospectus recognized the "that adult education. . .is one of the most fruitful and promising fields for social service." His appeal anticipated the need for expansion of programs for the working adult. "At present most of this instruction is confined to Commerce subjects because of the University's inability to provide class room space."<sup>56</sup> He had envisioned a facility to not only house the School of Commerce and the Medill School of Journalism, but quarters such that there would be "no possibility of a limit to the expansion of the School." He saw the demand for subjects other than commercial in the afternoon and evening growing. He believed the opportunities would be great.<sup>57</sup>

Scott's sensitivity to the expansion of academic opportunities for the working adult may have been the result of his association with the evening classes in Commerce, but he was also undoubtedly influenced by Dean Raymond A. Kent. Kent came to the Deanship of the College of Liberal Arts at

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<sup>56</sup>Walter Dill Scott, "Program for the John Doe Building and Foundation for Adult Education," 7 January 1924, Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

<sup>57</sup>Walter Scott Dill, President's Report, 1923-24, 15 June 1925, 13.

Northwestern in 1924 after having been dean of the School of Education at the University of Kansas. He had an interest in adult education and was an influential supporter of the Liberal Arts faculty's decision to open an evening division on the Chicago campus.<sup>58</sup>

In the spring of 1926, the faculty of the College of Liberal Arts formally approved certain non-clinical courses offered in the Medical School for credit toward the college degree. Kent predicted that the following year, with the approval of the faculty, courses in English, mathematics and sociology would also be offered on the McKinlock Campus.<sup>59</sup> Beginning with the 1928-29 academic year, the College of Liberal Arts offered a group of courses through evening classes in Chicago. These courses were given by the regular university faculty. There were 28 courses announced from among English, French, history, political science, psychology, Spanish, sociology, and zoology. There were 285

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<sup>58</sup>Kent served on the North Central Association's Committee on Evening and Extension Education. The report generated from this committee strongly supported part-time education and encouraged institutions to perceive it, not as a supplement to regular college work, but equal to it. "The question, therefore, arises as to whether the work for these part-time students for college credit is on the same level of performance as is true of the so-called regular college work; whether we are not giving the part-time students what is left over and making them pay liberally for it. . .we should offer them equal facilities and standards of work." R. A. Kent, A. Caswell Ellis, and George F. Zook, "Evening and Other Part-time Education," The North Central Association Quarterly, Vol. 4, 1929-30, 237-247.

<sup>59</sup>Raymond A. Kent, "Report of the Dean, College of Liberal Arts," President's Report, 1926-27, 28.

students registered for the first semester and 462 (315 of whom were new) for the second semester.

Kent knew that this new venture had to be financially self-supporting in order to succeed. He worked closely with the Dental and Medical Schools, all liberal arts courses required of the dental students would now be given by the College of Liberal Arts, and arrangements were made to use the recitation rooms of the Medical and Dental Schools. Office space was also provided by their business manager. The School of Commerce not only shared their wealth of experience with regard to evening courses for working adults, but also turned over the courses which, by their nature, belonged to the College of Liberal Arts. This action helped give the evening work of the College of Liberal Arts an "initial impetus" that otherwise might have taken longer to secure. Kent was also began reflecting on the possibility of expanding evening work to Evanston.<sup>60</sup>

The School of Commerce had, by 1928, twenty years experience with evening classes. Their program was well developed and flourishing, enrolling 5867 students. They were comfortably situated in the relatively new Wieboldt Hall. H. P. Dutton, Professor of Factory Management, broached the idea with Heilman and Scott of a branch of the School of Commerce on the west side. Citing the potential

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<sup>60</sup>Raymond A. Kent, "Report of the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, 1927-28," President's Report, 1927-28, 23-24.

financial benefits, he was also concerned with adult education.

My concept of adult education is that of a pyramid on the broad lower planes of which work of a practical helpful nature such as that offered in commerce or by Armour Institute in engineering would be. Out of this number of students, each of whom would be made a more useful member of the community by this work, there would, by a process of natural selection on the basis of interest, rise a smaller layer of men awakened by their contact with the university to an appreciation of the value of learning for itself.

Scott was impressed with the foresight of Dutton's plan, but having only been on the McKinlock Campus a short time, he felt it would be best to wait at least two years before embarking into unknown territories.<sup>61</sup>

In his 1926-27 Dean's Report, Peter C. Lutkin of the School of Music considered plans to offer a few extension courses on the "Downtown" campus for the public school people. "There is room for large work to be done in this direction." Large work, perhaps, but the School of Music only offered 13 sections in music between 1934 and 1939.<sup>62</sup>

During 1926-27, the School of Education (which had become autonomous in 1925-26 as an upper division college and in 1930-31, a four-year program was approved) offered

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<sup>61</sup>H. P. Dutton to Walter Dill Scott, 23 April 1928; Walter Dill Scott to H. P. Dutton, 28 April 1928, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

<sup>62</sup>Peter C. Lutkin, "Report of the Dean of the School of Music, 1926-27," President's Report, 1926-27, 88-89. Martha Luck, "Analysis of Evening Work on the Chicago Campus with Particular Attention to the University College," unpublished manuscript, 31 January 1941, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

courses for administrators, supervisors, and teachers-in-service in Evanston. They planned to extend these courses to the McKinlock Campus the following year, but were unable to do so due to "lack of proper facilities." During the second semester of 1928-29, the School of Education offered two courses on the McKinlock Campus and one in Elgin for administrators and teachers-in-service. Approximately 75 students enrolled in these three courses. The School of Education encountered serious difficulties in securing adequate building and library space. In order to relieve the situation, they contemplated omitting undergraduate work.<sup>63</sup> During the 1930s, the requirement for graduate work increased for teachers and administrators.

Northwestern's School of Education introduced a program in 1933 leading to a Master of Education degree. They also scheduled more part-time, evening and Saturday classes on the Chicago campus and at various school sites. Enrollment in education on the Chicago campus far outstripped that in Evanston, rising from 135 in 1930 to almost 800 in 1938-39.<sup>64</sup>

Requirements for admission to the classes offered by the College of Liberal Arts in Chicago were generally the same as those for Evanston

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<sup>63</sup>John E. Stout, "Report of the Dean of The School of Education," President's Reports, 1927-28, 1928-29, and 1929-30.

<sup>64</sup>Williamson and Wild, 193.

A candidate for admission to the College of Liberal Arts must qualify either by examination or by certificate on fifteen units of high school work. . .Under exceptional circumstances, persons more advanced in years than the ordinary college student, and who do not propose to qualify for a degree, may be admitted as special students to pursue a restricted course of studies.<sup>65</sup>

The College recognized the classes at the Chicago campus primarily served employed students in three ways: (1) for those who wanted to take courses leading toward a regular degree, (2) for those who wanted to prepare to enter the Dental or Medical School, or the day Commerce program, and (3) for personal enrichment for mature students. Walter Dill Scott acknowledged that the response to these classes "[was] a very satisfactory beginning, in a field of adult education which has tremendous opportunities." Clarence Yoakum, Dean of The College of Liberal Arts in 1929 believed that because these classes were for older, employed men and women, the work was "a distinct form of adult education. . .Adult education must, therefore, be adapted to adult intelligence." In his Dean's Report for 1928-29, he quoted at length from Edward L. Thorndike's Adult Learning, which had just been published. He believed that Northwestern was entering into a field that held educational problems different from, as well as similar to, those previously considered. "The first essential would seem to be a comprehensive view of the entire project, the next to

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<sup>65</sup>Announcement of Courses for the College of Liberal Arts, 1928-19, 11-13.

organize courses and adapt instruction to the needs presented."<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately, Yoakum did not stay at Northwestern long enough to provide any leadership toward this end.

By 1930, the faculty of the College of Liberal Arts had established a standing committee on the McKinlock Campus to report on, regulate, and resolve problems in relation to the classes in Chicago. This committee made recommendations to the faculty regarding the need for similarity of credit between the classes in Chicago and Evanston, when students from Evanston might be allowed to take a course in Chicago and the resulting tuition considerations, inclusion of the McKinlock courses in the Bulletin of the College, the creation of an advisory committee to help with registration, a policy regarding hiring of part-time instructors, statistical reports, and admission and residency requirements.<sup>67</sup> Representing the McKinlock Committee in Chicago was Professor Samuel N. Stevens. Professor Stevens was appointed Assistant Dean in charge of the Chicago work

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<sup>66</sup>Walter Dill Scott, President's Report, 1928-29, 4. Clarence S. Yoakum, "Report of the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, 1928-29, President's Report, 1928-29, 24-26. Yoakum had been Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences for only one year when he left to return to the University of Michigan (where he had been a professor of personnel management) as a vice president.

<sup>67</sup>Clarence S. Yoakum, "Report of the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, 1929-30," President's Report, 1929-30, 39. Minutes of the Faculty of the College of Liberal Arts, 1925-30, 11 March 1930, 13 May, 1930, 9 December 1930, and 8 March 1932.

in 1930. The work that had been largely experimental in 1928 was now viewed as an integral part of the College. The requirements for admission, the Faculty, and the curriculum were the same in Chicago as in Evanston.

So successful were the classes in Chicago that a problem finding space was beginning to occur. The College had "borrowed" space from the day schools on that campus initially. By 1932-33, these classes, supplemented by classes in music, speech, and education were enrolling almost 1200 students. Because of this expansion, in spring of 1933, the trustees decided to structure all of Northwestern's part-time work, except for that in Commerce and Journalism into an administrative unit. Samuel N. Stevens was appointed as the director of the Evening Schools of the College of Liberal Arts, the School of Education, the School of Speech, and the School of Music.<sup>68</sup> This structure was called University College.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Board of Trustees Minutes, 25 April, 1933 and 11 May 1933.

<sup>69</sup>Frederic Woodward, vice president at the University of Chicago, complained to Walter Dill Scott about Northwestern using the name University College (this had been the name of the downtown center of the University of Chicago since 1900). Scott replied that he considered it a generic term, but was taking the matter under advisement. Woodward assured Scott that the University of Chicago was not going to make a serious complaint out of the issue, but indicated that a name less likely to cause misunderstanding (between the two schools) would be advantageous to both institutions. Frederic Woodward to Walter Dill Scott, 28 September 1935, 3 October 1935 and Walter Dill Scott to Frederic Woodward, 1 October 1935, Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.



Development, 1933-1939

Stevens first effort as Director of University College was "to enrich the curriculum and to bring about a more finely balanced integration of courses, which would be to the advantage of the students seeking degrees, and at the same time make available to students at large the educational facilities of all the schools operating through the University College." Registration for 1933-34 for the first semester was 362 in education and 548 in non-education classes.<sup>70</sup> While the future seemed bright, 1933 was a year of some uncertainty for all divisions of Northwestern. In May, 1933, spurred by the Depression and the idea of creating the greatest educational institution in the country, President Hutchins of the University of Chicago had proposed a merger of Northwestern and the University of Chicago to Walter Dill Scott. This began a nine month negotiation which caused much discord on both sides of the city. The proposal would have the undergraduates located in Evanston, the graduate students on the Midway, and the professional and adult education programs on the McKinlock Campus.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Samuel N. Stevens, "Report of the Director of the University College, 1933-34," President's Report, 1933-34, 125.

<sup>71</sup>For a detailed account about the proposed merger, see Northwestern University Information, "A Message to Northwestern Alumni Regarding the Proposed Merger," Vol. II, No. 15, 18 December 1933; Robert W. Butler, "Missed It By That Much," Unpublished Paper, 24 February 1975,

Stevens, was concerned that all he had worked so hard to create would be sacrificed if the proposed reorganization did not consider the importance of maintaining a high standard of teaching excellence and the integral part played by the schools under which the curricula was offered. He was convinced that the model he had "in progress" was the best one for evening students. He raised some organizational questions that he felt the committee should be aware of in its decision-making process. These issues were to reappear later as considerations or decisions that Stevens had a vested interest in for the development of University College outside of the merger considerations. The questions he raised involved whether the evening program of the School of Commerce and Journalism would remain independent; whether space usage would be restricted; and whether a diploma in recognition of completion of the first two years of work could be given.<sup>72</sup> The merger did not take place.

Stevens worked diligently at trying to effect working solutions to the many problems that arose as a result of the independence of the undergraduate colleges and his reliance

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Northwestern University Archives; Kim Hattis, "The Improbable Merger of Northwestern University and University of Chicago: Competition Within and Between Universities," Unpublished Paper, June 1978, Northwestern University Archives; Williamson and Wild, 182-86.

<sup>72</sup>Samuel N. Stevens to Walter Dill Scott, 15 December 1933, Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

on their cooperation for the success of University College. Allocations of costs of rent and maintenance, varying tuition fees, existence of separate advertising and registration systems complicated matters. He had a vision that the University College should not

. . . remain a mere administrative organization. It seems to me that our part time work presents many distinct phases which are not exactly comparable to the work as it is carried on in the day schools on the campus. I believe that the time has come when we should be permitted to develop certain courses, bearing University College credit and acceptable at the several Schools toward graduation, which are particularly adapted to the needs of our student body. It seems important to me that over a period of time the University College should become more and more distinct from the Schools which now function through it. Our opportunity to do something distinctive in an educational way is, to some extent, limited by the fact that our Liberal Arts Courses are at the mercy of the vagaries of the Curriculum Committee of the College of Liberal Arts. . . Up to a certain point, this is desirable and necessary. Beyond it, these restricting influences limit the progress of our educational program on the McKinlock Campus.<sup>73</sup>

Stevens had the unenviable job of shaping the University College almost singlehandedly. He had some definite ideas as to how to go about this (some of which were mentioned above), but encountered more than his share of resistance along with his little victories. In February, 1935, he sent Scott a series of memos which outlined the most pressing issues that he faced. First, the budgeting process allowed for no new increases over the previous

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<sup>73</sup>Samuel N. Stevens to Walter Dill Scott, 27 February 1934, Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

year's budget. With enrollment increases over 60%, instructional costs were sure to rise. Second, the first attempt at centralized advertising with the School of Commerce proved unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. Stevens presented some ways in which this could be resolved. Third, since the University Senate recently recommended the establishment of a faculty of the University College<sup>74</sup>, Stevens was anxious to have a faculty meeting called and committees appointed. Fourth, the need for student faculty advisors and whether they should be paid for this service was raised. Lastly, Stevens asked for consideration regarding his own time. He had been teaching a full-time course load in Evanston in addition to seeing to all the administrative needs of the University College.<sup>75</sup>

Enrollments increased more than 25% in 1934-35 in

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<sup>74</sup>The University Senate accepted the recommendation of the Committee on Educational Policy as to the formation of a University College faculty on February 15, 1935. The board of trustees approved the establishment of this faculty on March 26, 1935. The faculty was to consist of the President, the Director or Dean of the College, the heads of departments in all schools offering work through the University College, and all officers of instruction who were voting members in their own faculties and who were actively engaged in the teaching of courses in the University College. Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, 26 March 1935. This action placed the control of the University College in the hands of the faculty members who actually engaged in this work rather than under the direction of the administrative offices of the cooperating schools.

<sup>75</sup>Samuel N. Stevens to Walter Dill Scott, 21 February 1935, Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

University College despite the depression economy. In addition to its growth, the college continued to make progress toward realizing its educational purposes. One new development during 1934-35 was the establishment of the University College Lecture Series which brought many distinguished personalities to the campus.<sup>76</sup> The attendance and interest justified the innovation.

In the summer of 1935, Dean Melby of the School of Education<sup>77</sup> presented a plan to the university for the in-service training of Chicago high school teachers with the cooperation of the Chicago Board of Education. The proposal was based on data secured from a survey which listed sixteen different courses that could be offered. Half of the schools were heard from and 2207 teachers indicated an interest in the courses. Notices were also sent to nearly 3000 substitute teachers.<sup>78</sup> Based on the teachers' needs

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<sup>76</sup>Samuel N. Stevens, "Report of the Director of the University College, 1934-35," President's Report, 1934-35, 127. Some of these personalities included Will Durant, Christopher Morley, and General Hugh Johnson.

<sup>77</sup>Ernest O. Melby succeeded John E. Stout as Dean of the School of Education in 1934. Melby had been on the Northwestern faculty since 1928. Williamson and Wild, 193.

<sup>78</sup>This notice was a postcard dated June 27, 1935 from Superintendent of Schools, William J. Bogan to the substitute teachers informing them of Northwestern's program, the cost, and how the credit will be accepted for extension of certificates. He also mentioned where further information could be secured. The superintendent's support of Northwestern's program caused consternation on the part of other institutions. "As you know, he [Bogan] used to be very strong for Chicago." The dean and president at Loyola corresponded about losing approximately 150 students to this

classes were to be given at Senn and Austin High Schools, and Chicago Normal School, as well as on the McKinlock Campus.<sup>79</sup>

Melby was continually campaigning to place all aspects of teacher education under the auspices of the School of Education. Stevens was doing his best to continue to develop the University College. Not one to think small, he requested scholarship funds, and a developmental plan for a University College building. Scott said no to both requests. Stevens requested organizing the University College as a separate degree-granting institution in order to meet the needs of the adult student population and free them from the confusion resulting from the multitude of differing regulations and policies that existed between the schools that made up the University College programs. He recommended the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy be given to all graduates of University College regardless of their major interest (specific requirements for each major being worked out within the respective departments). To this,

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program. "It seems to me that these IN-SERVICE courses are going eventually to hurt Northwestern University and perhaps sooner than later. At least they can hurt Northwestern if between that University and the Chicago school system there is too close a hookup." Thomas A. Egan, S.J. to Samuel K. Wilson, S.J., 3 July 1935, 10 March 1936; Samuel K. Wilson, S.J. to Thomas A. Egan, S.J., 11 March 1936, Wilson Papers, Loyola University Archives, Chicago.

<sup>79</sup>Ernest O. Melby to Walter Dill Scott, 9 July 1935, 30 July 1935; "Announcing an In-Service Training Program for Chicago Teachers," undated typed announcement, Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

scott replied with an organizational plan dividing the University College into six divisions, physical sciences, social sciences, languages and art, education, speech, and music. The faculty of each division had the authority to approve the admission requirements, standards for evaluating credits, the curriculum, and the requirements for a diploma of for the degree of Ph.B. or other degree in that division.<sup>80</sup> Further, instructional costs for all but education and speech were to be included in the University College budget.<sup>81</sup>

As Stevens continued to win battles toward the fight for independence for University College, it was not without its casualties. Apparently the in-service classes for teachers that were being organized by the School of Education were to be administered by the University College. Stevens, who did not approve of the way the courses were being set up, told Melby that he would prefer that the School of Education administer the courses. Upon hearing of this, Scott told Stevens it would "be a tactical error. . . to permit the School of Education to administer any work within the City of Chicago. To illustrate his concerns,

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<sup>80</sup>The degree Bachelor of Philosophy became the degree for non-professional work. The degrees of Bachelor of Science in Education or Bachelor of Science in Speech were given and designated as professional degrees.

<sup>81</sup>Samuel N. Stevens to Walter Dill Scott, 2 May 1935 and 24 July 1935; Walter Dill Scott to Samuel N. Stevens, 7 May 1935 and 5 August 1935, Scott Papers; Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

stevens sent Scott a copy of the brochure for the in-service training program for Chicago teachers and commented, "after scanning this announcement, you will be in a position to appreciate something of our embarrassment in handling this program. However, we shall do a good job of it."<sup>82</sup>

Scott's support of the independence of University College in its structure and administration of Chicago classes, was in opposition to Melby's plan to bring all teacher education under the direction of the School of Education. In response to this seeming reverse, Melby argued his position and said, "our faculty is unanimously opposed to the plan of making Education a division in the University College and favors the maintenance of the present plan of organization which views the McKinlock work in Education as an integral part of the complete program of the School of Education." His plea fell on deaf ears.<sup>83</sup>

The University College added a Division of Social Work which was accredited by the Association of Schools for Social Work in second semester, 1935-36. There were 268

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<sup>82</sup>Walter Dill Scott to Samuel N. Stevens, 10 August 1935 and Samuel N. Stevens to Walter Dill Scott, 30 August 1935, Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

<sup>83</sup>Ernest O. Melby to Walter Dill Scott, 28 October 1935 and 30 October 1935, Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston. There has been speculation that Melby's organizational plans failed because of the administration's (particularly on the part of the Graduate School Dean, Franklyn Bliss Snyder) disapproval of his commitment to progressive education. Williamson and Wild, 194.



students enrolled. The in-service courses for Chicago teachers enrolled 634 students at the outlying centers. A cooperative venture with the Auditorium Theatre for a lecture and performance series called History and Enjoyment of Music served 8000 people. There were 393 students who took the series for credit, and 893 who were auditors.

In 1937, Stevens' title was change from Director to Dean of the University College. In this year, the question was raised about the desirability of merging the University College and the downtown division of the School of Commerce. Arguments pro (Stevens) and con (James Washington Bell for the School of Commerce) were heard. The administrative and space difficulties in effecting this, regardless of one's position, proved to be too overwhelming. The School of Commerce argued that the mere idea of a merger was "based on a confusion of 'adult' education and 'professional' education." Thus, the units continued to operate separately.<sup>84</sup>

In 1937-38 the University College conferred 83 degrees and three diplomas for the completion of 60 hours. The number of registrations reached 3373 in credit courses and 3067 in informal adult education courses. More

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<sup>84</sup>James Washington Bell, "Objections to Consolidation or Merger of School of Commerce and University College," 10 April 1937; Samuel N. Stevens to Walter Dill Scott, 20 April 1937; Walter Dill Scott, "Memorandum to the Members of the Committee on Educational Policies," Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

experimentation with informal studies included a series of lectures in industrial education and the petroleum industry. The following semester, the textile industry was highlighted. Plans to develop programs for broader training in public service were underway, but limitations regarding space at the Chicago Campus were constricting growth.

University College of Northwestern was one of the charter members of the Association of University Evening Colleges which was established in 1939. In explaining its future, the College contemplated the development of a division of experimental education, which would function to coordinate, develop, and supervise the many educational experiments being carried on by faculty and administration in connection with the University College activities. Due to a lack of resources, space, and adequate recognition of the importance of their work, these experiments would remain informally organized. University College was preparing to take a leadership position in adult education.

Techniques and methods for handling the more mature person must be evolved and perfected. Administration and instruction must take definite form if they are to be adapted to adult needs. Just as we experimented with such vigor in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on techniques for kindergarten, elementary, and high school students, so must we now attempt to develop as intelligent and effective an adaptation of educational methods to our adult problems.<sup>85</sup>

Samuel Stevens left the Deanship of the University

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<sup>85</sup>"The University College and Adult Education," Northwestern University Bulletin, Vol. XXXIX, No. 50, 9 October 1939, 6, 12-13.

College in 1939. He was replaced, ironically, by a faculty member of the School of Education, Professor S. A. Hamrin. Considering the battles that the University College had with the School of Education for control of the downtown evening classes, this may have been a clever strategy on the part of the administration to settle this issue once and for all.

Northwestern had taken a leadership position in the field of evening undergraduate education by 1939 despite its late start in the field.

## CHAPTER 5

### LOYOLA UNIVERSITY EVENING CLASSES

#### Origins, 1891-1927

The character of St. Ignatius College was religious. The purpose of the institution was the production of good men, good citizens, good Catholics. In 1891, twenty-one years after it opened, it enrolled about 400 students in three different curricular tracks. It was typical to include both secondary and college-level work prior to the full development of public secondary education to insure a steady flow of well-prepared college-level students. The collegiate track at St. Ignatius enrolled about 100 students, the academic (which was college preparatory) enrolled about 200, and the commercial track enrolled 100. The preparatory and high school departments, which were carefully differentiated from the collegiate, were necessary to furnish the college with well-prepared students until the Catholic school system throughout the city had been sufficiently developed.<sup>1</sup> The college enrolled men only and was intended for "day scholars only."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Holy Family Parish Priests and People, 1857-1923, (Chicago: Universal Press, 1923), 494-496.

<sup>2</sup>Catalogue of St. Ignatius College, 1893-94, 13.

Coeducation was an anathema to Catholic education, and despite its institutionalization at most major public and private universities at this time, it was not without controversy. Citing G. Stanley Hall's declaration that coeducation was wrong and that "woman should be educated for wifeness and motherhood," at the National Education Association in Detroit, as fuel for his own fire, Fr. Francis Cassilly, S.J. said,

It is hoped that this is the beginning of the end of coeducation as a system. The theory of coeducation originated in the wrong assumption that the sexes are in all respects equal. . . Man is the thinker, the organizer, the ruler of the household, the protector and guardian of the family. Woman is the mother of the children, the helper and assistant to the husband, the sharer of their joys and griefs, the consoler and nurse and ministering angel of the household. . . If their talents are different, they will necessarily require a different development. . . It were cruel to both racer and pony to drive them harnessed together.<sup>3</sup>

Coeducation was not the only trend in higher education that was strongly resisted by Loyola (and, indeed, most Jesuit universities). In an age when higher education was becoming democratic in its social orientation, Loyola remained socially elitist. In an age when science and technology reigned, Loyola's curriculum embraced a modified Ratio Studiorum, which had been central to the Jesuit educational program since the sixteenth century and focused

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<sup>3</sup>Francis Cassilly, S.J., "Coeducation," Church Calendar and Sodality Bulletin, Holy Family Parish, Vol. XIV, No. 8, August, 1901, 9. The author of the article is noted by the initials "F.C." only. Since Francis Cassilly, S.J. was the Manager of the Church Calendar at that time, it is assumed it was written by him.

on a classical humanistic, philosophical, and theological program of study.<sup>4</sup>

Given these distinctive characteristics, it is not unusual that the first evening course offered by Loyola would be an evening course in philosophy whose object was to . . .

furnish college graduates, advanced and special students and professional gentlemen, an opportunity to review their philosophy and to make a more thorough and practical study of its fundamental questions, after some experiences in active life will have made them realize its importance.<sup>5</sup>

The first class was organized in October, 1902. It met at 8:00 PM in the Students' Library of the College at 413 West Twelfth Street. The class consisted of lectures and discussions on the chief points of logic, psychology and ethics. Students who had already earned an A.B. degree would be eligible to receive an A.M. on the conditions of attendance in this year long course, presentation of a paper on a philosophical subject, and an examination. There were 36 "gentlemen" in the first class, 13 of whom had an A.B., and two of whom already had an A.M.<sup>6</sup>

The next year, 1903-04, the chief points of the class were still that of logic, psychology and ethics, but the

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<sup>4</sup>Philip Gleason, "A Historical Perspective," The Shape of Catholic Higher Education, ed. Robert Hassenger, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 34.

<sup>5</sup>"Evening Class in Philosophy," Catalogue of St. Ignatius College, 1902-03, 28.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, 28.

"special subject" of that year's course was to be sociology. In 1904-05, the "special subject" was logic. In 1905-06, it was sociology again, and in 1906-07, it was "Reasoning, skepticism, Natural Theology," and in 1907-08, it was ethics.<sup>7</sup> The evening course in philosophy was organized and taught by Edward J. Gleeson, S.J. who was a professor of philosophy at Loyola.<sup>8</sup>

St. Ignatius College entered into a period of growth and experimentation beginning in 1906 with the purchase of 22 acres of land in Rogers Park for building a branch school (Loyola Academy), and as the future location of the college. The Jesuits were looking ahead to when St. Ignatius College might "attain the dignity of a university." Henry J. Dumbach, S.J., the rector (president) of the college from 1900 to 1908, began raising money for just such a purpose. Unfortunately, illness forced him to resign in 1908 before

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<sup>7</sup>"Evening Course in Philosophy," St. Ignatius College Catalogues, 1902-03, 1903-04, 1904-05, 1906-07, 1907-08.

<sup>8</sup>Fr. Gleeson (1851-1913) was educated at a Jesuit high school in Milwaukee. He later attended St. Louis University. After a career of teaching, he became the fifteenth president (1889-1890) of St. Louis University. He taught at Marquette and the University of Detroit after his presidency and before coming to St. Ignatius College in 1899. Besides his regular classes in philosophy, he carried on the evening "extension" course and a course in legal ethics in the law school. He also served as a Sunday Evening Lecturer at Holy Family parish. Rita G. Adams, William C. Einspanier, and B. T. Lukaszewski, S.J., St. Louis University: 150 Years, 65. "Father Edward J. Gleeson," Woodstock Letters, Vol. 43, 1914, 108. Memorial Volume of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Louis University, 1829-1904, 110.

being able to effect any major changes.<sup>9</sup>

His successor was Alexander J. Burrowes, S.J. Fr. Burrowes had been president of Marquette University and during his administration, rechartered it to university status, and affiliated a medical school. He was convinced that Chicago needed a Jesuit University of high rank. "It is our aim to eventually build up a university out of St. Ignatius College."<sup>10</sup>

The Lincoln School of Law became the Law School of St. Ignatius College in September, 1908. It was situated at the Ashland Block, Clark and Randolph Streets, in the center of Chicago's business district. The class sessions of the Law Department were held in the evening from 6:30 to 9:00 PM, making it possible for "young men" employed in law offices to unite the advantages of a regular, scientific course in the law, with the practical training afforded by their daily work. It also enabled students who were engaged in clerical or commercial work the opportunity to prepare themselves to be lawyers without giving up their livelihood. The degree of Bachelor of Laws was awarded to those who successfully

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<sup>9</sup>"Historical Chronicle," The Loyolan, 1924, 24. Vice President's Diary, March 9, 1906, 3:174, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago. Henry J. Dumbach, S. J., "Would You Like to see a Catholic University Established in Chicago?" Henry J. Dumbach File, 1906, Loyola University Archives, Chicago.

<sup>10</sup>"Loyola University," The St. Ignatius Collegian, November 1909, 3.



completed the regular course.<sup>11</sup>

Beginning in Fall, 1908, the evening class in philosophy (which shortly afterward became known as the course of logic, philosophy and sociology) was conducted in connection with the Lincoln College of Law meeting on Friday evenings from 6:30 to 9:00 PM in the Ashland Block. Students of the Law School were admitted to the course without additional fee. This evening course continued to be offered and taught by Fr. Gleeson until his illness and death in October, 1913. In that year, Frederic Siedenburg, S. J. taught the evening course.<sup>12</sup>

An evening secondary school was inaugurated at and conducted under the auspices of St. Ignatius College in October, 1908. Classes were conducted on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings from 7:15 to 9:15 PM. In the first year, 25 students registered. The hope was that the demand would make this venture financially successful. . . "It would pay well, if about 30 regular students could be secured." In the second year, however, only 15 students registered and

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<sup>11</sup>One Hundred Years of Knowledge in the Service of Man: Loyola University, 1870-1970, 14. The Loyolan, 1924, 25. "Law Department," St. Ignatius College Catalogue, 1908-09, 7, 10.

