

A GROUNDED THEORY COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS OF THE HUTCHINS PLAN
PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION AND
THE HUTCHINS COMMISSION
PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRESS

By

SUSAN DELL GONDERS GOLIKE

Bachelor of Arts
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma
1973

Master of Education
University of Central Oklahoma
Edmond, Oklahoma
1991

Submitted to the Faculty of
the Graduate College of
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the degree of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
December, 1995

COPYRIGHT

By

Susan Dell Gonders Golike

Doctor of Education

December, 1995

A GROUNDED THEORY COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS OF THE HUTCHINS PLAN
PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION AND
THE HUTCHINS COMMISSION
PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRESS

Dissertation approved:

Maureen Menecek

Dissertation Adviser

Steven Smithers

Charlita Fleming

Ol h v date

Thomas C. Collins

Dean of the Graduate College

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Chapter | Page |
|--|------|
| I. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Background..... | 1 |
| Problem..... | 2 |
| Questions..... | 14 |
| Significance | 18 |
| Endnotes | 22 |
| II. METHDOLOGY..... | 28 |
| Strategy..... | 29 |
| Limitations | 51 |
| Scope | 52 |
| Endnotes..... | 53 |
| III. FINDINGS: BACKGROUND..... | 61 |
| Appeal..... | 61 |
| Historical influences on Hutchins' education philosophy | 62 |
| <i>Ancient Greece, Medieval Europe, The Collegiate Way,</i> | |
| <i>The Emergence of the University, Neohumanism, Great Books</i> | |
| Endnotes | 83 |
| IV. FINDINGS: EARLY YEARS..... | 87 |
| Youth..... | 87 |
| Yale | 89 |
| Chicago: the beginning..... | 94 |

| | | |
|------|---|-----|
| | The Hutchins Plan..... | 97 |
| | Endnotes | 111 |
| V. | FINDINGS: THE CHICAGO BATTLES..... | 115 |
| | The battle to gather like-minded men..... | 115 |
| | The battle over the manifesto | 124 |
| | The battle for someplace to go | 132 |
| | The battle against the faculty | 143 |
| | Sabbatical projects..... | 148 |
| | <i>Great Books Program, World Government,</i> <i>Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press</i> | |
| | Endnotes..... | 158 |
| VI. | FINDINGS: THE COMMISSION..... | 166 |
| | Historical influences on Hutchins' press philosophy | 167 |
| | <i>Ancient Greece, Medieval Authoritarianism,</i> <i>Soviet Totalitarianism, Enlightenment Libertarianism,</i> <i>20th Century Positive Freedom</i> | |
| | The Commission: its creation..... | 185 |
| | The Commission: its deliberations | 189 |
| | The Commission: its conclusions and recommendations | 192 |
| | Reactions | 200 |
| | Repercussions | 209 |
| | Hutchins: continuing press critic..... | 212 |
| | Endnotes..... | 213 |
| VII. | FINDINGS: AFTER THE COMMISSION..... | 222 |
| | World Government | 223 |
| | Departure from Chicago | 226 |
| | Ford Foundation..... | 230 |
| | Fund for the Republic..... | 237 |
| | Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions | 247 |
| | Endnotes..... | 262 |

| | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| VIII. | ANALYSIS: SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS..... | 267 |
| | The education philosophy of Hutchins | 269 |
| | The press philosophy of Hutchins..... | 271 |
| | Similarities between his education and press philosophies | 271 |
| | Intolerance of disorder | 272 |
| | Distrust of freedom | 275 |
| | Socialistic authoritarianism | 277 |
| | Impracticality..... | 284 |
| | The philosophical foundation of social responsibility..... | 288 |
| | Endnotes..... | 290 |
| IX. | CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS..... | 295 |
| | Conclusions..... | 296 |
| | Recommendations..... | 307 |
| | Endnotes..... | 310 |
| | BIBLIOGRAPHY | 314 |
| | APPENDIX A. GENEAOLOGY..... | 338 |
| | APPENDIX B. CHRONOLOGY | 339 |

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

This is a grounded theory comparative analysis of the education philosophy and the press philosophy of Robert Maynard Hutchins, architect of the Hutchins Plan for higher education and chairman of the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press.

Background

Hutchins was born in January 1899 in Brooklyn, New York. At Yale University, where he was named secretary of the Yale Corporation at age 28 and dean of the Yale Law School a year later, he began developing his vision of the purpose and structure of institutions of higher education. At the University of Chicago, where he was named president at age 30, he tried for 21 years to implement the Hutchins Plan, which called for severe alterations in structure, administration, procedures, curriculum, content and evaluation; he outlined the philosophies on which the Plan was built in *The Higher Learning in America*, published in 1936. A decade later, during a 1946-48 leave of absence from the University of Chicago, he directed the completion of reports by two panels he had created; the Committee to Frame a World Constitution called for renunciation of national sovereignty and global reorganization under the authority of a single world government, and the Commission on Freedom of the Press called for changes in the philosophy and operations of American mass

communications, as outlined in *A Free and Responsible Press*, the Commission Report edited by Hutchins in 1947. In 1951, he left the University of Chicago to join first the Ford Foundation, then the Fund for the Republic, and finally the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Hutchins died in May 1977 at age 78 in Santa Barbara, California.

Problem

The Higher Learning in America (1936) remains an important part of the study of the history and philosophy of higher education, particularly in regard to current calls for a neoclassical and neohumanist curriculum, but absent from the literature of higher education is any in-depth consideration of Hutchins' press philosophy and how it might relate to his education philosophy. Likewise, *A Free and Responsible Press* (1947), particularly the concept of social responsibility that it proposed, remains an important part of the study of the history and philosophy of the press, but absent from media literature is much in-depth consideration of Hutchins' education philosophy and how it might relate to his press philosophy. The problem, therefore, is a lack of synthesis of the education philosophy and the press philosophy of Hutchins.

“In qualitative research, questions and problems for research most often come from real-world observations, dilemmas, and questions,” explain Catherine Marshall and Gretchen Rossman in *Designing Qualitative Research* (1989). “They are not stated as if-then hypotheses derived from theory. Rather, they take the form of wide-ranging inquiries.”¹ Because the questions in this study require “wide-ranging” inquiry, the appropriate nature of the literature review is one that strives to synthesize separate bodies of knowledge, in this case, that of Hutchins' work in education and that of Hutchins' work concerning the press.

John Pauly (1991), then at the University of Tulsa and now at St. Louis University, refers to such synthesis as a “reconstitution” of the whole. Pauly specifies how the literature review for qualitative exploration differs from quantitative studies:

Quantitative research treats the literature review as an epistemological jigsaw puzzle, an attempt to piece together “what we know” about some phenomenon. Qualitative researchers . . . simply use the review to identify an ongoing conversation that the researcher now proposes to join. . . . Whereas the quantitative researcher hopes to isolate one or another main factor, the qualitative researcher hopes to reconstitute a sense of the whole.”²

An appropriate approach to reconstituting the whole, or synthesizing the bodies of knowledge, then, begins with a review of higher education literature concerning Hutchins' impact on that field, a review of media literature concerning Hutchins' impact on that field, and, in the following chapter, a review of literature concerning applicable methodologies and a review of literature available to facilitate the desired synthesis.

Basic to education

Clark Kerr, president emeritus of the University of California and former chairman of the Carnegie Commission, considers Hutchins the “last of the giants.”³ Hutchins was the only college president and one of only a few educators among the “100 most important Americans of the 20th century” featured in a 1990 special issue of *Life* magazine.⁴ Edward Shils, professor of sociology at both the University of Chicago and Cambridge University in England until his death in 1995, thought the Hutchins years at Chicago “were among the greatest in the century-long history of our University.”⁵ Joseph Duffey, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, asserts that Hutchins “was one of the most important twentieth-century Americans in the fields of education, the humanities, and the democratic dialogue.”⁶ And

Benjamin McArthur, a member of the faculty of the Southern College of Seventh-day Adventists in Tennessee, writes, "If any figure in the history of American education may be said to have possessed charisma it would be Robert Hutchins." McArthur adds that "his is one of the most remarkable lives in American education."⁸ A survey of the literature of the history of higher education finds at least some consideration of Hutchins' education philosophy in every work, but in none is there more than a mention of Hutchins' connection to the press.

Higher education curriculum scholar W.B. Carnochan (1993) identifies the three primary histories of the field as those of Rudolph, Veysey, and Hofstadter and Wilson. "The history of the American college and university from the beginning has been told by Frederick Rudolph, as has the history of the curriculum," Carnochan explains, adding that "the emergence of the research university in the late nineteenth century has been described in patient detail by Laurence Veysey; and two volumes of documentation from the seventeenth century on have been collected by Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith."⁸ To Carnochan's list might be added Brubacher, whose *Higher Education in Transition, An American History: 1636-1956* preceded the other histories with initial publication in 1958. John S. Brubacher, then professor of history and philosophy at Yale, and Willis Rudy, then associate professor of history at State Teachers College in Worcester, Massachusetts, issued a revised edition in 1976. In the 13 pages devoted to Hutchins, there is no mention of his connection to the press.⁹

Richard Hofstadter, then a professor of history at Columbia University and a winner of the Pulitzer Prize in history, and Wilson Smith, then a member of the history and education faculty at Johns Hopkins University, co-authored *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* in 1961. Their annotated collection of documents by prominent figures in higher education was published in two volumes. Among the four documents and 45 pages concerning Hutchins,

there is no mention of his connection with the press.¹⁰

Frederick Rudolph, Mark Hopkins Professor Emeritus of History at Williams College, was seated on William Bennett's 1984 National Endowment for the Humanities panel.¹¹ Rudolph wrote *The American College & University: A History* in 1962; it was reissued in 1990 with a new introduction and an addendum to the extensive bibliography, both composed by editor John R. Thelin, then director of higher education at the College of William & Mary. The last four pages before Rudolph's "Epilogue" are devoted to Hutchins with no mention of his connection with the press.¹²

Laurence R. Veysey completed his Ph.D. at the University of California, Berkeley, and *The Emergence of the American University*, published in 1965 as a revised version of his dissertation, might be considered the most important book on the history of higher education.¹³ Published three years after Rudolph's history, Veysey's book also considers Hutchins without mention of his press connection. *The Academic Revolution* by Jencks and Riesman was published in 1968 with a similar interpretation of the development of a research orientation in universities and a similar treatment of Hutchins.¹⁴

One other history of higher education, although published more recently (1985), does not approach the scholarship of its predecessors. In the preface to *A History of American Higher Education*, Paul Westmeyer, professor of higher education at the University of Texas, San Antonio, notes, "I write as I talk (or is that *like* I talk?) and this is sort of informal." His slim 167-page volume begins chronologically, then assumes a topical essay approach, with no bibliography. Westmeyer devotes four pages to Hutchins, including a vignette, with no mention of his connection to the press.¹⁵

From Brubacher (1958) to Westmeyer (1985), higher education historians note the importance of Hutchins' contribution to the body of thought in higher

education, particularly concerning the curriculum of undergraduate general education. However, Carnochan (1993) points to the lack of more current histories. “[A] fuller sense of the history of the university and its curriculum as an ongoing intellectual episode, subject to the same sort of scrutiny and analysis as any other long-term struggle of contested ideas, is badly needed,” Carnochan writes. He adds that it is “surprising” that the story of how curricular wars have been fought “is only faintly understood in its historical aspect.”¹⁶

Just as this study’s comparison of the education philosophy and the press philosophy of Hutchins explores the curricular war waged at the University of Chicago, a few other contributions partially satisfy the void noted by Carnochan. Levine studied the history of higher education in the years 1915-40, Wolff compared philosophies in higher education, Kerr outlined the emergence of the “multiversity,” and two other books, one by Harris and one by Grant and Riesman, concern reform and experimental movements in higher education.

David O. Levine, who earned his Ph.D. in the history of American civilization at Harvard, is director of Touch American History, a nonprofit historical foundation. In *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration: 1915-1940* (1986), Levine devotes about nine pages to Hutchins.¹⁷

Robert Paul Wolff, philosophy professor at the University of Massachusetts, provides a liberal comparison of competing philosophies in higher education. In *The Ideal of the University* (1992 [1969]), Wolff devotes three pages to Hutchins.¹⁸

Michael R. Harris, director of the Institute in Higher Education and assistant dean in the Claremont Graduate School, published *Five Counter-revolutionists in Higher Education* in 1970. Hutchins is one of the “counter-revolutionists,” men who challenged the direction of 20th century higher education, that Harris considers most important.¹⁹

Gerald Grant is a professor of sociology and cultural foundations of education at Syracuse University, and David Riesman, who might be considered the leading higher education scholar in the United States, achieved a distinguished academic record at Harvard after teaching under Hutchins at the University of Chicago. In *The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College* (1978), Grant and Riesman examine telic reforms, which they define as movements that point “toward a different conception of the ends of undergraduate education, to distinguish them from the more popular reforms . . . which have brought about a general loosening of the curriculum.” The first of the telic reforms, and the one for which there is current support, is the neoclassical as conceptualized by Hutchins and instituted at St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland. Distinguishing telic reforms from popular reforms, Grant and Riesman explain that the latter seek “not to establish new institutional aims, but to slow the pace and expand the avenues of approach.” On the other hand, telic reforms “embody a significantly different conception of the goals of undergraduate education.” As such, telic reform advocates hope to counter the rise of the research-oriented universities that Veysey describes in *The Emergence of the University* (1965), and that Jencks and Riesman describe in *The Academic Revolution* (1968). Perhaps more significantly, they challenge what Grant and Riesman term the “hegemony” of the “multiversity.”²⁰

Clark Kerr, perhaps the senior authority extant on higher education, coined the term “multiversity.” He wrote *The Uses of the University* in 1963, as well as a 1972 postscript, a 1982 postscript, and a new 1982 preface; the book is being reissued for the fourth time in 1995. Eight pages of the slim body of Kerr's book concern Hutchins.²²

Although all of these authors consider Hutchins' education philosophy, none mentions his connection to the press. Indeed, in a 1994 interview, Kerr was

only superficially familiar with Hutchins' impact on press theory, despite working with him for many years in the education arena, to the extent that Kerr was Hutchins' first choice as his successor at the Center.²³

Even the two biographers of Hutchins who are educators indicate no awareness of any enduring impact on the press. In . . . *Portrait of an Educator* (1991), Mary Ann Dzuback, assistant professor of education at Washington University in St. Louis, devotes four pages to the Commission, concluding that "Hutchins' goal of stirring public debate and educating the public to press problems remained largely unfulfilled." However, she acknowledges that media historians "have suggested that the reports of the commission" represent "the most cogent single body of criticism of the press."²⁴ As Dzuback focused on Hutchins' education philosophy, so did William McNeill, a student and later a professor under Hutchins. In *Hutchins' University . . .* (1993), McNeill devotes less than five lines to the Commission, terming it "ineffectual."²⁵

The other two Hutchins biographers were journalists. When the Commission's Report was released in 1947, Harry Ashmore was working at the *Arkansas Gazette*, one of the newspapers that applauded the Report initially. In *Unseasonable Truths . . .* (1989), Ashmore devotes 10 pages to the Commission. He writes that Henry Luce, whose \$200,000 grant financed the Commission's study, "refused to put up the money for publication," because he was "unhappy" with the findings. Another friend of Hutchins, Bill Benton, paid for the \$15,000 printing cost. Ashmore asserts that Luce, "who had honored his commitment to keep hands off their work, made no public comment, but he sent a letter to the members of the Commission to indicate his disappointment in the result."²⁶ Ashmore cites a letter to Luce, dated April 7, 1947, in which Hutchins replied:

In addition to the regrets which I have already expressed orally, I have only to add that I am sorry that very difficult personal problems in the past three years have prevented me from giving the Commission the

kind of leadership it ought to have had and the kind which you were entitled to expect from me.²⁷

Milton Mayer devotes four pages of . . . *A Memoir* (1993) to the Commission, in which he relates the circumstances of the panel's creation:

So it was that in December 1942 at an Encyclopaedia Britannica board meeting, Henry Luce, Hutchins' old friend from Yale, sent him a note reading, "How do I find out about freedom of the press and what my obligations are?" Luce's mind had evidently wandered from the business of the meeting, and Hutchins, whose mind may have wandered in still other directions, replied, "I don't know." Luce then sent him another note reading, "Why don't we set up a commission on freedom of the press and find out what it is?" The two men talked when the meeting adjourned, and the outcome was a \$200,000 grant from Luce's Time, Inc., to the university, under whose financial auspices the Commission on Freedom of the Press was established as an independent entity.²⁸

After holding 17 meetings, the Commission issued "the original exploding cigar," according to Mayer. "The press as a whole was outraged by the report, and Luce himself was unhappy with it." In spite of initial denunciation, Mayer concludes, the Report "soon became a fixture in journalistic studies the country over, and remained one."²⁹

Basic to the press

Just as authorities on higher education are largely unaware of Hutchins' impact on the press, authorities on the press, with a few notable and limited exceptions, are largely unaware of Hutchins' impact on higher education. Those exceptions include media scholars Mack Palmer, John Merrill and Fred Blevens. Palmer, professor emeritus of journalism from the University of Oklahoma, spent several weeks at the Center in the 1960s conducting research for his dissertation on Alexander Meiklejohn, a contemporary and associate of Hutchins.³⁰ Merrill, formerly of Louisiana State University and now at the University of Missouri, Columbia, argues that the social responsibility theory proposed by the Hutchins

Commission Report marks an influentially regressive move to abridge First Amendment rights.³¹ Fred Blevens, journalism professor at Texas A&M University and former colleague of Merrill at the University of Missouri, acknowledges Merrill's influence on his study of Hutchins' "Victorian Influence on High Culture and Low Journalism" (1994).³² Aside from these three media scholars, the following results from an informal survey of mass communications textbooks illustrates frequent reference to the Hutchins Commission Report, particularly as the foundation of social responsibility theory, absent of any in-depth consideration of Hutchins' work in education.

Melvin L. DeFleur, John Ben Snow Professor in the S.I. Newhouse School for Public Communications, Syracuse, and Everette Dennis, executive director of the Gannett Foundation Media Center at Columbia, appraise the Hutchins Commission Report as "influential." It is now, according to DeFleur and Dennis (1991), "regarded as one of the most important documents in the history of American media."³³ Moreover, according to William David Sloan in *Makers of the Media Mind* (1990), "That it redefined the philosophy of press freedom is by now common knowledge." Despite press criticism antecedent to the Hutchins Commission Report, Sloan notes that "it marked the advent of the 'social responsibility' theory of the press."³⁴ In a 1993 *Mass Communication Review* article, Robert Udick terms the Report a "fundamental articulation of social responsibility theory,"³⁵ and Edward Jay Whetmore, in *Mediamerica, Mediaworld* (1993), calls it "a classic manifesto for social responsibility theory."³⁶

The concept of social responsibility proposed by the Hutchins Commission has become inculcated in press theory and policy. The Report, according to Donald L. Wood (1983), California State University, Northridge, "was the document which . . . served to define and amplify the concept of the social responsibility of the press."³⁷ The doctrine of social responsibility as

articulated by the Commission, according to J. Herbert Altschull (1990), Johns Hopkins University, “retains its central position in the belief system of American journalists.”³⁸ As a “reflection of the current model” in American media, according to Laurence Jankowski (1994), Bowling Green State University in Ohio, social responsibility theory marks “a dramatic shift in the theoretical foundation of press freedom, from the individual to that of society.”³⁹ In addition, Altschull (1990) adds, “Following the Hutchins Commission report, social responsibility also became a yardstick for measuring journalism excellence.”⁴⁰

The degree to which the concept of social responsibility is embedded in the press is indicated by its influence on the research, operations, ethics and literature of the press. Writing for *Journalism Monographs* 30 years after publication of *A Free and Responsible Press* (1947), Margaret Blanchard (1977) notes that “the words within that slim volume find themselves repeated and sometimes even revered as having been wise beyond the time of their writing.” With “the responsibility thesis,” Blanchard concludes that the Commission “provided the goals for future aspirations.”⁴¹ Also writing in 1977, Bert Cross, journalism professor at the University of Idaho, Moscow, and a *Lewistown Morning Tribune* reporter, asserts that the Report “has had a profound influence on how we view the development and performance of the mass media and in our interpretation of communications law.”⁴²

Research theory. With the publication of *Four Theories of the Press* (1956), Siebert, Peterson and Schramm presented the Hutchins Commission concept of social responsibility as the prevailing model of the press in the United States.⁴³ Everett Rogers, University of New Mexico, and Steven Chaffee, Stanford University, assert in *Journalism Monographs* (1994) that *Four Theories* became “a basic framework for the macrosocial study of mass media systems.”⁴⁴ As Denis McQuail (1987) notes, it was the “first attempt at a comparative statement of

major theories of the press." As such, according to McQuail, former Gannett Center Senior Fellow at Columbia University, now at the University of Amsterdam, "it remains the major source and point of reference for work of this kind."⁴⁵ Blevens (1994) explains that "heavy imprints of the Hutchins conventions can be found in newspaper master plans, mid-career programs, textbooks and ethics manuals, leaving little doubt that the commission's proclivities and theory are shared widely by low journalism's editorial and educational functions."⁴⁶

Operations. According to J. Stanley Baran, San Jose State University, and Dennis K. Davis, University of North Dakota, in *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future* (1995), "many different news production practices have been developed in an effort to implement these ideas."⁴⁷ In response to Hutchins Commission criticism, according to Merrill, Lee and Friedlander (1994), "American journalists have worked quietly to clean up their own house." Merrill, et al., attribute as effects of the Hutchins Commission such trends as in-depth investigative reporting, background and interpretive articles, and attention to social issues.⁴⁸ John Vivian (1991) describes the Republican bias in directives from Chicago publishers William Randolph Hearst and Robert McCormick, who both repeatedly attacked Hutchins in the 1930s and 1940s, and contends that newspaper policies have changed with acceptance of the doctrine of social responsibility:

At the time of the Hutchins report, many newspapers blatantly used their whole editorial page, and sometimes their news columns, to advance one point of view to the exclusion of others. Today almost all newspapers confine opinion articles to the editorial page or label those that appear elsewhere in the paper.⁴⁹

Merrill, et al. (1994), Vivian (1991) and Slade (1980) all point to the establishment of opinion-editorial ("op-ed") pages as an effort to satisfy the Commission's call

for an increased range of opinion. Clyde "Sam" Slade, retired Oklahoma City journalist and college professor, asserts that the recommendations of the Commission "remain a blueprint for social accountability."⁵⁰

Ethics. As newspapers "have embraced many recommendations" of the Hutchins Commission, according to John Vivian in *The Media of Mass Communication* (1991), "the rhetoric of publishers and editors has shifted from an emphasis on press freedom to an emphasis on press responsibility."⁵¹ Because of the change in emphasis, Baran and Davis (1995) write, "when media practitioners are questioned about their work, most provide explanations that are based on social responsibility notions."⁵² As a result, Whetmore (1993) notes, "Social responsibility theory underpins most codes of media ethics."⁵³ Because "many of the values of social responsibility theory," such as the separation of news judgment from profitability concerns, "are taken for granted as desirable goals," James Lemert (1989) explains, "an important, consensually supported set of ethical guidelines automatically can be brought to bear on any of several identifiable kinds of news media 'violations' of responsibility."⁵⁴

Literature. In her 1992 dissertation on press theory, Elisabeth Schillinger found that "all texts concerning journalism history, law and/or ethics" cite social responsibility theory and/or *Four Theories*. It is thus the "point of departure," she argues, for any "American literature survey" of press theory. Schillinger's review of textbooks indicates that "the typology continues to enjoy a strong, scarcely-diminished presence in the mass communication discipline."⁵⁵ Although Schillinger does not specify the literature she surveyed, an independent review for this study found reference to social responsibility in all but one mass communication book. It is not mentioned in *Milestones in Mass Communication Research* (1988) by Lowery and DeFleur, but it is cited in eight other theory textbooks and five journalism history textbooks. It is cited in all 11 introduction

textbooks reviewed and all five media ethics textbooks reviewed.⁵⁶ Baran and Davis (1995) conclude that social responsibility theory “is taught to all people who complete training in journalism programs.”⁵⁷ However, in none of these references is Hutchins identified with any specificity beyond “University of Chicago educator,” “president” and/or “chancellor.”

Social responsibility theory has “proved quite durable,” according to Baran and Davis (1995), “even if its full implications are rarely understood by working journalists.”⁵⁸ Social responsibility “is a term devoid of meaning,” Altschull (1990) asserts, “a term whose content is so vague that almost any meaning can be placed upon it.”⁵⁹ Social responsibility has emerged “as a dominant concept,” Merrill and Odell (1983) conclude, “even though nobody seems to be in agreement as to what it really is”:

Just what does “social responsibility” mean as used by the Hutchins Commission and others who have become attached to this new theory? We cannot really answer this question. But one thing is certain: It does *not* mean libertarianism. . . . [I]t places . . . restrictions on the press. It is restrictive although its devotees do not stress the point. Instead of emphasizing freedom, it stresses responsibility to society.⁶⁰

Questions

Given the lack of synthesis between the bodies of knowledge concerning Hutchins' education philosophy and his press philosophy, as well as the lack of clarity concerning the philosophical foundation of the doctrine of social responsibility, four questions should be answered:

- What is the education philosophy of Hutchins?
- What is the press philosophy of Hutchins?
- Are there any similarities between the education philosophy and the press philosophy of Hutchins?
- And, given a comparison of the education philosophy and the press

philosophy of Hutchins, can we define the philosophical foundation on which the concept of social responsibility is based by defining its characteristics?

Even “well-meaning people,” Vivian (1991) asserts, “may differ honestly about how society is most responsibly served.”⁶¹ The literature suggests at least seven different operational definitions.

(1) Serve society's interests and needs. Most analysts agree with Joseph R. Dominick (1983), University of Georgia, that the press has “a responsibility to preserve democracy by properly informing the public and by responding to society's interests and needs.”⁶² A wide range of interpretations of social responsibility, however, seek to define media policies appropriate to achieving ill-defined interests and needs. When the Report was issued in 1947, the *Wall Street Journal* editorialized that “responsibility” as defined by the Commission “can mean something no different than censorship.” Responsibility in such terms would mean that “anyone expressing a dissenting opinion or reporting facts on the basis of which . . . opinion might be formed is 'rocking the boat'.”⁶³ Subsequent versions of this interpretation have been less vitriolic, but visions of social responsibility as a legitimizer of regulation, whether by government or an independent agency, remain among current views. “Social responsibility theory judges actions by the good effect they have on society,” Vivian (1991) explains. “Its most significant variation from traditional libertarianism is that decisions on media content originate with experts, like the members of the Hutchins Commission, rather than leaving such decisions entirely with the media.”⁶⁴ Shirley Biagi (1988) explains, “Someone who believes in the social responsibility theory believes that the press will do its job well only if periodically reminded about its duties.” Biagi concludes that “social responsibility theory advocates government oversight for media that don't act in society's best interest.”⁶⁵

(2) Maintain social stability. Another interpretation argues that “it is

socially responsible for news media to calm rather than ignite public fears.” Baran and Davis (1995) explain that journalists can “calm public fears and rumors that might otherwise create even more problems.”⁶⁶ Sloan (1990) asserts that “media are responsible to the culture, social system, and government in which they operate.”⁶⁷ And John Bittner (1977), University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, writes that the press has a social responsibility “to maintain the stability of society.”⁶⁸

(3) Ethical fairness. In an informal survey of mass communications students and professors, the vast majority by far identified social responsibility as ethical fairness, an interpretation supported by the literature. Michael Gamble, New York Institute of Technology, and Teri Kwal Gamble, College of New Rochelle, assert that “the press should be charged with the task of developing and enforcing ethics in the public interest.”⁶⁹ Jay Black, University of South Florida, St. Petersburg, and Frederick Whitney, San Diego State University, equate social responsibility with “fair,” “accurate” and “truthful.” Black and Whitney (1988) note that they “use the terms social responsibility and ethics almost interchangeably, because it is our belief that the members of institutions do have certain obligations to function in a socially responsible fashion and that, at base, ethics are manifestations of that social consciousness.”⁷⁰

(4) Pluralistic empowerment. Gamble and Gamble (1989) contend that social responsibility demands that media “ensure that all aspects of the political and social spectrum are covered.”⁷¹ Clifford Christians (1986) believes that “justice for the powerless stands at the centerpiece of a socially responsible press.” The test of whether or not the news profession fulfills its responsibility is determined by the degree of “its advocacy for those outside the socioeconomic establishment,” Christians explains. “Those who are in significant ways outside the community--economically, socially, or culturally different--need a voice.”⁷²

Baran and Davis (1995) suggest that this interpretation is “at the heart of the current debate over what some term political correctness and others regard as minority empowerment and cultural sensitivity.”⁷³

(5) Profit sacrifice. McQuail and Windahl (1981) argue that social responsibility requires the media “to satisfy minority tastes which might not be commercially viable.”⁷⁴ Bittner (1977) writes that, given this interpretation, “profits achieved at the expense of public service are taboo.”⁷⁵

(6) Extension of libertarianism. Because social responsibility “requires the mass media to adequately represent all hues of the social spectrum,” Black and Whitney (1988) argue, it is “an extension of libertarianism in that it seeks to protect free expression.”⁷⁶ Explaining that “there are two basic views about the nature of mankind,” Wood identifies two sets of philosophical assumptions:

One set of philosophies contends that people are inherently weak and subject to corruption and are therefore in need of a well-structured, disciplined society. This view of humankind leads to the establishment of a strong authoritarian government. . . . The opposing view of the human condition holds that people are rational, essentially fair and honest, and freedom-seeking. This philosophy leads to a less structured, less dominating libertarian governmental system.⁷⁷

Just as Soviet press theory is an adaptation of the authoritarian viewpoint, Wood argues that social responsibility is an adaptation of libertarianism “that takes into account some of the realities of the nature of human beings and of democracies today.”⁷⁸ This is the traditional interpretation of social responsibility as presented by Siebert, et al. (1956),⁷⁹ but there are those who see it as a regression to authoritarianism.

(7) Regression to authoritarianism. Arguing on the other hand that social responsibility “is a protective doctrine labeling humanity as lethargic,” Black and Whitney (1988) assert that, as such, “it has authoritarian overtones, because someone--the government, the media, or organizations of the public--is called

upon to see that the lethargic populace is prodded and served."⁸⁰ Louis Day (1991), Louisiana State University, contends, "The idea of social responsibility has developed as a counterpoint to libertarianism."⁸¹ Rather than an extension of libertarianism, then, some analysts find social responsibility to be what Black and Whitney (1988) term "only a slightly disguised version of authoritarianism."⁸² As Whetmore (1993) writes, "Calls for deregulation of the media usually rely on libertarian concepts, whereas pleas for responsible regulation draw from the theory of social responsibility."⁸³

"Only when the Commission on Freedom of the Press is placed within its broad social, economic and political context," Blanchard (1977) maintains, can "any reliable judgment" on social responsibility be made.⁸⁴ It has been two decades since Blanchard's monograph to that end, however, and the Commission's Report has not yet been placed in the comprehensive context of Hutchins' philosophical mindset. It is an issue that, as Udick (1993) declares, "beckons us to explore."⁸⁵ In fact, as Altschull (1990) cautions, "the question must remain as to whether the doctrine of social responsibility is a valid philosophical concept."⁸⁶

Significance

As Marshall and Rossman (1989) assert, "Research is worth doing if it builds knowledge,"⁸⁷ and the goal of this study is to build the knowledge bases of both higher education and mass communications with a comparative history of Hutchins' impact on these two fields. However, historical research also builds an informed foundation upon which to make decisions. "Historical research is the attempt to establish facts and arrive at conclusions concerning the past," according to Ary, et al. (1985), who explain the significance of interpretive

analysis:

[T]he historian draws conclusions regarding the past so as to increase our knowledge of how and why past events occurred and the process by which the past became the present. The hoped-for result is increased understanding of the present and a more rational basis for making present choices."⁸⁸

Significance in education

The work of Hutchins represents what Dzuback terms "a significant moment that merits study in the history of modern higher education."⁸⁹ The proposals Hutchins made for higher education remain timely because, although they met with fierce resistance at the time, they reach from the past with resurgent calls for a return to the humanities tradition of the Great Books. Conrad and Haworth (1990) note that a "traditionalist policy agenda has been recognized on American college and university campuses."⁹⁰ In *To Reclaim a Legacy* (1984), Bennett called for not only greater attention to basic skills acquisition and stronger methods of assessing student learning and development, but also the emphasis on humanities and the Great Books of Western civilization that were at the heart of the Hutchins Plan.⁹¹

Prompted by William Bennett (1984), Allan Bloom (1987), E.D. Hirsch (1987), Diane Ravitch (1988, 1990) and Lynne Cheney (1989), campuses nationwide are responding to what Conrad and Haworth term, "the reassertion of the intellectual and social value of the humanities and the traditional great books canon." Just as Hutchins argued some time ago, current calls for neohumanist curriculum reform, according to Conrad and Haworth, assert that "knowledge most worth knowing" in a democratic society is found in "those universal truths of Western civilization that have endured the test of time."⁹² These truths, the neohumanists argue, are best revealed in the humanities. "The humanities tell us

how men and women of our own and other civilizations have grappled with life's enduring questions," Bennett argues, in an echo of Hutchins. "We should want all students to know a common culture rooted in civilization's lasting vision, its highest shared ideals and aspirations and its heritage."⁹³ Furthermore, according to Bloom, if students are to learn the enduring truths of their common culture, higher education must provide programs based upon the "judicious use of great texts."⁹⁴ Although the fully prescribed curriculum of the Hutchins Plan survives in only a few small institutions, and even the general philosophy of the Hutchins Plan is embraced by less than a majority of institutions, well over a third of American institutions of higher education, according to El-Khawas (1986, 1987, 1988), now require the use of original texts in their humanities courses,⁹⁵ a practice upon which Hutchins insisted.

Significance in the press

Likewise, the proposals Hutchins made regarding the press reach from the past with resurgent calls from both the public and the press itself for more responsible media. "It is important," Altschull (1990) contends, "for every journalist and every student of journalism to examine his or her own philosophy and the ideas that fit into that philosophy."⁹⁶ And the ideas of Hutchins are at the foundation of American press philosophy. "Many media critics, following the Gulf War of 1991 and the American presidential campaign of 1992, according to Merrill, Lee and Friedlander (1994), "have reiterated the criticisms of the Hutchins Commission . . . [that] press freedom could be lost or lessened in the country through increased regulation or control of the press."⁹⁷ Baran and Davis (1995) add, "Recent changes in media technology and world politics make it reasonable to reassess the utility of social responsibility theory as currently applied." Reformulation of press theory appropriate to the future, Baran and

Davis contend, “will require a critical reexamination of social responsibility theory and careful consideration of alternatives.”⁹⁸

“As men's interpretations of history differ,” Kitson Clark (1967) posits, “so will their views about what policy should be followed in the future.” Whether the concern focuses on higher education curriculum or press theory, or both, everyone needs what Clark describes as “some conception of the past upon which he can rely if he is to talk about the present or plan for the future.”⁹⁹

Knowing that the past, particularly perceptions of the past, impact the present and the future, then, the greatest significance of this study lies in its contribution to understanding the past.

This study also meets the recommendations of Wichita State University Professor Philip Gaunt's “new directions” in research:

Several new directions in communication have already appeared, in particular a shift from the quantitative methods of the logical positivist approach to the qualitative methods of the interpretive or naturalistic approach. . . . increased research into rights, responsibilities, ethics and public policies. . . . [O]ur research should seek greater depth rather than width. . . . [We should] develop interdisciplinary research initiatives.¹⁰⁰

This study does take a “qualitative,” “interpretive” approach. It explores the philosophical foundation of social responsibility theory, which is at the root of “rights, responsibilities and ethics.” It seeks “depth rather than width,” and it seeks “interdisciplinary” synthesis of the knowledge bases of higher education and the press.

A grounded theory comparative analysis of Hutchins' education philosophy and his press philosophy can help define the philosophical foundation on which the concept of social responsibility is based. By conducting a comparative exploratory analysis of the history of Hutchins' work in education and the history of Hutchins' work in the press, his philosophical mindset, and

therefore the philosophical foundation on which the concept of social responsibility is based, can be defined in terms of its characteristics.

Notes

1. Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research* (Newberry Park CA: Sage, 1989).
2. John M. Pauly, "A Beginner's Guide to Doing Qualitative Research in Mass Communication," *Journalism Monographs* 125 (Feb. 1991).
3. Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 3d ed. (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1982 [1972, 1963]) 33. [Transaction Publishers is issuing a fourth edition in 1995. Kerr maintained his position that Hutchins was "the last of the giants" in a 1994 interview with Gonders.]
4. Mary Youatt Steinbauer, ed., "The 100 most important Americans of the 20th century," *Life* (Fall 1990, special issue). [Other educators include Edward L. Bernays (1891-1995), pioneer in public relations education; John Dewey (1859-1952), the most enduring and effective foe of Hutchins; and Abraham Flexner (1866-1959), whose call for a research focus in the university was the antithesis of Hutchins' philosophy. Also included was Hutchins' close friend, Henry Luce (1898-1967), the man who provided the bulk of Hutchins Commission funding.]
5. Edward Shils, "Robert Maynard Hutchins," in Shils, ed., *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 185.
6. Joseph Duffey, "A Thoreauvian Test of Hutchins' Faith in the Great Conversation," *The Center Magazine* (Jan./Feb. 1981) 3.
7. Benjamin McArthur, "Revisiting Hutchins and *The Higher Learning in America*," *History of Higher Education Annual* (1987) 15, 10.
8. W.B. Carnochan, *The Battleground of the Curriculum: Liberal Education and American Experience* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1993) 4.
9. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition, An American History: 1636-1956* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976) 214, 249, 252, 268, 274, 286-90, 293-4, 337.
10. Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961, two volumes). [Includes "Robert M. Hutchins Assesses the State of the Higher Learning, 1936" (pp. 924-40), "Harry D. Gideonse on Hutchins and Flexner, 1937" (pp. 941-8), "John Dewey on Hutchins' Philosophy of Education, 1937" (pp. 949-53), and "Hutchins on the President's Commission, 1948" (pp. 990-1002).]
11. William J. Bennett, *To Reclaim a Legacy: A Report on the Humanities in Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1984). [Bennett, former secretary of education, chaired the panel that prepared the 1984 report: William Arrowsmith, Emory classics professor; William M. Banks, University of California, Berkeley, Afro-American studies professor; Robert M. Berdahl, University of Oregon Arts and Sciences dean; Wayne C.

Booth, University of Chicago English professor; Mark H. Curtis, Association of American Colleges president; Roland Dille, Moorhead State president; Mary Maples Dunn, Bryn Mawr dean of undergraduates; Frances D. Ferguson, Bucknell academic affairs vice-president; Chester E. Finn, Jr., Vanderbilt education and public policy professor; Samuel R. Gammon, American Historical Association executive director; Hannah Gray, University of Chicago president; Karl Haigler, Heathwood Hall Upper School principal; Janice H. Harris, University of Wyoming associate dean; Beverly Harris-Schenz, University of Pittsburgh Arts and Sciences assistant dean; Paul Oskar Kristeller, Columbia professor emeritus of philosophy; Robert M. Longworth, Oberlin Arts and Sciences dean; Sister Candida Lund, Rosary College chancellor; John N. Moline, University of Wisconsin philosophy professor; Ciriaco Moron-Arroyo, Cornell Spanish and comparative literature professor; Philip M. Phibbs, University of Puget Sound president; Diane Ravitch, Columbia Teachers College history and education professor; Noel B. Reynolds, Brigham Young associate academic vice-president; David Riesman, Harvard professor emeritus of sociology; Frederick Rudolph, Williams history professor; David Savage, *Los Angeles Times*; John E. Sawyer, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation president; John R. Silber, Boston University president; Linda Spoerl, Highline Community College English professor; David H. Stewart, Texas A&M English professor; Donald M. Stewart, Spelman president; and Ewa Thompson, Rice Russian literature professor.]

12. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College & University: A History* (Athens GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990 [1962]) 279-82.

13. Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1965). [David S. Webster, associate professor of higher education at Oklahoma State University, and formerly on the faculty at the University of Pennsylvania, has been a review essay author and editor of higher education literature for a number of years. In 1991 discussions, Webster judged Veysey's book as "the most important" in the literature of the history of higher education.]

14. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution* (Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1968).

15. Paul Westmeyer, *A History of American Higher Education* (Springfield IL: Charles C Thomas, 1985) 105-7, 131.

16. Carnochan (1993) 5.

17. David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration: 1915-1940* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1986) 89-90, 95, 102-6, 118, 196.

18. Robert Paul Wolff, *The Ideal of the University* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1992 [Boston: Beacon Press, 1969]) 19, 85, 133.

19. Michael R. Harris, *Five Counterrevolutionists in Higher Education* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1970).

20. Gerald Grant and David Riesman, *The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1978) 15-7. [The other less enduring telic movements addressed by Grant and Riesman include the aesthetic-expressive, communal-expressive and activist-radical. In 1991 discussions, Webster described Riesman as America's "leading scholar of

higher education.”]

21. David S. Webster, “History of Higher Education,” lectures (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University, Fall 1991); Ben D. Duncan, professor of higher education, University of Central Oklahoma, a series of interviews by Gonders (Edmond OK, 1993-95).

22. Kerr (1963) 17, 20, 23, 31-3, 40.

23. Kerr, interview by Gonders (Jul. 1994).

24. Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 222-5. [Books Dzuback cited: Rivers, Schramm and Christians, *Responsibility in Mass Communications*, 3d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1980) 44; Garth Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976) 135. The article she cited: Karl E. Meyer, “A Message for the Media,” *New York Times* (10 May 1972) 47. The monograph she cited: Margaret Blanchard, “The Hutchins Commission, The Press and the Responsibility Concept,” *Journalism Monographs* 49 (May 1977).]

25. William H. McNeill, *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago, 1929-1950* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 123.

26. Harry S. Ashmore, *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989) 294. [Also see pp. 272, 293-8, 397, 495-6, 562.]

27. Hutchins, letter to Luce (7 Apr. 1947), cited in Ashmore (1989) 294. [Perhaps Hutchins referred to the divorce difficulties with which he dealt during the time of the Commission's deliberations.]

28. Milton Mayer (John H. Hicks, ed.), *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 255-8.

29. Ibid.

30. Mack Palmer, a series of discussions with Gonders (Norman OK, 1993).

31. John C. Merrill, *The Dialectic in Journalism: Toward a Responsible Use of Press Freedom* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989); Merrill, Lee and Friedlander, *Modern Mass Media*, 2d ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 1994); Merrill, *Global Journalism: A Survey of International Communication*, 2d ed. (New York: Longman, 1991); Lowenstein and Merrill, *Macromedia--Mission, Message, and Morality* (New York: Longman, 1990); Dennis and Merrill, *Basic Issues in Mass Communication* (New York: Macmillan, 1984); Merrill and Odell, *Philosophy and Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1983); Merrill, *The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy* (New York: Hastings House, 1974); Merrill and Lowenstein, *Media, Messages, and Men* (New York: David McKay, 1971).

32. Fred Blevens, “The Rise and Fall of a Middle Brow: Robert M. Hutchins's Victorian Influence on High Culture and Low Journalism,” a paper presented in the Qualitative Studies Division at the National Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Atlanta GA (10-13 Aug. 1994).

33. Melvin L. DeFleur and Everette E. Dennis, *Understanding Mass Communication*, 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991) 602.

34. William David Sloan, ed., *Makers of the Media Mind: Journalism Educators and Their Ideas* (Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1990) 149.

35. Robert Udick, "The Hutchins Paradox: Objectivity Versus Diversity," *Mass Communication Review* 20.3-4 (1993) 148.
36. Edward Jay Whetmore, *Mediamerica, Mediaworld: Form, Content, and Consequence of Mass Communication*, 5th ed. (Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1993 [1989]) 385.
37. Donald N. Wood, *Mass Media and the Individual* (St. Paul MN: West, 1983) 59.
38. Herbert J. Altschull, *From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1990) 287.
39. Laurence Jankowski, moderator, *Exploring the Mass Media: Theories of the Press* (Maumee OH: Bowling Green State University Instructional Video, 1994).
40. Altschull (1990) 297.
41. Blanchard (1977) 1, 52.
42. Bert Cross, "He Brought the Great Minds of the World Together," *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977) 38.
43. Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956).
44. Everett M. Rogers and Steven H. Chaffee, "Communication and Journalism from 'Daddy' Bleyer to Wilbur Schramm: A Palimpsest," *Journalism Monographs* 148 (Dec. 1994) 20. [An earlier version of this monograph was presented to the Communication Theory and Methodology Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Convention, Montreal (Aug. 1992).]
45. Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1987 [1983]) 111.
46. Blevens (1994) 14.
47. J. Stanley Baran and Dennis K. Davis, *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future* (Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1995) 102.
48. Merrill, Lee and Friedlander (1994) 322.
49. Vivian (1991) 82.
50. Clyde Melvin Slade, "Daily Newspapers and Social Accountability," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 5.2 (Win. 1980) 49, 51.
51. John Vivian, *The Media of Mass Communication* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1991) 82.
52. Baran and Davis (1995) 102.
53. Whetmore (1993) 385.
54. James B. Lemert, *Criticizing the Media: Empirical Approaches* (Newbury Park CA: Sage, 1989) 23.
55. Elisabeth Hupp Schillinger, "A dynamic theory of world press action and motivation: an integrative model," a doctoral dissertation (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University, 1992) 16-7.
56. Shearon A. Lowery and Melvin L. DeFleur, *Milestones in Mass Communication Research: Media Effects*, 2d ed. (New York: Longman, 1988 [1983]). [Theory: Baran and Davis (1995); Rogers, *A History of Communication Study* (New York: Free Press, 1994); McQuail (1987); Merrill and Odell (1983); Dominick, *The*

Dynamics of Mass Communication (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1983); Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); McQuail and Windahl (1981); Emery and Smythe, *Readings in mass communication: concepts and issues in the mass media*, 4th ed. (Dubuque IA: William C. Brown, 1980). History: Altschull (1990); Emery and Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978 [1954]); Hohenberg, *Free Press, Free People* (New York: Free Press, 1971 [1950]); Mott, *American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960*, 4th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1971 [1941]); Tebbel, *The compact history of the American newspaper* (New York: Hawthorn, 1963). Introduction: Straubhaar and LaRose, *Communications Media in the Information Society* (Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1996); Merrill, Lee and Friedlander (1994); Whetmore (1993); Becker and Roberts, *Discovering Mass Communication*, 3d ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 1992); Vivian (1991); Agee, Ault and Emery, *Introduction to Mass Communications*, 10th ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 1991); Gamble and Gamble, *Introducing Mass Communication*, 2d ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989 [1986]); Black and Whitney, *Introduction to Mass Communication*, 2d ed. (Dubuque IA: William C. Brown, 1988); Biagi, *Media/Impact: An Introduction to Mass Media* (Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1988); Bittner, *Mass Communication: An Introduction*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1986 [1977]); Harless, *Mass Communication: An Introductory Survey* (Dubuque IA: William C. Brown, 1985). Ethics: Patterson and Wilkins, *Media Ethics: Issues and Cases*, 2d ed. (Madison WI/Dubuque IA: Brown & Benchmark, 1994 [1991]); Christians, Ferre and Fackler, *Good News: Social Ethics and the Press* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Day, *Ethics in Media Communications: Cases and Controversies* (Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1991); Rivers, Schramm and Christians, *Responsibility in Mass Communication* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980 [1969]); Swain, *Reporters' Ethics* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1978).]

57. Baran and Davis (1995) 102.
58. Ibid., 76.
59. Altschull (1990) 285.
60. Merrill and Odell (1983) 160-1.
61. Vivian (1991) 381.
62. Dominick (1983) 307.
63. "Free Means Free," *Wall Street Journal* (7 Apr. 1947) 6.
64. Vivian (1991) 383, 336-8.
65. Biagi (1988) 15.
66. Baran and Davis (1995) 315.
67. Sloan (1990) 340.
68. Bittner (1977) 374.
69. Gamble and Gamble (1989) 102.
70. Black and Whitney (1988) 578, 575.
71. Gamble and Gamble (1989) 102.
72. Christians (1986) 110. [See Patterson and Wilkins (1994) 146.]
73. Baran and Davis (1985) 80-1.
74. McQuail and Windahl (1981) 91.

75. Bittner (1977) 374.
76. Black and Whitney (1988) 535.
77. Wood (1983) 34, 54.
78. Ibid.
79. Siebert, et al. (1956).
80. Black and Whitney (1988) 607.
81. Day (1991) 33.
82. Black and Whitney (1988) 597.
83. Whetmore (1993) 385.
84. Blanchard (1977) 2.
85. Udick (1993) 154.
86. Altschull (1990) 285.
87. Marshall and Rossman (1989) 22.
88. Donald Ary, Lucy Cheser Jacobs and Asghar Razavieh, *Introduction to Research in Education*, 3d ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985) [1972]) 331.
89. Dzuback (1991) xi.
90. Clifton E. Conrad and Jennifer Grant Haworth, eds., *Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience* (Needham Heights MA: Ginn Press, ASHE Reader Series, 1990) 4.
91. Bennett (1984).
92. Conrad and Haworth (1990) 5. [See Bennett (1984); Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987); Hirsch, *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987); Hirsch, Katt and Trefil, *Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1993); Ravitch, "A Response to Michael's Apple," *Teachers College Record* 90.1 (1988) 128-30; Ravitch, "Multiculturalism: E Pluribus Plures," *American Scholar* (Sum. 1990); Cheney, *50 Hours: A Core Curriculum for College Students* (Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1989).]
93. Bennett (1984) 6.
94. Bloom (1987) 4.
95. E. El-Khawas, *Campus Trends, 1986*, Higher Education Panel Reports No. 75 (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1986). Also see El-Khawas, *Campus Trends, 1987*, Higher Education Panel Reports No. 76 (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1987); El-Khawas, *Campus Trends, 1988*, Higher Education Panel Reports No. 78 (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1988).
96. Altschull (1990) 3.
97. Merrill, Lee and Friedlander (1994) 319.
98. Baran and Davis (1995) 103.
99. G. Kitson Clark, *The Critical Historian* (New York: Basic Books, 1967) 5, 9.
100. Philip Gaunt, "The Future of Communication Research," in Gaunt, ed. (1992) 11-16.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

This is a grounded theory comparative analysis, a strategy with elements characteristic of several different methodologies. To compare Hutchins' education philosophy and his press philosophy, grounded theory categories were developed during the information-gathering process in order to identify any similarities. The primary method of information-gathering was the critical analysis of primary and secondary textual sources, supported by additional primary sources available via personal correspondence and interviews.

Guidelines concerning qualitative research in general were considered, as well as guidelines for developing grounded theory categories during the exploratory process of gathering qualitative data. In addition, guidelines concerning those specific types of qualitative studies that share characteristics with this study were considered. In order to write a history of Hutchins and the philosophies from the past that influenced his work, historical research methodology was considered. Because critical textual analysis, the primary method of information-gathering, was supported by personal correspondence and interviews, oral history methodology was also considered. This is not to imply that this study is an archival history, an oral history, or a critical textual analysis per se; it is a grounded theory comparative analysis that takes into account guidelines from other methodologies that can strengthen the processes of exploratory information-gathering and interpretation.

Strategy

The validity of inductive reasoning is threatened by the difficulty of controlling against confounding variables. Inferences from the data gathered in tightly controlled behavioral research can be made with much greater confidence, but with limited depth. In fact, as Michael Real, author of *Super Media: A Cultural Studies Approach* (1989), notes, "it is precisely the confounding variables excluded from empirical studies that demand attention."¹ For this reason, there is a trend toward interpretive qualitative research. "Over the last 20 years," notes John Pauly (1991), "mass communication research has often taken the interpretive turn--toward problems of meaning and qualitative methods, away from problems of causation and statistics."² Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman (1989) explain how such an exploratory study is driven:

The researcher begins with interesting, curious, or anomalous phenomena, which he observes, discovers, or stumbles across. Not unlike the detective work of Sherlock Holmes or the best tradition in investigative reporting, research seeks to explain, describe, or explore the phenomenon chosen for study.³

This study did indeed begin with such "interesting, curious, or anomalous phenomena," the fact that both education and the press are influenced by the philosophies of Hutchins while absent from each field is any substantial consideration of his philosophy in the other field. Furthermore, this study does indeed seek "to explain, describe, or explore" any similarities between Hutchins' education philosophy and his press philosophy.

"Social research, in simplest terms," Charles Ragin, author of *Constructing Social Research* (1994), explains, "involves a dialogue between *ideas* and *evidence*." Analysis is the key to this dialogue, and synthesis is the key to meaning in the dialogue. "Analysis means breaking phenomena into their constituent parts and

viewing them in relation to the whole they form,” Ragin writes. “These elements can be viewed in isolation from one another, and they can be understood in the context of the other parts.” The first step in this study was thus to isolate the traits of Hutchins’ philosophy and the concepts that influenced it. Synthesis, the counterpart to analysis, “involves putting pieces together to make sense of them,” Ragin continues, “making connections among elements that at first glance may seem unrelated.”⁴ To determine any similarities between Hutchins’ education philosophy and his press philosophy, therefore, a grounded theory approach was appropriate to synthesize the information from the two fields.

Grounded Theory

In *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss pioneered a “constant comparative” research strategy for codifying the analytic process.⁵ Other qualitative researchers contributed to development of the strategy,⁶ and in 1983 Kathy Charmaz outlined the parameters of a working model of grounded theory:

- Data collection and analysis proceed simultaneously.
- Data is scrutinized for patterns, inconsistencies, and intended and unintended consequences.
- Data that may at first appear to be a mass of confusing, unrelated accounts is sorted into meaningful categories.
- Variations of this technique can be developed by each researcher.⁷

Charmaz’s guidelines are applicable to this study, in which there were masses of information filled with “patterns, inconsistencies, contradictions,” for which new categories frequently presented themselves.

Frey, Botan, Friedman and Kreps (1991), as well as Ragin (1994), have further developed grounded theory strategy. Ragin refers to “categories” as “images” and explains that an image “is the product of the effort to bring

coherence to data by linking bits of evidence in meaningful ways.” Ragin argues that images “often imply motives or say something about causation”:

Images are formed from evidence in order to make sense of the evidence, summarize it, and relate it back to the ideas that first motivated the collection of evidence. . . . Most images imply or embody explanations. Most explanations are causal, which means simply that they offer accounts of why things are the way they are, emphasizing connections among different phenomena.⁸

“Generalizations are grounded in or inferred from the data collected,” Frey, et al., caution, “rather than being imposed on the data from another source.”⁹

Although skepticism should reign concerning causal assumptions, it is true that, as patterns develop, images or patterns tend to “imply explanations” or motives.