<sup>12</sup>St. Ignatius College Catalogue, 1908-09. Loyola University Catalogues, 1909-10, 1910-11, 1911-12, 1912-13, 1913-14.

the evening school was discontinued.<sup>13</sup>

The Illinois Medical College was affiliated in June 1909. The following year, Bennett and Reliance Medical Colleges merged with Illinois Medical to form the Bennett Medical College. The medical school of Loyola was coeducational from its inception. Goodchild claimed that while the medical school was a non-Catholic concern, the affiliation would provide Catholic students with a future environment which respected the tenets of their faith. These initial professional developments at St. Ignatius expanded the educational aim in the direction set down by Dumbach and Burrowes -- to make St. Ignatius a university.<sup>14</sup>

On October 23, 1909, Burrowes petitioned the State of Illinois to recharter St. Ignatius College as Loyola University. In November, 1909 the rechartering was approved. The institution celebrated this monumental occasion by giving the students a day off. "Recreation was granted today in honor of the foundation of the new university -- Loyola University. The charter, etc. was

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<sup>13</sup>"Evening School," St. Ignatius Catalogue, 1908-09, 77. Vice President's Diary, October 5, 1908 and October 4, 1909, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>14</sup>"Historical Chronicle," The Loyolan, 1924, 26. Lester F. Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest, 1842-1980: A Comparative Case Study of the Effects of Strategic Policy Decisions upon the Mission of the University of Notre Dame, Loyola University of Chicago, and DePaul University," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1986), 352.

adopted this week."<sup>15</sup> There were three major reasons why this decision was made. First, the trend in American higher education, and even Jesuit higher education, was moving rapidly in this direction. Second, the "other" Catholic institution in Chicago, St. Vincent's College, had already rechartered as DePaul University. Third, Burrowes foresaw the necessity of attempting to adhere to the American model of higher education. He embraced what Goodchild has called "an embryonic ecumenism":

It is needless to say that Loyola University will open its doors to all students, irrespective of religious belief. We [Jesuits] are teaching in colleges in all parts of the world pagan and Christian, and while we aim to lead all to the highest ideals of Christianity, we force religion on no one. We shall aim to have universities to which parents can safely confide their sons, a university that will not inculcate, directly or indirectly, anything that savors of atheism or irreligion.

In our universities in Georgetown, Milwaukee, and St. Louis, Catholic and non-Catholic professors are teaching side by side. and I have yet to hear of any complaint of invidious distinctions. In fact, there is generally a spirit of union among our different faculties that is not found elsewhere.<sup>16</sup>

In 1912-13, there were only 47 students enrolled in the College of Arts & Sciences out of a total university enrollment of 647. The majority of the enrollments were in the professional schools -- law, medicine, pharmacy, and

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<sup>15</sup>Goodchild, 353. Vice President's Diary, 29 November 1909, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>16</sup>"The Speech of President Burrowes," The St. Ignatius Collegian, 9 (January 1910), 18 quoted in Goodchild, 354.

engineering.<sup>17</sup> One plan to try to attract more undergraduate students to the university was to build a dormitory on the north side campus for engineering students. It was believed that a number of students were being lost because the university could not satisfy the demand for lodging for out-of-town students. Instrumental in the planning process was Fr. Frederic Siedenburgh, S. J., who used this as an opportunity to put forth his ideas about a "vocational night school":

Personally, I believe that time will soon come, [using the entire Cudahy Building for scientific purposes] if we introduce the so-called Vocational Night School for mechanics, electricians, etc. who wish to learn something about the theory and mathematics of their work. Several Catholic laymen, interested in engineering work, assured me that there is great need of such courses, especially for our Catholic young men. Besides being a truly "Social Work," this course also promised to be a financial help to the school. Armour Institute has a flourishing school of this kind on the South Side and the Jews have four such for Jewish students -- conducted partly on philanthropic lines. Ours would be the only school on the North Side.<sup>18</sup>

While this "night school" did not come to fruition (nor did the dormitory), this was but one of many of Fr. Siedenburgh's progressive ideas for the expansion of the university.

Frederic Siedenburgh, S.J. was ordained a Jesuit in

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<sup>17</sup>Pharmacy was added in 1909-10, but was discontinued in 1915-16. Engineering was added in 1911-12 and was discontinued in 1920-21. "Enrollment of the Various Divisions of Loyola University from 1909 Until 1936," William T. Kane, S.J. Collection, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>18</sup>Frederic J. Siedenburgh, S.J. to R.J. Meyer, S.J., 7 March 1912, Missouri Province Provincial Collection, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

1907. He taught high school for a few years after his ordination before being sent to Europe for advanced study at the universities of Innsbruck, Berlin, and Vienna where he studied economics and sociology. German Catholics, including the Jesuits of the Christian Pesch school, were in the forefront of Catholic social thought during this time. Upon his return to the United States in 1911, he served as headmaster of Loyola Academy for two years before being assigned to the university. Siedenburg's great interest in American Catholic social thought and action and Chicago's need for this "social work" combined with the apparent unpreparedness of its workers in the field led Siedenburg to organize the Loyola University Lecture Bureau. His purpose was to provide lectures relating a knowledge of Catholic philosophy and theology and of what the Church had done in the social field.<sup>19</sup>

Siedenburg inaugurated this series of thirty extension lectures of a popular character on social subjects in the fall of 1912. The lectures given included, "The Social Problem Today," "Christ and Social Problem," "Capital and Labor," "Industrial Hygiene," "Minimum Wage," "Child Labor -

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<sup>19</sup>More biographical information about Frederic J. Siedenburg, S.J. can be found in L. Frederick Happel, "Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, S.J.," The Loyola University Magazine, Vol. XIII, No. 3, March 1914, 112-115; Mary C. Schiltz, "Frederick J. Siedenburg, S.J. Eclectic Educator," Vitae Scholasticae, Vol. 7, No. 2, Fall 1988, 469-484; Robert C. Harnett, S.J., "Frederic Siedenburg, S.J. (1872-1939)," unpublished, Frederic Siedenburg S.J. Biographical Materials, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

- Illustrated," "Woman [sic] Suffrage," "The Working Girl Problem," "The Church and Divorce," "The Liquor Question," and "The History of Labor Unions." An announcement of the lecture series was sent to approximately 60 Catholic newspapers.

Loyola University Chicago has inaugurated a series of lectures on social and economic questions. . . similar to the extension lectures given under the auspices of non-Catholic Universities and like them not to be given at the school itself, but at places best calculated to serve the interests of the people.

This is the first time that such a course has ever been attempted under Catholic auspices and it has been received on all sides with approbation and support. . . These lectures are especially arranged for active or prospective social workers and are given by well known experts in the various departments of social service.

The lecture series was broadly announced and well received. Along with the lectures, Siedenbure published a small booklet of "Readings on Social Subjects Along Lines of Catholic Thought."<sup>20</sup>

The next year, the Loyola University Lecture Bureau offered a COURSE of lectures (rather than a SERIES, the

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<sup>20</sup>"Loyola University Lecture Bureau," Frederic Siedenbure, S.J. Biographical Materials, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago. This flyer lists the thirty lectures with their presenters. Fr. Siedenbure is the director. "An Excellent Opportunity," Dubuque Catholic Tribune, 12 October 1912, 2; New World, 18 October 1912. According to correspondence, news of the lecture series was also published in the November, 1912 Forrester; G. C. Kersten to Frederic Siedenbure, S.J., 9 December 1912, Frederic Siedenbure S.J. Biographical Materials, Loyola University Archives, Chicago. "Readings on Social Subjects Along the Lines of Catholic Thought," (Chicago: Loyola University Lecture Bureau, 1912), Frederic Siedenbure S.J. Biographical Materials, Loyola University Archives, Chicago.

distinction being that these lectures were focused around a more defined theme) on Social Philanthropy. The First course was entitled "Social Reorganization".

First principles concerning the family, the individual and the state. Application of Christian principles and practice to modern social conditions and tendencies. Reforms private and civic; purposes and methods of investigation, interpretation and treatment. Special study of defective, delinquent and dependent wards of the state. The organization and administration of public and private institutions. To those who desire it, opportunities for research and field work will be given.

The Second Course was "Industrial Reorganization."

The causes and factors of modern labor problems; relations of employer and employee; social and religious aspects of economic questions; the living wage, safe and sanitary labor conditions; Labor legislation; Sunday rest; workingman's compensation, housing and transportation, immigration, unemployment, insurance, etc.

The lectures were designed for actual and prospective social workers and two lectures were held each Wednesday and Friday evening from 4:00 to 6:00 PM in the Ashland Block in the central business district. The first lecture was usually a general or academic treatment of the subject, while the second was a practical talk by a special lecturer, expert in the matter. During the two courses, fifty-one special lecturers addressed the classes. They were usually connected with public and private institutions in Chicago, however, well known speakers from other cities were also engaged such as Drs. Kerby and Melady from the Catholic University. Of the fifty-one lecturers, fourteen were women, twenty-one were non-Catholics, seven were judges,

eight were teachers, two were editors, thirteen were superintendents or directors of social organizations. Most of the regular lectures were given by Fr. Siedenburg.

These lectures were received even better than those of the first year with regard to both attendance and praise. The total number of students who attended either one or both courses was 147. Their occupations were varied: twenty-one were public school teachers, four were school principals, twenty-eight were officers of the Juvenile Court, five were truant officers, eighteen were in social work, and there were several doctors, lawyers, city employees, stenographers, a priest, and a "few persons of leisure." Fr. Siedenburg's work was commended by prominent organizations.<sup>21</sup>

In April, 1914, arrangements were under way to continue this work in the form of a "School of Sociology" to open in the fall of 1914.<sup>22</sup> Accommodations were secured in the

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<sup>21</sup>"A Course of Lectures on Social Philanthropy for Social Workers," (Chicago: Loyola University Lecture Bureau, 1913-14), Frederic Siedenburg Biographical Materials, Loyola University Archive, Chicago. "Splendid Tribute to Worthy Work," New World, 9 January 1914. "Sociology," The Loyola University Magazine, Vol. XVIV, No. 1, November 1914, 54-55. The Public Service League and the Catholics Women's League drew up formal resolutions of approbation and the Catholic Women's League voted a scholarship to the school.

<sup>22</sup>There is evidence that this "School of Sociology" had been Siedenburg's intention as early as January, 1913 (this was only four months after the initiation of the Lecture Bureau) when it was announced that the lectures offered were "offered by the Loyola University School of Sociology" and credits were given for satisfactory attendance and thesis.



Ashland Block. Classes in economics, ethics, social reform, social reorganization, industrial reorganization, etc. were to be held every afternoon for regular and special students. The regular students were to give mornings to field work. special students, which included social workers and teachers, would attend lectures from 4:00 to 6:00 PM or Fridays from 6:30 to 8:30 PM (when only sociology and ethics were offered). The School of Sociology was a two-year, upper division program which granted a Bachelor of Philosophy degree providing a student had completed the equivalent of two years of college prior or a Certificate in Social Economy for completion of the School of Sociology two year course only. The school, unlike the College of Arts and Sciences, was coeducational. The school year was divided into three sessions of ten weeks beginning in October and ending the first week in June.<sup>23</sup> Fr. Siedenburg was appointed to the Deanship. In its first year, 158 students attended.

The following academic year, 1915-16, there was an expansion of the "allied" (i.e., non-sociological) courses offered. These courses (called extension courses in the catalogue) were offered to provide "a cultural background for the sociological courses" and could be taken as

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Catholic Tribune, 22 January 1913.

<sup>23</sup>"Special Announcements 1914-1915, Extension Lecture Courses for Social Workers and Teachers," Loyola University School of Sociology Bulletin, July, 1914.

electives. Credit was also granted to be used toward degrees or promotion in the public schools. The extension courses were held from 4:00 to 6:00 PM and included Modern English Catholic Writers, Celtic History, History of Education, Psychology (taught by Siedenburg), and Spanish. Except for the course taught by Siedenburg, the courses were taught by lay part-time faculty. These courses drew "large attendance." The number of students in the Register of Students for 1915-16 was 212; 174 were women and 38 were men.<sup>24</sup> In the second term of 1915-16, a Saturday morning course, the History of the United States, was first offered from 10:15 to 11:45 AM.<sup>25</sup>

The women students organized an Alumnae Association in October, 1915. This association was very active in planning events like the annual banquet, and with raising scholarship funds for the School of Sociology.<sup>26</sup> By January, 1917 the

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<sup>24</sup>The Loyola University Magazine, November 1915, 69. "Announcements 1916-1917, Register 1915-1916," Loyola University School of Sociology Bulletin, No. 6, August 1916.

<sup>25</sup>Announcement of courses for the School of Sociology for the term beginning January 10, 1916. One-page, typed document. Siedenburg Scrapbook II, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>26</sup>"Sociology," The Loyola University Magazine, Vol. XVI, No. 1, November 1916, 47. Letter from "The Committee" of the Loyola University Alumnae to "Dear Madam," 18 November 1916 soliciting funds for a permanent fifteen hundred dollar scholarship for the School of Sociology; Menu from the "Annual Banquet" of the Loyola University Alumnae, 24 June 1916, Siedenburg Scrapbook, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

Alumnae Association had 110 paid memberships.<sup>27</sup>

The School of Sociology continued to expand its offerings. In Fall, 1916 it established centers on the South and West Sides at St. Xavier's College (49th Street and Cottage Grove), St. Mary's High School (Cypress and Taylor Streets), and Providence Academy (3100 West Van Buren street) primarily to provide university classes for the teaching Sisterhood. These classes enrolled 150 students in addition to the approximately 200 enrolled at the Ashland Block.<sup>28</sup>

As the American schools made increasing demands on the education of the teachers, the question of attending the universities rose in the various communities of teaching Sisters. Some communities sent their Sisters to the Catholic University in Washington, D.C. for their education. Attendance at a university by these teaching Sisters was seen as a necessary step to keep the Catholic schools on an equal footing with the public schools. Other communities, like the Sisters of Christian Charity, feared that those who

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<sup>27</sup>"Sociology," The Loyola University Magazine, Vol. XVI, No. 2, January 1917, 123.

<sup>28</sup>Three courses were offered at St. Xavier's College, History of Education, Modern Catholic Writers, and History of Social Reform; three classes at St. Mary's, History of Philosophy, History of Social Reform, and Early Celtic History; and one at Providence Academy, English Catholic Poets on Saturday. "Sociology," The Loyola University Magazine, Vol. XVI, No. 2, January 1917, 123. "Enrollment of the Various Divisions of Loyola University From 1909 Until 1936," William T. Kane, S.J. Collection, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

would attend a university would be in danger of losing the religious spirit. Siedenburg believed that the teaching sisters should have the opportunity to earn their degrees in a university "in order to secure for themselves all rights and privileges in the teaching field for the future."

Because he considered this education an absolute necessity, and because of the fears of Sisters of Christian Charity, Siedenburg found a way for the Sisters to earn their degrees without personally attending the universities. That solution was to hold the classes at the Motherhouse in Wilmette, and using his considerable powers of persuasion, he was able to convince the superiors to give this solution a try. In early fall of 1917, Fr. Spaulding, S.J. gave a series of lectures on the "History of Sociology," Rev. Dr. Lannon of Wilmette gave a course on "Church History," and "a lady teacher" gave lectures on the "History of Chicago and Part of the United States."<sup>29</sup> Shortly thereafter, Fr. Siedenburg convinced the Sisters of Christian Charity to charter their own college at the motherhouse, Maria Immaculata, to be known as Mallinckrodt College. This was accomplished on April 5, 1918.

The Rev. Father Siedenburg was of the opinion, that later on, this permission might not be granted. Therefore, he was most desirous, that we apply for the permission now, because it would certainly be most advantageous for us, if we had the "College," connected with the Motherhouse, and if desired later on, it could

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<sup>29</sup>Chronicles of the Sisters of Christian Charity in the North American Province, Vol. 2, 1917, 108.

also be a college for ladies. Our Sisters can, therefore, earn "College credits" right here in the Motherhouse.<sup>30</sup>

Mallinckrodt College was established as a junior college. This enabled the Sisters to complete their first two years of college work at the Motherhouse, take Loyola University school of Sociology extension credits at the Motherhouse (or the other centers) and earn the required number of credits to obtain a degree from Loyola. In 1917, there were 579 students enrolled in the School of Sociology; 555 women and 24 men. Of the 555 women, 315 were Sisters.<sup>31</sup>

The degrees conferred by the School of Sociology were the Bachelor of Science, the Bachelor of Philosophy, and the Master of Arts; as well as the Certificate in Social Economy. A Bachelor of Arts was added by 1921. In 1915, the School conferred nine degrees; in 1916, seven; in 1917, eleven; in 1918, nine plus four Certificates.<sup>32</sup>

Summer extension courses were first offered in 1916. The first detailed record of the Summer Session Extension Courses is from 1918 when courses were offered at St. Ignatius College, St. Xavier College, St. Mary's High School, and Mallinckrodt College "to afford members of the

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<sup>30</sup>Chronicles of the Sisters of Christian Charity in the North American Province, Vol 2, 1918, 113.

<sup>31</sup>School of Sociology, Loyola University Bulletin, No. 9, September 1918, 23.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid, 16. "Downtown College," Loyola University Catalogue, 1929-30.

teaching Sisterhoods an opportunity to perfect themselves in the work of education." These courses, however, were open to others interested in them. A Summer Session Extension Course was also offered by Loyola at St. Teresa Academy in Kansas City, Missouri. Fr. Siedenburg taught the course in sociology.<sup>33</sup> Taking university courses during the summer sessions was ideal for teachers who generally had this time available for class work.

The number of centers continued to grow. An extension course in English literature in Joliet was announced in 1918.<sup>34</sup> The number of non-sociological courses offered at the Ashland Block also grew and the need for more space became apparent. On December 22, 1919, the Consultors authorized renting of more offices for Law and Sociology.<sup>35</sup> In 1920-21, the enrollment in the School of Sociology was 1259, compared to 128 in the College of Arts and Sciences. The professional schools' (Law, Medicine, and since 1919-1920, Dentistry) enrollments totalled 819.

In 1921-22, less than 0.5% of the students in the extension classes were not Catholic, 43% of the students in

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<sup>33</sup>Announcement of Extension Courses in the Summer Session 1918, and Announcement of the Summer 1918 Extension Course at St. Teresa's in Kansas City, Missouri, Siedenburg Scrapbook, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>34</sup>Frederic Siedenburg, S.J. to [a mailing list], 4 November 1918, William T. Kane, S.J. Collection, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>35</sup>Consultors' Meeting Minutes, 9 September 1891 to 1 July 1930, 185, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

the Medical School; approximately 90% of the students in the Dental School; and 24% of the Law School students were not Catholic. The percentage of non-Catholics in the School of Sociology rose to 6% by 1926-27. Siedenburg, while a staunch Catholic, was realistically ecumenical in his approach to the question of non-Catholics at a Catholic university. He knew that the attendance of non-Catholics would make Loyola more readily recognized by the state and accrediting agencies. He believed a university that would bar students of other religious faiths in this country, would acquire a negative reputation because such a policy would be viewed as intolerant and afford material for those who were hostile to the Church. He hoped that prejudices could be broken down through closer contact of Catholics and non-Catholics. Since only one-sixth of the American population was Catholic, Catholics were obliged to "get along" with non-Catholics.<sup>36</sup> The percentage of non-Catholics in the School of Sociology, albeit small, was not a source of worry to either the students or to Siedenburg. "There is no creed test in the school, and some of its staunchest students have been Jews and Protestants."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Frederic Siedenburg, S.J., "Report on non-Catholics in the Downtown College, Graduate School, Liberal Arts School, School of Sociology, School of Law, and School of Commerce," 6 February 1931, Samuel K. Wilson Papers, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>37</sup>"The School of Sociology," The Loyolan - 1924, 127. There is correspondence from Mrs. Vincent (Mary) Sheridan to John [unknown last name], undated, which states, "I helped

Siedenburg was also personally involved in ecumenical and interracial issues. His memberships included: the National Conference on Social Work, American Sociological Society, The Child Labor Commission, and the Society for the Advancement of the Colored Race. He served on the Chicago Public Library Board, Illinois Welfare Board, and the Chicago Crime Commission. His speaking engagements included an address at the celebration in honor of the inauguration of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem at Orchestra Hall, and being the Catholic representative on a multi-faith panel which included Clarence Darrow as the atheist representative.<sup>38</sup> Probably the greatest example of Siedenburg's full-term ecumenism exists in the form of a newspaper advertisement placed in September, 1921 jointly advertising the Law School, Medical School, College of Arts and Sciences, and the School of Sociology in the Daily North Press -- in Yiddish.<sup>39</sup>

In the 1920s, Catholic institutions of higher education were only beginning to change their status from small, old-

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Father write the article on the school [sociology] for the 1924 yearbook." Mrs. Sheridan worked with Fr. Siedenburg from 1920 to 1925. Frederic Siedenburg, S.J. 1872-1939, Founder and First Dean, School of Social Work, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>38</sup>Schiltz, 447-481. There is evidence that Cardinal Mundelein may not have allowed Siedenburg to participate in this panel despite the fact that he was the advertised Catholic speaker.

<sup>39</sup>Daily North Press, 20 September 1921.



fashioned, classical liberal arts colleges to full-fledged universities. It would be a long process. They were struggling for survival. Loyola's survival depended on the Jesuits who had a forward-looking vision, like Fr. Siedenburg. Without the support of his superiors who "had the wisdom to recognize his talents and give him a 'green light'," however, Siedenburg would not have been as successful with his many ventures.<sup>40</sup>

In the first half of this decade, with the School of Sociology growing (especially the non-sociological course offerings) and continuing to gain prestige in the area of social work<sup>41</sup>, Siedenburg turned his attention to several new endeavors. In 1921 he reorganized the Law School (of which he became Regent) to include day and evening classes and he "admitted the ladies."<sup>42</sup> In 1922 he began the Home Study Division because, "as social conditions change, the methods of education must be adapted to new patterns." This was one of three such divisions under the auspices of a Catholic university. Miss Marie Sheahan, who received her Ph.B. from the School of Sociology in 1916, was the first

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<sup>40</sup>Harnett, 9.

<sup>41</sup>Jane Addams of Hull House; William J. Bogan, Principal of Lane Technical High School (and later Superintendent of the Chicago Schools); and other influential leaders were special lecturers in the School of Sociology. School of Sociology, Loyola University Bulletin, No. 11, February 1922. 13-14.

<sup>42</sup>"School of Sociology," University Chronicle, November 1921, 60.

director of the Home Study Division. Also in 1922, evening courses in English and psychology and Saturday courses in biology and chemistry were offered at the North side campus. In 1924, Fr. Siedenburg was assigned by the consultants to undertake "the matter of down-town classes in commerce and administration."<sup>43</sup> The Consultants proposed also to increase the number of evening classes downtown to offer the opportunity to ambitious young men to complete the college work prescribed by law as preliminary to the study of law.<sup>44</sup> Development of additional centers continued. By 1925, Loretto Academy at 65th and Blackstone, Visitation High School at Garfield Boulevard and Peoria Street, Immaculata High School at Irving Park Boulevard and the Lake, St. Patrick's Academy at Oakley Boulevard and Park Avenue, and St. Louis Academy at 117th Street and State Street were offering Loyola classes in addition to the usual centers.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>The result was the downtown School of Commerce which first held classes in September, 1924. The School of Commerce offered evening classes and was coeducational. Fr. Siedenburg served as its regent and Thomas J. Reedy as its dean. "School of Commerce," Loyola University Bulletin, No. 8, September 1929, 3-6.

<sup>44</sup>Harnett, 7. "The Home Study Department," The Loyola - 1924, 133. School of Sociology Announcements, September 1922. Consultants' Meeting Minutes 9 September 1891 to 1 July 1930, 5 September 1924, 208 and 9 August 1924, 213, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>45</sup>School of Sociology announcement, typed sheet, 1925, Siedenburg Scrapbook II, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

The continued expansion downtown eventually began to take its toll even with the expanded quarters in the Ashland Block. During the summer of 1926, the purchase of a building at 28 North Franklin Street was approved at a special meeting of the available Consultors. The Ashland Block space had become inadequate and it would be difficult to obtain sufficient space except at a very high rental, and "expert" opinion advised the purchase as a sound financial move.<sup>46</sup> The second half of the 1920s, with the new, University-owned downtown building, looked promising for the continued growth of the University in the areas of law, sociology, evening classes, and commerce. With this promise, however, there emerged rumblings from Rome and within the Society of Jesus which questioned the attendance of non-Catholic students in the American "Catholic" universities and coeducation.

#### Development, 1927-1939

A \$100 a plate testimonial dinner was given on April 28, 1927 by the Loyola Alumnae Association to President William H. Agnew, S.J. and Dean Frederic Siedenburger, S.J. at the Hotel LaSalle. The occasion was the formal opening of the new Downtown College. The proceeds of the dinner went toward equipping the new school "which [was] the realization of many years of work by Dean Siedenburger." At the dinner,

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<sup>46</sup>Consultors' Meeting Minutes 9 September 1891 to 1 July 1930, 10 September 1925, 227, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

Fr. Siedenburg called attention to the fact that Loyola University, through its Downtown College, was probably doing more for adult education than any other Catholic school in the land.

Adult education is daily becoming more important in that it offers to those unable to attend college campuses opportunities to equip themselves for higher positions with the consequent social and economic advantages. Loyola University not only offers to adult and part-time students this opportunity but also the equipment to defend their faith and traditions.<sup>47</sup>

The new facility came to be called the Downtown College Building. It housed the School of Sociology (whose expanding Arts and Sciences component became synonymously known as the Downtown College), Commerce, and Law. "With the exception of a campus and a gymnasium, the Downtown College offer[ed] every convenience -- large classrooms, library, club rooms, etc." The enrollment for the School of Sociology for 1927-28 was 1529 students.<sup>48</sup>

The majority of students enrolled in the School of Sociology were women. Despite the fact that they were segregated from the males enrolled in the College of Arts and Sciences, their school spirit and contribution never

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<sup>47</sup>"Dinner \$100 a Plate for L.U. Head," Chicago American, Chicago, 19 February 1927; "Testimonial Dinner for \$100 a Plate Fund Raiser for Downtown College," Daily American Tribune, Dubuque, IA, 30 April 1927.

<sup>48</sup>"LU Summer School 1928," Daily American Tribune, 6 March 1928. "Enrollment of the Various Divisions of Loyola University From 1901 Until 1936." During this same year, there were 430 students enrolled in the College of Arts and Sciences.

flagged. The first public appearance at Loyola of the women's choral group was on April 1, 1928.

Loyola is included among the first Catholic universities of the country to admit coeds. Girls are eligible to all undergraduate courses and may take instruction through extension courses in the university proper, but are not permitted to attend classes with the boys. . Instructors from the university tutor girls in convent classes, giving them the same instruction afforded to male students.<sup>49</sup>

The Alumnae Association continued to raise scholarship monies and sponsor activities. Coeducation, even without coinstruction, was not the norm in Catholic education. There were a number of reasons for not embracing coeducation; the frailty of women, the superfluousness of this type of education for women, the distraction they caused to the males (students and teachers), and tradition. That the School of Sociology (not to mention the Schools of Medicine, Law, and Commerce) was allowed to enroll women was borne of financial need and Fr. Siedenburg's progressivism.

In 1924, President William H. Agnew, S.J. indicated to the Consultors that the Fr. General (Ledochowski) desired an expression of opinion on the subject of admission of women. By 1928, as part of the result of a larger controversy about the "Catholicness" of American Jesuit universities (which will be discussed shortly), Ledochowski stressed that coeducation was disapproved by the Church and against the

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<sup>49</sup>"Male Rule Ends; Girls Make First Public Appearance in School," Unidentified Newspaper Article, 1 April 1928, Siedenburg Scrapbook, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

educational traditions of the Society. He revoked any earlier permission to educate women and demanded their attendance be discouraged, even in summer and extension courses. At the Consultors' Meeting on November 16, 1928 the Fr. General's letter was discussed. Fr. Siedenburg pointed out that while a pressing emergency exists, it scarcely applied to the women in the medical school who were not taught by Jesuits. The issue was remanded to the rectors of the province where it all but vanished.<sup>50</sup>

The larger issue which surfaced was a result of the Jesuit higher education institutions' desires to seek university status through affiliation with professional schools (many of which were predominantly non-Catholic). The charge was that American Jesuit universities were not Catholic. The charge came in 1927 from the Roman curia to the Jesuit general (Ledochowski).<sup>51</sup> This began a long dialogue on many levels and a detailed investigation into the charges. At Loyola, the spiritual welfare of the students in the Downtown College was questioned. "Fr. Siedenburg pointed out that owing to peculiar conditions

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<sup>50</sup>Consultors' Meeting Minutes, 9 September 1891 to 1 July 1930, 15 March 1924, 208, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago; Wlodimir Ledochowski to the Fathers and Brothers of the American Assistance, 7 June 1928, 2-9, William T. Kane, S.J. Collection, Loyola University Archives, Chicago, as quoted in Goodchild, 384-85; Consultors' Meeting Minutes, 9 September 1891 to 1 July 1930, 16 November 1924, 252, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>51</sup>This topic is covered in detail in Goodchild.

spiritual influence upon students in the Downtown College Division would come mainly from indirection to wit through courses in Ethics, Bible Study, Logic, Psychology, History, etc." The Rector (Joseph S. Reiner, S.J.) suggested that a spiritual guide for the students of this college would be a good idea.<sup>52</sup> The results of a questionnaire to gather data about the attendance of non-Catholics at Catholic schools provided information about each of Loyola's schools. Clearly Fr. Siedenburg, who answered for the Downtown College, and Schools of Law and Commerce, did not envision non-Catholics enrolled at Loyola as a threat, indeed, he outlined several advantages (including being recognized by accreditation agencies, greater income to the university, lessening prejudices, effecting possible conversions, and a reflection the real world) to their attendance.<sup>53</sup> The result of the questioning, investigation, and subsequent policy formulation, however, was that the Jesuit institutions were more Catholic in the late 1930s than they had been in the early 1920s.

Another force to be reckoned with was Archbishop Mundelein. He had his own plans for Catholic higher education in Chicago. In addition to supporting separate

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<sup>52</sup>Consultors' Meeting Minutes, 9 September 1891 to 1 July 1930, 30 September 1927, 234, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago;

<sup>53</sup>"Questionnaire Regarding the Attendance of Non-Catholics," February 1931, Samuel K. Wilson Papers, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

Catholic women's education through the founding of Rosary and Mundelein Colleges, he envisioned a union of the Catholic institutions in Chicago into "a great Catholic University, one to rank with the best in the country."<sup>54</sup> His intercession in higher education took on several forms. He financially supported Loyola's Medical School through many rough years (1920 to 1960) so that a Catholic medical school would be available. But he also insisted that appointments to heads of departments of Loyola be submitted to him first and that he be informed of all decisions. He censored the rector's acceptance of an invitation to speak at a goodfellowship meeting of various religious sects. For all his concerns, however, they did not extend to the departments of Law, Dentistry, or the Graduate School.

But in the Sociology Department things are different. I don't know why, but his Eminence does not appreciate Fr. Siedenburg. Moreover, Fr. S's position, eminence bring him into a prominence that often makes him represent the Catholic element in Chicago life. How the new rector is going to act or to solve his problems, I don't know. However, I do know that the Cardinal [sic] is a very difficult man to oppose, but I think much more will be gotten out of him by going along with him so far as principles [sic] and rights permit.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>James W. Sanders, Education of an Urban Minority: Catholics in Chicago 1833-1965 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 175. This Catholic university would include the women's colleges, St. Xavier on the South side, Rosary on the West side, Mundelein on the North side; as well as Loyola and DePaul Universities under one financial and governing arrangement, and called the Catholic University of Chicago.

<sup>55</sup>John B. Furay, S.J. to Matthew Germing, S.J. 2 September 1927, Kelley Collection, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago. Fr. Furay handwrote a note at the end of



Siedenburg found himself in the disfavor of the cardinal, and in the uncomfortable position of being a progressive during a distinctly unprogressive time in catholic higher education. Furthermore, pressures were beginning to be exerted from the North Central Association and from fellow Jesuits as to the quality of the work of the Downtown College and at the centers.

A committee report regarding "Evening and Other Part-time Education" was published by the North Central Association in 1929. The committee was charged to report "under what conditions an accredited institution may operate a night branch or separate branch, apart from its regular day-time college work, without jeopardizing its standing."<sup>56</sup> This report had implications for the

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this typed (probably by himself given the non-professional look and number of errors) memo which said that he did not wish to be quoted as warning the new rector of what the Cardinal would say and did not want His eminence to know that he did this.

<sup>56</sup>R. A. Kent, A. Caswell Ellis, and George F. Zook, "Evening and Other Part-time Education," North Central Association Quarterly, get exact dates 1929, 242. The president of Loyola, Samuel K. Wilson, S.J., had marked certain sections of the report "N.B." These sections included: 1. That all instruction for part-time students enrolled in courses for college credit at accredited higher institutions of this association be done on the same or equivalent standards as that for students enrolled in the regular session. Deficiencies in this field of work, as in other divisions of the institution, will be regarded as sufficient cause for refusal to accredit an institution. 2. That the acceptance of an institution as an accredited institution by this Associatio [sic] automatically accredits the work of its courses for college credit for students in extension work on the same basis as in the regular divisions of the institution, provided that not more than thirty

organizational structure of the Downtown College when it came time to submit the triennial report of the University to North Central. It was eventually agreed that the Downtown College should be reported separately from the Lake Shore Campus and that separate department heads needed to be appointed for the Downtown College.<sup>57</sup> The report also had major implications for the extension work given at the centers with regard to who could teach these courses and the number of extension courses that could count toward a degree. It would be a number of years before the dust settled on this accreditation issue.

President Robert M. Kelley, S.J., undoubtedly influenced by the North Central Association report on part-time and evening education, Fr. Furay's warning about Siedenburg's unpopularity with Mundelein, and the Provincial's desire to encourage the teaching Sisters to enroll as full-time and regular students rather than as extension students,<sup>58</sup> was rightly concerned about the

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semester hours of extension work be credited toward a degree and that at least one year be spent in residence toward a degree. The fact that Wilson (who was president from 1933 to 1942) had marked them indicates that this issue remained active several years after the report had been published.

<sup>57</sup>"Report of the First Meeting of the Committee on Departmental Organization," 10 November 1930, William T. Kane, S.J. Collection, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>58</sup>Samuel H. Horine, S.J. (Assistant Provincial) to Robert M. Kelley, S.J., 19 June 1929, Samuel K. Wilson, S.J. Papers, Loyola University Chicago Archive, Chicago. "Some of us are of the opinion that all Catholic colleges and

direction the Downtown College would take. The specific areas he resolved to look into included the discrepancies between the two Arts Colleges, extension work at the various centers, and finding an understudy for Fr. Siedenburg. He also planned to inquire into the downtown divisions of Northwestern and the University of Chicago.<sup>59</sup> Kelley's inquiry into the Downtown College was also influenced by fellow Jesuits. William T. Kane, S.J. wanted Loyola to be a boy's school. Kane believed that the professional schools were just appendages and that the Downtown College and coeducation did much harm. Fr. Reiner leveled such major criticisms regarding lax academic standards in the Downtown College at a meeting of the Council of Deans and Regents (at which Siedenburg was not in attendance) that Kelley demanded an immediate investigation. All Reiner's allegations were found to be false or considered unworthy of consideration by

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universities should endeavor to press upon the minds of the Sisters the important of registering as full time and regular students throughout the period in which they are working for their degrees."

<sup>59</sup>Siedenburg had been involved with a number of adult education organizations including the American Association for Adult Education and the Adult Education Council of Chicago. At the 1929 Public Conference on Adult Education held in Chicago, Siedenburg was listed as a special guest, along with the presidents of the University of Chicago (Hutchins) and Northwestern (Scott). It is unlikely that Siedenburg was unaware of the local "competition." "Public Conference on Adult Education," brochure, 19 October 1929, Presidents' Papers 1925-1948 Addenda, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago; Siedenburg Scrapbook III, 1929-1933, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

the Committee on Admission and Degrees. The criticisms were hurled at a public meeting, the exoneration came in the form of a private letter. As a result of the myriad concerns, Kelley resolved to place "the Downtown College of Arts and Sciences in an excellent and unquestioned academic status."<sup>60</sup>

Fr. Siedenburg had his own ideas about the Downtown College which included building a new facility to hold the burgeoning downtown population. He believed that adult education was still in its infancy and the potential for growth was great.

Our College of Arts and Sciences which now serves 1,800 people, Catholic and non-Catholic men and women, as well as priests, brothers and nuns, is rendering an important service to the community in improving the teaching in both public and religious schools and in giving adults opportunities for degrees and cultural education. . . All schools of the Downtown College are fully accredited and have the highest standards. Nevertheless we ought to look forward to raising of these standards and be ready to anticipate them.

He believed that an endowment of about \$500,000 for professorships, fellowships, and research would be needed in addition to the new building. Siedenburg also believed that if Loyola offered more courses and better accommodations, they could "appeal to many Catholic students [who now attended] the Universities of Chicago and Northwestern, and

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<sup>60</sup>Diaries from the Office of the President, Robert M. Kelley, S.J., 17 February 1929 and 17 January 1930; Austin G. Schmidt, S.J. to Robert M. Kelley, S.J. 4 June 1930, William T. Kane, S.J. Collection; Personal note in Kelley's 1929 Diary dated 15 December 1931, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

the Y.M.C.A." In addition, a new building would allow Loyola to meet the competition expected from DePaul with its new building.<sup>61</sup>

Siedenburg's no small plans were dashed when he was abruptly transferred to the University of Detroit in 1932. While there is little written evidence regarding the reasons behind Siedenburg's transfer,

The oral tradition of this dismissal and exile involves a conflict between the conservative ideas of Cardinal Mundelein, then Cardinal of Chicago, and the progressive ideas of Father Siedenburg, specifically ecumenism, i.e., his extensive religious and social interaction with Protestants and Jews.<sup>62</sup>

Fr. Kelley used this "opportunity" to introduce a new structure on the Downtown College. In 1932, the professional School of Sociology was renamed the School of Social Work and the administrative responsibility previously held by Siedenburg was divided between two acting directors. The Arts and Sciences division of the Downtown College and the College of Arts and Sciences at the Lake Shore Campus were united under one deanship. Fr. Thomas A. Egan, S.J. was appointed to this deanship. Fr. Kelley believed this

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<sup>61</sup>Frederic Siedenburg, S.J. to Robert M. Kelley, S.J., 12 March 1930 and 20 November 1931, William T. Kane, S.J. Collection, Loyola University Archives, Chicago.

<sup>62</sup>Robert V. Paskey, "History of School of Social Work at Loyola," (Ph.D. diss., Fordham University, 1985) quoted in Schiltz, 471. Schiltz also quotes a 1976 letter by Robert Hartnett, S.J. who knew Siedenburg as saying "Mundelein kicked Siedie out of Chicago, after 21 years. No whimpering. Siedie rose to the top at Detroit immediately. M. was offended by S.'s ecumenism. He was just a full generation ahead of the Church."

would begin to bring the two colleges into similarity of course content and degree requirements, foster unity of professors' meetings and a greater exchange of professors.<sup>63</sup>

The Downtown College had an enrollment of 1807 in 1931-32. It offered late afternoon, evening, and Saturday classes at the Downtown campus and at the Lake Shore Campus. students could earn a Loyola degree or complete a preprofessional program for admission to law, dentistry, or medical schools. The early 1930s were a difficult time. The Depression caused Loyola to reduce salaries, and enrollments fell.<sup>64</sup>

In 1932-33, there were 564 students attending the centers and 914 attending the Downtown and Lake Shore Campuses, approximately 70% of the students enrolled in the Downtown College were teachers.<sup>65</sup> The competition for enrolling the teachers in the various evening schools around Chicago became quite intense during the 1930s. While all the institutions competed for the public school teachers,

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<sup>63</sup>"Future Title is 'School of Social Work'," Loyola News, 1932, Siedenbug Scrapbook, 1929-1933; "President's Report, 1935-36," typed with handwritten changes, Samuel K. Wilson Papers; Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>64</sup>Robert M. Kelley, S.J. to [Employees], 13 March 1933, Office of the President, Robert M. Kelley, S.J. Papers, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago. "Enrollment of the Various Divisions. . ."

<sup>65</sup>Enrollment data, 1932, William T. Kane, S.J. Collection; "President's Report, 1933-34," Samuel K. Wilson, S.J. Papers, Loyola University Chicago Archive, Chicago.

the two Catholic universities, Loyola and DePaul, competed for the diminishing number of part-time students among the members of the teaching Sisterhoods. President Kelley was concerned about the seeming preference of the Sisters for DePaul and, upon investigation, found that (according to the sisters) DePaul offered more personal attention by a responsible administrator, evaluated their credits in a more timely manner, and advised more sufficiently on the correct sequence of courses. The number of Sisters who attended the Downtown College in 1932-33 was 79, or about 8.5% of the Downtown College population. There were 17 centers, only five of which were at parochial schools. The remainder were hospitals, public schools, and the Chicago Musical College.<sup>66</sup> That the Sisters were a decreasing proportion of the part-time student population probably occurred as a result of the desire for them to complete their education on a full-time basis as well as their defection to other schools, which included the Catholic women's colleges as well as DePaul.

In 1934, the Bachelor of Science in Education degree (as part of the College of Arts and Sciences) was initiated at Loyola to "meet the needs and requirements principally of the teachers of the public schools of Chicago, and more

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<sup>66</sup>Diary of Fr. Robert M. Kelley, S.J., 18 July 1929, Office of the President Robert M. Kelley, S.J. Collection; "Loyola University, Downtown College, Undergraduate Autumn Registration 1932," William T. Kane, S.J. Collection, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

specifically, for those who have graduated from the two-year and three-year Normal course."<sup>67</sup> This program was under Egan's jurisdiction and added to his already heavy administrative load.

The organization of the extension courses under the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and the question of whether credit shall be allowed were issues raised by President Samuel K. Wilson, S.J. (who became Loyola's president in 1933). His personal belief was that extension work should not be given any credit except for making up prerequisites or partial credit only. He left the matter in the hands of the Committee on Educational Aims, Standards, and Curricula which decided to retain extension courses with credit towards degrees, but to place the administration of them under a director. In response to North Central pressures, they voted against continuing extension work under teachers who were not members of the regular faculty.<sup>68</sup>

There was ever increasing competition to enroll the public school teachers. Northwestern University's

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<sup>67</sup>Thomas A. Egan. S.J. to [form letter], 1934, Samuel K. Wilson, S.J. Collection, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>68</sup>Samuel K. Wilson, S.J. to Frances J. Gerst, S.J., 10 July 1935, 20 July 1935, 8 August 1935; Frances J. Gerst, S.J. to Samuel K. Wilson, S.J., 18 July 1935; Samuel K. Wilson, S.J. to Sr. M. Felicitas, 4 November 1935, Samuel K. Wilson, S.J. Collection, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.



University College, in cooperation with the Superintendent of Chicago Schools, William Bogan, were offering in-service courses which were conveniently located at school sites around the city. Fr. Egan informed Fr. Wilson that these in-service courses were causing the defection of many Loyola students to Northwestern. They countered with their own set of such courses at Austin and Senn High Schools in the fall of 1936.<sup>69</sup>

The uniformity between the Downtown College and the College of Arts and Sciences which had been desired had been accomplished to the satisfaction of Wilson. This, along with the heavy administrative burden carried by Fr. Egan, allowed him to separate the deanships of the two colleges. Fr. Egan remained the dean of the Downtown College. The name of the college was changed to "University College" because it was felt that the name "Downtown College" (which represented the Arts and Sciences component of all the

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<sup>69</sup>Both Egan and Wilson were upset at the fact that Superintendent Bogan was announcing Northwestern's in-service courses via a postcard sent to public school teachers. Wilson felt such a tactic would ultimately hurt Northwestern if too close a hookup was perceived between Northwestern and the Chicago school system. He was concerned, however, about the loss of Loyola students to Northwestern. He assured Egan that there existed a person in the system who was promoting Loyola to the teachers. Thomas A. Egan, S.J. to Samuel K. Wilson, S.J., 3 July 1935, 10 March 1936; Samuel K. Wilson, S.J. to Thomas A. Egan, S.J., 11 March 1936, Samuel K. Wilson, S.J. Papers; A list of in-service courses for April, 1936 in the William T. Kane, S.J. Collection, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

colleges operating downtown) caused certain confusion.<sup>70</sup> The name, University College, was used by the University of Chicago and Northwestern to represent their downtown, evening programs. The groundwork had been laid for the University College for the next decade. In addition to being Loyola's campus downtown which offered evening classes for working adults, it allowed women (even those attending full time) the opportunity to pursue a Loyola degree without compromising the male status of the College of Arts and Sciences. This was a uniquely Catholic form of coeducation without coinstruction. One that would continue until the 1960s.

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<sup>70</sup>"President's Report, 1935-36," typed sheet with hand corrections; Samuel K. Wilson, S.J. to Thomas A. Egan, S.J., 31 March 1936, Samuel K. Wilson, S.J. Collection, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

## CHAPTER 6

### DEPAUL UNIVERSITY EVENING CLASSES

#### Origins, 1911-1928

St. Vincent's College (which would be rechartered as DePaul University in 1907) was clearly in competition for students with the other, more established Catholic college in Chicago, St. Ignatius College (which would be rechartered as Loyola University in 1909). It was partly due to that competition that this small, struggling college made some survival decisions uncharacteristic for a Catholic institution of higher education in the early twentieth century.

The impetus for these decisions was rooted in St. Vincent's relationship with the Chicago Archdiocese. The previously friendly relationship between St. Vincent's College and the Archdiocese of Chicago had changed with the death of Bishop Patrick A. Feehan in 1902. His successor, Archbishop James E. Quigley, was said to favor the Jesuits. Quigley made several decisions which served to direct students away from St. Vincent's. Quigley required that all collegiate students must complete their seminary training at St. Ignatius College; he founded his own preparatory seminary at the Cathedral; and he gave the Jesuits

permission to move their collegiate program to the north side.<sup>1</sup> St. Vincent's decided it had to take drastic action to survive. Their plan was to create a modern American Catholic university.

In rechartering St. Vincent's as DePaul University, its first president, Peter Vincent Byrne, C.M., and the Board of Trustees used the charter of the University of Chicago as its model.<sup>2</sup> The quarter system of the University of Chicago was also adopted.<sup>3</sup> Byrne planned to add departments of law and medicine to the new university. He proposed that the new university be named "The University of North Chicago," a distinctly unCatholic name. This, however, was apparently a little too modern and was not adopted.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lester F. Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest, 1842-1980: A Comparative Case Study of the Effects of Strategic Policy Decisions upon the Mission of the University of Notre Dame, Loyola University of Chicago, and DePaul University," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1986), 242-3.

<sup>2</sup>It was virtually copied verbatim, replacing "Baptist" with "Catholic." This included the provision for educating persons of both sexes on equal terms, no test or particular religious profession required, and lay representation on the Board of Trustees. "The Charter of the University," The University of Chicago Official Bulletin No. 1, May 1892, 3-6; "Articles of Incorporation," DePaul University Manual of Organization, May 1967, 2-9.

<sup>3</sup>There was no catalog published for 1908-09 due to the change from semesters to quarters. DePaul University Archives, Lincoln Park Library, Chicago.

<sup>4</sup>Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University . . .," 247-8.

Next, a complete revision of the curriculum based on a modified version of Harvard's elective system was developed as not only an example of a "modern" curriculum, but as a welcome alternative to the inflexible and "unpractical" Ratio Studiorum of the Jesuits. Interestingly, this new curriculum also relegated religious studies to the secondary level. At the collegiate level, only a one-hour weekly extra-curricular lecture for Catholic students was required.<sup>5</sup> In addition to the curricular restructuring, the following university organization had been adopted: The College of Liberal Arts, The College of Sciences, The College of Engineering, The School of Medicine (which offered only pre-medical science courses), The Academy, and the University School (high school) for Girls.<sup>6</sup>

Fr. Byrne and his associates had paved the way for DePaul to become "a modern American Catholic university" -- a unique fusion of American ideas and democratic practices with Catholicism.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, an overextension in building, exacerbated by the financial panic of 1907 left

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<sup>5</sup>An extensive justification for the combination of practical studies with the classical and for allowing student choice through electives is given in Justin A. Nuelle, C.M., "Excerpts from the Report of the Director of Studies," DePaul University Bulletin, Series III, No. 3, 1909-10, 1-10.

<sup>6</sup>Bulletin of DePaul University, 1909-10, 12-13.

<sup>7</sup>Lester F. Goodchild, "The Americanist University: DePaul at the Turn of the Century," DePaul University Magazine (Summer 1987), 5.

DePaul in enormous debt. Byrne left the presidency in 1909. He was succeeded by Fr. John Joseph Martin, C.M. who was unable to accomplish what was needed and served for only one year.

On July 27, 1910, Fr. Francis X. McCabe, C.M. became DePaul's third president.<sup>8</sup> One of McCabe's first initiatives originated from a request by Archbishop James E. Quigley in December, 1910. Quigley asked DePaul to help the archdiocese by offering extension classes for Catholic laywomen who were public school teachers and who needed these classes to meet the educational requirements for promotions to principalships. Neither Loyola nor DePaul offered education to women, thus forcing the Catholic teachers who desired credits to attend a secular or Protestant university or none at all. McCabe discussed the Archbishop's request with the Board of Trustees on the same day. They approved the idea, saying "This seemed a splendid opportunity for DePaul to promote the welfare of the city and our Catholic women."<sup>9</sup> In addition to being a "splendid opportunity" for the city and the Catholic women, the board undoubtedly understood the "splendid opportunity" this

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<sup>8</sup>Patrick J. Mullins, C. M. "A History of the University," DePaul University Magazine (Winter, Spring 1976): 11.

<sup>9</sup>Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 28 December 1910, Office of the Secretary of the Board of Trustees, DePaul University, Chicago. This policy decision is also described in Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University. . .," 264.

action might afford DePaul fiscally.

The result was the establishment of the Summer Session which enrolled women, particularly teachers, beginning on July 3, 1911. Since McCabe's conversations with Archbishop Quigley and the DePaul Board of Trustees in December, 1910, the scope of the summer school expanded to include religious sisters and others who were able to take and benefit from a summer class. As early as February, 1911, The Sisters of Christian Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary who operated the DePaul High School for Girls expressed their desire to open their own college for women which would be affiliated with DePaul University. They also understood the benefits of a well-educated teaching force for the parochial schools. A summer session was an ideal time for the teaching sisters to take classes. In discussions with Fr. McCabe, they embraced the summer school as a first step toward achieving these goals.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, when the informational bulletin for the first summer session was published, the aim of the summer school had been expanded to meet the needs of the following students:

1. Teachers of both the parochial and the public schools, who wish to secure a more general knowledge of their own subjects, to carry on advanced work in the same or to prepare for the pursuit of other subjects.

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<sup>10</sup>Minutes of the Board Of Trustees, 27 April 1911, Office of the Secretary of the Board of Trustees, DePaul University, Chicago.

2. Students who wish to take up subjects during their summer vacation because they were unable to cover the material previously. (The courses given will enable them to make up in a subject in which they may have received a condition and will afford an opportunity to shorten their time of study.)

3. Students who wish to gain advanced standing for entrance into the University or to complete the University requirements.

4. Students who wish to gain advanced standing for entrance into the University or to complete the University requirements.<sup>11</sup>

The courses announced were in astronomy, biology, chemistry, English (composition and literature), free-hand drawing, French, German, Greek, history, Latin, mathematics, oratory, and physics (introductory and college level). The courses were not offered as distinctly graduate or undergraduate. Indeed, some of the courses were more properly of the academy or high school level.<sup>12</sup> The courses were offered on the near north side campus during daytime hours. The faculty included members of the regular DePaul faculty augmented by professors "handpicked" from other institutions.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>"The Summer Session," DePaul University General Information and Outlines of Courses, Vol. IV, No. 1, May 1911, 2.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid, 3-7.

<sup>13</sup>This was a common practice for summer sessions and one which the University of Chicago embraced. This system worked to the mutual satisfaction of the visiting faculty member and the institution by allowing for additional variety and expertise for the institution and additional income and experience for the faculty member. Faculty from the University of Wisconsin, Northwestern University, and St. Vincent's in Los Angeles were among the first "visiting"



The summer session Outline of Courses explicitly emphasized that since the charter of DePaul University allowed them "to provide, impart and furnish opportunities for all departments of higher education to persons of both sexes on equal terms," that degrees may be conferred on women. It also announced the continuation of these educational opportunities in the fall and winter through extension courses.<sup>14</sup> This was unique for two reasons. First, this action gave DePaul the distinction of being the first coeducational Catholic institution in the United States to offer degree-related programs to men and women.<sup>15</sup> Other experiments in this vein were either not degree related or not sustained. Second, regardless of the religious affiliation of the institution, announcing at its inception that this program of summer and extension work could lead to the conferral of a degree was atypical for the times.<sup>16</sup>

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faculty at DePaul. There was also one woman faculty member, Julia Beth Farrell, who taught oratory. "The DePaul Summer School," Unidentified Publication, 24 June 1911, McCabe Personnel File, DeAndreis Rosati Memorial Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, MO.

<sup>14</sup>"The Summer Session," DePaul University General Information and Outlines of Courses, Vol. IV, No. 1, May 1911, 2-3.

<sup>15</sup>Joseph P. Donovan, C.M., "De Paul Home Coming," The Vincentian, 2, January 1924, 13, quoted in Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University. . .," 265.

<sup>16</sup>More typically, evening or extension programs either evolved into this status or clearly stated that one was NOT able to seek a complete degree in this manner. A year's

There were between 65 and 125<sup>17</sup> lay and religious women in attendance at the 1911 DePaul summer school. These students came mostly from the Chicago area, but in the case of the Sisters, also from the surrounding states as well.

The success of the summer school assured that the plans for the autumn and winter extension courses could proceed. A "General Conspectus of Studies" was sent in September, 1911 with a cover letter from Fr. McCabe which referred to the success of the summer school and announced the extension courses to begin in October, 1911. It also announced that the superintendent of the Chicago public schools had informed DePaul that their credits would be accepted by the Teachers College Extension Department, subject to the usual requirements.<sup>18</sup>

DePaul announced courses in mathematics, chemistry,

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residency as a full-time student was generally required to earn a degree.

<sup>17</sup>The DePaulian Silver Jubilee Volume, 1932, 26-27 reported 65 students; The DePaul Minerval, December 1912 reported 85 students; "Summer School - History - 1911," Notes of Fr. McHugh, McCabe Personnel File, DeAndreis Rosati Memorial Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, MO. reported 100 sisters and lay teachers; "Current Events," The Catholic Educational Review, 2, September 1911, 671-72 reported 125 sisters and lay teachers.

<sup>18</sup>Francis X. McCabe, C.M. to [My Dear Friend], September 1911, McCabe Personnel File, DeAndreis Rosati Memorial Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, MO. Other announcements were also made about the extension courses including "University Extension Courses," The Vincentian Weekly, 2, 10 September 1911, 4; "The University Extension," The Vincentian Weekly, 2, 17 September 1911, 4; and "Order of the Day at the Teachers' Extension," The Vincentian Weekly, 2, 24 September 1911, 3.

physics, biology, cosmography, philosophy, English, Latin, Greek, German, modern languages, drawing, oratory, and history. While they reserved the right to withdraw any course which did not attain sufficient enrollment, they were also willing to add a course at the request of ten or more students.<sup>19</sup> The courses were to be offered on the DePaul campus on the near north side on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, or Fridays from 4:15 PM to 6:15 PM.<sup>20</sup> In scheduling for their main extension population, teachers, DePaul offered these courses in the late afternoon rather than in the evening. Also because of this population, the University Extension classes was also called the College of Education.<sup>21</sup> The attendance in the summer and extension classes for their first year, 1911, was 550 students.<sup>22</sup> Clearly, DePaul was offering a needed service.

In addition to the regular courses, a series of literary lectures were also given which were open to the general public. These took place on Tuesdays and Wednesdays at 8:15 PM in the University Hall. Those who wished to earn

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<sup>19</sup>"General Conspectus of Studies," DePaul University Extension Courses, September 1911.

<sup>20</sup>Francis X. McCabe, C.M. to [My Dear Friend], September 1911, McCabe Personnel File, DeAndreis Rosati Memorial Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, MO.

<sup>21</sup>The DePaul Minerval, December 1912; Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University. . .," 265.

<sup>22</sup>"Summer School - History -1911," Notes of Fr. McHugh, McCabe Personnel File, DeAndreis Rosati Memorial Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, MO.

credit for attending these lectures, could do so upon successful passing of an examination.<sup>23</sup> This scheme mirrored the University of Chicago Extension Division Lecture Study model.

The extension courses and their organization for 1912 were generally the same as those of the previous year, however, in addition to offering courses from 4:15 PM to 6:15 PM, Saturday morning (8:00 AM to 12:00 Noon) and Saturday afternoon (11:30 AM to 4:00 PM) time slots were added.<sup>24</sup> These new times were primarily used in the science and art areas to accommodate the need for additional laboratory and studio time.

With the addition of the College of Music in 1912, public school music classes were available to the teachers beginning in the 1912 summer session and continuing in the extension classes.<sup>25</sup> DePaul's emphasis on teacher training assisted the College of Music's early growth. One of their three faculty was devoted to public school teaching methods in music. This faculty member, Eugenie Eisler, had several years experience in the public schools before coming

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<sup>23</sup>"The University Extension," The Vincentian Weekly, 2, 17 September 1911, 4; and "Order of the Day at the Teachers' Extension," The Vincentian Weekly, 2, 24 September 1911, 3.

<sup>24</sup>"University Extension," DePaul University General Information and Outlines of Courses, Vol. V, No. 2, September 1912, 3-4.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid, 6. "The Summer Session," DePaul University General Information and Outlines of Courses, Vol. V, No. 1, March 1912, 6-7.

to DePaul. The course was also approved for credit for public school teachers.<sup>26</sup>

In March, 1912 DePaul affiliated the Illinois College of Law (day school) and the Illinois Law School (evening school) as its law department. The next year, the day law school and its library moved to the north side campus, while the evening law school remained downtown at 207 South Wabash. This affiliation added approximately 150 non-Catholic students to DePaul's enrollment. That meant that 40 to 50 percent of DePaul's enrollments were now Protestant and Jewish students. Additionally, the law department was coeducational.<sup>27</sup>

In November of 1911 John Mahony, a certified public accountant (and brother of one of DePaul's lay trustees, Charles Mahony) was hired to audit DePaul's finances. Mahony owned an accounting firm in the business district and was well aware of the demand for trained businessmen. He proposed that DePaul extend their secondary commercial studies to the collegiate level and volunteered to supervise the project in summer of 1912. Fr. McCabe, pleased with the success of the School of Music and the School of Law which

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<sup>26</sup>Lester F. Goodchild, "DePaul's School of Music," DePaul University Magazine, Summer 1987, 14; "University Extension," DePaul University General Information and Outlines of Courses, Vol. V, No. 2, September 1912, 6.

<sup>27</sup>Lester F. Goodchild, "The College of Law's First Thirty Years," DePaul University Magazine, Winter 1987-88, 10-11.

had been added earlier that year, accepted Mahony's offer. In organizing the College of Commerce, Mahony created an advisory board which would provide clerical and business leadership for the college and a link with the business community.<sup>28</sup> This method had been successful for Northwestern University's College of Commerce which, when established in 1908, was one of only eight college of commerce in the country. However, Northwestern's advisory board also acted as a board of guarantors to ensure the college's financial success. John Mahony served as the first dean of DePaul's College of Commerce.