An ERIC search of research projects indicates that at least 55 grounded theory studies in the field of education were conducted between 1992 and 1995. In addition, Clifton Conrad (1990), professor of higher education, University of Wisconsin, provides an example of the application of grounded theory in academe. The constant comparative method, according to Conrad, can be applied to the emergence of a grounded theory of academic change as an alternative to existing models of academic change. Several major processes have thus been identified which link pressures for change and a policy decision to change.¹⁰

Exploratory methods of gathering qualitative data

“Qualitative research is often less structured than other kinds of social research,” Ragin (1994) explains. “The investigator initiates a study with a certain degree of openness to the research subject and what may be learned from it.” In this vein of thought, this study was necessarily exploratory in order to clarify key aspects of Hutchins' philosophies and to correct possible misrepresentations concerning his philosophies, precisely the goals Ragin describes when he contrasts quantitative data techniques as “data condensers” against qualitative

methods as “data enhancers” which often serve to “correct misrepresentations or to offer new representations of the research subject.”¹¹ Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh (1985) also note that exploratory analysis “may lead to the discovery of previously unsuspected relationships.”¹² This study used a grounded theory approach to discovering such “previously unsuspected relationships” between Hutchins' education philosophy and his press philosophy. Because this is a study of the history of Hutchins' work, guidelines for historical research were helpful. Because critical textual analysis, the primary method of information-gathering for the development of comparative categories, was supported by personal correspondence and interviews, it was also helpful to understand the methodology of oral history.

Historical studies

Ragin (1994) notes that “qualitative research is especially appropriate for several of the central goals of social research,” including inferences of “historical or cultural significance”:

How we think about an important event or historic episode affects how we understand ourselves or a society. . . . Methods that help us see things in new ways facilitate this goal of interpreting and re-interpreting significant historical events.¹³

With the same line of reasoning, William David Sloan (1990) asks what journalism history has to do with how journalism is practiced today:

The answer is, almost everything. . . . Everything that exists is the outcome, in some way, of what occurred before. The way every person behaves is the product of earlier influences. . . . How contemporary journalists perform, what attitudes they hold, and what outlooks they adopt are influenced to a considerable degree by the lessons of history. . . . How people perceive the past is determined to a large degree by how historians explain it.¹⁴

Unfortunately, there are deficiencies in the history of the press. Historical interpretations suffer from what Sloan calls “superficiality,” “oversimplification”

and “acute present-mindedness” because there has been “a compulsion to view journalism from only one point of view, that of journalism.”¹⁵ Such are the deficiencies in the interpretations of social responsibility theory when it is not viewed in the context of the philosophical mindset external to the press of at least one of the concept's chief architects, and such may also be the case, as Sloan asserts, with the two most widely referenced journalism history textbooks, those by Mott and Emery.

Frank Luther Mott, Pulitzer Prize winner for *History of American Magazines* (1939), was director of the University of Iowa School of Journalism and later dean of journalism at the University of Missouri, Columbia. Sloan notes that Mott's *American Journalism, A History* (1941) was “the most widely used of the early textbooks,” revised three times in 1950, 1962 and 1971. Sloan contends that Emery's *The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media* (1954) has been the most widely used textbook on journalism history since the 1970s.¹⁶ Edwin Emery, then with the University of Minnesota School of Journalism, originally co-authored *The Press and America* with Henry Ladd Smith. Emery's son, Michael, began assisting with revisions in 1972, became co-author in 1978 and senior author with the sixth edition published in 1988. Michael Emery is department chair at California State University, Northridge.¹⁷

Communication is often taught without in-depth consideration of its roots, according to Everett Rogers, chair of the University of New Mexico Department of Communication and Journalism. “One result of this ahistorical nature of many communication courses today is that most students of communication do not know where their field came from,” Rogers (1988, 1994) contends. Assuming a change in posture that may rectify this error of omission, mass communications research is increasingly “looking toward its past” in order to “understand its present and future.”¹⁸ In fact, a trend toward historical

research in mass communications is indicated by the presence of no less than 15 such studies among doctoral dissertations in journalism that were successfully defended in 1993; among the advisers for these historical studies were such prominent media scholars as Hanno Hardt of the University of Iowa, Margaret Blanchard of the University of North Carolina, and James Carey of the University of Illinois.¹⁹ Shearon Lowery and Melvin DeFleur's *Milestones in Mass Communication Research*, according to Rogers (1988), "is an important indicator of this trend to looking backward to where we have come."²⁰ Other recent communication histories include Czitrom's *Media and the American Mind* (1982) and Rogers' *A History of Communication Study* (1994). Rogers says these recent books concentrate more on context than on content.²¹

As with the history of the press, there are deficiencies in the literature of the history of higher education, not the least of which is that little has been covered since the early 1960s. The first attempt at chronicling the history of American higher education began in 1875 with Andrew Ten Brook's *American State Universities, their Origin and Progress*,²² followed 31 years later in 1906 by Charles Thwing's *A History of Higher Education in America*.²³ John Brubacher's *Higher Education in Transition, An American History* was first published more than a half-century later in 1958; Brubacher and Rudy issued a revised edition in 1976.²⁴ In 1961, Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith published the two-volume *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, an annotated collection of documents by prominent figures in higher education.²⁵ Frederick Rudolph's *The American College & University: A History* was first published in 1962; it was reissued without revision in 1990, but with a new introduction and an addendum to the bibliography, both by editor John Thelin, then a professor of higher education at the College of William & Mary.

Thelin (1990) notes criticisms applicable to Rudolph, whose emphasis is

on the traditional campus; he tends to emulate the “ideal,” with “little to say about engineering schools, community colleges, teachers colleges, Catholic colleges, and black colleges.” Rudolph relies on institutional histories, which, Thelin explains, were “written from the top down,” and his writing style “is anecdotal.”²⁶ In a 1990 *Review of Higher Education* essay, Webster observes, “While Rudolph's book is, in general, an exceptionally entertaining work of scholarship, he seems constitutionally incapable of resisting a charming anecdote, even (especially?) when the behavior it describes is strange and sheds little light on the topic he is discussing.” Webster builds his case by pointing out Rudolph's accounts of 19th-century college life that emphasize calamities, bizarre events, and incidents of student and faculty misbehavior.²⁷

Thelin (1990) explains that the record has been expanded very little since 1962, arguing that, subsequent to Rudolph, “analysis is horizontal, focusing on a significant question.” Intellectual history, Thelin contends, “has been markedly underdeveloped.”²⁸ He does, however, recommend Veysey's *The Emergence of the American University* (1965). In addition, *The Academic Revolution* by Jencks and Riesman was published in 1968, and *A History of American Higher Education* by Westmeyer was published in 1985.²⁹

Given deficiencies in the histories of the press and higher education, advice from general historians seems in order. *The Development of Historiography* (1967), edited by Matthew Fitzsimons, Alfred Pundt and Charles Nowell, provides a history of the methodology of historiography, and *The Modern Researcher* (1970) by Jacques Barzun (a close associate of Hutchins) and Henry Graff provides “how-to” advice.³⁰ However, the guidelines most applicable to this study are provided by G. Kitson Clark in *The Critical Historian* (1967). Every effort was made in this study, not only to describe Hutchins' activities in the context of the times, but to probe for the meaning that Clark asserts can be found

only through “interpretation of the facts.” A “fact,” he insists, “is not history.” It is, rather, “only the framework on which history can rest.” He contends that “motives must be supplied to the actors” in order to “to forge a coherent story out of the disconnected pieces of separately recorded information.”³¹ As the available information on Hutchins was synthesized, it was thus important to look for evidence of motives, or in this case, evidence of the influences that led to the development of his philosophical mindset, particularly in regard to similarities between his education philosophy and his press philosophy. Clark adds that historians “are constantly probing and reinterpreting what was reasonably accepted as fact, and both cancelling old beliefs and discovering new and significant facts.”³² In this study, the discovery of significant facts from Hutchins' work in education could alter understanding of his press proposals, and vice versa. There may thus be some effect on “what was reasonably accepted as fact.”

In *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence* (1969), Robin Winks asserts that history is “a story that employs all the devices of literary art (statement and generalization, narration and description, comparison and comment and analogy).” He concludes that historiography is a “blend of fact and interpretation.”³³ Recognizing, therefore, that some degree of opinion is inevitable in the process of interpreting any historical “story,” every effort was made in this study to corroborate conclusions among higher education analysts and to corroborate conclusions among press analysts before grouping images into grounded theory categories.

Comparative critical analysis

The primary method of constructing the historical record on which this study's comparisons are based was comparative critical analysis of the literature. An ERIC search of research projects indicates that at least 117 critical analysis

studies in the field of education were conducted between 1992 and 1995. In addition, Blevens used critical textual analysis for “The Rise and Fall of a Middle Brow . . .,” a paper presented at the 1994 AEJMC convention.³⁴ And Michael Harris (1970), director of the Institute in Higher Education and assistant dean in the Claremont Graduate School, used critical analysis of their writings and speeches to explore the ideas of five leading “counterrevolutionists” of higher education; Harris’ critical textual analysis is enhanced by interviews with Hutchins and Alexander Meiklejohn.³⁵ Similarly, critical textual analysis in this study of Hutchins was supported by personal correspondence and interviews with available primary sources. However, the richest store of information was found in the four recent biographies of Hutchins, as well as consideration of the early critical reception these biographies received.³⁶

Comparison of biographies. Given his barbed wit and bold irreverence, it is a shame Hutchins never wrote an autobiography. Harry Ashmore, among others, encouraged him to do so. “His not entirely facetious response was that he had been brought up to tell the truth and to respect the sensibilities of his friends and associates,” Ashmore wrote of Hutchins, “and it was not possible to do both.” His only regret was “he would have no use for the title he had conceived . . . *The Skunk at the Garden Party*.”³⁷ Because Hutchins regularly antagonized and outraged the powerful and privileged, it would have been an appropriate title. However, four biographies published between 1989 and 1993 combine a wealth of personal and archival sources, as well as analyses from both firsthand and distanced perspectives. Hutchins joined the Yale Corporation in 1923 at age 24, he was made dean of the Yale Law School at age 29 before he had passed the bar exam, and he became president of the University of Chicago at age 30. He soon encountered the first of his future biographers and, in a 1933 interview for *Forum* magazine, Milton Mayer began gathering information that would be published

60 years later as a biography. In 1934, William McNeill was admitted to Chicago's undergraduate College in its fourth year under Hutchins, and he was appointed to the history faculty in 1947 when Hutchins was on a leave of absence during which the Commission Report was published. The Report brought Hutchins to the attention of Arkansas newspaper editor Ashmore. After Hutchins left Chicago in 1951, he worked with Mayer and Ashmore during his philanthropy years until his death in 1977. Mayer died in 1986 when Mary Ann Dzuback, the fourth biographer, was a doctoral candidate at Columbia Teachers College.

A search for listings of reviews in *Book Review Digest* and *Book Review Index* illustrates the early critical reception these biographies received. Reviews include 12 of Ashmore's book, nine of Dzuback's, and six of McNeill's. All reviews of McNeill's book are combined reviews of his and Dzuback's books. Perhaps because it was published more recently than Ashmore's (1989), Dzuback's (1991) and McNeill's (1991), no reviews of Mayer's (1993) book are listed except among the brief critiques provided for acquisition librarians.³⁸

Unseasonable Truths . . . (1989), the first of the four biographies, the longest, and the volume most touched with loyal bias, was written by Harry Ashmore, a Pulitzer Prize-winning author/editor of 13 other books. *Unseasonable Truths* is grounded in a letter Hutchins wrote to lifelong friend Thornton Wilder in 1954: "I discovered in Scotland that in 1648 the General Assembly of the Kirk . . . addressed itself . . . to the sins included in the Ninth Commandment. One of them is 'speaking the truth unseasonably.' You will recognize this as a sin I have been committing all my life."³⁹ Building on that premise, Ashmore has penned a compelling argument that Hutchins was repeatedly right but ill-timed. Ashmore argues the "unseasonable truths" hypothesis well, but with bias. Characterizing Hutchins as "witty," "handsome," "courageous," "candid" and "striking," Ashmore paints a portrait that mutes such negative adjectives as "caustic,"

“superficial,” “arrogant,” “sophomoric,” “naive” and “stubborn” that other biographers use to describe the more provoking side of Hutchins. Ashmore says Hutchins treated women with good-mannered formality, but Mayer contends that “it was not the attention or attentiveness given recognized equals.”⁴⁰ Whereas Mayer writes that Hutchins neglected his daughters, who “were nearly always left to the mercies of nannies,”⁴¹ Ashmore concludes more kindly that “he was never a stern disciplinarian.”⁴²

Of the 12 reviews of Ashmore's *Unseasonable Truths*, six are anywhere from favorable to extremely favorable, four are mixed, containing praise and criticism in roughly equal measure, and two are unfavorable.⁴³ No reviews compare Ashmore's book with the other biographies.

Favorable reviews of Ashmore's book include one by Daniel Aaron, professor emeritus of English at Harvard, who says Ashmore's book is “thoroughly researched and mercifully uncluttered.”⁴⁴ Burton Bledstein, historian at the University of Illinois, Chicago, thinks “the unflappable public surface of the man takes on some texture” in *Unseasonable Truths*. “What Ashmore contributes is a significant amount of detail to make possible a better informed assessment of the man's career.”⁴⁵ Leon Botstein, president of Bard College, thinks Ashmore “has written an eloquent and sensitive portrait of Hutchins,” adding that it “will remain a wonderful primary source of its own, due to the enormous number of interviews Ashmore used and to his own association with Hutchins.”⁴⁶ J. David Hoeveler, Jr., University of Wisconsin history department, calls Ashmore's book “engaging and informative,”⁴⁷ and Robert McCaughey, dean of the faculty at Barnard College, considers it “a serviceable biography.”⁴⁸

The mixed reviews include one by Joseph Epstein, editor of the *American Scholar*, who thinks the Ashmore book comes close to being definitive factually,

but less than definitive psychologically. Epstein says Ashmore probably overestimates the importance of Hutchins' years at the Center.⁴⁹ Benjamin McArthur, Southern College of Seventh-day Adventists in Tennessee, calls the book "well-crafted if not inspired" and "well-researched," but he complains that it does not deal adequately with Hutchins' thought or with ideas in general.⁵⁰ James Redfield, professor in the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago, finds the book "intelligently written, based on much reading and archival research," and "altogether a creditable piece of work," but he criticizes it for being "a book about what Hutchins said and what was said of him. It has much less to say about what he did--particularly during his years at Chicago."⁵¹

Of the unfavorable reviews, Dennis O'Brien, in *Commonweal*, faults Ashmore for providing much information about things of secondary importance in Hutchins' life, without really dealing with the things of primary importance.⁵² European intellectual George Steiner thinks Ashmore "lists many of the facts, but the spirit eludes him."⁵³

Because most studies of Hutchins focus on the Chicago years, Ashmore's 14 chapters on the Center stand as the most comprehensive record of Hutchins' last 18 years. Whereas Ashmore provides the most detail concerning Hutchins' 1952-77 years, other authors concentrate more on the 1929-51 Chicago years, particularly Dzuback and McNeill in their volumes published in the University of Chicago Press collection of "Centennial Publications."⁵⁴

Mary Ann Dzuback's . . . *Portrait of an Educator* (1991) was expanded from the author's doctoral dissertation at Columbia Teachers College. Dzuback is now an assistant professor of education at Washington University in St. Louis. Her book may be less entertaining than Ashmore's book. It is, however, objective and well-organized, and its beginning contains the most straightforward of the descriptions of Hutchins' early life, establishing such proclivities as his obsessive

search for order. Dzuback's book received some high praise, but it was also the target of the two most savage reviews received by any of the biographies.⁵⁵

Of the reviews that praise Dzuback's book, Martin Bulmer, reader in social administration at the University of London School of Economics and Political Science, calls it "an admirable work, well crafted and thoroughly researched, the standard biography of this most significant American educator."⁵⁶ Hugh Hawkins, professor of history at Amherst College, considers it "thoroughly researched" and "particularly valuable in showing why, though Hutchins was taken so seriously in his day, few of his efforts had lasting institutional consequences."⁵⁷ Philip Reed Rulon, historian at Northern Arizona University, concludes that "Dzuback has written the best book in print on Hutchins."⁵⁸

In two mixed reviews, Philip Altbach, then director of the Comparative Education Center and professor of education at the State University of New York, Buffalo, calls Dzuback's book more substantive than McNeill's, but he complains that it does not tell the reader much about the internal politics of the University of Chicago.⁵⁹ John V. Richardson, Jr., Graduate School of Library and Information Science at the University of California, Los Angeles, praises the editing, index and photographs in Dzuback's book, as well as its bibliographic "Notes on Sources," but he laments that it ignores Hutchins' "interaction with the various academic disciplines except for political sciences, sociology, and history."⁶⁰

Of the unfavorable reviews of Dzuback's book, Jurgen Herbst, who teaches education at the University of Wisconsin, writes that, while it is "a competently crafted and thoroughly readable biography . . . it leaves unexplained and unanswered too many pertinent questions."⁶¹ Two other reviewers criticized Dzuback's book severely, one of them neohumanist Allan Bloom who might be expected to revere the neoclassicism of Hutchins that Dzuback questions. Bloom, then professor of social thought at Chicago, writes:

Professor Dzuback is utterly beneath the issues and is reduced to recounting the details of Hutchins's career, which can only be of interest to people who already know a lot about him and recognize that he is somehow important. . . . She simply does not know enough to give an adequate account of the serious motives behind Hutchins's words and deeds."⁶²

Thomas A. Brindley, University of Alabama, Huntsville, quotes Dzuback at one point and comments, "How absurd!" Then he quotes her again and bristles, "such a fatuous assertion!"⁶³

Dzuback records a fair comparison of achievements and failures during Hutchins' post-Chicago years, when he pursued "a perfect institutional form in which to conduct intellectual work."⁶⁴ Because it is not the intended focus of her book, however, her treatment of this period pales in comparison to that of both Ashmore and Mayer. Dzuback concentrates on the Chicago years, and Ashmore emphasizes the post-Chicago years, but both provide comprehensive coverage of the life of Hutchins. McNeill, on the other hand, limits his scope to the 21 years Hutchins was at Chicago.

William McNeill's *Hutchins University...* (1991) provides the perspectives of both a student and a teacher under the Plan. McNeill received his B.A. (1938) and M.A. (1939) from the University of Chicago, where he taught history from 1947 until his recent retirement. McNeill, like Ashmore, indulges in some fond reminiscences. "Because it was so wonderful and vibrant," McNeill recalls, "Hutchins college always hovered on the edge of the absurd."⁶⁵ However, McNeill's assessment appears to be that of the objective historian he is. His book is as well-organized as the Dzuback biography. In fact, his story proceeds chronologically, compared to the topical arrangement of the other biographies, with the dates indicated in chapter titles.

Brindley, who severely criticized Dzuback's book, gave McNeill's book a favorable appraisal. "McNeill provides a more comprehensive overview of the

University of Chicago to include the disciplines and the schools of science, theology, and medicine, among others," Brindley writes.⁶⁶ Hawkins also prefers McNeill's book to Dzuback's, asserting that "McNeill's account demonstrates what excellent results can follow when a senior historian ventures into the 'specialty' of academic history."⁶⁷

In a mixed review, Altbach contends that "McNeill's memoir is a somewhat breezy account of the Hutchins years and his own participation during this period. It is informative although light on detail and analysis."⁶⁸ In another mixed review, Bulmer thinks that "McNeill's essay, though termed a memoir, is scarcely that," since "he relies more on the recollections of others and some archival research than on his own direct experience."⁶⁹

As for Bloom, he is almost as critical of McNeill, his colleague on the Chicago faculty, as of Dzuback. He complains, for example, that "both authors echo the fashionable view" that Hutchins' idea of the canon "excludes non-Western and other kinds of diverse voices." Bloom writes that neither author realizes Hutchins was "an extreme critic of specialization and one who doubted the coherence of the intellectual vision of . . . specialists and the moral goodness of the progress of science."⁷⁰

Milton Mayer's *Memoir* (1993), compared to the three preceding accounts, provides the most balanced coverage of Hutchins' entire life. Whereas McNeill and Dzuback focus on the Chicago years, and Ashmore disproportionately emphasizes the post-Chicago years, Mayer balances the coverage of each era with the firsthand knowledge of a participant who worked closely with him for more than 40 of Hutchins' 56 professional years. An educator and journalist, Mayer was an aide to Hutchins at Chicago, an assistant professor of classics at the University of Chicago, academic director of the Great Books Foundation, and an associate at both the Ford Foundation and the Center. He wrote for the

Associated Press, the *Chicago Post* and the *Chicago American*. His essays were published in *Harper's*, *Forum*, *Reporter* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. He was a contributing editor at *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Negro Digest* and *The Progressive*, and he wrote several books. The objectivity of the two-sided appraisal written by Dzuback, who never met Hutchins, is matched by Mayer, the biographer who knew Hutchins longest. Of Mayer and Hutchins, John Hicks writes, "Differing much, they shared much."⁷¹ Hicks, who retired from the University of Massachusetts English Department, worked with Mayer for several years composing the manuscript and edited the nearly finished biography after Mayer died in 1986. Mayer participated in most of the events recorded in his book, he conducted three lengthy interviews with Hutchins in 1973, and, Hicks notes, he "had his subject's full cooperation and approval."⁷²

Both of the acquisition critiques of Mayer's book recognize the balance in this firsthand account. In a *Booklist* review, Angus Trimnell (1993) recommends Mayer's "admiring and personal but still critical fashion" as "quite readable" and "strongly recommended."⁷³ In a *Library Journal* review, A.J. Anderson (1993) writes that "Mayer is no hagiographer." Although Mayer "holds his scales fairly even," Anderson predicts that readers "will delight in this sympathetic account of a friendship and association that lasted 40 years."⁷⁴

Additional literature. Biographical comparisons of Hutchins' philosophical mindset as conceptualized in the Hutchins Plan are supported by the work of Boucher and Brumbaugh, written when Hutchins was trying to institutionalize the Plan, as well as, more recently, Shils, all three associates of Hutchins who witnessed the events in Chicago firsthand. *The Chicago Plan* (1935) by Chauncey Samuel Boucher, formerly University of Chicago dean of the College and later chancellor of the University of Nebraska, was revised and enlarged in 1940, after 10 years of operation, by A.J. Brumbaugh, then dean of the

College.⁷⁵ In recognition of the University's centennial year in 1992, Edward Shils, sociology professor then concurrently affiliated with the University of Chicago and Cambridge University in England, invited a group of notable scholars and scientists to reflect upon some of their own teachers and colleagues at the University of Chicago. The 47 essays in the Shils collection, *Remembering the University of Chicago* (1991), focus on the second and third generation of faculty members who served from 1920 to 1970.

Frey, et al. (1991), define primary sources of information as “firsthand, eyewitness accounts of historical events.”⁷⁶ Given that definition, the biographers, with the exception of Dzuback, as well as a number of other writer-observers, can be considered primary sources. When Hutchins arrived at Chicago in late 1929, Boucher was dean of the general education undergraduate College in which Hutchins tried to institute his Plan, and Brumbaugh succeeded Boucher soon thereafter. McNeill was a student under the Hutchins Plan early in Brumbaugh's tenure as dean, and both McNeill and Shils were on the faculty under the Plan. Ashmore worked with Hutchins throughout the quarter-century after Chicago, and Mayer worked closely with Hutchins from the mid-1930s shortly after Hutchins' arrival in Chicago until a few years before his death when, despite ill health, he granted Mayer a series of interviews in 1973.

Other students under the Plan who have recorded firsthand memoirs include Gabriel Almond who wrote an essay on Charles Edward Merriam, Judge Robert Bork who wrote an essay on Edward Levi, and George Reedy, then a journalism professor at Marquette University, who recalled his undergraduate days at Chicago in a letter to Vesta Hutchins in 1977 on the occasion of her husband's death. Among other essayists in the Shils collection, Leo Rosten wrote about Harold Lasswell, and Kameschwar C. Wali wrote about Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar.⁷⁷

Other faculty members under the Plan who have recorded firsthand memoirs include Shils himself who wrote essays about Hutchins and Robert Park.⁷⁸ Former Dean F. Champion Ward (1992) wrote "A Requiem for the Hutchins College," and David Riesman wrote an essay in 1992 on his teaching days at Chicago.⁷⁹

Concerning the post-Chicago years, Dwight Macdonald (1952, 1955) wrote extensively about Hutchins' work at the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic.⁸⁰ James Real (1969) wrote a memoir of his time as a Fellow at the Center.⁸¹ And Mortimer Adler, the philosopher who most influenced Hutchins' philosophies, recounted conversations with Hutchins in his own autobiography, *Philosopher at Large*, published in 1977 shortly before Hutchins' death.⁸²

The most valuable of the primary sources concerning Hutchins' education philosophy are, of course, his own writings, particularly *The Higher Learning in America* (1936). Virtually all of his later writings (mostly articles and essays rather than books), as well as transcriptions of most of his many speeches, were published in *The Center Magazine*, from its premier issue in October 1967 until Hutchins' final essay in the January/February 1977 issue.⁸³ Particularly valuable are the primary sources of "First Edition" papers periodically published from the Center archives.⁸⁴

Other illuminating sources concerning Hutchins' education philosophy include the articles of one of his most influential supporters, Walter Lippmann,⁸⁵ the writings of his two most outspoken critics, Harry Gideonse⁸⁶ and John Dewey,⁸⁷ and the words of Alexander Meiklejohn,⁸⁸ a contemporary with whom Hutchins had both sharp differences and much in common. Many of these texts involve philosophical sparring with Hutchins.

The most valuable of the primary sources concerning Hutchin's press philosophy are, again, his own words, as recorded in *A Free and Responsible Press*

(1947), along with a report on his 1955 address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, taken from the archives for publication in the September/October 1977 issue of *The Center Magazine*.⁸⁹ Numerous references to the press, particularly to what Hutchins considered the appropriate role of journalism in education, also appear in his writings about education.

Among the commentaries on the Hutchins Commission Report and social responsibility theory, the most valuable textual sources are those of Chafee, Hocking, Blanchard, Udick, Merrill, Blevens and Rogers. Zechariah Chafee, Hutchins Commission vice-chairman, wrote extensively about the First Amendment, providing early enunciation of philosophies subsequently reflected in the Commission Report.⁹⁰ Particularly revealing is the study conducted by Donald Smith and published in a 1978 *Journalism History* essay, "Zechariah Chafee Jr. and the Positive View of Press Freedom."⁹¹ Chafee's fellow Commission member, William Ernest Hocking, published an extension of Hutchins Commission principles in *Freedom of the Press: A Framework of Principle* (1947).⁹² On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the release of the Hutchins Commission Report, Margaret Blanchard, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, wrote "The Hutchins Commission, The Press and the Responsibility Concept," for the May 1977 issue of *Journalism Monographs*. Research for her essay in support of the social responsibility theory included a search for press reaction to the Report at the time it was released in 1947.⁹³

In addition, preliminary work into the philosophical mindset of Hutchins as related to the press has been conducted by Udick, Merrill, Blevens and Rogers. In "The Hutchins Paradox: Objectivity Versus Diversity," Robert Udick (1993), social scientist at Colgate University, challenges the feasibility of the social responsibility theory, arguing that the demands of the Hutchins Commission Report cannot be satisfied because they conflict with one another.⁹⁴ John Merrill

(1971, 1974, 1983, 1989, 1991), a prolific scholar of press theory, relates what he considers the proclivity to perpetuate “elitist” status quo in Hutchins' background to a tendency to favor authoritarianism as a control against abuses in the media.⁹⁵ Fred Blevens (1994) concurs with Merrill and has followed Merrill's path into exploratory research of Hutchins' philosophical mindset as the product of his “Victorian” upbringing. Neither Merrill nor Blevens, however, has conducted an in-depth study of Hutchins' education philosophy.

Finally, Everett Rogers (1988, 1992, 1994) has conducted extensive archival research into the development of the Chicago School of Social Sciences in which mass communication research was born largely under the Hutchins administration. Rogers has explored Hutchins' relationships with the pioneers of mass communication research at Chicago, but he has not conducted an in-depth study of Hutchins' education philosophy.⁹⁶

Interviews and personal correspondence. Textual data in this study is supported by personal correspondence and interviews with some key associates and scholars of Hutchins. From Jane McCracken (1974) to Charles Ragin (1994), oral history experts advise a narrowing of the universe. Because the data that may be gathered in studies of this nature is, as Ragin warns, “infinite in detail,” and because it is “quality, not quantity” that counts in interviews, as McCracken advises, it was necessary to purposively select subjects. “Much of the information is not useful,” Ragin explains, “because it is redundant or irrelevant.”⁹⁷

At least for this study, it was more difficult to screen irrelevancy than redundancy. For example, personal correspondence with authors who have written about Hutchins reflected responses almost identical to information in the books; indeed, frequent reference to their books in letters of personal correspondence made it clear interviews could deliver little beyond redundancy. On the other hand, stories that might seem irrelevant initially had to be pursued

in case they might lead to unanticipated patterns or inconsistencies; that is the nature of grounded theory exploration. One example is particularly illustrative. This study originated from a curiosity concerning possible similarities between Hutchins' education philosophy (1930-51 at Chicago) and his press philosophy (1944-47 on the Commission). As his post-Chicago, post-Commission career (1951-77) was explored, however, his political philosophy, particularly in regard to world government, was clearly revealed as relevant evidence of an enduring belief system.

The advice of Ragin and McCracken helped to narrow the universe of possible interview subjects. For example, celebrities Steve Allen, Kirk Douglas, Hugh Downs, Jack Lemmon, Paul Newman and Dinah Shore were involved with the Center; beyond the limitations of mortality and accessibility, however, is the likely lack of depth because these people were affiliated with Hutchins for only brief periods of time. Interviews with them, although probably interesting, would be largely irrelevant, as would inquiries with surviving members of Hutchins' immediate family.⁹⁸

With the list narrowed to the biographers, two experts on Hutchins' education philosophy (Kerr and Duncan) and two experts on Hutchins' press philosophy (Rogers and Palmer), as well as the current dean at St. John's College (Brann), advice on oral history data collection guided the processes of personal correspondence and interviews for this study. In "The Nine Commandments of Oral History," Amelia Fry (1961) asserts that the interviewer should be an expert in the topic.⁹⁹ Before initiating any discussions, therefore, the four biographies were dissected, compared and contrasted, as were *The Higher Learning in America* (1936) and *A Free and Responsible Press* (1947). Then Hutchins' education philosophy and the history of higher education were the topics of a series of informal discussions from 1993 to 1995 with Ben Duncan, professor of higher

education at the University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond. Likewise, a series of informal discussions in 1993 with Mack Palmer, professor emeritus of journalism from the University of Oklahoma, Norman, concerned Hutchins' press philosophy and the history of mass media, as well as Palmer's research at the Center where he compiled data in the 1960s for his dissertation on Meiklejohn.

Fry recommends a list of questions to be posed in common to each subject, but she and McCracken both advise pursuing whatever is of value that is peculiar to each subject.¹⁰⁰ Questions concerning Hutchins' philosophies were thus posed to Palmer and Duncan in pilot interviews. Then letters were sent to each interview candidate, posing common questions concerning Hutchins' influence on education and Hutchins' influence on the press, as well as questions specific to each person being interviewed.

Fry notes that an interviewer needs a broad background, "the ability to relate facts from one field to some gem that occurs in another."¹⁰¹ Although the candidates for interviews were approached with what Fry calls "a cross-reference system," little cross-awareness was found concerning Hutchins' philosophies. Educators were for the most part unaware of any impact Hutchins had on the press, and journalists were for the most part unaware of any impact he had on education, thereby supporting the basic postulate of this study.

It was clear from initial letters that Rogers and Kerr could provide new relevant information, but that other interview candidates offered little beyond redundancy. Brief responses from biographer Ashmore contrasted with detailed responses from two other biographers, Dzuback and McNeill, as well as from John Hicks, the editor who finished *A Memoir* after Mayer's death. In addition, extensive information from Eva Brann, dean of St. John's College, outlined the extent to which the Hutchins Plan survives in a small enclave.¹⁰²

Once the scope is narrowed to the most valuable interview subjects, Fry

recommends ideal traits for the interview environment. She advises “a relaxed place, with privacy and no external noises.” She advises that the interviewer use the best equipment, establish rapport, and have available notes for easy reference during the interview. Fry notes that “ideal conditions aren't always what you think they are,” and telephone interviews were nearly ideal in this case.¹⁰³

Clark Kerr, now in his 80s and very active as president emeritus of the University of California, travels extensively and continues the work in labor economics that he began as a consultant in Hutchins' Basic Issues program in the 1950s at the Ford Foundation. Kerr was valuable in defining Hutchins' philosophies and in putting the times of Hutchins into perspective. Kerr's philosophies are in many aspects the antithesis of those of Hutchins, yet the two were closely and amiably affiliated for many year.¹⁰⁴

Previously the Walter H. Annenberg Professor of Communications at the University of Southern California and the Janet M. Peck Professor of International Communication at Stanford, Everett Rogers knew Wilbur Schramm in the early 1960s at Stanford. Currently chairman of the Department of Communication and Journalism at the University of New Mexico, Rogers discussed Hutchins' relationships with mass communications research pioneers in the Chicago School, particularly the sharp differences between what he valued and what his faculty valued. Via discussion and personal correspondence, Rogers shared archival data that he discovered in research for *A History of Communication Study*, which was published in April 1994.¹⁰⁵

Limitations

“The interpretive approach has certain weaknesses,” Rogers (1992) warns, “such as the difficulty of managing and summarizing the large amounts of

qualitative data.”¹⁰⁶ Not only is such information difficult to summarize because of its mass, Sloan (1990) adds, it is difficult to generalize with any degree of reliability.¹⁰⁷ No attempt was made in this study to generalize beyond Hutchins' philosophies, but merely defining his philosophies in terms of their characteristics involved the masses of data about which Rogers and Sloan caution. To maintain some measure of manageability, sources of information, limited by mortality anyway, at least in the case of possible interview candidates, were also limited by relevancy. Despite every attempt to remain open in the exploration, bias, unintentional though it may be, is inevitable in the processes of both information-collection and interpretation.

Opportunities for insight afforded by the interpretive approach, Ary, et al., caution, “are also opportunities for subjectivity or even prejudice.”¹⁰⁸ Clark (1967) adds that “all investigators are human and, being human, are liable to bias.” Nevertheless, he argues, it can be asserted with some confidence that we can always get closer to the truth, we can produce “a version of history which is a better guide to what really happened, a more secure basis for thought and action” than previous versions.¹⁰⁹ Clark's conclusion is particularly relevant when previous versions are incomplete or disconnected from the whole.

Scope

Acknowledging the limitations of a qualitative study of this nature, and with full cognizance of the threats imposed by the bias inherent in subjectivity, this study focused on an exploration of Hutchins' education philosophy and his press philosophy, followed by analytic synthesis of the findings to determine any similarities. Chapter I presented an introduction to the problem, concluding with the research questions to be explored. Chapter II has outlined the grounded

theory comparative analysis strategy for gathering and synthesizing information.

This study's exploration began with the development of grounded theory comparative categories during the critical analysis of primary and secondary textual sources. Pilot interviews and letters of personal correspondence with interview candidates narrowed the field of interview subjects and directed re-evaluation of the comparative categories. Textual sources were reassessed in light of the redeveloped comparative categories. Information gathered in the interviews again directed re-evaluation of the comparative categories, and the redeveloped categories again directed review of the textual sources.

The following chapters deliver the findings of the exploration, beginning with the historical influences that impacted Hutchins and the development of the Hutchins Plan. In a similar manner, the historical influences that impacted Hutchins' press philosophy precede examination of the Hutchins Commission. In addition, a review of Hutchins' later years, when he adhered to his philosophies of education and the press, evidences an enduring mindset. Finally, comparative analysis of the findings reveals several patterns grounded throughout the work of Hutchins that are manifest in his proposals for both higher education and the press, particularly his obsessive search for order and universal Truth, his contradictory faith in the rational man and skepticism about the nature of man as incapable of prudent self-determination, his equating of freedom with chaos, and his repeated calls for socialistic authoritarian control as a means to order. In light of these conclusions, recommendations for additional research concern press theory and policy, particularly in regard to education.

Notes

1. Michael Real, *Super Media: A Cultural Studies Approach* (Newbury Park CA: Sage, 1989).
2. John M. Pauly, "A Beginner's Guide to Doing Qualitative Research in

- Mass Communication," *Journalism Monographs* 125 (Feb. 1991) 1.
3. Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research* (Newberry Park CA: Sage, 1989) 21.
 4. Charles C. Ragin, *Constructing Social Research* (Pine Forge Press, 1994) 55-8.
 5. Barney G. Glaser and Anselm Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago IL: Aldine, 1967).
 6. Douglas (1976), Johnson (1975), Katz (1983), Lofland (1971), Schatzman and Strauss (1973); cited in Charmaz, "The Grounded Theory Method: An Explication and Interpretation," *Theory and Evidence in Field Research* (1983) 109.
 7. Charmaz (1983) 110-4, 125.
 8. Ragin (1994) 68-71.
 9. Lawrence R. Frey, Carl H. Botan, Paul G. Friedman, and Gary L. Kreps, *Investigating Communication: An Introduction to Research Methods* (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1991) 247.
 10. Clifton E. Conrad, "A Grounded Theory of Academic Change," in Conrad and Haworth, eds., *Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience* (Needham Heights MA: Ginn Press, ASHE Reader Series, 1990) 337.
 11. Ragin (1994) 85, 92.
 12. Donald Ary, Lucy Cheser Jacobs and Asghar Razavieh, *Introduction to Research in Education*, 3d ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985 [1972]) 323.
 13. Ragin (1994) 83.
 14. William David Sloan, ed., *Makers of the Media Mind: Journalism Educators and Their Ideas* (Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1990) 61.
 15. *Ibid.*, 65
 16. *Ibid.*, 63. See Mott, *American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960* (New York: Macmillan, 1971 [1962, 1950, 1941]); Emery and Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978 [1972, 1954]).
 17. Edwin Emery and Joseph P. McKerns, "AEJMC: 75 Years in the Making," *Journalism Monographs* 104 (Nov. 1987) 67.
 18. Everett M. Rogers, *A History of Communication Study* (New York: Free Press, 1994) xiii; Rogers, foreword to *Milestones in Mass Communication Research*, by Lowery and DeFleur (New York: Longman, 1988 [1983]) vii.
 19. Dissertations: *Peasantry of the Press: A History of American Newswriters from Novels, 1919-1938*, B. Brennen, University of Iowa (H. Hardt, adviser); *(Re)writing Communities: Dust-bowl Migrant Identities and the Farm Security Administration Camp Newspaper at Arvin, California, 1938-1942*, J. Hamilton, University of Iowa (H. Hardt and J. Smith, advisers); *National Security v. Political Freedom; U.S. Supreme Court Decisions on Anti-Communist Regulations, 1919-1974*, H. Chang, University of North Carolina (M. Blanchard, adviser); *Passing Through the Eye of the Needle--The Success Archetype in the Popular Plots of the Gilded Age*, P.D. Kilmer, University of Illinois (J. Carey, adviser).
 20. Rogers (1988) vii.

21. Rogers, telephone interview by Gonders, 15 Jun. 1994; Rogers (1988) vii. [See Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982).]
22. Andrew Ten Brook, *American State Universities, their Origin and Progress* (1875), cited in Rudolph, *The American College & University: A History* (Athens GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990 [1962]) 501.
23. Charles F. Thwing, *A History of Higher Education in America* (1906), cited in Rudolph (1990) 501.
24. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition, An American History: 1636-1956* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976).
25. Richard Hoftstadter and Wilson Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961, two volumes).
26. Thelin (1990) in Rudolph, xiii-xx.
27. David S. Webster, "Rudolph's *American College and University: A History*: An Appraisal a Generation after Publication," *Review of Higher Education* 13.3 (Spr. 1990) 398-411.
28. Thelin (1990) in Rudolph, 519-20.
29. Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (University of Chicago Press, 1965); Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution* (Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1968); Paul Westmeyer, *A History of American Higher Education* (Springfield IL: Charles C Thomas, 1985).
30. Matthew A. Fitzsimons, Alfred G. Pundt and Charles E. Nowell, eds., *The Development of Historiography* (Port Washington NY: Kennikat, 1967 [1954]); Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, 2d ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970 [1957]).
31. G. Kitson Clark, *The Critical Historian* (New York: Basic Books, 1967) 17, 37-8, 41-3.
32. *Ibid.*, 54.
33. Robin W. Winks, ed., *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969) 17.
34. Fred Blevens, "The Rise and Fall of a Middle Brow: Robert M. Hutchins's Victorian Influence on High Culture and Low Journalism," a paper presented in the Qualitative Studies Division at the National Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Atlanta GA (10-13 Aug. 1994).
35. Michael R. Harris, *Five Counterrevolutionists in Higher Education* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1970).
36. This comparison of the four biographies is adapted in part from "Hutchins . . . Still Fascinating, Still Provoking," a review essay by Gonders and Webster accepted for spring 1996 publication in the *Review of Higher Education*. [Harry Ashmore, *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989); Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991); William McNeill, *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Milton Mayer (John Hicks, ed.), *Robert Maynard Hutchins*:

A Memoir (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).]

37. Ashmore (1989) xvi.

38. Of the reviews listed in these guides, short newspaper reviews were ignored, as were listings of reviews in *Booklist*, *Kirkus Reviews* and *Library Journal*, which publish brief critiques to help librarians decide whether or not to acquire a book, rather than to assess a book's intellectual merit.

39. Hutchins, letter to Wilder (1954), quoted in Ashmore (1989) vii.

40. Mayer (1993) 361.

41. *Ibid.*, 360.

42. Ashmore (1989) 116.

43. Gonders and Webster (1995). [Two brief unsigned reviews of Ashmore's book were not considered.]

44. Daniel Aaron, "The Worldly Puritan," *New Republic* 9 (Oct. 1989) 32, 34-6.

45. Burton J. Bledstein, a review of *Unseasonable Truths...* by Ashmore, *History of Education Quarterly* 31 (Sum. 1991) 268-71.

46. Leon Botstein, a review of *Unseasonable Truths...* by Ashmore, *Academe* 76 (May/June 1990) 69-70.

47. J. David Hoeveler, Jr., "A Reconstructionist amid Orthodoxies," *Science* 17 (17 Nov. 1989) 939.

48. Robert A. McCaughey, "Shaking Things Up at Chicago," *New York Times Book Review* (3 Sep. 1989) 10-1.

49. Joseph Epstein, "The Sad Story of the Boy Wonder," *Commentary* 89 (Mar. 1990) 44-51. [Ashmore's closest association with Hutchins was at the Center, and he does emphasize those years.]

50. Benjamin McArthur, "A Man for No Season," *Reviews in American History* 18 (Jun. 1990) 235-41.

51. James Redfield, "Robert Maynard Hutchins and his University," *Change* 22 (May/June 1990) 48-52.

52. Dennis O'Brien, "There's a Troublemaker," *Commonweal* (15 Dec. 1989) 710-1.

53. George Steiner, "An Examined Life," *New Yorker* 23 (Oct. 1989) 142-6.

54. The University of Chicago Press "Centennial Publications" include the Hutchins biography by Dzuback (1991); the Hutchins biography by McNeill (1991); *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars*, a collection of 47 essays edited by Edward Shils (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991); and *General Education in the Social Sciences: Centennial Reflections on the College of the University of Chicago*, another collection of essays edited by John MacAloon (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

55. Gonders and Webster (1995). [One review of the Dzuback and McNeill books by historian Sheldon Rothblatt, University of California, Berkeley, is not included because it contains almost no evaluative comments.]

56. Martin Bulmer, a review of *...Portrait of an Educator* by Dzuback and *Hutchins' University...* by McNeill, *Teachers College Record* 94 (Fall 1992) 194.

57. Hugh Hawkins, "The Higher Learning at Chicago," *Reviews in American History* 20 (Sep. 1992) 383.

58. Philip Reed Rulon, a review of ...*Portrait of an Educator* by Dzuback, *History: Reviews of New Books* 21 (Spr. 1993) 135.
59. Philip G. Altbach, a review of ...*Portrait of an Educator* by Dzuback and ...*Hutchins University* by McNeill, *Journal of Higher Education* 64 (Jan./Feb. 1993) 102, 105.
60. John V. Richardson, Jr., a review of ...*Portrait of an Educator* by Dzuback, *Library Quarterly* 62 (Oct. 1992) 453.
61. Jurgen Herbst, a review of ...*Portrait of an Educator* by Dzuback, *American Historical Review* 97 (Dec. 1992) 1620.
62. Allan Bloom, "Hutchins Idea of a University," *London Times Literary Supplement* 7 (Feb. 1992) 5.
63. Thomas A. Brindley, a review of *Hutchins' University...* by McNeill and ...*Portrait of an Educator* by Dzuback, *Educational Studies* 23 (Win. 1992) 443.
64. Dzuback (1991) 229.
65. McNeill (1991) 155.
66. Brindley (1992) 441.
67. Hawkins (1992) 383.
68. Altbach (1993) 105.
69. Bulmer (1992) 194.
70. Bloom (1992) 5. [Bloom is mistaken. A disdain of specialization and what Hutchins saw as the attendant lack of intellectual coherence are recurring themes in all four biographies as well as other writings by and about Hutchins.]
71. Hicks (1993) in Mayer, 150.
72. *Ibid.*, 511.
73. Angus Trimmel, review of *Robert M. Hutchins: A Memoir*, by Mayer (Hicks, ed.), *Booklist* 89 (1 May 1993) 1553.
74. A.J. Anderson, review of *Robert M. Hutchins: A Memoir*, by Mayer (Hicks, ed.), *Library Journal* 118 (15 April 1993) 100.
75. Samuel Chauncey Boucher (A.J. Brumbaugh, ed.), *The Chicago Plan* 2d ed. (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1940 [1935]).
76. Frey, et al. (1991) 209.
77. Gabriel A. Almond, "Charles Edward Merriam" in Shils (1991) 338-50; Robert H. Bork, "Edward Levi," in Shils (1991) 287-99; Reedy, a letter to Vesta Hutchins, in *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977) 45-6; Rosten, "Harold D. Lasswell," in Shils (1991) 276-86; Wali, "Subrahmanyam Chandrasekhar," in Shils (1991) 42-58.
78. Edward Shils, "Robert Maynard Hutchins," in Shils, ed. (1991) 185-96; Shils, "Robert E. Park," in Shils, ed. (1991) 383-98.
79. F. Champion Ward, "Requiem for the Hutchins College," in MacAloon, ed. (1992) 77-100; Riesman, "My Education in Soc 2 and My Efforts to Adapt it in the Harvard Setting," in MacAloon, ed. (1992) 178-216.
80. Dwight Macdonald, "The Book-of-the-Millennium Club," *New Yorker* (19 Nov. 1952) 171-88; Macdonald, "Profile," *New Yorker* (7 Dec. 1955); Macdonald, *The Ford Foundation: The Men and the Millions* (New York: Reynal, 1956 [New Yorker Magazine, Inc., 1955]).
81. James Real, "Meanwhile, Back on Mt. Olympus: A Short History of

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions," *Los Angeles Times WEST Magazine* (5 Oct. 1969) 9-17.

82. Mortimer Adler, *Philosopher at Large*, an autobiography (New York: Macmillan, 1977). Excerpted as "The Chicago Fight," *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977) 50-60.

83. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Intellectual Community," *The Center Magazine* (Jan./Feb. 1977).

84. The personal library of Mack Palmer, professor emeritus of journalism from the University of Oklahoma, includes Occasional Papers from the Center and copies of *The Center Magazine*. Palmer shared his library with Gonders.

85. Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Macmillan, 1922); Lippmann, "Humanism as Dogma," *Saturday Review of Literature* (15 Mar. 1930) 817-9; Lippmann, "The Scholar in a Troubled World," *Atlantic Monthly* 150 (1932) 148-52; Lippmann, *The Good Society* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1937); Lippmann, "A Free and Responsible Press," *New York Herald Tribune* (28 Mar. 1947) 24; Lippmann, "A Useful Criticism of the Press," *Kansas City Star* (28 Mar. 1947) 24; Lippmann, *Essays in the Public Philosophy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1955).

86. Harry D. Gideonse, *The Higher Learning in a Democracy: A Reply to President Hutchins' Critique of the American University* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1937).

87. John Dewey, *The Educational Situation* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1902); Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1916); Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1922); Dewey, "Pragmatic America," *New Republic* (22 Apr. 1922) 185-7; Dewey, "Public Opinion," *New Republic* 30 (3 May 1922) 286-8; Dewey, "Practical Democracy," *New Republic* 45 (2 Dec. 1925) 52-4; Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action* (New York: Putnam's, 1935); Dewey, "President Hutchins's Proposals to Remake Higher Education," *The Social Frontier* 3 (Jan. 1937) 103-4; Dewey, *Freedom and Culture* (New York: Putnam's, 1939); Dewey, "The Problem of the Liberal Arts College," *American Scholar* 13 (1994) 391-3. [The Hutchins-Dewey debate was covered in several issues of *The Social Frontier*: Dec. 1937, 71-3; Jan. 1937, 103-4; Feb. 1937, 137-9; Mar. 1937, 167-9. See Sidney Hook, *John Dewey: An Intellectual Portrait* (Westport CT: Greenwood, 1971 [New York: John Day, 1939]).]

88. Alexander Meiklejohn "What the Liberal College Is," *Liberal College* (Boston, 1920); Meiklejohn, *The Experimental College* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932); Meiklejohn, *Education Between Two Worlds* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942); Meiklejohn, *Inclinations and Obligations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948); Meiklejohn, *Free Speech and Its Relation to Self-Government* (New York: Harper, 1948).

89. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Unique Responsibility of the Press--Public Enlightenment," an address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors (1955), *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977) 65.

90. Zechariah Chafee, "Freedom of Speech," *New Republic* (16 Nov. 1918) 66-9; Chafee, "Freedom of Speech in War Time," *Harvard Law Review* (1919); Chafee, *Freedom of Speech* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920); Chafee,

"The American Commonwealth," *Cambridge* (1941) 559-66; Chafee, *Free Speech in the United States* (New York: Antheneum, 1969 [1941]; Chafee, *Government and Mass Communications* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1947, two volumes); Chafee, "Challenge to the Press," *Washington Evening Star* (30 Mar. 1947) 4C.

91. Donald L. Smith, "Zechariah Chafee Jr. and the Positive View of Press Freedom," *Journalism History* 5.3 (Aut. 1978) 86-92.

92. William Ernest Hocking, *Freedom of the Press: A Framework of Principle* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1947).

93. Margaret A. Blanchard, "The Hutchins Commission, The Press and the Responsibility Concept," *Journalism Monographs* 49 (May 1977).

94. Robert Udick, "The Hutchins Paradox: Objectivity Versus Diversity," *Mass Communication Review* 20.3-4 (1993) 148-57.

95. John C. Merrill, *The Dialectic in Journalism: Toward a Responsible Use of Press Freedom* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989); Merrill, Lee and Friedlander, *Modern Mass Media*, 2d ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 1994); Merrill, *Global Journalism: A Survey of International Communication*, 2d ed. (New York: Longman, 1991); Lowenstein and Merrill, *Macromedia--Mission, Message, and Morality* (New York: Longman, 1990); Dennis and Merrill, *Basic Issues in Mass Communication* (New York: Macmillan, 1984); Merrill and Odell, *Philosophy and Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1983); Merrill, *The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy* (New York: Hastings House, 1974); Merrill and Lowenstein, *Media, Messages, and Men* (New York: David McKay, 1971).

96. Everett M. Rogers, foreword to *Milestones in Mass Communication Research*, by Lowery and DeFleur (New York: Longman, 1988 [1983]) vii-xv; Rogers, "Looking Back, Looking Forward: A Century of Communication Study," *Beyond Agendas*, ed. by Gaunt (Westport CT: Greenwood, 1992) 19-39; Rogers, *A History of Communication Study* (New York: Free Press, 1994); Rogers and Chaffee, "Communication and Journalism from 'Daddy' Bleyer to Wilbur Schramm: A Palimpsest," *Journalism Monographs* 148 (Dec. 1994).

97. Ragin (1994) 82; Jane McCracken, ed., *Oral History: Basic Techniques* (Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature, 1974).

98. The biographers provided the following information about the family: Brother Francis, born in 1902, was last known to be in Hawaii and will be 93 years old if still living; he was not involved in Hutchins' work. Oldest daughter Mary Frances "Franja" Hutchins Binder was married three times; she and her third husband, Lou Binder, both died of cancer in early middle life. Second daughter Joanna "Jo-Jo" Blessing Hutchins, now age 60, lives as a recluse in Berkeley, alienated from the family. Third daughter Clarissa Hutchins Bronson, now age 53, met her husband, Roddy, at the University of California, Davis, where she was attending law school; after Peace Corps service in Africa, she joined the Harvard Law faculty and he became a veterinary pathologist at Tufts Medical School and later at Brandeis. Step-daughter Barbara Orlick Hutchins Bailey, divorced from foreign service diplomat Eugene Bailey, earned a degree in architecture at the University of California, Los Angeles, and is a city planning official. Although an interview with first wife Maude Phelps McVeigh Hutchins

might have been revealing because their marital friction impacted his work, she died some years after her former husband; she refused to speak of him in the four decades after their divorce. Second wife Vesta Orlick Hutchins, now in her late 70s, was not involved in her husband's work. In addition, unsuccessful attempts were made to contact Edward Shils and David Broder. Shils did not respond to a letter mailed to him in 1994, if indeed he even received it in England, and he died in 1995. However, his recollections of teaching under the Hutchins Plan are recorded in his 1991 book. Broder was 1948-49 *Maroon* editor at Chicago during Hutchins' last years at the University. After the demise of the *Dallas Times-Herald*, Broder joined the Washington Post Writers Group. His perceptions, like those of the celebrities at the Center, would be of limited relevancy to this study because he never worked with Hutchins. He can be considered a primary source only as a student under the Hutchins Plan, and he recorded fond recollections of those undergraduate days at Chicago in *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977).

99. Amelia R. Fry, "The Nine Commandments of Oral History," *Journal of Library Science* 3.1 (Jan. 1961) 63-73.

100. *Ibid.*, 1; McCracken (1974) 7.

101. Fry (1961) 1.

102. Dzuback, letter to Gonders (23 May 1994); McNeill, letter to Gonders (27 May 1994); Ashmore, letter to Gonders (1 Jun. 1994); Hicks, letter to Gonders (15 Jun. 1994); Brann, letter to Gonders (Jun. 1994).

103. Fry (1961) 1. [Notes were readily available and responses could be typed on the computer screen during the telephone interviews. This had an advantage over tape recorders because responses remained on the screen for follow-up questions, and there was no threat of respondents being intimidated by equipment. The telephone medium made the long-distance interviews easier to schedule, the interviewees more comfortable in their own offices, and the interviewer more efficient with the advantage of electronic assistance.]

104. Kerr, interview by Gonders (Jul. 1994).

105. Rogers, letter to Gonders (1 Jun. 1994); interview by Gonders (15 Jun. 1994).

106. Rogers (1992) 35.

107. Sloan (1990) 293.

108. Ary, et al. (1985) 323.

109. Clark (1967) 10.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS: BACKGROUND

Two concepts are essential to understanding Robert Maynard Hutchins. The first is relatively simple to state in a single word: appeal. But it is not so easy to relate the degree of the impact of his appeal; those who knew him well describe it as “remarkable,” “electric,” “alarming,” “compelling,” “provocative,” “never equalled,” and beyond “descriptive powers.” The second concept is much more complex: the influence of ancient and medieval thought. His appeal affected the way people responded to him, and the influence of ancient and medieval philosophies affected the way he responded to nearly every task with which he was confronted.