The College of Commerce was organized to be a three-year course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Commercial Science (B.C.S.) which could be earned in three years by attending classes three evenings a week.<sup>29</sup> Although the main focus of the curriculum was on bookkeeping and accounting, it aimed to provide a "thoroughly scientific and practical course of instruction in commercial subjects" for

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<sup>28</sup>The membership of this board consisted of Archbishop James A. Quigley; Charles G. Dawes, president of the Central Trust Company of Illinois; Richard Dean, general manager of the Pullman Company; Edward E. Gore, C.P.A., chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the Chicago Association of Commerce; Fr. Francis Kelley, president of the Catholic Extension Society; Charles L. Mahony, attorney and brother of John; Frederick H. Rawson, president of the Union Trust Company; and Samuel C. Scotten, capitalist. Lester F. Goodchild, "DePaul Means Business: From the Founding of the College of Commerce to the Present," DePaul Diamond Jubilee Publication, 1988, 8.

<sup>29</sup>"DePaul College of Commerce," The Vincentian Weekly, 4, 15 September 1915, 7.

those who intended to enter upon a commercial life. The object of the new college was "to fit ambitious and energetic young men for positions and to help older men already engaged in business to equip themselves for more responsible and more lucrative positions."<sup>30</sup> Courses began in January, 1913 on the north side campus. Despite the fact that classes were open to men and women, coeducation in the College of Commerce did not actually begin until three years later.<sup>31</sup>

The College of Commerce offered evening classes from its inception.

The evening sessions for instruction of beginners and others in bookkeeping, and for preparing students to undergo examinations for the degree of Certified Public Accountant are now open and held every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evening at the University Building, 1010 West Webster Avenue from 7:00 to 9:00 PM. These classes are open to Catholics and non-Catholics alike.<sup>32</sup>

Courses were held on the north side campus for three semesters, but this proved to be an inconvenient location so McCabe and Mahony decided to move them downtown in summer,

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<sup>30</sup>"College of Commerce," Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XVI, No. 3, December 1912.

<sup>31</sup>"College of Commerce," Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XVI, No. 3, December 1912; Goodchild, "DePaul Means Business. . .," 9; the 1915 Bulletin had a special section devoted to "The Man or the Woman," which described the advantages of this curriculum for both sexes, "College of Commerce," Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XIX, No. 2, June 1915, 5.

<sup>32</sup>"College of Commerce," Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XVI, No. 3, December 1912.

1914 to the Powers Building at 37 South Wabash Avenue. Because of the success of the program, it was apparent more space would be needed. In May 1915, the College of Commerce and the School of Law moved to the seventh floor of the Tower Building, 6 North Michigan Avenue where a five-year lease had been signed.<sup>33</sup>

The College of Engineering offered instruction in the Departments of Civil, Mechanical, and Electrical Engineering. By 1912, Chemical Engineering also appeared as a department. Evening courses in shop work, mechanical drawing, electricity, mathematics and chemistry were first offered in 1913-14 and continued until the College of Engineering was discontinued in 1918.<sup>34</sup> The expense of operating an engineering program, along with the stiff competition for technical and engineering students from the Armour Institute of Technology and the Lewis Institute (which both specialized in this type of work) probably contributed to the demise of this program at DePaul.

The University Extension for teachers also began to offer classes in the downtown Tower Building (along with Commerce and Law) beginning in summer of 1915 in addition to those classes offered on the north side campus. The

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<sup>33</sup>McHugh, "Glimpses," 2; Goodchild, "DePaul Means Business. . .," 9.

<sup>34</sup>"College of Engineering," Bulletins of DePaul University, 1909-10, 1910-11, 1911-12, 1913-14, 1914-15, 1916-17, 1917-18.



downtown facility was called the "Loop Center."<sup>35</sup> There was some experimentation with other sites prior to the Loop Center. A "South Side Branch" of the Extension Department had been opened in Autumn, 1913 in the Visitation School Building at Garfield Boulevard and Peoria Street "for the convenience of certain students." Classes in philosophy, English literature, and history were announced to be offered on Tuesday, Wednesday, or Fridays from 4:15 PM to 6:15 PM.<sup>36</sup>

The early years of Fr. McCabe's presidency (1910-1915) were a period of expansion and experimentation. A number of initiatives were tried and retained and a number were tried and disappeared. At the heart of this experimentation was the desire for the development of DePaul, but also to meet the educational needs of myriad students. One such endeavor was through DePaul's "School of Art and Design"<sup>37</sup> This "school" offered a special class for teachers in connection with the University Extension Courses. The course, "Art in the Classroom," would be offered in October, 1913 on Tuesday

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<sup>35</sup>Goodchild, "DePaul Means Business. . .," 9; "Announcements for Autumn and Winter Session 1917-18," Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XXI, No. 3, July 1917, 2.

<sup>36</sup>"The University Extension," Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XVII, No. 3, August 1913, 7; "DePaul Summer School," The Vincentian Weekly, 4, 28 June 1914, 4-5.

<sup>37</sup>A bulletin for the "School of Art and Design" appeared in 1913, but it didn't seem to be part of the formal organization, nor was it sustained.

and Thursdays from 4:00 to 6:00 PM. Credit for the special course in art for teachers was accepted by the Chicago Board of Education and by school boards in other cities. Also announced were classes in designing, illustration, cartooning, life class, mechanical drawing, and architectural designing which would be organized for ten or more students on Mondays, Wednesdays, or Fridays, from 7:30 to 9:30 PM.<sup>38</sup> Another experiment was a boys preparatory department downtown. It was designed to allow young men who had to drop out of high school the opportunity of attending night classes and earning their high school diploma. Its overcrowding attested to its success and necessity.<sup>39</sup> In 1915, the College of Commerce offered students who, by reason of residence location or other disability, were unable to be present at the classes, a special "Correspondence Course."<sup>40</sup> This is the first evidence of correspondence study at DePaul, but this variation of it is not mentioned again. Lastly, the "School of Education," as the University Extension became to be called, and which had

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<sup>38</sup>"School of Art and Design," Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XVI, No. 4, January 1913. This is the first indication of true evening classes in the arts and sciences being available. Most of the extension courses were either late afternoon or Saturday classes. Commerce offered evening classes.

<sup>39</sup>"Downtown Schools," The Vincentian Weekly, 4, 26 September 1915, 6-7.

<sup>40</sup>"College of Commerce," Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XIX, No. 2, June 1915, 5.

been primarily organized for teachers, actively began welcoming "ordinary college and high school students."<sup>41</sup>

By 1915, the downtown schools of DePaul University included the Law School, College of Commerce, Preparatory Department, and selected University Extension classes. For Autumn and Winter Session, the Extension Division offered classes at the Loop Center in the late afternoon from 4:15 to 6:15 PM and all the classes on the north campus (except for Music classes which were late afternoons) were now offered on Saturday mornings or afternoons. For the Summer session, classes were offered during the day on the north side campus only. The College of Commerce offered their classes at the Loop Center in the evening from 6:15 to 8:15 PM, 8:15 to 10:15 PM, and Saturday evenings from 4:00 to 6:00 PM or 6:00 to 8:00 PM. By 1916, Commerce offered courses in English, commercial languages, psychology, sociology, and commercial geography in addition to those in business subjects. This overlap between organizational units was mediated for the time being by an agreement to allow "interdepartmental relations." Students in the College of Arts and Sciences could elect courses in the College of Commerce which could apply toward up to a year's credit toward their degree. Students in the College of Commerce could take certain courses in the College or Arts

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<sup>41</sup>"DePaul Summer School," The Vincentian Weekly, 4, 28 June 1914, 4-5.

and Sciences or Law and have them credited toward the B.C.S. degree.<sup>42</sup>

The American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) founded in 1916 played a major role in shaping the College of Commerce. The College of Commerce program was, like Northwestern's, apparently exclusively an evening program until 1917 when day classes were added.<sup>43</sup> In addition to the "vocational" Bachelor of Commercial Science degree, the College of Commerce offered the broader based Bachelor of Philosophy in Business Administration (Ph.B. in B.A.) degree beginning in 1924. Not more than half of the work toward this degree could be accepted as evening work.<sup>44</sup>

It remained structurally ambiguous for some time just where the Summer Session for teachers and the University Extension (or College of Education) belonged organizationally. Despite the name, there was no formal, separate College of Education, but rather it seemed to exist as a department of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. There is no record of a director or a dean with

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<sup>42</sup>"College of Commerce," Bulletin of DePaul University, June 1916, 11-12.

<sup>43</sup>"College of Commerce," Bulletin of DePaul University, June 1917, 10.

<sup>44</sup>"College of Commerce," Bulletin of DePaul University, June 1924, 66-67. This evolution from a vocationally-based evening business program to a broader-based day program was not uncommon in colleges and universities at this time.

responsibility for this sector. The announcements referred to them only by their term, "The Summer Session" and "Autumn and Winter Session," rather than by a name. In retrospect, it had been called the "Late-Afternoon and Saturday Division of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences."<sup>45</sup> The course offerings were in the arts and sciences and education.

In 1920, Fr. McCabe was replaced by DePaul's fourth president, Thomas F. Levan, C.M. Despite any organizational ambiguity or overlap with the College of Commerce classes, the "Late Afternoon and Saturday" Division of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, as well as the other units downtown, continued to attract students.<sup>46</sup> In 1920 to accommodate continued growth (and because the lease on the Tower Building expired), the downtown schools moved to new quarters in the Taylor Building at 84 East Randolph Street.<sup>47</sup>

The first time it appears that the courses for teachers

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<sup>45</sup>"Liberal Arts and Sciences," Bulletin of DePaul University, 1934-35, 4.

<sup>46</sup>Enrollments records are incomplete prior to 1930, however, a table which derives the enrollments of the various divisions of DePaul from multiple sources for the years 1908-1920 can be found in Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University. . .," 271.

<sup>47</sup>"College of Commerce," Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XXIV, No. 2, June 1920.

were offered in a Spring Quarter is in Spring, 1923.<sup>48</sup> prior to that time classes were offered only in the Autumn, Winter, and Summer terms. These classes were offered at the Downtown Center in the late afternoon and on the north side campus on Saturdays. The Spring Quarter classes continued to be announced in a separate, one-page flyer and not as part of the formal announcements for approximately ten years.

The Late Afternoon and Saturday classes of the Autumn and Winter terms and the day classes of the Summer Session were only at the undergraduate level until 1923 when three "distinctively" graduate courses in English, history, and philosophy were announced. Other courses were accepted for graduate credit, but they were generally upper division undergraduate courses.<sup>49</sup> Also in 1923, the departments of Education and French announced that courses via correspondence study were available through DePaul's Correspondence Study Department. This department was apparently fairly small and specific to certain departments until it was reorganized and expanded in 1928 to include

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<sup>48</sup>"Schedule of Courses, DePaul University," Spring Quarter 1923, one-page printed flyer, DePaul University Archives, Lincoln Park Library, DePaul University, Chicago.

<sup>49</sup>"Autumn and Winter Session," Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XXVII, No. 3, July 1923. The Graduate School did not become a distinct entity (rather than a department of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences) until 1928.

approximately 40 courses, many of which were in education.<sup>50</sup> It was reorganized for the purpose of:

. . .enabling out of town students -- Sisters, Brothers, Priests and exceptional cases among the laity, to do work of college grade during the school year. This constitutes an opportunity for those who are ambitious and eager to keep abreast of the times and who wish to meet the requirements of a Bachelor's degree within a reasonable time.<sup>51</sup>

The number of credits in Correspondence Study allowed toward the bachelor's degree was limited to eighteen quarter hours.

In addition to the courses available for students in the late afternoons and Saturdays, and through Correspondence Study, DePaul had over 100 students at St. Francis Academy in Joliet and three or four other centers. This represented a total of roughly 1100 students. About half of these students were religious and the other half mostly teachers in the public schools.<sup>52</sup>

The title "Late Afternoon and Saturday Division," which is first used officially in 1926,<sup>53</sup> and its Summer

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid, 6-7; "Home Study Department," Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XXXI, No. 10, September 1928.

<sup>51</sup>"College of Liberal Arts and Sciences Home Study Division," 1931-32, brochure, DePaul University Archives, Lincoln Park Library, DePaul University, Chicago.

<sup>52</sup>Daniel J. McHugh to Right Rev. F. W. Howard, 7 November 1924, McHugh Personnel File, DeAndreis Rosati Memorial Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, MO.; Daniel J. McHugh, "DePaul University Summer School," The Vincentian Weekly, 2, September 1923, 5-7.

<sup>53</sup>"Summary of Courses," DePaul University College of Liberal Arts and Sciences Late Afternoon and Saturday Division, Autumn and Winter Session, 1926-27, DePaul University Archives, Lincoln Park Library, DePaul

session, had been structured to accommodate its principle part-time student clientele, teachers.<sup>54</sup> While this continued to be the major portion of the part-time student population, there were advantages to allowing for expansion by offering true evening classes as well. Such classes were already being offered by the College of Commerce as requirements necessary for their broadened curriculum.<sup>55</sup> Encouragement of cross enrollments between the Liberal Arts and Sciences College and the College of Commerce seemed to be the most economically feasible means to accomplish this. It would allow for larger classes at worst and an increase in the number of evening liberal arts classes at best. Beginning in Autumn 1926, the "Late Afternoon and Saturday Division" of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences added a special note to their regular announcement. This special note informed students of the liberal arts classes available

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University, Chicago.

<sup>54</sup>DePaul continued to offer initiatives specifically to meet the special needs of teachers. A series of courses on the junior high began in 1924, special programs for teaching art and illustrated lectures in science, as well as the regular courses, were also offered during the 1920s. "Autumn and Winter Session," DePaul University, 1924-25; Bulletin of Courses in Art Training, 1928-29; "Botany Course in Twenty-five Illustrated Lectures with Motion Pictures," 1923; DePaul University Archives, Lincoln Park Library, DePaul University, Chicago.

<sup>55</sup>The last time the Bachelor of Commercial Science and the Bachelor of Philosophy in Business Administration were offered was in 1924. They were replaced by the Diploma in Commerce and the Bachelor of Science degree. "College of Commerce," Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XXIX, No. 2, 1925, 25.



in the "Evening Division" (5:45 to 7:30 PM or 7:45 to 9:30 PM). The courses in the "Evening Division," however, began in mid-September and were offered on the semester system while the "Late Afternoon and Saturday Division" classes began in early October and were offered on the quarter system.<sup>56</sup>

When Fr. McCabe had become DePaul's president in 1910 he had inherited and carried out the vision that Fr. Byrne was financially unable to do. Fr. McCabe's successor, Fr. Levan, inherited a much expanded and financially healthier institution. Levan chose to undertake a vast financial campaign in 1923 from which he hoped to expand DePaul's physical plant substantially. He was only partially successful. He was able to lease property at 64 East Lake Street and, by 1927, approved the plans for a new downtown building.<sup>57</sup> The building would be a modern, fire-proof structure, seventeen stories in height, covering an area of seventy-two feet by 140 feet.<sup>58</sup> The administrative offices of the academic units would be housed in the new building as well as the Office of the President of the

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<sup>56</sup>"Summary of Courses," DePaul University College of Liberal Arts and Sciences Late Afternoon and Saturday Division, Autumn and Winter Session, 1926-27, 3, DePaul University Archives, Lincoln Park Library, DePaul University, Chicago.

<sup>57</sup>Mullins, 8.

<sup>58</sup>Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XXXII, No. 7, March 1929, 9.

University. The commitment on the part of the University to its downtown programs is nowhere more evident than in its willingness to invest in its own, appropriately furnished, downtown building rather than to continue to rent space for these programs. The fact that the majority of enrollments were in the downtown divisions may also have played a part in this commitment.<sup>59</sup>

#### Development, 1929-1939

The move to the new DePaul University Building presented the opportunity for a reorganization of the liberal arts and education courses offered there. The courses organized in the downtown building by the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences were now called "Loop College." Their announcement of classes listed three time frames in which classes could be taken -- late afternoon (4:15 to 6:15 PM), Saturday (9:00 AM to 3:30 PM), and evening (5:45 to 9:45 PM). The Saturday classes, except for the science classes, were now all offered downtown. The evening classes were listed in a separate flyer, which did not indicate the fact that these were courses associated with the College of Commerce, but now also included at least one graduate

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<sup>59</sup>By October 1, 1929, the downtown schools alone had 2,419 students. "Milestones in DePaul's Growth to Largest Catholic University," DePaul Alumni News, Vol II, No. 7, June 1946, 6.

education course.<sup>60</sup>

With the advent of the new building, the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences added a "Downtown Pre-Law Department" for the purpose of preparing students who wished to enter DePaul's Law School. Sixty semester hours of credit was required for admission. Preparation could be undertaken through the day program in two years' time or the evening program in three years. The evening courses met on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from 6:00 to 9:00 PM.<sup>61</sup>

The "Late Afternoon and Saturday Division" of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences which was known as "Loop College" with the move to the new building, began to be called the "Downtown College" by 1932. Subsequently it was referred to also as "Loop University." The names were not used in any particular chronological order, but rather alternately and, apparently, synonymously. Regardless of this ostensible identity crisis, enrollments continued to grow. In 1930-31, there were 1256 students enrolled in this division. By 1940, there were 1796 students.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>"College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Loop College," DePaul University, 1929-30; "Evening Classes," DePaul University, 1929-30, DePaul University Archives, Lincoln Park Library, DePaul University, Chicago.

<sup>61</sup>"Downtown Pre-Law Department," DePaul University College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, flyer, [1929-1934].

<sup>62</sup>Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University. . .," 451. Goodchild has gathered enrollment information for the years 1930 through 1960 for the Late Afternoon and Saturday Morning College from various sources.

In 1930, Francis V. Corcoran, C.M. became DePaul's fifth president. During his administration the mission of the University began to shift away from that of a modern American university toward that of a Roman Catholic magisterial university. This occurred as a result of pressures and trends within the Catholic Church and Catholic higher education. Fr. Corcoran restored compulsory Catholic religion courses to the curriculum, attendance at a three-day retreat and compulsory attendance at Mass. He also revised the mission statement to reflect this renewed religious emphasis.<sup>63</sup> These requirements extended to the Late Afternoon and Saturday Division students. The aim of the Downtown College of Liberal Arts became:

. . .to provide for its students the cultural and practical advantages of higher education. More specifically, this division of the University aims to serve the needs of religious and secular teachers in service and in training by offering them courses which will not only satisfy degree requirements, but also be of practical value to them in their present and future pursuits.<sup>64</sup>

Fr. Corcoran asked Dr. Ellamay Horan, a faculty member to promote the teaching of religious instruction among the religious and lay teachers who attended the Late Afternoon and Saturday Division classes. Horan began publishing a monthly magazine in 1930 entitled, Notes for the Teacher of

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<sup>63</sup>"The general aim of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences is to provide a program of liberal education in the ideals of traditional Christian culture. . ." Bulletin of DePaul University, 1934-35, 13.

<sup>64</sup>Bulletin of DePaul University, 1934-35, 5.

Religion which was so well received that it launched a formal journal one year later called The Journal of Religious Instruction. This journal focused on the pedagogy of Catholic teachers of religion.<sup>65</sup>

DePaul had always sought to serve the educational needs of the religious communities, particularly teachers, through their Late Afternoon and Saturday classes, through Correspondence Study, and the Summer Session. This renewed emphasis on Catholic education affected the type of student who attended these sessions. It increased the demand from religious nuns, brothers, and priests. The Late Afternoon and Saturday Division became a religious and lay training institute for the next three decades.<sup>66</sup>

Fr. Corcoran's successor, Michael J. O'Connell, C.M., who became president in 1935, continued to embrace this movement. He described the environment of the Late Afternoon and Saturday classes as one where students and student teachers carried on their studies in a protected Catholic environment with teachers trained in the Catholic tradition.<sup>67</sup> In 1938, the Department of Elementary

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<sup>65</sup>Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University . . . .," 445-6.

<sup>66</sup>The percentage of religious students in this division grew from fifty percent in 1930-31 to almost fifty-four percent in 1935-36. By 1940-41 this percentage was fifty-seven. It continued to increase, reaching almost eighty-two percent in 1960. Ibid, 451.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid, 452-3.

Education established a special normal course for the training of nuns who would teach in the parochial schools of the Archdiocese of Chicago. This program, which was an immediate success, was the only of its kind in the midwest and one of only six in the United States.<sup>68</sup>

The classes for working students at DePaul University were unique in several ways. Except in the College of Commerce, the classes were not the usual evening classes. Rather, DePaul concentrated on educating teachers and, in doing this, offered classes at times which met the needs of that population. They focused almost exclusively on Summer terms and late afternoon and Saturday classes. While the origins of these classes were distinctly progressive for a Catholic university, their development embraced a more narrow, religious focus, but one which served a perceived need. That this was degree-related and college level education from the beginning is also noteworthy.

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<sup>68</sup>Mullins, 8.

## CHAPTER 7

### ARMOUR INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY EVENING CLASSES

#### Origins, 1893-1934

When the Armour Institute opened its doors on September 14, 1893, its aim was to provide the opportunity for a practical education for men and women. It envisioned itself as a manual training school, but one which would also reinforce "whatever contributes to elevation of sentiment, purity of taste, and refinement of manners."<sup>1</sup>

The school will have such relations to the public schools and to the university as will simply fit it for the preparation of students for the latter, especially in the scientific branches. The idea is to establish an institution for the education of head, hand, and heart. Mr. Armour's idea in manual training is that all shall be taught and done so that the muscles shall not be more thoroughly trained than the moral character and the perception of truth and beauty. The student in Chicago's great manual training school will be given the comprehensive basis of a liberal culture...<sup>2</sup>

It was hoped that the benefits of the education offered at Armour Institute would reach all classes [of society]. One means of effecting this was to extend the opportunity of paying tuition through promissory notes and through

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<sup>1</sup>Armour Institute Yearbook, 1893-94, no page numbers.

<sup>2</sup>The Chicago Tribune, 12 December 1892, p. 1.

scholarships.<sup>3</sup> Another was to extend the educational offerings to those who were unable to attend the Institute in the day time. An early publication from the Institute's first year of operation placed the following information prominently on the inside cover and in the Mechanical Engineering Department section,

Night schools, intended for those who may not be able to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by the Institute in the day time, will begin September 21, 1893.<sup>4</sup>

The classes offered in the "night school" were initially few in number and sparsely enrolled. Technical classes in mechanical drawing, machine design, civil engineering drawing, and shop work were offered in the evening by the regular faculty. There did not appear to be any courses in the departments which were likely to attract women students, i.e., the Normal Kindergarten Department, Music, Domestic Arts, Library Science, or Art. Also, there was no apparent correlation between the day and the evening classes.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>About 59 of the 700 students in the first class received scholarships which waived the total cost of tuition, 72 opted to obligate themselves via promissory notes rather than accept "charity." Armour Mission Minutes 1887-1902, 13 May 1895, 125-6.

<sup>4</sup>Armour Institute Yearbook, 1893-94, no page numbers.

<sup>5</sup>Peebles, 57. "Beginning September 14, 1893, the Institute will offer instruction covering the first year of the course in Civil Engineering, the technical part of which will be taught in evening classes...", "Preliminary announcement of a course in Civil Engineering," Armour Institute Yearbook, 1893-94, no page numbers. "To meet a



Gunsaulus, Armour's president, began reconsidering his academic plan for the Institute fairly early. This has been attributed to his European travels where the German model of applying science to industry impressed him.<sup>6</sup> He may have also been influenced by his friend, William Rainey Harper. The matter of establishing a technological institute in Chicago was discussed at a meeting of business leaders and educators in early 1892 at the Electric Club. The meeting concluded with resolutions committing everyone to a vigorous campaign in behalf of an institute of technology. Harper was quoted as saying

Such work should by all means be done by the university. . .it will extend university work farther. . .Shall we not hope that with our forces joined together, something of great moment shall result? If you will help us, we will undertake it; if you will undertake it; we will help. It ought to be done; it can be done; May [sic] I say it, it shall be done.

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somewhat general demand for laboratory training for such persons as cannot attend the regular sessions...the Electrical Department will conduct during the spring term an elementary course in electrical measurements. . .", "Preliminary announcement of evening classes," Department of Electricity and Electrical Engineering, 1893-94, Armour Institute, no page numbers. Peebles maintains that these classes in the preliminary announcements were actually held, but no conclusive evidence to that end had been found. There are several sources which indicate that these evening classes didn't begin until 1902 or 1903. Keefer, 41; Yearbook of the Armour Institute of Technology, 1902-03, 111; Bulletin of the Armour Institute of Technology, Evening Class Number, Vol. XXXII, No. 3, August 1938, 17; "Radio Conversation Between Fred Atkins Moore, Executive Director of the Adult Education Council of Chicago, and Willard E. Hotchkiss, President, Armour Institute of Technology. Station WENR," 17 January 1935. Hotchkiss Papers, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>6</sup>Peebles, 8.

But nothing was done by the University of Chicago. The explanation given was that at about this same time Dr. Gunsaulus was in negotiation with Philip D. Armour to start the Armour Institute and as Gunsaulus and Harper were very good friends, Dr. Gunsaulus was able to persuade Dr. Harper to leave the field to Armour, which was done.<sup>7</sup> Another explanation is that Gunsaulus and Harper were doing some long-range planning which involved having the Armour family fund a technological institute which shortly could become part of the University of Chicago.

The Institute changed its focus from training mechanics and technicians to training students for professional careers in engineering. It claimed the importance to the community for this branch of education "was strenuously urged by persons whose opinions were entitled to consideration" and student demand.<sup>8</sup> The new character of the Institute and the curriculum prescribed warranted the conferring of degrees and so it was reorganized and renamed, Armour Institute of Technology in 1895.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Statements from the meeting were quoted from an article from the Chicago Inter-Ocean, 4 February 1892 which was quoted in a letter from B. E. Sunny to Robert Maynard Hutchins, 12 January 1931, University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>8</sup>Yearbook for 1897-1898, Armour Institute of Technology, 9.

<sup>9</sup>Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Armour Mission 1887-1902, 13 May 1895, 142-3.

In early 1897 Gunsaulus told Harper that he had been in contact with Philip D. Armour with reference to "our relationship for the future." Armour had asked for a formal plan outlining the proposed affiliation.<sup>10</sup>

Enthusiastically, if not prematurely, Harper wrote to Nathaniel Butler

You will be interested in a little bit a confidential information to the effect that I am in receipt of a letter to-day [sic] asking me to prepare a full statement of the terms and conditions for the transfer of the Armour Institute to the University of Chicago. This comes directly from Mr. Armour. I suppose that we will be able to carry the matter through within the next sixty days.<sup>11</sup>

Philip Armour was not enthusiastic about the possibility of losing control of the school while having to look over its endowment, and the issue of consolidation seemed to disappear until 1902.<sup>12</sup>

One can only speculate on the extent of Harper's influence through Gunsaulus on the Armour Institute of

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<sup>10</sup>Frank W. Gunsaulus to William Rainey Harper, 3 February 1897, University Presidents' Papers 1887-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>11</sup>William Rainey Harper to Nathaniel Butler, 5 February 1897, William Rainey Harper Correspondence, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>12</sup>Harper and Gunsaulus, however, continued to correspond on this issue. It is apparent that it was their desire for this union to occur. Philip D. Armour to William Rainey Harper, 29 May 1897, William Rainey Harper to Frank W. Gunsaulus, 26 October 1897, William Rainey Harper Correspondence; Frank W. Gunsaulus to William Rainey Harper, 7 December 1897, 17 June 1898, 26 August 1898, University Presidents' Papers, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

Technology. It might appear that he was shaping the Institute in his mould for eventual takeover. Besides reorganizing as an engineering rather than a manual training school, coeducation disappeared by 1901.<sup>13</sup> One area of influence was undoubtedly university extension. Armour Institute planned to connect a form of university extension, reading circles, with their library from its inception.<sup>14</sup> A series of lectures to the public, modelled on the University of Chicago's Lecture Study Department, were also given.<sup>15</sup> Interestingly, none of Armour's extension endeavors extended off the home campus. Indeed, it was more likely a site for the University of Chicago than its own program. Another Harper influence was in the area of correspondence study. The American School of Correspondence at the Armour Institute of Technology operated on the Armour campus as an Armour affiliate from 1902 until 1907. It offered preparatory work only.<sup>16</sup> A summer session was run

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<sup>13</sup>Despite the fact that the University of Chicago was coeducational, Harper was not in favor of such education. In 1902, he managed to segregate the women of the Junior College of the University of Chicago into separate classes and dormitories. Lynn D. Gordon, Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 112-17.

<sup>14</sup>The Chicago Tribune, 12 December 1892, 1.

<sup>15</sup>"The Higher Ministries of Contemporary English Poetry," Armour Institute of Technology Bulletin, 1895.

<sup>16</sup>Peebles, 59-62. All exam papers were reviewed and corrected by faculty of the Armour Institute of Technology. Bulletin of the American School of Correspondence at Armour Institute of Technology, March 1904, Series 1, No. 4.

beginning in Armour's first year.

The evening classes that were offered in the first ten years (1892-1902) of the Institute's existence were designed to provide practical, useful information for application in one's daily work. They focused on technical skills. Since there was no correlation between the day and evening classes, no degrees or certificates were awarded for completion of these courses. Interestingly, unlike other "extension" endeavors, the philosophy behind the Armour evening classes differed from that at the University of Chicago in its utilitarianism and lack of collegiate credit. According to Peebles<sup>17</sup>, during the academic year 1902-03, the faculty studied the evening school to improve its effectiveness. The faculty were convinced that evening school was an important component of the academic program of the Institute and necessary in a great industrial city like Chicago. The faculty's recommendation was to offer a wider range of subjects and attempt to improve the organization of the evening work. Over the next several years, this was accomplished.

The first formal announcement of "night classes" appeared in the 1902-03 Yearbook, "Arrangements are in progress for organizing night classes in the autumn of 1902. Special circulars describing this work will be sent on

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<sup>17</sup>Peebles, 57.

application."<sup>18</sup> The first year after this formal announcement, there were 280 students enrolled in the evening classes.<sup>19</sup> The 1903-04 Yearbook announcement also listed the beginning dates for the evening classes (rather than night classes) for the academic year.<sup>20</sup> Beginning with the fall term 1903, responsibility for the evening classes was assigned to the new Dean of the College of Engineering, Professor Howard Raymond.<sup>21</sup>

The demise of coeducation at Armour also eliminated the academic programs in virtually all subjects but those associated with engineering. By 1904, the organization of Armour Institute of Technology was listed thusly:

1. The College of Engineering, which embraces  
The Course in Mechanical Engineering,  
The Courses in Mechanical Engineering,  
The Course in Civil Engineering,  
The Course in Chemical Engineering,  
The Course in Fire Protection Engineering,  
The Course in Architecture.
2. The Department of Commercial Tests.
3. Armour Scientific Academy.
4. Evening Classes.
5. Summer Courses.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to the evening classes now being

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<sup>18</sup>Armour Institute of Technology Yearbook, 1902-03, 111.

<sup>19</sup>Peebles, 57-8. This compares to 460 students who were enrolled in the [day] College of Engineering.

<sup>20</sup>Armour Institute of Technology Yearbook, 1903-04, 134.

<sup>21</sup>Peebles, 58.

<sup>22</sup>Armour Institute of Technology Yearbook, 1904-05, inside cover.

organizationally distinct, the academic calendar (starting and ending dates) for them was also distinct -- each term began two weeks later and ended one week earlier than that for the college.<sup>23</sup> Also, there appeared to be a few classes which were at the collegiate level, although this was the exception and it is unclear whether they were credit bearing.<sup>24</sup> That the evening class instruction was meeting a need, however, was clearly reflected in the evening enrollment increases -- from 530 in 1904-05 to 798 in 1906-07.<sup>25</sup>

B. B. Freud, Professor of Chemistry, was appointed as a part-time assistant to the Dean in 1908. In this capacity he was responsible for the academic operation of the evening classes. In 1909, William E. Kelly who had been employed in the Registrar's Office since 1907, was transferred to the Office of the Dean and placed in charge of the administrative details of the evening instruction.<sup>26</sup> Under this direction, the number of evening classes was expanded but they were still:

. . . chiefly engineering, and are selected with special

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid, no page number.

<sup>24</sup>Peebles, 57. The 1905-06 Yearbook lists several courses which could have been collegiate level classes such as Differential and Integral Calculus, English Composition and Rhetoric, and Engineering Principles, pp. 153-4.

<sup>25</sup>yearbook of the Armour Institute of Technology, 1904-05, 176; and 1906-07, 184.

<sup>26</sup>Peebles, 58.

reference to the needs of those who are engaged in technical pursuits during the day. . . Especial attention is given to the planning of courses for those engaged in the mechanical trades, steam engineers, draftsmen, shop foremen, superintendents, power station employees, electricians, as well as those engaged in other industrial pursuits.<sup>27</sup>

The evening courses in the sciences, chemistry and physics, were also taken by students in preparation for medical study (which only required pre-collegiate preparation at this point in time).<sup>28</sup> Full preparatory credit was given for the evening classes. If a student chose to enter the Technical College later, he could do so on the basis of his preparation in the evening classes.<sup>29</sup>

In 1918-19, Freud took a leave of absence to join the military and his evening school duties were taken over by Professor Robert Vallette Perry. Perry, of the Department of Mechanical Engineering, was the first person to hold the title Dean of the Evening School. Enrollment in the evening classes in 1918-19 was 1048.<sup>30</sup> The academic year 1919-20

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<sup>27</sup>Bulletin of the Armour Institute of Technology, "Evening Class Number," New Series Vol. IV, No. 2, August, 1910, 3.

<sup>28</sup>Howard M. Raymond to Charles E. Paul, 8 July 1915, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>29</sup>Until 1907, this preparation could also take place through the correspondence classes also.

<sup>30</sup>Peebles, 59. Peebles claims Perry's title was Dean of the Evening School, however, subsequent publications indicate that it was Director of the Evening Classes. Bulletin of the Armour Institute of Technology, Vol. XVII, No. 1, May 1923, 129; and Vol. XXII, No. 1, May 1928, 128.



was a peak year with evening enrollments at 1434. After that, due to the war, a certain stagnancy in the offerings, and faculty discontent with course loads, enrollments slipped and then held fairly steady until 1928-29.<sup>31</sup>

When Gunsaulus died in 1921, he was succeeded as president by Howard Raymond. Despite Raymond's previous responsibilities regarding evening classes, under his administration (1921-1932) the evening classes were virtually static. They continued to be self supporting.<sup>32</sup> Raymond believed that "[W]ithout braggadocio, we may say that the grade and character of work of our evening classes is generally considered to be the most thorough in Chicago."<sup>33</sup> Perhaps he did not want to disturb the status quo which, to his mind, was working fine. More likely he had other major issues which demanded his more immediate attention.

The physical plant was in dire need of updating. The

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<sup>31</sup>An undated summary of evening enrollments listed the following figures: 1920-21, 1344; 1921-22, 1081; 1922-23, 1127; 1923-24, 1133; 1924-25, 1091; 1925-26, 1022; 1926-27, 1189; 1927-28, 1192; 1928-29, 1192; 1928-29; 1405; 1929-30; 1508; 1930-31, 1259; and 1931-32, 760. Hotchkiss Papers, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>32</sup>C.R. Mann, "Report on Armour Institute of Technology," American Council of Education, 27 & 28 October 1923. University Presidents' Papers, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>33</sup>Howard Monroe Raymond, President's Report, Armour Institute of Technology, 28 June 1923, 7. University Presidents' Papers, 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

Institute had taken over much of the Armour Flats which were ill suited for instruction. Equipment needed to be replaced. This required a major capital outlay.<sup>34</sup> In addition, the worth of the buildings and properties owned by the Institute was threatened because "[T]he property is surrounded by the negro (sic) district and is undesirable for the purpose for which it is now being used."<sup>35</sup>

An affiliation with the University of Chicago was investigated again in 1921. The University of Chicago maintained it needed a \$3 million endowment to take over Armour. Whether the affiliation failed for this reason or because of the concern that the Armour name would be overwhelmed by the Rockefeller name, it did indeed fail.<sup>36</sup>

A more serious merger plan began in 1925 when the trustees of Armour Institute of Technology and Northwestern University signed an agreement to make a concerted effort at financing such an endeavor. The plan called for \$10 million

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid, 11-13.

<sup>35</sup>Blueprints and worth of buildings owned by Armour Institute of Technology, September 1923. University Presidents' Papers, 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>36</sup>Harold H. Swift to Harry Pratt Judson, 7 June 1921; Harry Pratt Judson to Harold H. Swift, 9 June 1921; Comptroller (Armour) to F.W. Croll, 19 December 1922; Harry Pratt Judson to George E. Marcy, 16 January 1923 and 25 January 1923. University Presidents' Papers, 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

to be raised to cover the cost of buildings on both the Evanston and Downtown Campuses of Northwestern. One of these proposed buildings was to be one Machinery Hall located downtown for the part-time students.<sup>37</sup> On January 12, 1926, a special meeting of the Executive Committee was called to execute a contract of affiliation contingent upon securing adequate funds for endowment.<sup>38</sup> Three years later, this plan was abandoned with the consent and approval of both parties.<sup>39</sup> This action placed the burden of financial survival squarely back on the shoulders of the Armour Institute of Technology.

Raymond believed that one of the major reasons for the success of the Institute's night school was the fact that the faculty who taught at night were regular day school instructors.<sup>40</sup> In 1929-30, the evening classes had a record enrollment of 1508. The greatest percentage of evening students were between twenty and twenty-four years old. Many of these students were employed by companies such

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<sup>37</sup>Press release, 29 December 1925, Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University, Evanston.

<sup>38</sup>Walter Dill Scott, President's Report, Vol. XVII, No. 31, 1925-26, 5; Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Armour Institute of Technology, 1921-32, 12 January 1926.

<sup>39</sup>"Memorandum to the Committee on Armour Affiliation," 14 March 1929, Walter Dill Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University, Evanston. Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Armour Institute of Technology 1921-1932, 21 March 1929.

<sup>40</sup>Howard Monroe Raymond, President's Report 1928-29, Armour Institute of Technology, 14.

as Western Electric, Commonwealth Edison, The City of Chicago, and Inland Steel. Approximately sixteen percent of them had between one and four years of college upon entering Armour. In addition to having the largest evening enrollment ever, Raymond stated that the grade (i.e., level) of students attending (as measured by previous schooling) was especially high and the number of students returning for successive semesters had increased.<sup>41</sup> One reason for this increase might be attributed to the fact that the night classes were no longer primarily preparatory. Many of the courses given carried full college credits and offered a means of obtaining advanced credits for any students who desired to eventually enter the Technical College.<sup>42</sup> There was no purposeful organization to the credit classes offered at this point, however.

The success of the evening classes was not without its problems. Armour's financial difficulties, as well as the Depression, kept faculty salaries low. The faculty communicated their displeasure to Raymond:

There is, however, a decided stand with some on the unfairness in allowing some members of the faculty to hold two jobs, one at the Institute and one elsewhere, of allowing some members of the faculty to use the space and equipment of the Institute for "outside" routine testing in order to add to their salaries. So

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<sup>41</sup>Howard Monroe Raymond, President's Report 1929-30, Armour Institute of Technology, 19-21.

<sup>42</sup>Bulletin of the Armour Institute of Technology, Evening Class Number, New Series Vol. XXIII, No. 3, November 1929.

too, our Evening Classes are becoming a terrible drain on the energies of the faculty. Outside activities, including Evening Class work, are interfering seriously with the making of programs. . .<sup>43</sup>

One recommendation was the complete separation of all evening class work and day school work. While nothing was to come of this suggestion, it illustrated the many financial pressures under which Raymond reigned.

A possible affiliation with the University of Chicago was broached once again in mid-1931. Financing was again the major concern, however, during the initial negotiations between Armour board members, members of the Armour family, and representatives of the University of Chicago, a curricular issue became central. This involved the type of training being done by the Armour Institute of Technology (especially in their evening courses) which prepared men to fill technical positions in industry (referred to as "monkey-wrench engineers") versus the preparation for more important and responsible engineering positions. Since the demand for "monkey-wrench engineers" was about 100 times greater than the demand for "true" engineers, the Armour representatives thought a continuation of this training was imperative.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>"Report to Dr. Howard M. Raymond, President of Armour Institute of Technology," 28 April 1929, typewritten, no author given. Heald Papers 1930s, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>44</sup>Emery T. Filbey, "Memorandum of Conference on Armour Institute," 1 August 1931, University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of

Emery T. Filbey, vice president of the University of Chicago and former dean of their University College, submitted a proposal which he believed would solve many of these curricular concerns. The Armour Institute of Technology would become the upper division and graduate engineering school of the University of Chicago. This would leave a market niche for

. . . another engineering school of a junior sort that would begin specialized training in the Freshman year. This might be a four year institution leading to professional degrees but, for the most part, students would go directly into junior engineering and technical positions at the end of two years training. They would continue through evening school work to the first degree.<sup>45</sup>

Filbey proposed that this niche could be filled by Lewis Institute<sup>46</sup> whose future was also uncertain at this time. If Lewis Institute was organized on this basis they could absorb most or all of the evening school work being done by Armour. Properly financed, Lewis could find its future in engineering and adult education. Filbey believed adult education at Lewis would supplement the University of Chicago's downtown University College offerings. The timing

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Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>45</sup>Emery T. Filbey, "Personal Memorandum Re: Lewis Institute," 25 July 1931, University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>46</sup>Lewis Institute was located on the near west side and offered both a liberal arts and an engineering curriculum. This institution is covered in more detail in Chapter Two and its evening curriculum is covered in Chapter Eight.

for this plan was opportune since George Carman, the Director of Lewis Institute since its opening in 1896, was ready for retirement.<sup>47</sup> There is no clear record of why the 1931 affiliation talks with the University of Chicago ended.

In March, 1932, the Board of Trustees of Armour Institute of Technology appointed a Development Committee and gave them full power to survey the needs of the Institute and submit a development plan. There were eight recommendations made by this committee: (1) revise the curriculum to provide more instruction in cultural subjects, (2) revise the shop courses to emphasize training of engineers rather than mechanics, (3) establish a school of science, (4) initiate a five-year master's program in engineering and in science, (5) establish off-campus courses, (6) establish a personnel and placement office, (7) found a research institute, and (8) organize a technical institute to train artisans and certain technical and supervisory personnel for industry.<sup>48</sup>

In the midst of getting the development plan started, Raymond resigned due to illness. After an exhaustive search, the Board hired Willard Eugene Hotchkiss as president. Hotchkiss was the founding dean of Northwestern's downtown School of Business, dean of the Graduate School of Business at Stanford, and had long

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Macauley, 43.

experience in dealing with institutional economic problems.

Hotchkiss was convinced that one key to the success of the Institute lay in a new campus. He found the neighborhood in which the Institute was located intolerable and said it would be impossible to operate efficiently as long as the school remained there. He felt it unwise to spend the money needed to make continued operation in that location feasible. He asked the Development Committee to consider the idea of establishing some departments downtown and suggested that the evening school would lend itself to such a move. Hotchkiss' proposal received an icy reception from the Committee who thought that a downtown location could not provide a sense of campus. Hotchkiss' arguments in favor of such a move revolved around the Institute's role in the field of adult education, industry and alumni contacts, and his past experience with a downtown campus.<sup>49</sup> At least one existing building was considered.<sup>50</sup> In 1935, Hotchkiss announced that an option on three acres of land on Lake Shore Drive between Ontario and Erie Streets had been

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<sup>49</sup>Development Committee Minutes, Armour Institute of Technology, 9 May, 18 July and 28 July 1933, Hotchkiss Papers, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>50</sup>The IWAC Building at 820 North Michigan Avenue was considered. Henry T. Heald to Alfred A. Ausschuler, 18 April 1934, Heald Papers 1930s, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.



secured.<sup>51</sup> Lack of adequate finances caused this plan to be abandoned.

Hotchkiss had better success implementing curricular and organizational change. He established a Department of Social Science, reorganized graduate education, and instituted a cooperative education course.<sup>52</sup> He reorganized and simplified general (not departmental) administration to make it less expensive. He appointed a faculty council. He abolished the titles of Dean of Engineering, Dean of Evening Classes, and Dean of Freshmen. The former Dean of Engineering, Henry T. Heald, was made the sole dean and placed in charge of all educational programs. Faculty committees were organized to advise regarding the important educational areas of the Institute. One such committee was the Committee on Evening Class Instruction.<sup>53</sup>

#### Development, 1934-1939

Dean Heald took his newly added responsibility for the evening classes seriously. He requested that all departments of the college undertake a critical study of the

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<sup>51</sup>Hotchkiss had launched a campaign to gain financial and moral support for the new campus. In May, 1935, he published a booklet entitled "A New Home for Chicago's Center of Education in Engineering and Architecture" which emphasized Armour's commitment to the community through adult education, evening classes, and postgraduate training.

<sup>52</sup>Macauley, 45. Peebles, 107.

<sup>53</sup>Willard E. Hotchkiss, "President's Report, 1933-34," Armour Institute of Technology, 11-12.

subject matter offered in the evening classes. He wanted them specifically to review the quality of each course, arrange for its proper sequence, and, where possible, make it the equivalent of its day counterpart.<sup>54</sup> The impetus for this request was the result of deliberations by the Committee on Evening Class Instruction. This committee was investigating the question of credit in evening classes with a view to establish a complete two-year college program. In this vein, they requested a general review of evening class material offered and a shift of responsibility from an individual to the departments.<sup>55</sup> After the internal review and a review of similar programs at other schools, an outline of a two-year college credit program was developed. The work was arranged so that with an intensive schedule the material could be covered in a minimum of four years. The plan was approved by the Committee on Evening Class Instruction for presentation at the Faculty Council.<sup>56</sup> The plan was adopted.

This precipitated the change from evening classes at Armour being primarily preparatory and/or vocational to

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<sup>54</sup>Minutes of the Faculty Council, Armour Institute of Technology, 23 November and 3 December 1934.

<sup>55</sup>Minutes of the Committee on Evening Class Instruction, 5 November 1934, Heald Papers 1930s, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>56</sup>Minutes of the Committee on Evening Class Instruction, 14 December 1934. Heald Papers 1930s, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

their being credit granting and college level. While this was undoubtedly an attractive option for the part-time student, the Committee on Evening Class Instruction further refined their plan to distinguish three types of well-integrated evening programs:

(1) Special sequence courses in engineering and architecture for adult students not interested in college credit or degrees, but who wish to secure adequate training in various branches of engineering or architecture. These courses enable those engaged in technical occupations who wish to extend their education to build up sequence courses in foundation subjects and in a wide variety of technical applications. These courses are in general adapted to the needs of men who have some practical acquaintance with the subject matter and desire work of immediate value. All of these courses are of college grade but some of them do not carry credit toward the degree because of their intensive nature.

(2) Courses for high school graduates who desire to cover the first two years of the regular college course in Engineering or Engineering science in evening and saturday classes. This work is arranged to make possible the completion of two years of college work in a four year intensive evening program, or may also be extended over a longer period if desired. A few pre-college subjects are offered to provide students an opportunity to remove deficiencies in entrance requirements.

(3) Courses for college graduates of a post-graduate nature to be taken with or without credit towards an advanced degree, depending upon the qualifications of the individual student.<sup>57</sup>

This design was an attempt to blend the needs of the student who desired the opportunity to earn credits in the evening while also retaining the non-credit student. Course selections under the first two initiatives were offered

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<sup>57</sup>Willard E. Hotchkiss, President's Report 1934-35, 31 August 1935, 24.

beginning in the Fall, 1935. A few courses in the third group were offered, but an expansion was hoped. The committee also began to look into offering formal graduate work in engineering in the evening.

A proposal for a graduate evening division leading to the degree M.S. in Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Chemical Engineering, Civil Engineering, and Engineering Science was presented by Professor Freud and it was decided that five graduate courses (one in each option) would be offered beginning February, 1936.<sup>58</sup>

The response to the new structure of the evening classes was satisfying. Some welcome results included an increase in income in excess of estimates. This was entirely due to an increase in evening school receipts and to an increase in day school receipts from the opening of the cooperative course.<sup>59</sup>

Armour's stabilizing financial situation reopened discussions concerning a possible affiliation with the University of Chicago in 1935. Initial plans called for erecting a downtown building which would house the Institute and the University of Chicago's University College. Later

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<sup>58</sup>Minutes of the Committee on Evening Class Instruction, 26 November 1935, Heald Papers 1930s, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>59</sup>Willard E. Hotchkiss, "Preliminary Report for the Year 1935-36 Submitted to the Board of Trustees At Meeting on May 11, 1936," 4. Hotchkiss Papers, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

plans moved the main engineering school to the quads with only evening courses located downtown. The Chairman of Armour's Board of Trustees, James Cunningham, and the President of the University of Chicago, Robert Maynard Hutchins believed that such a merger would truly benefit both institutions. This time it was not only a financial hurdle that needed to be jumped. Many of the people who were sympathetic to the type of work that Armour Institute of Technology was doing were connected with industry, and these people were not pleased with the present administration at the University of Chicago. Many saw Hutchins' New Plan at odds with engineering education.<sup>60</sup> Again, nothing resulted.

By the end of the 1935-36 academic year, the demand for advanced college credit courses became apparent sooner than the Institute had anticipated. Nearly all the courses in the freshman and sophomore year were satisfactorily enrolled and a few junior level courses were being offered.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>"Bases for Discussions Concerning Possible Affiliation with the University of Chicago," 9 October 1935, University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago; "A Memorandum on Possible Policy Resulting from Affiliation of Armour Institute of Technology with the University of Chicago," n.d.; J. D. Cunningham to Mrs. J. Ogden Armour, 20 March 1936, Hotchkiss Papers; Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee, Armour Institute of Technology, 33 February 1937, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>61</sup>Willard E. Hotchkiss, President's Report, Armour Institute of Technology, 31 August, 1936, 27.

Because of this success, serious consideration was recommended for the establishment of a better administrative structure for the evening division. It was believed that a full-time director was merited.<sup>62</sup> At the May, 1937 meeting of the Board of Trustees, announcement was made that Dr. Benjamin B. Freud had been appointed as Dean of the Evening Division.<sup>63</sup> In his acceptance, Freud said, "Dean Heald has been consulted and believes that the arrangement permits the development of the Evening Division in accordance with the portion of his 1936 Report to the President."<sup>64</sup>

The faculty of the Evening Division were the regular day school instructors. Evening teaching was part of their regular teaching load rather than an excess as had previously been the case. They were supplemented by part-time instructors chosen by the appropriate academic department. The greatest concentration of the 2025 students who attended the 1936-37 evening division was the group taking first and second year college subjects. While many of the evening students would never be able to transfer into the day college, the Evening Division was now able to function as a feeder to the day college for those evening

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<sup>62</sup>Henry T. Heald, "Report of the Dean," President's Report, Armour Institute of Technology, 31 August, 1936, 32.

<sup>63</sup>Willard E. Hotchkiss, President's Report 1936-37, Armour Institute of Technology, 5.

<sup>64</sup>Benjamin B. Freud to Willard E. Hotchkiss, 13 April 1937, Heald Papers 1930s, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

students who could manage it.<sup>65</sup>

In 1937, as a result of the new evening school model and the recovery from the Depression, the Armour Evening Division enrollments reached an all-time high of 2946.<sup>66</sup> This same year Hotchkiss resigned and Henry T. Heald was appointed acting president,<sup>67</sup> an arrangement which continued until he was named president on May 10, 1938. Heald, an excellent administrator, was a firm supporter of evening education. He believed evening courses, graduate and undergraduate, were an important part of the services which Armour Institute of Technology rendered to its community.<sup>68</sup>

Professor Freud served as the administrator responsible for the evening classes until 1938 when he was appointed chair of the newly constituted division of chemistry. Professor H. P. Dutton was his successor as Dean of the Evening School.<sup>69</sup>

Under Freud, the evening program developed. The evening class bulletin took on a new, more comprehensive

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid, 5-6.

<sup>66</sup>Macauley, 32.

<sup>67</sup>Minutes of the Board of Trustees 1934-40, Armour Institute of Technology, 11 October 1937.

<sup>68</sup>Henry T. Heald to A. S. Langsdorf, 9 October 1937, Heald Papers 1930s, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>69</sup>Peebles, 146.

look. It included a section on the "History and Development" of part-time study of engineering and architecture. In addition to the credit undergraduate and graduate courses, conference courses and courses offered in cooperation with professional societies and corporations were arranged. An Evening Division Student Association was formed. Placement services were extended to evening students. Vocational aptitude testing was also available at a nominal charge at the "Human Engineering Laboratory."<sup>70</sup>

The expansion of evening classes to include the first two years' work toward a degree had proven itself extremely valuable and students enrolled in these classes constituted a large portion of the total evening enrollments. Dutton believed the time was ripe to extend the evening courses to allow a student to earn the engineering degree by evening class attendance. He began to develop such a plan with the proposed starting date being the beginning of the 1940-41 school year.<sup>71</sup>

Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute were consolidated into a single technological institution to be known as Illinois Institute of Technology. The respective boards ratified this agreement on October 9, 1939 and began

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<sup>70</sup>Bulletin of the Armour Institute of Technology,  
Evening Class Number, Vol. XXXII, No. 3, August 1938, 17-22.

<sup>71</sup>Henry T. Heald, President's Report 1939-40, 9-10.



operation as the new institution in Fall, 1940.<sup>72</sup> The consolidation of Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute placed at the disposal of the evening student a strengthened and enlarged program of evening study ranging from non-credit courses in the elements of English and mathematics, to programs leading to the Bachelor's and advanced degrees in engineering and the arts and sciences. The evening instruction offered at the Armour campus continued to be primarily in the engineering field while the work at Lewis would not be exclusively technological.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Henry T. Heald, President's Report 1939-40, 19-20.

<sup>73</sup>Bulletin of the Illinois Institute of Technology 1941-42, IIT Series, Vol I, No. 4, June 1941.

## CHAPTER 8

### EVENING CLASSES AT LEWIS INSTITUTE

#### Origins, 1896-1917

Lewis Institute was the only Chicago institution whose benefactor required maintaining "a regular course of instruction at night." Allen C. Lewis desired this instruction to be free and adapted to the purpose of obtaining "a position and occupation for life." He also desired that public readings or a course of free lectures devoted to arts, sciences, and natural philosophy be supported. These courses were to be the "kind and character not generally taught in the [Chicago] public schools".<sup>1</sup>

When his will was written in 1875, higher education in Chicago was in its infancy. The system of public secondary education in Chicago, particularly with regard to high schools, was only beginning to develop. In 1895, when Lewis' estate grew large enough to seriously consider founding the type of school described in his will, the high school opportunities were still meager, particularly with regard to technical education. However, higher education was being transformed by the revolutionary ideas of the

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<sup>1</sup>Will of Allen C. Lewis, 23 June 1875, 5.

president of the new University of Chicago, William Rainey Harper. Harper's educational ideas included University Extension as an organic part of a university and University Affiliation as a means to guide and support smaller institutions toward educational excellence while allowing the University to focus on upper division instruction and research work. Harper possessed an unparalleled capacity for organization. The newly incorporated Lewis Institute board of trustees, needing such expertise in planning their new school, asked Harper to assist them.

Harper wanted George Nobel Carman, who had been a member of the English Department at the University of Chicago and the principal of Morgan Park Academy since 1893, to head the Lewis Institute. Harper and Carman jointly developed the plan of study, presented it and, despite some misgivings, the board acquiesced.<sup>2</sup> Thus, Lewis Institute became a six-year institution -- a four-year high school (academy) which offered technical subjects and liberal arts, and a two-year college (junior college) offering work in

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<sup>2</sup>At least one trustees, Judge Christian C. Kohlstaat, was apprehensive about this plan. Harper wanted students who finished the two years' college work to be able to transfer into the University of Chicago. Kohlstaat was concerned whether the terms of the estate were being met or whether the University of Chicago was just being self serving. George N. Carman to William Rainey Harper, 10 December 1895, University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

arts and engineering.<sup>3</sup> It would be coeducational and offer day and evening courses. Lewis became one of the first schools to unite technical education with the liberal arts.

Harper's influence extended further than the original plan. No detail was too small for his attention. He concerned himself with the calendar, terminology, credits, and system of faculty rank. He recommended faculty. His influence was nowhere more evident than in the structure of the evening classes. The first evening class bulletin divided the night work at Lewis into the Class-Study Department and the Lecture-Study Department -- the identical model of the University of Chicago's Extension Division.<sup>4</sup> The Opening Exercises of the evening classes were held on November 6, 1896 with an address given by Edmund Janes James of the University of Chicago on "The Present Movement for Popular Education." The Class-Study Department offered classes in technical drawing and design, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and hygiene. The Lecture-Study Department offered five courses of lectures in American Politics, Character Studies in American Development, Types of American Fiction, Physiography, and Painting and Sculpture of Our Times which were taught by lecturers of the

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<sup>3</sup>Agness Joslyn Kaufman, "Lewis Institute," Illinois Tech Engineer, December, 1946, 2.

<sup>4</sup>"Evening Classes," Lewis Institute Bulletin, 1896, 3.

University of Chicago Extension Division.<sup>5</sup>

None of the courses offered in the evening were college level. Those in the Class-Study Department were technical or high school level, allowing for preparation for work or to complete a high school education that had to be postponed due to financial or family obligations. These courses were limited in size so that the students could work under the direction of the instructor. The Lecture-Study courses were much larger and offered the general public a form of distinguished, but popular education. These night classes fulfilled Allen C. Lewis' wishes except that instead of being free, a nominal fee was charged.<sup>6</sup>

The idea of night work was apparently greeted with enthusiasm by more students than the Board had anticipated. It was common then for such courses to be announced and

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid, 4-8. The University of Chicago Extension Division used faculty from other institutions as lecturers. In this first array of alleged Lewis Lecture-Study courses, one lecturer is from Lewis Institute and one is from the Art Institute (both of whom are listed as University of Chicago Extension lecturers in "The University Extension Division," The Decennial Publication of the University of Chicago, 1902, 310). It appears that these courses of lectures may have been arranged by the University of Chicago. An undated memorandum of agreement between the University of Chicago and Lewis Institute indicated that Chicago would provide the lecturers and advertising and Lewis would provide the hall, light, heat, etc. "Memorandum of Agreement between the University of Chicago and the Lewis Institute," n.d., University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago. Also, the Lecture-Study courses disappeared from Lewis' publications in 1911 when they were also discontinued at the University of Chicago.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, 3-4.

offered only if there was adequate enrollment. A month prior to the opening of evening classes, the Board of Managers discussed at length the question of night work and voted to allocate \$2500 for any extra teachers necessary to accommodate the enrollment. Carman was authorized to make such announcements in the papers as would lead those wishing night instruction to make application and give the Institute some idea of the courses most in demand. He was also authorized to formulate and submit to the Board a Circular of Information describing the evening work.<sup>7</sup>

In the first year, 1896, there was a total enrollment of 687, 260 of whom attended the evening classes.<sup>8</sup> The evening program was successful, particularly that in the Class-Study Department, despite acknowledgment on the part of Carman and the Board of Managers that they needed to do a better job of providing lecturers suited to the needs of the evening students.<sup>9</sup>

In the second year, 1897, the Class-Study Department was re-named "Class Instruction" and Lecture-Study was renamed "Friday Evening Lectures." Evening students were

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<sup>7</sup>George N. Carman to William Rainey Harper, 2 October 1896, University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago; Minutes of the Board of Managers of Lewis Institute 1896-1918, Vol. 1, 6 October 1896, 14.

<sup>8</sup>First Annual Register of the Lewis Institute, 1897, 68.

<sup>9</sup>Minutes of the Board of Managers of Lewis Institute 1896-1918, Vol. 1, 23 December 1896, 15.

told that

Any course of instruction offered day students will be repeated at night if the demand is such as to justify the formation of a class. Provision has also been made for such instruction as will enable young men and women, who are employed during the entire day, to continue their education along those lines that will be of the most service to them in the work in which they are engaged.<sup>10</sup>

Courses were added in electricity, geology, meteorology, photography, cooking for housekeepers, penmanship, and bookkeeping. Two of the four Friday Night Lectures were devoted to the liberal arts and two to engineering.<sup>11</sup> The night enrollments doubled (from 260 to 520) in the 1897-98 year. There were ninety students in the courses in machine sketching, mechanical and architectural drawing and mechanic arts; sixty-eight in chemistry, electricity, physics, and photography; sixty-nine in cooking, freehand drawing and physical culture; 164 in English, mathematics and foreign languages; and 129 in arithmetic, bookkeeping, penmanship, and English grammar and composition.<sup>12</sup> Friday afternoon lectures were offered in addition to the Friday evening

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<sup>10</sup>"Evening Classes and Lectures," Lewis Institute Chicago, 1897-98, 2.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid, 4-7.