Appeal

William McNeill (1994) describes how important awareness of this appeal is to understanding Hutchins:

You will not understand Hutchins' career properly unless you take into account the remarkable effect of his personal appearance and wit. His physical presence was something I have never seen equalled; and everyone he met was affected. And when that was combined with a ready tongue - WOW!¹

McNeill, one of four recent Hutchins biographers, was both a student and a professor under the Hutchins administration at the University of Chicago. Shils (1991), another professor under Hutchins, wrote that he was “a reverse-Pygmalion.” Shils, whose words are often acerbic and irascible rather than

complimentary, is uncharacteristically effusive in describing Hutchins.

“Pygmalion was the man who fell in love with a statue,” Shils explained. “His qualities and his bearing which expressed those qualities were such that a statue would have fallen in love with him.”² Hutchins' colleague, Scott Buchanan, said, presumably tongue in cheek, “Bob made homosexuals of us all.”³ Biographer Mary Ann Dzuback said that Hutchins' “physical presence was electric in its effect on people.”⁴ Even Dwight Macdonald (1955), a man who severely criticized Hutchins, wrote that he was “alarmingly handsome” and “as dramatic in behavior as in appearance.”⁵ With some idea of the impact Hutchins made on the people of his time, it is equally important to understand the impact other men from previous times had on him, particularly those he frequently cited.

Historical influences on Hutchins' education philosophy

Hutchins repeatedly referred to the philosophers of ancient Greece, particularly Aristotle. He wanted to re-create an Athenian community of intellectually enlightened citizens, led in Socratic discussion by the best minds, and thereby empowered with rationality and universal Truth. His less frequent references to the philosophy of medieval Europe were the target of sharp criticism, particularly since his chief adviser, Mortimer Adler, was a self-declared Thomist. Hutchins and Adler both advocated the acceptance of a hierarchy of knowledge ruled by metaphysics in order to maintain the curricular order that characterized medieval universities.

Influences of Ancient Greece

Hutchins subscribed to several ancient Greek concepts, particularly the importance of training great minds to perpetuate universal and enduring Truth.

Universal order is maintained by acceptance of enduring Truth. The intellectual discipline needed to understand Truth is achieved through Socratic discussion of the liberal arts. The great minds must be so educated, free of the fleeting triviality of vocational concerns, in order to transmit Truth and thereby fulfill the responsibilities of citizenship necessary to the functioning of democracy.

In ancient Greece, there were two models of democracy. The operational form that existed in Greece was favored by Socrates and Plato, and the unattained ideal form was favored by Aristotle. According to the myth of the ideal form, the ultimate human existence was the *polis*, a city-state community of the self-governed free. The art of politics was believed to be a gift to every man, not just the elite, from the gods, who provided all men with *adios* (a sense of concern for the good opinion of others), and *dike* (a sense of justice). However, Socrates and Plato believed that not everyone was capable of *adios* and *dike*. They believed the masses should be guided by the great minds of philosopher-kings.⁶ Under this concept of philosopher-kings in the operational form of democracy, the concept of liberal education appeared. The Athenian community was divided into ruling free men and their subjects. Slaves carried on the specialized work of the occupations, while freemen considered the rights and duties of citizenship. "The freemen were trained in the reflective pursuit of the good life," according to the Harvard Report of 1945. It was unspecialized and nonvocational because "its aim was to produce a rounded person with a full understanding of himself and of his place in society and in the cosmos."⁷

Plato (c.427-347 B.C.) was born to an influential, aristocratic family. At about age 21, he came under the influence of Socrates and devoted himself thereafter to philosophy. He believed nature and human experience to be impermanent, as opposed to reliable formal structures such as mathematics. Because he believed the virtues of wisdom, courage and temperance could be

realized only imperfectly in this world, and because he linked Truth to rationality rather than human experience, Plato advocated rule by philosopher-kings, arguing that even an enlightened society should be controlled by the wisest leaders rather than left completely to those less rational and more dependent on the unreliable specifics of human experience.⁸

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) was born north of Greece in Stagira when Plato was about 44 years old. Because his father was court physician to Amyntas II, the Macedonian king, Aristotle was educated in natural science. When he was 17, Aristotle went to Athens, where he studied under Plato for 20 years. He was 37 when Plato died at about age 80. Five years later, he became tutor to young Alexander of Macedonia. Alexander the Great later supported Aristotle's scientific research with both funding and the collection of biological specimens from various parts of the world. In 335 B.C., Aristotle returned to Athens and established his school in the *Lyceum*. Aristotle's philosophy gave form to the "Golden Mean" as the chief guide for organizing a virtuous life. Asserting that virtue lies at the mean between two extremes, Aristotle's concept is still applied to ethical decision-making. Aristotle also put 1,000 men to work cataloguing everything then known and wrote the findings in more than 400 books covering a variety of topics, a project Adler tried to duplicate with his 20th-century *Syntopicon*. Alexander died in 323 B.C., and Aristotle died at age 62 a year later.⁹

The Greek city-states lost their freedom in the second and third centuries B.C., and the Romans developed the seven liberal arts from the Greek intellectual legacy. Grammar, rhetoric and logic comprise the *trivium*; arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music comprise the *quadrivium*.

Early European Influences

From the fall of the Roman Empire in the 400s until the late 1400s, roughly

1,000 years, Europe was unified in creed under Christianity, with authority consolidated under the Roman Catholic Church. Charlemagne (742-814 A.D.) extended the influence of the Catholic Church and provided western Europe with a unified sense of a common culture. He stimulated interest in literature, philosophy and education, and he began the development of monastic schools.¹⁰

Cathedral schools later took the names of their cities, and the greatest was the University of Paris, established in about 1160. Oxford University in England was modeled after the University of Paris in 1167, and in 1209 a group of dissatisfied Oxford scholars founded Cambridge University. The mission of 12th and 13th-century European colleges was to prepare clergymen to understand Latin writings and defend religious doctrine.¹¹

St. Thomas Aquinas (c.1225-1274) acknowledged what he considered the truth in Aristotle's writings, but he rejected what he considered pagan errors. He argued that philosophy is based on reason, and theology on the revealed word of God. Aquinas, whose followers are called Thomists, concluded that any differences between the conclusions of philosophy and the infallible truths of revelation must be the result of faulty reasoning. Aquinas influenced a merging of philosophy and theology that took the form of metaphysical reasoning, which provided scholastics with an approach based on logic independent of the confounding variables of physical considerations.¹²

Hutchins favored the unified sense of a common culture that typified medieval Europe, as well as the reading and discussion of original texts through metaphysical reasoning. However, he valued neither the empiricism that later challenged rational thought, nor the German model that displaced what became known as the Oxbridge (Oxford-Cambridge) model in the 19th century.

When the medieval colleges began moving beyond the transmission of existing knowledge to the discovery of new knowledge in about the time of

Aquinas, they became universities, and European intellectuals debated the value of rational versus empirical knowledge. Empiricists argued that reason is not enough; to count, to measure, to experiment is to reveal knowledge.¹³

Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) completed landmark studies of gravity, calculus, and light and color within 18 months in the years 1665-67. Not until 1687 did Edmond Halley edit and finance the publication of the first of Newton's findings, which were based on experimentation and observation. And more than another century passed before Newtonian empiricism played a significant role in higher education.¹⁴

German influences on higher education began early in the 19th century. With the founding of the University of Berlin in 1810, empirical education spurred the country's rehabilitation from the Napoleonic Wars. In addition to teaching duties, every professor was required to conduct research. Students equipped with the most current knowledge then contributed to the military and industrial development that empowered Germany. In this atmosphere, German universities delivered into the lexicon of higher education two key concepts. *Lehrfreiheit*, the academic freedom of inquiry and teaching, afforded professors the opportunity to study and report findings without fear of retribution. *Lernfreiheit*, the freedom of students to individually elect courses to study and schools to attend, provided an opportunity for both curricular exploration and concentrated specialization. With broad freedoms to explore, German universities produced a large group of men educated in the latest theories. The quality of German academe also attracted students from around the world, including some 10,000 Americans between 1810 and 1915. As the empirically educated men returned to the United States, the German influence triggered a revolution in higher education.¹⁵

Development of American higher education

When the colonists came to America, they fashioned schools on the English model with which they were familiar. The first college in America, Harvard, was founded in 1636 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. What became known as the Oxbridge model was shared by the additional eight institutions founded by the time of the Revolutionary War.¹⁶

Colonial colleges were low-level schools for boys, usually as young as age 16 and sometimes as young as 10. Rather than operating in “the spirit of adult scholarly inquiry,” Rudolph (1962) writes, a colonial college was “a boarding school for small boys.” Colonial colleges provided the statesmen and clergy needed by society, but they increasingly failed to satisfy the education needs of the majority of the populace. In the American environment that encouraged the self-made man and egalitarian opportunity, Rudolph explains, colonial colleges “were shaped by aristocratic traditions and they served the aristocratic elements of colonial society.”¹⁷

Early 19th-century curricular battles pitted demands for popular reform against the traditional collegiate way. Egalitarianism battled against aristocracy, American pragmatics against British classics, modern languages against Latin and Greek, a challenge to authority against the notion of right conduct, the suspended judgment of Newtonian empiricism and conflicting authorities against fixed Truth and the wisdom of the ages, and the American free spirit against the traditional unifying common experience. By the end of the 19th century, universities on the German model gained dominance, but the displacement of the Oxbridge model was only slowly achieved.¹⁸

Paternalism permeated the traditional collegiate way, which was based on “common experience” and the mental discipline characteristic of the “leisure class” in ancient Greece. Studies were fully prescribed and uniform so students

would share a common intellectual heritage. However, utilitarian concerns spawned popular dissatisfaction with the collegiate way. In the 1820s, efforts by Philip Lindsley of the University of Nashville, George Ticknor of Harvard, James Marsh of the University of Vermont, and Jacob Abbott of Amherst all failed to institute a more utilitarian curriculum, and similar efforts by Thomas Jefferson at the University of Virginia met only moderate success.¹⁹

The Yale Report of 1828 was the most influential document in retarding the popular reform movement. Authored by Yale President Jeremiah Day (1773-1867) and Professor James L. Kingsley (1778-1852), the Yale Report argued that the “appropriate object of a college . . . is to lay the foundation of a superior education” in a paternalistic environment. In language that the traditionalist movement would call forward more than 160 years later, the Yale Report labeled the “great points to be gained in intellectual culture” as “the *discipline* and the *furniture* of the mind.” In an argument echoed by Hutchins a century later, the Yale Report called for the educating of good citizens. “Merchants, manufacturers, and farmers, as well as professional gentlemen, take their places in our public councils,” the Yale Report read. “A thorough education ought therefore to be extended to all these classes.” Hutchins also echoed the conclusion that such a “thorough education” should be a fully prescribed classical curriculum. “Classical discipline” through “familiarity with the Greek and Roman writers,” the Yale Report argued, provides the best preparation for both citizenship and professional study. However, again foreshadowing Hutchins, the Yale Report insisted that professional study has no place in the college. “Our object is not to teach that which is peculiar to any one of the professions; but to lay the foundation which is common to them all.” Day and Kingsley, like Hutchins, believed professional schools should exist apart from higher education; and, like Hutchins, they considered vocationalism “inferior” to the higher learning.²⁰

John Henry Cardinal Newman (1801-1890) supported the stand of the Yale Report with a Thomist construction of a unified program of university study. Soon after he was named president of the new Catholic University of Ireland, in an effort to elicit support, Newman delivered a series of addresses from 1852 to 1859, collected and published in *The Idea of a University* (1873). Newman saw the distinction in education as being between two types. He said that “the end of the one is to be philosophical, of the other to be mechanical; the one rises toward general ideas, the other is exhausted upon what is particular.” The words of Newman, an Oxford graduate of the classics, are cited as a testament to the liberal arts in preference to practical studies, but his purpose was more to promote the inclusion of secular liberal arts in concert with Church doctrine as opposed to Church doctrine exclusive of secular liberal arts. Newman said the integrative power of theology is a condition of general knowledge; Hutchins substituted metaphysics for theology as the ordering principle of thought.²¹

Even allowing for overtures toward popular reform, Veysey (1973) concludes, “the picture” of mid-19th century American colleges “is mainly one of extreme homogeneity,” largely influenced by the Yale Report of 1828. What Veysey calls this “peculiarly uniform promotion of an ethos so uncharacteristic of the larger society” increasingly reduced the influence and popularity of American colleges.²² In contrast, after the incorporation of science into the curriculum beginning in 1846, after the relaxing of prescription in deference to electives beginning in 1869, and after the development of the research component beginning in 1876, enrollment grew four to seven times as fast as the population throughout the period from 1890 to 1925.²³

The Sheffield Scientific School opened at Yale in 1846, followed by the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard in 1847 and the Thayer School at Dartmouth in 1867. Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (1859) tolled the death

knell for creationism dogma and set the stage for the Newtonian empiricism of experimentation and observation that had been rejected by most of academe for two centuries. And in 1850, Francis Wayland delivered an influential rebuttal to the Yale Report. "We have produced an article for which the demand is diminishing," Wayland declared.²⁴ Traditional curriculum, the Brown president charged, perpetuated social divisiveness because "instead of attempting to furnish scientific and literary instruction to every class of our people, they have furnished it only to a single class." Wayland said colleges could survive only if they concentrated on the solution of practical economic and technological problems. Wayland rejected the Oxbridge model as "utterly unsuited" for American purposes because it was intended for "the education of the medieval clergy, and modified by the pressure of an all-powerful aristocracy."²⁵

Charles William Eliot (1834-1926) replaced curricular prescription at Harvard with the elective system. His father, Sam Eliot, had been treasurer of Harvard, and young Charles enrolled at age 15. In 1861, he became head of Harvard's Lawrence Scientific School. Later denied reappointment, he experienced six years of separation from Harvard prescription, including a tour of Europe. In 1869, at age 35, when he was called to the Harvard presidency from a chemistry professorship at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he brought with him the concept of *lernfreiheit*. Eliot fought a controversial but successful battle to depose prescription. When his administration ended 40 years later, students were required to study English and another language, and they had to progress in any given discipline from lower to more advanced levels, but they were otherwise free to choose from a wide curriculum.²⁶

Virtually all of Eliot's reforms became national trends to which Hutchins would later object. In addition to instituting the elective system, Eliot elevated admission prerequisites and broadened curricula for professional schools;

Hutchins favored prescription, early admission, and separation of professional schools from the university. Eliot supported introduction of the case study method in the law school; Hutchins fought to replace the case study method with the jurisprudence approach. By the time Eliot retired at age 75, Harvard's faculty had grown from 60 to 600 and the endowment had grown from \$2 million to \$20 million. Eliot later traveled the globe as the Carnegie Emissary for Peace. He died in 1926, some 17 years after his retirement from the Harvard presidency.²⁷

Daniel Coit Gilman (1831-1908) helped develop Yale's Sheffield Scientific School before he became president of the University of California in 1872. When Johns Hopkins was founded in Baltimore as the first American university devoted exclusively to graduate level research, Gilman was independently recommended for the presidency by four other college presidents, Andrew White of Cornell, Noah Porter of Yale, James Angell of Michigan and Charles Eliot of Harvard. Gilman believed universities should be research centers and only secondarily teaching institutions. However, in order to generate tuition income and a pool of graduate school applicants, he was forced to add undergraduate studies in the 1880s. When the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad suspended dividends to the university in the 1890s, Johns Hopkins began a decline. Gilman retired in 1901 to work with the Carnegie Fund, and he died in 1908.²⁸

The academic revolution awaited a founding president who could bring together a faculty oriented toward both research and teaching, as well as the millions necessary to construct and maintain such a university. That man was a short, stocky, spunky theologian named Harper, his benefactor was the richest man in America, and the site was the Chicago Midway.

William Rainey Harper (1856-1906) entered college at age 10 and graduated with honors at age 14. He completed his Ph.D. at Yale before his 19th birthday in 1875. Before assuming the Chicago presidency at age 35, Harper

taught Hebrew studies at Denison University (1876-79), Baptist Union Theological Seminary in Chicago (1879-86) and Yale (1886-91).²⁹

In April 1890, in recognition of the bicentennial of the discovery of America by Columbus, Congress allocated \$22 million for the World's Columbian Exposition, subsequently known as the Chicago World's Fair. On the 644-acre fair site, 7,000 workmen constructed 150 buildings of Greek, Romanesque and Renaissance architecture.³⁰ With Rockefeller funding, the Midway properties, illumined with dazzling new electric lights symbolic of a new era, were purchased for the new University of Chicago. McNeill (1991) notes that the university's motto, "Let knowledge increase, life be enriched," was appropriate to "a center of graduate study where research and the discovery of new knowledge," rather than "mere teaching" and the transmission of established truths, was to be the "central aspiration" of professors and students alike.³¹

With the staggering profits of Standard Oil Company, John D. Rockefeller, Sr. provided not only \$8 million worth of land and buildings, but also an endowment that totaled \$35 million (the equivalent of a half-billion in today's dollars) over a period of 20 years. In addition, from 1923 to 1932, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial awarded \$3.4 million to the University to fund social science research, and the Rockefeller Foundation financed the work of the main figures in communications study.³²

With the vast funds at his disposal, Harper opened the doors in 1892 with what was actually, not just potentially, a great university. Whereas Johns Hopkins had started with 40 graduate students and a small faculty, the University of Chicago began with some 600 students from 33 states and 15 foreign countries, nearly half of them doing graduate work in 27 different disciplines. The charter faculty of 120 included nine presidents from other institutions. With assurance that they would be free to pursue research in their academic specialties, scholars

eagerly accepted the highest salaries in the nation; at about \$6,000 per year, professors typically doubled their income by coming to Chicago. Harper divided the undergraduate curriculum into two years of the Academic or Junior College and two years of the University or Senior College. The trustees managed finances without intrusion into academic affairs, and faculty could alter courses and add new programs by a simple majority vote.³³

Among the charter faculty recruited by Harper were James Rowland Angell, John Dewey, Thorstein Veblen and Albion Small. The rich collection of intellect created what William James (1904) labeled the Chicago School of philosophy and social theory,³⁴ in which mass communication study was born. Until the Chicago School was founded, sociology was subordinated in departments of political science. The Chicago School, according to Everett Rogers (1992) “represented the first flowering of social science in America,” and it “defined a strong empirical dimension” throughout the University.³⁵ As Rogers (1994) concludes, the Chicago School “completely dominated early sociology.”³⁶ Moreover, it was driven by the concepts of pragmatism and empiricism that Hutchins disdained and Dewey epitomized.

John Dewey (1859-1952) earned his B.A. at the University of Vermont in 1879 and his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins in 1884. He was a high school teacher for several years before becoming a professor of psychology and philosophy at Minnesota and Michigan. He was named professor of philosophy at the new University of Chicago in 1894 and became director of its School of Education in 1902. From 1904 until his retirement nearly a half-century later, he was a professor of philosophy at Columbia University in New York City.³⁷ “More than any other writer,” Hoftstadter (1961) writes, Dewey “molded the progressive movement in American education.”³⁸ In contrast to Hutchins' pessimistic view of mankind, Dewey had deep faith in human nature. Both his home, where he

had five children, and his classroom, where teachers learned how to teach by working with children, were education laboratories where the focus was on the practical needs of each individual. Whereas Hutchins believed that the elements of a good education remain the same regardless of time or place in a world of fixed Truth, Dewey believed that culture cannot be confined to a fixed body of knowledge in a world of evolving truths.³⁹ Among the disciples of Dewey who confronted Hutchins upon arrival at Chicago were George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) and Robert E. Park (1864-1944).

Mead accompanied Dewey when both departed from Michigan to join the Chicago faculty in 1894. He succeeded Dewey as head of the Philosophy Department and chief promoter of pragmatism at Chicago. Mead taught on the Midway for 37 years, and he died in 1931 soon after resigning in protest of Hutchins' early actions as president.⁴⁰

Park took six courses with Dewey at Michigan before graduating in 1887. He worked as an investigative reporter for 11 years before going to Berlin for doctoral study, and he was an aide to Booker T. Washington at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama for nine years. In 1913, sociologist W.I. Thomas invited the 50-year-old to join Chicago's Sociology Department where he pioneered empirical communication research.⁴¹

By the turn of the 20th century, the ethos of progressive pragmatics and empirical research had taken firm root in American higher education, and in no place was it more deeply rooted than in Chicago. Nevertheless, some counter-revolutionists challenged popular trends, most notably Babbitt, Lawrence, Flexner, Meiklejohn and Hutchins. Harris (1970) calls them "counter-revolutionists" because they wanted to radically alter the prevailing pattern of higher education. Although they agreed for the most part concerning the problems, they differed markedly concerning the appropriate solutions. Most of

the “counterrevolutionists” agreed that the university should focus on a primary objective; some thought the mission should be research, and others thought it should be undergraduate instruction.⁴²

Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929) influenced some of the counter-revolutionists, especially Flexner and Hutchins. Veblen earned his B.A. from Carleton College in 1880 and his Ph.D. from Yale in 1884. He began teaching at the University of Chicago in 1892. In *The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men* (1918), Veblen called for concentration on the university's primary mission. However, unlike Newman and later Hutchins, who thought the university should focus on undergraduate instruction in the liberal arts, Veblen believed the university should concentrate on research. Veblen was disturbed by the appointment of laymen in place of clergymen on governing boards, and he attacked this “progressive secularization” for placing university policy “in the hands of businessmen.” He objected to the intrusion of business because he believed it distracted universities from the pursuit of knowledge. Veblen advocated separation of professional schools from the university, a proposal Hutchins would later favor when he borrowed “The Higher Learning” title. However, Veblen thought the primary focus of the university should be research, a proposal directly in opposition to the undergraduate concentration Hutchins would later favor.⁴³

Abraham Flexner (1866-1959), like Veblen, thought research should be the primary objective of the modern university, a philosophy imparted to Flexner from Daniel Coit Gilman. As the founding president of Johns Hopkins, Gilman wanted a graduate university without an undergraduate college, but he was forced to enroll undergraduates. Flexner was one of those undergraduates when he traveled from his home in Louisville, Kentucky, to Baltimore in 1884. He was able to pass the degree examinations after studying classics for only two years.

He taught in the local high school for a brief time before founding his own preparatory school to ready wealthy boys for college. Convinced by these experiences that mastery of the classics was easily accomplished, Flexner adopted Gilman's concept of research as the appropriate focus of university study. After one year at Harvard, Flexner went to Germany in 1906 for postgraduate study. He expressed his views on higher education in *The American College* (1908), which brought him to the attention of Henry S. Pritchett, head of the Carnegie Corporation. Pritchett contracted Flexner to conduct a major study of medical education in North America. He visited all 155 medical schools and recommended that 120 be closed. *Medical Education in the United States and Canada* (1910) brought Flexner to the attention of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who asked him to join the General Education Board. One of Flexner's last projects on the Board was a grant to create a new University of Chicago Medical School, which opened its doors in 1927, two years before Hutchins' Chicago appointment. In 1928, Flexner delivered the Rhodes Trust Memorial Lectures at Oxford in which he proposed that American higher education be restructured on the German model rather than the British model. The three lectures were revised and published in 1930 as *Universities--American, English, German*, an indictment of what Flexner saw as triviality and vocationalism in American universities.⁴⁴

Flexner labeled American universities as "service stations" due to confusion of purpose, an indictment later reiterated by Hutchins. Both believed that universities were catering to transient demands, and both believed that the hope of civilization depended on the leadership of the best minds. However, while Hutchins thought the focus should be on undergraduate teaching, Flexner believed teaching should be a function of the university only as it contributes to research. Flexner ridiculed the argument that the study of classics builds mental discipline. He favored instead research that would lead students to the

boundaries of modern thought and prepare them for exploration into the unknown. With funding from two wealthy Baltimore residents, Flexner founded the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton in 1930. Scholars, including Albert Einstein, followed the Rockefeller Institute model of research without traditional students or teaching duties.⁴⁵

While Veblen and Flexner called for concentration on research, other critics of the direction of the American university early in the 20th century favored for a completely different solution. Neohumanists in the tradition of Newman and the Yale Report had the support of no less than Woodrow Wilson, president of Princeton and later of the United States. In *"Mere Literature" and Other Essays* (1896), the title essay (originally published in 1893) argued that "mere literature will keep us pure and keep us strong."⁴⁶ The primary mover in the early 20th-century neohumanist movement, however, was a professor of French at Harvard.

Irving Babbitt spent his life at Harvard, beginning as a student in 1885 and a professor in 1894. This was the time of Eliot's system of free election and utilitarian curriculum, both concepts which Babbitt abhorred. According to Harris (1970), Babbitt wrestled with one central problem: "development of the cultural standards necessary for a balanced, happy life." Harris speculates that Babbitt thought the rest of society was losing its values because he had lost his Calvinist faith himself. He thought balance and order could be restored by a return to the truths embodied in traditional liberal arts.⁴⁷ Like Hutchins, Babbitt was a pessimist concerning human nature. He believed most men cannot control their lower urges, only a few are capable of living by high standards, and those few must perpetuate dogma and authority if society is to maintain order. In a foreshadow of Hutchins, Babbitt concluded that the nation needed, not scientific intellectuals, but men of tradition and character.⁴⁸

Babbitt agreed with Veblen and Flexner that the university was fragmented and should focus on its primary purpose. Whereas Veblen and Flexner favored a research mission, however, Babbitt approved of research in the university only as it might reveal and inculcate new humanistic standards of culture. Babbitt opposed extension programs, vocationalism, service to government or business, and the “chaos” of an elective system that diminishes the development of discipline, all sentiments Hutchins shared.⁴⁹

Just as Hutchins would later be faulted for drawing conclusions based on intuition rather than evidence, as well as for proposing programs with no means of measuring their effectiveness, Harris (1970) faults Babbitt's lack of empiricism: “Typically, he never brought forth evidence to indicate that the classical colleges actually had been more effective in developing character. He simply relied upon his intuition and criticized contemporary higher education without any firm empirical evidence.”⁵⁰

Abbott Lawrence Lowell, like Babbitt, objected to the policies of Eliot at Harvard. Despite the criticism aimed at Babbitt, however, the 1909 appointment of Lowell as successor to Eliot represented significant support for the liberal culture ideal. The restoration of dormitory life through “college houses” and the implementation of honors work and tutorials were the strategies Lowell adopted in an effort to return Harvard to the Oxbridge model. However, these strategies were what Levine (1986) terms “largely symbolic” because they appealed to small numbers of students, and the elective system was far from displaced. Of 16 year-long courses, six had to be in the major field, six had to be in three other fields, and four were completely elective. Nevertheless, Lowell met with moderate success that subsequently placed Harvard at the forefront of the neohumanist movement.⁵¹

By the 1920s, America had changed from a “stable social system in which

people were closely tied to each other," DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) write, into "a large and complex system."⁵² Those who viewed such change as desirable evolution differed markedly from those who saw it as a movement toward specialization that narrowly isolates individuals from identification with others. Veblen and Flexner agreed with those optimistic about progress, but they deplored the fragmentation of objectives that ensued when universities tried to allow progressive research to co-exist with traditional liberal arts. Babbitt and Lowell likewise opposed fragmentation; they agreed with Veblen and Flexner that universities should focus on a single objective, but they thought, as Hutchins later would, that the objective should be the mental discipline that had endured from ancient Greece rather than the research specialization that further fragmented the university community. In an effort to produce a "dutiful, disinterested national elite," Veysey (1973) writes, neohumanists like Babbitt, Lowell, and later Hutchins, "set themselves squarely against some of the strongest tendencies of the new wave of education change," including science, research, specialization, vocationalism and the elective system.⁵³

Neohumanists could brook no intrusion into the coherency of the classical curriculum; any such intrusion would compromise the coherency. Despite their longing to reclaim a sense of common heritage, however, "university ideals were not in any serious way rejected," Rudolph concludes, adding that "the university idea" was "firmly planted."⁵⁴ Given the indomitable momentum of popular reform in 20th century higher education, the university could not be limited to a single purpose, to neither research nor traditional undergraduate mental discipline. But perhaps the virtues of the cultural heritage and a sense of common background could be retained by the construction of a broad course that provided all students with a shared intellectual survey of Western culture.

The survey course movement began just before World War I. One of the

earliest such attempts to provide a common intellectual bond before students went into their separate specializations was a freshman course, "Social and Economic Institutions," created in 1914 at Amherst under Meiklejohn's presidency. Three years later, war provided an incentive to embrace the solidarity of a common bond, and Columbia faculty developed a "War Aims" course in 1917-19. Called "Peace Aims" after the war, and later "Contemporary Civilization," Columbia's survey course is still widely imitated. Dartmouth calls it "Problems of Citizenship," and Stanford calls it "Western Civilization." Whatever its name, the objective of a survey course is to establish a foundation for intellectual conversation through common cultural grounding. Like the survey course movement, the Great Books tradition is thus based on assimilationist theory.⁵⁵

The Great Books movement was developed at Columbia by George Edward Woodberry and his student, John Erskine, who both favored assimilation into the dominant culture. Racism and misogyny in the assimilationist ideas of Woodberry and Erskine at the beginning of the century foreshadow similar criticisms against the traditionalist movement at the end of the century.

Woodberry, born in 1855, graduated from Harvard early in Eliot's presidency. He taught at the University of Nebraska and served as an editor of *The Nation* before coming to Columbia in 1891 as a professor of comparative literature. What Woodberry called the "race-mind" was the subject of a series of lectures he delivered in Boston in 1903 and published as *The Torch: Eight Lectures on Race Power in Literature* in 1905. In the first lecture, "Man and the Race," Woodberry said: "If the aristocracy of the whole white race is so to melt in a world of the colored races of the earth, I for one should only rejoice in such a divine triumph of the sacrificial idea in history; for it would mean the humanization of mankind."⁵⁶ Woodberry's *Great Writers*, a collection of essays,

was published in 1907 and reissued in 1912 and 1928.⁵⁷ Erskine's *Delight of Books* was published in 1928, followed by *The Influence of Women and Its Cure* in 1936.⁵⁸

Erskine proposed a two-year course at Columbia to demonstrate that contemporary youth, contrary to popular opinion, were interested in the classics of Western civilization. Immediately following World War I, he began teaching a Great Books course in which students read and discussed one classic per week for 60 weeks with a two-hour discussion on each book. Mortimer Adler, who instructed the popular course at Columbia from 1926 to 1928, joined Scott Buchanan at the People's Institute to introduce 15 adult discussion groups in New York City to the Great Books. Discussion leaders at the People's institute included Richard McKeon, Mark Van Doren, Jacques Barzun and Clifton Fadiman. Five of Erskine's students, Adler, Buchanan, McKeon, Van Doren and Stringfellow Barr, later were key figures in the development of Hutchins' Great Books program at Chicago. Erskine served as their adviser at Chicago, but his primary interests were creative writing and music; he served the Julliard School of Music from 1928 to 1937 as its president.⁵⁹

Alexander Meiklejohn (1872-1964), a man to whom the terms misogyny and racism could never be applied, received the Medal of Freedom in 1963 on the basis of his stand against loyalty oaths and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in the 1950s.⁶⁰ Parallel with Meiklejohn's efforts, Hutchins' focus at the Fund for the Republic (1954-59) was support for civil liberties.

Born in Rochedale, England, Meiklejohn came to America at age 8. He earned his bachelor's and master's degrees at Brown University and, in 1897, his Ph.D. at Cornell. He taught philosophy at Brown from 1897 to 1912, the last seven years specializing in logic and metaphysics. As president of Amherst for more than a decade, he instituted one of the earliest survey courses in American higher education. And as a professor of philosophy at the University of

Wisconsin, from 1926 to 1938, Meiklejohn tried unsuccessfully to institute his famous Experimental College. By housing dormitories and professors' offices in the same building, Meiklejohn hoped to create social and intellectual coherency in which to focus on the philosophical and political problems of citizenship, all goals shared by Hutchins. Faced with declining enrollment and public perceptions of radical students and socialist professors, the university asked Meiklejohn to resign under charges that he favored communism and free love.⁶¹

Meiklejohn and Hutchins were contemporaries with much in common. Both favored undergraduate general education based on the Great Books, and both believed that kind of common cultural grounding strengthened democracy by educating the citizenry. Both believed the ability to control the social environment was best developed by providing students with a philosophical understanding of the broad ideological issues facing a society rather than concentrating on immediate technical problems. Both hoped to create a community of liberal learning similar to that of ancient Greece, both espoused metaphysical reasoning, and both believed in a prescribed curriculum. Both were outspoken opponents of McCarthyism, both fought for civil rights and against loyalty oaths, and both declared in the 1950s that communist affiliation was irrelevant to employment. Sharing much, however, Meiklejohn and Hutchins did differ. Meiklejohn was quite athletic and considered a career in sports; Hutchins abolished athletics at the University of Chicago and said that, when he felt the need to exercise, he would lie down until the feeling went away. Meiklejohn was exceedingly tolerant; Hutchins was often caustic and patronizing to those with whom he differed. Meiklejohn tried to blend the best of Jeremiah Day's traditional curriculum with the best of John Dewey's progressive pragmatism; Hutchins favored Day's Yale Report and opposed Dewey vehemently. Meiklejohn believed freedom of speech is an absolute right; Hutchins believed it

is a conditional privilege.⁶²

With this overview of the philosophies both antecedent and contemporary to Hutchins that influenced him, the following chapters examine his life before, during and after his chairmanship of the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press.

Notes

1. William McNeill, letter to Gonders (27 May 1994). [The four recent biographies of Hutchins: Harry S. Ashmore, *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989); Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991); William H. McNeill, *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Milton Mayer (John Hicks, ed.), *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). The University of Chicago Press Centennial Collection: Dzuback (1991); McNeill (1991); Edward Shils, ed., *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991); John M. MacAloon, ed., *General Education in the Social Sciences: Centennial Reflections on the College of the University of Chicago* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992).]
2. Edward Shils, "Robert Maynard Hutchins," in Shils, ed. (1991) 186.
3. Mayer (1993) 366.
4. Mary Ann Dzuback, letter to Gonders (23 May 1994).
5. Dwight Macdonald, "Profile," *New Yorker* (7 Dec. 1955) 152.
6. Philip Patterson and Lee Wilkins, *Media Ethics: Issues and Cases*, 2d ed. (Madison WI/Dubuque IA: Brown & Benchmark, 1994 [1991]) 137; Lewis M. Hammond, "Plato," *World Book Encyclopedia* 4 (1960) 504; Hammond, "Aristotle," *World Book Encyclopedia* 1 (1960) 547.
7. Harvard Committee, *General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1945), in Hofstadter and Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* (University of Chicago Press, 1961) 964. [See Westmeyer, *A History of American Higher Education* (Springfield IL: Charles C Thomas, 1985).]
8. Hammond, "Plato" (1960) 504; Patterson and Wilkins (1994) 19; Black and Whitney, *Introduction to Mass Communication*, 2d ed. (Dubuque IA: William C. Brown, 1988) 529.
9. Hammond, "Aristotle" (1960) 547; Patterson and Wilkins (1994) 6-7, 19.
10. Melvin DeFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, *Theories of Mass Communication*, 5th ed. (New York: Longman, 1989) 242; William F. McDonald, "Middle Ages," *World Book Encyclopedia* 12 (1960) 428-33; William C. Bark, "Charlemagne," *World Book Encyclopedia* 1 (1960) 291-2.

11. Westmeyer (1985) x-xii; R. Freeman Butts, "History of Education," *World Book Encyclopedia* 5 (1960) 65-73.
12. DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) 242-3.
13. Westmeyer (1985) 120; Butts (1960) 65-73; DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) 245.
14. I.B. Cohen, "Sir Isaac Newton," *World Book Encyclopedia* 13 (1960) 306-8.
15. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College & University: A History* (Athens GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990 [1962]); Harris, *Five Counter-revolutionists in Higher Education* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1970) 25-6; Westmeyer (1985) xii-xiii.
16. Rudolph (1962) 3-11; Butts (1960) 65-73. [Harvard, 1636, Cambridge, Mass.; College of William & Mary, 1693, Williamsburg, Va.; Collegiate School of Connecticut (Yale), 1701, New Haven; College of New Jersey (Princeton), 1746; Providence College (Brown), 1765, Rhode Island; Queen's College (Rutger's), 1766, New Brunswick, N.J.; King's College (Columbia) in New York City; Dartmouth College and Philadelphia College (University of Pennsylvania).]
17. Rudolph (1962) 18-9, 27. [See Hofstadter and Smith (1961) Vol. I, Part 1; Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition, An American History: 1636-1956* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958) Part I, 3-58.]
18. Brubacher and Rudy (1958) Part II, 59-138; Hofstadter and Smith, Vol. I, Part 1; Rudolph (1962) 201-2.
19. Harris (1970) 37; Rudolph (1962) 111-2, 116-28.
20. Jeremiah Day and James L. Kingsley, *Yale Report of 1828*, in Conrad and Haworth, eds., *Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience* (Needham Heights MA: Ginn Press, ASHE Reader Series, 1990) 55-64. [Also in Hofstadter and Smith (1961) 275-88. First publication: "Original Papers in relation to a Course of Liberal Education," *The American Journal of Science and Arts* XV (1829) 297-351.]
21. John Henry Cardinal Newman, "The Idea of the University" (Westminster MD: Christian Classics, 1873 [1852]) 138. [Also an edition ed. by Charles Frederick Harrold (New York: Longmans, Green, 1947). See Brubacher, *Bases for Policy in Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965) 52; Carnochan, *The Battleground of the Curriculum: Liberal Education and American Experience* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1993) 40; McArthur, "Revisiting Hutchins and *The Higher Learning in America*," *History of Higher Education Annual* (1987) 18.]
22. Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1965) 161-2.
23. Rudolph (1962) 442.
24. Francis Wayland, *Report to the Corporation of Brown University, on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education, Read March 28, 1850* (Providence, 1850) 21-34. [See Douglas Sloan, "Harmony, Chaos, and Consensus: The American College Curriculum," *Teacher's College Record* 73.2 (Dec. 1971) 221-51; Rudolph (1962) 99-100, 219-20, 237-40; Harris (1970) 195.]
25. Francis Wayland, *The Education Demanded by the People of the U. States* (Boston, 1855) 28. [See Rudolph (1962) 90-1.]

26. Carnochan (1993) 10-15, 3.
27. Rudolph (1962) 290-5; Harris (1970) 29; Westmeyer (1985) 76; Brubacher and Rudy (1958), Vol. II, Part II, Ch. 6, 96-115. [See Hofstadter and Smith (1961), Part 7, Ch. 2-3, 601-41; Part 8, Ch. 2, 701-14; Part 8, Ch. 5-6, 737-48.]
28. On Gilman: Westmeyer (1985) 87-90; Harris (1970) 30. On Johns Hopkins: Rudolph (1962) 268-75. [See Brubacher and Rudy (1958), Vol. II, Part 7, Ch. 1, 595-600; Part 7, Ch. 4-6, 642-51; Part 9, Ch. 2-3, 752-6; Part 10, Ch. 1, 845.]
29. Westmeyer (1985) 93; Hofstadter (1961) 773.
30. Gorton Carruth, *What Happened When: A Chronology of Life & Events in America* (New York: Signet, 1991) 545. [An abridged edition of *The Encyclopedia of American Facts & Dates* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989 [1987]).]
31. McNeill (1993) 3.
32. Everett M. Rogers, "Looking Back, Looking Forward: A Century of Communication Study," in Gaunt, ed., *Beyond Agendas* (1992) 21. [See Rogers, *A History of Communication Study* (New York: Free Press, 1994) 142-5.]
33. Brubacher and Rudy (1958) 1983; Rudolph (1962) 349-51; Westmeyer (1985) 93-5; Rogers (1992) 19-22.
34. William James, "The Chicago School," *Psychological Bulletin* 1 (5 Jul. 1904) 1-5.
35. Rogers (1992) 19.
36. Rogers (1994) 23, 129-30.
37. Daniel J. Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982) 103; Hofstadter (1961) 949; Rudolph (1962) 468-70; Rogers (1994) 158-64.
38. Hofstadter and Smith (1961) 949.
39. David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration: 1915-1940* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1986) 101; Blevens, "The Rise and Fall of a Middle Brow: Robert M. Hutchins's Victorian Influence on High Culture and Low Journalism," a paper presented in the Qualitative Studies Division at the National Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Atlanta GA (10-13 Aug. 1994) 9; Rogers (1994) 163.
40. Rogers (1992) 28; McNeill (1991) 13, 44.
41. Czitrom (1982) 113-5; Rogers (1992) 19, 25, 30-2; McNeill (1991) 11; Shils (1991) 383-98.
42. Harris (1970) 14. [In his list of the most important counter-revolutionists, Harris includes Nock, who he acknowledges was relatively unimportant, and excludes Lowell, who was relatively important.]
43. Thorstein Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men* (New York 1918), in Hofstadter and Smith (1961) 818-32. [See Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Vanguard, 1926 [1899]); Dorfman, *Thorstein Veblen and His America* (New York, 1934); Riesman, *Thorstein Veblen* (New York, 1953).]
44. Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910). [See Harris (1970) 45, 108-28; McNeill (1991) 9-10.]

45. Hofstadter and Smith (1961) 894; Harris (1970) 113, 121, 124-8.
46. Woodrow Wilson, *"Mere Literature" and Other Essays* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1896). [See Wilson, "Should an Antecedent Liberal Education Be Required of Students in Law, Medicine, and Theology?" *Proceedings of the International Congress of Education* (Chicago, 1893) 116-7; Wilson, "The Spirit of Learning," *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* 18 (Sep. 1909) 1-14; Carnochan (1993) 66.]
47. Harris (1970) 50-1, 58-60.
48. Irving Babbitt, *Literature and the American College: Essays in Defense of the Humanities* (Washington, D.C.: National Humanities Institute, 1986 [1908]); Babbitt, *Democracy and Leadership* (1924), excerpted in Harris (1970) 49-80. [See Carnochan (1993) 63.]
49. Harris (1970) 44, 49, 73-4; Levine (1986) 102-3, 452-3.
50. Harris (1970) 61, 76.
51. Levine (1986) 102, 106, 110; Westmeyer (1985) 116.
52. DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) 159.
53. Laurence Veysey, "Stability and Experiment in the American Undergraduate Curriculum," in Kayson, ed., *Content and Content* (McGraw-Hill, 1973) 1-63. [See Conrad and Haworth (1990) 161-204.]
54. Rudolph (1962) 455, 462.
55. Levine (1986) 96; Hofstadter and Smith (1961) 895; Carnochan (1993) 70, 79, 82.
56. George Edward Woodberry, *The Torch: Eight Lectures on Race Power in Literature* (1905). [See Carnochan (1993) 79-83.]
57. Woodberry, *The Torch: Eight Lectures on Race Power in Literature Delivered Before the Lowell Institute of Boston MCMIII* (New York: Macmillan, 1912 [1905]); Woodberry, *Great Writers* (New York: Macmillan, 1912 [1907]).
58. John Erskine, *The Delight of Books* (1928) 166; Erskine, *The Influence of Women and Its Cure* (1936). [See Carnochan (1993) 83-4.]
59. Carnochan (1993) 94; Brubacher and Rudy (1958) 268; Ashmore (1989) 98; Dzuback (1991) 89-91.
60. Westmeyer (1985) 132.
61. Hofstadter (1961) 896; Westmeyer (1985) 132; Rudolph (1962) 477; Harris (1970) 45-6; Dzuback (1991) 117; Brubacher and Rudy (1958), Vol. II, Part 11, Ch. 1, 896-903. [Mack Palmer, University of Oklahoma, wrote his doctoral dissertation on Alexander Meiklejohn in the 1960s. Meiklejohn is commonly pronounced "Mike-el-john." Palmer says "Mick-el-john" is the pronunciation used by Micklejohn's widow.]
62. Harris (1970) 45; Rudolph (1962) 477; Westmeyer (1985) 132; Dzuback (1991) 97.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS: EARLY YEARS

Robert Maynard Hutchins was born January 17, 1899, the middle son of Rev. William James "Will" Hutchins (1871-1958) and his wife, Anna Laura Murch Hutchins. Bob and his brothers, William Grosvenor Hutchins (born 1898) and Francis Stephenson Hutchins (born 1902), all attended Oberlin Academy and Oberlin College. At a time when college was a foreign notion to the vast majority of Americans, the boys were among the privileged few who enjoyed a legacy of higher education. Their great-grandfather, Isaac Thompson Hutchins (1786-1884), taught school; their grandfather, Robert Grosvenor Hutchins (1838-1921), attended Williams College and graduated from Andover Theological Seminary; their father, Will, attended Oberlin Prep, Oberlin College, Yale (with William Rainey Harper's biblical literature lectures), Oberlin Theological Seminary and Union Theological Seminary. Their mother was educated at Oberlin and Mount Holyoke; their two paternal aunts and two paternal uncles all graduated from college, and Aunt Fannie Collins was a physician; even their grandmother, Harriet Palmer James Hutchins, attended Wheaton Female Seminary.¹

Youth

1907-18: Oberlin

Bob Hutchins was 8 years old in 1907 when father Will resigned his pastorate at Brooklyn's Bedford Presbyterian Church to teach theology at

Oberlin. That summer he earned \$4 per week at the print shop of a weekly newspaper. He was able to skip the seventh grade and enter Oberlin College in 1915 at age 16. Thornton Wilder, who would become Bob's lifelong best friend, began at Oberlin the same year.

Oberlin President Henry Churchill King, author of several treatises on rational living, told students, whenever he had a cold, the cause was his failure to live rationally. The program he developed at Oberlin was for "the training of youth, not for specific occupations," King explained, "but for living in a free society and for functioning as serviceable members of that society."² King's philosophy made a lasting impression on Hutchins, who remained convinced that the preparation of responsible citizens, not occupational training, is the appropriate mission of institutions of higher education.

At Oberlin, Bob was able to avoid science and mathematics for the most part by substituting Greek. He "prided himself," Mayer wrote, "on having a nonmathematical mind (though he would subject every student to the study of mathematics, as the purest form of reasoning)."³ After his sophomore year, Bob enlisted in the Army and drove an ambulance in Italy during World War I.⁴

1918: World War I

More than human suffering and death, the horrors of war for Hutchins were boredom and disdain for the Italian people. One letter home was headed, "Base Hospital 102, Vincenza, With the Wop Army." In another, he wrote:

Individually, the Italians are *the* people I shall avoid most after the war. You have to admire their collective bravery when things are going their way, but as persons they are *rotten*, that's all. They have no sense of decency and they will steal your gold teeth in your sleep.⁵

In May 1944, during the second world war, Hutchins recalled his boredom of a quarter-century earlier: "The real horrors of war can never be told, never

described, and never adequately felt by anybody to whom they are set forth. How can you describe dreadful, consuming monotony and boredom?"⁶

Hutchins returned from Europe and enrolled at Yale, where he forged enduring friendships with future luminaries William Benton, Henry Luce and William O. Douglas. Benton would subsequently build an advertising empire with Yale classmate Chester Bowles; the Benton & Bowles Agency made Bill Benton wealthy enough to fund many of Hutchins' activities. Luce built a publishing empire with Yale classmate Briton Hadden; *Time*, *Fortune* and *Life* magazines provided Luce with both concern about the image of the media and the money to fund Hutchins' study of the role of the press in America. Douglas ultimately received the Supreme Court appointment that Hutchins had coveted, and he became the most tenured of the country's justices with 36 years of service.

Yale

Hutchins spent the 1920s in New Haven, in the positions of undergraduate student, administrator, law student, teacher and dean, in roughly that order because normal prerequisites were repeatedly overlooked.⁷

As an undergraduate (1918-21) and self-appointed critic of the administration, Hutchins edited the campus page of *Yale Alumni Weekly*, and in the spring of his senior year, he delivered one of his typically blunt addresses, cataloguing the school's failures. Although he offended some of Yale's notables, he impressed James Rowland Angell, Yale president-elect.⁸

Angell earned his bachelor's degree at the University of Michigan, where his father, James Burrill Angell, was president. He studied doctoral level philosophy at Michigan under John Dewey, at Harvard under William James, and in Germany at Halle and Berlin. He taught one year at the University of

Minnesota before Dewey recruited him to Chicago in 1894. He served as head of the Psychology Department, dean of faculties and acting president at Chicago, as well as chairman of the National Research Council (1919-20) and president of the Carnegie Corporation (1920-21), before becoming the first Yale president who had not been a Yale student.⁹

Hutchins' classmates voted him "most likely to succeed" from the Yale Class of 1921, but he began with an inauspicious appointment teaching history and English to reprobate rich boys at the Lake Placid School in New York. The school where students were discouraged from asking "why" as they memorized disconnected facts soured him on much of contemporary education, and he raced back to New Haven in December 1922 to accept an appointment from Angell to the Yale Secretariat.¹⁰

In his first year at Yale, Hutchins had met Maude Phelps McVeigh, daughter of a *New York Sun* editor. They were married by his father, Rev. Will Hutchins, on September 21, 1921, before departing for Lake Placid. When they returned to New Haven, Maude enrolled in the Yale Art School. She completed her bachelor of fine arts degree in 1926, the same year their first daughter, Mary Frances "Franja" Hutchins was born.¹¹

The Yale Secretariat (1923-25) provided an opportunity for Hutchins to simultaneously complete a law degree and learn about the administration of a major university. With a staff of 50, he was in charge of alumni relations, public relations and publications, and he was paid well at a salary of \$10,000. He worked directly with the president as Angell's principal assistant, and he was encouraged to pursue independent study with Professor Charles E. Clark rather than take regular classes so he could fulfill the duties of his day job and still pass through the law school. The day after his 1925 graduation, at the head of his class as always, he was appointed lecturer in the prestigious Yale Law School. Because

an advanced degree was required of every faculty member, he was also granted an honorary Master of Arts.¹²

On the Yale Law School faculty (1925-27), Hutchins had neither studied nor held any interest in his three initial course assignments, Code Pleading, Public Utilities Law, and Evidence. Disturbed because he could not find principles to support judicial decisions, Hutchins sought the counsel of a doctoral student in legal philosophy at Columbia. His 1927 encounter with Mortimer Adler shaped the whole of his subsequent thought.¹³

Hutchins continued to be troubled by the case studies precedent approach that had been developed at Harvard under Eliot's presidency and was prevalent throughout the nation's law schools. Hutchins thought the case studies approach concentrated on impermanent practices without considering underlying theory. He agreed with Adler that it was vocational, not educational. A half-century later, at the dedication of the Rutgers Law School in 1966, Hutchins was still arguing for a jurisprudence approach in place of "a how-to-do-it law school." His philosophy of legal education was consistent with his view of all vocational training. He said that students well-educated in "the great issues of our time" can learn the "tricks of the trade" through apprenticeship, and law students educated in the principles of jurisprudence can learn the practice on the job.¹⁴

Stalemate over a successor gridlocked the faculty when Calvin Coolidge appointed Yale Law Dean Thomas Swan to the U.S. Court of Appeals in the spring of 1927. As a compromise, they appointed Hutchins acting dean. "He could do no harm, and no good," Mayer explains, "and he could hold the place together until the struggle over the deanship was resolved."¹⁵ He did not pass the Connecticut bar examination until after his appointment, and, rather than just "hold the place together," Hutchins tried to dramatically alter the curriculum.

As law school dean (1927-29), Hutchins proposed curricular reform that

made Yale what Ashmore called “the center of the ‘legal realism’ movement that sought to broaden the rigid case study curriculum to include input from the new disciplines of social science.”¹⁶ William Howard Taft, Yale graduate, former president and then chief justice of the Supreme Court, thought “the boy” would “wreck” the law school. When they were introduced, Taft allegedly said, “Well, young man, I suppose you teach your students that the nine old men down in Washington are all senile, ignorant of the law, and indifferent to the public welfare.” With characteristic sass, Hutchins retorted, “No, Mr. Chief Justice, we let them find that out for themselves.”¹⁷

Hutchins advocated a scientific approach to facts at Yale, but he was later criticized for his “prescientific” opposition to empiricism and his “anti-facts” adherence to “first principles” at Chicago. Although he offered no explanation for this seeming inconsistency, Mayer has described his reasoning in a revealing account of Hutchins' education philosophy. “His insistence that he opposed, not fact-gathering, but the faith that facts provided the basis of reasoning, would never overcome the hostility of the academic empiricists,” Mayer explains. They deplored “Hutchins' attachment to metaphysics--whatever that was--and the ‘prescientific’ thinking of the Greeks and the medievals.” The basis for this “prescientific,” “anti-facts” position was actually born in his campaign for the scientific approach to facts at Yale. In the 1920s, Hutchins was not alone in criticizing law schools for their commitment to vocational training. The mission should not be to transmit knowledge, particularly transient knowledge, but to increase it. Whereas the case method justified decisions based on precedent, “realists” on the Yale faculty advocated the functional or jurisprudence approach. Mayer traces Hutchins' reasoning:

The student and teacher should understand the principles. . . . Since they are not concerned with ideas, they must read books that contain them. To assist in understanding them they should be trained in those

intellectual techniques which have been developed to promote the comprehension and statement of principles. They will not ignore the cases, the facts, or the social sciences. At last they will understand them. They will be educated.¹⁸

And there, in essence, is the philosophy that subsequently became the basis of the Hutchins Plan: the study of first principles through the reading of Great Books. "The man of facts had become the man of ideas by discovering that ideas alone made the facts intelligible," Mayer concludes. Hutchins and a handful of allies "wanted to shake the law school out of its how-to-do-it mold," Mayer explains. They wanted to convert it into "an intellectual community, with a common preparation," "a common vocabulary and a common conversation."¹⁹ And there, in essence, is what Hutchins tried to achieve in various forums for the rest of his life: an intellectual community of Socratic discussion.

Legal realism faded from Yale after Hutchins' departure, and case studies survived as the primary approach in the nation's law schools.²⁰ The total effect of his efforts, according to his friend and classmate, future Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, was "zero."²¹ Although Hutchins' failure at Yale was partially due to youth, inexperience and the brevity of his tenure as dean, many of his later efforts followed this pattern. Hutchins' projects, Dzuback asserts, were "marked by a lack of interest in small details, by loosely formulated organization and administrative arrangements, and by an inability to deal with ongoing personal conflicts among colleagues."²² McArthur (1987) also recognizes proclivities that lasted beyond the Yale years, including "an interdisciplinary spirit seeking the unity of all knowledge, and perhaps above all, a regret at the absence of a community of scholars."²³

Hutchins completed his undergraduate Yale degree in 1921, returned as secretary in 1923, graduated from law school in 1925, and passed the bar after being named dean in 1928. In 1929, at age 30, he left New Haven to accept

another compromise appointment, as president of what was at least one of the two or three leading universities in America.