<sup>12</sup>Second Annual Register of the Lewis Institute, 1898, 65-72. Printed information sheet on Lewis Institute, sent in a letter George N. Carman to William Rainey Harper, n.d., University Presidents' Papers 1889-1925, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

lectures.<sup>13</sup> While most students fell under the direction of a faculty member, Director Carman personally acted as the advisor of all adult students.<sup>14</sup>

In the third year, 1898-99, the evening class enrollments rose to 775.<sup>15</sup> The announcements now referred to "Extension Classes" and the times classes were offered was broadened to include afternoons and Saturdays. In 1899, the School of Engineering expanded the number of engineering courses in the evening as a result of a study of the needs of the men who had attended the evening classes of the Institute over the last four years. Anyone who could profit from this instruction as determined by the instructor was admitted. The focus was on specific knowledge for immediate use in the work place for men.<sup>16</sup> For women, classes in sewing, and home nursing and emergencies were added to cooking. By 1900, the enrollment in the evening classes peaked at 1190 and remained relatively stable for the next few years.<sup>17</sup>

The regular faculty was supplemented with evening

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<sup>13</sup>"Supplemental Announcement, Evening Classes and Lectures," Lewis Institute, 1897-98.

<sup>14</sup>Lewis Institute Faculty Meetings Minutes March 6 1896 - September 30 1916, 25 February 1897, 54.

<sup>15</sup>Lewis Institute Third Annual Register, 1899, 72.

<sup>16</sup>Lewis Institute School of Engineering, 1900, 44.

<sup>17</sup>Fourth Annual Register of the Lewis Institute, 1900, 63.



instructors for many of the evening classes. When the need arose, the regular faculty would sometimes teach classes in the evening in addition to their regular load. This had been done consistently without extra compensation until 1903 when the Board of Managers recommended that extra compensation be given for night work.<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless, the teaching force remained relatively small and underpaid, yet committed and progressive. Their first responsibility was to excellence in teaching. Few, if any, had either the academic training, inclination, or the time to conduct research.<sup>19</sup>

For the next few years, there were some changes in the scheme of the evening courses. These changes generally reflected the need to meet student demand in an area. Originally the night students did not enjoy the same privileges as the day students. Carman soon formulated a plan so that the night students were given the same advantages in the use of buildings, library, and lunchroom.<sup>20</sup> Director Carman described the dynamic nature of the evening classes and students during this time as

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<sup>18</sup>Minutes of the Board of Managers of Lewis Institute, 1896-1918, Vol. 1, 26 October 1903, 87. This was done again in 1908. Ibid, 20 October 1908, 139.

<sup>19</sup>Edwin Herbert Lewis, "The Future of Lewis Institute," [1930], Scrapbook "C", Lewis Collection, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>20</sup>Lewis Institute Faculty Meetings Minutes March 6 1896 - September 30 1916, 19 March 1904, 55.

follows.

The attendance in the evening classes can seldom be looked upon as a fixed quantity in any one subject, because the students are extremely sensitive to three factors, in order as named: First, the competency and personal attitude of the instructor. Second, the trade conditions. Third, the completeness and efficiency of the equipment.<sup>21</sup>

The one enduring characteristic of mature students was their constantly changing demands. Being mature, they were in close touch with what was needed to succeed in commercial or industrial life. Hence, any changes in the commercial world was reflected by the request for instruction by the evening students. For example, there were large and enthusiastic classes in Spanish and French which appeared and disappeared in the years immediately following the Spanish-American War. The classes in mechanical drawing rose and fell with the demand for draftsmen. Demands during 1904 to 1909 built up classes in manufacturing, chemistry, dietetics, engineering mathematics, and advanced electrical work. Shortly thereafter, requests for instruction in architectural drawing, internal combustion engines, and concrete construction caused classes to be formed in these areas.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>"Director's Report for 1908," Lewis Institute Bulletin, January, 1909, 26.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid, 25-6; "Announcement of Evening Courses of Instruction in Electrical Engineering," Announcement of Evening Courses of Instruction, Lewis Institute, 1904-05; "Special Courses of Instruction in the Evening School," Tenth Annual Register of the Lewis Institute, 1906, 66-81; these included electrical engineering, shop engineering, steam engineering, engineering mathematics, and chemistry.

That Lewis Institute sought to meet the demands of the working adult is apparent, but its commitment to workers did not stop there. In 1909 a Cooperative Course for Shop Apprentices was created to meet the unique needs of the adolescent who for various economic and family reasons would not be able to afford to continue his education. The cooperative course allowed boys to alternate work and school weekly gaining an advantage in combining both work and school that could not be as great with only one or the other. Carman believed that the evening courses and the cooperative course exemplified John Dewey's educational philosophy that schools best serve their purpose, not when they are thought of as preparation for life, but when they are really part of life.

The stimulating effect on the instructors in our evening classes of their contact with men who come from the practical engineering pursuits to take up some special line of theory or experimentation was early noted, and should be credited to the evening school as its contribution towards making the instruction that is given in the Institute real and effective. A similar advantage seems likely to result from the presence of boys who are spending half their time in the shops.<sup>23</sup>

The first effort toward bringing about some semblance of organization to the evening classes was the appointment of Philip Bell Woodworth, Professor of Physics and Electrical Engineering, as Dean of the Evening School in

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<sup>23</sup>"The Cooperative Course for Shop Apprentices," Report of the Director, 1909, Lewis Institute, 1909, 1-6.

1908.<sup>24</sup> By 1909, Eugene C. Hall was named Registrar of the Evening School. Prior to that time, no record of scholarship was kept on the evening classes since that work did not ordinarily count toward the certificate, the title of associate, or the degree.<sup>25</sup> Between 1900 and 1906, the evening enrollments remained relatively stable. Beginning in 1906 and continuing through to 1917, enrollments rose precipitously.<sup>26</sup> This may have been one impetus for needing this new organization. Another may have been the increasing desire on the part of the evening students to pursue a systematic curriculum that would lead to the completion of at least the high school course. By 1913-14 this was feasible, but not encouraged, if the student was willing to attend for a series of years.<sup>27</sup>

As Lewis Institute celebrated its twentieth year in 1916, it became clear that it was time to take stock of its future. The enrollment of the academy had declined to 319 students. High school opportunities which were sparse in

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<sup>24</sup>Minutes of the Board of Manager of Lewis Institute 1896-1918, Vol. 1, 10 March 1908, 133.

<sup>25</sup>"Night Session of 1907-08," Lewis Institute Bulletin 1907-08, 39.

<sup>26</sup>Evening enrollments in 1906-07 were 1299. In 1913-14 they reached 2504 and stayed reasonably stable (except for the war year, 1918) until the mid 1920s. These enrollment figures were compiled from the "Summary of Attendance," Lewis Institute Bulletins, 1906 through 1927.

<sup>27</sup>"Evening Session, 1913-14," Lewis Institute Bulletin, 1913, 45.

1896 had now expanded considerably. A number of public high schools had opened; many like Lane Technical, Crane Technical, and Harrison Technical High Schools had equipment and curriculum similar to that of Lewis Institute. The neighborhood around the Institute was changing from well-to-do to working class, and many students who attended the Institute were more economically disadvantaged than their predecessors. There has been a steady increase in the number of students who were interested in the college course. Lewis now faced competition on this level from the newly established Crane, Lane, and Senn Junior Colleges.<sup>28</sup>

The decision was to discontinue the academy and to add to the four-year degrees already offered in Engineering (begun in 1909) and in Domestic Arts (begun in 1912), a Bachelor of Science degree in arts and sciences. The title of Associate was retained and awarded in Domestic Economy and in Arts. A certificate in Household Management for students over twenty-five years of age was also awarded at the end of the prescribed one-year program. This decision completed the change of Lewis Institute from a six-year program (four-year high school and two-year junior college) to a four-year college.

#### Development, 1917-1939

This change affected the students in the evening

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<sup>28</sup>George N. Carman, "Director's Report," 19 December 1916, typewritten.

classes in two major ways. First, students who desired to secure credit for junior college level courses were able now to do so.<sup>29</sup> To secure such credit that could apply toward an associateship or transfer elsewhere, the student was required to announce to the instructor his or her desire to take the class as prepared work with examinations. Normally these courses were given without formal tests or examinations and carried no credit.<sup>30</sup> Second, despite the discontinuation of the academy certificate, and the continuation of the Institute's requirement of the full equivalent of graduation from a standard four-year high school for admission, mature students who had not completed the high school course were not now excluded. They were given the opportunity to make up any deficiencies in high school attendance. The Institute included in its junior college many courses which would commonly be classified as secondary, except that the mature student pursued them more intensively and rapidly than the younger students were able

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<sup>29</sup>While there had always been a close relationship between the day and night school, the night school had only encompassed secondary work. With the improvement in access to public secondary education, the impending competition from other junior colleges, and the increasing desire on the part of the students to earn college credit for night work, the faculty of the Lewis Institute began dialogue about the improvement in the night school student work and the revolutionary concept of a Bachelor's degree for night students. Secretary's Minutes, 28 October 1916, 2, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>30</sup>"Announcement for the Year 1917-18," Lewis Institute Circular of Information, October, 1917, 10.

to do.<sup>31</sup>

Lewis had always handled the question of college entrance with an unusual flexibility. Mature students were admitted probationally without an entrance examination if it was felt that they were in a position to profit from their connection with the Institute.<sup>32</sup> Not a few of the mature students who enrolled at Lewis did so because they had not succeeded elsewhere.<sup>33</sup> Admission to Lewis was easy, but graduation was difficult.<sup>34</sup>

It was incumbent on Carman to continue to forge a vision of Lewis Institute which was consistent with the will of Allen C. Lewis, but which also kept pace with the changing times. Any attempt to do otherwise would surely

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<sup>31</sup>George N. Carman, "Annual Statement," Lewis Institute Circular of Information, July, 1922, 12.

<sup>32</sup>"General Information," Lewis Institute Bulletin, October, 1910, 11.

<sup>33</sup>George N. Carman, "Director's Report," 19 December 1916, typewritten, University President's Papers 1889-1925; Dr. Edwin H. Lewis, Professor of English and Dean of Faculty at Lewis and an alumnus of the University of Chicago, made his disapproval of the University of Chicago's system of failing out students well known. He said, "I do not think you ought to fail them, You ought to teach these C men and D men. Anybody can exclude students." A great many of these students apparently came to Lewis. Edwin H. Lewis to Robert Maynard Hutchins, 4 July 1930, University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>34</sup>"What Lewis Institute Is," n.d. pamphlet, Lewis Institute Collection 1896-1935, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago; "The Work of the Institute," Lewis Institute Circular of Information, July, 1922, 34.

have resulted in greater financial difficulties than he was already facing. Expenses had risen considerably and while enrollments were increasing, the income from endowment had not. Carman believed

The Institute should be a college but in its entrance requirements it should continue to admit a large number of adult special students for whom no other school so well provides. It should be a day and evening college, with constant endeavor to reduce all its work to one standard of credit and scholarship. . .<sup>35</sup>

About half of the students in attendance in 1922 were of college grade and most of the other half were adults or, at least, of college age.

Carman, a number of the faculty, and the business manager, R. A. Mowat, met on November 1, 1922 to consider the future of the Institute. It was clear an effort to raise the endowment was necessary. With regard to the educational service the Lewis provided, however, no radical change was deemed desirable. This issue was raised again in 1924 by Henry Pratt Judson of the University of Chicago who served on Lewis' Board of Managers. He suggested the appointment of a commission for the purpose of making a careful investigation and survey to ascertain the needs of the city and the surrounding district with special regard to technical education to use in determining the future of Lewis Institute. The Board was apprehensive, but granted

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<sup>35</sup>George N. Carman, "Director's Report," November, 1922, in Minutes of the Board of Managers of Lewis Institute 1918-1940, Vol. II, 81.



general approval and this commission was appointed the following month. It was abandoned in 1926.<sup>36</sup>

No effort was made to induce evening students to take a prescribed curricula, but there was increasing demand for instruction that led to the degree, the title of associate, or even the academy certificate (this was still given upon request in deference to custom).<sup>37</sup> The majority of students who attended Lewis continued to be evening students until about 1930. Concurrent with the demand for degree instruction was the tendency on the part of the evening students to over-extend themselves. In an attempt to remedy this situation, when advice seemed to fall on deaf ears, the Institute arranged their tuition structure such that this was discouraged.<sup>38</sup>

The scope of the work of the evening classes at Lewis was broad. Engineering courses, as well as courses in general science and shop work, were available for the men. For the women, courses in household or general science were

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<sup>36</sup>Minutes of the Board of Trustees 1918-1940, Vol. II, 16 January 1924, 93 and 6 February 1924, 95; "Director's Report," 12 January 1926, 114, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>37</sup>Lewis Institute Circular of Information, July, 1923, 10.

<sup>38</sup>Carman believed that evening students should not take more than two courses a term and arranged the tuition so that it doubled when a fourth course was added. "Director's Report," 4 May 1928, Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Lewis Institute 1918-1940, Vol. II, 4 May 1928, 163, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

offered. Being near a great medical center, Lewis also found a niche offering the preparatory and science courses needed by premedical students.<sup>39</sup> In addition to these structured opportunities, the mature student at Lewis continued to be able to enroll in a course for purely avocational or cultural reasons.

Lewis' continuing financial problems led to the launching of a million dollar campaign to increase their productive endowment in 1929.<sup>40</sup> The timing could not have been worse. The financial conditions wrought by the Depression did not allow for any possibility of success. There was some relief in the additional enrollments gained when the city junior colleges closed during the Depression, but these gains were reversed when the colleges reopened. The endowment was paying only forty percent of the operating costs despite the fact that Allen Lewis' will stipulated that expenses could not exceed income.<sup>41</sup> Lewis Institute was obliged to carry a considerable number of promissory notes in lieu of tuition. A considerable number of public school teachers who attended the afternoon and evening classes (who had always been considered to be desirable

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<sup>39</sup>Lewis Institute Circular of Information, April, 1926, 9.

<sup>40</sup>"A \$1 Million Campaign Begins," Chicago Sunday Tribune, 17 March 1929.

<sup>41</sup>Irene Macauley, The Heritage of Illinois Institute of Technology (Chicago: Privately printed, 1978), 55-6.

students as far as the business office was concerned) offered Board of Education scrip in payment of tuition.<sup>42</sup>

Lewis organized their campaign to raise money for four purposes: (1) to maintain its present status, (2) to develop and relate its engineering work directly to the industries of Chicago, (3) to develop and relate its work in business administration<sup>43</sup> directly to the business organizations of Chicago, and (4) to continue to provide evening instruction for those who were seeking educational opportunities not supplied by either the public schools or by the universities.<sup>44</sup> With the additional endowment, Lewis believed it could inject unique educational opportunities into the life of Chicago's industrial population. These opportunities would not duplicate what was done in other institutions, nor seek to serve remote populations.<sup>45</sup>

With the impending failure of the campaign, alternative plans for survival were being discussed. One such plan

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<sup>42</sup>R. A. Mowat, "Report to the Board," Lewis Institute Trustee Minutes 1918-1940, 24 November 1931, 220.

<sup>43</sup>Business administration appears to have been incorporated into the Lewis curriculum in approximately 1926. Lewis Institute Circular of Information, April, 1926, 1-2.

<sup>44</sup>Edwin Herbert Lewis, "The Future of Lewis Institute," n.d. Scrapbook "C"; George N. Carman, "Director's Report to the Board of Managers," 1 July 1929, Scrapbook "B", Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>45</sup>Carman, *Ibid.*

included a merger with the University of Chicago.<sup>46</sup> There was a natural interest for this merger on the part of the University of Chicago (which continued to have representation on the Lewis Board of Managers). This interest, however, was part of a grander plan that Chicago had to absorb the engineering work of both Armour and Lewis.<sup>47</sup> Whether Lewis officials were aware of this larger plan was unclear because another survival plan which had been discussed at the same meeting by the Lewis Board of Trustees included a merger of Lewis with Armour Institute.<sup>48</sup>

The University of Chicago merger plan envisioned the Armour Institute as the engineering school of the University

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<sup>46</sup>The affiliation was first brought up at a Lewis Board meeting on 22 June 1932. Lewis Institute Trustees Minutes 1918-1940, 22 June 1932, 223. It was approved the following year. "Special Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Lewis Institute," 10 June 1933, Heald Papers, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago. When this plan was publicly announced, many alumni wrote to express their concerns that such a merger would move the Institute from the West Side and raise tuition. "Plan to Merge Lewis Institute with University of Chicago Told," Chicago Daily Tribune, 1 July 1933; there is also a folder full of mostly negative alumni letters concerning the merger in University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>47</sup>This plan had apparently been on the University of Chicago's drawing board at least two years prior to Lewis' consideration of the merger. Emery T. Filbey, "Personal Memorandum Re: Lewis Institute," 25 July 1931, University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>48</sup>"Special Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Lewis Institute," 10 June 1933, Heald Papers, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

of Chicago which would leave room for Lewis to be an "engineering school of a junior sort" where students could begin specialized training in the freshman year. While it might be a four-year college, students would more likely enter industry after two years of training and continue through evening school work to the first degree. Lewis, if organized on that basis, would absorb most or all of Armour's evening school work. The evening work of the University of Chicago in this area could then be concentrated on the graduate level.<sup>49</sup>

The University of Chicago thought that no feature of the Lewis Institute had been more praised than their evening school. The students who attended were mature, mostly wage earners, who were able to take high quality courses at a moderate cost. Some attended for make up or brush up, but others were candidates for degrees. They felt that the evening school could be strengthened by additional faculty and classes.<sup>50</sup> As part of their plan, Lewis would become a center for adult education, which could supplement the University of Chicago's downtown University College

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<sup>49</sup>Emery T. Filbey, "Personal Memorandum Re: Lewis Institute," 25 July 1931, University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>50</sup>"Material Regarding Lewis Institute," Charles H. Judd to Emery T. Filbey, 23 February 1933, University Presidents' Papers 1925-1945, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

offerings.<sup>51</sup> Hutchins, the president of the University of Chicago, felt the addition to the University of Chicago of the Lewis Institute as a technical institute on the West side was so important that it should happen no matter what happened with the impending consolidation of Northwestern and the University of Chicago. He also wanted it kept on the West Side because "such a program cannot be worked out in the cultural atmosphere of the quads."<sup>52</sup>

The merger never took place. It is unclear whether the reason it never took place was due to alumni pressure and the belief that the University of Chicago would irreparably change the spirit of Lewis, or other reasons. Director Carman seemed to have his own doubts about the desirability of the merger. When no agreement could be reached, the plan was dropped.<sup>53</sup> George Carman retired in 1935 at the age of seventy-six, having served as Director of Lewis for forty years.<sup>54</sup>

Upon Carman's retirement, there was a four-part organization of the evening session. First there were the

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<sup>51</sup>Filbey, 1.

<sup>52</sup>Robert Maynard Hutchins, President's Report 1930-34, unpublished, Joseph Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>53</sup>Macauley, 55-6.

<sup>54</sup>Lewis Institute Trustee Minutes 1918-1940, 14 November 1934, 276. Carman submitted his resignation at this meeting, it was accepted and made effective September 1, 1935.

four-year professional courses leading to the Bachelor of Science degree in engineering (civil, electrical, and mechanical), business administration, home economics, and education. Also offered were courses for pre-professional training in law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, and social service. The third set were general arts and science courses leading to the Bachelor of Science degree. Lastly, in addition to the courses just listed which were also given in the day school, continuation and adult education courses which varied from courses in general culture to highly technical courses designed for workers in business and industry were offered.<sup>55</sup>

Carman's successor was Dugald Caleb Jackson, Jr., who had been the head of the Department of Electrical Engineering at the University of Kansas.<sup>56</sup> Jackson believed that if Lewis was ever going to amount to anything as an engineering school, it had to offer graduate courses. He outlined a proposal to offer a few graduate evening courses in the Engineering School.<sup>57</sup> He also desired offering non-credit and general or survey courses which would cover rather broad fields. He felt there was an increasing need for such courses, especially in the evening

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<sup>55</sup>Educational Events in Chicago, 1935, 3.

<sup>56</sup>Lewis Institute Trustees Minutes 1918-1940, 14 June 1935, 212.

<sup>57</sup>Lewis Institute Trustees Minutes 1918-1940, 12 May 1936, 52.

session and that they would provide a satisfactory financial return.<sup>58</sup> Jackson thought the opportunity for qualified persons to carry forward their education to the bachelor's degree entirely in the evening should be also available. He made the director of the evening session, Professor John H. Smale, responsible for making closer contacts with the officials of those companies from whose employees the Institute regularly enrolled as evening students.<sup>59</sup> Jackson's plans which revolved around the evening session were, in part, an attempt to stem the enrollment decline in this population that Lewis was experiencing.

In 1938, the Institute was in the embarrassing position of having to borrow money to meet its payroll and bills. They experienced their largest student debt since 1929.<sup>60</sup> This, plus the now apparent discord between Jackson and the Board, led to his resignation.<sup>61</sup> The Board appointed the

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<sup>58</sup>Dugald C. Jackson, Jr., "Report of the Director," 19 September 1938, 8.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid, 10-11.

<sup>60</sup>R. A. Mowat to Alex D. Bailey, 4 August 1938, Alex D. Bailey Correspondence 1938, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>61</sup>The official reason for the resignation was because "the Board's views and mine have come to not be entirely in accord." Jackson felt he was hindered from pursuing policies which would bring the Institute up to proper collegiate standard. However, the chairman of the board, viewed it a little differently. He viewed it as a solution to a problem. D. C. Jackson, Jr. to Lewis Institute Faculty and Administrative Staff, 8 February 1938; Alex D. Bailey to James B. Herrick, 9 August 1938, Alex D. Bailey Correspondence 1938, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois



Dean of Engineering, Fred A. Rogers, and the Dean of Liberal Arts, Clarence L. Clarke, as Co-Directors to succeed Jackson.<sup>62</sup>

Clarence Clarke was very cognizant of the distinctiveness of Lewis Institute. During his first year at Lewis, in 1928, he surveyed the student population and found that even in the day school, eighty-five percent of the students were employed. He also found that the average age of the graduating class was ten years above that for other colleges and that some students attended Lewis for sixteen to twenty years. He was no stranger then to the needs of the evening students.

. . .the aim is to adjust the offerings to the requirements of the part-time student. An educationally justifiable course, both credit and non-credit, for which an adequate number of students can be assembled may be scheduled. It is also possible, over a period of years for an evening school student to complete the credit courses required for the Bachelor of Science degrees conferred in Arts and Sciences and Engineering.<sup>63</sup>

When Allen C. Lewis wrote his will in 1875, he wanted his school to maintain a regular course of instruction at night which would be adapted to the general uses and vocations of life. What had begun as work of a high school

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Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>62</sup>Lewis Institute Trustee Minutes 1918-1940, 22 April 1938, 100.

<sup>63</sup>Clarence L. Clarke to Homer P. Rainey, 19 November 1938, Alex D. Bailey Correspondence 1938, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

level with a definite vocational slant had evolved into a new form, but one which still met the spirit of his request. This new form was multi-faceted. It provided credit or non-credit offerings. The student could choose a degree-oriented or a purely vocationally-oriented curriculum. It was college level, but also made allowances for those mature students who did not meet the entrance requirements of completion of a high school course. Allen C. Lewis would have been proud of the achievement of his school. He also required the income to cover the operating costs. Unfortunately, the only way the leadership of the Lewis Institute was able to find a way to do that was to enter into a merger with the Armour Institute of Technology on 19 October 1939.<sup>64</sup>

The six institutions of higher education in this study, the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, Loyola University Chicago, DePaul University, Armour Institute of Technology, and Lewis Institute were distinctive institutions in their own right. This distinctiveness spilled over into the type of evening program each institution offered. The University of Chicago and Northwestern University were institutions of national reputation and were leaders in many fields including evening, part-time and adult education. Loyola University

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<sup>64</sup>Lewis Institute Trustee Minutes 1918-1940, 19 October 1939, 131.

and DePaul University were Catholic institutions and, as such, this characteristic influenced the type of programs they offered. Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute were similar in their technological curricula, however, Lewis also offered liberal arts and pre-professional courses as well. The evening undergraduate higher education offerings in Chicago were ample and varied. The one choice that an evening student in Chicago did not have by 1939, however, was to choose a public institution. Chicago was one of the few major urban areas which did not rely on a public institution of higher education for its evening programs.

The next chapter will summarize the similarities and differences of the evening undergraduate programs at these six institutions of higher education and the social, educational, and economic trends that affected their development.

## CHAPTER 9

### CONCLUSION

Institutional differences and similarities existed in the origins (1892 to 1917) and development (1917 to 1939) of evening classes in Chicago. The six institutions in this study, the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, Loyola University Chicago, DePaul University, Armour Institute of Technology, and Lewis Institute, have been analyzed on the basis of the purpose for evening classes, the organization and leadership, the curriculum, the faculty, and student body. Additionally, other social, economic, and educational trends which affected their development were also analyzed. The significance of this study, along with suggestions for further research conclude this chapter.

#### Origins, 1892-1917

The origins of evening undergraduate classes at the six institutions of higher education in this study were unique to each institution. Indeed, a major influence on the purposes, organization, leadership, curriculum, faculty, and students of the evening classes at each institution was based to a large extent on the type of higher education institution studied.

### Summary of the Impetus Behind Evening Classes in Chicago

The University of Chicago, which was the leader in evening undergraduate education in Chicago (and also in the nation), based its programs originally on the prevailing university extension philosophy. By 1903, a scant ten years later, however, the general philosophy of extension education was weakened by local and national trends. Locally, the Chicago Board of Education adopted policies allowing college credit to act in lieu of promotional examinations for teachers. Nationally, the incipient culture of professionalism began to permeate American higher education. These trends caused a redirection of extension education based on student needs and market forces so that working students could attend regular college courses at convenient times and places. Despite the vocational reasons for University of Chicago students' attendance in the evening classes, the academic programs still mirrored those of the campus and were distinctly non-vocational.

Northwestern University also built its early programs on the general extension philosophy. The unwillingness of the part of the majority of the liberal arts faculty to accept this philosophy doomed evening education at Northwestern's downtown campus. Despite strong student demands for evening education, this initiative did not succeed in the early years at Northwestern. Its School of Commerce was founded to serve the working student in the

evening. The premises affecting the school were based on student need, the needs of Chicago businesses, as well as sound financial planning. It also was seen as a means to enhance Northwestern's reputation and increase its visibility by stressing the University's contribution to public service.<sup>1</sup> This policy was a considerable curricular departure for Northwestern as it focused on instilling professionalism into what previously was a vocational area.

Loyola University's evening classes originated as an outgrowth of its Lecture Bureau (a form of extension) which sought to inform the public in pre-radio days on contemporary social and philosophical ideas in a Catholic context. Its founder felt that an informed public would be more supportive of social reform efforts.<sup>2</sup> These efforts at Loyola paralleled the rise of social work in the United States. The response was extremely positive and resulted in an evening program in applied sociology and allied subjects. It focused on professionalization of social services -- a curricular area that was distinctly vocational for the general "classical" education orientation of Loyola.

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<sup>1</sup>Maurice W. Sedlak and Harold F. Williamson, The Evolution of Management Education: A History of the Northwestern University J. L. Kellogg Graduate School of Management, 1908-1983 (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1983), 15.

<sup>2</sup>Mary C. Schiltz, "Frederick J. Siedenburger, S.J. Eclectic Educator," Vitae Scholasticae, Vol. 7, No. 2, Fall 1988, 472.

DePaul University's evening courses resulted from the need for a Catholic education for Catholic teachers in the parochial schools. These classes made it possible for the public school teachers who were Roman Catholic to attend a Catholic university rather than a secular one for their pre- and in-service education. DePaul offered a place where the teaching sisterhood could study and not compromise their faith.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the courses served religious as well as professional needs. These classes were offered in the late afternoon and Saturdays rather than evenings and consisted, like the University of Chicago's program, of primarily regular DePaul University classes. DePaul's School of Commerce, which began in 1913, was modelled along the same lines as Northwestern's School of Commerce. Its classes were evening classes and designed to provide a "thoroughly scientific and practical course of instruction in commercial subjects." The purpose behind this commercial instruction was to prepare young men for business positions and to help older men already in business to equip themselves for more lucrative positions.<sup>4</sup>

Armour Institute was a manual training school. Since technical education opportunities were limited at the turn

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<sup>3</sup>This was particularly important because many religious orders would not allow their sisters to travel very far from their convent or attend a secular university.

<sup>4</sup>College of Commerce, Bulletin of DePaul University, Series XVI, No. 3, December 1912.

of the twentieth century, Armour sought to provide a practical education for men and women. The evening classes which were preparatory and technical rather than purely academic, carried no college credit. Armour, like other technical institutes at this time, was ". . . attuned to the utilitarian spirit of the booming republic."<sup>5</sup> Its evening classes supplied industry's need for well-trained and highly-skilled technicians. These "monkey wrench" engineers were in demand one hundredfold over "pure" engineers. Armour's utilitarian curriculum continued to be offered in the evening classes long after the day classes evolved into an engineering school.

Lewis Institute, while designed as a high school/junior college which combined technical and liberal arts education, concentrated its evening courses on preparatory work until 1917. Lewis Institute's organization was the unique result of combining the requirements of Allen C. Lewis' will and the influence of William Rainey Harper. Lewis' organization was a product of the lack of secondary educational opportunities at the end of the nineteenth century. It also epitomized Harper's conception of higher education at the lower division. Institutes and colleges like Lewis would offer the first two years of college work allowing the universities to concentrate on upper division and graduate

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<sup>5</sup>John S. Brubaker and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976 (Harper & Row, 1976), 61.



courses. Harper also believed that the first two years of college and high school were more structurally related and should be organizationally combined.

Each of these six institutions had a different rationale for initially establishing evening classes. The University of Chicago offered a high-level, degree-related university education to evening students which paralleled that offered on the campus. Northwestern's attempts to offer liberal arts evening courses failed, not for lack of student interest, but for lack of financial and philosophical support. Its School of Commerce, which offered a purely evening curriculum, fulfilled the need for a closer relationship between business and the university. It also provided working students with the opportunity to broaden their knowledge and skills through a practical education. The university hoped these men would someday become influential businessmen.

DePaul University and Loyola University's evening classes shared a major purpose in providing educational opportunities in a Catholic setting. DePaul's evening curriculum initially concentrated on serving teachers, while Loyola's concentrated on serving social service workers. DePaul's College of Commerce focused more on the benefit that the evening education provided to the student rather than to the institution. Both Loyola and DePaul offered degree-related instruction through their evening programs.

The evening programs at Armour Institute of Technology filled the need to train skilled technicians for industry. It was not degree related, indeed it was not college level. Lewis Institute provided students who were obliged to work with the opportunity to study at the secondary level and, by 1917, at the junior college level. It combined liberal arts and technical subjects in its curriculum and provided another opportunity at education for students who had not succeeded elsewhere.

#### Institutional Comparisons and Contrasts

The reasons for offering evening classes at these institutions varied. This was probably due to a large extent to the differences inherent in contrasting institutional types. When one looks at the organization and leadership, curriculum, faculty, and students of the evening classes in each of these six institutions, some interesting similarities and differences emerge.

Organization and Leadership. William Rainey Harper was the person responsible for the leadership and vision of the evening program at the University of Chicago from its beginnings until his death in 1906. After that, the leadership role transferred to whomever filled the position of Dean of University College.

The evening classes took on a number of forms in the early years. They began as the University Extension Division which offered popular lectures (Lecture Study) and

university classes (Class Study) in the evenings and at sites convenient to the students. These two forms of evening education ran parallel until 1911 when Lecture Study was discontinued.<sup>6</sup> During this same period (1892-1911), the Class-Study component grew for a number of reasons.<sup>7</sup> Except for Northwestern's brief experiment with extension classes downtown which were never fully supported, the University of Chicago's Class-Study Division was virtually the only way for working students to earn college credits outside of the field of business and engineering. In 1898, Mrs. Emmons Blaine, agreed to endow a College for Teachers. This College and the Class-Study Division ran concurrent and overlapping programs until 1900 when they were merged into one unit called University College. This union was a practical solution to an administrative nightmare and worked to clarify the objectives of both the Class-Study Department

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<sup>6</sup>The popularity of this type of education ultimately waned. This, combined with the grueling requirements for the professor on the lecture circuit, increasing costs, and the loss of one of its heartiest supporters when Harper died in 1906, caused the Lecture-Study component at the University of Chicago to be discontinued in 1911.

<sup>7</sup>There were significant incentives for teachers to earn college credits and there were a large number of teachers who desired to reap these benefits. In addition, these classes were also taken by Sunday-school teachers, theological students and ministers, journalists and businessmen, medical and dental students, and candidates who desired admission to the University. "Evening and Saturday Classes," The University Extension World, February 1893, 42.

and the College for Teachers.<sup>8</sup> The University College's organizational status now had been defined. It was one of the many colleges of the University of Chicago and enjoyed the privileges of such.

One of the reasons for the failure of the Northwestern University downtown evening classes in the liberal arts may have been because of their lack of structure. By 1910, the organization of these classes fell to a faculty member who was designated as "Director of Extension Work." The support of the Dean and a few faculty members was not enough to win over the majority of the liberal arts faculty who treated these extension courses with great suspicion. The president, Abram Harris, saw these classes as "useful, but not essential."<sup>9</sup> Without presidential and faculty support, they were discontinued.

Northwestern's School of Commerce, on the other hand, was organized as a distinct college within the university

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<sup>8</sup>The Class-Study Department would set up classes wherever the need existed. There was no "campus", the organizational responsibility belonged to the students and/or faculty, and it was underfunded. The College for Teachers had the advantage of being organized and run as a college (giving it more credibility in the academic world), having centrally located rooms (although they were rented), and was endowed (at least temporarily). However, many were under the misconception that this college enrolled only teachers.

<sup>9</sup>He was also afraid that these classes would pull resources away from the heart of the University which was the liberal arts programs on the Evanston campus. Abram W. Harris, President's Report 1911-12, Vol. XIII, No. 8, November 1912, 4.

with responsibility for its own administration, faculty and curriculum. Its leadership came from the Dean and organizer, Willard Hotchkiss, from the President of the University, and from the Chicago business community.

The leadership for Loyola University's evening classes came from the first dean and founder of the School of Sociology, Fr. Frederic Siedenburg, S.J. He was the force behind their existence and their organization. While there was some disagreement from fellow Jesuits about these classes, the presidents under whom Siedenburg worked, all supported his endeavors. Siedenburg organized these courses into a distinct unit, originally called the School of Sociology, which had its own dean and independent standing within the university.

DePaul University's evening classes were organized by the President of the university, Fr. Francis X. McCabe, C.M., at the request of the Archbishop of Chicago. The leadership for these classes was not only placed at the highest level in the University, but also in the Chicago Catholic hierarchy. The classes were not organized into a distinct unit. Indeed, the classes were identified only by their term and the time of day they met. The leadership for DePaul's School of Commerce came from Fr. McCabe and a businessman, John Mahony. Fr. McCabe accepted Mahony's offer to organize a College of Commerce. Mahony did so, forming a distinctive college within the university, with

its own dean (Mahony) and faculty.

The president of Armour Institute of Technology, Frank W. Gunsaulus, was a close friend of William Rainey Harper. Harper's influence in the evolution of Armour has already been discussed in Chapter Seven. Harper believed strongly in the importance of bringing education to all levels to the people. Evening education was an economical means to do this and he encouraged it. Armour offered Lecture-Study courses which were really University of Chicago Lecture-Study Courses held at Armour's campus. In addition to these, "Night Schools" were anticipated for students who could not attend during the day. In 1902, they were called "Night Classes." They were called "Evening Classes" by 1904, and in 1906, "Evening Class Instruction." Initially the Dean of the Engineering College had total responsibility for these evening classes, but by 1908, a faculty member was appointed as his part-time assistant for academic matters pertaining to evening classes. By 1909, another person was placed in charge of the administrative details of the evening classes. From 1904 to 1909, there was little scope or sequence in the evening classes. Those classes which enrolled a sufficient number of students were offered. These were generally the classes most in demand by students and industry, not those required for a particular educational program.

Lewis Institute was required to offer evening classes

by the terms of the estate which funded it. The leadership for the evening classes (and indeed, the entire institute) came from George Noble Carman, its director, and his close friend, William Rainey Harper. Harper was engaged by Lewis' board to devise Lewis' organization. His imprint is nowhere more evident than in the first evening class bulletin of Lewis Institute. The night work was divided into the Class-Study Department and the Lecture-Study Department. Later, in 1908, a Dean of the Evening School was appointed and given the responsibility of organizing these classes, however, the "Evening School" was not an organizationally distinct unit. By 1917, junior college classes were now available to the evening students and despite the discontinuation of the academy, this work continued to be available to the adults who needed it and who attended evening classes. Regardless of the official structure of the evening classes at Lewis, the Director made it his unofficial duty to be in charge of the mature students.

Between 1892 and 1917, there were four institutional evening programs which were organized as "colleges" -- the University of Chicago's University College, Northwestern's School of Commerce, Loyola's School of Sociology, and DePaul's College of Commerce. DePaul's late afternoon and Saturday courses in liberal arts for teachers were part of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Armour Institute of Technology had "Evening Classes," which were operated by

the Technical College, which had a staff, but not a distinct organizational identity. Lewis Institute's evening classes were originally called Class-Study, then Extension Work, and later Evening Session. Lewis never had a distinct unit responsible for this work and, like DePaul, it was identified by the time classes met rather than any structural characteristics. Lewis Institute and Armour Institute of Technology were the only two institutions in this study which were not ultimately considered universities. It may be for this reason that their evening programs were never separately structured administratively.

The primary leadership for the evening classes or colleges came from the president of the institution in the case of the University of Chicago (at least until Harper's death) and DePaul University. The primary leadership for the evening classes at Northwestern and DePaul's Schools of Commerce came from a combination of the president, the dean, and the Chicago business community. The primary leadership for the evening classes at Loyola was from its dean and founder. The primary leadership for evening classes at Armour and Lewis Institute was from their respective presidents and William Rainey Harper.

Curriculum and Faculty. It was the evening curriculum that each institution offered which defined its distinctiveness the most. There was surprisingly little overlap in the early days between the content of each program. The



University of Chicago duplicated its Junior College and Senior College courses in the University College. The programs were degree related, but it was apparently difficult to complete the entire degree program in this manner. This was due to the lack of purposeful sequencing of courses at the expense of fulfilling demand. A number of students, however, did manage to earn a University of Chicago degree in this manner. The original Extension Division had its own faculty which had standing and rank equivalent to those faculty on the campus. When the organization of the evening classes became a separate college, University College, faculty were shared with the various other colleges and departments of the university. This was seen as an important step in assuring that the evening students received top quality, university classes. Part-time faculty supplemented the full-time faculty to a limited extent. In 1933-34, ninety percent of the teachers in University College were regular University of Chicago faculty.<sup>10</sup>

DePaul University offered its late afternoon and Saturday courses specifically for teachers, however, the curriculum was decidedly a liberal arts one which mirrored that of the day school. Given its population, however,

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<sup>10</sup>"Number of Teachers and Percent Secured From Each Source in Each of Six Years," University College Report, 24 February 1934, University Presidents' Papers 1925-1948 Addenda, Joseph P. Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

there were no clear lines of demarcation between academy, college, and graduate level. All were offered. Their program was very similar to that offered by the University of Chicago, not in its organization, but in its content, being virtually the same as that of the day programs. DePaul, unlike the University of Chicago, made it abundantly clear that these courses were degree related. The faculty for these courses consisted of the teaching Vincentians, augmented by a number of visiting lay faculty. This exposed the evening students to an extended faculty, unlike the day students.

Northwestern University and DePaul University both offered evening courses through their Commerce schools. Their curricula focused on practical courses in commercial subjects. Both schools concentrated most heavily in accounting and bookkeeping. Northwestern's program led to a Diploma in Commerce, which to the dismay of the faculty, few students sought. DePaul's program led to the degree of Bachelor of Commercial Science. Both of these programs were vocationally oriented. By 1912, Northwestern initiated a five-year course which led to the Bachelor of Business Administration (B.B.A.) which was the clever blending of a two-year precommerce program on the Evanston Campus followed by three full-time years in the evening program downtown. This program, however, was not obviously geared to working students and it did not meet with the same success as did

its more practical predecessor. The faculty at both Northwestern and DePaul's Commerce Schools were a distinct, not a shared, faculty. Classes were also taught by businessmen who were affiliated with the schools and who were specialists in an area not necessarily covered by the Commerce faculty. This facilitated extending the curriculum as well as fostering better school/business relationships.

Loyola University's evening classes focused on combining the study of economics, ethics, social reform, social reorganization, labor problems, and the application of Christian principles to these studies. Other courses were added later to provide a cultural background for the sociological courses.<sup>11</sup> These were called extension courses and were taken for elective credit. The courses offered in Loyola's School of Sociology were all degree related and could lead to the degree Bachelor of Philosophy, Bachelor of Science, the Master of Arts, and a Certificate in Social Economy. The School of Sociology was an upper division unit. Prior to the founding of the School of Sociology, the curricula which led to undergraduate degrees at Loyola were exclusively based on the Jesuit's Ratio Studiorum. Loyola embraced professional education through its law and medical schools, and no doubt, considered this latest initiative as more closely allied with that than with

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<sup>11</sup>These were called "allied" courses and included courses in Modern English Catholic Writers, Celtic History, History of Education, Psychology, and Spanish.

the College of Arts and Sciences. The faculty was comprised of teaching Jesuits and part-time lay faculty or lecturers who were experts and practitioners in their fields. This arrangement meant that the evening students were exposed to a wider variety of teachers and curricula than the day students.

The curriculum offered by Armour Institute of Technology in the evening was preparatory and technical. Even when Harper convinced Gunsaulus to focus the day program away from purely technical courses toward solid engineering courses, the evening program remained as it was. Despite the differences in the levels of curricula offered between the day and evening classes, the faculty was one in the same.

The evening curriculum at Lewis Institute combined arts and technical subjects, but these courses were high school level until 1917 when a reorganization placed junior college level courses in the evening. There was a blurring of course levels between junior college and academy levels. This, however, suited the mature evening population and was continued for some time. Lewis, too, used its regular faculty in its evening courses. Oftentimes they would teach these courses as an unpaid overload.

A four-year liberal arts college course was offered in the evening by the University of Chicago and DePaul. A two-year evening college course was begun by Lewis in 1917.

Loyola University's evening courses were upper division courses which focused on social service. Northwestern and DePaul offered commerce programs. Armour and Lewis offered preparatory work and technical courses. The University of Chicago and Northwestern were fast building reputations as modern universities of national renown. Loyola and DePaul were universities in the old sense (via adding professional schools). While they may have been hindered from mainstream acceptance because of being Catholic in a predominantly Protestant society, they provided a welcome option for Catholic students. Armour and Lewis were specialized technical institutes and probably not known outside of the Chicago area. In evening programs, Northwestern had the only chance of competing with the University of Chicago for the non-Catholic teachers (and other evening students), but chose not to. Loyola and DePaul were also likely competitors, but initially went in different curricular directions. Armour and Lewis were likely to compete with their technical programs, but their locations neutralized this competition. Students merely chose the most conveniently located program. Lewis could not begin to compete with the University of Chicago for regular college programs in the evening, but rather than compete, Lewis continued the affiliation set up by Harper. It acted as a feeder to the University as well as a second opportunity for University students who were unsuccessful.

Some evening programs were distinctly vocationally oriented. Armour and Lewis' technical programs were the most vocational. The commerce programs of Northwestern and DePaul were less so, but as yet unblended with a liberal arts component in any thoughtful way. The University of Chicago, Lewis Institute, and DePaul's liberal arts programs, while not vocational in themselves<sup>12</sup> were being taken for primarily vocational reasons. Loyola's School of Sociology was oriented toward professionalization of social service workers. The predominant evening student body was composed of teachers, social workers, or pre-medical students who intended to use this education to further their professional life.

Some interesting distinctions arise when the location of the evening classes is analyzed. The University of Chicago's Class-Study Division would offer a class anywhere there was sufficient demand. The responsibility for the location of the class was incumbent upon the students or faculty. The College for Teachers enjoyed rented space in the Fine Arts Building (410 South Michigan Avenue) thanks to Mrs. Blaine's endowment. When these units were combined into the University College in 1900, it, too, held classes in the Fine Arts Building. When the endowment was discontinued, classes were moved to the south side campus.

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<sup>12</sup>The one exception would be the Household Management or Domestic Science program at Lewis.

This may have been financially expedient, but the program was hampered by its removal from the center of the city. In 1908, with the prospect of affordable rooms, it moved its classes to the YMCA Building at 19 South LaSalle Street. It moved again to 80 East Randolph Street in 1913 and to 116 South Michigan Avenue in 1918. Despite the University College's continual movement, the facilities were never adequate. There was no commitment on the part of the University to purchasing a building for them.

Northwestern University owned a downtown building (at Lake and Dearborn) which housed its professional schools since 1902, their School of Commerce since 1908, and their brief experiment with extension courses from 1905 to 1911.

DePaul University first attempted to offer its College of Commerce classes on its north side campus, but quickly saw the need to locate them in the central business district. In 1915, the College of Commerce and the School of Law moved into the seventh floor of the Powers Building at 37 South Wabash Avenue where a five-year lease had been signed. The courses for teachers, which had also been offered on the main campus, were also moved into the downtown location later in 1915. In 1913, DePaul had begun to offer late afternoon and Saturday classes at selected parochial high school sites around the city. This enabled many of the teaching sisters to take classes at their convents.

Loyola's evening classes were offered at the Ashland Block at Clark and Randolph where their School of Law had been holding classes since 1908. The rooms here were rented, but additional space was made available as needed. In 1916, Loyola established centers on the south and west sides at St. Xavier College, St. Mary's High School, and Providence Academy. Courses were also offered at the Mallinckrodt Motherhouse in Wilmette.<sup>13</sup> Like DePaul, Loyola extended its evening classes into the convents to serve the teaching sisters.

Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute never offered their evening classes off their home campuses. Armour was located on the near south side and Lewis on the near west side. The equipment necessary for the technical nature of their courses would have been prohibitively expensive to duplicate at another site.

In providing institutional commitment to locating adequate quarters for their evening courses, the University of Chicago was most deficient. Still, this did not seem to deter the throngs of students who desired to study there. Northwestern was unique in that it owned a well-placed and well-designed facility, but lacked institutional commitment

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<sup>13</sup>Fr. Siedenbug was instrumental in persuading the Sisters of Christian Charity to charter their own college, a junior college at the Motherhouse. This way the sisters could complete their first two years in their own college and Loyola would offer upper division extension classes for them and grant their degree.



for this type of education. Loyola and DePaul both committed to long-term rented space in the central business district. Armour and Lewis did not separate the location of their evening classes from their day classes because of the prohibitive cost of equipment and because their programs were quite successful where they were. Indeed, each offered a location option that none of the others did.

Students. The evening student characteristic that is most strikingly divided along curricular lines in the six institutions studied is sex. The evening students in the pure liberal arts-type programs were overwhelmingly female. The technical programs of Armour Institute of Technology (which, after 1901, chose to become a male only institution) and Lewis Institute, were male. The business programs at Northwestern and DePaul were also predominantly male.<sup>14</sup>

The percent of women who were enrolled in the University of Chicago's Class-Study Division in 1898 was eighty-seven.<sup>15</sup> Given the high percentage of females in the teaching force, one would expect the majority of students in this division to be women. It also stands to reason that this would be true also of the College for Teachers. In the College for Teachers in 1898, the percent

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<sup>14</sup>Northwestern's School of Commerce had twenty-three women in 1911 (4.5 percent), sixty-three in 1917 (6.6 percent), 172 in 1918 (17 percent). Sedlak and Williamson, 22.

<sup>15</sup>"Class-Study Department, The University Extension Division," The President's Report, 1898-99, 105.

of women was eighty.<sup>16</sup> In the 1910-11 academic year, eighty-four percent of the enrollments in the University College were women.<sup>17</sup>

Loyola University and DePaul University both used their extension courses to bring coeducation (or comatriculation) into Catholic higher education in Chicago. In 1917, ninety-six percent of the enrollments in the School of Sociology at Loyola were women.<sup>18</sup> There are no enrollment figures by sex for the late afternoon and Saturday classes for DePaul University. Given the fact that these courses were designed for teachers, particularly the teaching sisterhood, and the majority of students in these classes were teachers, it can be safely assumed that women comprised the majority population in these courses as well.

Women comprised thirty-five percent of Lewis Institute's evening students and men comprised sixty-five percent.<sup>19</sup> The largest evening enrollments were in engineering (men only), mechanic arts, and mathematics which were more heavily attended by men.

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<sup>16</sup>W. D. MacClintock, "University College, Dean's Report," The Decennial Publication of the University of Chicago, President's Report First Series I, 148.

<sup>17</sup>Walter A. Payne, "Report of the Dean of University College," The President's Report, 1910-11, 86.

<sup>18</sup>"School of Sociology," Loyola University Bulletin, No. 9, September 1918, 23.

<sup>19</sup>"Summary of Attendance," Circular of Information, October 1919, 48. These figures are for the 1917-18 academic year.

The evening students also were generally older than their daytime counterparts in these institutions, although age statistics appeared to be the least likely to have been collected at these institutions. The fact that many students were employed as public teachers and would have been required to have completed a two-year Normal course would automatically make them older. While there are no data available on the ages of the students attending the University of Chicago's Class-Study, College for Teachers, or University College, figures from an 1897-98 report indicate that sixty-five percent of the "unclassified" students at the University were between the ages of twenty-two and thirty (the remainder being older).<sup>20</sup> The large number of teachers, particularly elementary teachers, in this group would indicate that these age percentages are probably representative of the entire evening population.

The average age of the students attending Northwestern's School of Commerce was twenty-four.<sup>21</sup> The age of those students attending DePaul's College of Commerce was not recorded, however, a student was required to be at least twenty-one years of age before he could earn the diploma. This would indicate the program encouraged a somewhat more mature population.

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<sup>20</sup>W. D. MacClintock, "The Unclassified Students," President's Report 1897-98, 103.

<sup>21</sup>Arthur Swanson, "Commerce," President's Report, 1915-16, 102-3.

Age figures for the evening students are equally elusive during this time frame for DePaul and Loyola Universities and also for Armour and Lewis Institutes.

As might be expected, religion was a student attribute which distributed itself along institutional lines. There was a very small minority of Catholic students at the University of Chicago and Northwestern University. Given their Baptist and Methodist origins, and the societal prejudice toward Catholics at this time, this is not surprising.<sup>22</sup> While there appears to be no religious census for the evening students in these institutions at this time, it is probably a safe assumption that while the percentage of Catholics may have been slightly higher due to the lack of other opportunities, that it still would not constitute a significantly higher percentage.

Loyola University and DePaul University evening programs were comprised of a majority of Catholic students. Armour and Lewis Institute possessed a religious mix that was more representative of the general population. Their lack of religious affiliation and type of curriculum was most likely responsible for this fact.

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<sup>22</sup>Catholic students appear to have comprised approximately seven percent of the total student population at Chicago and Northwestern in the early part of the twentieth century. Richard J. Storr, Harper's University (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), 109-110. These figures are from 1903. Northwestern University President's Report, Vol. XXII, No. 45, 25 February 1922, 41. These figures are from 1919.

Most evening students were evening students out of the necessity to fit school around their work. At the University of Chicago, seventy-five percent of the students in the Class-Study Division were teachers.<sup>23</sup> DePaul's late afternoon and Saturday courses were scheduled to fit a teaching schedule rather than an office worker's schedule and, for this reason, virtually all of its students were public or parochial teachers.<sup>24</sup>

At Loyola, the students who attended the first lectures were from various occupations: twenty-one were public school teachers, four were school principals, twenty-eight were officers of the Juvenile Court, five were truant officers, eighteen were in social work, and there were several doctors, lawyers, city employees, stenographers, a priest, and a "few persons of leisure."<sup>25</sup> Later their expanded allied course offerings and expanded sites attracted more teachers.

At Northwestern's School of Commerce, 6.5 percent of their students held management positions, 37.8 percent held positions requiring "considerable discretion," and 51.6

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<sup>23</sup>"The University Extension Division," The President's Report, 1897-98, 158.

<sup>24</sup>Francis X. McCabe, C.M., "Summer School," The Vincentian Weekly, Vol. VI, 28 June 1914, 4-5.

<sup>25</sup>"Sociology," The Loyola University Magazine, Vol. XVIV, No. 1, November 1914, 54-55.

percent held routine clerical positions.<sup>26</sup> While no such census seems to exist for DePaul's College of Commerce, given its objectives, the assumption could be made that it served those currently in business positions as well as younger men who aspired to them.

Armour Institute of Technology's practically-oriented, technical evening courses were specifically designed for students who currently worked in mechanical trades, for steam engineers, draftsmen, shop foremen, superintendents, power station employees, electricians, and other industrial pursuits.<sup>27</sup> Lewis' technical and mathematical evening classes served the same clientele as Armour. Their evening classes in domestic economy and liberal arts were taken by women who planned to teach, manage school dormitories, YMCA dining rooms, hospital kitchens, clubs, settlements, cafeterias, etc.<sup>28</sup>

There were very few evening students between 1892 and 1917 who attended these institutions for other than vocational or professional reasons. Even when the curriculum was liberal, the purposes for attending were to improve one's professional or working life. This was true of the teachers who attended the University of Chicago's or

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<sup>26</sup>Swanson, 102-3.

<sup>27</sup>Bulletin of the Armour Institute of Technology, "Evening Class Number," New Series Vol. IV, No. 2, August, 1910, 3.

<sup>28</sup>Lewis Institute Bulletin, October 1915, 14.

DePaul's evening classes. Without the mighty promotional and pay incentives introduced by various boards of education to encourage professionalization in teaching, evening classes may never had enjoyed the growth and import that they did. This, paralleled by the rise of commerce and industry and the concurrent need for highly skilled employees in these fields, was instrumental in generating the demand for education for working people. The form it took was evening, late afternoon, and Saturday classes.

#### Development, 1917-1939

The development of evening courses varied from institution to institution. The trend was toward consolidation of the evening classes into a separate organizational structure, often called an "evening college". Some institutions, like the University of Chicago, embraced this structure very early in its history and, by 1939, was quickly moving into new endeavors and structures. The development of evening classes at other institutions, like DePaul University, was almost negligible. Despite the distinctiveness apparent in the evening class origins, there is a trend toward sameness in their development.

#### Summary of Raison D'Etire of Evening Courses in Chicago by 1939

Institutional leadership, educational trends, market forces, and social forces combined to influence the development of evening programs nationally and in the six institutions in this study. By 1939, these influences

ultimately created forms of evening classes/programs in these institutions which were different from those of their origins, and which shifted toward sameness.

The University of Chicago, while never totally abandoning regular college courses<sup>29</sup> in the evening, began to re-focus the purpose of University College toward the broader field of adult education. Adult education was a relatively new field of scholarly inquiry and the University of Chicago became one of the leaders in it.

Northwestern University had become a significant force in degree-related evening education and adult education by 1939. Its University College had been established in 1933 as the consolidation of all part-time work except for commerce and journalism. Under the leadership of Dean Samuel N. Stevens and with the support of President Walter Dill Scott, it had developed into a College which had its own faculty and administration, and which offered its own degree and non-degree programs. It was preparing to take a leadership position in adult education and believed the methods for teaching the more mature learner needed to be "evolved and perfected."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Undergraduate education at the University of Chicago was undergoing a radical reformation under President Hutchins' "New Plan" which, when extended to the evening students tended to frighten conservative degree seekers.

<sup>30</sup>"The University College and Adult Education," Northwestern University Bulletin, Vol. XXXIX, No. 50, 9 October 1939, 6, 12-13.



Northwestern's School of Commerce had expanded beyond its early evening-only undergraduate beginnings. This included a program in Evanston and a Master of Business Administration. They established a Bachelor of Science in Commerce which was substantially more liberal-arts oriented than the Bachelor of Business Administration Program. The evening, part-time program on the Chicago campus enrolled over 6,000 students in 1937-38.<sup>31</sup> From 1921 to 1938, the Medill School of Journalism functioned as a part of the School of Commerce. A part-time, evening program in journalism on the Chicago campus attracted almost 500 students in 1937-38.<sup>32</sup>

The name of Loyola University's undergraduate evening programs evolved from the School of Sociology, to the Downtown College of Liberal Arts, to University College by 1936. The social work focus which had been so central to the School of Sociology had been spun off into a separate graduate School of Social Work in 1932. The University College offered liberal arts, education, and pre-professional preparation evenings downtown. It also offered a selection of daytime courses on the downtown campus to accommodate the young women who wished to attend Loyola at a more traditional time, but who were still not allowed in the College of Arts and Sciences. Loyola had also established

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<sup>31</sup>Sedlak and Williamson, 39.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid, 53.

an evening, downtown School of Commerce in 1924.

DePaul University's evening courses were still offered as late afternoon and Saturday courses by their College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. They continued concentrating on educating teachers, particularly from religious communities. By 1939, they emphasized the teaching of religion which sharpened the focus of their late afternoon and Saturday classes as a lay and religious training institute. DePaul's College of Commerce was still a flourishing evening program at their downtown center. The Secretarial College (formerly the Shorthand School) became part of the College of Commerce in the 1930s. This vocationally-oriented evening program prepared women for secretarial positions.

In 1939, the boards of Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute ratified an agreement for a merger of the two institutions to be effected in 1940. The new institution would be known as Illinois Institute of Technology. Its major divisions were the Armour College of Engineering and the Lewis Institute of Arts and Sciences. This consolidation created a strengthened and enlarged evening program which ranged from non-credit courses in engineering and mathematics to programs leading to degrees in engineering and arts and sciences. The evening instruction at Armour was primarily in engineering. The evening work at Lewis was in the arts and sciences and the first three years of an engineering degree.

The era (1917-1939) in which these evening programs developed, which occurred after World War I and before World War II, was a time of population growth and urbanization. The decade after World War I was prosperous but was then followed by ten-years of the Great Depression. Universities had incorporated professional schools and subjects previously considered vocational into their curriculum. Many fields that had been considered vocations were transformed into professions. Higher education became a means to a better life and, therefore, a more attractive option than it was in the late 1800s. Higher education also now served an increasingly diverse student clientele. All these phenomena helped shape the growth of evening higher education nationally and in Chicago.

One educational trend which influenced the development of evening classes in much the same way that university extension influenced their origins was the adult education movement of the late 1920s. Like extension, it was transplanted from Europe to the United States. The American Association for Adult Education, founded in 1926, began publishing a quarterly journal, Adult Education Journal, in 1929. Research findings, particularly Edward L. Thorndike's Adult Learning, proved adults' ability to learn declined very little with age.<sup>33</sup> Adult Education developed into an

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<sup>33</sup>Malcolm S. Knowles, ed., Handbook of Adult Education in the United States (Chicago: Adult Educational Association of the U.S.A., 1960), 23-25. Thorndike's Adult

academic specialty. By 1936, forty-nine institutions of higher education offered courses in adult education.<sup>34</sup> Columbia University had offered courses for teachers in special areas of adult education as early as 1917. Its Teachers College created a department of adult education in 1930 and established curricula for advanced degrees by 1931. In 1931, Ohio State University became the second university to create a department of adult education. The University of Chicago established its adult education program in 1935. It was created by Floyd W. Reeves who directed it until 1939 when Cyril O. Houle took over.<sup>35</sup> Houle became the Dean of the University of Chicago's University College in 1944.

The development of this new field of scholarly inquiry, and particularly its higher education for adults subset, broadened the goals of university programs which served adult students. In addition to the goal of assisting adults who wished to complete their formal higher education and/or meet their vocational goals, universities embraced "lifelong learning, continuing education for personal development, self-fulfillment, and public responsibility."<sup>36</sup> That this

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Learning was written in 1928.