Chicago: the beginning

“How did it happen,” McArthur asks, “that an impetuous thirty-year-old would be named to head what some feel was then the finest research university in America?”²⁴ Ashmore notes that the search committee's nomination of Hutchins “was approved without dissent.”²⁵ Dzuback provides the story behind that unanimous vote. “The grueling, yearlong search for a new president had been the third for the University of Chicago in less than six years,” Dzuback explains. It was not easy to find someone willing to take on the job who was acceptable to both faculty and trustees.²⁶ Yale President James Rowland Angell cautioned against Chicago's appointment of Hutchins. “His enthusiasm and perspective are not yet disciplined or matured by sufficient experience,” he prophetically warned. In an April 1929 letter to Harold Swift, chairman of the Chicago trustees, Angell anticipated Hutchins' dogmatic intolerance and lack of familiarity with the ethos of academe:

Of the intellectual keenness of the young man there can be no question, nor of his diligence and personal charm. . . . His shortcomings are such as spring from youth and inexperience, but in connection with the post for which you are considering him these lacks are momentous. He has had no opportunity for wider and intimate contact with general educational problems and in consequence is ignorant of them. . . . He is temperamentally rather impatient of men who disagree with him--and possibly a bit intolerant. . . . I cannot believe that at present he is mature enough wisely to shoulder so grave and critically important a task as that of your presidency.²⁷

Nevertheless, otherwise-deadlocked factions were swayed by the green candidate's fund-raising skills. More significantly, McArthur writes, the search

committee “fell under the spell” of Hutchins’ “inordinate charm.”²⁸

Dzuback notes that Hutchins had never taught beyond the introductory level in any of the disciplines about which he was to make judgments, he held no advanced degree in the Arts and Sciences, and he was assuming the helm of a prominent research university without ever having conducted an empirical study. He was not, Dzuback writes, by any 20th century definition, “a scholar.”²⁹ The Hutchins Plan, the Hutchins Commission, and experimental teacher training projects funded by the Ford Foundation in the 1950s would later be among Hutchins’ projects criticized for their lack of methodology.

In 1929, Herbert Hoover was president and Prohibition was in force. Al “Scarface” Capone, who had been born in the same New York borough on the same day as Hutchins, battled George “Bugs” Moran to control the illegal liquor business in Chicago. Some 60 percent of American citizens had annual incomes of less than \$2,000, which marked the poverty level. On October 29, Black Tuesday, the stock market crashed and the Great Depression began.³⁰ Less than a month later, the University’s first official inauguration was staged in a grand manner never to be equalled at Chicago. Among the 600 in the academic procession down the Midway were delegates from nearly 300 colleges and universities, including Angell and 111 other presidents.³¹

Chicagoans were hoping for a young William Rainey Harper, but they got something very different. When Harper took office as the founding president in 1892 at age 35, he was only five years older than Hutchins was when the latter was inaugurated in 1929. As Ashmore notes, each was a “bold experimentalist,” both harnessed the power of publicity by “staging grand assemblies,” both were adept fund-raisers, and both advocated lower division general education with deferred specialization.³² Despite such similarities, however, the differences between Harper and Hutchins were significant. For more than 200 years,

American higher education had followed the prescribed curriculum of the classics, but Chicago's founding president broke with this collegiate model. Harper established German methods of textual criticism and scientific inquiry; Hutchins fought to reinstate universal grounding in the pre-empirical classics. Harper was an Old Testament scholar; Hutchins rejected research methodology, at least in the social sciences, and he argued that nontheological metaphysics should be the glue of education. Harper believed those who recorded the words of the Bible were fallible and influenced by the cultures in which they lived; Hutchins believed truths to be ageless and universal. Whereas Harper's New Plan channeled the university's resources into research, the Hutchins Plan focused on the undergraduate curriculum. Shils (1991) describes the high level at which Harper's successors built on the specialization and graduate aspects of the University's mission:

It was a period of steady progress of the University as a site of great research and inspiring teaching. In a relatively short time, the University of Chicago became one of the major centers of advanced education and research in the United States; it trained a disproportionately large percentage of the university teachers, scholars, and scientists of this remarkable period.³³

When Hutchins focused on the general education College that had been neglected after Harper's death, the Hutchins Plan was really an altered version of Harper's New Plan. The Hutchins Plan was nevertheless inconsistent with the prevailing culture. Harper's two-year general education College was partially prescribed, allowing for introductory study in the departments; the Hutchins Plan called for a fully prescribed four-year general education curriculum with all specialization deferred to the postgraduate level. Harper gave attention to both general studies and specialized studies, with greater investment of resources in the latter; Hutchins focused on general studies to the exclusion of the specialized work that had grown strong in the autonomous departments created by Harper.

As Harris (1970) concludes, the Hutchins Plan “checked the traditional independence of the academic departments.”³⁴

The Hutchins Plan

Hutchins was troubled by the incoherence and triviality he confronted at Lake Placid, as well as the impermanence of “how-to-do-it” professional case studies at the Yale Law School. He sought a more coherent, meaningful “permanence” in education. He found in the ideas of Mortimer Adler an education philosophy that seemingly solved the problems that troubled him and conveniently was adaptable to a program of curriculum reform already planned for implementation at Chicago. Some observers have termed the “New Plan” initiated by Harper and altered by Hutchins as the “Chicago Plan.” Since the alterations were significant and unique in their aggregation, still others have referred to it as the “Hutchins Plan.”

The Problem

With Harper's concurrent inclusion of traditional liberal arts, graduate research and specialized training in the professions, Chicago was sometimes called “Harper's Bazaar,” a forerunner of the 20th century “multiversity.” Hutchins thought universities should instead maintain order and focus on the function they alone could best perform. He agreed with Babbitt and Lowell that the mission should be transmission of the liberal culture:

We may get order in the higher learning by removing from it the elements which disorder it today, and these are vocationalism and unqualified empiricism. If when these elements are removed we pursue the truth for its own sake in the light of some principle of order, such as metaphysics, we shall have a rational plan for a university.³⁵

The problem as perceived by Hutchins was thus how to restore order in higher education and focus on what the university should be doing. The university should *not* do what can be done better elsewhere, and training for practical work can be done better through apprenticeship; the university *should* do what cannot be done as well elsewhere, and education in mental discipline cannot be done as well elsewhere.

Vocationalism “leads to triviality and isolation,” Hutchins argued, “it debases the course of study and the staff.” And, he added, “it deprives the university of its only excuse for existence, which is to provide a haven where the search for truth may go on unhampered by utility or pressure for results.”³⁶ An institution that caters to the immediate needs of its social environment, Hutchins believed, is no university at all, but rather a “service station for the community.”³⁷ To keep the liberal arts undefiled by vocationalism or practical demands is to free the university to fulfill its unique function, and Hutchins offered what he was convinced was a superior alternative, a traditional liberal arts college with a number of research institutes and professional schools gathered nearby. Within the central structure, the “twin hallmarks” of the Hutchins Plan, Mayer writes, “were the Socratic discussion format and the use of original writings instead of textbooks.”³⁸

Implementing such a dramatic departure from the existing organization was facilitated by a proposal that awaited Hutchins' approval when he assumed the presidency. The undergraduate College created under Harper's New Plan had been neglected, and adoption of Dean Boucher's Chicago Plan to revitalize the College provided a framework in which to construct the Hutchins Plan. Despite some basic similarities, the New Plan, Chicago Plan and Hutchins Plan of Harper, Boucher and Hutchins, respectively, differed in their specifics.

The inherited plan: a partial solution

During his presidency, William Rainey Harper (1892-1906) constructed a lower division College with a separate faculty. The autonomy and importance of Harper's Academic or Junior College waned in the ensuing years under the presidencies of Judson, Burton and Mason. Henry Pratt Judson (1906-23) had been dean of both the Junior and Senior Colleges under Harper; his administration expanded graduate programs, increased the endowment and stabilized finances. Ernest DeWitt Burton (1923-25) had been at Chicago since its founding in 1892; he directed the libraries and taught New Testament and early Christian literature. During the two-year presidency that ended with his unexpected death in 1925, Burton channeled funds into science laboratories. Max Mason (1925-27), a distinguished mathematician and physicist at the University of Wisconsin before coming to Chicago, also emphasized scientific research. However, Mason also established a committee chaired by Chauncey Boucher, dean of the College, to examine undergraduate education, which had been neglected since Harper's time. During the interim presidency of Frederick C. Woodward (1927-29), Boucher submitted a proposal that called for a single set of introductory courses to replace the four existing undergraduate programs.³⁹

When Hutchins inherited Boucher's proposal, he also inherited an administrative structure he considered disorderly and unwieldy. Authority over course offerings, appointments and budgets was exercised by department heads, each with specialized academic interests. Hutchins' first move, therefore, was to regroup the departments in five new divisions. Authority over budget and personnel recommendations would be transferred from the departments to the five divisional deans, who would answer directly to the president.⁴⁰

1930: divisional organization. Hutchins' first proposal, a one-page document calling for revival of the junior division, was approved by the faculty

in October 1930 after 12 minutes of deliberation. Harper's New Plan had called for the separation of lower division or general education studies in the Academic or Junior College from upper division or specialization in the University or Senior College. During the years between Harper's death in 1906 and Hutchins' inauguration in 1929, the faculty became more interested in their areas of specialization and neglected the lower division general education program.⁴¹

Boucher's proposal for revitalization of the general education College provided a forum for the common experience that Hutchins wanted to provide. Hutchins favored a four-year program, but Boucher's two-year program was a starting point. Hutchins approved Boucher's proposal and immediately began expanding it, first by regrouping the departments into the Divisions of Humanities, Social Sciences, Physical Sciences and Biological Sciences, each with a dean who managed the curriculum, personnel and budget, and who reported directly to the president. These four divisions and the College were to be what Ashmore (1994) calls "coequal fifths."⁴² By shifting power from departments to the deans, the number of offices reporting to the president was reduced from as many as 80 to only 14, including the deans of the five divisions and six professional schools, and the heads of the library, the Oriental Institute and the University Press. The new arrangement facilitated interdisciplinary studies. However, because these categories are not mutually exclusive, faculty in some academic departments were separated by divisional affiliation; for example, historians were distributed in the Social Sciences and Humanities Divisions, and anthropologists were distributed in the Biological Sciences and Social Sciences Divisions.⁴³

A Curriculum Committee composed of representatives from each of the four divisions and chaired by Boucher was established shortly after the reorganization proposal was accepted in 1930. Hutchins forced the appointment

of Mortimer Adler to the University's faculty, and Boucher seated Adler on the Committee in January 1931 at the president's request. Adler submitted four lists of Great Books to be the basis of four introductory general courses corresponding to the academic divisions. The Committee was "neither impressed nor swayed by the book lists," Dzuback writes, but Hutchins and Adler continued their efforts to construct a Great Books program.⁴⁴

1932: extended survey courses and autonomous appointments. Hutchins' second set of proposals was also approved by the faculty senate, albeit with some reluctance, establishing two new policies: (1) a fully prescribed two-year general education curriculum of year-long interdisciplinary courses to replace 10-week discrete, unrelated courses, and (2) a mechanism for the appointment of faculty to the undergraduate College without concurrent appointment to departments.⁴⁵

Under Harper, the Junior College was largely prescribed with three electives; the Senior College was largely elective as determined by departments. In the ensuing years, adjustments were made to allow for increased departmental concentration and more elective choice. In the early 1920s, Dean David Allan Robertson defined the mission of the two Colleges as efficient preparation for occupations. Robertson's successor, Ernest Hatch Wilkins, dean from 1923 to 1926, introduced survey courses with moderate success as a general introduction to the academic fields. Wilkins' successor, Boucher, recommended replacing departmental introductory courses with year-long sequential courses and substituting comprehensive examinations for course credits.⁴⁶

Under Hutchins, year-long general courses were to be fully prescribed, initially by the four divisions and ultimately by the undergraduate College independent of the divisions. The two-year general education program favored by Harper and Boucher would consume all four undergraduate years under Hutchins. Course credits and grades would be replaced by comprehensive

examinations, which could be taken at any time and as many times as an undergraduate desired.⁴⁷

1937: lowered admission age. Both Harper and Hutchins advocated in theory termination of secondary education after the sophomore year of high school, with the bachelor's degree awarded after four years of general education at the end of the "14th grade."⁴⁸ However, Harper's two-year Junior College admitted high school graduates, at roughly age 18. In 1939, Hutchins suggested an eight-year general education program beginning in the seventh grade, but he generally adhered to his proposal for a four-year program beginning after the sophomore year of high school.⁴⁹ Hutchins had skipped seventh grade and at age 16 had begun college, the age he recommended for everyone to begin college, and the approximate age at which boys often entered colleges early in the 19th century before the widespread development of American high schools.

Hutchins also believed the entire four-year undergraduate experience should be devoted to general education with the awarding of the bachelor's degree based on demonstrated mastery of the classics. All specialization and vocationalism should be deferred, for those qualified, until graduate school. Students were expected to engage in Socratic discussion concerning the interdisciplinary study of Great Books of Western culture. All students, after they have completed six years of elementary and four years of secondary school, Hutchins said in 1935, should "choose one of two programs." They could select "general education" or "technical or homemaking training of sub-professional type for those who do not want, or would not profit by a general education."⁵⁰ He amended this argument within the year when he decided everyone should have a general education before choosing between advanced study and vocational training.

Hutchins cautioned against substituting experience for education. He

insisted on a distinction between the development of rational mental discipline through education and the technical training that can be acquired through experience. Hutchins thought training should take place in apprenticeships, vocational-technical institutions and graduate level professional schools. Non-specialized general education in the university, on the other hand, should be recognized by the bachelor's degree, awarded after four years of interdisciplinary general education, preferably beginning after two years of high school. After another three years of specialized study, the master's degree should credential teachers as it did in medieval Europe. In addition, he had previously suggested reserving the Ph.D. (doctor of philosophy) for those who wanted to teach and awarding a D.Sc. (doctor of science) to those committed to research; he later confessed he had not found a single member of the faculty who agreed with him concerning the teaching-research degree distinction.⁵¹

The proposal to admit students after the sophomore year of high school was approved in 1937, but the departments mustered adequate resistance to defer transfer of degree-granting power from the departments to a new four-year College. By the wartime year of 1942, however, the dramatically altered composition of the faculty provided a forum less resistant to such proposals.

1942: four-year general education bachelor's degree. After the United States entered World War II in December 1941, many of the academic specialists who had opposed deferment of specialization in general, and specifically a general education bachelor's degree, were off-campus in war-related work. By 1942, many of the scientists were working on the atomic bomb project in remote locations, many of the communications specialists were in Washington dealing with propaganda and war information, and economists and lawyers were in such demand that the Chicago Law School was only nominally operational. The "wartime dispersal" of the specialists was, according to McNeill, a "critical factor

in allowing humanists to assume the leading role in reforming the College." On January 22, 1942, the faculty senate, pruned of specialists, approved a motion that the bachelor's degree be awarded in recognition of the completion of general education as defined by the College faculty.⁵²

Hutchins initially proposed abolition of the Ph.B. (bachelor of philosophy) and the B.S. (bachelor of science), with the College faculty rather than divisional faculty conferring the B.A. (bachelor of arts) at the end of the general education program. He proposed that the B.A. be the only undergraduate degree available at the University and that it be conferred autonomously by the College; departments and divisions would have no role in undergraduate degree-granting. Hutchins also wanted to replace the two-year College with a four-year College, but a compromise instituted two parallel programs, largely because the decimated ranks of the scientists still insisted on some undergraduate preparation for the divisions. After 1942, students could choose between the fully prescribed option for the B.A. and the near-fully prescribed option for the Ph.B. which allowed two electives. Hutchins agreed to defer abolition of the Ph.B., but he sought the appointment of new faculty who favored liberal arts education and would likely support the rest of his Plan.⁵³

In the four-year curriculum that operated alongside the two-year program, students were required to pass 15 comprehensive examinations based on four three-year courses corresponding to the divisions, along with a one-year philosophy course and two electives from the departments. Classes were held in a building separate from the two-year College.⁵⁴

Although the faculty had by and large accepted the two-year general education curriculum, many objected to the four-year program. Particularly troubled were scientists who had to compensate for the pre-professional background students lacked when they entered the divisions. Zoologist Carl

Moore argued that two years of general education are adequate; the kind of focused work science students need should not be neglected.⁵⁵ Physiologist R.W. Gerard did not understand why specialized study could not proceed concurrently with general education.⁵⁶ Physicist H.I. Schlesinger thought general courses and comprehensive examinations lead to a “deterioration” in students’ ability to master a topic thoroughly and to focus on specific rather than proximate knowledge.⁵⁷ Political scientist Leonard White said he was “not persuaded that any single curriculum is the necessary and only road to a general education.”⁵⁸ Even supporters of Hutchins, like Ronald Crane and David Riesman, broke with the president over full prescription throughout the undergraduate experience.

Crane had reputedly circulated a letter a few years earlier, suggesting that the history department be abolished because history was studied in the other departments. Despite such confidence in the interdisciplinary two-year College, however, Crane opposed the “highly rigid and inflexible” four-year program that would interfere with the “selection and early training of bright young students who wish to become scholars.”⁵⁹

Another educator who favored general education reform but became disenchanted with Hutchins’ extreme measures was David Riesman. One of his roommates at Harvard was Donald Meiklejohn, son of Alexander Meiklejohn and a graduate student in philosophy. Riesman was invited by Edward Shils in January 1946 to teach sociology in the Hutchins College. The year after arriving at Chicago, Riesman persuaded Donald Meiklejohn, who embraced the philosophies of his father and of Hutchins, to join the Chicago faculty. “My own attitude toward Hutchins was ambivalent,” Riesman (1992) explains:

I supported Hutchins against his enemies both at Chicago and elsewhere. However, we had substantial differences concerning the College. For one thing, I was eager to include extensive empirical work

. . . [which] Hutchins considered trivial and ephemeral. . . . I regarded Hutchins as making a profound mistake both politically and educationally when he insisted that the College program be complete in itself and sealed off from electives in the graduate divisions. . . . When he [closed] off apertures for electives, I fought the decision as a mistake--as indeed it turned out to be, since the limited capital of goodwill the College had among the graduate divisions pretty much evaporated at this point. I also believed that students should be exposed to specialists as well as generalists as part of their general education--a judgment that Hutchins, with a certain grandiosity, easily dismissed. . . . I was troubled by the fact that I could see bright undergraduates whom I had known in the College become more timid and less exploratory . . . stereotypically qualitative . . . when they entered the Ph.D. program in sociology.⁶⁰

Riesman decided to look for a university with a more balanced curriculum.

When he accepted an appointment at Harvard, Riesman said, it was a "sad and difficult parting."⁶¹

Chief among the problems that four years of prescribed general education posed for students, particularly in applied fields, were those of transfer, not only transfer into Chicago or out of Chicago, but within the University. Those who wanted to transfer to Chicago from other institutions had to start from square one because the year-long courses could not be equated with curriculum elsewhere. Even among those who might have begun their college experiences at Chicago, few could afford to defer their careers, particularly war veterans, many with families, who had already been delayed because of military service. Those who could afford the time and money to devote several years to general education faced transfer roadblocks upon graduation. Many other institutions would not accept a degree from Chicago without significant additional undergraduate work. In fact, some of Chicago's own graduate programs considered products of the College deficient in the principles of the disciplines. Because the results of comprehensive examinations could not be equated with course credits at other institutions, and because graduates of the College were deficient in disciplinary fundamentals, direct admission of students with the Chicago B.A.

into graduate schools became rare. Finally, if students could afford to defer career preparation, and if they could overcome deficiencies in order to transfer into a graduate program, they sometimes had trouble getting jobs. In fact, graduates of the Chicago Law School could not easily be placed in the Chicago firms that were interested in case law precedent rather than the Hutchins curriculum based on jurisprudence.⁶²

That the University of Chicago under Hutchins did not satisfy student needs and desires is reflected by enrollment statistics. Chicago's entering class of 1932 numbered 723, compared to 594 in 1937 and 653 in 1940. This decline may be partially attributable to the Great Depression, and it should be noted that Hutchins maintained a scholarship fund during the 1930s by contributing the fees he earned for public speaking. From 1940, the year before American involvement in World War II, until 1951, Hutchins' last year at Chicago, enrollment declined 18 percent. Enrollment at most institutions dramatically increased following the war, particularly with veterans who received G.I. Bill financing. However, from the time the four-year prescribed program was instituted in the wartime year of 1942 until the 1952-53 academic year following Hutchins' departure from Chicago, enrollment dipped from 2,570 to 1,450. Following Hutchins' departure and retirement of his Plan, both overall and first-year enrollment steadily increased at the University of Chicago.⁶³

Metaphysics: the ordering principle

Hutchins believed general education should draw together the elements of common culture, and he saw these elements as being universal and enduring, regardless of time or place: "Education implies teaching. Teaching implies knowledge. Knowledge is truth. The truth is everywhere the same."⁶⁴ Hutchins could not be swayed from the conviction that the world is arranged in an orderly

fashion with everything somehow connected to everything else under a fixed hierarchy of knowledge. He believed that the university, through “metaphysical reasoning,” could “clarify” the “basic ideas” that should be “communicated” to the young.⁶⁵ He never defined metaphysics, and, as Dewey (1937) noted, he “completely evaded the problem of who is to determine the definite truths that constitute the hierarchy.”⁶⁶

What Hutchins did make apparent is that, whatever the hierarchy might be, nothing empirical or applied would be included because the nature of such fields contradicts permanence. He said science provides means, not ends.⁶⁷ And he believed that the idea of education as “life adjustment,” for preparation to live in any “accidental” time or place, is inconsistent with the true nature of the higher learning.⁶⁸ He held low regard for science professors, indeed for professors in general, an attitude he harbored as late as 1963, when he wrote, “professors are somewhat worse than other people,” and “scientists are somewhat worse than other professors.” He revealed a deep bias in his oversimplification when he wrote:

I knew an astronomer who was contributing to the international journals at the age of eleven. Compare that with the difficulty of contributing at a similar age to an international journal on, let us say, Greek law. A scientist has a limited education. He labors on the topic of his dissertation, wins the Nobel prize by the time he is thirty-five, and suddenly has nothing to do. He has no general ideas, and while he was pursuing his specialization science has gone past him. He has no alternative but to spend the rest of his life making a nuisance of himself.⁶⁹

Although it can be presumed that empirical and applied fields would have no place in Hutchins' hierarchy, it can only be speculated how that hierarchy would be determined. Similarly, it can only be speculated what he meant by metaphysics because he never defined it.⁷⁰

What, then, might be the concept of metaphysics that Hutchins proposed

as the ordering principle of higher education? "It sometimes is thought of as the counterpoint of physical science," William David Sloan (1990) offers, defining it as "the branch of philosophy concerned with cosmology and the ultimate grounds of being."⁷¹ It is "the study of the nature of reality," J. Herbert Altschull (1990) asserts. "Metaphysics deals with things that cannot be explained by our senses: God, for example, or life in outer space, or the occult."⁷²

Hutchins argued that metaphysical first principles are ruled by Aristotelian reason as opposed to the theological faith of the Middle Ages.⁷³ However, metaphysical philosophy is generally connected with the Middle Ages, and Hutchins got the concept from Adler, who was a self-proclaimed Thomist. In fact, Adler attributed metaphysical philosophy to the medieval university when he said, "theology was queen of the sciences and philosophy was her hand-maiden."⁷⁴ Dewey (1937) thus accused Hutchins of "historical illiteracy." Aristotle was a scientist, who "observed the undoubted fact that moral practices and aims change from place to place and time to time," Dewey wrote, concluding that science was not subordinate in the thinking of Aristotle, nor should it be to modern educators.⁷⁵ Edward A. Purcell, Jr. (1973) concludes that Hutchins accepted "a medieval philosophy--the prime historical symbol of ignorance and repression."⁷⁶

Moreover, there is evidence to indicate that Hutchins identified metaphysics as the ordering principle for the university merely to bypass the sticky topic of theology. He insisted that either theology or metaphysics "must be called upon to order the thought of modern times." He reasoned that because "we are a faithless generation," and because "theology is banned by law from some universities," it would be "futile" to "look to theology."⁷⁷ Nevertheless, as Harris (1970) notes, Hutchins' assumptions about a metaphysical ordering of knowledge took on "theological overtones."⁷⁸ And Brubacher (1965) concludes

that Hutchins was “willing to settle for metaphysics.”⁷⁹

The faculty took exception to Hutchins' conceptualization of metaphysics, not only because of its esoteric nature, but also because of Hutchins' proposition that it be supreme in an academic hierarchy. As Dzuback notes:

The implication was that one group of scholars would make judgments about the importance of the work of all other scholars in the university. This suggestion was threatening because the president's closest friend [Adler] on campus was not only a self-proclaimed philosopher but also a severe critic of the claims to validity (and authority) of the social sciences.⁸⁰

In protest, the College Curriculum Committee drafted a resolution that was endorsed by the faculty. The resolution denounced “any form of rationalist absolutism” as “incompatible with the idea of a community of scholars and students”:

For over forty years the university has led a distinguished existence without being officially committed to any single system of metaphysics, psychology, logic, religion, politics, economics, art, or scientific method. To follow the reactionary course of accepting one particular system of ancient or medieval metaphysics and dialectics and to force our whole educational program to conform thereto, would spell disaster. We cannot commit ourselves to such a course.⁸¹

Adler (1977) argues that, contrary to the claims of the resolution, there was a pervasive value system at the University of Chicago. Adler accurately notes that the “empiricism, pragmatism, and relativism of Dewey” came to dominate not only the Chicago School and the University as a whole, but the work of other institutions as well.⁸² However, the Chicago School was voluntarily emulated because it offered interdisciplinary, interinstitutional appeal. On the other hand, the metaphysical philosophy of the Hutchins Plan was resisted because it would have imposed dogma contradictory to prevailing values.

Hutchins' presumption that truth rather than personal advancement ought to be the student's sole preoccupation, Levine (1986) writes, “proved to be

too much to ask of nearly all colleges and universities, even his own."⁸³ With the faculty squarely in opposition to the Hutchins-Adler camp, what became known as the Chicago Fight began. "Dispensing with kid gloves and Queensberry rules," Adler writes, "the discussion turned into something of a public brawl."⁸⁴

Notes

1. On Hutchins' youth: Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 3-19; Milton Mayer (John Hicks, ed.), *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 11-4; Harry S. Ashmore, *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989) 3-4; William H. McNeill, *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 18. [See Appendix A. Genealogy.]
2. Donald M. Love, *Henry Churchill King of Oberlin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956) 153. [See Ashmore (1989) 13.]
3. Mayer (1993) 99.
4. On Oberlin: Ashmore (1989) 3-15; Mayer (1993) 13-28; Dzuback (1991) 8-20; McNeill (1991) 19-20.
5. Hutchins, letter to "Mother, Father and Francis" (17 Nov. 1918), quoted in Ashmore (1989) 22. [On World War I: Ashmore (1989) 16-24; Dzuback (1991) 21-6; Mayer (1993) 29-32; McNeill (1991) 21.]
6. Hutchins, commencement address, Asheville School, Asheville, NC (18 May 1944), quoted in Ashmore (1989) 23-4. [Brother William Hutchins was headmaster of the school at the time.]
7. On Yale: Mayer (1993) 35-79; Ashmore (1989) 25-56; Dzuback (1991) 27-66; McNeill (1991) 22-5.
8. Benjamin McArthur, "Revisiting Hutchins and *The Higher Learning in America*," *History of Higher Education Annual* (1987) 10.
9. Dzuback (1991) 38-41; Mayer (1993) 47-8; Ashmore (1989) 20-30.
10. Mayer (1993) 45-7.
11. Dzuback (1991) 37; Mayer (1993) 40; Ashmore (1989) 34-5.
12. Mayer (1993) 51-2.
13. Michael R. Harris, *Five Counterrevolutionists in Higher Education* (Corvallis: Oregon State University, 1970) 135; Ashmore (1989) 51-2. [See Mortimer Adler, "The Chicago Fight," *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977) 50, excerpted from Adler, *Philosopher at Large* (New York: Macmillan, 1977).]
14. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Nation's Law Schools: What we need is the liveliest kind of debate," dedication speech, Rutgers Law School, 1966, in *The Center Magazine* (Jul./Aug. 1986) 51-9.
15. Mayer (1993) 58-60.
16. Harry S. Ashmore, introduction to *The Higher Learning in America*, by

- Hutchins (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994).
17. Ashmore (1989) 114; Mayer (1993) 76.
 18. Mayer (1993) 64, 66, 69.
 19. Ibid., 70, 78-9.
 20. Ashmore (1994).
 21. Mayer (1993) 77-9.
 22. Dzuback (1991) 64. [See John Henry Schlegel, "American Legal Realism and Empirical Social Science: The Singular Case of Underhill Moore," *Buffalo Law Review* 29 (1980) 204-13.]
 23. McArthur (1987) 11.
 24. Ibid.
 25. Ashmore (1989) 60.
 26. Dzuback (1991) 71-2.
 27. James Rowland Angell, letter to Harold Swift (16 Apr. 1929), quoted in Ashmore (1989) 60. [See Dzuback (1993) 206; McArthur (1987) 11.]
 28. McArthur (1987) 11.
 29. Dzuback (1991) 58.
 30. Gorton Carruth, *What Happened When: A Chronology of Life & Events in America* (New York: Signet, 1991) 708-15.
 31. Tim Obermiller, "First Impressions," *University of Chicago Magazine* 86.2 (Dec. 1993) 32-3; McNeill (1991) 26-7. [Presidents who declined an inauguration: William Rainey Harper (1892-1906), Henry Pratt Judson (1906-23), Ernest DeWitt Burton (1923-25), Max Mason (1925-27). Acting presidents: James Rowland Angell (before his Yale presidency) and Frederick C. Woodward (1927-29 and a candidate competing against Hutchins for the permanent appointment).]
 32. Ashmore (1989) 66-7, 71-2.
 33. Shils (1991) 185.
 34. Harris (1970) 156.
 35. Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1936) 117.
 36. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 32.
 37. Robert M. Hutchins, *Freedom, Education, and the Fund* (New York, 1956) 117.
 38. Mayer (1993) 351.
 39. Samuel Chauncey Boucher (A.J. Brumbaugh, ed.), *The Chicago College Plan*, 2d ed. (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1940 [1935]); Dzuback (1991) 68, 74; Obermiller (1993) 32-5.
 40. Ashmore (1994).
 41. Mayer (1993) 96.
 42. Ashmore (1994).
 43. Dzuback (1991) 110-1.
 44. Ibid., 93, 119-20. [See Adler, *Philosopher at Large* (1977) 143-5.]
 45. Mayer (1993) 99; Dzuback (1991) 124-5.
 46. Dzuback (1991) 112-3.
 47. Mayer (1993) 99-103; Dzuback (1991) 120; Ashmore (1989) 96.
 48. Ashmore (1989) 134-6.

49. Dzuback (1991) 158.
50. Robert Hutchins, "Outlook for Public Education," an address to the Pittsburgh Teachers Association (29 Apr. 1935). [See Ashmore (1989) 148-9.]
51. Ashmore (1989) 136, 149. [Hutchins' comparison of the Ph.D. for teaching and the Sc.D. for research foreshadows current doctoral options in the form of an Ed.D. (doctor of education) for teaching instead of the traditional Ph.D. See Charles J. Sykes, *Profscam* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990) for an in-depth examination of the professoriate, including the appropriateness of doctoral programs for the preparation of post-secondary teachers.]
52. McNeill (1991) 110-1.
53. Dzuback (1991) 130-1.
54. Donald L. Levine, "Challenging Certain Myths about the 'Hutchins' College," *University of Chicago Magazine* 77 (Win. 1985) 36-9, 51. [See Dzuback (1991) 128-9.]
55. Carl R. Moore, memo to the College Committee on Policy and Personnel, University of Chicago, 18 Feb. 1942, quoted in Dzuback (1991) 138.
56. R.W. Gerard, memo to Alfred Emerson, University of Chicago (12 Feb. 1942), quoted in Dzuback (1991) 138.
57. H.I. Schlesinger, memo to C.H. Faust, University of Chicago (10 Feb. 1942), quoted in Dzuback (1991) 138.
58. Leonard White, in Minutes of the Council of the University Senate, University of Chicago (5 Mar. 1946) 3, 6-7, quoted in Dzuback (1991) 138.
59. Ronald S. Crane, "Statement to the Board of Trustees by Members of the Committee of the Council" (2 Apr. 1946), quoted in Dzuback (1991) 138-9 and McNeill (1991) 111-4.
60. David Riesman, "My Education in Soc 2 and My Efforts to Adapt it in the Harvard Setting," in MacAloon, ed., *General Education in the Social Sciences: Centennial Reflections on the College of the University of Chicago* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
61. *Ibid.*, 199-200.
62. Seymour Martin Lipset and David Riesman, *Education and Politics at Harvard* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975) 305n, 317n; Dzuback (1991) 149.
63. Dzuback (1991) 154-6 (also see appendices, pp. 285-7).
64. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 66.
65. Hutchins, "The Issue in the Higher Learning," (1934) 182; Hutchins, "The Next Fifty Years" (1941) 335. [See Harris (1970) 149-51.]
66. John Dewey, "President Hutchins's Proposals to Remake Higher Education," *The Social Frontier* 3 (Jan. 1937) 103-4. [Reprinted in Hoftstadter and Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* (University of Chicago Press, 1961) 949-54. The Hutchins-Dewey debate was covered in several issues of *The Social Frontier*: Dec. 1937, 71-3; Jan. 1937, 103-4; Feb. 1937, 137-9; Mar. 1937, 167-9.]
67. Robert M. Hutchins, *No Friendly Voice* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1936) 34.
68. Robert M. Hutchins, "What Is General Education?" *Harper's Magazine* 173 (Nov. 1936) 603. [See Brubacher (1965) 23.]

69. Robert M. Hutchins, "Science, Scientists, and Politics," an Occasional Paper (The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1963), reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Nov.-Dec. 1987) 29-30.
70. McArthur (1987) 23.
71. William David Sloan, ed., *Makers of the Media Mind: Journalism Educators and Their Ideas* (Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1990) 337.
72. J. Herbert Altschull, *From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1990) 15, 357.
73. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 97-9.
74. Adler, "The Chicago Fight," (1977) 58.
75. Dewey, "President Hutchins's Proposals..." (1937) 103-4; Blevens, "The Rise and Fall of a Middle Brow: Robert M. Hutchins's Victorian Influence on High Culture and Low Journalism," a paper presented in the Qualitative Studies Division at the National Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Atlanta GA (10-13 Aug. 1944) 11.
76. Edward A. Purcell, *The Crisis of Democratic Thought* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1973) 152. [See Purcell, *The Crisis of Democratic Theory, Scientific Naturalism and the Problem of Value* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1974).]
77. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 97-9.
78. Harris (1970) 160.
79. Brubacher (1965) 115.
80. Dzuback (1991) 186-7.
81. Adler, "The Chicago Fight," (1977) 54-5.
82. Ibid., 55.
83. David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration: 1915-1940* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1986) 105.
84. Adler, "The Chicago Fight," (1977) 56.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS: CHICAGO BATTLES

To implement the dramatic changes in mission, administrative structure and curriculum that Robert Hutchins wanted at the University of Chicago, he engaged in a battle to install like-minded men in key positions. To counter opposition to the Hutchins Plan, he authored a manifesto that stirred rather than quelled bickering. When it became clear that hostility to his Plan and his manifesto was insurmountable, he fought both a series of losing campaigns for someplace else to go and a series of clashes with the faculty in an effort to create a community of scholars in which he could stay. When all of these battles took their toll on Hutchins, he went on a leave of absence during which he engaged in three projects that set the tone for his life as it would be after Chicago.

The battle to gather like-minded men

The first order of business at Chicago was to create a structure wherein Hutchins had the power to implement his proposals, with like-minded men in positions of authority. The new five-division structure concentrated great power over curricular and personnel matters in a handful of deans who reported directly to the president. The dean of Social Sciences was Beardsley Rumml, an old friend from Yale days, who was succeeded by Robert Redfield in 1934 and John Nef in 1945. In 1935, two Great Books colleagues became deans, Richard McKeon in Humanities and William H. Taliaferro in Biological Sciences. In 1940, Arthur

Holly Compton became dean of Physical Sciences. In the College, the deanship passed from Chauncey Boucher to A.J. Brumbaugh in 1941 and to Clarence Faust in 1946. That left the job of installing supporters in other key positions.

Hutchins forced appointments with what Dzuback terms a “virtual lack of understanding of, and indifference to, the traditions and cultures of the university.”¹ And Mayer concludes that it was “Hutchins' sorriest hour.”² Chief among Hutchins' desired appointees were Mortimer Adler, first and foremost, followed by the Scott Buchanan - Stringfellow Barr duo, Richard McKeon and Mark Van Doren. Also important to Hutchins, although men who did not engage in the curricular battles that ensued, were long-time financial benefactor William Benton and lifelong best friend Thornton Wilder.

Mortimer Jerome Adler shaped Hutchins' ideas more than anyone else.³ His Ph.D. is the only diploma Adler ever received. He dropped out of high school just before his 16th birthday and got a job as a copy boy on the *New York Sun*, where, incidentally, the father of Maude Phelps McVeigh worked as an editor. His newspaper job allowed him time to read (primarily philosophy) extensively. “Adler had a quick and, above all, a tidy mind,” McNeill writes. “He delighted in words and wanted them well arranged so as to order and classify truth in its totality,” an impulse that appealed to Hutchins. Because Adler, like Hutchins, could not tolerate “discrepancies of doctrine,” McNeill adds, “he passionately took the side of truth as the truth appeared to him.”⁴ Mayer describes how “fantastically fastidious” Adler was: “His working materials had to be of the most lavish order and always in order. Every book in his own library was classified and catalogued.”⁵

Sans high school diploma, Adler was admitted to Columbia, where John Dewey was one of the most renowned and respected professors. Dewey was the repeated victim of Adler's disrespectful and self-admitted “obnoxious” style of

criticism because, whereas Adler agreed with the absolutism of Plato and the 18th-century German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, Dewey was a relativist who believed the moral right depended on the specifics of each situation. Although Adler was denied a B.A. because of his refusal to attend Columbia's required physical education classes, he applied for a teaching job. The Philosophy Department "would not have him," McNeill writes, so he shifted to psychology.⁶ As a graduate student, Adler became a disciple of John Erskine, thereby encountering the Great Books and a world of abstract philosophy that accommodated his need for order. As Mayer explains:

He could, and did, deal with democracy in the abstract, capitalism in the abstract, war in the abstract, world government in the abstract, man in the abstract, and God (how else!) in the abstract--with no documentation at all. . . . His lifelong marketplace moonlighting, all of it legal and some of it respectable . . . included consultantships to anybody or anything: for Bamberger's department store he developed the theory that electric toasters and bobby pins evolve like new biological species.⁷

Hutchins and Adler first met in 1927 when the latter was two years shy of his doctorate at Columbia and Hutchins was dean of the Yale Law School. Hutchins dated his "true" education from the beginning of their association, which lasted 50 years until Hutchins died in 1977. Adler's influence on Hutchins was so pervasive that, without having read Dewey's work, Hutchins accepted Adler's contempt for progressive ideas about education in general and for Dewey in particular, a curious approach for Hutchins, given his insistence on studying original texts, but indicative of his reliance on Adler. After many years of open sparring, when Hutchins finally read Dewey for himself, he began to realize that he had harbored "some misconceptions."⁸

When Hutchins was appointed president of the University of Chicago in 1929, he had no firm ideas about curricular content, except that it should be more coherent. However, Adler had a "plethora" of ideas, Ashmore writes, and he

“bombaraded Hutchins with lengthy memoranda in the year before the president succeeded in bringing him to Chicago.”⁹ Adler “entertained bright visions of what he could do with Hutchins' backing to straighten out professorial thinking in all branches of learning,” McNeill writes. He told Hutchins he wanted to do for the 20th century what Aquinas had done in the 13th century.¹⁰

When Hutchins' appointment at Chicago was announced, Adler had just finished whipping out his 77-page dissertation in 20 hours.¹¹ On June 27, 1929, more than four months before his inauguration, Hutchins received a letter from Adler, informing him that Buchanan and McKeon had both refused the philosophy chairmanship at Cornell because they preferred to join Hutchins at Chicago.¹² Appointments of Adler, Buchanan and McKeon could change the pragmatic direction of the Philosophy Department, or so Adler advised Hutchins. This suggestion led Hutchins “to make one of the most disastrous mistakes of the early years of his administration,” Adler (1977) later wrote. “It never occurred to me that academic appointments are not made by presidential fiat.” Adler described how a dinner in October 1929, just weeks before Hutchins' inauguration, presented an opportunity to bring the Great Books to Chicago:

Bob and I spent an evening together at the Yale Club in New York. On that occasion, Bob confessed to me that, in his career so far, he had never given much thought to the subject of education. He found this somewhat embarrassing now that he was president of a major university. I had never ever given much thought to the subject either. However, I could tell him what had been the most important factor in my own education--the Erskine General Honors course at Columbia. . . . I would not have been surprised to learn of Bob Hutchins' willingness to advocate the adoption of this program, but I was certainly surprised by a telephone call in which he asked whether I would be willing to teach the General Honors course with him the following September.¹³

Adler earned \$2,400 as an instructor at Columbia. He skipped the rank of assistant professor when he came to Chicago as an associate professor, and Hutchins gave the man who had just completed his dissertation a salary of

\$6,000, more than was being paid most senior professors in the University and more than was being paid to any professor in the department.¹⁴

In the months before Adler assumed his new position, faculty resented reports that he had termed their work "slop and bilge" at a party in New York in the spring of 1930 before beginning at Chicago the next fall.¹⁵ When he arrived on campus, he told the faculty of the Chicago School that they were guilty of logical ineptitude.¹⁶ He further antagonized, not only the philosophers, but psychologists, sociologists, economists and political scientists as well, with a speech that began, "The distinction between exact science (the physical sciences) and inexact science (the social sciences) is a distinction between good and bad science, not between two different kinds of science."¹⁷ J.H. Tufts resigned the department chairmanship and retired from academe in protest of Adler's appointment, and the matter reached "scandal proportions" by January 1931, Ashmore writes, with the resignations of George Mead, E.A. Burt and Arthur E. Murphy.¹⁸ Dr. Irene Tufts Mead, daughter of Tufts and daughter-in-law of Mead, recalled 40 years later that the faculty was "incensed" and the entire department "felt depreciated" when Hutchins "merely informed them" of Adler's appointment.¹⁹ To extend Adler's initial term contract, Hutchins persuaded the faculty of three departments to agree to a patchwork appointment for Adler to teach two philosophy courses, two law courses and two psychology courses.²⁰

Malcolm Sharpe, who had taught in Meiklejohn's Experimental College at Wisconsin, teamed with Adler in 1933 to create a prelaw honors course based on a year-long introduction to the Great Books. A majority of the law faculty supported Hutchins and Adler, who became tenured in 1937. Despite problems with placing jurisprudence graduates in law firms more interested in case studies precedent, the program continued throughout Hutchins' administration. Hutchins refused to countenance anti-Semitic objections when he named Edward

Levi dean in 1950, and Levi later said he considered Hutchins “one of the great persons” that he knew.²¹

With Adler's appointment, the emphasis in the Law School thus shifted from the “training” of lawyers to the “education” of jurists, and Socratic discussion of the Great Books was brought to the University of Chicago. The Hutchins-Adler Great Books course provided an opportunity to get Barr, Buchanan, McKeon and Van Doren on campus, even if temporarily. In 1931 and 1932, they were contracted to administer the oral examinations.²²

Much like Adler was a philosopher in the Law School, Buchanan wanted to be a philosopher in the Medical School. “Hutchins tried to place him there,” Ashmore writes, “but was rebuffed.”²³ However, Hutchins did manage to bring McKeon to Chicago in 1934 as a visiting professor. Then, “by a remarkable sleight of hand,” McNeill writes, McKeon “was swiftly transformed” in 1935 into dean of the Humanities Division.²⁴

Hutchins' boyhood pal, Thornton Wilder, joined the English Department “by presidential fiat,” Dzuback writes.²⁵ Although the appointment of a popular novelist with no academic degree was initially met with suspicion, the winner of two Pulitzer Prizes, for *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* (1928) and *Our Town* (1938), earned the respect of his colleagues.²⁶ Both Wilder and Bill Benton were long-time friends who supported Hutchins without getting directly involved in the curricular battles. Benton did, however, assist significantly with funding.

William Benton joined Yale classmate Chester Bowles to form the highly successful advertising agency, Benton & Bowles, in 1929, the year Hutchins was appointed president. Hutchins asked Benton to conduct an opinion survey in the mid-1930s and to devise strategies to improve the University's image. Benton brought a team of market researchers to Chicago to survey public attitudes toward the University in seven midwestern states. Benton's report identified

causes of “sales resistance” as three perceptions held by the public:

(1) radicalism, (2) a bad environment for students, and (3) an unsound administration. Benton's report specified in frank, informal language how the public viewed the University in regard to each of these concepts:

Radicalism: The University teaches subversive doctrines; over-emphasizes communism, is New Dealish to the point of pinkness. . . .

Environment bad for students: There is too much emphasis on book learning; scholastic requirements are too high; social life is neglected and fraternities are being killed off; the University is cold, impersonal toward students. As a result there are too many Jews, too many of the big-browed type, too many neurotics and bookworms. . . .

Unsound Administration: Mr. Hutchins should fire radical and communistic professors; he actually sympathizes with them and encourages them; is unsympathetic towards outside complaints and criticisms; does not engage in community activities; has little respect for tradition.²⁷

Hutchins was indeed dedicated to a tradition more ancient than that embraced by most of the University constituency. He wasn't about to fire “communistic professors,” lower academic standards or otherwise alter his ways. “The answer, then, was to appeal to regional pride by presenting the young president as one who had given comeuppance to the Eastern Seaboard snobs who looked down upon the Second City,” Ashmore writes. The catchword of the proposed “sales pitch” was “Excellence.”²⁸

The trustees appreciated Benton's recommendations and approved his appointment as a “half-time” vice-president at a salary of \$10,000.²⁹ The University profited well from its investment. For the next decade, Benton worked to enhance both the income and the image of the University through the development of the “Roundtable of the Air” educational radio program, acquisition and marketing of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and publication of the 54-volume *Great Books of the Western World*.³⁰

Benton further developed the Roundtable radio programming that had begun in 1931 with Chicago professors discussing topics of interest every Sunday on the NBC station, WMAQ. In 1932, station WIJD began broadcasting humanities course lectures at 1:30 p.m. three days per week. The Roundtable went national in 1932 and became the University's most powerful public relations instrument. It projected a positive image of the University across the nation, it influenced public opinion on nearly all of the national issues of the time, and it made a national name for its first moderator, Professor Thomas "T.V." Smith, who subsequently was elected to the U.S. Congress.³¹

Julius Rosenwald, University of Chicago trustee and founder of the giant Sears, Roebuck & Company mail-order house, engineered acquisition of the failing *Encyclopaedia Britannica* enterprise in the 1920s. In 1943, Benton persuaded General Robert Wood, then head of Sears, to donate the *Britannica* to the University. The conversation occurred over lunch at the Chicago Club in February. "Well, general, you know that universities don't have money to buy businesses," Benton said. "Why don't you make a gift of *Britannica* to the University of Chicago?" Wood went to his chauffeur-driven car without responding, rolled down the back window, grinned, and said, "All right, Bill, I'll give you the *Britannica*." The University accepted the gift and immediately sold it to Benton, retaining a three-percent royalty on sales. Benton became publisher and chairman of the Board of Directors, he put up the working capital, and his first act was to appoint Hutchins chairman of the Board of Editors.³²

Benton worked with Voice of America as assistant secretary of state for public affairs under Truman, and he was elected a U.S. senator from Connecticut in 1952. When he died in 1974, he left the *Britannica* to the William Benton Foundation, for which the University is the sole beneficiary.³³ The faculty did not object to the administrative appointment of Benton, but they did oppose the

academic appointments of Barr and Buchanan that were forced on them.

Scott Buchanan and Stringfellow Barr defy description apart from the Great Books or apart from each other. Buchanan earned his B.A. at Amherst in 1916; he credited Meiklejohn, then president of Amherst, with guiding him to the Socratic discussion. In 1919, he went to Oxford, where he met Barr, a fellow Rhodes Scholar. Buchanan's thesis was not accepted at Oxford, but he was admitted to Harvard on Meiklejohn's recommendation when he returned to the United States in 1921. Only the intervention of Alfred North Whitehead, a proponent of neoclassical curriculum and a colleague of Babbitt under Lowell's administration, saved the thesis from a second rejection.³⁴

In 1924, Buchanan went to New York and Barr went to Virginia, but they maintained correspondence during the next five years. Buchanan taught philosophy at the College of the City of New York for one year before joining the People's Institute, where non-credit lectures for adults were presented. Richard McKeon, who had recently returned to the United States after studying medieval education and philosophy under Etienne Gilson in Paris, was concurrently lecturing at Columbia and the People's Institute. McKeon suggested at that time that Buchanan and Adler, his fellow Erskine disciples of the Great Books, collaborate with him to plan a program based on the seven liberal arts of the medieval university for the order they could bring to higher education.³⁵

In 1929, Barr persuaded Buchanan to join him at the University of Virginia. While Barr was teaching history and Buchanan was teaching philosophy, the latter designed an early version of the Hutchins Plan. Partially because funding could not be secured, Buchanan's proposal was rejected at Virginia, a disappointment that heightened his interest in Chicago.³⁶

With private grant money to establish the Committee on the Liberal Arts, Hutchins brought Buchanan and Barr to Chicago in a manner not unlike the

“backdoor” admittance he gave McKeon in 1934. Hutchins asked Barr and Buchanan, whose proposed appointment through regular channels had been blocked by the faculty at Chicago, to spend the 1936-37 academic year as visiting professors on the Committee, which was headed by Arthur Rubin, an associate of Adler and McKeon at Columbia. In addition to Rubin, Adler, Barr, Buchanan and McKeon, those seated on the Committee included Malcolm Sharpe (another of Meiklejohn's proteges and Adler's friendly colleague in the Law School), Paul Goodman (one of McKeon's students at Columbia), and two of Buchanan's Virginia graduate students, Catesby Taliaferro and Charles Wallis.³⁷

The Committee was to consider the place of the seven liberal arts in higher education, but even a group of men in complete accord in the abstract found the search for absolute Truth elusive. Ashmore describes the deadlock over a starting point: “Adler urged an initial reading of Aquinas, while Buchanan held out for Aristotle. McKeon thought the Committee should first take a look at the liberal arts as they stood in the present.”³⁸ In addition, many faculty members regarded the Committee as a covert scheme to get Barr and Buchanan on campus.³⁹

In order to counter such criticism, Adler advised Hutchins to publish a “manifesto” on educational reform. The result was the slim (119 pages) but inflammatory book, *The Higher Learning in America* (1936).

The battle over the manifesto

The Higher Learning in America has enjoyed popular attention exceeding that of most educational works. It sold 8,500 copies in the first three years following its 1936 publication, it was serialized in the *Saturday Evening Post*, it was reissued in 1961 with a new preface by Hutchins, and it was reissued in 1994 with a foreword by Harry Ashmore. It remains, what McArthur (1987) terms, the

“most eloquent plea for an untarnished liberal arts curriculum.”⁴⁰

Ashmore explains that Hutchins first used the title, “The Higher Learning” for an address to Chicago students early in his administration in which he said, “The gadgeteers and data collectors, masquerading as scientists, have threatened to become the chieftains of the scholarly world.” A headline in the campus *Daily Maroon* summarized the reaction: “Hutchins Address Divides Faculty into Two Camps.” In an address to faculty and trustees, Hutchins followed with “The Higher Learning II,” in which he said the emphasis on data collection by natural scientists had “contaminated” with “anti-intellectualism” not only their own disciplines, but also those disciplines that tried to “imitate” their method.⁴¹

The Higher Learning reflected above all the argument delivered by the Yale Report of 1828 in favor of a classical curriculum. It also reiterated the call for a unified curriculum delivered by Newman in 1852 and Flexner in 1930, and it repeated the denunciation of commercial intrusion on education that Thorstein Veblen made in the first *Higher Learning in America* (1918). Unlike Flexner and Veblen, who thought the university should be primarily a place of research, Hutchins echoed the demand of Babbitt and Lowell for a focus on traditional liberal arts.

To Hutchins, *The Higher Learning* presented self-evident truths. He believed that pursuit of shallow values has led the American university and the society in which it exists to meaningless pursuit of multiple goals; he thought the resulting disorder was apparent. He believed that misdirected efforts toward multiple goals deprive the university of its reason for existence; he thought it was self-evident that “pursuit of truth” should be the primary mission. If the distractions are removed, and if knowledge is organized in a hierarchy that is easy to understand, the university will be free to pursue its primary mission.

The Higher Learning therefore began with an indictment of the disorder and absence of clarity that Hutchins thought characterize education.⁴² Hutchins identified the three primary obstacles to order and clarity as “love of money,” a “confused notion of democracy,” and an “erroneous notion of progress.” For love of money, he wrote, universities go to great lengths to “attract” and “amuse” students, and to cater to the whims of “public demands.” And with an erroneous notion of progress, universities pursue the aimless “accumulation of data.”⁴³ He insisted that universities should instead “have an educational policy and then try to finance it instead of letting financial accidents determine their educational policy.”⁴⁴ The educational policy should in turn provide guidelines to assist both students and professors. “In the current use of freedom it is an end in itself,” he wrote. “But it must be clear that if each person has the right to make and achieve his own choices the result is anarchy and the dissolution of the whole.” Rather than be allowed to “follow their own bents” and “gratify their own curiosity,” students and professors should be guided toward intellectual development.⁴⁵

Hutchins concluded that these three sources of confusion diverted the university from its proper mission. Rather than focusing on intellectual development, students and professors are concerned with preparation for “life work.” When the university tries to “prepare boys for trades,” Hutchins wrote, there is no limit to either the number of trades or the degree of triviality to which they will descend “on the ground that it may be helpful.” When universities descend into triviality, they lose sight of what is important. And when commitment to the important whole is abandoned for narrow specialization, the cohesion of community is lost to the isolation of the individual. Because of its attendant triviality and isolation, vocationalism “deprives the university of its only excuse for existence, which is to provide a haven where the search for truth may go on unhampered by utility.”⁴⁶

Hutchins believed that preparation for the “trades” should instead be accomplished through apprenticeship after “a common frame of reference” in the liberal arts has been established: “All there is to journalism can be learned through a good education and newspaper work. All there is to teaching can be learned through a good education and being a teacher.”⁴⁷ Everyone should receive “a good education” as preparation for one of three subsequent pursuits: (1) disciplinary specialization in a graduate school, (2) career preparation in a professional school, or (3) vocational preparation in a trade school or, preferably, in an apprenticeship.