<sup>34</sup>Dorothy Rowden, ed., Handbook of Adult Education in the United States (New York: American Book Company, 1936).

<sup>35</sup>Rae Wahl Rohfeld, ed., Expanding Access to Knowledge: Continuing Higher Education (Washington, D. C.: National University Continuing Education Association, 1990), 106.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid, 205.

mandate and that of extension seem to overlap, if not outright duplicate each other, is a curious historical artifact. Some might contend that "adult education" was just a modern form of university extension.

### Institutional Comparisons and Contrasts

The adult education movement and how it was interpreted in each institution, along with the other social and market forces described above, affected the development of the evening classes at the institutions in this study. This section will show that the evening courses/programs had, in most instances, evolved into more similar-looking forms than those which existed originally.

Organization and Leadership. The structure of the University of Chicago's evening undergraduate program as a college (University College) continued throughout this time period. The Dean of University College from 1917 to 1923 was Nathaniel Butler who had served in the Extension Division in its early years. He was followed by Emery T. Filbey who served from 1923 to 1927. Filbey was a proponent of offering credit courses in a progressive and systematic manner so that part-time students could earn degrees. Enrollments in University College during his administration increased. The Dean of University College who exerted the most influence was Carl F. Huth who served from 1927 to 1944. He served the majority of his term under President Robert Maynard Hutchins.

Hutchins possessed a strong appreciation for adult education. He believed that higher education should be the pursuit of truth and saw education as knowledge for its own sake rather than tied up with credentialling or vocational interests. Hutchins' philosophy articulated well with that of adult education in its broadest sense. He instituted an open door policy for adults who wished to be students-at-large in 1934. The academic program in adult education at the University of Chicago was established under his administration in 1935. He participated in a Public Conference on Adult Education in 1929 with the President of Northwestern University, Walter Dill Scott, and Loyola's Fr. Frederic Siedenburg, S.J. Hutchins' leadership in promoting adult education as a scholarly field along with his other curricular innovations were directly responsible for the University College's shift from degree-related evening education to non-credit adult education.

Northwestern University's president from 1920 to 1939 was Walter Dill Scott. Scott had prepared a prospectus for a building and foundation for adult education at Northwestern in 1924. In it, he claimed that adult education was ". . . one of the most fruitful and promising fields for social service."<sup>37</sup> He supported the idea of

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<sup>37</sup>Walter Dill Scott, "Program for the John Doe Building and Foundation for Adult Education," 7 January 1924, Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

classes in the evening at the downtown campus as long as "its costs can be in great measure borne by those benefiting."<sup>38</sup> He believed that the increasing enrollments of part-time students was a reflection of "the growth of the adult-education idea."<sup>39</sup>

The evening courses in arts and sciences were resurrected in 1928-29 at the behest of Raymond A. Kent, the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. Kent came to Northwestern in 1924 with experience and interest in adult education. Kent's enthusiasm was continued by his successor, Clarence Yoakum, in 1929. Yoakum wanted the evening classes downtown to be adapted especially for mature learners. In 1930, a standing committee was established for the arts courses at the downtown (McKinlock) campus. Samuel N. Stevens was appointed Assistant Dean in charge of the Chicago work in 1930. By 1933, the evening work was restructured into a unit called University College. It included the part-time work in liberal arts, education, speech, and music. Stevens was appointed Director of University College. By 1939, Stevens had shaped the University College into a reasonably autonomous unit. Northwestern's School of Commerce remained autonomous, though expanded, despite Stevens efforts to have its evening

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<sup>38</sup>Walter Dill Scott, The President's Report, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 11, 10 January 1938, 10.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid, 9.

programs merged with University College. The School of Commerce argued that the very idea of a merger was the result of "a confusion of 'adult' and 'professional' education."<sup>40</sup>

Loyola University's downtown evening programs were under the leadership of Fr. Frederic Siedenburg, S.J. until 1932. The School of Sociology and its allied courses enjoyed great success. Fr. Siedenburg was able to put his energies into more programs. He founded the Home Study Division in 1922 and the College of Commerce in 1924. The expansion of the programs downtown led to the need for additional space. A building was purchased in 1926. It became known as "The Downtown College" and housed the School of Sociology, The Downtown College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, The College of Commerce, and the Law School. Fr. Siedenburg believed that Loyola, with its Downtown College, was doing more for adult education than any other Catholic School in the land. Adult education at Loyola, according to Siedenburg, offered working people opportunities to equip themselves for higher positions and to defend their

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<sup>40</sup>James Washington Bell, "Objections to Consolidation or Merger of School of Commerce and University College," 10 April 1937; Samuel N. Stevens to Walter Dill Scott, 20 April 1937; Walter Dill Scott, "Memorandum to the Members of the Committee on Educational Policies," Scott Papers, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.



faith.<sup>41</sup>

Fr. Siedenburg left Loyola for the University of Detroit in 1932. The Downtown College and the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences were placed under one deanship. Fr. Thomas A. Egan, S.J. was appointed dean. The president of the university, Fr. Robert M. Kelley, S.J. hoped that this new arrangement would bring the two colleges into greater agreement on degree requirements and course content. When this had been accomplished to the satisfaction of the next president, Fr. Samuel K. Wilson, S.J., he separated the deanships again. Fr. Egan retained the deanship of the Downtown College which was renamed "University College" in 1936.

DePaul University continued to organize its Autumn and Winter Quarter Late Afternoon and Saturday Classes through the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences rather than as a distinct unit. The DePaul College of Commerce remained an autonomous college with its own dean. Offering classes at the same downtown building, the College of Commerce and the Late Afternoon and Saturday Classes agreed to allow the students of each division to take classes in the other. Since the College of Commerce was on the semester system and the Late Afternoon and Saturday Classes were on the quarter

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<sup>41</sup>"Dinner \$100 a Plate for L.U. Head," Chicago American, Chicago, 19 February 1927; "Testimonial Dinner for \$100 a Plate Fund Raiser for Downtown College," Daily American Tribune, Dubuque, IA, 30 April 1927.

system, this was not as easy as it seemed.

In addition to the name, "Late Afternoon and Saturday Classes," these classes have been called "Autumn and Winter Session" (1912), "College of Education" (1912, internally but not in print), "Late Afternoon and Saturday Division of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences" (1926), "Loop College" (1929), and "Downtown College" (1934). There is no evidence that the responsibility for these classes fell to a particular individual or that, apart from the support of a number of presidents, anyone was instrumental in their success.

The evening school at Armour Institute of Technology was the administrative responsibility of the newly created Dean of the Evening School, Professor Robert Vallette Perry, by 1918. There was little organizational or structural change to the Evening School between 1920 and 1928 despite the fact that Howard Raymond (who had been closely involved with the evening classes previously) became president upon the death of Frank W. Gunsaulus in 1921. The position of Dean of Evening School (or Evening Classes, they are used synonymously) was abolished by the next president, Willard E. Hotchkiss, in 1934; placing the responsibility for all academic programs under the jurisdiction of one dean, Henry T. Heald. Faculty committees were organized to advise Heald. One such committee was the Committee on Evening Class Instruction. This committee recommended development

of the evening program so that two year's worth of college credit could be earned by evening students. This plan was adopted in 1934. The success of this initiative led to the establishment of the position Dean of the Evening Division in 1937. Hotchkiss was a supporter of the adult education movement and, in his plea for a new downtown campus, outlined the "Need for Adult Education. . ." <sup>42</sup> in which evening classes played the leading role.

The continued growth of the Evening Division and the appointment of Henry T. Heald (a strong supporter of evening education) to the presidency of Armour in 1938, opened the way for expansion of evening courses leading to the four-year degree. This was to be implemented in 1940, the same year the merger with Lewis Institute took effect.

The leadership for the evening classes at Lewis Institute came from its Director, George Noble Carman. After the decision to drop the academy-level courses at the Institute in 1917, the evening students were able to pursue junior college-level classes. Carman worked diligently toward his goal of reducing all the work at Lewis Institute to one standard of credit and scholarship. Carman retired in 1935. Upon his retirement, four-year degree programs, pre-professional courses, and adult education courses were

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<sup>42</sup>"Need for Adult Education," A New Home for Chicago's Center of Education In Engineering and Architecture, May 1935, 15, Hotchkiss Papers, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

available to evening students. Financial problems continued to plague Lewis since the Depression and ultimately required its merger with Armour Institute of Technology.

The liberal arts evening classes at The University of Chicago, Northwestern University, and Loyola University; and the evening classes in commerce at Northwestern University, DePaul University, and Loyola University continued to be organized as distinct colleges within the universities. DePaul's liberal arts classes in the late afternoon and Saturday were still organizationally attached to the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute, not being universities, continued to offer "Evening Sessions" or "Evening Schools" which were not organizationally distinct from the day division.

The leadership for the direction that evening classes took came from the president at the University of Chicago, Armour Institute of Technology, and Lewis Institute. It came from the Dean of Liberal Arts with the support of the president at Northwestern University and DePaul University. Leadership at Loyola came from the dean of the Downtown College (until his departure), and then the dean of the Downtown College and the College of Arts and Sciences (one dean for both units), with the support of the presidents.

The organizational structures and levels of leadership did not change significantly in the development of evening

courses. The major transformations occurred in the area of the curriculum. These will be discussed next.

Curriculum and Faculty. The fact that there was surprisingly little overlap in the evening curricula of each institution as they were originally configured was discussed earlier in this chapter. The development of these evening programs reveals a shift toward sameness.

The University of Chicago, Northwestern University, Loyola University, DePaul University, and Lewis Institute all offered a type of liberal arts, degree-related curriculum. All but DePaul called their evening unit "University College." The commerce schools of Northwestern University, DePaul University, and Loyola University were all offering evening programs which were increasingly less vocational and more academic. Armour and Lewis Institutes offered technical education which was also increasingly less vocational and more professional.

The University of Chicago was the only one of these six institutions to begin another shift -- away from degree-related evening education and toward non-credit adult education. During the 1920s, despite its prosperity, the University of Chicago's University College began to experiment with cooperative educational ventures. Whether this was instigated by a desire to be a leader in adult education or by the increased competition for evening students is unclear. Emery T. Filbey, the dean from 1923 to

1927, thought University College should be multifaceted. Carl F. Huth, the dean from 1927 to 1944, credited the radical drop in enrollment of the 1930s to the diminishing need for this type of program.<sup>43</sup> No doubt the Depression also took its toll on enrollments in an expensive program. President Hutchins' "New Plan" also had a great impact on the evening enrollments and reduced the availability of faculty to teach in that program. The University of Chicago was the third institution in the country to include adult education as a field of academic inquiry in 1935. This, along with Hutchins' personal educational philosophy, and the diminished enrollments led the University of Chicago to decide not to compete in this market, but to redefine a new one. These adult education cooperative programs would combine the expertise of the faculty with those in the business or industry which desired programs. Public lectures were also offered beginning in 1926 which were less formal than those of the old Lecture Study Department, but in areas of popular interest.

Northwestern also provided unique adult education opportunities, but seemingly, had no intention to abandon the more traditional degree-related evening education in liberal arts at the downtown campus which had been

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<sup>43</sup>Chicago's only university-level, non-Catholic competitor was Northwestern University whose own renewed interest in degree-related evening education in the liberal arts coincides with the University of Chicago's enrollment decline.

reinstated in 1928. The success of the initial selection of twenty-eight liberal arts courses encouraged other colleges of the University to offer evening courses as well. These included education, music, and speech courses. Their programs continued to enjoy increased enrollments, even during the Depression. By 1939, Northwestern University's University College was responsible for all part-time programs except for Commerce (and Journalism, since it was part of Commerce), and all adult education programs. These included public lectures, informal studies in various industrial topics, and lecture series. Northwestern was also planning to experiment with a more definite form of instruction and administration in its University College which would be adapted to the needs of adult students -- a blending of the new theories in the literature on adult education with the traditional course offerings of its college. The University College originally shared faculty with the other colleges and fell under their academic jurisdiction. This had led to the demise of the evening classes in 1911. By 1935, flushed with the success of University College, the University Senate approved the formation of a University College faculty which would consist of the heads of the academic departments and those faculty who were actively teaching University College classes. This was quickly approved by the board of trustees. This faculty had the authority to approve the

curriculum and the requirements for the diploma, the Ph.B. or other degrees in University College. These curricula and degrees were not required to duplicate those of the day divisions, nor did they. The arts and sciences faculty who were designated University College faculty taught in University College as an overload. Northwestern became a charter member of the Association of University Evening Colleges in 1939.

The programs in commerce at Northwestern, DePaul, and Loyola evolved from vocationally-oriented evening only programs to more professionally-oriented evening and day programs offered to day and evening students. By 1939, Northwestern offered the Bachelor of Science in Commerce, the Bachelor of Business Administration (which was discontinued in 1940), Master of Business Administration, and the Ph.D. in Commerce degrees. DePaul's College of Commerce offered the Bachelor of Commercial Science degree, and the broader-based Bachelor of Philosophy in Business Administration (Ph.B. in B.A.) were offered until 1924. They were replaced by the Diploma in Commerce (for evening students) and the Bachelor of Science degree. DePaul also annexed a Secretarial College to its College of Commerce in the late 1930s. Loyola's College of Commerce, which began in 1924, offered an evening degree program leading to the Bachelor of Science in Commerce and a Diploma in Commerce. All the programs in commerce had their own faculty, all of



whom taught evenings as part of their regular teaching load.

The evening curriculum at Loyola University had expanded considerably from that of its origins. The "pure" social work courses had been spun off into a graduate School of Social Work in 1932. What had been called the "allied courses" became the nucleus for the "Downtown College of Liberal Arts and Sciences." Academic degree programs in liberal arts and education (1934) and preprofessional programs for admission to law and medicine were available to part-time evening students. The degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Philosophy, and Bachelor of Science in Education were available through University College. The faculty were shared with the College of Arts and Sciences and augmented by part-time faculty.

DePaul's evening curricula remained similar between 1917 and 1939. Its late afternoon and Saturday courses led to the Bachelor's Degree in Arts, Sciences, Philosophy, and Education. With the administration of President Francis V. Corcoran, C.M. beginning in 1930, DePaul's mission shifted from that of a modern American university to that of a Roman Catholic magisterial university. This transition affected the Late Afternoon and Saturday division which began to promote the teaching of religious education among the religious and lay teachers and continued in this vein for the next three decades.

The merger of Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute blended their evening programs into a new form. Armour had been on the verge of offering the full four-year program in engineering at night. Lewis offered four-year professional courses leading to the Bachelor of Science in engineering, business administration, home economics, and education, in addition to the Bachelor of Science in arts and sciences. Being located near a large medical center, they also offered courses for preprofessional preparation in medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy, as well as pre-law and social service courses. Adult education courses in general culture as well as highly technical courses were also offered in the evening at Lewis. The consolidation of Armour Institute of Technology and Lewis Institute placed at the disposal of the evening student a strengthened and enlarged program of evening studies, ranging from non-credit courses in the elements of engineering and mathematics to programs leading to the Bachelor's and advanced degrees in engineering and the arts and sciences. Illinois Institute of Technology was also a charter member of the Association of University Evening Colleges.

Northwestern University had moved into the leadership position, not only in degree-related evening education, but also in adult education programs. The University of Chicago, lacking institutional commitment for anything but

adult education,<sup>44</sup> was slowly removing itself from the degree-related undergraduate market. Loyola offered a reasonably wide variety of evening classes and degree programs. DePaul's late afternoon and Saturday programs remained focused on teacher preparation with a shift toward religious instruction. Lewis and Armour, now functioning as Illinois Institute of Technology, combined the best of both their worlds (although they were much more heavily technical). It now offered degree-related engineering and arts and sciences evening courses as well as evening courses students could take to improve their skills for the workplace.

By 1939, Northwestern, Loyola, and DePaul all owned a downtown building (or buildings) for their downtown academic programs which included the evening classes. In essence, they established campuses in the downtown area. The University of Chicago moved from one inadequate rented space to another downtown.<sup>45</sup> Armour Institute and Lewis

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<sup>44</sup>Roth believed that so desperate were the straights in which the University of Chicago's University College found itself in the late 1930s that without Hutchins' support of adult education it most probably would have been discontinued altogether. Roth, 23.

<sup>45</sup>Dean Carl F. Huth lamented to Hutchins' assistant, Emery T. Filbey (himself a former University College dean), that "In the matter of our physical plant we are worse off than the ordinary business college or music school. We cannot on this count compete even with DePaul, much less with the McKinlock campus." C. F. Huth to Emery T. Filbey, 20 October 1937, University Extension Records, Joseph P. Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago, Chicago.

Institute, in the first years of the merger, became a two-campus institution and offered evening classes on both the near south side and near west side campuses. Engineering was centered at Armour, and the first few years of engineering and the arts and sciences were at Lewis' west side campus.

Institutional commitment to the evening programs downtown was reflected in the institution's willingness to purchase property for a bone fide campus in the heart of the urban area. It is interesting to speculate what the nature of the evening programs might have been had the 1933 University of Chicago and Northwestern University merger been effected.<sup>46</sup> The new two-campus Illinois Institute of Technology with its continuing specialization would attract students who needed the technical programs it offered, or who found the location more suitable than a downtown one. It offered these two options that the other institutions did not.

Students. With the purposes and curricula of the evening programs changing and expanding between 1917 and 1939, and shifting toward a sameness, it is interesting to consider

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<sup>46</sup>Hutchins saw no marked difference in the aims of Northwestern and the University of Chicago with regard to adult education and, should the merger be effected, looked to consolidating both "extension divisions" into one. Robert M. Hutchins, Speech at the Student Convocation, 12 December 1933, University President's Papers 1925-48 Addenda, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. It is interesting to speculate on how this consolidated unit would have evolved.

the evening student population characteristics at these institutions by 1939.

During the decade 1930-1940, the composition of the University of Chicago's University College student body changed. The average age of the University College student was 31.<sup>47</sup> The number of students working on a degree or "classified" decreased. Whether this was the result of the University's shifting focus away from degree-related evening education or the new competition from Northwestern University, is not clear. Most probably, it is the result of both forces. The students who remained in the credit courses were still primarily school teachers.

Northwestern University's University College, while still attended by more women, had thirty-two percent men students.<sup>48</sup> Of those students who attended, the majority were still teachers. The occupation for new students which increased the least rapidly was clerical workers, although the number of clerical workers who were students doubled between 1928 and 1934. Students engaged in sales work and executive work increased fivefold, those engaged in

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<sup>47</sup>Carl F. Huth, "University College Report to the President," 24 February 1934, Presidents' Papers 1925-48, Joseph P. Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

<sup>48</sup>"Report of the Dean of the University College, 1937-38," The President's Report, Vol. XXXIX, 21 November 1938, 87.

technical work increase threefold.<sup>49</sup> The religious affiliation of these students was fifty-five percent were Protestant, eighteen percent were Catholic, fifteen percent were Jewish, and twelve percent indicated no religious affiliation.<sup>50</sup>

Northwestern's School of Commerce enrolled 6315 part-time students in 1937-38. Of this 6315, 1016 or sixteen percent were women.<sup>51</sup> DePaul's College of Commerce enrolled almost twenty percent women students.<sup>52</sup> Loyola's College of Commerce enrolled seven percent women which was half of the percent of women who had enrolled in 1927-28.<sup>53</sup> The figures on the commerce students' religious affiliations are incomplete for Northwestern, but a census of the percent of Jewish students in 1933-34 was 18.73.<sup>54</sup> The percent of

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<sup>49</sup>Martha Luck, "Analysis of Evening Work on the Chicago Campus with Particular Attention to the University College," unpublished manuscript, 31 January 1941, 58, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid, 64.

<sup>51</sup>Sedlak and Williamson, 39.

<sup>52</sup>These figures were computed from a list of evening students using their names as indicators of sex. "College of Commerce," DePaul University Bulletin, Series XXXVIII, No. 2, 1934, 50-52.

<sup>53</sup>"School of Commerce," Loyola University Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 8, September 1928, 31-35; "School of Commerce," Loyola University Bulletin, Vol. 15, No. 8, July 1939, 34-40. These figures are based on computations from the register of students by student names.

<sup>54</sup>Registrar's Office Correspondence, Walter Dill Scott Papers 1891-1977, Series 3/15/1, Deering Library, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston.

non-Catholic students in Loyola's School of Commerce was three percent in 1924-25 and grew to thirty-seven percent by 1930-31.<sup>55</sup> No figures are available for DePaul's College of Commerce regarding the religion of these students.

Loyola's University College enrolled eighteen percent men at its downtown campus. Nuns made up eleven percent of the total University College enrollment. Seventy-five percent of those students enrolled were employed as teachers.<sup>56</sup> The percent of non-Catholic students rose from 0.5 percent in 1921-22 to eleven percent in 1930.<sup>57</sup>

There are no reliable figures for the students enrolled in DePaul University's late afternoon and Saturday programs with regard to sex, religious affiliation, or occupation. However, since these classes were still designed for the convenience of teachers, and since by 1940-41 the percent of religious students (primarily teaching sisters) reached fifty-seven<sup>58</sup>, the assumption that the typical student was

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<sup>55</sup>Thomas J. Reedy, "Result of a Questionnaire Regarding Attendance of Non-Catholic Students, School of Commerce," 13 February 1931, Samuel K. Wilson Papers, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>56</sup>"Enrollment by Quarters of Students in the Downtown College for the Scholastic Year 1933-34," William T. Kane, S.J. Archival Collection, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>57</sup>Frederic Siedenbug, S.J., "Answer to Questionnaire," Samuel K. Wilson Papers, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago.

<sup>58</sup>Lester F. Goodchild, "The Mission of the Catholic University in the Midwest, 1842-1980: A Comparative Case Study of the Effects of Strategic Policy Decisions upon the

female, Catholic, and a teacher can safely be made.

At Armour Institute of Technology, prior to its merger with Lewis Institute, the evening students were all male, they worked in technical positions at companies like Western Electric, Commonwealth Edison, Illinois Bell Telephone, Illinois Steel, or Standard Oil Company. Sixty-five percent were between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine.<sup>59</sup> There are no figures on the religious affiliation of the evening students, however, the day student population was thirty-five percent Catholic and ten percent Jewish.<sup>60</sup>

Lewis Institute, prior to the merger with Armour, enrolled an evening population which consisted of eighty-one percent males and nineteen percent females.<sup>61</sup> While no reliable statistics regarding age, occupation, or religion were found, Lewis described its evening school students as ". . .mature, most of them wage earners by day. . ." <sup>62</sup> A former student, John H. Smale, who became a professor at

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Mission of the University of Notre Dame, Loyola University of Chicago, and DePaul University," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1986), 451.

<sup>59</sup>"Evening Classes," President's Report 1929-30, Armour Institute of Technology, 20-21.

<sup>60</sup>"Enrollment, New Students 1936-37," Heald Papers, Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago.

<sup>61</sup>"Summary of Attendance, 1938-39," Circular of Information of Lewis Institute, October 1939, 61.

<sup>62</sup>"Lewis Institute," Educational Events in Chicago, January 1931, 15.



Lewis and Director of the Evening Session in 1938, considered one of Lewis' outstanding traits to be ". . .its assimilation of the various races and nationalities."<sup>63</sup>

From these self descriptions, the portrait of the typical Lewis evening student at the end of the 1930s was a mature, working (probably in industry), male who had a good chance of having been foreign born or first generation American.

With the expansion of the curricula in the evening, particularly in the liberal arts areas at Northwestern and Loyola, the evening student body grew more diverse than that of its origins. The students were still more mature, but the number of males attending in the evening increased, and the percent of Catholics grew at Northwestern and decreased at Loyola. While teaching was still the primary occupation of evening students, increases in students in other occupations such as clerical positions occurred. DePaul's late afternoon and Saturday classes still served teachers, but shifted to the point where more than half of these teachers were members of a religious order. Students in Northwestern's School of Commerce remained similar (even the percentage of women). Loyola's College of Commerce grew from a student population that was three percent non-Catholic to one which was thirty-seven percent non-Catholic. The percent of women enrolled in Loyola's College of

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<sup>63</sup>John H. Smale, "Lewis of Yesterday and Today," Lewis Union Bulletin, May, 1928, 1.

Commerce had decreased. The percent of women attending Lewis Institute in the evening decreased from approximately thirty-five percent to nineteen percent prior to the merger.

The trends in the evolution of students and curricula in the evening programs mirrored what was happening in higher education in general. There was increasing diversity and expansion. There were more men students where there had been only women. There were more women where there had been primarily men (with the exception of the engineering programs). Religious diversity increased except at DePaul which actually became more Catholic than it had been at its origins. Students came from a wider variety of occupational backgrounds and statuses.

#### Summary

Each institution in this study had unique beginnings and reasons for their existence with regard to evening classes. The University of Chicago built its evening programs based on the university extension philosophy which emerged in that time frame. From that, influenced by the need for courses for teachers' salary increases and promotional credit, they moved in the direction of a college for this purpose which duplicated the University's program at night. They operated with virtually no competition<sup>64</sup> in this booming market until Loyola and DePaul Universities

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<sup>64</sup>Lewis began offering a degree-related, two-year evening program in 1917, however, their location probably limited attendance.

started their evening (or late afternoon and Saturday) programs. For non-Catholic students who would not consider attending a Catholic university, however, there was no alternative until Northwestern jumped back into the market in 1926. Evening enrollments decreased significantly at the University of Chicago shortly thereafter. Besides the addition of competition, Hutchins' New Plan scared off a number of students, the rented downtown facilities were still inadequate (although this never seemed to deter students previously), and the Depression made attendance at such an expensive institution prohibitive. Believing that there were just fewer students (i.e., teachers) who needed evening education,<sup>65</sup> the University of Chicago made the decision to move its University College in the direction of non-credit adult education.

The field of adult education had permeated the culture of universities in the late 1920s and 1930s much the same way that university extension had in the 1890s. Adult education, like extension, meant different things to different people. All of the universities in this study used the term adult education. To the University of Chicago, it was a new academic field which gave them the opportunity to be involved with its creation and dissemination. Scholars were trained and sent to other

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<sup>65</sup>This reason does not explain the enrollments in Northwestern's and Loyola's evening programs despite the Depression.

colleges and universities to spread the word. To Northwestern University's University College it meant offering a variety of types of educational experiences for adults (credit and non-credit), but also incorporation of the new theories on adult learning into their classrooms. To Loyola, it was the opportunity for adults to better their station in life through access to higher education. To others, it simply meant education for adults which they had been doing under other terminology for years.

The University of Chicago again took the lead in moving its college for working students/adults in totally new directions. The field of undergraduate training of employed men and women was appropriated by Northwestern and Loyola. DePaul specialized in training religious teachers. Illinois Institute of Technology, while still offering arts and sciences classes at the west side Lewis Institute campus, was perceived to be a school for technical training and engineering.

In their degree-related programs, these institutions shared more overlap in programs and types of students than had been previously the case. However, there were still remnants of distinctiveness in each. Except for the University of Chicago, they all now made a point of offering programs which led to a four-year undergraduate degree. Regardless of the curriculum, the majority of evening students were motivated to attend by vocational reasons.

The evolution of evening classes in these institutions paralleled the middle class' struggle to "define new career patterns, establish new institutions, pursue new occupations, and forge a new self-identity."<sup>66</sup> Higher education was seen as a means to a worldly end. Evening classes were one more institutional form to allow one to achieve this.

These evening colleges, however, were not as much a product of an intentional philosophy to raise the educational and economic level of working students as a product of economy for the university. All were required to be minimally financially self supporting and most were money makers for the institution. In the case of Loyola University, DePaul University, Lewis Institute and, perhaps, Armour Institute, the evening classes were instrumental in the financial survival of the institution.

The addition of evening classes affected the entire institution in a number of cases. At Loyola and Depaul, they introduced coeducation. At Loyola, they incorporated a broadened undergraduate curriculum which focused not just on the classics, but on social service and pedagogy. The Colleges of Commerce at Northwestern, DePaul, and Loyola began as an exclusively evening curriculum for working

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<sup>66</sup>Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1976), 333.

students. It is questionable whether these Colleges would have survived if they began as day colleges. The evening commerce colleges also facilitated links between the universities and the Chicago business communities. In all cases, they expanded the number and nature of the student population, contributed to the democratization of higher education, and to the professionalization of vocations.

#### Significance of the Study

The history of American higher education is the history of expansion -- expansion of types of students, expansion of types of academic programs, and expansion of institutional forms. The place of evening education in this history has been no more than a footnote (when it has not been ignored completely). The few studies of evening education that have been conducted have focused on the evening college "movement" as a national phenomenon, and while this "movement" may have originated, grown, and matured in a particular time frame, it is unrealistic to assume that the forces which affected the form of evening education at the University of Cincinnati or New York University or Florida State University have any relation to each other. There has been no thorough, historical examination of the context in which an individual institution decided to offer evening classes. Nor has there been any systematic attempt to compare and contrast the forms of evening education in one market. Students who attend evening programs do not have

the luxury of near infinite college choice. The institution must be within a reasonable distance from work or home, it must offer the academic program desired, and it must be affordable. Some urban areas may have had only one institution to fill this need. Others, like Chicago, had many.

This is the first study of its kind to study and compare the origins and development of evening undergraduate education in six major higher education institutions in one market. In this manner, it can be determined whether the resulting forms of evening programs were the result of institutional competition or cooperation; educational trends; local or national social, political or economic forces; a unique combination of institutional types; or distinctive leadership. The effect that evening programs had on the entire institution has been oftentimes greatly underestimated in the institution's historical context. This study has also attempted to clarify that relationship.

#### Suggestions for Further Research

The history of evening higher education in several other major urban markets would allow more thoughtful comparisons and contrasts of the evening college movement on a national level. This study concentrated on four-year institutions only. Junior and community colleges played a large role in the history of evening education. Ideally, all types of higher education institutions in each market

should be studied. Additionally, the time frame in this study ends as evening colleges began their own national professional organization. The forms they took after 1939 to the present may be significantly different than those of their origins or by 1939.

Further studies which include a wider range of institutions in more urban markets in an extended time frame are necessary. Only then would it be possible to determine whether common patterns might emerge and the history of evening undergraduate higher education can be added as a chapter to the history of American higher education, replacing the footnote.



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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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