Both in terminal programs for students who will not advance, and in preparatory programs for students who will pursue graduate study, Hutchins wrote, the “permanent studies” are the Great Books, “those books which have through the centuries attained the dimensions of classics.” He insisted that “it is impossible to understand any subject or to comprehend the contemporary world without them.”⁴⁸

Even after purging vocationalism, professionalism, specialization, election and isolation from the higher learning, and even after focusing on the “permanent studies” of the Great Books, Hutchins added, the university will still lack coherence unless there is established a “hierarchy of knowledge” and an “ordering principle” to that hierarchy. “If the world has no meaning, if it presents itself to us as a mass of equivalent data,” Hutchins explained, we “cannot understand it; there is no need to try.”⁴⁹ In arguing that “all truths cannot be equally important,” he wrote:

It is true that a finite whole is greater than any of its parts. It is also true, in the common-sense use of the word, that the New Haven telephone book is smaller than that of Chicago. The first truth is infinitely more fertile and significant than the second. . . . Real unity can be achieved only by a hierarchy of truths which shows us which are fundamental and which subsidiary, which significant and which not.⁵⁰

Hutchins did not specify how the hierarchy should be determined, but he said it should be ruled by metaphysics. He did not define metaphysics, but he said it is “the highest wisdom.”⁵¹

If we can “get order in the higher learning by removing from it the elements which disorder it today, and if we can then “pursue the truth for its own sake in the light of some principle of order, such as metaphysics,” and if we can outgrow the love of money and develop “a saner conception of democracy,” Hutchins concluded, “we can come to prefer intelligible organization to the chaos that we mistake for liberty.” Beyond that, perhaps we can maintain a “rationally ordered” society.⁵²

To many critics, *The Higher Learning* presented a bad plan. University of Wisconsin President Glenn Frank and New York University President Harry Woodburn Chase both faulted Hutchins' call to revive a philosophy of mental discipline that had long been discredited and discarded. Chase (1937) insisted that universal inference cannot be assumed for dogmatically prioritized values. “Values vary with individuals and with environment,” he said. Chase argued that any confusion in higher education has the “vitality and a certain lusty vigor of youth.” Chase questioned whether a single curriculum, especially one so demanding, could profit all undergraduates.⁵³

In *North American Review*, Christian Gauss (1937) characterized Hutchins' proposed curriculum as “one-sided, pedantic, uninteresting and fantastic in its paradoxical simplicity.”⁵⁴ In the *International Journal of Ethics*, Charles E. Clark (1937), Hutchins' mentor at the Yale Law School, to whom *The Higher Learning in America* was dedicated, warned of an “authoritarian deadening of inquiry” should a “forced unity of principle” be imposed.⁵⁵ After reading Hutchins' *The Higher Learning in America* and *No Friendly Voice*, both published in 1936, Chicago philosophy professor T.V. Smith (1937) wrote that Hutchins' style, “so singular as

to be arresting," is the "stuff of which great leaders are made," and nobody surpasses Hutchins in this quality, "unless perchance it be Mussolini."⁵⁶ In the *Bulletin of the Association of University Professors*, Quincy Wright (1944) wrote, "Truth itself is a process which can not be circumscribed in a formula or imagined in a Utopia."⁵⁷ Harvard President James Bryant Conant (1937) put his comments in a private letter to Hutchins. "I admire the way in which you wield your pen," Conant wrote, "but in this case I cannot refrain from expressing my hearty disapproval of almost all that you say." Conant's advice was to "throw your idea of a 'pervasive' philosophy into Lake Michigan."⁵⁸

By far, the strongest criticism of Hutchins' manifesto came from Harry Gideonse and John Dewey. In a 34-page pamphlet, Gideonse raised the substance of nearly all subsequent rebuttals to Hutchins' manifesto, and Dewey sparred with Hutchins in a series of vitriolic journal exchanges.⁵⁹

Gideonse was born in Rotterdam in 1901. He earned his bachelor's degree from Columbia College in 1923 and his doctorate in economics from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Internationales of the University of Geneva in 1928. He taught at Barnard, Columbia and Rutgers, and he served as the director of international students' work at Geneva before accepting a post at Chicago. He was an associate professor and chairman of the Social Sciences Curriculum Committee in 1936 when Hutchins published his manifesto. In rebuttal of *The Higher Learning in America*, Gideonse delivered a series of lectures that were published in 1937 as *The Higher Learning in a Democracy: A Reply to President Hutchins' Critique of the American University*. Hutchins vetoed his promotion at Chicago soon thereafter. Gideonse resigned and in 1939 became president of Brooklyn College.⁶⁰

As with many of Hutchins' other critics, Gideonse and Dewey had little quarrel with the faults of higher education cited by Hutchins; however, they found the proposed solutions highly disturbing. Gideonse argued that Hutchins'

proposed remedies were not just deficient or misdirected, but actually dangerous because of their reliance on an ill-defined concept of metaphysics as the basis for a new unity. He also noted a fallacious assumption Hutchins made concerning the process of learning. He faulted Hutchins for considering theory and experience to be mutually exclusive functions, "based upon an unproved assumption about the transfer of learning":

It is taken for granted that participation in practice requires no special training, a brief apprenticeship under technicians will suffice to make a superior practitioner of the theoretical product of the higher learning. This easy faith arises out of a prejudgment as to the inferiority of the practical to the intellectual. Such a view involves a fallacy as to the transfer of training, indeed a most difficult transfer--that from theory to action. It is precisely the mutual cross-fertilization of theory and action that is the hardest task of all.⁶¹

Both Dewey and Gideonse concluded that the Hutchins Plan was, in essence, a call for "authoritarianism" in order to restore the "order" lost to the "chaos" of uncertainty. Dewey identified two traits dominant in Hutchins' philosophy: (1) "belief in the existence of fixed and eternal authoritative principles as truths that are not to be questioned," and (2) "belief that since evils have come from surrender to shifting currents of public sentiment, the remedy is to be found in the greatest possible aloofness of higher learning from contemporary social life." From these postulates, Dewey posited:

[A]ny scheme based on the existence of ultimate first principles, with their dependent hierarchy of subsidiary principles, does not escape authoritarianism by calling the principles "truths." . . . There is implicit in every assertion of fixed and eternal first truths the necessity for some human authority to decide, in this world of conflicts, just what these truths are and how they shall be taught.⁶²

While Hutchins considered freedom to be dependent on education, Dewey considered education to be dependent on freedom. Hutchins believed democratic freedom could not thrive without a thinking citizenry, and a thinking citizenry could not be developed without "a good education" in the liberal arts. Dewey, on

the other hand, believed that education could not flourish without “freedom from the grip of authority of custom and traditions as standards of belief.”⁶³

Charging Hutchins with “simplification of intellectual history,” Gideonse argued that his proposals “stem from his apparent selection of certain stages of human thinking as final.” This is “essentially a claim to intellectual dictatorship.” Such “authoritarianism,” Gideonse wrote, eclipses the freedom necessary to a democracy and, thus, democracy itself. “To crystallize truths into Truth and to substitute metaphysics for science,” Gideonse wrote, “is to arrest a process of intellectual growth that is the basis of the democratic process.”⁶⁴

Criticism of Hutchins and *The Higher Learning in America* fueled faculty opposition to the Plan and led to the resignations of Wilder, Barr and Buchanan. Thornton Wilder, although not a combatant in the Chicago Fight, grew weary of the criticism, resigned from the University, and headed to Hollywood. A year before Wilder died on December 7, 1975, he wrote his last book, *Theophilus North* (1974), the closest he would come to writing an autobiography. It was dedicated to Hutchins, who delivered Wilder's eulogy at a memorial service at Yale.⁶⁵

Barr and Buchanan agreed that their future in Chicago did not seem promising, particularly since their term contracts assured them of only one more year. They decided, after only one year in the Chicago curricular battle, that a small liberal arts college offered a better forum for a prescribed liberal arts curriculum than did a large research-oriented university. In May 1937, they tried to persuade Hutchins to leave Chicago and become president of St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland.⁶⁶ According to Mayer, Hutchins' ego precluded “stepping down” to a small college where the Plan could survive with a select group of students able to defer career aspirations. He instead stayed at the more prestigious University of Chicago where student diversity and practical needs precluded the Plan's success. “A general has a row of medals across his chest,

and the row of medals distinguishes him from being nothing," Hutchins said. "The University of Chicago is my row of medals. Without them I'm nothing."⁶⁷

An oft-related anecdote tells of Barr and Buchanan flipping a coin; Barr lost and got stuck with the presidency, Buchanan was named dean, and Hutchins was able to accept the chairmanship of the St. John's board without sacrificing his position at Chicago.⁶⁸ The first class entering the Barr-Buchanan-Hutchins program of St. John's numbered only 20, eight of whom finished. "For a small college with a minuscule first class," Grant and Riesman (1978) note, "St. John's attracted unusually wide notice." National newspaper columnist Walter Lippmann, a strong supporter of Hutchins and the liberal arts ideal, delivered a good deal of complimentary publicity. And upon his return to France after a 1939 American tour, philosopher Jacques Maritain drew attention to "the astonishing enterprise" at Annapolis.⁶⁹

The nearest proximation of the Hutchins Plan ever implemented has survived more than a half-century at St. John's. Although their authority was only loosely reined, however, Barr and Buchanan resigned in disgruntlement in 1945 after only eight years. They remained affiliated with Hutchins in various appointed capacities thereafter.

The battle for someplace to go

Hutchins stayed at Chicago, fought some courageous battles against external threats to academic freedom, and looked for a new position befitting his status. For quite some time, it looked as though he would find such a position in the upper level of national politics.

In the 1932 election year, national wages were 60 percent less than in 1929, some 13 million Americans were unemployed, and everybody was singing

“Brother, Can You Spare a Dime.” Some 1,000 World War I veterans arrived in Washington, D.C., May 29, demanding cash payments for their bonus certificates. By June, the Bonus Army swelled to 17,000 men, who camped on or near the Capitol grounds. On July 28, President Herbert Hoover ordered federal troops under the command of General Douglas MacArthur to disperse the crowd by force.⁷⁰ That was the summer that Hutchins addressed the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, beginning a Wilsonian-like political life.

Both Brubacher (1965) and McArthur (1987) have noted similarities between Hutchins and Wilson that extended far beyond their mutual commitment to the liberal arts. Although it is unlikely that Hutchins took significant philosophical inspiration from Wilson, their arguments are notably similar. In 1893, before his Princeton or United States presidency, Wilson wrote: “The separation of general and special education is an acute symptom of the disease of specialization. . . . Knowledge must be kept together.”⁷¹ Wilson struggled unsuccessfully following World War I to achieve global peace via the League of Nations, and Hutchins later struggled unsuccessfully to achieve global peace via world government. The Princeton University presidency served as Wilson's springboard to the White House, and throughout the 1930s it looked as if the Chicago presidency would lead Hutchins down the same route.⁷² Throughout the 1930s, Hutchins shuttled back and forth between Chicago and Warm Springs, Georgia, discussing possible government positions with Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Mayer speculates as to why Hutchins' high expectations did not materialize:

Always, Robert Maynard Hutchins was against the grain. Had he been otherwise, had he played ball, had he gone along, as all ambitious ones do--and make no mistake, he was ambitious--he might eventually have become president of the United States. There was such talk in high circles in the thirties.⁷³

Hutchins entered the national political scene at age 33, a few days before the 1932 Democratic Convention, when young Chicago lawyer Adlai Stevenson asked him to address the Young Democrat Clubs. Hutchins urged social legislation more radical than the New Deal of Roosevelt. He proposed recognition of Soviet Russia, as well as disarmament and defense reduction, with or without the cooperation of other nations. Hutchins demanded banking reform ("if necessary elimination of private profit from banking") and government regulation ("if necessary, government ownership") of monopolies. He also advocated immensely increased inheritance and income taxes (corporate and personal) to fund such entitlements as farm allotments, unemployment and old age insurance, and a program of public works. He said the destitute should be assisted without favoring veterans of the Great War, who were that summer being forced from the grounds of the nation's Capitol.⁷⁴ His speech, Ashmore reports, "brought the Young Democrats to their feet, cheering." Under a story headlined, "Proposals by Young Head of Chicago University Inspires Talk of Place on Ticket," the *New York Times* described Hutchins as "timber to be seriously considered in choosing a candidate for the vice-presidential if not the presidential nomination."⁷⁵

Although he publicly endorsed Socialist Party nominee Norman Thomas in 1932, and he openly criticized the new Roosevelt administration, those with considerable influence who continued to try to sell Hutchins to Roosevelt included Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, Secretary of Commerce Harry Hopkins, Congressman T.V. Smith and Nobel Prize-winning novelist Sinclair Lewis. With his sights set on either a Supreme Court appointment or a vice-presidential slot antecedent to the presidency itself, Mayer asserts, Hutchins wasn't interested in public life, "except at the top."⁷⁶

By taking controversial political stands, and by attacking the Red Scare

that quelled the otherwise courageous in the 1930s, Hutchins distinguished himself. At a time when he was embroiled in the internal Chicago Fight, Hutchins also took a bold stand for academic freedom against external interference. Although he considered unfettered academic freedom to be counterproductive to the maintenance of curricular order, and therefore subject to internal monitoring, he believed such power to monitor in no way transfers to the secular world. The parameters of academic freedom should be limited internally inasmuch as a "confused notion" of such freedom allows professors to indulge specialized interests and thereby to stray from what he viewed as the university's mission. Abridgement of academic freedom by way of external secular pressure should not, however, be tolerated any more than external secular pressure should be tolerated in establishing educational policy.⁷⁷

In defense of academic freedom in 1935, Hutchins not only turned away the attack, he extracted retribution. With the election of Roosevelt in 1932, Chicago publisher William Randolph Hearst, a rabid opponent of the New Deal, began finding radicals behind every bush on the University's Midway. Hearst reporters masqueraded as students to expose what they considered seditious professors. Hearst papers denounced Hutchins as "an accomplice of Communists and murderers," Mayer writes, and, on the orders of publisher Robert McCormick, the *Tribune* never used his name, referring to Hutchins when it had to only as the "president of the University of Chicago."⁷⁸

Charles R. Walgreen owned 500 drugstores in 39 cities, and he was Chicago's largest newspaper advertiser. He funded a scholarship at the University with the provision that he would name the recipient. He chose his 18-year-old niece, Lucille Norton of Seattle, Washington. When she told her uncle at least one professor was teaching communism and free love, he sent Hutchins a letter (with copies to the University's trustees). In the letter, Walgreen said he was

withdrawing his niece from the University because, "I am unwilling to have her absorb the Communist influences to which she is so insidiously exposed." The letter appeared in the *Chicago Examiner* on the same day Hutchins received it in April 1935. When the press converged on Hutchins' office, a publicity officer emerged with a handwritten, one-sentence statement from the president: "Walgreen's milk shakes have glue in them." Hutchins agreed to a hearing before the trustees, which Walgreen insisted be open to the press. Hutchins warned the druggist, "Mr. Walgreen, this is going to cost you half a million dollars." The alleged communist indoctrination consisted of a consideration of various views on the subject of communism, as well as other social, economic and political philosophies, including not only those of Karl Marx, but those of Herbert Hoover. The alleged free love indoctrination consisted of a facetious response from political science Professor Frederick Schuman. A student asked if he believed in free love. Norton naively admitted that many of the students laughed when the professor replied, "only for myself."⁷⁹

Walgreen, according to McNeill, "soon realized that he had been shamelessly manipulated by the Hearst press."⁸⁰ Hearst and other Republican partisans in the Chicago media apparently hoped to thwart the Roosevelt re-election candidacy the next year in 1936. The contrite druggist delivered more than Hutchins' predicted "half a million" when he established the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation for the Study of American Institutions with an endowment of \$550,000. Hutchins and Walgreen regularly lunched together thereafter, and the family asked Hutchins to deliver the eulogy when Walgreen died two years later. Among the additional benefits was the goodwill of Roosevelt and numerous benefactors who submitted some \$4 million in gifts in appreciation of the University's stand. Hutchins received a letter that began, "Dear Bob," and concluded, "You must have had a vile time with that inquisition. I sometimes

think that Hearst has done more harm to the cause of democracy and civilization in America than any three other contemporaries together." Signed: Franklin D. Roosevelt.⁸¹

In another 1935 Red Scare incident, elderly Professor Robert Morss Lovett was accused of communist teachings. When some trustees "called for his head," according to Mayer, a faculty member confronted Hutchins. "If the trustees fire Lovett, you'll receive the resignations of 20 full professors tomorrow morning." The president replied, "Oh, no, I won't. My successor will." The matter was dropped.⁸² Upon the death of Justice Brandeis two years later, Hutchins was well-placed for the Supreme Court seat that he actively pursued.

In the 1938 "campaign" for the Supreme Court, Harry Hopkins and Harold Ickes, who both had President Roosevelt's ear, favored Hutchins.⁸³ Ashmore reports that Hutchins wrote two letters about the seat on July 27, 1938. To Adler he wrote: "I'm doing my damnedest now on . . . the Supreme Court." And to Yale classmate William O. Douglas, who was then chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, Hutchins wrote: "Your learned friend Mr. Jerome Frank is reported to have said, 'If Hutchins' name is being mentioned it must originate at the University of Chicago; they're trying to get rid of him.' How right he is; how right he is!" On August 6, 1938, he wrote another letter to Douglas: "I am expecting a long distance telephone call from you any minute telling me to move to Washington. When I come what good times we'll have! You can write my opinions & I'll write your speeches & the whole country, to say nothing of you & me, will gain by it."⁸⁴

Douglas recommended Hutchins' candidacy to the president, but in a twist of fate, the seat went to Douglas himself. Hutchins declined as "insignificant posts" the chairmanships of both the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Communications Commission. Ickes recorded in his

diary that Hutchins made a mistake when he declined the president's offers: "He suggested that if Hutchins should take the chairmanship of SEC he might be considered along with other young liberals for Vice President on the Democratic ticket next year."⁸⁵ Douglas confirmed that Hutchins could have had the vice-presidential nomination "for the asking" if he had accepted Roosevelt's offer.⁸⁶

Collegiate football rose and fell in Chicago. Between the 1936 and 1940 presidential elections, Hutchins had to lend attention to plans for the University's 50th anniversary, which he made memorable by abolishing the football program. Harper had recruited Amos Alonzo Stagg from Yale and created a Department of Physical Culture and Athletics in the early 1890s. Chicago, more than any other university, developed the fan frenzy of big-time football. Stagg pioneered the end-around, the huddle and the tackling dummy; the first Heisman Trophy winner was Chicago's Jay Berwanger in 1936; and the University granted more athletic scholarships than any other Big Ten institution.⁸⁷

On the eve of a critical 50th anniversary drive to raise \$12 million to offset the annual deficit, which was running at \$1.2 million, Hutchins charged that money had become the root of the evils of intercollegiate athletics, adding that football "has the same relation to education that bullfighting has to agriculture."⁸⁸ Because Hutchins "was opposed to both violence and exercise," Mayer quips, he suggested buying race horses instead of football players. "The alumni could place their money on Chicago across the board," Mayer writes. "The students could cheer. Most important of all, the horses would not have to pass examinations."⁸⁹

After coaching football for more than 60 years, 41 of them at the University of Chicago, Stagg was forced to retire; he died in 1965 at 102 years of age.⁹⁰ After dispatching Stagg and the football program, Hutchins set his sights on or near the White House.

In the 1940 election year, a Hutchins candidacy was considered. As early as 1936, columnist Dorothy Thompson endorsed Hutchins over both Roosevelt and Republican Alf Landon, and admirer Walter Lippmann repeatedly presented Hutchins as a candidate in his national newspaper commentaries. Until Roosevelt announced he would run for an unprecedented third term, according to McNeill, "Hutchins had been publicly touted for the presidency."⁹¹ Active supporters of Hutchins in 1940 included Sinclair Lewis, Harold Ickes and Harry Hopkins. Lewis accompanied Benton on a spring 1940 trip to Washington to lobby support, and Hutchins telephoned Ickes about the vice-presidential slot on the morning after Roosevelt's third nomination in July 1940. In a letter dated July 18, 1940, Ickes wrote to Roosevelt:

I do not know whether you have considered the advisability of selecting as Vice-Presidential candidate a man like Robert M. Hutchins. He is well located geographically, is a liberal and one of the most facile and forceful speakers in the country. It might appeal to the imagination of the people to give them a new and attractive person like Hutchins and I know of no one better able to take care of himself in a free-for-all fight with Wilkie. I am inclined to think that he would be the strongest man we could name.⁹²

But the vice-presidential nomination went to Henry Wallace in 1940, and Hutchins sealed his political demise with two national radio broadcasts in 1941. The "Dear Bob" and "Dear Mr. President" notes ended abruptly when Hutchins opposed American intervention in World War II. Maude's repeated calls for Roosevelt's impeachment probably didn't help.⁹³

As America approached war in 1941, Hutchins delivered two radio speeches, broadcast nationally in January and May, just prior to the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. on June 22 and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7. He warned that "this war will end our chance of achieving democracy in our time." Even if the U.S. were to achieve "total victory over totalitarian states," he said, "it will have to become totalitarian, too." Rather than

Nazis, it was war itself and, ironically, philosophical imposition, that Hutchins saw as a threat to liberty. "When we start to impose our conceptions on the rest of the world," Hutchins said, "we shall end up by establishing an empire. . . . I have no more desire to see the world enslaved by the United States than I have to see it enslaved by Germany."⁹⁴ Simultaneous with his radio broadcasts, the Chicago faculty compiled a petition in support of lend-lease aid to the British. Hutchins' anti-war stance again placed him at variance with his faculty and destroyed his political prospects. Five years earlier, he had "nowhere to go but up to the presidency or the chief justiceship," Mayer observes. "By 1941 he had nowhere to go."⁹⁵

Hutchins was certainly not the first man to struggle with the moral dilemmas of war. Even his great nemesis, John Dewey, altered his stance concerning World War I. Allied propaganda persuaded Dewey to support the war as the means to a more just and democratic world. His shift from pacifism to support for the war and back to pacifism indicates what Altschull terms "his struggle with a system of relative moral values."⁹⁶ While Dewey's stance altered because of his belief in "relative moral values," however, Hutchins' stance altered in spite of his absolutist convictions. After Pearl Harbor, Hutchins publicly promoted what he had previously decried. He said the University should become "an instrumentality of total war." What the country must have now, Hutchins said, "is vocational training and applied research," precisely what the pre-war (and post-war) Hutchins denounced. Hutchins had previously (and subsequently) insisted that universities should never become involved in practical affairs and, more importantly, they should never be influenced by secular demands. However, war-time military training was instituted on campus, and Hutchins authorized the use of University of Chicago scientists for the Manhattan Project.⁹⁷

Bill Benton was dispatched to Washington, D.C. and, pressing the University's suit, secured contracts that made it the primary contractor, and therefore the conduit for vast sums of federal money, for development of not only the first self-sustaining nuclear reaction, but also operations at the atomic plants in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and Hanford, Washington. When the bomb contracts went to Chicago, physicist Arthur Holly Compton, dean of the Physical Sciences Division since 1940, was named director of the project, his appointment made incidentally on the day before Pearl Harbor. Physicist Enrico Fermi, who had fled Mussolini's Italy in 1938, transferred from Columbia in 1941 to join Compton. With their team of scientists, Compton and Fermi engineered the first controlled chain reaction of the world's first atomic pile on December 2, 1942, in a converted squash court under the stands at Stagg Stadium.⁹⁸

The hazardous materials were moved from the populous environs of Chicago to a remote mesa in New Mexico when the Los Alamos laboratory was established in March 1943. From that time, the University of Chicago ceased to be the main center of the bomb project, but experts from Chicago assembled at Los Alamos under the direction of Berkeley's Robert Oppenheimer, with the University of California serving as the primary contractor. The first test bomb exploded at Alamogordo on July 16, 1945. "I believed it couldn't be done," Hutchins said. Mayer reports that Hutchins added, with his characteristic disdain for science, "I didn't think they [the physicists] could pull it off."⁹⁹ The devastating repercussions then made evident moved Hutchins and others to recommend a demonstration bombing of an uninhabited island. Humanitarian though that impulse was, it was impractical. The time and cost invested in making the two bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki made replication unfeasible should a demonstration fail to persuade the Japanese to surrender.¹⁰⁰

After Hiroshima, Hutchins reverted to his anti-war stance, declaring that

“war is the ultimate wickedness, the ultimate stupidity.” He urged that atomic energy be controlled by a world organization. If everyone has the formula, he reasoned, nobody will use it.¹⁰¹

How ironic, Mayer notes, that under the leadership of a leading 20th century anti-empiricist, the University of Chicago's position as a leader in the sciences was strengthened rather than subordinated. How further ironic that, under the administration of a man who repeatedly disdained the influence of secular demands, for the “love of money,” the University of Chicago handled more military war projects than any other institution. And it continued to rake in millions of post-war research dollars.¹⁰²

As the horrors of the Holocaust were being revealed, Hutchins issued some apocalyptic and offensive public statements. “It was the wrong time and the wrong place to say that Hitler was half right or so much as an iota right,” Mayer notes, but in a 1941 national radio broadcast, Hutchins said:

Hitler was right in holding before the German people an ideal higher than comfort. . . . He offered them instead a vision of national grandeur and “racial” supremacy. These are false gods. . . . But Hitler was half right. He was right in what he condemned, and wrong in what he offered in its place.¹⁰³

Four years later, at war's end, Hutchins embraced a similar theme in his University Convocation address of June 15, 1945. He identified “the capital crime of modern times” as “lack of realism”:

It represents the conquest of the United States by Hitler . . . revealed by our adoption of the Nazi doctrine that certain races or nations are superior and fit to rule, whereas others are vicious and fit only to be exterminated or enslaved. We are talking about guilty races. We are saying about the Germans and Japanese what Hitler said about the Jews. And we are saying about ourselves--or at least strongly hinting it--what Hitler said about the . . . “Aryans.”¹⁰⁴

In January 1946, at the annual trustees dinner for the faculty, Hutchins announced emphatically that there were “only five more years to live” before

atomic disaster. And when the five years were almost up, in September 1950, he said with certainty to the University's entering freshmen, "We are closer to war now than we have been in the last five years. . . . Cities and houses in America will be destroyed."¹⁰⁵

Battle against the faculty

Hutchins fought the faculty, and sometimes bypassed their explicit preferences, to secure appointments for select men, most notably for Adler, McKeon, Barr and Buchanan. Sometimes he did so to thwart ethnic bigotry against otherwise qualified men; sometimes he did so in an effort to control curricular policy. In addition to manipulating appointment procedures, he wielded the weapons of promotion and tenure in his battle against the faculty. Moreover, he attacked the system of academic rank and called for juxtaposition of the compensation scale. There were exceptions when he approved the appointments of men with whom he differed. And, despite his internal fight with the faculty, he successfully defended their academic freedom against external intrusion.

When astrophysicist Subrahmanyan "Chandra" Chandrasekhar was recruited to Chicago in 1937, Hutchins refused to countenance objections. To one letter-writer who questioned Hutchins about having "a colored man lecture to the students," he responded with characteristic brevity: "Dr. S. Chandrasekhar will be associate professor of astrophysics at the University of Chicago."¹⁰⁶ In 1950, despite rumblings among the trustees about naming a Jew dean of the Law School, Hutchins insisted on the appointment of Edward Levi, who became president of the University in 1968 and attorney general of the United States in 1974.¹⁰⁷ And when the Medical School required photographs in order to screen

Negroes and Jews from admission, Hutchins abolished the practice by executive order. "Fortunately," he later recalled, "the medical school did not know that under the statutes of the University I had no power to issue such an order."¹⁰⁸

Not only did Hutchins stand firm against ethnic bigotry, he approved the appointments of some people with whom he had fundamental differences. Rudolph Carnap was an advocate of positivism, Robert Redfield championed empiricism, and Ralph Tyler promoted the progressive ideas of John Dewey, all notions Hutchins fought vehemently. However, as Dzuback notes, these social scientists also shared fundamental agreements with Hutchins about culture and a general education curriculum common to all undergraduates. His more frequently occurring pattern was to manipulate appointments and promotions in an effort to shape policy.¹⁰⁹

Hutchins criticized the history faculty for stressing fields and periods rather than "excellent scholarship." In fact, he did not think the discipline stood on its own. "His assessment showed a fundamental lack of understanding of what historical research and argument involved," Dzuback writes, adding that the department's historians in the 1930s "were engaged in significant studies of people and institutions, as well as social and intellectual movements."¹¹⁰ When history faculty were lost to attrition, Hutchins repeatedly blocked approval of replacements or, at the very least, assured less distinction by making the posts temporary and/or at lower ranks. Although the number of history majors was up 42 percent in the 15 years prior to 1947, the number of faculty members diminished from 25 of high distinction to 19 of less distinction. In 1945, Hutchins denied all seven of the department's applications for project support.¹¹¹

Hutchins also discounted the quality of the work and judgment of both the philosophy and the political science faculty. He secured the Humanities Division deanship for McKeon, who maintained control while, through political

maneuverings, the Philosophy Department operated without a chair for 13 years, 1935-48. Hutchins accused Charles Merriam of building a Political Science Department full of "monuments to his passing whims," and he blocked promotions of several such "monuments."¹¹²

Jerome Kerwin and Harry Gideonse were both targets of Hutchins' punitive system of promotions. Ironically, Kerwin advocated a strong emphasis on political theory through the "close examination of great writers" throughout history, a notion that supported the Plan's Great Books approach. Nevertheless, Hutchins was displeased with the work of the Social Science Curriculum Committee, chaired by Gideonse, on which Kerwin served. His promotion to a full professorship was delayed until 1943, some 20 years after his initial appointment.¹¹³

Gideonse challenged the *Higher Learning in America* and worked with vigor to ensure that social sciences faculty rather than Hutchins or Adler would select textbooks. When the department voted unanimously to grant Gideonse tenure and promotion, Hutchins blocked approval for two years, 1936-38, until Gideonse felt forced to resign. When Gideonse was offered a full professorship at Barnard College in New York, Hutchins refused to match the offer, claiming the deans did not support the promotion; College Dean A.J. Brumbaugh had previously approved promotion of Gideonse. A year after he went to New York, Gideonse was named president of Brooklyn College.¹¹⁴

Hutchins also delayed the promotions of Harold Gosnell and Harold Lasswell for several years. Both men were promoted to associate professorships in 1932, but Hutchins subsequently denied them the full professorships the Political Science Department recommended. Although Lasswell received a raise from \$4,000 to \$4,500 in his last year at Chicago, that level of compensation was no more than typical and notably less than the \$6,000 at which Adler started

eight years earlier. Rogers explains that it was a “push and pull” matter when he resigned in 1938, with Lasswell being pushed out of the University by Hutchins and pulled toward projects that interested him more. After 24 years of distinction at Yale, Lasswell was concurrently affiliated with Temple and Columbia for four years. Gosnell stayed at Chicago until 1942, when he resigned to work in government.¹¹⁵

Such activities brought the University under investigation by the American Association of University Professors in the late 1930s. AAUP recommended changes in policies and procedures to protect faculty decision-making power. In fact, because three-fifths of the faculty were “on the probationary level of the youngest recruits” by 1936-37, according to Dzuback, “the committee recommended increasing the proportion of tenured appointments to ensure a better balance of power between the faculty and the president in debates over educational policy.”¹¹⁶

In January 1944, Hutchins informed faculty and trustees that “the whole scale of values by which our society lives” must be reversed. Creation of an academic community, he declared, should begin with abolishing “the farce of academic rank.” Hutchins believed the tenure system, like academic rank, is “unwise and unnecessary” because it protects the weak and inhibits change. “We should promote the sense of community within the University by reconsidering the whole salary question.” Faculty should be paid “according to need,” with all outside income turned over to the University. Hutchins said:

The only basis of compensation in a true community is need. The academic community should carefully select its members. When a man has been admitted to it, he should be paid enough to live as a professor should live. This would mean that a young man with three children would have a larger living allowance than a departmental chairman with none.¹¹⁷

Hutchins further reasoned that, if professors were paid as much as they need,

and if they were required to turn outside income over to the University, it would follow that they would pursue those outside activities that were “good for them” because they would be “free” to do so. The Hutchins Commission, which would be assembled a month later, would reject as “negative liberty” the libertarian concept of freedom from government intervention in the affairs of the press; Hutchins foreshadowed the Commission's call for “positive liberty” to do good when he said:

The members of the faculty should be . . . paid decent salaries; and they should be free to engage in any outside activities they like. To make sure that the ones they like are the ones that are good for them, they should be required to turn over all outside earnings to the University.¹¹⁸

Hutchins' suggestions epitomized socialism, and the faculty and trustees were shocked. Nevertheless, without consulting the faculty senate, the trustees voted to raise salaries for those who agreed to turn all their outside income to the University. A new contract was offered current faculty members who could voluntarily accept the terms, and the new compensation plan would be required of future appointees.¹¹⁹

Soon after the compromise form of Hutchins' proposal to restructure the University's compensation system was approved, he proposed a plan to restructure the University's administration with him as chancellor. Hutchins' premise was that the authority of the president was “slight” and “his responsibility great.” Increasing the president's authority “commensurate with his responsibility,” Hutchins suggested, could be accomplished by giving him control over “the educational and scholarly work of the University, its course of study, publications, appointments to its faculty, and all other matters relating to education and research.” Hutchins wanted to retain as much power as possible, while at the same time freeing himself from the most trying demands of the

presidency. "What he sought," Mayer writes, "was a cross between benevolent despotism and responsible autocracy."¹²⁰ The proposal was approved.

Hutchins became chancellor, effective July 1, 1945. The title of president and responsibilities for the day-to-day affairs of the institution went to Ernest C. "Pomp" Colwell, who had been dean of the Divinity School, but Hutchins remained head of the University. An article on the institution's presidents that appeared in the December 1993 issue of the *University of Chicago Magazine* does not even mention Colwell.¹²¹

The culmination of such actions was that by 1945 the University was in "deep trouble," Westmeyer (1985) concludes. Hutchins had "alienated alumni, faculty, and private donors."¹²² He took a leave of absence in the following academic year, 1946-47, during which he completed the work of three major projects and addressed his escalating marital problems.

Sabbatical Projects

Maude Phelps McVeigh Hutchins was a darkly beautiful, outspoken, unpredictable, aloof, egocentric artist, who was decidedly unsuited to the role of Chicago's first lady. "She was constitutionally disinterested in most of mankind," according to Carroll Mason Russell, a sympathetic Chicago neighbor who regularly socialized with Maude. "She simply could not, or more accurately would not, organize social affairs, make friends with the 'right' people, or arrange for the 'right' dinner parties. I heard her say that the thought of it bored her."¹²³ Dzuback speculates that Maude may have refused to serve as hostess in order to protect her professional and personal life, which were threatened by her husband's prominence. Indeed, Hutchins himself noted Maude's apparent resentment of his prominence. Maude regularly shocked and insulted everyone

from trustees and faculty to Franklin Roosevelt.¹²⁴

Maude grew increasingly possessive of her husband's presence, throwing tantrums at the very thought of evening or weekend social engagements. To keep her occupied, Hutchins enlisted several of what Mayer termed "co-conspiratorial victims." One day he invited Mayer into the president's office. "Sit down while I tell you that my wife admires your wife, specifically your wife's head," Hutchins told Mayer, who was struggling to support a wife and baby on \$45 per week. "She would like to do your wife's head in bronze. If your wife is agreeable, it would take a dozen sittings. If you are agreeable, it would cost you \$750 . . . and you would get to keep the head, both the original and the representation." A "stunned" Mayer agreed to remit \$10 per week, but he subsequently received a note from Hutchins. "Mr. M. I got \$2,500 from the *Post*. Since you did all the work, you get half the proceeds. Stop bothering me. Mr. H."¹²⁵ In this manner, Maude's heads peppered the campus, but at least they were not sexually explicit. Her writings and drawings were embarrassingly so.

"Her theme was love, with an emphasis on sexuality," according to Ashmore. "Chicago police attempted to ban her book, *The Diary of Love*," Ashmore writes, and an English magistrate ordered 8,000 copies of the British edition burned. Her racy and exorbitant Christmas cards to University supporters and faculty achieved a dubious climax one year with a nude drawing of her 14-year-old daughter, Franja Hutchins.¹²⁶ Mary Frances "Franja" Hutchins was born in 1926. She and her sisters, Joanna "Jo-Jo" Blessing Hutchins, born in 1935, and Clarissa Phelps Hutchins, born in 1942, were left to the care of nannies much of the time. "He did not dislike children," Mayer explains, "he simply didn't like them," and they made Maude nervous.¹²⁷

Hutchins took a nine-month leave of absence in the 1946-47 academic year, and Benton augmented his income by naming him chairman of the *Britannica*

board. According to Mayer, Benton also instructed the office manager to furnish Hutchins with the brightest and best-looking secretary to be found.¹²⁸ Early one April morning in 1947, the month after his Report on the press was released, Hutchins left Maude a note and never spoke to her again. He took a hotel room near the *Britannica* office and refused to discuss Maude's reconciliation overtures. In the July 1948 out-of-court settlement, Maude was awarded a package totaling approximately \$30,000 per year, presumably subsidized by Benton since it was more than Hutchins' \$25,000 salary. Ten months after the divorce, the Reverend Will Hutchins officiated at the wedding of his son to Vesta Sutton Orlick, the attractive secretary installed by Benton. His 29-year marriage to Vesta, 20 years his junior, proved to be as agreeable as his 27-year marriage to Maude had been tumultuous. Hutchins' new step-daughter, Barbara Orlick, was the same age as middle daughter Jo-Jo.¹²⁹

“Having rejected, or been denied access to, political opportunities commensurate with his reputation and acceptable to his self-definition, and tired of the university battles,” Dzuback explains, “Hutchins was open to other kinds of public roles.” He participated in three such projects in the 1940s. The Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press, the Committee to Frame a World Constitution, and the Great Books program, Dzuback notes, “each represented the opportunity to explore big issues,” all perennially of concern to Hutchins: (1) responsibilities commensurate with a democratic society, (2) world peace, and (3) preservation and dissemination of particular cultural values.¹³⁰

The Hutchins Commission was created in 1944, and the Committee was created in 1945. Hutchins' leave of absence ran from September 1946 through May 1947. The Commission Report on the press was released in March 1947. Hutchins left Maude in April 1947. The Committee's proposal for world government was released in July 1947, and the proposed World Constitution was

published in March 1948. Throughout this time, the Great Books program was developed for nationwide marketing in the 1950s.

Great Books Program

Hutchins favored a curriculum based on the Great Books, but he was never able to implement it at the University of Chicago, at least not more than marginally, because of faculty opposition. During his sabbatical, a three-step plan was developed to market the Great Books nationwide. The first step was to “fix the canon,” or determine what works would be included; the second step was to publish and market the hardcover edition; and the third step was to print paperbacks for use in small adult reading-discussion groups. Because purchasing the Great Books did not necessarily mean people would read them or understand them, the reading-discussion groups were important, as was Adler's *Syntopicon* project, which indexed references to selected “great ideas” in the Great Books.¹³¹

To “fix the canon,” it was Hutchins' responsibility as editor to assemble an Editorial Advisory Board for the *Great Books of the Western World*, to be published by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. As associate editor, Adler was in charge of compiling the *Syntopicon* index of ideas. Two other Chicago professors, Clarence Faust and Joseph Schwab, men who shared Hutchins' views about culture and the liberal arts, were seated. From St. John's College came Barr and Buchanan. From Columbia came Van Doren and Erskine, who was by then in his seventies. And finally, Hutchins appointed Meiklejohn, who as president of Amherst had inspired Buchanan's devotion to liberal education.¹³²

Although these nine men--Hutchins, Adler, Barr, Buchanan, McKeon, Erskine, Schwab, Faust and Meiklejohn--were in accord philosophically, they found it difficult to agree on the specifics of selections for inclusion. In *The Delight of Books* (1928), Erskine advised, “Until we have discovered that certain

books grow with our maturing experience and other books do not, we have not learned how to distinguish a great book from a book.”¹³³ Adler, Barr and Buchanan thought about 100 books would fit this definition, but Erskine's course at Columbia included only about half that number. Ultimately, 443 works by 74 white male authors were selected for the *Great Books of the Western World*. Because the panel believed with Hutchins that only the “test of time” could “certify” a “classic,” contemporary works were omitted, including most of the literature by American authors, as were all writings outside the Western culture. The only Americans included were Herman Melville, William James and the authors of the Federalist Papers. Not only were Mark Twain, Edgar Allan Poe, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Greenleaf Whittier, Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson omitted, so were Cicero and Nietzsche. Although not included in the panel's list, Cicero was specifically cited in *The Higher Learning* as one of the classics authors.¹³⁴ Nothing of the Oriental, Islamic, Judaic, African or Hispanic worlds was even considered, thereby excluding the heritage of four-fifths of the world's population. Yet, the Great Books canon was meant for everybody, not just Americans. Hutchins maintained it was necessary for everyone to “study these great works” in order to unite and order the world.¹³⁵ Jacques Barzun (1952), who was enthusiastic about “the enterprise as a whole,” thought the choices betrayed “a high-minded axe-grinding in the direction of intellectualism.”¹³⁶

The Great Books of the Western World set was published in 54 volumes in 1952. Only 138 sets were sold the first year; with better marketing, 150,000 sets were sold by 1962 and nearly one million by 1977, a notable accomplishment over a 25-year period, but far short of the 15 million Hutchins predicted would be sold within five years.¹³⁷ Critics at the time called Hutchins' introductory volume, *The Great Conversation*, “pompous,” “dogmatic” and “haughty.” Dwight

Macdonald (1952) faulted Hutchins' introductory criticism of American education as "out of place in a volume intended to inspire the average reader to explore" the other 53 volumes, which were, Macdonald noted, "densely printed" and "poorly edited." The true motive behind the Great Books, Macdonald charged, was not to make the books accessible to the public ("which they mostly already were") but to "fix the canon of the sacred texts" by printing them in a special edition. A list would have been adequate for the stated purpose, Macdonald asserted, but such a document is subject to easy change.¹³⁸

The Syntopicon, not unlike the Hutchins Plan, was born from a problem identified by Hutchins and a solution offered by Adler. Hutchins knew that publishing a set of Great Books did not guarantee that people would be educated by them; Adler suggested compiling an index to guide readers to particular ideas as they were treated in the texts. Originally planned as a two-year project at a cost of \$60,000, the *Syntopicon* actually took seven years and cost more than \$1 million. That was in addition to the \$1 million spent on the Great Books set itself. Adler confessed he was obsessed by "my passion for outlining and organizing vast amounts of material as well as my passion for very large projects, a touch of megalomania on my part."¹³⁹ Adler filled a building near the campus with a staff of 125 who assembled 163,000 references under 3,000 topics. Adler likened the *Syntopicon* to an encyclopedia or dictionary, but Macdonald (1952) derided it as a latterday WPA project for scores of graduate students.¹⁴⁰

Great Books discussion groups were organized by the Great Books Foundation, which financed training sessions for group leaders in cities nationwide, thereby creating a ready market for the set. The Foundation also printed a relatively low-cost (\$249.50) set of paperbacks.¹⁴¹ In a March 1947 speech in St. Louis, Hutchins said, "I confidently expect to see 15 million Americans studying the great works of the human mind and spirit within five

years.”¹⁴² Although some 100,000 people did attend at least one session, and some 15,000 actually enrolled in the program, the impact was hardly universal. Nevertheless, Hutchins thought the Great Books should be the basis of a common cultural grounding worldwide.¹⁴³

A World Constitution for a World Government

The series of barbed exchanges between Hutchins and Dewey that began in 1936 with publication of *The Higher Learning* moved to a new plane in 1943 and climaxed with the proposal for abdication of national sovereignty and the establishment of a single world government that the Committee to Frame a World Constitution issued. In a June 1943 article in *Fortune*, Hutchins cited the ancient Greeks and wrote that “the mores may vary widely from country to country, but the moral law is the same everywhere.”¹⁴⁴ Dewey countered that birth, gender and economic conditions determined which few Athenian freemen would be “liberally” educated and which would get vocational training. “The class that enjoyed the privileges of freedom and a liberal education was based upon precisely those considerations that modern liberation has steadily striven to get rid of,” Dewey wrote in an August 1944 article in *Fortune*.¹⁴⁵ Three months later, in a November 1944 article in *The Christian Century*, Hutchins wrote:

A truck driver cannot learn to drive a truck by studying physics, chemistry and mathematics. Nor can he learn how to function as a free citizen of a free community by doing so. . . . The truck driver, both as truck driver and citizen, needs to learn to control himself, to take his place in a democratic political organization, to discover the meaning and aim of his existence and the society of which he is a part.¹⁴⁶

Hutchins reiterated his assertion that vocational training is better left to industry, while the educational system should prepare the “enlightened” citizen with “a sense of purpose which will illuminate not merely the 40 hours he works but the 72 he does not.”¹⁴⁷

Nine months later, the atomic bomb, largely a product of the University of Chicago, became a reality. The relatively abstract ideas about global peace that Hutchins had been developing during the latter years of the war began to crystallize after Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He was convinced that airborne nuclear weapons had eliminated the possibility that peace could be preserved through any kind of alliance among sovereign nations. Hutchins' endorsement of a world government on a Roundtable radio broadcast prompted Richard McKeon and Italian journalist Antonio Borgese to submit a proposal to the chancellor. By November 1945, the Committee to Frame a World Constitution had been established under the auspices of McKeon's Humanities Division. Because he knew he was "providing additional ammunition for those who accused him of megalomania," Ashmore notes, Hutchins "privately dubbed it the Committee to Frame Hutchins."¹⁴⁸

"All agreements to limit armaments had always been wrecked on the rock of national sovereignty," explains Mayer, so international control would require "nothing less" than world government. As Mayer has traced the progression of Hutchins' reasoning, isolation had become an anachronism, and the only way to guard against annihilation was to monopolize atomic energy in a world organization. There was no way to control against abuse without abolition of national sovereignty and universal membership in world government. The people of the world must be educated to the acceptance of world community. And to create the common culture necessary to a community, all people of the world must study the Great Books.¹⁴⁹

To achieve world peace, Hutchins said, world community must be based on "a common stock of ideas and ideals" and "the recognition of the common humanity of all human beings." He declared that, if all the peoples of the Earth unite in the study of "these great works," a world community might arise.¹⁵⁰

“Was he serious?” Mayer asked. “Did he think that he, or anybody, or any catechism or revelation, would or could move the whole human race, more than half of which was illiterate or semiliterate, to 'study these great works' by offering 'some hope of laying the foundations of world community'?”¹⁵¹

McKeon, who later declined to sign the finished document, was dean of the Humanities Division, and Borgese was a professor of Italian language and literature. In addition to Hutchins, Borgese and McKeon, the 14-man Committee included Adler, Buchanan and Barr, as well as Chicago professors Robert Redfield, Rexford Guy Tugwell and Wilbur Katz, Harvard professors James M. Landis and Charles H. McIlwain, Stanford professor Albert Leon Guerard, Harold A. Innes of the University of Toronto, and Erich Kahler of the New York School for Social Research. Beardsley Ruml and William E. Hocking withdrew for “personal reasons,” and theologian Reinhold Niebuhr withdrew in protest against “the myth of world government.”¹⁵²

The Committee convened in isolation from February 1946 to April 1947. They had an office in a former fraternity house near the campus, and they held 12 meetings, each two or three days long, alternating between Chicago and New York. After deliberating a total of some 30 days, they issued a proposal for world government in July 1947 and a preliminary draft of a World Constitution in September 1947. The final draft of the World Constitution, entitled “A Proposal to History,” was published in March 1948. In addition, from 1947 to 1951, the Committee published a journal, *Common Cause*, edited by Borgese and his wife, Elisabeth Mann Borgese, daughter of German author Thomas Mann.¹⁵³

Despite the “irrelevancy” Hutchins subsequently attributed to the United States Constitution,¹⁵⁴ the World Constitution carried much resemblance in its provisions for the branches of government and the distribution of powers. With the abolition of national boundaries, political divisions would be based on

regional interests. The regional divisions would elect delegates to the Federal Convention by popular vote on the basis of one per million in population. The Convention would elect a president for a single six-year term, as well as a 99-member unicameral legislature called the World Council. The president would appoint a Cabinet, but appointees could be removed by a no-confidence vote of the Council. The president would also appoint, subject to Council approval, 60 justices to the Grand Tribunal. A six-member Chamber of Guardians elected jointly by the Council and the Tribunal would have authority over the peace-keeping armed forces. Civil liberties were to be protected by an independent Tribune of the People, who would be elected by the Convention and charged with defending the Declaration of Duties and Rights.¹⁵⁵

McGeorge Bundy (1949), then a professor at Harvard, faulted Hutchins for delivering a naive and dogmatic proposal for “an undesirable and impossible world republic”:

The arguments of Mr. Hutchins, in particular . . . display the stigmata of the irresponsible idealist. Mr. Hutchins believes with passionate conviction that only his solution will prevent world war. He treats with cavalier and demonstrable unfairness the arguments of those who disagree, and he uses in support of his own case facts and arguments which are, to say the least, debatable.¹⁵⁶

Deliberations on the world government proposal began in February 1946 and ran concurrently with deliberations of the Hutchins Commission on the press. In March 1947 before the Committee on world government adjourned in April, the Commission issued its Report on the press.

The Commission on Freedom of the Press

The Commission on Freedom of the Press, commonly called the Hutchins Commission, was organized in 1944, and Hutchins edited the final draft of the Commission's Report. “Much as the critics of the great books venture found fault

with the narrow academic slant of Hutchins' advisory board," Dzuback notes, "the critics of the press report resented a group of scholars informing them of their duties."¹⁵⁷

What is notable about these concurrent projects, "for understanding Hutchins' relationship with the modern university," Dzuback asserts, "is manifest in the pattern of his leadership, the ways he outlined the tasks of the groups he led, and the products of each group's work." Dzuback identifies commonalities in the three sabbatical projects:

He found very congenial the process of gathering together groups of intelligent and well-informed men to discuss significant problems and to explore the flaws in democratic institutions. In the case of the set of books, it was the education of adults by default, accomplishing what colleges seemed uninterested in doing. In the case of the commission, it was the media's responsibility as educators. In the case of the committee, it was constitutional law and world peace in the atomic age.¹⁵⁸

Dzuback has thus noted commonalities among the three sabbatical projects. Those commonalities, as reflected in the Hutchins Commission Report, are the focus of the following chapter. In addition, just as consideration of the historical influences on Hutchins' education philosophy is important to understanding the Hutchins Plan, a consideration of the historical influences on Hutchins' press philosophy is important to understanding the Hutchins Commission Report on the press. The following chapter on Hutchins' press philosophy, therefore, begins with such an overview.

Notes

1. Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 98.

2. Milton Mayer (John Hicks, ed.), *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 127.

3. On Adler: approximately 80 pages in Ashmore, *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989), especially pp. 85-

105; approximately 80 pages in Dzuback (1991), including Ch. 5, "A Meeting of Minds," especially pp. 88-108, 117-27; approximately 50 pages in Mayer (1993), including Ch. 11, "Mert," especially pp. 105-15; approximately 30 pages in McNeill, *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991), especially pp. 34-40, 66-82. [See Adler, *Philosopher at Large* (New York: Macmillan, 1977); Adler, "The Chicago Fight," *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977) 50-60.]

4. McNeill (1991) 35.
 5. Mayer (1993) 114.
 6. McNeill (1991) 37.
 7. Mayer (1993) 110, 113.
 8. Dzuback (1991) 179-80; McArthur, "Revisiting Hutchins and *The Higher Learning in America*," *History of Higher Education Annual* (1987) 9-28.
 9. Ashmore (1989) 93.
 10. McNeill (1991) 38.
 11. Adler, *Philosopher at Large* (1977) 124.
 12. Mayer (1993) 122.
 13. Adler, "Chicago Fight" (1977) 50-1; Adler, *Philosopher at Large* (1977)
- 127.
14. McNeill (1991) 34; Ashmore (1989) 103.
 15. Dzuback (1991) 95, 97.
 16. McNeill (1991) 34.
 17. Adler, *Philosopher at Large* (1977) 135-6.
 18. Ashmore (1989) 103.
 19. Irene Tufts Mead, interview by Lloyd E. Stein, quoted in Mayer (1993)
- 124.
20. Mayer (1993) 126; McNeill (1991) 39; Ashmore (1989) 103.
 21. Dzuback (1991) 211-3. [See Robert H. Bork, "Edward Levi," in Shils, ed., *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 287-99.]
 22. Adler, *Philosopher at Large* (1977) 51.
 23. Ashmore (1989) 104.
 24. McNeill (1991) 59; Dzuback (1991) 124. [See Elder Olson, "Richard McKeon," in Shils, ed. (1991) 300-6.]
 25. Dzuback (1991) 100.
 26. *Ibid.*; Ashmore (1989) 105.
 27. William Benton, *The University of Chicago's Public Relations* (privately printed, 1937, in an edition of 50 numbered copies), quoted in Ashmore (1989) 182-3. [Ashmore (p. 555, n.13) notes: Because of its many direct quotations from confidential interviews, the report was strictly embargoed for 25 years. In 1962, the *Journal* of the American College Public Relations Association published extensive excerpts, with the comment, "This book--the first comprehensive public relations program ever developed for an American university--is not simply an historical curiosity. It is an amazingly accurate primer of college public relations in 1962."]
 28. Ashmore (1989) 183.

29. Ibid., 181, 191.
30. Dzuback (1991) 165.
31. McNeill (1991) 57.
32. Sidney Hyman, *The Lives of William Benton* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1969) 247-8. [See Ashmore (1989) 255-6.]
33. Ashmore (1989) 557, n.9; Mayer (1993) 299-300, 427.
34. Harris Wofford, Jr., ed. *Embers of the World*, conversations with Scott Buchanan (The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1970); J. Winfree Smith, *A Search for the Liberal College: The Beginning of the St. John's Program* (Annapolis MD: St. John's College Press, 1983) 131, 7; Gerald Grant and David Riesman, *The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1978) 43.
35. Grant and Riesman (1978) 44.
36. Ibid.; J. Winfree Smith (1983) 14-9.
37. Dzuback (1991) 127-8; Ashmore (1989) 136-7; McNeill (1991) 70; Grant and Riesman (1978) 42-75; J. Winfree Smith (1983) 14-9. [Although Ashmore (p. 137) writes that "anonymous donors" funded the Committee on the Liberal Arts, J. Winfree Smith (pp. 14-9) identifies the donor as Marion Rosenwald Stern, daughter of Julius Rosenwald, University trustee, *Britannica* philanthropist, and Sears magnate. Dzuback refers simply to "private donors." If Ms. Stern was in fact the donor, her gift may or may not have been anonymous at the time, and it may or may not have been the sole source of funding, but it was private. The reference here is thus to "private grant money."]
38. Adler, *Philosopher at Large* (1977) 173-7; Ashmore (1989) 139; McNeill (1991) 70-1; J. Winfree Smith (1983) 19-20.
39. McNeill (1991) 70-1; Dzuback (1991) 127.
40. McArthur (1987) 9, 20.
41. Harry S. Ashmore (April 1994), introduction to *The Higher Learning in America*, by Hutchins (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994 [1936]).
42. Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1936) 1-3.
43. Ibid., 24-7.
44. Ibid., 4-13.
45. Ibid., 92, 94.
46. Ibid., 33, 39, 43, 47.
47. Ibid., 56, 113.
48. Ibid., 78-9.
49. Ibid., 96-103.
50. Ibid., 94-5.
51. Ibid., 56, 113.
52. Ibid., 117-9.
53. Harry Woodburn Chase, "Hutchins's 'Higher Learning' Grounded," *American Scholar* 6 (Spr. 1937) 236-44. [See McArthur (1987) 21.]
54. Christian Gauss, "The Plight of the Higher Learning," *North American Review* 243 (Mar. 1937) 171-2.
55. Charles E. Clark, "The Higher Learning in a Democracy," *International*

Journal of Ethics 47 (1937) 317-25.

56. T.V. Smith, "The Chicago School," *International Journal of Ethics* 46 (Apr. 1937) 378-9. [See McArthur (1987) 21.]

57. Quincy Wright, "What Is a University?" *Bulletin of the Association of University Professors* 30.2 (Sum. 1944) 175. [See Mayer (1993) 352-3.]

58. James Bryant Conant, letter to Hutchins (1937), quoted in McArthur (1987) 21.

59. Harry D. Gideonse, *The Higher Learning in a Democracy: A Reply to President Hutchins' Critique of the American University* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1937), reprinted in Hoftstadter and Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961) 941-8. [See Dzuback (1991) 126-7; McNeill (1991) 69-70.]

60. Hoftstadter and Smith (1961) 941; Carnochan, *The Battleground of the Curriculum: Liberal Education and American Experience* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1993) 88.

61. Gideonse (1937) in Hoftstadter and Smith (1961) 943, 945-7.

62. John Dewey, "President Hutchins's Proposals to Remake Higher Education," *The Social Frontier* 3 (Jan. 1937) 103-4, reprinted in Hofstadter and Smith (1961) 951-2.

63. Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1916) 177, 356.

64. Gideonse (1937) in Hoftstadter and Smith (1961) 943, 945-7.

65. Mayer (1993) 226.

66. J. Winfree Smith (1983) 5, 21.

67. Mayer (1993) 173.

68. J. Winfree Smith (1983) 21; Grant and Riesman (1978) 46-7.

69. Grant and Riesman (1978) 46-7.

70. Gorton Carruth, *What Happened When: A Chronology of Life & Events in America* (New York: Signet, 1991) 722-9.

71. Woodrow Wilson, "Should an Antecedent Liberal Education Be Required of Students in Law, Medicine, and Theology?" *Proceedings of the International Congress of Education* (Chicago, 1893) 116-7; Brubacher, *Bases for Policy in Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965) 59; McArthur (1987) 12.

72. McArthur (1987) 12.

73. Mayer (1993) xiii. [See Dzuback (1991) 210.]

74. Robert M. Hutchins, "A Democratic Platform," speech to the Young Democratic Clubs, Chicago (27 Jun. 1932), quoted in Mayer (1993) 194 and Ashmore (1989) 122-5.

75. "Proposals by Young Head of the Chicago University Inspires Talk of Place on Ticket," *New York Times* (28 Jun. 1932), quoted in Ashmore (1989) 124.

76. Mayer (1993) 21. [See Ashmore (1989) 124-6.]

77. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 4-10, 92-4; Mayer (1993) 194.

78. Mayer (1993) 148.

79. Mayer, "The Red Room," *Massachusetts Review* (Sum. 1975); Mayer (1993) 149-66; Ashmore (1989) 129-32; McNeill (1991) 63-6; Dzuback (1991) 162-4.

80. McNeill (1991) 63-6.

81. Franklin D. Roosevelt, letter to Hutchins (1 Jul. 1935), quoted in Ashmore (1989) 129-32.
82. Mayer (1993) xii.
83. Harold Ickes, "The Inside Struggle," Vol. 2, *The Secret Diaries of Harold Ickes* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1954) 588-9; Ashmore (1989) 196.
84. Ashmore (1989) 195-7.
85. Ickes (1954) 588-9; McNeill (1991) 99; Ashmore (1989) 198.
86. Ickes (1954) 588-9; Ashmore (1989) 199; Mayer (1993) 211; McNeill (1991) 99.
87. On football: Mayer (1993) 137-46; McNeill (1991) 62, 95-8; Dzuback (1991) 209; Ashmore (1989) 200; Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition, An American History: 1636-1956* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958) 128.
88. Robert Hutchins, "Gate Receipts and Glory," *Saturday Evening Post* (3 Dec. 1938) 23, 73-7. [For a detailed indictment of intercollegiate athletics that bears striking similarities to Hutchins' criticisms, see Murray Sperber, *College Sports Inc.: The Athletic Department vs. The University* (New York: Henry Holt, 1991).]
89. Mayer (1993) 141.
90. Carruth (1991) 953.
91. McNeill (1991) 177, n.23. [See Mayer (1993) 211.]
92. Ickes (1954) 256. [See Mayer (1993) 210; McNeill (1991) 177, n.23.]
93. McNeill (1991) 100.
94. Robert M. Hutchins, "America and the War," NBC radio (23 Jan. 1941), printed in *University of Chicago Magazine* (Feb. 1941) 7. [The second speech was broadcast by The Town Meeting of the Air (26 May 1941). See Ashmore (1989) 210-9; Mayer (1993) 231; McNeill (1991) 100.]
95. Mayer (1993) 223. [See Dzuback (1991) 211.]
96. J. Herbert Altschull, *From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1990) 234.
97. Robert M. Hutchins, "The University at War," speech at the faculty-trustee dinner, South Shore Country Club, Chicago (7 Jan. 1942), in *University of Chicago Magazine* (Jan. 1942) 1-7. [See Michael R. Harris, *Five Counterrevolutionaries in Higher Education* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1970) 153; Mayer (1993) 238, 246; McNeill (1991) 102.]
98. Ashmore (1989) 221-32; Mayer (1993) xiii, 238-71; McNeill (1991) 102-32; Dzuback (1991) 216-8.
99. Mayer (1993) xiii.
100. McNeill (1991) 107.
101. Mayer (1993) xiii.
102. Ibid.
103. Robert M. Hutchins, "Proposition Is Peace," 1941 radio broadcast, quoted in Mayer (1993) 234.
104. Robert M. Hutchins, "The New Realism," University Convocation address (15 Jun. 1945), quoted in Ashmore (1989) 249-50.
105. Robert M. Hutchins, faculty-trustees dinner, Chicago (Jan. 1946),

quoted in McNeill (1991) 182, n.18.

106. Robert M. Hutchins, "Science, Scientists, and Politics," an Occasional Paper of The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1963, reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Nov./Dec. 1987) 29-32. [See Shils (1991) 195; Wali, "Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar," in Shils, ed. (1991) 42-58.]

107. Shils (1991) 195. [See Robert H. Bork, "Edward Levi," in Shils, ed. (1991) 287-99.]

108. Hutchins, "Science, Scientists..." (1963).

109. Dzuback (1991) 183-4. [See Harris (1970) 156.]

110. *Ibid.*, 168-73. [See Robert Paul Wolff, *The Ideal of the University* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction, 1992 [Boston: Beacon Press, 1969]) 7-8.]

111. *Ibid.*, 172.

112. *Ibid.*, 173, 177. [See Gabriel A. Almond, "Charles Edward Merriam," in Shils, ed. (1991) 338-50.]

113. *Ibid.*, 173.

114. *Ibid.*, 181-2.

115. Everett M. Rogers, interview by Gonders (15 Jun. 1994); Rogers, *A History of Communication Study* (New York: Free Press, 1994) 203-43; Dzuback (1991) 173. [See Leo Rosten, "Harold D. Lasswell," in Shils, ed. (1991) 276-86.]

116. Dzuback (1991) 170-4, 186-91. [The AAUP Report on Tenure, p. 19, compares 1926-27 figures to those for 1936-37 concerning percentages of faculty on tenure track, percentages on appointments of two to five years, and percentages on one-year appointments: from 48.3% to 32.3% on tenure track, from 19.3% to 7.8% on extended contracts, and from 7.8% to 32.3% on one-year contracts.]

117. Hutchins, address to faculty-trustees dinner (12 Jan. 1944), quoted in Ashmore (1989) 239-40 and Dzuback (1991) 196. [See McNeill (1991) 84; Mayer (1993) 326, 329.]

118. *Ibid.*

119. Mayer (1993) 326, 329. [See Ashmore (1989) 247; Dzuback (1991) 196-200.]

120. *Ibid.*, 320.

121. Tim Obermiller, "First impressions," *University of Chicago Magazine* 86.2 (Dec. 1993) 32-5. [See Mayer (1993) 374; Ashmore (1989) 254.]

122. Paul Westmeyer, *A History of American Higher Education* (Springfield IL: Charles C Thomas, 1985) 105.

123. Ashmore (1989) 94; Dzuback (1991) 204-5.

124. Dzuback (1991) 204. [See Mayer (1993) 361-2; Ashmore (1989) 288.]

125. Mayer (1993) 361-2. [See Dzuback (1991) 204.]

126. Ashmore (1989) 289, 174. [See Dzuback (1991) 204.]

127. Mayer (1993) 199.

128. *Ibid.*, 197, 366-7.

129. Ashmore (1989) 290, 293, 300-1; Mayer (1993) 365-7; Dzuback (1991) 205-6.

130. Dzuback (1991) 218-9.

131. Dwight Macdonald, "The Book of the Millennium Club," *New Yorker*

- (19 Nov. 1952) 171-88; Blevens, "The Rise and Fall of a Middle Brow: Robert M. Hutchins's Victorian Influence on High Culture and Low Journalism," a paper presented in the Qualitative Studies Division at the National Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Atlanta GA (10-13 Aug. 1994) 18-22; Mayer (1993) 291-307; Dzuback (1991) 102, 219-25; Ashmore (1989) 260.
132. Dzuback (1991) 219-20; McNeill (1991) 14-5; Macdonald (1952) 171-88.
 133. John Erskine, *The Delight of Great Books* (Indianapolis IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1928) 29.
 134. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 78.
 135. *Ibid.*, 78-9; Mayer (1993) 372-3, 303; McNeill (1991) 14-5; Ashmore (1989) 100; Brubacher and Rudy (1958) 268.
 136. Jacques Barzun, "The Great Books," *Atlantic Monthly* 190 (Dec. 1952) 82, 94.
 137. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Good News of Damnation," speech in St. Louis, Mo. (4 Mar. 1947), in *University of Chicago Magazine* (Apr. 1947) 5-8. [See Dzuback (1991) 221, 225.]
 138. Macdonald (1952) 187. [See Gilbert Highet, "Ideas That Shape the Minds of Men," *New York Times Book Review* 540 (14 Sep. 1952) 34; Joan Shelley Rubin, *The Making of Middle Brow Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Dzuback (1991) 221; Blevens (1994) 22.]
 139. Adler, *Philosopher at Large* (1977) 262. [See Ashmore (1989) 260; Dzuback (1991) 219.]
 140. Macdonald (1952). [See Blevens (1994) 22; Ashmore (1989) 260.]
 141. Blevens (1994) 18, 20; Dzuback (1991) 221.
 142. Hutchins, "The Good News of Damnation" (1947) 5-8. [See Mayer (1993) 373.]
 143. Dzuback (1991) 221; Mayer (1993) 372-3.
 144. Robert M. Hutchins, "Toward a Durable Society," *Fortune* (Jun. 1943) 158-60.
 145. John Dewey, "Challenge to Liberal Thought," *Fortune* (Aug. 1944) 155-7. [See Blevens (1994) 10-1.]
 146. Robert M. Hutchins, "Education for Freedom," *The Christian Century* (Nov. 1944) 1314-6.
 147. *Ibid.*
 148. Ashmore (1989) 262. [See McNeill (1991) 123.]
 149. Mayer (1993) 278, 373.
 150. Hutchins, "The Good News of Damnation" (1947) 5-8. [See Mayer (1993) 373.]
 151. Mayer (1993) 373.
 152. Ashmore (1989) 279; Dzuback (1991) 224-5.
 153. Dzuback (1991) 224. [See *Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1948), reprinted in *Common Cause* (Committee to Frame a World Constitution, University of Chicago, Mar. 1948).]
 154. Harvey Wheeler, "The Constitution Under Strain: A Conversation about Watergate," an interview with Robert Hutchins, *The Center Magazine*

(Mar./Apr. 1974) 43-52.

155. Mayer (1993) 277-81; Ashmore (1989) 270-9; Dzuback (1991) 224-5; McNeill (1991) 123. [Note the implication of duties commensurate with rights indicated by the term, "Declaration of Duties and Rights" rather than "Bill of Rights."]

156. McGeorge Bundy, "An Impossible World Republic," *The Reporter* (22 Nov. 1949). [See Ashmore (1989) 279-80; Dzuback (1991) 224.]

157. Dzuback (1991) 223.

158. *Ibid.*, 219, 225.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS: THE COMMISSION

In hope of elevating the image of his profession, as well as heading off criticism of corporate media ownership, publisher Henry Luce thought a study conducted by respected men might be effective. He wanted a statement of the importance of a free press system in the United States, and he wanted its signatories to carry credentials so impressive that its validity would be beyond question. He was confident that his friend's connections and record of defense of academic freedom equipped him well to handle the task. At Luce's suggestion, and with \$200,000 of *Time* money, on February 28, 1944, Robert Hutchins announced the creation of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, thereafter known as the Hutchins Commission.¹

When Hutchins created the Commission in 1944 and the Committee to Frame a World Constitution in 1945, his concerns differed from those of Luce. He had never advocated corporate media ownership; in fact, such was an explicit criticism of the press in the Commission Report.² Nor did he hope to elevate the image of the press; in fact, he had long battled the press, and he did not react in 1946 when the Chicago dean of students banished a leftist editor from the campus newspaper.³ He was, however, concerned with the danger posed by the atomic bomb, and he was worried about the fragile peace among fractured nations that existed at war's end. Among the apocalyptic public statements that illustrated his concern, in January 1946, he said there were "only five more years to live" before "atomic disaster."⁴ Moreover, he referred to this concern in the

preface to the Commission Report: "Because of the present world crisis, the Commission confined itself in this study to the role of the agencies of mass communication in the education of the people in public affairs."⁵

Hutchins took a leave of absence from the University of Chicago from September 1946 through May 1947, during which he worked simultaneously on the Commission on Freedom of the Press, the Committee to Frame a World Constitution, and the publication and marketing of the Great Books. The Commission called the press to task as responsible for serving the needs of society, and the Committee called for the establishment of a single world government as the only means of survival against the threat of atomic annihilation. Hutchins considered such annihilation to be the inevitable culmination of the discord attendant to the disorder of conflicting national sovereignties. In order to facilitate the establishment of world peace, the Great Books project attempted to fix the canon that would educate the peoples of the world. Hutchins further believed that it is the responsibility of the press, like that of universities, to educate the people in the common base of understanding that is the cultural heritage of the Western world. At the root of the common base as he perceived it was the influence of several centuries of philosophical development and, more specifically, the pessimistic view of human nature endorsed by theologian Reinhold Niebuhr and journalist Walter Lippmann, in tandem with an amended interpretation of freedom of speech offered by Harvard Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

Historical influences on Hutchins' press philosophy

Although there are degrees of control and degrees of liberty, as well as the influences peculiar to any particular time and place, there are, in the most

simplistic distinction, two philosophical tendencies. "Men, as well as nations, tend to be authoritarian or libertarian," explain Black and Whitney (1988), because "basically they are disposed toward either a well-structured, disciplined world view with definite rules and an ordered society, or they are disposed toward an open, experimental, nonrestrictive society with a minimum of rules and controls."⁶ Authoritarianism is a much older philosophy than libertarianism. Although elements of both can be traced to ancient Greece, authoritarianism is explicit in the operational form of democracy that actually existed, as advocated by Socrates and Plato, and libertarianism is implied in the mythical form of democracy that was idealized by Aristotle.

According to the myth of the unattained ideal form of democracy, the art of politics was believed to be a gift from the gods to every man, not just the elite, thus implying that all men could be, in theory, "liberated." In the operational form of democracy as it actually existed in ancient Greece, however, only the "leisure class" engaged in the *polis* or community of the self-governed free; the vocationally trained but intellectually uneducated masses needed what Plato termed "philosopher-kings" to guide them. Plato argued that, even in an enlightened society, those who are less rational and more dependent on the unreliable specifics of human experience should be controlled by philosopher-kings who offer the benefits of the wisdom of rational thought.⁷

"Long before the mass media were invented," according to DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989), "Plato may have provided the opening round over the social costs and benefits of mass culture." Plato said the popular culture of the time should be censored because it posed a threat to the minds of the children:

Our first business will be to supervise the making of fables and legends, rejecting all which are unsatisfactory; and we shall induce nurses and mothers to tell their children only those which we have approved. . . . Most of the stories now in use must be discarded."⁸

Plato's view influenced subsequent centuries and thinkers, particularly the medieval theologians who doubted the ability of average people to ascertain Truth.⁹ Although Hutchins quoted Aristotle frequently and sought the mythical community wherein all men would be liberated from mundane pressures, he believed that average people need the guidance of great minds like Plato's philosopher-kings.¹⁰

Authoritarianism

Merrill and Odell (1983) note that Plato was “the first great proponent of law and order, an advocate of submission to an aristocracy of the best.”¹¹

Lowenstein and Merrill (1990) add that the maintenance of order equates with authoritarianism, and, conversely, the absence of authoritarianism equates with the absence of order.¹² In this line of reasoning, Hutchins (1936) sought order to rectify “the chaos that we mistake for liberty” and “the noise and confusion of clashing opinions.”¹³

Baran and Davis (1995) explain that authoritarianism developed from “an idea that placed all forms of communication under the control of a governing elite”:

Authorities justified their control to protect and preserve a divinely ordained social order. In most countries, control rested in the hands of a king who, in turn, granted royal charters or licenses to media practitioners. Practitioners could be jailed for violating charters. Charters or licenses could be revoked. Censorship of all types was possible. Authoritarian control tended to be exercised in arbitrary, erratic ways.”¹⁴

“A basic assumption is that a person engaged in journalism is so engaged as a special privilege granted by the national leadership,” Merrill and Odell (1983) note. As such, under authoritarianism, journalists “are educators and propagandists by which the power elite exercises social control.”¹⁵

Authoritarianism ruled virtually unchallenged for at least 2,000 years until libertarianism arose in opposition to authoritarian rule in the 17th century. From these two doctrines were developed, in the first half of the 20th century, the theories of totalitarianism and social responsibility. Totalitarianism developed in the Soviet Union after World War I as an extension of authoritarianism; social responsibility theory developed in the United States after World War II as an amended form of libertarianism. Totalitarianism and social responsibility theory both differ from the parent theories with respect to the responsibilities required of the public and the press.¹⁶

Totalitarianism

A philosophy of media responsibility developed after the Russian Revolution of 1917 into the extended version of authoritarianism known as the totalitarian or Soviet system. The chief structural difference between authoritarianism and totalitarianism is that the privately owned media controlled by the state under authoritarianism are publicly owned by the state under totalitarianism; the chief philosophical difference is that, rather than merely acquiesce to authority, the press has a responsibility under totalitarianism to educate the citizenry, and the public has a responsibility to become informed and an obligation to support the state's programs.

Authoritarian theory requires only "acquiescence to a governing elite," according to Baran and Davis (1995). "Unlike totalitarianism, authoritarian theory doesn't prioritize cultivation of a homogeneous, national culture."¹⁷ On the other hand, because "the communist press has the responsibility of perpetuating and expanding the socialist system," Black and Whitney (1988) explain, "it spends its time transmitting policy--already established truth, as it were--not searching for a nebulous truth that might emerge from a clash of

ideas." According to totalitarian doctrine, the press is, Black and Whitney conclude, "responsible for informing and indoctrinating society."¹⁸ Transmission of a common cultural grounding and fixed Truth were high priorities for Hutchins; he could not tolerate the "confusion" of clashing ideas.¹⁹

McQuail (1987) describes the authoritarian-totalitarian distinction in terms similar to the Hutchins Commission's distinction between libertarianism and social responsibility. Totalitarian media "are expected to be self-regulated, to exercise a certain degree of responsibility, to develop and follow norms of professional conduct, and to be responsible to the needs and wishes of their audiences," McQuail writes. "Media should provide a complete and objective view of society and the world, according to Marxist-Leninist principles." Because journalists should be "responsible professionals whose aims and ideas should coincide with the best interests of the society," McQuail adds, the media under a totalitarian system are expected to serve such "positive functions for society" as "education," "information," "motivation," "mobilization" and "socialization to desired norms."²⁰

McQuail writes that totalitarian media "are expected to be self-regulated"; one of the Report's six chapters is devoted to a call for self-regulation.²¹ McQuail notes that totalitarian media are expected to be "responsible to the needs and wishes of their audiences"; the Commission insisted that the media should be responsible to "the common good," "accountable to society for meeting the public need," and responsible "to the values and goals of our society as a whole."²² McQuail notes that the totalitarian media are expected to "provide a complete and objective view of society"; the Report called for a "comprehensive" and "accurate . . . account of the day's events" with clear delineation between "fact" and "opinion."²³ McQuail explains that totalitarian media are expected to serve such "positive functions for society" as "education," "information" and

“socialization”; the Commission insisted that, as “an educational instrument,” the press “must assume a responsibility like that of educators in stating and clarifying the ideals toward which the community should strive.”²⁴

Libertarianism

During the 17th century, authoritarian assumptions were challenged by a more optimistic view of human nature, in which people began to be seen as rational and capable of making wise decisions. Among the influential defenders of the rationality of people and the attendant doctrine of libertarianism were Milton, Jefferson and Mill.

John Milton (1608-1674) believed in what has subsequently come to be known as the self-righting process of truth in the open marketplace of ideas. His speech, “Appeal for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing,” was later published as *Areopagitica: A Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing to the Parliament of England* (1644). The title, *Areopagitica*, refers to Areopagus, the hill where ancient Athenians placed their highest judicial court.²⁵

Milton's assertion that “ultimate” truth will emerge in “competing notions” of truth, according to Patterson and Wilkins (1994), “foreshadowed the philosophy of the Enlightenment--from which modern journalism borrows its notion of truth.” Patterson and Wilkins (1994) note the relationship that the Enlightenment doctrine of libertarianism bears to four concepts disdained by Hutchins: the scientific method, uncertainty about truth, value parity of different kinds of knowledge, and neglect of culture:

This Enlightenment notion of truth undergirds the journalistic ideal of objectivity . . . in which all facts and people are regarded as equal and equally worthy of coverage. Culture, an individual sense of mission, and individual and organizational feelings and views do not belong in objective news accounts. . . . The Enlightenment view of truth also was compatible with democracy and its emphasis on rational government. People who could reason together, who could arrive at some shared

“truth” of how their political lives ought to function, could govern themselves. Information was essential to such a form of government, for it allowed citizens to scrutinize government.²⁶

Patterson and Wilkins link libertarianism to the scientific method of experimentation and observation; Hutchins asserted that empiricism has “taken the place of thought” in “an erroneous notion of progress.” He also announced that the Commission “did not conduct elaborate 'research'.”²⁷ Patterson and Wilkins link libertarianism to an ongoing search for truth; Hutchins insisted that Truth is universal and enduring, not uncertain or emerging.²⁸ Patterson and Wilkins relate libertarianism to the notion that “all facts and people” are “worthy” of coverage; Hutchins insisted that, “only by a hierarchy of truths” can it be known what is “significant” and what is not.²⁹ For Patterson and Wilkins, culture, like opinion, does not “belong” in objective news reporting; Hutchins believed the transmission of culture to be a duty of citizenship. The responsibility of the press for the transmission of culture “goes without saying,” he wrote, and journalists can “advance the progress of civilization or they can thwart it.”³⁰

Much of what constitutes the concept of libertarianism thus clashed sharply with Hutchins' views. On the application of this doctrine to the press, as on the application of egalitarian notions to higher education, Hutchins took exception with Jefferson.

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) promoted an education philosophy and a political philosophy at variance with Hutchins. Jefferson's education philosophy was egalitarian and progressive. It epitomized much of what Hutchins disdained, including Newtonian empiricism, practical studies, a free elective system, and the indiscriminate valuing of all types of knowledge. He founded the University of Virginia, which opened in March 1825 with 40 students. He said his progressive curriculum was “based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind to explore and to expose every subject susceptible of its contemplation.”

A half-century before the founding of Johns Hopkins, the first American research university, Jefferson combined what Rudolph (1962) terms “an attention to the popular and practical new subjects with an intellectual orientation of university dimensions.” Established three years before publication of the Yale Report of 1828, which entrenched prescription of the traditional liberal arts curriculum, the University of Virginia began as an institution in which every student was an unclassified free agent. The “great virtue” of the University of Virginia, Rudolph writes, “was its avoidance of superficiality and compulsion, the two evils which finally undermined the classical course of study and let loose an elective system of significant proportions.”³¹

Hutchins faulted Jefferson for including practical subjects and allowing student election. He said Jefferson confused “ideas” with the “accumulation of facts.” Ashmore relates how Hutchins denigrated the founder in a 1934 Founder's Day address at the University of Virginia. “The intellectual life was not [his] concern,” Hutchins said of Jefferson. “What used to be called the ‘intellectual love of God,’ what we now call the ‘pursuit of truth for its own sake,’ the inculcation of which is the object of human learning, scarcely appeared in his prospectus.”³²

Jefferson's political philosophy was libertarian. He authored the Declaration of Independence, and he was instrumental in securing the guarantees of freedom of speech, press and religion in not only the Constitution of the United States, but in those of several states as well. He was responsible for the abolition of the system of primogeniture and entail in Virginia. He was the leading spokesman in a national debate with Alexander Hamilton. Fore-shadowing Hutchins in his fear of the anarchy of disorder, Hamilton championed the concentration of federal power; Jefferson wanted to diffuse power. With a pessimistic view of human nature, Hamilton believed republican government

could succeed only if directed by a governing class; Jefferson endorsed unfettered democracy with an optimistic view of human nature.³³ "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government," Jefferson said in 1787, "I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."³⁴

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) asserted that all human action should attempt to create the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people. In his 60-page *Essay On Liberty* (1859), published the same year as Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, Mill championed the right to make mistakes in pursuit of the "many sides" of truth.³⁵ Hutchins could not countenance the disorder implied by Mill's philosophy. The "right of free public expression," the Hutchins Commission acknowledged, "does include the right to be in error." However, the Commission argued, the press "must know that its faults and errors have ceased to be private vagaries and have become public dangers."³⁶ If there are no fixed and reliable truths, and mistakes are acceptable, then "the world has no meaning," Hutchins argued. If the world "presents itself to us as a mass of equivalent data," Hutchins wrote, we "cannot understand it; there is no need to try."³⁷ Hutchins insisted that there exists a hierarchy of fixed and enduring Truth, but Mill asserted that human knowledge is always fallible and never complete.³⁸

Pragmatism further challenged the notion of fixed Truth. Chief among the early pragmatists were Charles Sanders Peirce, William James and John Dewey. The term "pragmatism" was introduced by Harvard philosopher Peirce in an 1878 article in *Popular Science Monthly*. In an address at the University of California, Berkeley, 20 years after Peirce's article, and in two lectures in 1907, another Harvard professor, William James, denounced the idea of a "block universe," or the notion that there is a structure of Truth or an Absolute guiding principle.³⁹ Hutchins insisted that timeless Truth rules a hierarchy of knowledge.

William James (1842-1910), rejected the argument that any kind of unity is fixed in the world. He said that, because all abstractions based on “fixed principles, closed systems, and pretended absolutes and origins” are unrealistic, a more open-minded approach is needed in a pluralistic society. Pragmatism thus focuses on practical considerations; Hutchins rejected the intrusion of practical considerations in the intellectual contemplation of ideas. James died at age 67 in 1910, when his most influential disciple, John Dewey, was age 51 and a professor at Columbia. Hutchins, who would become a leading critic of James, was an 11-year-old schoolboy under the influence of the more traditional thought of Oberlin President Henry Churchill King.⁴⁰

American journalists have embraced Mill's concepts of human fallibility and ongoing inquiry. They view information with skepticism; they seek confirmation and refutation. American journalists also value the concepts of utility and pluralism that drive pragmatism. “Under pragmatism truth lost much of its universality,” Patterson and Wilkins (1994) write, “but it was in remarkable agreement with the American values of democratic individualism.”⁴¹ Moreover, Altschull (1990) argues that faith in both the democratic political system and the ultimate wisdom of the people in that system is at the nucleus of pragmatism. “The philosophical pessimism infiltrating the ideology of European editors and reporters,” Altschull explains, “has remained for the most part outside the belief system of American journalists,” Walter Lippmann being the most notable exception. Lippmann's early attraction to James was displaced by the influence of George Santayana, James' colleague at Harvard. Faulting what he called Dewey's tendency to dissolve “everything substantial and actual into something relative and transitional,” Santayana said Dewey made a “dogma” of “nonthought.”⁴² Lippmann subsequently became an outspoken supporter of Hutchins.

Economic depression, political corruption and injustice combined with

newspaper sensationalism late in the 19th century to drive the public to demand new laws and government regulation to protect the citizenry. The laissez-faire economic marketplace that had been assumed to be self-righting was found to be subject to abuse, thereby necessitating regulation in the public interest. Similarly, the libertarian marketplace of ideas that had been assumed to be self-righting was found to be subject to abuse, thereby necessitating, in the view of some critics, regulation in the public interest. There is a theoretical assumption in libertarianism that “a free and unhampered press” will adequately serve the needs of a democratic people. “But in libertarian theory there is no obligation on the press to do so,” Merrill and Odell explain. “Libertarianism is characterized by the notion of freedom without enforced responsibility.”⁴³ Efforts to inject a measure of such responsibility began in the latter half of the 19th century and gained momentum in the first half of the 20th century.

Social Responsibility

Altschull (1990) explains how American journalists, confident behind their First Amendment shield, went about their business, largely oblivious to a “polarization” of “hostility” to the press that was building early in the 20th century. He describes the criticism as polarized because it came from both the political left and the political right in conflicting rhetoric. “Depending on where in the political spectrum the hostility arose,” Altschull writes, “it was aimed either at a docile, manipulated press in the service of entrenched power or at a licentious press challenging the moral and political values of society.” Intellectuals on both sides who expressed hostility to pragmatism and empiricism found a sympathetic ear in Hutchins. Those on the political right, Altschull explains, “called for a return to Platonic standards and for insistence on absolute morality.”⁴⁴ Hutchins did not expressly accuse the press of the “love of

money" for which he indicted higher education, but he did mention "scoops and sensations" motivated by "the commercial impulse."⁴⁵ Those on the political left, Altschull writes, argued that the press, in "blind adherence to the empirical method," was concerned only "with means, with technology and not with ends, not with human values." They insisted, Altschull adds, with "rising above politics into the reaches of poetry."⁴⁶ Likewise, Hutchins was outspoken concerning his disdain for empiricism and practical concerns.⁴⁷ The profit-seeking press was criticized by several observers for being controlled by big business, but investigative reporters were also faulted for being anti-business. Newspapers were occasionally criticized for liberal bias early in the 20th century, and more frequently for conservative bias.⁴⁸

The criticism that reached this point in the first half of the 20th century can be traced to several 19th century American writers, including Stephen Crane, Mark Twain and Henry David Thoreau, and those whom Altschull (1990) refers to as the "disaffected among its own practitioners."⁴⁹ In *Our Press Gang* (1859), Lambert Wilmer described "the corruptions and crimes" of American newspapers. "I charge the newspaper press of America," he wrote, "with checking the diffusion of useful knowledge among the people, by withdrawing the attention of the reading public from useful, salutary, and legitimate objects of study."⁵⁰ Among the most influential of the early 20th century critics who followed Wilmer's line of thinking were Holt (1908), Irwin (1911), Sinclair (1919), Villard (1923), Seldes (1938) and Ickes (1939).⁵¹

In *Commercialism and Journalism* (1908), Hamilton Holt echoed Wilmer's charge that newspaper profits were "the wages of prostitution." Holt likened the sale of opinions to the highest bidder to "editorial prostitution."⁵² Similar criticism was expressed by Irwin in 1911 and by Sinclair in 1919. Irwin, former managing editor of *McClure's*, who later generated propaganda as chief of the

foreign department for the Creel Committee during World War I, wrote that newspaper content was controlled by advertising interests in a deliberate attempt to misinform the public.⁵³ In *The Brass Check* (1919), which was originally intended to be subtitled "A Study of the Whore of Journalism," Sinclair equated newspaper owners to prostitutes who presented a check as proof of services rendered in brothels.⁵⁴

Oswald Garrison Villard was editor of the *Nation* from 1918 to 1932 and the author of *Some Newspapers and Newspaper-Men* in 1923. In 1947, he wrote that "the deterioration of the editorial pages" had resulted from "the stupidity, the ignorance and the lack of responsibility to the public" of many owners.⁵⁵ "Just as the profession of journalism has changed into a business," Villard later lamented, "so there is every temptation for the proprietors to consider all political and economic questions from the point of view of those who have very large economic stakes."⁵⁶

In the 1930s, both George Seldes and Harold Ickes used the term "lords of the press." Seldes, a former *Chicago Tribune* foreign correspondent, charged, "Nothing is sacred to the American press but itself."⁵⁷ Ickes, Roosevelt's secretary of the interior and an outspoken supporter of Hutchins, cautioned, "A free and enlightened society cannot enjoy the dangerous luxury of a press that is eager for privileges for itself . . . while at the same time it is indifferent to its obligations."⁵⁸ Seldes' *Lords of the Press* (1938) and Ickes' *America's House of Lords* (1939) were supported by critical case studies of individual publishers, such as Ferdinand Lundberg's *Imperial Hearst* (1936).⁵⁹ Hearst was also the target of Orson Welles' highly acclaimed 1941 movie, *Citizen Kane*, and Hutchins was the frequent target of attacks from Hearst and other conservative publishers who despised his liberal leanings.

More general but no less sharp was the criticism voiced by Reinhold

Niebuhr and Walter Lippmann, both strong supporters of Hutchins. Niebuhr and Lippmann embraced a developing philosophical posture that shifted the basic assumption about human nature from the optimistic to the pessimistic, that shifted the interpretation of the First Amendment from “negative freedom” to “positive freedom,” and that shifted the emphasis on freedom of speech from rights to responsibilities.

Positive Freedom

Libertarianism assumes human morality and rationality, cumulatively if not individually and ultimately if not immediately. Niebuhr and Lippmann argued that morality and rationality would not prevail in the absence of controls against the more base tendencies of man. The shift from optimistic to pessimistic assumptions about human nature that Niebuhr and Lippmann advanced was the basis on which Chafee argued that free speech is dependent on positive control rather than the absence of control.⁶⁰

Reinhold Niebuhr (1892-1971) asserted that men are blind to the fact that they are motivated by self-interest. Because he believed that freedom means men are at liberty to do evil as well as good, he concluded that men would abuse freedom.⁶¹ As a member of the Hutchins Commission, Niebuhr argued that the Commission was correct “in holding the producer morally responsible for the product of news and entertainment in the mass media,” but he acknowledged the difficulty in inducing the public “to police the media.”⁶²

Walter Lippmann (1889-1974) directly influenced both his fellow journalists and readers of his nationally syndicated newspaper column. He organized the Harvard Socialist Club and dropped out of graduate school to work for a socialist newspaper in Boston. He wrote a series of articles about Wall Street for muckraker Lincoln Steffens, he edited the *New Republic* for nine years,

and wrote front-line propaganda leaflets in France during World War I. In 1921, he began writing editorials for the liberal *New York World*. When the *World* folded in 1931, he went to the conservative *New York Herald Tribune*, where he wrote a column, "Today and Tomorrow," four times per week. From 1963 until his retirement in 1967, he wrote for the liberal *Washington Post*. He was an unofficial but influential adviser to 12 presidents, from Theodore Roosevelt to Lyndon Johnson, and he frequently conferred with heads of states in other nations. Rogers (1994) observes that Lippmann acknowledged in retrospect the "inherent conflicts" involved in simultaneously observing and making the news, in the contradictory roles of opinion-shaper and news reporter.⁶³

Lippmann shared Niebuhr's conviction that evil is to be found in man. And, like Niebuhr, he questioned both the wisdom of the common man and the efficacy of democratic institutions. In *Public Opinion* (1922), Lippmann argued that, because the press can never provide "a reliable picture" of the world, society can make only "small headway against the more obvious failings of democracy," which he identified as violent prejudice, apathy and a preference for the trivial over the significant, concerns Hutchins shared. This failure, Lippmann concluded, "is the primary defect of popular government, a defect inherent in its traditions."⁶⁴

John Dewey (1922) called *Public Opinion* "perhaps the most effective indictment of democracy as currently conceived ever penned."⁶⁵ And Lippmann's convictions were enduring. In *The Public Philosophy* (1955), published when he was nearly 65, Lippmann asserted that the people had acquired too much power. He concluded that only a return to a stronger executive branch of government could save the country from a "morbid derangement of the true functions of power."⁶⁶

Zechariah Chafee, Jr. (1886-1957) applied the pessimistic view of human

nature to what he termed a “positive” interpretation of the First Amendment. In “Zechariah Chafee Jr. and the Positive View of Press Freedom,” a 1978 *Journalism History*, Donald Smith describes Chafee's reasoning. Chafee saw the traditional “negative” concept of press freedom (that is, the absence of governmental interference) as insufficient. For the public to be adequately informed, Chafee argued that an “affirmative” or “positive” approach is necessary.⁶⁷

Soon after graduation from Harvard Law School, Chafee joined the Harvard faculty and “quickly became the nation's first great scholar of free speech,” according to Smith. Primarily because no laws, except the repealed Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, were enacted prior to World War I that would seriously threaten freedom of speech, little had been written about the First Amendment. Following enactment of the federal Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918, Chafee found a niche that widened in 1925 when the Supreme Court ruled that the First Amendment was applicable to the states via the 14th Amendment. According to Smith, “Chafee had longed to be a writer,” and he began with an article on “Freedom of Speech” in the *New Republic* in 1918. He established his reputation with the publication of three books: *Freedom of Speech* (1920), *Free Speech in the United States* (1941) and *Government and Mass Communications* (1947). “Although Chafee had first called for an affirmative interpretation of free expression back in the 1920s,” Smith explains, his views “crystallized” during his service on the Hutchins Commission.⁶⁸

Chafee's background was notably Hutchins-like. He majored in classics at Brown University. Like Hutchins, he believed education to be the solution to most difficulties. Also like Hutchins, he favored jurisprudence over the case studies approach to law. He was strongly influenced by Ezra Pound, who led the sociological jurisprudence movement that was based on weighing and balancing the conflicting interests of the individual, the public, and the society in order to

decide how much weight to give to a particular interest. "It is useless to define free speech by talk of rights," Chafee posited:

We must regard the desires and needs of the individual human being who wants to speak and those of the great group of human beings among whom he speaks. . . . The true boundary line of the First Amendment can be fixed only when Congress and the courts realize that the principle on which speech is classified as lawful or unlawful involves the balancing against each other of two very important social interests, in public safety and in the search for truth.⁶⁹

Hutchins believed there should be a hierarchy of knowledge; the problem concerned who should determine that hierarchy. Hutchins believed professors should be paid according to need; the problem concerned who should determine that need. Chafee faced a similar problem bridging from theory to application. The hole in Chafee's theory was the problem of determining which group's rights "outweighed" the others.

Lippmann was not seated on the Hutchins Commission, but he was in communication with Hutchins, he applauded the Commission's Report in his columns, and he was subsequently on the Board of the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education under Hutchins. Although Niebuhr withdrew from the Committee to Frame a World Constitution, he was a member of the Hutchins Commission. Niebuhr and Chafee, who served as vice-chairman of the Commission, brought to the deliberations a pessimistic view of human nature and an affirmative interpretation of the First Amendment that differed markedly from libertarian assumptions.

Press criticism climaxed with the Hutchins Commission. Preceding efforts were neither as influential nor as comprehensive. Previous observers focused on limited aspects of the media; the Hutchins Commission addressed all aspects of the media, including news, entertainment and advertising, as well as all types of vehicles, including newspapers, magazines, books, film and broadcasting.

Previous observers focused on faults within libertarian doctrine; the Hutchins Commission proposed an alternative to libertarian doctrine. Although the concept of “responsibility” had been considered within the libertarian paradigm, not until the Hutchins Commission Report of 1947 was an alternate theory advanced that could challenge libertarianism.⁷⁰

The Hutchins Commission assumed that: (1) the press has a responsibility to society, and (2) a libertarian press cannot meet that responsibility.⁷¹ Instead of being free “from” something (specifically from government regulation) in the “negative” sense of libertarianism, the press should be free “for” something (specifically to do good) in the “positive” sense of social responsibility. Attendant with this philosophy was a shift from the optimistic view of human nature as ultimately good to the pessimistic view of human nature as self-serving and evil.

The issues that concerned Hutchins during the Commission deliberations were education and world peace, and the virtues he favored were the antithesis of libertarianism. He was nearing the end of his failing struggle to establish a liberal arts curriculum, to the exclusion of vocationalism, at the University of Chicago. Indeed, one of the recommendations of the Hutchins Commission was the preparation of journalists, not in technical training, but in liberal arts education. “If he is to be a competent judge of public affairs,” the Report argued, the journalist needs “the broadest and most liberal education.”⁷² Journalists should not only be “educated,” Hutchins said, they should be “educators.” Ashmore observes that, as early as 1930, Hutchins insisted that those responsible for developing the new media of broadcasting and motion pictures were also responsible for adapting them to educational purposes.⁷³ And one of the recommendations of the Committee on world government was to educate the people of the world in a common cultural grounding through the reading of the Great Books. Moreover, the scientific method, uncertainty about truth, and social

disorder, all linked to libertarianism, were concepts that Hutchins disdained.⁷⁴

Hutchins thus approached the Commission's deliberations, not only with firm ideas contrary to prevailing press theory, but with scars from often unfair press attacks. Hutchins was justified in taking a dim view of press tactics. As Mayer explains, he "had long jostled with elements of the press." He took on "that mad magnate," William Randolph Hearst, and he "conducted a public feud" with McCormick's "antidiluvian *Chicago Tribune*."⁷⁵

The Commission: its creation

The press in general did not object to a critical study or to ideas for improving the practice. Indeed, such internal efforts had been apace for a quarter-century. But there was some objection to a group of intellectuals passing judgment on the press in secret meetings with anonymous witnesses.

Early internal efforts to improve the practice

One of the earliest efforts to elevate press behavior was the Journalist's Creed (1908) written by Walter Williams, dean of America's first journalism school at the University of Missouri, Columbia. Williams urged reporters to act as gentlemen, to be patient, God-fearing, respectful and aware of their "public trust."⁷⁶

The development of codes of ethics and courses in media ethics during the 1920s and 1930s displayed what Black and Whitney (1988) term "a concern for common values of a shared culture," precisely the goal favored by Hutchins.⁷⁷ The Canons of Journalism adopted by the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) in 1923 demanded a high level of performance and sense of responsibility in the press. "To its opportunities as a chronicle," the document

resolved, "are indissolubly linked its obligations as teacher and interpreter."⁷⁸ The Sigma Delta Chi (SDX) Code of Ethics was adopted three years later in 1926. It stressed responsibilities for America's largest group of working reporters and journalism students similar to those adopted by ASNE. There was, however, a distinction between the earliest codes adopted by the newspaper industry and those drawn up by broadcasters. "In a phrase," Black and Whitney (1988) explain, "it is the difference between positive and negative liberties."⁷⁹ The 1930 Motion Picture Production Code, the 1937 radio industry code and the 1952 television code differed from newspaper codes. Whereas the newspaper codes rested on faith in human rationality and the self-righting process of the marketplace of ideas, the Hutchins Commission applied the opposite set of assumptions from broadcasting codes to all media.

Creation of the panel

When Hutchins announced the creation of the Commission on February 28, 1944, the *New York Times* headlined its story, "Commission to Make 2-Year Study of All Phases of Press Freedom." Hutchins said:

The Commission plans to examine areas and circumstances under which the press of the United States is succeeding or failing; to discover where free expression is or is not limited, whether by governmental censorship, pressures from readers or advertisers or the unwisdom of its proprietors or the timidity of its management.⁸⁰

Although the press welcomed such a study, the Commission met with immediate criticism because of its make-up. Hutchins "filled the commission with educators and like-minded philosophers," writes Blevens (1994).⁸¹ "As usual," Ashmore notes, "he selected distinguished scholars and public men with scholarly backgrounds, several of whom were already serving on other bodies he headed."⁸² Not only was the press excluded, Dzuback adds, so was the general

public that is served by the press.⁸³

No journalists were included, Blanchard (1977) explains, because "Hutchins felt that an evaluation of the press could be done more objectively without working newspapermen on the Commission." Panelists were instead "drawn from current or former members of the academic community, many of whom had personal connections with either Hutchins or the University of Chicago."⁸⁴ Although a disproportionate number of people worked in government in the 1940s because of the war, the fact that a majority of the Commission members held government positions, even after the war, but not one was a working journalist, remains noteworthy in the implications made concerning government intervention in the affairs of the press.

All 13 members of the Commission were university men, six of them from Chicago. In addition to Hutchins, whose primary interests were philosophy and law, there were four philosophers, four lawyers, one economist, one political scientist, one anthropologist and one historian. From Chicago came John M. Clark, Harold Lasswell, Charles Merriam, Robert Redfield and Beardsley Ruml. From Harvard came legal scholar Zechariah Chafee, historian Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., and Professor Emeritus of Philosophy Ernest E. Hocking. Also seated were John Dickinson, law professor at the University of Pennsylvania; Reinhold Niebuhr, professor of ethics and philosophy of religion at Union Theological Seminary; George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College and editor of *Commonweal*; and poet Archibald MacLeish, then Librarian of Congress.⁸⁵

Robert Leigh, adviser to the foreign broadcast intelligence service of the Federal Communications Commission, was named visiting professor of political science at the University of Chicago during his tenure as staff director. In addition to Leigh, the Commission's staff included Llewellyn White, assistant director, Milton D. Stewart and Ruth A. Inglis.

Foreign advisers to the Commission included John Frierson, former chairman of the Canadian Wartime Information Board; Kurt Riezler, professor of philosophy at the New School for Social Research; Huh Shih, former Chinese ambassador to the United States; and Jacques Maritain, long-time Hutchins supporter and president of the Free French School for Advanced Studies. Huh Shih was unable to participate in the work of the Commission after 1944, and Maritain resigned in February 1944 to become French ambassador to the Vatican.

Hutchins, who had sole control over Commission appointments, seated two Chicagoans who were supporters of the Hutchins Plan, two who had opposed it, and one who was a noncombatant in the Chicago Fight. The non-combatant, economist Clark, had transferred to Columbia by the time of his appointment to the Commission; Clark held several posts in Roosevelt's administration, including that of consultant to the National Recovery Administration. Merriam and Lasswell had both battled against the Hutchins Plan. Merriam, former chairman of the Political Science Department, had worked for the Creel Committee in World War I Italy and served on the Public Works Administration National Planning Board under Roosevelt. Lasswell was director of war communications research for the Library of Congress, working under MacLeish, when the Commission was formed, and he was a professor of law at Yale when the Report was published. Ruml and Redfield, then the former and current deans, respectively, of the Chicago Social Sciences Division, supported the Hutchins Plan. After resigning from the University, Ruml was chairman of R.H. Macy and, at the time the Commission convened, chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

During the Commission deliberations, Philip Schuyler (1944) reported in *Editor & Publisher* that Ruml said he liked newspapermen. "It is true, however," Ruml said, "that they can do amazing things even to a hand-out, unless you sit

down with them and go over what you want to say paragraph by paragraph.”⁸⁶ Ruml did not recognize the duty of the press to exercise editorial discretion over news releases, assuming instead that unedited reproductions of public relations communiqués are obligatory on the part of the media.

Dickinson served the Roosevelt administration as assistant secretary of commerce (1933-35) and assistant U.S. attorney general (1935-37); he was also general counsel to the Pennsylvania Railroad. MacLeish, a former Luce editor, supported a United Nations guarantee of press freedom in his position as assistant secretary of state in charge of public and cultural relations; he was succeeded by Bill Benton in 1945. Upon Benton's recommendation in 1947, Chafee was named to the U.N. subcommittee considering worldwide freedom of information. The U.N. was debating press freedom when the Commission's Report was issued in 1947, Blanchard observes, “and the American press would naturally assume that comments about the inadequacies of the nation's media would not help the cause.”⁸⁷

The Commission: its deliberations

Dzuback writes that the Commission “began its work with a shared set of premises,” reflecting the continuing influence of Mortimer Adler. Absorbed in the Great Books and *Syntopicon* project at the time, Adler was not seated on the Commission, but he wrote what Dzuback terms “a characteristically thorough” outline for Hutchins on November 30, 1943.⁸⁸

Methodology

Ashmore notes that the Commission “deliberately avoided conventional research.”⁸⁹ The panel drew conclusions from unproved, subjective assumptions

based largely on opinion. In addition, concepts were imprecisely defined and, in some cases, ill-defined.⁹⁰ Blanchard speculates that the Commission defined “the press” as “all channels for communication of ideas” in “an effort to extend the protection of the First Amendment” from the print media to radio and motion pictures.⁹¹ Whether the definition was a matter of such motivation, a lack of understanding, or a reflection of Hutchins' tendency toward assumptions of homogeneity is a matter of debate. But if inclusiveness was a goal, the impulse did not extend to procedures.

Whether oblivious or immune to the tenets of fairness valued by the press itself, the Commission chose to deliberate in seclusion, to leak information, and to rely on unnamed sources. The Commission guarded the anonymity of witnesses in order to encourage frank discussion. When *Editor & Publisher* tried to cover the proceedings, reporters were leaked unattributed, unverifiable information. And when the Report was released, unnamed perpetrators were faulted by unnamed accusers, thereby limiting opportunities for rebuttal.⁹² In a December 1944 editorial, *Editor & Publisher* argued that witnesses should be interviewed “in a glass house” so “the fine points and failings of our press would be laid on the record.” Agreement and rebuttal to testimony, the editorial added, “would increase the scope and volume of opinion before the Commission.”⁹³

In 17 meetings, each lasting two or three days, the Commission assessed the “evidence” provided by 225 unidentified witnesses and 176 documents prepared by members of the Commission and its staff. Hutchins maintained that the Commission interviewed “members of the industries, government, and private agencies concerned with the press,” and 58 of the 225 witnesses were “men and women connected with the press.”⁹⁴ Without attribution, Ashmore labels the 58 witnesses as “leading media proprietors and practitioners.”⁹⁵ However, Blanchard asserts that Edwin L. James, managing editor of the *New*

York Times, which supported the Commission, was the “first and only newspaperman” to appear before the panel. James “declined to reveal the nature of his testimony for publication,” according to Blanchard.⁹⁶

Schuyler observed the early flow of witnesses into the conference room and reported the appearance of Elmer Davis, the former CBS broadcaster who headed the U.S. Office of War Information (propaganda); Byron Price, director of the Office of Censorship during World War II; Huntington C. Cairns, censorship chief for the U.S. Treasury; James L. Fry, former Federal Communications Commission chairman; Arthur Garfield Hays, American Civil Liberties Union director; Morris Ernst, American Newspaper Guild attorney; and Postmaster General Frank C. Walters.⁹⁷

Schuyler's December 1944 article in *Editor & Publisher* focused on a difference between Hays, who opposed all restrictions on expression, and Ernst, who insisted regulation was an imperative. Hays said “chain newspapers under one ownership . . . mean better newspapers,” an argument dismissed by the Commission. Ernst, on the other hand, said “concentrated economic power . . . acts as a restraint of thought.” According to Schuyler, Ernst told the Commission that “we are learning that failure of the government to act can be as detrimental to the rights secured by the First Amendment as an act of positive interference.”⁹⁸ Ernst's notion of “positive interference” was in accord with Chafee's “positive interpretation” of the First Amendment, as well as with the interests of the union members he represented in the Guild. The Report noted that the Guild was affiliated with the C.I.O. and concentrated on union recognition, better salaries, hours and working conditions. “These are, of course, useful first steps in building professional competence and independence,” the Report stated.⁹⁹ In *First Freedom* (1946), Ernst called for a Congressional probe of the press and proposed prohibitions against ownership of multiple media

outlets, ownership by media of such support facilities as newsprint plants, and interlocking directorates among communications media. Ernst also wanted to regulate advertising rates and provide an escalating tax structure to assist smaller publications and discourage larger ones.¹⁰⁰

The Commission: its conclusions and recommendations

Hutchins called the Report “a collaborative enterprise.”¹⁰¹ He edited the main volume, however, and he maintained editorial supervision over the Commission's six additional publications, which are abstracted at the end of the Report.¹⁰² In *Freedom of the Press: A Framework of Principle*, Ernest Hocking argued that changes in the power and reach of the press have altered the meaning and value of the concept of “freedom of the press”:

We can neither be content merely to mutter “freedom of the press” as a defense against every proposal for responsibility or reform nor be oblivious of the fact that elsewhere in the world press freedom is not alone widely restricted by subject to keen critical attack as to its social validity in its unlimited form.¹⁰³

In *Government and Mass Communications*, Zechariah Chafee considered the role of government as a dispenser of information and listed for analysis: (1) the use of governmental power to limit or to suppress discussion, (2) affirmative governmental action to encourage better and more extensive communication, and (3) government as a party to communication.¹⁰⁴ In *Peoples Speaking to Peoples*, Llewellyn White and Robert Leigh examined international communication and proposed a government-industry program to guarantee adequate coverage.¹⁰⁵ In *Freedom of the Movies*, sociologist Ruth Inglis examined efforts at self-regulation in the motion picture industry.¹⁰⁶ In *The American Radio*, Llewellyn White analyzed efforts at both self-regulation and government regulation.¹⁰⁷

The American Press and the San Francisco Conference by Milton Stewart included an introduction by Harold Lasswell and compared treatment given the United Nations Conference by different media.¹⁰⁸

Mayer describes how the press, like higher education, had succumbed to what Hutchins called "the love of money" and the demands of the marketplace, thereby failing to confront the "great issues":

[The periodical press] failed miserably to discharge its moral obligation to the community, more often than not reflecting the views of its owners and advertisers in the treatment of news, pandering to the lowest tastes of the readers who had to depend on it for the understanding of the great issues that confronted them in a democratic society.¹⁰⁹

Three Threats to Freedom of the Press

A Free and Responsible Press applied a positive-freedom interpretation of the First Amendment to infer the sins of unnamed perpetrators of irresponsible behavior to be damning of the media as a whole. Beginning with a description of the characteristics of the various media, the Report lumped all types of news, advertising and entertainment together as if they were a homogeneous lot. Apparently attributing news obligations to advertising, it criticized marketing communications for their advocacy nature. The thesis of the Report was that freedom of the press was in danger for three reasons: (1) inadequate access, (2) inadequate performance, and (3) the inevitability of government intervention because of such inadequacies.

Reason #1: INADEQUATE ACCESS

The importance of the press to the people has greatly increased with the development of the press as an instrument of mass communication. At the same time the development of the press as an instrument of mass communication has greatly decreased the proportion of the people who can express their opinions and ideas through the press.¹¹⁰

Because of increasing concentration of ownership, the Report charged that access was decreasing. The Report argued that, in colonial times, "there was no great

discrepancy between the number of those who could read and were active citizens and those who could command the financial resources to engage in publication."¹¹¹

The Report did not address the issues of relative literacy or relative elitism, but it acknowledged that less than six percent of the adult population voted for the conventions held to ratify the Constitution of the United States. DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) provide evidence that, just because there was no great discrepancy between the number who could read and the number who could publish, relative access was not necessarily greater in the 18th or 19th century than in the 20th century. In fact, the colonial press served, not the masses, but an educated elite. U.S. Bureau of Census statistics indicate daily newspaper circulation per household to be 0.21, or about one newspaper per five households, in 1850. The rate remained under 1.00 until after the turn of the century and reached a high mark of about 1.34 between 1910 and 1940. It ranged from 1.18 to 1.24 during the Commission's deliberations, a rate almost 600 percent higher than a century earlier.¹¹² Increased literacy, affluence and technology combined to boost access, although perhaps not ownership. Moreover, Day (1991) explains how concentrated corporate ownership may not be the counterproductive phenomenon the Commission assumed it to be. The infusion of corporate funds "has allowed many newspapers that might otherwise have died to survive," Day writes, and media concentration "could result in a better product because of the pooling of economic resources."¹¹³

Reason #2: INADEQUATE PERFORMANCE

The few who are able to use the machinery of the press as an instrument of mass communication have not provided a service adequate to the needs of the society.¹¹⁴

The Commission's "citation of the shortcomings of the press was familiar enough," Ashmore (1989) writes. "The concentration of ownership had

effectively removed competition while increasing profits, to the point where the proprietors of the media were now in the upper-income brackets and tended to reflect the views of the privileged classes."¹¹⁵ The Report faulted the press for the "commercial impulse" that leads to "scoops and sensations" rather than important information, for simultaneously succumbing to "the pressure of the audience" and reflecting "the bias of owners," and for carrying too much advertising in general, and specifically advertising that "sells" rather than "discusses."¹¹⁶ The Commission seemed to confuse news objectivity with advertising advocacy; objectivity is neither the intent nor the expectation of advertising. After completing their project, the commissioners hired an advertising agency, not to "discuss" the Report, but to promote it.¹¹⁷

"To attract the maximum audience, the press emphasizes the exceptional rather than the representative, the sensational rather than the significant," the Report charged:

The result is not a continued story of the life of a people, but a series of vignettes, made to seem more significant than they really are. The sum of such discontinuous parts does not equal the whole, because the parts have not been represented in their actual size and color in relation to the whole."¹¹⁸

Hutchins sought a hierarchy of knowledge in education, distinguishing what is "significant" from what is not and providing a "coherent" order.¹¹⁹ Seeming to confuse news with history, the Report called for a similar order to replace "discontinuous parts," as well as a hierarchy to distinguish what is "significant" from "a series of vignettes." The Commission's reasoning led instead to a more orderly system: (a) society has cultural and educational needs, (b) the press has a responsibility to convey the culture and educate the public, and (c) if the press satisfies that responsibility, a cultured and educated public will create a harmonious world community.

(a) Society has cultural and educational needs. The press is so “pre-occupied” with “incidents,” the Report argued, that society’s needs are not met. The Commissioners concluded that “the citizen is not supplied the information and discussion he needs to discharge his responsibilities to the community.”¹²⁰

(b) The press has a responsibility to convey the culture and educate the public. In order to meet the needs of society, the Report considered conveyance of the culture, without regard to the profit motive, to be incumbent upon the press. “We recommend that the agencies of mass communication assume the responsibility of financing new, experimental activities in their fields,” the Report instructed. “Here we have in mind activities of high literacy, artistic, or intellectual quality which do not give promise of immediate financial return.”¹²¹

(c) If the press satisfies that responsibility, a cultured and educated public will create a harmonious world community. Hutchins reasoned that mass communicators “must assume responsibility like that of educators” because schools do not adequately educate the citizenry. In keeping with his agenda for world government, he called on the press to “help create a world community” by stating, clarifying, and promoting an appreciation of the goals of a free society.¹²²

The Report identified five criteria for improved press performance. The press should provide: (1) meaningful news, (2) access for comment and criticism, (3) a representative picture, (4) clarification of goals and values, and (5) the appropriate information to satisfy the public’s right to know.

(1) Meaningful news. The press should provide “a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day’s events in a context which gives them meaning,” the Report advised. “It is no longer enough to report the fact truthfully. It is now necessary to report the truth about the fact.” The Report also called for differentiation between “fact” and “opinion,” but it acknowledged that

the differentiation cannot be “absolute” and still provide meaning.”¹²³

(2) Access for comment and criticism. The press should provide “a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism,” and that forum should be open. Although the Commission conducted its hearings in secret and maintained anonymity of sources, the Report advised that the press must identify its sources so the veracity of statements can be appraised.¹²⁴

(3) Representative picture. The press is responsible for “the projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society.”¹²⁵ This short 34-line section of the Report, which focuses on stereotypical images in motion pictures, is the basis on which some observers conclude that social responsibility theory is a call for plurality.¹²⁶ “While agreeing in principle with this dictate, the press has found it difficult to fulfill,” Black and Whitney (1988) observe, because it is impossible to satisfy widely divergent and often contradictory goals and values of all subgroups.¹²⁷

(4) Clarification of goals and values. Because the agencies of mass communication are “an educational instrument,” according to the Report, “they must assume a responsibility like that of educators in stating and clarifying the ideals toward which the community should strive.”¹²⁸ Although this 16-line section is the shortest in the Report, it reflects two key themes often repeated by Hutchins: clarification of issues and education of the public as to those issues.

(5) Right to know. The public has a right to “full access to the day's intelligence,” according to the Report.¹²⁹ The individual is free to become informed or not under libertarianism, but the Commission, viewing man as too lethargic to become informed in the absence of coercion, concluded that the responsibility for developing an informed citizenry rests in the press.¹³⁰ This is a product of the pessimistic view of human nature that Lippmann indirectly, and Niebuhr and Chafee directly, brought to the Commission's conference table.

Reason #3: GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

Those who direct the machinery of the press have engaged from time to time in practices which society condemns and which, if continued, it will inevitably undertake to regulate or control.¹³¹

The Commission's reasoning regarding regulation or control of the press reflects Chafee's positive-freedom interpretation of the First Amendment. With no citations of legal precedent, the Commission argued that the legal right of free expression is conditional on the moral duty to the common good.¹³²

Three suggestions to protect press freedom

To combat these three threats to press freedom, the Commission recommended three methods that could help the press fulfill the responsibilities "clarified" by the Commission: (a) improved training for journalists, (b) an independent agency to assess press performance, and, failing the first two, (c) a government agency to force fulfillment of press responsibilities.

The Hutchins Commission demand for improved training of journalists reiterated the Hutchins Plan demand for replacing practical vocationalism with a classic liberal arts education. The Report also recommended "the creation of academic-professional centers of advanced study, research, and publication in the field of communications."¹³³ Journalism programs have indeed been developed around a broad liberal arts general education, according to Black and Whitney (1988) and Vivian (1991), but not to the exclusion of practical application.¹³⁴

An independent agency to assess press performance should not only compare the "accomplishments of the press with the aspirations which the people have for it," according to the Commission, it should further "educate the people as to the aspirations which they ought to have for the press." The Report did not specify how such "aspirations" should be determined, just that the agency be "created by gifts" and function "independent of government and of

the press."¹³⁵ Press councils that have subsequently been established, according to Gilmor (1978), Emery and Emery (1978), Black and Whitney (1988), Lemert (1989) and Vivian (1991), have been no more than minimally effective on a limited and primarily local basis.¹³⁶

A government agency to force fulfillment of press responsibilities was presented by the Commission as an undesirable inevitability failing effective self-regulation. "We do not believe that the fundamental problems of the press will be solved by more laws or by government action," the Commissioners claimed. However, they added:

Eventually governmental power will be used to break up private power, or governmental power will be used to regulate private power, if private power is at once great and irresponsible. . . . If they are irresponsible, not even the First Amendment will protect their freedom from government control. The amendment will be amended.¹³⁷

With the bold assumption that the First Amendment "will be amended" otherwise, the Commission insisted that every effort be put forth "to make the press accountable, for, if it does not become so of its own motion, the power of the government will be used, as a last resort to force it to be so."¹³⁸

Blanchard (1977) makes the critical observation that the Report "skipped over the sticky point of how to determine when such controls had failed."¹³⁹ Hutchins did not specify how such determinations should be made or who should make them in regard to the Great Books canon or his proposed knowledge hierarchy. Likewise, the Commissioners did not speculate concerning the point at which government would intervene in the affairs of the press, nor did they say whether government power *could* be used or *should* be used, just that it "will be used." Although the Commission maintained that this was a warning, some critics perceived it as a threat, particularly since the "warning" was followed with an argument in its favor. The argument assumed a debatable

analogy between free expression and mail service:

The American people recognize that there are some things the government should do. For example, Americans place their trust in private enterprise, but they do not object to having a government run the post office. . . . The First Amendment was intended to guarantee free expression, not to create a privileged industry. Nor has the First Amendment been interpreted to prevent the adoption of special laws governing certain types of utterance.¹⁴⁰

Soon after the Report was released, Commissioner Hocking (1947) said there is a “point” at which the media's failure in “moral right” will “entail encroachment by the state” upon the “legal right.”¹⁴¹ Hocking did not define that “point.”

Reactions

In 1977, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the release of the Report, Margaret Blanchard analyzed “The Hutchins Commission, The Press and the Responsibility Concept” for *Journalism Monographs*. She asserts that “the press had reason to welcome the Hutchins inquiry.” Because of mounting criticism (Holt, 1908; Irwin, 1911; Sinclair, 1919; Villard, 1923; Seldes, 1938; Ickes, 1939; Welles, 1941), Blanchard justifiably contends that “some members of the professional community welcomed its inquiry as a way to upgrade a declining public image and to increase public understanding of the importance of freedom of the press.”¹⁴² Indeed, *Editor & Publisher's* initial story carried an approving headline: “Editors Welcome Time-Life Inquiry into Press Freedom.”¹⁴³ However, as Blanchard notes, *Editor & Publisher* “would soon become less enchanted.”¹⁴⁴

Positive external response

Blanchard's assertion that the press welcomed the inquiry meets little or

no challenge, but her further assertion that reaction to the Report was more positive than generally assumed is debatable on three grounds: (1) She relies on biased sources; (2) she weighs innocuous public statements more heavily than critical comments made within the industry; and (3) she infers the absence of objection in some responses to the Report to be the equivalent of at least tacit approval.

In support of the argument that criticism was not directed at “the primary assumptions” of the Report, Blanchard cites a “book from the 1950s.” The book she cites is *Four Theories of the Press* (1956) by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, who as proponents of the Hutchins Commission concept of social responsibility theory were hardly unbiased observers.¹⁴⁵ As further evidence of initial press acceptance of the Report, Blanchard cites 10 commentators. One of the them, Walter Lippmann, was an enthusiastic supporter of both the Hutchins Plan and speculation about a Hutchins presidential candidacy. The others, although not critical of the Commission, are less than effusive. Moreover, Blanchard acknowledges that these articles written for the external public differed markedly from more critical commentary within the media.

In his *New York Herald-Tribune* editorial of March 28, 1947, Lippmann wrote that the “thesis” of the Report, “to protect the freedom of the press,” contains a “substance . . . that cannot be waved away.”¹⁴⁶ Lippmann was at variance with the *Herald Tribune’s* assistant editor, Wilbur Forrest. An outspoken critic of the Commission and then president of ASNE, Forrest also differed with Erwin D. Canham, editor of *Christian Science Monitor* and the man who would succeed him as ASNE president in 1948. In an editorial of March 25, 1947, Canham wrote that newspapers should augment “all this exceptional advice” with self-criticism and self-improvement.¹⁴⁷

Barry Bingham, editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and long-time

advocate of a more responsible press, wanted an even stronger statement in favor of press responsibility with recommendations for reform more specific than those offered by the Commission. Although the Commission's advice was "muddled and uncertain," Bingham wrote, "the press which has done a poor job of both criticizing and defending itself, would do well to listen to advice from disinterested outsiders."¹⁴⁸ The *Courier-Journal* would later lead the ombudsman movement.

In an editorial on April 1, 1947, the *New York Times* applauded "the title" of the Report, but not explicitly the conclusions or recommendations: "Freedom and responsibility must always be linked together. The public has the power to deny support to those agencies which overlook that all important fact."¹⁴⁹ The *Times* thus acknowledged the "power" of the "public," but not that of the government, to monitor the press.

In defense of her argument that the Report was well-received by some newspapers, Blanchard cites five other commentaries written for the external public. However, like the *New York Times*, they acknowledged the right of the Commission to criticize the press without necessarily approving of the Report's recommendations. Stating that it would not attempt "a defense of the achievements of the American press in general nor any protestation of special virtue," the *Washington Post*, on March 30, 1947, suggested, "The need at the moment appears to be for a critical self-examination."¹⁵⁰ In its editorial, "The Press and Criticism," on April 3, 1947, the *Los Angeles Times* asserted that "the press does not hesitate to criticize anything or anybody when it feels there is a need and hence cannot object to criticism itself." The *Times* concluded that the Commission "has done a pretty good job; with a few newspapermen on it--there were none--it would have done a better one. So far as the criticisms are valid they will be taken to heart."¹⁵¹ Despite the "weaknesses" of "overgeneralizations"

and “unqualified assertions,” the *Washington Evening Star* concluded that the Report “adds up to an intelligent and wholesome challenge for self-improvement.”¹⁵² Although the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* agreed that “self-criticism and self-regulation are necessary for the press,” it found the Report too philosophical and its recommendations too lacking in specifics.¹⁵³

Negative external response

The two biographers of Hutchins who were working journalists appraise the response of the press to the Report as much more critical than Blanchard does. The Report “was the original exploding cigar,” according to Milton Mayer (1993). “The press as a whole was outraged.”¹⁵⁴ Then an editor at the *Arkansas Gazette*, Harry Ashmore (1989) applauded the Report when it was released, but he writes that it “touched off another fire storm of controversy”:

The great bulk of newspaper and magazine comment was adverse, at its mildest dismissing the Commission's findings as the work of airy-fairy college professors who ignored the reality of the communications marketplace. A few editorial writers thought they detected subversion, and the *Wall Street Journal* even caught a whiff of Communism.¹⁵⁵

Henry Luce, who provided the initial \$200,000 to finance the Commission, did not interfere with its deliberations or publicly criticize its Report, but he refused additional funding because he was unhappy when he got wind of the Report's contents. Bill Benton provided \$15,000 of *Britannica* money to print the 139-page Report.¹⁵⁶

Time and *Fortune*, both Luce magazines, ran editorials. In “Let Freedom Ring True,” on March 31, 1947, *Time* concluded that, “for the time and money and the caliber of the men, it was a disappointing report.”¹⁵⁷ *Fortune* picked up *Time's* option and printed the Report as a supplement to its April 1947 issue. In a four-page accompanying editorial, “Dangers to Press Freedom,” *Fortune* termed

the Report, "important," "balanced," "meaty," "difficult," "exasperating" and "overly condensed." *Fortune* charged that the Report's obscurities and over-condensations were "inexcusable." Although it considered the "philosopher's" look at journalism to be limited in value, *Fortune* recommended serious consideration of the Report, not because it agreed with the Commission's conclusions, but because it was disturbed by their implication:

The Commissioners fear that society, being dependent on giant media of mass communication for news and guidance . . . might, if dissatisfied, someday . . . ask or permit the state to interfere with press freedom. A shocking conception. Yet if thirteen sober men envision that danger even as a remote possibility, the press would do well not to dismiss it without serious thought."¹⁵⁸

Internal negative response

While external comments from the press were relatively circumspect, the public was not exposed to the outrage expressed within the forums of professional organizations and journals.¹⁵⁹ Blanchard surveyed 11 professional periodicals and found that 10 examined the Report. The one that did not was the *ASNE Bulletin*, whose editor, Wilbur Forrest, commented for himself in severely critical terms. Blanchard asserted that *Editor & Publisher* and *Journalism Quarterly* represented the minority viewpoint critical of the Commission's findings. One other review was found in *Broadcasting-Telecasting*, which represented an industry that was already regulated. Of the other seven that examined the Report, three approved and four were noncommittal.¹⁶⁰

Three publications that approved of the Report came from academe, advertising and the Guild. The latter, composed of union workers, was represented by Morris Ernst, who advocated government regulation of the press in testimony before the Commission. In an editorial on March 28, 1947, the *Guild Reporter* complimented "the value of this book which stimulates thought and

may well generate some new ideas.”¹⁶¹ Curiously, given the critical tone of the Report, *Advertising Age* concluded that, “on the whole,” the Commission “has found a good, workable efficient framework” in the press.¹⁶² In an April 1947 *Nieman Reports* editorial, Louis M. Lyons suggested that the Report's value was in “alerting the public and warning the publishers of the failure of the press to meet the public need.”¹⁶³

As with some of the external commentaries, some of the internal appraisals upheld the right of the Commission to criticize the press without necessarily agreeing with the conclusions. “How Do You Like Criticism?” was published April 5, 1947, in *Publishers Auxiliary*, the magazine for small daily and weekly newspapers. Noting that the academic level of the Report made the Commission “vulnerable to the jibes of clarity conscious newspapermen,” the editorial concluded: “It was an honest, but too scholarly and abstractional attempt at being helpful, and the press should accept it in that light.”¹⁶⁴ On March 28, 1947, *Printers Ink*, a magazine concerning advertising, management and sales, labeled the Report's criticism of the “commercial impulse” of the press as “merely a phase of a continuing and mounting campaign of criticism against the press as now constituted.”¹⁶⁵ In a May 1947 editorial, *American Press* noted the exclusion of weekly newspapers from the Report: “We resent the fact that they were considered of insufficient importance to cover, even though the findings might have been unsatisfactory.”¹⁶⁶ A *Quill* editorial concluded, “Most of us will welcome this major addition to the professional bookshelf whether we admit to all its premises or accept any of its remedies.”¹⁶⁷

When the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) convened April 17, 1947, the following resolution was introduced:

The American Society of Newspaper Editors welcomes informed criticisms of the newspaper press and offers its cooperation to any

responsible study of newspaper problems and shortcomings. *The recent report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press issued through the University of Chicago has already been carefully analyzed by many daily newspapers. They have pointed out inaccuracies, omissions, and the inclusion in "the press" of all other agencies of mass communication.* This society has long recognized the need for self-improvement of newspapers and believes our press is performing with increasing effectiveness and fairness in the duty of keeping the American people the best informed people in the world.¹⁶⁸
[Italics added to designate the portion subsequently deleted.]

ASNE President Wilbur Forrest resented the Report and feared its repercussions. Vice-President Erwin Canham approved of the Commission's findings. L.R. Blanchard of the Gannett organization, E. Robert Stevenson, editor of Connecticut's *Waterbury Republican American*, and Melville F. Ferguson, editor of the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, opposed the resolution, preferring to ignore the Hutchins Commission Report.¹⁶⁹

Forrest insisted that members must speak out. To remain silent about the Report, "which will go into every school and library in the land," he said, "is sort of an assent to it, a sort of belief in it or a lack of guts to say anything about it."¹⁷⁰ Paul Block of the Paul Block Newspapers wanted an even stronger statement. "I feel that some day the society will . . . find that it is necessary to take action on this Commission report," he said. "This resolution evades the main issues and will not please those of you who are angry at the Commission, and it doesn't please those of my persuasion who are more afraid than angry, although angry."¹⁷¹ The resolution was amended to strike mention of the Commission by name [see italicized portion above], and it was endorsed by a 37-35 vote. Some of the nays approved the Report, some wanted a stronger statement of objection, and some wanted to ignore the Report.

"Hutchins," according to Curtis MacDougal (1964), became "a swear word in most newspaper offices."¹⁷² Although Wilbur Schramm embraced the concept of social responsibility, he and William Rivers (1969) concede that the

Report was “harshly received.”¹⁷³ John Hohenberg (1971) notes that newspapers felt they deserved “something better” than a “heavily biased view of their accomplishments and shortcomings.”¹⁷⁴ Melvin DeFleur and Everette Dennis (1991) contend that “a fire storm of protest denounced” the Report.¹⁷⁵ Mary Ann Dzuback (1991) writes that critics “resented a group of scholars informing them of their duties.”¹⁷⁶ And Claude-Jean Bertrand (1993), Institut francais de presse, Universite de Paris, has noted “press opposition” to the Report.¹⁷⁷

As Blanchard asserts, much of the initial criticism concerned deficiencies in Commission make-up and methodology. However, notable exception was also taken to nonrepresentative generalizations and disturbing implications of government regulation. The Report did not identify offenders, thereby limiting opportunity for rebuttal; the press avoids use of anonymous sources for this reason. The Report “appeared to condemn one-owner communities with excellent newspapers,” Blanchard observes, “while seeming to shower approval on multi-owner cities with mediocre newspapers.”¹⁷⁸

By far the most disturbed of the Report's critics feared implications of government regulation of the press. Mayer notes that “the publishers as a whole” interpreted the Commission's “warning” about government control to be “advocacy” of government control.¹⁷⁹ By delivering such a “warning,” the Commission presented the notion as a viable possibility, which the *Wall Street Journal* (1947) interpreted as a call for the creation of a “propaganda agency” by the government, “the instrument of dictatorship.” The conservative newspaper also questioned why the Commission “thought the Soviet constitution might be source material.”¹⁸⁰ In faulting the American system for lack of adequate access, the Report did indeed cite Article 125 of the Soviet Constitution:

It is worth noting that the Soviet Constitution, while limiting publishable ideas within a fixed orthodoxy, undertakes within

these limits to implement press expression for a wide segment of the people who own no presses. It provides that "printing presses, stocks of paper . . . communications facilities, and other material requisites" shall be put at the disposal of working people and their organizations.¹⁸¹

To compound the concern, the Report was released the month after U.S. Senator James E. Murray (D-MT) proposed government regulation of the media. The Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business issued a report, "Survival of a Free Competitive Press," that called for Congressional supervision, through the Federal Trade Commission, of competition, concentration and ownership in the newspaper and radio industries. The proposal was not approved. "But the fact that such recommendations had been put on paper, that a senator felt that the government could and should intervene to such an extent," Blanchard observes, "was in itself cause for alarm."¹⁸²

Hutchins' reactions

Response to the Report was so harsh, James Aronson (1970) contends, that "Hutchins was almost in despair over the reception."¹⁸³ In a speech before the National Conference of Editorial Writers, on November 19, 1948, in Louisville, Kentucky, Hutchins took exception to criticism of the Report, and he reiterated his insistence that the press is responsible for "educating" the public. With characteristically caustic wit, he said:

My words today were written to the music of that moving American folksong, "I'm Bringing You a Big Bouquet of Roses, One for Each Time You Broke My Heart." Since some of you said that you could not grasp the Report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press because my style was dark and dense, I shall try to tell you what I think of you. . . . In words both few and short, you are guilty of inveteracy and recidivism. . . . I think you are teachers. I did not say you were good teachers. . . . The reason the people who buy your newspapers do not take your advice is that they do not believe what you say. . . . They may buy the papers to find out what happened to Dagwood, or who won the fifth race at Santa Anita, or what is on sale at Gimbel's. They read the editorials, if at all, for

amusement; they do not read them for instruction. Yet I think you are teachers. If you are to have pupils, you must establish public confidence in yourselves.¹⁸⁴

When they got back to their desk dictionaries, those who didn't catch the insult, discovered they had been accused of deep-rooted prejudice (inveteracy) and chronic criminal or anti-social behavior (recidivism).

Eight years after publication of the Report, Hutchins reissued his warning about government regulation and his insistence on "educating" the public. He addressed the 1955 ASNE convention:

The purpose of a newspaper, and the justification for the privileges of the press, is the enlightenment of the people about their current affairs. . . . You are educators, whether you like it or not. You make the views that people have of public affairs. No competition can shake you from that position. You will lose it only if you neglect or abandon it. . . . The standard by which the American press must judge current events is derived from an understanding of and deepest aspirations of the American people, those for peace and freedom. A press that serves its country in this way need have no concern about the future.¹⁸⁵

Repercussions

Rather than the duality between the presence/absence of press freedom and the presence/absence of government control, degrees of freedom and control were recognized in the Report's wake. The concept of social responsibility proposed by the Hutchins Commission placed conditions on press freedom, and acknowledgement of those conditions impacted self-assessment within the press. The Commission thus influenced changes in theory and functions of the press.

New press theory

The concept of social responsibility as conceived by the Commission in 1947 became embedded in press theory with the 1956 publication of *Four Theories*

of *the Press*. Siebert, et al., presented the Soviet communist theory, also known as totalitarianism, as an amended version of authoritarianism; the press has a responsibility to meet the needs of citizens to be informed, and citizens have a responsibility to be informed rather than just acquiesce. They presented the social responsibility theory as an amended version of libertarianism; citizens have both a right and a responsibility to be informed, and the press has responsibilities which, if not met, could result in abridgement of free speech privileges. Social responsibility theory, they wrote, “rests on a foundation of thought which amended certain fundamental assumptions of libertarian theory and which has largely rejected others”:

Libertarian theory was born of a concept of negative liberty, which we can define loosely as “freedom from” and more precisely as “freedom from external restraint.” The social responsibility theory, on the contrary, rests on a concept of positive liberty, “freedom for,” which calls for the presence of the necessary implements for the attainment of a desired goal.¹⁸⁶

Siebert, et al., noted that social responsibility also differs “fundamentally” from libertarianism in its view of the nature of man. Viewed “not so much irrational as lethargic,” man had to be compelled to satisfy social responsibilities:

The citizen, under libertarian theory, had the right to be uninformed or misinformed, but the tacit assumption was that his rationality and his desire for truth would keep him from being so. The Commission specifically states that the citizen is no longer morally free not to read, not to listen. As an active and responsible citizen, one has a duty to the community to be informed.¹⁸⁷

New press functions

Day (1991), Agee, et al. (1991), Black and Whitney (1988), and Merrill and Odell (1983) all attribute the development of self-regulatory mechanisms to the demands of the Hutchins Commission. Among attempts to monitor and improve press performance are journal reviews, press councils and ombudsmen.¹⁸⁸

Journals that review or monitor press performance reflect the Commission's call for self-assessment and have been moderately effective. Harvard's *Nieman Reports*, the Pulitzer School of Journalism's *Columbia Journalism Review (CJR)*, the Society of Professional Journalists' *Quill* magazine, and the University of Maryland's *Washington Journalism Review*, now the *American Journalism Review*, have been supplemented by several local media-watching journals, such as the *Chicago Journalism Review*.¹⁸⁹

Press councils, although largely ineffective, represent an effort to satisfy the Commission's demand for the establishment of an independent agency to appraise and report on the performance of the press on a continuing basis. A council or panel of disinterested persons reviews complaints about news media performance. Although a council's verdict carries no legal authority, publicized findings encourage accuracy and fairness. The first local councils in the United States were organized in 1946, and the first statewide press council was established in Minnesota in 1971. The National News Council folded in 1984, after 11 years of operation, and turned its records over to the University of Minnesota School of Journalism.¹⁹⁰

Ombudsmen are employed by newspapers to operate as reader advocates. They solicit reader reaction to coverage, confer with newspaper decision-makers, and write commentaries on newsroom practices, thereby attempting to increase access and self-assessment. Norman Isaacs, executive editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and *Times*, established the first ombudsman position in the United States in 1967. About two dozen American newspapers, or one in 50, now have ombudsmen.¹⁹¹

Journalism education

Collegiate journalism also reflects the influence of the Hutchins

Commission with insistence on a broad liberal arts general education, albeit not absent of practical application. Approximately 1,000 colleges and universities in the United States offer mass communication courses. Of the approximately 350 that have entire programs in mass communication, about 100 are accredited by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. ACEJMC argues in Hutchins-like language that the business of journalism should be peopled with “broadly educated citizens” sensitive to the needs of the public. ACEJMC policy limits undergraduate degree requirements in mass communication to 30-36 credit hours or 10-12 three-hour courses. The remaining three-quarters of students' study should be outside the field of mass communication, and about 65 percent should be in the liberal arts. In addition, ACEJMC frowns if enrollment in skills courses exceeds 15 students. Hutchins would probably frown, too, to know that ACEJMC insists on a unit in empirical research, but he would probably be pleased to know that the council insists on a unit in media ethics.¹⁹²

Hutchins: continuing press critic

Hutchins' interest in establishing an independent agency to monitor the press continued in the 1950s and 1960s when he unsuccessfully urged various foundations to fund such an effort. In 1957, the directors of the Fund for the Republic, according to Ashmore, “backed away” from Hutchins' request for a grant “to establish a watchdog commission to appraise the performance of the mass media.”¹⁹³ And in 1959, Hutchins hired Ashmore to head such a commission under the auspices of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions with a grant promised by Bill Benton. The “predominantly adverse reaction” to the Hutchins Commission Report, Ashmore decided, “precluded the

possibility of an effective hearing for a permanent body" appended to Hutchins or the Center. Ashmore describes how his efforts to find another home for the proposed commission failed:

I thought Harvard's well-established Nieman Foundation might provide a respectable base, but a visit . . . disabused me of that notion. I had a more sympathetic hearing from President Whitney Griswold at Yale, who agreed that such an undertaking was very much in order. But he said that Yale had enough public-relations problems without inciting the wrath of hypersensitive media moguls, and he thought I would meet with the same reaction elsewhere. He was right.¹⁹⁴

Ashmore instead became editor in chief of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and Hutchins pursued his dream, apart from the University of Chicago, of establishing a community educated in a common cultural grounding and unified under a single world government.

Notes

1. Robert M. Hutchins, ed., *A Free and Responsible Press: A General Report on Mass Communications--Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1947); Margaret A. Blanchard, "The Hutchins Commission, The Press and the Responsibility Concept," *Journalism Monographs* 49 (May 1977); Harry S. Ashmore, *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989) 272, 293-8, 397, 495-6; Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 222-5; Milton Mayer (John Hicks, ed.), *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 255-7.

2. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press*... (1947) 42-51.

3. William H. McNeill, *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago, 1929-1950* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 156.

4. *Ibid.*, 182, n.18; Mayer (1993) 234; Ashmore (1989) 249-50.

5. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press*... (1947) vi.

6. Jay Black and Frederick C. Whitney, *Introduction to Mass Communication*, 2d ed. (Dubuque IA: William C. Brown, 1988) 528.

7. Philip Patterson and Lee Wilkins, *Media Ethics: Issues and Cases*, 2d ed. (Madison WI/Dubuque IA: Brown & Benchmark, 1994 [1991]) 19, 137. [See the discussion of the influences of ancient Greece in Ch. 3.]

8. Melvin L. DeFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, *Theories of Mass Communication*, 5th ed. (New York: Longman, 1989) 127.

9. Patterson and Wilkins (1994) 19.

10. Clark Kerr, interview by Gonders (Jul. 1994); Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1936) 96-103.
11. John C. Merrill and S. Jack Odell, *Philosophy and Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1983) 154.
12. Ralph L. Lowenstein and John C. Merrill, *Macromedia--Mission, Message, and Morality* (New York: Longman, 1990).
13. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 119, 121.
14. J. Stanley Baran and Dennis K. Davis, *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future* (Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1995) 78-9.
15. Merrill and Odell (1983) 158.
16. Black and Whitney (1988) 533; Baran and Davis (1995) 78; Lowenstein and Merrill (1990).
17. Baran and Davis (1995) 79.
18. Black and Whitney (1988) 533.
19. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 25, 85, 95, 99; Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) vi, 27.
20. Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory* (Beverly Hills CA: Sage, 1987 [1983]) 117-8.
21. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) Ch. 5, pp. 69-78.
22. *Ibid.*, vi, 18, 27, 68.
23. *Ibid.*, 21-2.
24. *Ibid.*, 27-8.
25. J. Herbert Altschull, *From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1990) 35-41; George Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*, 3d ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965) 509; Black and Whitney (1988) 534.
26. Patterson and Wilkins (1994) 19-21.
27. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 24-6; Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) v.
28. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 66.
29. *Ibid.*, 95.
30. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) vi, 3.
31. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College & University: A History* (Athens GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990 [1962]) 125-6. [See Henry Steele Commager, "Thomas Jefferson," *World Book Encyclopedia* 10 (1960) 58-69.]
32. Hutchins, "Thomas Jefferson and the Intellectual Love of God," Founder's Day address, University of Virginia (13 Apr. 1934), quoted in Ashmore (1989) 144.
33. Commager (1960) 58-69.
34. Black and Whitney (1988) 534.
35. Altschull (1990) 156, 162-70; Black and Whitney (1988) 534-5.
36. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 10, 18-9.
37. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 99-100.
38. Altschull (1990) 169.
39. William James, "The Chicago School," *Psychological Bulletin* 1 (5 Jul. 1904) 1-5; James, *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking* (New

York: Longmans, Green, 1907. [See Patterson and Wilkins (1994) 21-2; Altschull (1990) 223-7.]

40. Altschull (1990) 169, 225-7. [See Donald M. Love, *Henry Churchill King of Oberlin* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1956).

41. Patterson and Wilkins (1994) 21-2.

42. Altschull (1990) 231-2.

43. Merrill and Odell (1983) 156. [See Louis A. Day, *Ethics in Media Communications: Cases and Controversies* (Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1991) 32; Baran and Davis (1995) 83.]

44. Altschull (1990) 232, 312.

45. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 54.

46. Altschull (1990) 232.

47. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 62.

48. George Seldes, *Lords of the Press* (New York: Julius Messner, 1938); Altschull (1990) 278. [Criticism of the press for conservative bias in the 1930s contrasts with criticism of the press for liberal bias in later years and into the 1990s.]

49. Altschull (1990) 277.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.; DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) 127-8; Hamilton Holt, *Commercialism and Journalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908); Will Irwin (Clifford F. Weigle and David Clark, eds.), *The American Newspaper* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1969), the 15-part series appeared in *Collier's* (Oct. 1911); Upton Sinclair, *The Brass Check* (Muscatine IA: Norman Baker, 1928 [1919]); Oswald Garrison Villard, *How Stands Our Press?* (No. 19 in the Human Events Pamphlet Series, Chicago, 1947); George Seldes (1938); J. Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Role of News Media in Human Affairs* (New York: Longman, 1984). [For a thorough study of media self-criticism, see David M. Rubin, "Liebling and Friends: Trends in American Press Criticism, 1859-1963," a paper presented to AECJMC, Ottawa (16-19 Aug. 1975); Michael J. Robinson, "Fifty Years in the Doghouse: Blaming the Press is Nothing New," *Washington Journalism Review* (Mar. 1986) 44-5; Les Brown, *The Reluctant Reformation: On Criticising the Press in America* (New York: David McKay, 1974); Tom Goldstein, ed., *Killing the Messenger: 100 Years of Media Criticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).]

52. Holt (1908) 75. [See Altschull (1990) 278-9.]

53. Irwin (1911). [See Altschull (1990) 280.]

54. Sinclair (1919). [See Altschull (1990) 278; Emery and Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978 [1954]).]

55. Villard (1947) 10. [See Altschull (1990) 281; Emery and Emery (1978) 484.]

56. Oswald Garrison Villard, *The Disappearing Daily* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955) 5.

57. Seldes (1938) 3.

58. Ickes (1939) 161. [See Emery and Emery (1978) 484.]

59. Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo* (New York: Boni and Liverright, 1927) 168; John Vivian, *The Media of Mass Communication* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1991) 335.
60. Donald N. Wood (with A. Arvo Leps), *Mass Media and the Individual* (St. Paul MN: West, 1983) 44; Altschull (1990) 303-4.
61. Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Irony of Human History* (New York: Harper, 1962) 28.
62. Niebuhr, introduction to *Responsibility in Mass Communication*, Schramm (New York: Harper, 1957) xv.
63. Everett M. Rogers, *A History of Communication Study* (New York: Free Press, 1994) 234-5. [See Altschull (1990) 235. Altschull notes (p. 307, n.15) that he met Lippmann twice and spoke with him on the telephone on a few other occasions. "Even though these occasions were all professional," Altschull writes, "there was about them the aura of an audience with the pope." Altschull therefore refers to Lippmann as "the Pontiff of the Press."]
64. Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Macmillan, 1922) 365. [See Altschull (1990) 306-8.]
65. John Dewey, "Public Opinion," *New Republic* 30 (3 May 1922) 286-8.
66. Walter Lippmann, *Essays in the Public Philosophy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1955). [See Altschull (1990) 308-9.]
67. Donald L. Smith, "Zechariah Chafee Jr. and the Positive View of Press Freedom," *Journalism History* 5.3 (Aut. 1978) 91.
68. *Ibid.*, 88, 91. [See Chafee, *Freedom of Speech* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920); Chafee, *Free Speech in the United States* (New York: Atheneium, 1969 [1941]), excerpted in Franklin, *The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate* (Mineola NY: Foundation Press, 1977) 69-71; Chafee, *Government and Mass Communications* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1947, 2 vol.); Chafee, "Freedom of Speech," *New Republic* (16 Nov. 1918) 66-9; Chafee, "Freedom of Speech in War Time," *Harvard Law Review* 932 (1919) 957-60; Chafee, "The American Commonwealth," *Cambridge* (1941) 559-66, reprinted in "The Second World War and After, 1940-49," *The Annals of America* (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968) 76-9.]
69. Chafee, "Freedom of Speech in War Time" (1919) 957-60. [See Franklin (1977) 69-70; Donald L. Smith (1978) 89, 91.]
70. Altschull (1990) 283; Merrill and Odell (1983) 160-1.
71. Merrill and Odell (1983) 161.
72. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 78.
73. Ashmore (1989) 146.
74. Patterson and Wilkins (1994) 19-21; Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) v, 24-6, 66, 95.
75. Mayer (1993) 255-6.
76. Walter Williams, "Journalist's Creed," University of Missouri School of Journalism (1908). [See Black and Whitney (1988) 588; Merrill, Lee and Friedlander (1994) 382.]
77. Black and Whitney (1988) 588.
78. American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) Canons of Journalism, quoted in Black and Whitney (1988) 589.

79. Black and Whitney (1988) 590-1.
80. "Commission to Make 2-Year Study of All Phases of Press Freedom," *New York Times* (29 Feb. 1944) 11. [The study ultimately took three years, from Feb. 1944 until Mar. 1947, instead of two. See Blanchard (1977) 12.]
81. Fred Blevens, "The Rise and Fall of a Middle Brow: Robert M. Hutchins's Victorian Influence on High Culture and Low Journalism," a paper presented in the Qualitative Studies Division at the National Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Atlanta GA (10-13 Aug. 1994) 14-5.
82. Ashmore (1989) 272.
83. Dzuback (1991) 223-4. [See Warren Agee, Phillip H. Ault and Edwin Emery, *Introduction to Mass Communications*, 10th ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 1991).]
84. Blanchard (1977) 12.
85. On Commission members: Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947), ii, back cover; Blanchard (1977) 13-15; additional information from the biographies and the biographers.
86. Philip Schuyler, "Press Freedom Probers Provocative Pundits," *Editor & Publisher* (1 Apr. 1944) 54.
87. Blanchard (1977) 30.
88. Dzuback (1991) 222.
89. Ashmore (1989) 294.
90. Blevens (1994) 14-5; Blanchard (1977) 16, 31-2; Schuyler, "Group Studying Press Freedom Meets," *Editor & Publisher* (25 Mar. 1944) 13.
91. Blanchard (1977) 16.
92. *Ibid.*, 15.
93. "It's Not a Glass House Affair," *Editor & Publisher* (9 Dec. 1944) 38. [See Blanchard (1977) 20; "Dr. Leigh Says 'No,'" *Editor & Publisher* (16 Dec. 1944) 38.]
94. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) v-vi.
95. Ashmore (1989) 272.
96. Blanchard (1977) 19-20.
97. Philip Schuyler, "2 Civil Liberties Champions Clash on Press Freedom," *Editor & Publisher* (9 Dec. 1944) 58. [See Blanchard (1977) 19-23.]
98. *Ibid.* [See Blanchard (1977) 22-3.]
99. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 75.
100. Morris L. Ernst, *The First Freedom* (New York: Macmillan, 1946) xii, 50, 249-60. [See Blanchard (1977) 22-3.]
101. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) ix.
102. Dzuback (1991) 222-3; Ashmore (1989) 272; Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 135-9.
103. William Ernest Hocking, *Freedom of the Press: A Framework of Principle* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1947). [See Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 135-6.]
104. Chafee, *Government and Mass Communications* (1947). [See Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 136-7.]
105. Llewelyn White and Robert D. Leigh, *Peoples Speaking to Peoples*

- (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1946). [See Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 137-8.]
106. Ruth A. Inglis, *Freedom of the Movies* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1947). [See Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 138.]
 107. Llewelyn White, *The American Radio* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1947). [See Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 138.]
 108. Milton D. Stewart, *The American Press and the San Francisco Conference* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1947). [See Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 139.]
 109. Mayer (1993) 255.
 110. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 1.
 111. *Ibid.*, 1, 14-5.
 112. DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) 24, 59. [See U.S. Bureau of Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C., 1960) Series 176-500, R 169-500, 255-16, A242-4; U.S. Bureau of Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Continuation to 1962 and Revisions* (Washington, D.C. 1965) Series R170-69; U.S. Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1973) 53, 503; U.S. Bureau of Census, *Current Population Reports: Population Characteristics P20, No. 166* (4 Aug. 1967) 4.]
 113. Day (1991) 179-81.
 114. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 1.
 115. Ashmore (1989) 294-5.
 116. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 54-65, 24.
 117. Blanchard (1977) 23.
 118. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 44-5.
 119. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 94-101.
 120. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 55-6.
 121. *Ibid.*, 93.
 122. *Ibid.*, 28.
 123. *Ibid.*, 21-2. [See Robert Udick, "The Hutchins Paradox: Objectivity Versus Diversity," *Mass Communication Review* 20.3-4 (1993) 148-57.]
 124. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 22-5.
 125. *Ibid.*, 26-7.
 126. Michael W. Gamble and Teri Kwal Gamble, *Introducing Mass Communication*, 2d ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989 [1986]) 102; Baran and Davis (1995) 80-1; McQuail and Windahl, *Communication Models for the study of mass communications* (New York: Longman, 1981) 91. [See Ch. 1 discussion of interpretations of social responsibility theory.]
 127. Black and Whitney (1988) 596. [See Udick (1993) 149-53.]
 128. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 27-8.
 129. *Ibid.*, 28-9.
 130. Black and Whitney (1988) 596.
 131. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 1.
 132. *Ibid.*, 120.
 133. *Ibid.*, 78, 99-100. [See Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1947) 47.]
 134. Black and Whitney (1988) 605-6; Vivian (1991) 288-9.

135. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 100-1.
136. Donald M. Gillmor, "Press Councils in America," in Dennis, Ismach and Gillmor, eds., *Enduring Issues in Mass Communication*, (St. Paul MN: West Publishing, 1978) 342; Emery and Emery (1978) 516; Black and Whitney (1988) 598-600; James B. Lemert, *Criticizing the Media: Empirical Approaches* (Newbury Park CA: Sage, 1989) 15; Vivian (1991) 83.
137. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 80
138. Ibid.
139. Blanchard (1977) 32.
140. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 80-1.
141. William Ernest Hocking, *Freedom of the Press...* (1947) 230. [See Richard A. Schwarzlose, "The Marketplace of Ideas: A Measure of Free Expression," *Journalism Monographs* 118 (Dec. 1989) 11.]
142. Blanchard (1977) 3.
143. "Editors Welcome Time-Life Inquiry into Press Freedom," *Editor & Publisher* (15 Apr. 1944) 9, 60.
144. Blanchard (1977) 17.
145. Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956) 85; Blanchard (1977) 3. [Errors in Blanchard's book include reference to "Dr. Hutchins" (he held no such academic title), identification of Byron Price as "Bryon Price," and the spelling of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as "*Encyclopedia Britannica*." On the whole, however, her research and analysis provide valuable data on the context of the time and primary sources contemporary to the Hutchins Commission.]
146. Walter Lippmann, "A Free and Responsible Press," *New York Herald Tribune* (28 Mar. 1947) 24.
147. Edwin D. Canham, "A Free, Responsible Press," *Christian Science Monitor* (25 Mar. 1947) 24. [See Blanchard (1977) 45.]
148. Barry Bingham, "Report on the Press Sound in Some Respects, Disappointing in Others," *Louisville Courier-Journal* (28 Mar. 1947) 6. [See Blanchard (1977) 45.]
149. "Freedom and the Press," *New York Times* (1 Apr. 1947). [See Blanchard (1977) 43-4.]
150. "Press Responsibility," *Washington Post* (30 Mar. 1947) 4B. [See Blanchard (1977) 44.]
151. "The Press and Criticism," *Los Angeles Times* (13 Apr. 1947) II-4. [See Blanchard (1977) 46.]
152. "Challenge to the Press," *Washington Evening Star* (30 Mar. 1947) 4C. [See Blanchard (1977) 46-7.]
153. "The Press Debates Itself," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (1 Apr. 1947) 2C. [See Blanchard (1977) 45-6.]
154. Mayer (1993) 255.
155. Ashmore (1989) 272, 296. [See Judith Murrill, ed., *Hutchins Commission*, Freedom of Information Center Publication No. 69, School of Journalism, University of Missouri (Jan. 1962), a digest of the Commission's findings and the reaction of the press to them; "Professors and Freedom," *Wall*

Street Journal (28 Mar. 1947) 4.]

156. Mack Palmer, interview by Gonders, Norman OK (1993); Ashmore (1989) 294; Dzuback (1991) 223; Vivian (1991) 82; Mayer (1993) 255.

157. "Freedom in Our Time," *Time* (6 Mar. 1944) 47.

158. "Dangers to Press Freedom," *Fortune* (Apr. 1947) 2-3; supplement (Apr. 1947) 1-21. [See Mayer (1993) 257; Blanchard (1977) 47.]

159. Blevens (1994) 28; Blanchard (1977) 31.

160. Blanchard (1977) 36.

161. Morris Ernst, "Press Threatens Freedom of the Press--Special Commission Urges Changes," *Guild Reporter* (28 Mar. 1947) 2-3. [See Blanchard (1977) 37-8.]

162. "A Clear Course for Press Freedom: More Effective Self-Regulation," *Advertising Age* (31 Mar. 1947) 12. [See Blanchard (1977) 37.]

163. Louis M. Lyons, "A Free and Responsible Press," *Nieman Reports* (Apr. 1947) 1-2.

164. "How Do You Like Criticism," *Publishers Auxiliary* (5 Apr. 1947). [See Blanchard (1977) 36.]

165. "Advertising as a Danger to Freedom of the Press," *Printers Ink* (28 Mar. 1947) 120. [See Blanchard (1977) 37.]

166. "Part of the Press," *American Press* (May 1947) 23. [See Blanchard (1977) 38.]

167. "But You Can't Flunk the Reader," *Quill* (May 1947) 3. [See Blanchard (1977) 37.]

168. "Problems of Journalism," Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (New York, 1947) 212.

169. *Ibid.*, 214, 220, 222-5. [See Dzuback (1993) 223.]

170. *Ibid.*, 224-5.

171. *Ibid.*, 223.

172. Curtis D. MacDougall, *The Press and Its Problems* (Dubuque IA: William C. Brown, 1964) 501.

173. William L. Rivers and Wilbur Schramm, *Responsibility in Mass Communications* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969) 47. [Revised: Rivers, Schramm and Christians, *Responsibility in Mass Communication* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980).]

174. John Hohenberg, *Free Press, Free People* (New York: Free Press, 1971 [1950]) 277-8.

175. Melvin L. DeFleur and Everette E. Dennis, *Understanding Mass Communication*, 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991) 601.

176. Dzuback (1991) 223.

177. Claude-Jean Bertrand, foreword to *Good News: Social Ethics and the Press*, Christians, Ferre and Fackler (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) vi.

178. Blanchard (1977) 32.

179. Mayer (1993) 257.

180. "Professors and Freedom," *Wall Street Journal* (28 Mar. 1947) 4.

181. Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 119-20, n.3.

182. Blanchard (1977) 24.

183. James Aronson, *The Press and the Cold War* (Indianapolis IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970) 266.
184. Robert M. Hutchins, speech to the National Conference of Editorial Writers, Louisville Ky. (19 Nov. 1948), published in Hutchins, *Freedom, Education, and the Fund* (New York, 1956) 46-56. [See Mayer (1993) 256.]
185. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Unique Responsibility of the Press--Public Enlightenment," an address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors (1955), published in *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977) 65.
186. Siebert, et al. (1956) 75.
187. Ibid., 99-101.
188. Day (1991) 38; Agee, et al. (1991) 206; Merrill and Odell (1983) 161; Black and Whitney (1988) 597.
189. Vivian (1991) 83; Lemert (1989) 13; Black and Whitney (1988) 597.
190. Gillmor (1978) 342; Emery and Emery (1978) 516; Vivian (1991) 83; Lemert (1989) 15; Black and Whitney (1988) 598-600; Mayer (1993) 257.
191. Lemert (1989) 15; Vivian (1991) 83; Black and Whitney (1988) 600-2.
192. R. Ferrell Ervin, AECJMC, interview by Gonders (1995); John DeSanto, AECJMC, interview by Gonders (1995); Black and Whitney (1988) 597, 605-6; Vivian (1991) 288-9.
193. Ashmore (1989) 352.
194. Ibid., 397-400.

CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS: AFTER THE COMMISSION

Robert Hutchins began constructing the Hutchins Plan for education in the 1920s; after his attempts to institute the Plan at the University of Chicago in the 1930s and 1940s failed, he tried to influence other institutions to adopt his education philosophy through his philanthropic work. Hutchins' commitment to the Plan remained unwavering, as was his commitment to an enduring belief system based on the efficacy of liberal education as a control against the more base tendencies of human nature.

Hutchins believed that political disharmony and the attendant inevitability of atomic annihilation threatened the survival of civilization. He believed that civilization could be saved only by educating all people to be responsible citizens of the world community. He believed education should be the same for all people, in all places, in all times, and it should be based on a common cultural grounding. He believed that all institutions, including universities, the media and private organizations, should be dedicated to so educating the citizenry. His dedication to this set of beliefs was reflected in the three projects he pursued during his leave of absence from the University of Chicago in the late 1940s, and it was the driving force behind his philanthropic work after leaving the University in 1951.

His efforts on the Committee to Frame a World Constitution, the Great Books project, and the Commission on Freedom of the Press shared postulates. Hutchins believed that the world was in jeopardy and could be saved only by

establishing a single world government. "The man who pledged the University's support for the Manhattan Project," Benjamin McArthur (1987) observes, "led the drive for a world constitution to control the Project's ultimate, awful creation."¹ Hutchins believed that world government depended on educating the people to be responsible citizens, and they could be so educated in a common cultural grounding by reading the Great Books. Hutchins further believed that the press is responsible for so educating the citizenry. The Hutchins proposal for world government was thus the umbrella concept for the post-Chicago Hutchins Plan for higher education, the Hutchins Commission on press responsibility and the Great Books Project. And it was a concept he pursued from 1946 until his death in 1977.² "Just as he had always talked about education no matter what the topic of a lecture was," Milton Mayer (1993) notes, "so now he always talked about world government and the development of a world community to guarantee its acceptance and its survival."³

World Government

Hutchins reasoned that: (a) some authority must maintain order and "community"; (b) the nation state is no longer capable of maintaining order; (c) because the nation state is impotent, the world faces annihilation; and (d) the only way to avoid destruction is to establish a world government that can maintain order. The Committee to Frame a World Constitution was established in November 1945. Between February 1946 and April 1947, the Committee convened 12 meetings in isolation. The Committee's proposal for world government was issued in July 1947, and a preliminary draft of the World Constitution was issued in September 1947. In March 1948, the final draft of the Committee's World Constitution was entitled, "A Proposal to History."

(a) Some authority must maintain order and "community." On March 6, 1949, in a lecture at Marquette University, Hutchins said community cannot exist in a disordered world of sovereign nations:

If we follow the example of Saint Thomas and ask ourselves what is the perfect community today, we see by the light he has given us that not even on the economic level can any extant state be regarded as self-sufficing in the Thomistic or even the Aristotelian view of it. . . . War is inevitable among sovereigns who are not controlled by positive law. . . . According to the mind of Saint Thomas, only the world state can now be the perfect community.⁴

(b) The nation state is no longer capable of maintaining order. In a 1950 speech in Santa Barbara, Hutchins labeled the nation state "an anachronism." He reasoned that, since no nation is capable of "the only purpose it has had," that of managing its economy and protecting its people, national sovereignty "is an obstacle" to the solution of world problems. And, he said, "All problems are world problems."⁵

(c) Because the nation state is impotent, the world faces annihilation. Hutchins had long insisted that some means of "order" was imperative to eliminate the "chaos that we mistake for freedom" in academe. On February 2, 1951, his farewell address to the University of Chicago students was entitled "Peace Depends on Enforceable World Law." He said that, "since it is obvious to the merest simpleton that war must come sooner or later to a world of anarchy," independent states should be transformed into an organization that can "adapt and enforce world law."⁶

(d) The only way to avoid destruction is to establish a world government that can maintain order. In the 1960s and 1970s, through four Pacem in Terris convocations sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Hutchins attempted to bring together world leaders for the establishment of global harmony via common bonds. And in the 1960s, he created a new

committee on world government under the auspices of the Center. In September 1970, the 37th draft of a model constitution was edited by Rexford Guy Tugwell and Elisabeth Mann Borgese, who had both served on the original Committee to Frame a World Constitution in the late 1940s.⁷ Hutchins insisted that military power was no longer an effective deterrent against destruction. In its stead, a world community must be established, based on universal liberal education. In 1972, he wrote:

Military power may be important if it enables you to do something to somebody else that he cannot do to you at about the same time to about the same extent. The day of military power ended when the Soviets exploded their first atomic bomb; for then it became impossible for us to exert such power without suffering irreparable damage ourselves. . . . Now we must apply ourselves to the task of creating a community in this country and then throughout the world. The education that will help us toward these ends is liberal education.⁸

Just as Hutchins considered the nation state obsolete, he saw no applicability to modern society in the United States Constitution. In the mid-1950s at the Fund for the Republic, he created an elaborate panel to question the viability of the Constitution. And in a 1974 interview at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, he told Harvey Wheeler that “we have a highly sketchy Constitution” in which there is nothing “of importance to us today.”⁹ The framework of obsolescence that he applied to the Constitution, Hutchins did not apply to educational approaches for different times. He did not see any fallacy in trying to apply 18th-century education philosophy (not to mention the philosophy of medieval Europe or ancient Greece), considered by many to be impractical even in its time, to modern education. But he considered obsolete a Constitution written in the 18th century. Hutchins disdained the consideration of practical demands on the formulation of education policy; he believed that education should be “the same at any time and any place” without regard to practical issues specific to the times. However, he faulted the Constitution for

failing to address practical issues specific to the times.

From the beginning, Hutchins' thinking was driven by his obsessive search for order and community. And from the time of the Hiroshima bombing in 1945, he believed that only world government could provide the order and community he sought. So convinced was he that world government was desirable, he remained seemingly oblivious to the complexities of global politics.

Departure from Chicago

Mayer writes that Hutchins forever remained the “perennial adolescent.” And 1949 “may have been the busiest year of the perennial adolescent's life, fighting, as he was, on an assortment of fronts.”¹⁰ Particularly troublesome in that year were his internal battles against his faculty and his external battles on behalf of his faculty. Internally, it had become apparent that the faculty would not relinquish decision-making power or cease resistance to his proposals; it was not easy, however, for Hutchins to find a comparable position. Externally, the communist scare again attacked academic freedom.

In 1949, as he had in 1935, Hutchins again held the line against an external assault on academic freedom from not only politicians hunting for communists, but also from trustees who feared the politicians. The Illinois investigative unit of Harry Truman's loyalty-security program was the Broyles Commission, which covertly searched for seditious campus activities. Mayer writes that, when one of the trustees asked if they were really teaching communism in the Political Science Department, Hutchins replied, “We are indeed. And we are teaching cancer in the medical school.”¹¹

In *Academic Freedom in Our Time* (1955), Columbia historian Robert MacIver writes that Hutchins' “statement and subsequent responses to the 1949

committee constitute perhaps the most signal deliverance of the principles of academic freedom that any political investigating body has ever heard.”¹² The following exchange between Broyles Commissioner J.B. Matthews and Hutchins illustrates the latter's contempt for the investigation:

Matthews: Is Dr. Maude Slye on your faculty?

Hutchins: She was. Dr. Slye retired many years ago after confining her attention for a considerable number of years exclusively to mice.

Matthews: Dr. Slye was an Associate Professor Emeritus?

Hutchins: She is an Associate Professor Emeritus. She was an Associate Professor. “Emeritus” means retired.

Matthews: She is retired on pension?

Hutchins: Oh, yes.

Matthews: And still has the prestige of the University associated with her name?

Hutchins: No way has yet been discovered of stopping being a Professor Emeritus when you are a retired professor. As a professor Dr. Slye was a distinguished specialist in cancer research.

Matthews: She was studying cancer when she was studying mice?

Hutchins: Correct. She was studying cancer when she was studying mice.

Matthews: Are you acquainted with the fact that Dr. Slye has had frequent affiliations with so-called Communist-front organizations?

Hutchins: I am acquainted with the fact that she has had so-called frequent associations with so-called Communist-front organizations.

Matthews: Is there not such a thing as indoctrination by example?

Hutchins: Of mice?¹³

At a time when colleges nationwide acquiesced to government demands for loyalty oaths, when professors were fired by the score for political beliefs apart from competency, Hutchins took a bold stand for civil rights.¹⁴ However, he was a man out of season and low on options. His political and academic aspirations

defused, Hutchins needed a new niche of equivalent power and prestige.

In the decade following the 1932 Democratic Convention, Hutchins was seriously touted as a candidate for both the Supreme Court and the White House. However, his liberal stand on social and economic issues smacked of socialism, and his opposition to American intervention in World War II severed his alliance with the Roosevelt administration. That was the lid on his political coffin, and the final nails were his unbowing defiance of communist-hunters and his call for renunciation of national sovereignty.

His political aspirations were dead by the mid-1940s, and reception to both his Report on the press and his Great Books program was lukewarm at best. "The Great Books course was a joke, and Hutchins knew it was," said Lawrence Kimpton, immediate successor to the Hutchins presidency at Chicago. "When I used to kid him about it, how superficial and shallow it was, he would say, 'Well, it's better than getting drunk,' and I think that's a pretty good summary of it. It certainly made no intellectual contribution." Although sharply at variance with his public praise of Hutchins, Kimpton privately said that "Bob Hutchins had alienated almost everyone in the entire community of Chicago, with a few conspicuous exceptions. He was one of the most thoroughly disliked persons I have ever known."¹⁵ Whether he did not understand the mores of academe, or just did not accept them, Hutchins' approach was decidedly noncollaborative. Because he surrounded himself with a limited coterie of like-minded men, the validity of his views seemed self-evident to him. And because he thought it was self-evident that he was right, he treated the conflicting aims of the faculty as what Shils (1990) terms "wrongheaded."¹⁶

With the heels of the faculty and the president firmly entrenched in a tug for power, the inevitable divorce was prolonged because, as Ashmore (1989) notes, Hutchins had "no place to go," until he was offered a Ford Foundation

associate directorship.¹⁷ Paul Hoffman, previously a student at Chicago, then a University trustee and Studebaker president, agreed to head the revamped and significantly refinanced Foundation on the condition that Hutchins be appointed to a suitable position.¹⁸

Ashmore has faulted Hutchins' successor, Kimpton, for "denigrating" his academic achievements and character. Kimpton, "by design or default, assured the impermanence of his predecessor's reforms." Ashmore writes that it was "Kimpton's conviction that the only way to repair what he considered to be Chicago's adverse public image was to revamp the University so that it would conform to the patterns then prevailing in contemporary institutions."¹⁹ What Ashmore considers an undesirable regression, namely to "conform," other observers consider a commendable prudence.

The two most significant sets of changes implemented by Kimpton included reorganization of the College, effective in 1953, and dismantling of the Hutchins Plan curriculum, effective in 1957. Under the Hutchins Plan, students were urged to enter the undergraduate College at about age 16 after the sophomore year in high school, and the four undergraduate years focused exclusively on prescribed general education with no specialization. Kimpton reverted to the pre-Hutchins policy, as well as the national norm, that limited admission to high school graduates. Kimpton reorganized the College into a lower division with two years of required core courses, some of which were elective, and an upper division that accommodated specialization and electives contributing to a departmental major.

The fact that the last vestiges of the Hutchins Plan at the University of Chicago were about to be dispatched was apparent even before his 1951 resignation, so Hutchins sought a more effective means of implementation elsewhere, or better yet, everywhere else. At the University of Chicago (1929-51),

he was concerned first and foremost with the development of responsible citizens through liberal education. On the Commission on Freedom of the Press (1944-47), he was concerned with the media's responsibilities for meeting the needs of society, and he considered the development of responsible citizens primary among the needs of society. On the Committee to Frame a World Constitution (1945-48), he was concerned with developing a global community of responsible citizens educated in liberal culture. At the Ford Foundation (1951-54), at the Fund for the Republic (1954-58), and at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (1959-77), he continued to pursue creation of both world government and an independent agency to monitor the press. At the Foundation, his primary focus was on instituting his education philosophy nationwide with the support of huge grants of money. At the Fund, his primary focus was on defending civil liberties and clarifying the basic issues of democracy. At the Center, his primary focus was on establishing world government and clarifying the basic issues of democracy through Socratic discussion.

Ford Foundation

In 1951, Hutchins decided to join the Ford Foundation, where, as both Macdonald (1956) and Mayer (1993) have observed, he tried to buy what he could not sell at Chicago. "Now, instead of having his hand out for the big money," Mayer writes, "he would be handing it out in immense wads." With more than \$3 billion potentially at his disposal, he was certainly well-financed and confident that, within two years, "we're going to change the temper of the country." Hutchins dubbed the Foundation's California headquarters "Itching Palms" and said the best part of philanthropic work was that "you meet so many 'interested' people."²⁰ They were certainly interested in the cash, but still almost

nobody bought the Hutchins Plan.

The Ford Foundation had been quietly established in 1936 with an initial endowment of \$25,000. With the 1947 death of Henry Ford, I, principal owner of the privately held Ford Motor Company, and the 1950 death of his widow, the family faced an estate tax of some \$321 million. The senior Fords' only offspring, Edsel, had four children: Henry Ford, II, Benson Ford, William Clay Ford and Josephine Ford. To maintain family control, the shares of voting stock were distributed among the four grandchildren. The estate tax was never collected because the founder's nonvoting 90 percent was transferred to the \$25,000 Foundation, which thereby grew to \$500 million, "give or take a hundred million," according to Mayer.²¹ With the tax collector at the door, and hundreds of millions of dollars continuing to pour into the Foundation, huge sums of money had to be given away quickly. Dwight Macdonald, reviewing the early history of the Ford Foundation in the mid-1950s, noted that it began with four times the endowment of the second largest foundation (Rockefeller) and 10 times that of the third largest foundation (Carnegie).²²

Hutchins' agenda was unaltered, but now it was backed by the world's largest fortune. With such immense financial backing, he continued to insist on the superiority of his prescribed approach to a liberal arts general education, with no data to support his opinions and no provision for testing its effectiveness.²³ Ford Foundation executives were willing to pursue Hutchins' education agenda, but they insisted on dispatching his personal philosopher-in-residence, Mortimer Adler.

Dispatching Adler

Hutchins assured Hoffman that he was not going to seek appointments for former colleagues from Chicago. Nevertheless, Clarence Faust, who had been

dean of the College at Chicago, was summoned from Stanford to head the Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education. C. Scott Fletcher, Hoffman's sales manager at Studebaker and later head of Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, was recruited to head the Foundation's Fund for Adult Education. Hutchins wrote that both Faust and Fletcher shared his "views, theories, practices, ideas, ideals, etc.," and he added that the "majority" of the other appointees were "chosen with the same qualifications in mind."²⁴ The trustees included two of Hutchins' closest friends from the University of Chicago board, James H. Douglas, Jr. and Walter Paepcke, as well as Barry Bingham, president of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and a trustee of Berea College, where Francis Hutchins was then president. Others named to the board included Roy E. Larsen, president of Henry Luce's Time, Inc.; Paul Mellon, president of the Old Dominion Foundation; and long-time Hutchins supporter Walter Lippmann.²⁵

When Adler presented a guest lecture on freedom, Hoffman advised Hutchins, "I think you overestimate the appetite of the board for Mr. Adler's messages."²⁶ Adler was never a permanent fixture on the post-Chicago boards; grants totaling hundreds of thousands of dollars were bestowed to keep him otherwise occupied. He used his grant money to establish the Institute for Philosophical Research, which adopted an ambitious objective, "to clarify the whole body of Western thought," with familiar themes. "The Institute is undertaking," according to the 1952 Ford Foundation Annual Report, "to foster a community of understanding that will make discussion about fundamental issues more intelligible."²⁷

Adler aimed for a "Summa Dialectica" of modern thought, comparable to Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* of medieval thought and Aristotle's catalogue of ancient thought, and he set the year 2002 as the projected completion date. After he and his 18 associates labored for three years and spent some \$600,000, the

Institute's product was a mimeographed work entitled *Research on Freedom: Report of Dialectical Discoveries and Constructions (from May 1953 to October 1954)*.²⁸ Thus occupied outside the Foundation, Adler continued to influence Hutchins, but it was usually personal rather than official after Chicago.

Two Educational Funds

Two Ford Foundation Funds created under Hutchins' direction were the Fund for the Advancement of Education and the Fund for Adult Education. The first was "concerned with institutional education," according to the 1952 Annual Report; the second, "with opportunities and facilities for the voluntary continuance of education after formal schooling is over."²⁹ Both Funds focused on familiar themes.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education identified five objectives:

- (1) clarification of educational philosophy;
- (2) clarification of the function of the various parts of the educational system and the improvement of the articulation of these parts;
- (3) improvement of the preparation of teachers at all levels of the educational system;
- (4) improvement of opportunities for education in the armed services of the country; and
- (5) development of financial support for educational institutions.³⁰

In 1951, the Fund provided support for 21 liberal arts colleges "re-examining their educational philosophies."³¹ In 1952, the Fund "gave assistance to a study to clarify the functions of liberal arts colleges."³² In line with the Hutchins Plan, the Fund created the Arkansas Fifth-Year Plan, to "educate" teachers in the liberal arts, and pre-induction scholarships to admit 16-year-olds to undergraduate general education programs.

The Arkansas Fifth-Year Plan was a statewide program, "by which future

teachers would receive four years of undergraduate liberal education and then a year of carefully directed internship experience and study." With grants ultimately totaling some \$6 million, prospective teachers willing to defer their careers began their college education with four years of liberal arts study, followed by a "fifth-year" of vocational training much like a trade apprenticeship or a medical internship. All 15 colleges in Arkansas participated in the program, which later encompassed Wayne State, Temple, Goucher, Yale and Harvard.³³ Dzuback explains how "opposition to the Arkansas program was extensive":

Professional educators thought that the design reflected little knowledge of the problems of schools and ignored the extensive pedagogical training future teachers needed. . . . The hostility from professional associations and other colleges of education was intense. The Arkansas program folded after a few years because the teachers and administrators lost confidence in the efficacy of the approach.³⁴

Pre-induction scholarships encouraged 12 colleges and universities, with grants totaling some \$3 million, to admit students no older than 16 and a half years, usually without high school diplomas." In addition, three preparatory schools, Andover, Exeter and Lawrenceville, joined with Yale, Harvard and Princeton to study the possibilities of an integrated curriculum for the 11th through 14th grades. Another project was undertaken by 12 colleges and 22 high schools "to enrich the last years of high school and give promising students admission to college with advanced standing."³⁵

In addition to educating teachers in the liberal arts and admitting 16-year-olds to college, Hutchins wanted to include adults in his grand plan. The stated objective of the Fund for Adult Education was to develop "the ability to think independently and clearly about fundamental human values and common human needs." In keeping with Hutchins' agenda, this Fund supported "education that encourages the informed, critical thinking a democracy requires of its citizens." In order to foster "a fuller comprehension of responsible

citizenship," the Fund focused on the Great Books.³⁶

The Great Books Foundation was what Macdonald terms "an enterprise of almost indescribable ambition, complexity, and vagueness." Grants from the Fund for Adult Education totaling \$25 million included \$826,000 to the Great Books Foundation, where optimism about the ability of average people to grapple with important issues, Macdonald observes, "is oddly combined with skepticism about their acquiring knowledge on their own hook, without benefit of guidance and encouragement from headquarters."³⁷

Other projects financed by the Ford Foundation under Hutchins included development of a plan for universal disarmament and clarification of "the conditions of peace," a study of "the fundamentals, workings, and problems of democratic society, and a study of the role of the press in improving the international flow of news. The Foundation also paid the Advertising Council \$50,000 for "a restatement of the principles of American society."³⁸ And in anticipation of the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation ruling in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, the Ford Foundation financed a study to estimate what would be required to unite the South's dual educational system. In spring 1953, Harry Ashmore was contracted to conduct the study.³⁹

Ford Foundation gifts were categorized as "international," "public affairs," "economic development and administration," "behavioral sciences," "education" and "other." In 1951 and 1952, "education" totaled more than all the other categories combined; and nearly half of the total was allocated to "education" in 1953, when it received \$54.3 million compared to the nearest rival, "international," with \$35.9 million out of a total of \$119.1 million.⁴⁰

Ouster from the Foundation

Ashmore (1989) concludes that the "merits" of the proposals Hutchins

promoted during the nearly four years he was an associate director of the Ford Foundation “made little impression on the public-relations oriented trustees.”⁴¹ Other observers might challenge the implication that Hutchins was forced to resign because the trustees were too shallow. Dzuback writes that they resented Hutchins' large disbursements to “friends, colleagues, and pet projects.”⁴² Although they “were awed by this big-time spender with a big-time vocabulary,” Macdonald writes, “the trustees felt increasingly resentful at having an arrogant highbrow, who made it plain that he found their logic defective by Aristotelian standards, extract from them each year for his educational Funds over half the money at their disposal.” Macdonald adds that Henry Ford, II, said he didn't like being a “rubber stamp” for Hutchins' ideas.⁴³

Hutchins also harangued Ford's wife, Anne, on the failings of the Catholic school system, suggesting she use her riches to reform it, and adding a lecture on birth control for the devout young Catholic mother. The Fords concluded that he disliked Catholics and resented their wealth. “I'm sure I have been guilty of bad judgment,” Hutchins allegedly said in response to Henry Ford's criticism, “but I didn't build the Edsel.” When Ashmore asked for confirmation of the retort years later, Hutchins “grinned and claimed he couldn't remember.”⁴⁴

The Foundation was at an impasse. The trustees wanted to separate from Hutchins; in fact, they moved the Foundation headquarters from Pasadena to New York. But Hutchins would not leave California, and he would not resign until he found a comparable position.⁴⁵ Macdonald describes the 16 months that Hutchins drew his salary from his deserted office in Pasadena: “Month after month, he rusticated in solitary grandeur in Pasadena . . . wisecracking to his occasional visitors, 'I'm an associate director who doesn't direct anything and doesn't associate with anybody'.”⁴⁶ Harold Taylor, then president of Sarah Lawrence College, allegedly suggested that, “for the welfare of the nation,” the

Ford Foundation should “give Hutchins a million dollars on condition that he live in Afghanistan the rest of his life.”⁴⁷ Of course, Hutchins could not be displaced with a mere \$1 million. The Foundation granted him \$15 million to develop the Fund for the Republic. Thus bankrolled, he tendered his resignation on February 4, 1954, effective on May 31, 1954.⁴⁸ Mayer notes that Hutchins resigned only days after the decision had been made to fire him because “the last remaining American megafortune was being squandered.”⁴⁹

The Foundation thereafter supported more conventional causes with grants of \$20 million for National Merit Scholarships, \$50 million to raise the salaries of college teachers, \$15 million for research on mental illness, and \$500 million to privately supported colleges, medical schools and hospitals.⁵⁰ “After he spent nearly \$71 million on educational projects,” Dzuback concludes, “there is little to indicate that Hutchins' characteristic views on education left a mark.”⁵¹ However, after a pause to fight for civil liberties against the terror of McCarthyism, he returned to his crusade for world government and liberal education.

Fund for the Republic

In August 1951, Hutchins had submitted a two-page proposal for the Ford Foundation to create a Fund for Democratic Freedoms, which he later renamed the Fund for the Republic. The new Fund, unlike the other Foundation Funds, was to be wholly independent of the Foundation so that its activities could not jeopardize the Foundation's tax-exempt status. In December 1952, the Foundation created the Fund for the Republic to defend individuals and groups directly and to provide backing for scientists and teachers embroiled with problems of scientific and academic freedom. When first Hoffman and then

Hutchins were forced to resign from the Foundation, they were named chairman of the board and president, respectively, of the Fund for the Republic. W.H. "Ping" Ferry, who had been a speechwriter for Henry Ford, II, and public relations adviser to the Foundation, became vice-president of the Fund.⁵²

The fight for civil liberties

While Hutchins ruminated in Pasadena, waiting for his appointment, McCarthyism spread across America. U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-WI) claimed the State Department was "thoroughly infested with Communists," variously said to number anywhere from 50 to 250. McCarthy characterized General George C. Marshall as a member of "a conspiracy so immense, an infamy so black, as to dwarf any in the history of man." McCarthy called Owen Lattimore, Jr., of Johns Hopkins, "the top Soviet espionage agent," and physicist Robert Oppenheimer, who had been instrumental in the development of the atomic bomb, lost his security clearance because he opposed development of the more powerful hydrogen bomb. The White House, state capitals and city halls all implemented loyalty-security measures. The Truman loyalty programs that Hutchins had challenged in 1949 were extended by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, providing for dismissal from government service of a person deemed likely to be treasonable. Vice-President Nixon said, "We're kicking the Communists and fellow travelers and security risks out of the Government, not by the hundreds, but by the thousands," and the ultimate toll announced by the Eisenhower administration was 8,008.⁵³

The *Williams Intelligence Summary* of Los Angeles asked its readers to provide evidence that Robert Hutchins was a Jew, and McCarthy further riled both Hutchins and Hoffman when he engineered the 1952 defeat of their close friend, Bill Benton, for re-election to the United States Senate. "With exemplary

courage," Mayer explains, Benton (D-CT) had waived his congressional immunity, risen alone to the floor of the Senate on August 6, 1951, "delivered an all-out attack on McCarthy and introduced a one-man resolution to expel him from the chamber."⁵⁴

The leading international event of 1954 was the withdrawal of the French from Vietnam, followed by partitioning of the country. The leading national event of 1954 was the convening of the Army-McCarthy hearings, April 23-June 17, to investigate charges that Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens and Army Counsel John G. Adams were hampering the committee's attempts to uncover communists in the military.⁵⁵ And 1954 was also the year that Hutchins assumed the helm of the Fund for the Republic, announcing that its aim was the defense of the Bill of Rights.⁵⁶ He had not hesitated to stand up to trustees and politicians during the Red Scare of the 1930s, and he had challenged the Broyles Commission in 1949, so McCarthyism was a foe he voluntarily confronted. He didn't have to enter the fray but, as Ashmore explains, he did:

Only a stern sense of duty could have prompted so experienced a controversialist to undertake such a mission at a time when the anti-Communist excesses of the McCarthy era were being matched by the upsurge of racial prejudice engendered by the civil rights movement."⁵⁷

Thomas Reeves (1969) describes the situation that Hutchins confronted in 1954 when he reluctantly left the good life in California to move to the 42nd Street penthouse offices of the Fund for the Republic:

In case after case, government employees were faced with vague and often irrelevant charges; were forced to hire attorneys while suspended without pay, for weeks and even months; were denied access to evidence used against them; were denied the opportunity to cross-examine anonymous informers; and were denied any right of appeal.⁵⁸

With Hutchins as president, Ping Ferry as vice-president, and Paul Hoffman as chairman of the board of the Fund for the Republic, Hutchins named

George N. Shuster, formerly a member of the Hutchins Commission and president of Hunter College, as vice-chairman. Also seated on the board were Harry Ashmore, a contracted affiliate of the Ford Foundation in 1954; Chester Bowles, Bill Benton's advertising agency partner, former director of the wartime Office of Price Administration, governor of Connecticut and ambassador to India; Erwin Griswold, dean of the Harvard Law School; Robert E. Sherwood, four-time Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright and historian; Roger Lapham, former mayor of San Francisco; John Cogley, executive editor of the liberal Catholic weekly, *Commonweal*, and former editor of the national Catholic student magazine, *Today*.; pollster Elmo Roper, who subsequently succeeded Hoffman as chairman; and Monsignor Francis J. Lally, as well as James F. Brownlee, Malcolm Bryan, Charles W. Cole, Meyer Kestnbaum, Jubal R. Parten, James D. Zellerbach and Eleanor B. Stevenson.⁵⁹

Under Hutchins, the Fund for the Republic spent \$340,000 to encourage the production of television shows with civil liberties themes; \$150,000 to help the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker group, provide legal defense for conscientious objectors; \$150,000 for "Fear in Education--A study of attitudes of college and high-school teachers"; \$127,000 on a study directed by Cogley of political blacklisting in motion pictures, radio and television; \$106,700 for a study of right-wing extremist groups; \$9,000 "for preliminary exploration of the right to publish and read" by the National Book Committee; and \$115,000 on fellowships and grants to individuals working "in areas of the Fund's interest." The familiar theme of media responsibility also received attention with \$25,000 allocated for "exploration of a continuing agency to appraise the performance of the media of mass communication."⁶⁰

Grants were also made to Samuel Stouffer, Harvard, to analyze the effect of the Army-McCarthy hearings on public opinion; to Paul Lazarsfeld, Columbia,

to study the fear induced in education by McCarthyism; to Adam Yarmolinsky, Washington lawyer, to compile histories of government loyalty-security cases; and to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York to examine dubious standards of un-Americanism used to deny government employment. James Real, a Los Angeles graphic designer who later became a Center Fellow, was contracted for an advertising project that never materialized.⁶¹

Faults in strategy

For every \$2 the Fund for the Republic gave away, however, it spent \$1 on itself. "It cost \$410,000 in administrative expenses to spend \$843,000 on grants and projects" in the Fund's first two years, according to Macdonald, "which is to say that expenses came to a third of its total outlay. This compares with 13 percent of Rockefeller foundation money, seven percent of Carnegie money, and five percent of Ford Foundation money in 1953. In addition to opulent offices and expense accounts, the Fund paid its board members cumulatively some \$80,000 per year for services rendered gratis in most foundations.⁶² Although the more than \$1 million that the Fund ultimately spent for administrative expenses under Hutchins was excessive, Dzuback notes that much of it covered the legal assistance and public relations expenses necessary for the defense of the Fund's tax-exempt status.⁶³ Partially because of its spending habits and partially because of its challenge to loyalty-security measures and to top government officials, the Fund for the Republic was under constant fire from the Department of the Treasury, the Internal Revenue Service and the media.⁶⁴

Apart from the government, according to Mayer, the Fund for the Republic was "the country's largest noncommercial mailer." Hutchins never understood why truths that seemed self-evident to him were not so apparent to everyone, and he initially thought presenting the facts to the public would be

enough to generate outrage at the suspension of civil liberties. However, the Fund's messages were largely unread. "Millions of dollars went for the dissemination of literature which the Fund's own studies indicated was not widely read," Mayer writes. "Their materials ignored by much of the periodical press, they were driven to a variety of demeaning stratagems to get a hearing in respectable circles."⁶⁵ Perhaps, Hutchins thought, the Fund's messages would make a greater impact if they were delivered through the mainstream media.

In one attempt to more effectively influence the public, Hutchins offered cash in exchange for editorial space. In the May 1968 issue of *Harper's* magazine, editor John Fischer wrote that only once in his long career was he offered money to buy influence. "It was proffered by--of all people--Dr. [sic] Robert Hutchins, perennial guardian of the public morality," Fischer wrote. "He proposed that the Fund should take over each month a section of *Harper's*, say 32 pages, and fill them with articles of its own production. In return, it would pay Harper's \$500,000 the first year." Fischer added that the pages would not be labeled as paid space. "In fact, the name of the Fund would not appear at all. The articles it provided would seem to be a normal part of the magazine, so the readers need never know that they had not been developed by the regular editors." Fischer refused because "an editor could not surrender control over the editorial content of his publication, even for the best-intentioned of purposes. Neither could he offer the readers somebody else's product under the guise of his own."⁶⁶

In other efforts to improve the Fund's image, the board pushed Hutchins to hold a press conference and to accept an invitation to appear on *Meet the Press* in a television broadcast late in the fall of 1955. When queried during the multi-hour press conference, Hutchins said, "I wouldn't hesitate to hire a Communist for a job he was qualified to do, provided I was in a position to see he did it." The resulting newspaper headlines read: "HUTCHINS SAYS HIRE REDS." Not only

did Hutchins feed prevalent fears, Macdonald notes that he “admitted, with ill-concealed pride, ‘I’m not an expert on Communism,’ a reprise of his lofty reply to a 1949 Illinois legislative committee that asked him what he thought of the Communist Party: ‘I am not instructed on this subject.’” Rather than using persuasion, or even reason, Hutchins simply argued as he so often did that it was self-evident his opinions were right. He said any difference of opinion about the Fund must result from misinformation.⁶⁸

“The confrontation was a disaster,” according to James Real (1969), when Hutchins appeared on *Meet the Press* two weeks later. Moderator Lawrence Spivak “had the cool master of rhetoric rattled from the first.”⁶⁹ Hutchins faced four Washington correspondents on the program; in addition to Spivak, the interrogators were Frederick Woltman of the *New York World Telegram*, May Craig of the *Portland Press Herald*, and James McConaughy, Jr. of *Time*.⁷⁰ “His performance astonished his friends, none of whom had ever before seem him so completely unstrung,” Mayer recalls.⁷¹ Ashmore, then seated on the Fund's board, saw some Chicago colleagues in tears when the broadcast ended.⁷²

“Immense financial appropriations,” according to Mayer, “constituted the single most significant contribution to equality of racial opportunity between the Emancipation and the civil rights legislation of the 1960s.”⁷³ However, Hutchins' demand for democratic rights was delivered in an autocratic manner, and he declared that Americans could not behave with political responsibility without learned “experts” to “clarify” the principles of democracy. The false logic of aligning the self-determination of democracy with omniscient authoritarianism apparently escaped Hutchins. Erwin Griswold, then dean of the Harvard Law School and a director of the Fund for the Republic, said Hutchins “asserted” rather than “explained” the merits of the Fund's activities. Reeves quotes Griswold as saying:

“He does not primarily seek to explain, to lead, to guide, to speak softly and persuasively, to inculcate wisdom and understanding. On the contrary, his approach tends to be combative, belligerent, provocative, dramatic. Rather than leading to better understanding, this approach evokes strong reactions, and often leads to increased opposition and to misunderstanding.”⁷⁴

James Rowland Angell at Yale and the University of Chicago trustees had previously complained about this continuing pattern. Hutchins did not defend his positions with persuasive arguments, and he could see no need to do so because he considered their validity to be self-evident. His assumption that the Ford Foundation board “would support his positions simply because they were right bordered on arrogance,” Dzuback notes, and the attitude he projected both in academe and on *Meet the Press* was one of “arrogance, impatience, and superior morality and intelligence.” When Hutchins believed he was right, which was most of the time, he could not understand why others failed to agree with him or why they criticized his tactics, Dzuback explains. “The moral correctness of the position, he seemed to think, ought to draw support.”⁷⁵

From practical issues to “Basic Issues”

Hutchins was surprised at the overwhelming resistance to what he considered the self-evident truths of civil liberties, and he decided that efforts to ensure civil liberties were doomed to failure because nobody knew what the issues really were. He decided that six great centers of power had developed since the writing of the Constitution, and their impact on civil liberties should be examined. He proposed that the basic issues of civil liberties be clarified in terms of: (1) corporations, (2) trade unions, (3) defense, (4) mass media, (5) religion, and (6) political parties, pressure groups and professional associations. “This awesome melange of subjects,” Real writes, “was to be probed by a new gathering of eminent Consultants. (The capital 'C' was important.)”⁷⁶

In 1957 the board authorized Hutchins to recruit a group of part-time Consultants to undertake a \$25,000 pilot project. Among the “great minds” were some familiar figures, including long-time friends William O. Douglas, then associate justice of the Supreme Court; Henry Luce, editor and publisher of *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune*, who had previously provided the initial funding for the Hutchins Commission; theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, former member of the Hutchins Commission from Union Theological Seminary; Robert Redfield, University of Chicago dean and supporter of the Hutchins Plan; Clark Kerr, president of the University of California; and Mortimer Adler, Scott Buchanan and Richard McKeon. Rounding out the panel were Adolph A. Berle, former secretary of state and a member of the original New Deal brains trust; Jesuit theologian John Courtney Murray, Woodstock College; Isidor I. Rabi, Nobel laureate in physics, Columbia University; Eugene Burdick, political scientist at the University of California, Berkeley; Eric Goldman, historian at Princeton; Walter Millis, military historian; and lyricist Oscar Hammerstein, II.⁷⁷

Berle was in charge of “The Corporation”; Rabi, “The Individual and the Common Defense”; Niebuhr and Murray, “Religion in a Free Society”; Goldman, assisted by Ashmore, “The Mass Media”; and Burdick, “Political Parties, Pressure Groups, and Professional Associations.” The most ambitious undertaking was “The Individual and the Labor Union,” under the direction of Clark Kerr, who four decades later in the 1990s is still active in labor economics. Buchanan and Luce were not assigned to specific themes. Douglas attended only one meeting, Redfield lost his battle to leukemia in October 1958 before he could assume an active role, and illness limited the participation of Luce, Niebuhr and Rabi.⁷⁸

Although each Consultant was provided staff assistance to pursue a selected area of study from his home base, they were all expected to collectively consider the applicability of the Constitution to the program as whole, which

was then formally called "The Basic Issues." "This meant," Real notes, "theologians were speaking to problems of the corporation, scientists to religious matters, philosophers to everything":

Sometimes this mixed bag of experts handed down some eerie verdicts. One proposal in 1958 outlined a study to evaluate some "controls of human behavior," which included a look at a new social phenomenon, the use of LSD and other drugs. Hutchins acted vigorously as counsel for its sponsor. But the day was carried by one of the judges.⁷⁹

Addressing the theoretical basic issues proved no more productive than attacking practical problems. Between May 1957 and May 1958, the part-time Consultants convened in no more than a dozen sporadic, hurried and poorly attended meetings. "Collectively, the result is almost zero," Adler commented at the time. "There is almost no evidence that any member of the group learned anything from anything said by anybody else or was even stimulated to say something important."⁸⁰

Whereas "the organizing principles of his 1930s and 1940s schemes" were predicated on "the subordination of all scholarly endeavors to the study of philosophy," Dzuback asserts that Hutchins' "guiding ideas" from the 1950s to the 1970s "were based on the notion that responsible political behavior by Americans required a group of experts to clarify for them the basic ideas and ideals of democracy." This was a concept previewed in the Hutchins Commission Report of 1947, which called for responsibility among both the media and the citizenry. Dzuback concludes that he exchanged a "scholastic philosophy" for a "political theory" as the "intellectual center of his ideas."⁸¹

From part-time Consultants to resident Fellows

In May 1959, Hutchins told the board that Fund failures were attributable to deficiencies in the forum. He said that part-time participation was inadequate.

To attract the caliber of participants needed to “clarify basic issues,” a full-time residential program was necessary. “The inadequacy of the program on a part-time basis,” according to Ashmore, “only proved the necessity of what he had wanted all along--a residential center where he could assemble a group of the best minds available and set them to clarifying the issues the consultants had begun to identify.”⁸²

In June 1959, Hutchins told the board he had found a location in California. By September, the Fund's remaining resources had been granted to the new Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Hutchins dubbed the Center's Santa Barbara mansion “El Parthenon,” Ashmore writes, “in ironic acknowledgement of the suspicion that he was about to establish there some kind of highfalutin Platonic academy.” At age 60, Ashmore notes, Hutchins at last “had license to create the kind of intellectual community” he had so long sought.⁸³ Because \$11 million of the Fund's \$15 million grant had been spent in five years, a remainder of only \$4 million was available for the next attempt to establish Hutchins' long-sought forum for the Great Conversation. Ashmore writes that Hutchins decided to revert “back to basics” because the tide had turned in favor of civil rights. To other observers, dissolution of the Fund for the Republic signaled a retreat from reality; to Ashmore, it meant a pilgrimage to the “Mountain Eucalyptic.”⁸⁴

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Hutchins' ideal university would provide an intellectual sanctuary, without courses, grades or students, for a leisure class of great minds, “free” to clarify the basic issues essential to a democratic society. “This democrat of democrats was in the final analysis,” according to Mayer, “a genuine elitist who

wanted to establish a kind of Lords Spiritual to lead the country and the world out of the intellectual wilderness." They would, Mayer adds, "clarify the great problems of the race in interrelated terms and democratically (and lordily) submit their clarification to their fellow men."⁸⁵

The Center opened in the summer of 1959, and Hutchins ruled the tiny Santa Barbara monarchy, ironically located on Olympus Drive. He selected the intellectual Fellows he thought could re-create the Great Socratic Conversation. The Center was the closest he ever came to achieving his mythical intellectual community, but he was more removed from practical realities than ever, away from "the bumps and grinds of the marketplace," as he described Clark Kerr's world down the mount at the University of California.⁸⁶

Although he had complete control, Hutchins still had some problems. The first was money; he figured the \$4 million bankroll was good for no more than three years. The second was interest; no amount of money could induce some of "the great minds" to abandon practical concerns for the purely intellectual life. The third was acceptance; he could not convert the world to his way of thinking. And the fourth was perpetuation; the Center was only moderately successful with Hutchins, and it could not survive without him.

Money

Not counting such extravaganzas as the Pacems, which were largely underwritten by special gifts, the Center's annual cost of operations averaged about \$1.2 million.⁸⁷ The money was raised through a *Britannica* contract, private pledges, grants and royalties.

A *Britannica* contract was offered by Bill Benton. Ashmore was named interim editor-in-chief, he assigned 13 near-book-length essays to distinguished authors, and the project netted \$1,869,379 for the Center in five years. After

publication of *Britannica's* three-volume *Perspectives*, Hutchins named Ashmore executive vice-president of the Center. Seven other contributors to the *Britannica* project also became full-time participants in the Center's Basic Issues Program: Stringfellow Barr, Elisabeth Mann Borgese, John Cogley, Ritchie Calder, William Gorman, Harvey Wheeler and John Wilkinson. Borgese had worked on the 1948 World Constitution, and she would contribute to the 1970 World Constitution. Cogley had coordinated the blacklisting study for the Fund for the Republic, and he would become a key figure in the effort to make the Center self-perpetuating. Calder was a science writer and professor at Edinburgh University. William Gorman was general editor of the *Great Books of the Western World*, as well as Adler's *Syntopicon* project. Wheeler was a political scientist at Washington and Lee University of Lexington, Virginia, and Wilkinson was a philosopher-mathematician at the University of California, Santa Barbara.⁸⁸

Private pledges began with "founding members," mostly Southern California celebrities, who pledged \$1,000 each for five years. Participants included Steve Allen, Kirk Douglas, Hugh Downs, Jack Lemmon, Paul Newman and Dinah Shore.⁸⁹

Grants began when the Center needed funding for projects designed to attract still more funding. Direct-mail solicitation was coordinated by Ashmore in an effort to provide a steady source of income through a broad-based membership among the general public. The problem of publishing a periodical in order to attract and retain reader-members was solved by an unexpected telephone call from Linus Pauling, the two-time Nobel Prize winner whose anti-nuclear crusade had put him at odds with the administration of the California Institute of Technology. Chester Carlson, a former student of Pauling who made a fortune out of his invention of Xerox, offered to contribute Pauling's salary as a Fellow. *The Center Magazine* was launched in 1967 with Carlson money. Cogley

was the first editor, and Donald McDonald would later leave the journalism deanship at Marquette University to edit the magazine. Edward Reed, editor of *Theatre Arts* magazine, would ultimately become director of Center publications. Within two years, the magazine reached its peak of 100,000 subscribers who contributed a minimum of \$10 each per year. However, "it never reached the general public," Mayer writes, because most of the subscriptions went to colleges and universities. Carlson's gifts totaled \$4.1 million the first four years. When he died in 1968, his bequest boosted the Carlson endowment that ultimately totaled \$10 million of the \$24 million that the Center grossed between 1959 and 1978. However, the Carlson money was gone by 1972, according to Mayer.⁹⁰

In addition, Albert Parvin, the wealthy proprietor of a Los Angeles hotel supply business, created the Parvin Foundation, which donated tens of thousands of dollars for the Center to study the problems of Third World countries, particularly in Latin America. Joseph Drown, owner of the Bel Air Hotel, created the Drown Foundation which bestowed substantial gifts. Actor Paul Newman channeled contributions through his Nonesuch Foundation. And Ashmore describes a trip to Greece sponsored by Christopher Janus, a Greek-American stockbroker from Chicago. "It was more of a junket than a serious intellectual enterprise, but with Hutchins looking perfectly at home presiding in the shadow of the Parthenon," Ashmore recalls. With Justice William O. Douglas, Representative John Brademas, Richard McKeon, John Cogley, Harvey Wheeler and Walter Millis, Ashmore and Hutchins "manfully undertook a dialogue on democratic values before an audience that consisted almost entirely of those who had accompanied us from Chicago."⁹¹

Royalties from *The Joy of Sex* also provided significant income. Mayer explains how the "shady" appointment of Dr. Alexander Comfort, the book's English author, was "an open secret." Comfort signed over royalties to the

Center, which in turn paid him a \$28,000 salary, and the government could “whistle in vain” for the income tax.⁹²

Interest

Hutchins assumed all people would ultimately enjoy the leisure class status that such funding provides. “The Center may be regarded as a . . . prefiguring of those activities in which human beings may engage when the curse of Adam is at last repealed,” he wrote in 1968. “In this light the staff of the Center, having received prematurely as it were, the gift of leisure, may be seen as proposing a model for the behavior of all of us when we have, as we surely shall, a guaranteed annual income and nothing to do.”⁹³ Not everyone, however, was satisfied with the purely intellectual life of leisure.

Among those Hutchins expected to become Fellows, but who declined, were Thornton Wilder, Jacques Maritain, Reinhold Niebuhr and Rabbi Robert Gordis, as well as Charles Cole, the retiring president of Amherst College, Eric Goldman of Princeton, and John Kenneth Galbraith of Harvard. Given what Ashmore terms “reservations of the great minds,” Hutchins decided to install some of the Fund for the Republic participants at the Center to demonstrate how a residential forum could work.⁹⁴ When Ping Ferry pled unfitness for the new intellectual community, Hutchins put his hand on Ferry's shoulder, “startling passengers on the elevator,” Ferry recalls, and declared, “As former chancellor of a great university, I declare you henceforth an intellectual.”⁹⁵

In addition to Ferry, Fund for the Republic participants who stayed with the Center included Harry Ashmore, Scott Buchanan, Frank Kelly, Elmo Roper and John Cogley, as well as Hallock Hoffman (Paul's son) and Edward Reed. George Shuster, the former Hutchins Commissioner who had retired from the presidency of Hunter College, agreed to spend a year seeking financial support

for the Center from a small New York office. When income from the *Britannica* project began coming in, among the first to join the Center were William Gorman, a philosopher at Adler's Institute who had served as general editor for the *Syntopicon*, and Stanley Sheinbaum, an economist at Michigan State University. Others who later joined the Center included John L. Perry, a Florida newspaper reporter who had been deputy to a Commerce Department undersecretary, political scientist Harvey Wheeler, philosopher John Wilkinson, sociologist John Seeley, and Los Angeles graphic artist James Real, as well as World Constitution architects Rexford Guy Tugwell and Elisabeth Mann Borgese. There also began a flow of familiar visiting Fellows, including Reinhold Niebuhr, Father John Courtney Murray, Stringfellow Barr, Bishop James A. Pike, Clark Kerr, Alexander Meiklejohn and William O. Douglas. But none of the full-time Fellows was of the caliber Hutchins desired.⁹⁶

Difficulties in attracting "great minds" to the Center were compounded by the boredom suffered by those who did agree to join in the Great Conversation. "Hutchins called the Fellows to the conference table by ringing an old school bell three or four mornings a week," according to Mayer. Visiting speakers were "mostly academics" who had a paper they wanted to read. "Animosities fed on boredom," Mayer writes, "and annoyance, on the repetition of pet sentiments."⁹⁷ James Real, a Fellow in the 1960s, has similar recollections:

One young economist used to secretly climb a tree that grew on the far side of the 41-acre wooded grounds and stare balefully at the sea, sometimes until time to go home. Another walked a sorrowful Bassett hound. Beast and man looked equally inconsolable. I used to bring rocks in my pocket to throw out my window at the jaybirds.⁹⁸

The level of interest in the Center's activities was also limited because Hutchins fostered the participation of elites rather than the people affected by the issues under discussion. He was comfortable only in the company of people of

his own gender, race, class and education level. He proposed to “clarify the basic issues” for the masses, in the abstract. Because ordinary people were “difficult to control,” Dzuback writes, “their outcomes did not necessarily lead to the unity in diversity Hutchins proffered” as the Center's goal. In a 1984 interview with Dzuback, Harry Ashmore said that the Center had a Junior Fellows program for a brief period; Hutchins disbanded it because students would not take instruction and detracted from the Center's main purpose. In a 1986 interview with Dzuback, Ping Ferry said that, when he and Steve Allen invited black and Hispanic community leaders to the Center, Hutchins was courteous but “terribly ill-at-ease” with the minority groups about whose rights and responsibilities he theorized. He could deal with ideas, Ferry concluded, but not with the people themselves.⁹⁹

The constant struggles to raise money and generate interest were further plagued by resistance to the ideas generated by the Center. Chief among these ideas was the continuing effort to establish world government, which was pursued through a series of convocations, held between 1961 and 1975, that attempted to bring together world leaders from both sides of the Cold War.

Acceptance

Mayer notes that the country as a whole “wasn't interested in the machinations atop Eucalyptus Hill.” The Center sponsored a series of convocations designed to raise both money and awareness for the Center. The convocations “featured the all-star names which Hutchins was able to attract to an ad hoc event, especially with the payment of always generous fees and travel expenses,” but, as Mayer notes, “still the public notice was minimal.”¹⁰⁰ The most spectacular convocations were the four Pacem in Terris meetings, named in honor of Pope John XXIII's encyclical, which called for a new dialogue between

East and West on the requirements of peace. Two test runs, in 1961 and 1963, preceded the first Pacem in 1965.

1961: After the U.S. broke diplomatic relations with Cuba in January, after 1,500 anti-Castro Cuban exiles were overwhelmed at the Bay of Pigs in April, after the Berlin Wall was constructed in August, after the Soviets resumed atmospheric nuclear testing in September, and after John Kennedy advised American families to build or buy atomic fallout shelters in October, the Center convened the Seminar on World Order and Freedom. With the idea that the nations of the world could be united through the Great Conversation, the series of meetings began on a relatively modest scale in Greece.¹⁰¹

1963: The second test run was a weekend gathering in New York City. The symposium followed a turbulent year in 1962 in which the U.S., U.S.S.R. and Great Britain abandoned a deadlocked three-year nuclear test ban conference and the world came perilously close to nuclear war until Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev withdrew offensive missiles from Cuba.¹⁰² Ashmore recalls that “a blue-ribbon audience of 1,500 assembled in the ballroom of the Americana Hotel.” Guest speakers included United Nations Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, Admiral Hyman Rickover, Federal Communications Commission Chairman Newton Minow, and U.S. Senators Clifford P. Chase, Joseph Clark and J. William Fulbright, as well as Arthur Burns of the Federal Reserve Board. International participants included Pierre Mendes-France, former prime minister of France; Jose Figueres, former president of Costa Rica; Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish economist; Lord Hailsham, British minister of science; Lord James, vice-chancellor of York University; and Lord Francis-Williams, journalist and critic. The Center netted \$338,000 profit.¹⁰³

1965: The first Pacem convened for three days in February 1965 in New

York City. It assembled an audience of 2,000 to hear what *Life* magazine described as “an extraordinary assemblage of the world's shakers and movers” from both sides of the Iron Curtain.¹⁰⁴ It marked, according to Ashmore, “the first time intellectual leaders from the Soviet bloc had exchanged views with their opposite numbers in an unofficial public setting.”¹⁰⁵

Participants included Georgi Kornienko, minister counselor of the Soviet Embassy; N.N. Inozemtsev, deputy chief editor of *Pravda*; Yevgeni Zhukov, Soviet Academy of Sciences; Marion Dobrosielski, minister counselor of the Polish Embassy; philosopher Adam Schaff, a member of the Polish Communist Party's Central Committee; Josip Presburger, counselor of the Yugoslav Embassy; Abba Eban, deputy prime minister of Israel; Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgium's foreign minister; Pietro Nenni, Italy's vice-premier; C.V. Narasimhan, deputy to United Nations Secretary General U Thant; and Sir Zafrullah Khan, a Pakistani judge of the United Nations International Court of Justice. The convocation was financed by a \$200,000 grant from Chester Carlson and a \$75,000 gift from Henry Luce's Time, Inc. American participants included Luce and Carlson's mentor-protege, Linus Pauling, as well as Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, Chief Justice Earl Warren, United Nations Delegate Adlai Stevenson, Senators George McGovern and Eugene McCarthy, philosopher Paul Tillich, and George Kennan, former ambassador to the Soviet Union.¹⁰⁶

Because “the financial straits of the Center were dire in the extreme,” Mayer writes, a fund-raising dinner was held in honor of Hutchins on the evening the convocation ended. In response to the evening of accolades, Mayer recalls that Hutchins said, “If I'm such a great man, why haven't I been able to quit smoking?” Take-home profit for the convocation and the dinner exceeded \$2 million.¹⁰⁷

President Lyndon Johnson ordered the bombing of North Vietnam to

begin three days before Pacem I convened. A month later, on March 8-9, the first U.S. combat forces in Vietnam, more than 3,500 Marines, were mobilized to guard the U.S. Air Force Base at DaNang; they joined 23,500 other Americans serving as advisers in South Vietnam. And on November 27, approximately 20,000 protestors staged an anti-war demonstration in Washington, D.C.¹⁰⁸

1967: By the time Pacem II convened in Geneva in June 1967, according to Ashmore, "the Johnson administration was actively trying to sabotage it." Ashmore and William Baggs, who had been a director of the Fund for the Republic, made two trips to Hanoi in an effort to bring warring factions to Pacem II. Ashmore and Baggs claimed that the North Vietnamese, the Soviets and the Arabs failed to show because the State Department reneged on a promise to cooperate with volunteer diplomats.¹⁰⁹

1968-74: Additional convocations included Pacem in Maribus in Malta, Pacem in Terris III in Washington, D.C., and Pacem in Terris IV in Washington, D.C. The Malta conference focused on national conflicts regarding seabed mining.¹¹⁰ Pacem III convened in October 1973, the same month that Spiro Agnew pleaded no contest to one charge of income tax evasion and resigned the vice-presidency, the same month that eight impeachment resolutions against President Richard Nixon were introduced in the House of Representatives, and the same month that an embargo on oil shipped to the United States and other nations supporting Israel was instituted by 11 Middle Eastern oil-exporting states. Hutchins retired from the Center in 1974 at age 75 because of ill-health. In 1975, the last American citizens were airlifted out of Saigon on April 30, U.S. bases in Turkey were seized by the Turkish government on July 29 in retaliation for a U.S. embargo on military aid, and Hutchins was called out of retirement to take over an insolvent operation. In November 1975, he staged Pacem IV to raise money and to bring together political leaders from both parties to define foreign

policy issues to be faced in the coming presidential campaign.¹¹¹

“Since the Center is chartered as an educational corporation, it does not engage in political activity,” Hutchins said. Despite meetings with heads of state worldwide in active campaigns to end the war in Vietnam and to establish world government, Hutchins argued that the Center “does not take positions about what ought to be done”:

It asserts only that the issues it is discussing deserve the attention of citizens. It attempts to show what the positions are that may be taken and what the consequences of taking one or another are likely to be. . . . Where the staff is unanimous on any subject, it earnestly tries to lure into its meetings representatives of a different point of view.¹¹²

Despite this argument, Hutchins was quite dogmatic, he defined the Conversation, he selected the participants, and he repeatedly weeded out opposition.¹¹³ He believed that government regulation provided the only hope against destructive disorder. And because the worst of such disorder was international conflict, government regulation would ideally establish world order. Mayer concludes that the Center's activities can be summarized as a demand for greater government regulation of all aspects of human activity.¹¹⁴

Perpetuation

By 1964, Hutchins had begun urging the board to search for his successor. The directors, “winnowed” of all but loyalists, “were waiting for the founder to indicate his choice, which he refused to do on the ground that this would be ‘laying the dead hand of the past on my successor,’” Ashmore recalls. “The impasse was never to be resolved.”¹¹⁵ Hutchins tried to create an autonomous “faculty” without a president. When that didn't work, he tried to “refound” the Center with peers absent of any hierarchy. When that didn't work, a successor was appointed. When that didn't work, Hutchins came out of retirement to

preside until the Center died with him.

1968: A dean was appointed to guide an autonomous faculty. Henry Luce died at age 68 on February 28, 1967, less than three months before Pacem II in Geneva, and both Chester Carlson and Scott Buchanan died the following year in 1968. As Hutchins began to face his own mortality and the impasse in which nobody would name his successor, he decided that the solution might be to make the Fellows so autonomous that the dialogue could continue without a leader. Early in 1968, he appointed John Seeley, a Brandeis sociologist, as dean to such a "faculty." Ashmore recalls that, after several months of disorganized discussion, Hutchins handed Seeley a note:

I am gradually coming to the conclusion that, much to my regret, self-government of this group as it is at present is impossible. Members of the present group are not by mere membership--in many cases accidental--qualified to "be" at the Center. Members are not actuated (in all cases) by a desire to achieve the common good. They are expressing their "individuality" or individual prejudices often without regard to the topic under discussion.¹¹⁶

1968: The Center was refounded into a community of peers. Hutchins spent about a week trying to decide how to weed out those not "qualified" to "be" at the Center, and he decided to adopt Cogley's suggestion that the entire organization be dissolved and "refounded." With Hutchins named Senior Fellow, he would select a second Senior Fellow. These two peers would select a third, and so on until unanimous agreement could be reached for no additional colleagues. In May 1968, the board approved the scheme and provided generous severance pay.¹¹⁷

Hutchins selected Harvey Wheeler, who did not consider any of the current Fellows worthy. After he and Hutchins conducted an unsuccessful worldwide telephone recruiting campaign, Wheeler yielded and agreed to name Rexford Guy Tugwell the third Senior Fellow. Harry Ashmore and John Cogley

were accepted as administrator and editor of publications, respectively. The five quickly chose John Wilkinson. After several days of contemplation, the six picked Elisabeth Mann Borgese, who with Tugwell was constructing a new World Constitution that would be released two years later in 1970. The seven could agree on no additional Senior Fellows.¹¹⁸

Among the community of seven “peers,” Ashmore was elected president and Hutchins was elected chairman of the board and chief executive officer. Although not a “chosen” Senior Fellow, Alexander Comfort's salary was still paid from *The Joy of Sex* royalties. Kelly, McDonald, Reed and Sheinbaum, although losers in the vote, were asked to continue their work at the Center without participating in the Great Conversation. And Chicago geographer Norton Ginsberg was named successor to Seeley's deanship.¹¹⁹

Reinhold Niebuhr died at age 78 on June 1, 1971. Bill Benton died in 1973, and Hutchins himself was in ill-health. He circulated a memorandum to the Center's staff on October 9, 1969:

The medical profession, eager to discover causes for my peculiar vitality, are holding a seminar “Pacem in Corporibus.” . . . I shall not be allowed to receive callers, messages, flowers, books, candy, liquor, or anything else that will interfere with the general sterility of the performance.¹²⁰

When the surgeon said, “Don't worry--I'll have you back on the tennis courts in six weeks,” Hutchins, the world's leading hater of exercise, allegedly replied, “In that case the operation's off.” He soon did return to his usual schedule, but his maladies, including an aneurysm of the aorta and cancer of the bladder and the prostate, gave greater urgency to the matter of his successor.¹²¹

1973: A successor was appointed president. Clark Kerr of the University of California, Kingman Brewster of Yale, and John Kenneth Galbraith of Harvard all declined the Center presidency.¹²² The appointment of Malcolm Moos was

announced at Pacem III in October 1973. When Moos taught political science at Johns Hopkins, he was an editorial writer for the *Baltimore Sun* and a consultant to the CBS television network. As a speechwriter for Eisenhower from 1957 to 1961, Moos penned the memorable farewell address in which Eisenhower warned his country about the growing military-industrial complex. He held executive positions at the Ford Foundation from 1964 until his 1967 appointment to the presidency of the University of Minnesota.¹²³

Hutchins agreed to manage the Center during the eight months until Moos' appointment became effective on June 1, 1974. Before Moos had even taken office, according to Ashmore, he was persuaded by his old friend, Harvey Wheeler, "to clear the decks at the Center." Ashmore was informed that Pacem IV was canceled, Norton Ginsberg was forced to resign as dean, and Sander Vanocur, who had been retained as a television consultant, was fired. Moos and Wheeler were planning to create a "communiversity," which Ashmore describes as "a sort of Rockefeller University of the humanities complete with faculty and students." In May 1975, after only 10 months in office, Moos left behind staggering debt when he acceded to the board's request for his resignation.¹²⁴

1975: Hutchins was summoned from retirement. When a reluctant Hutchins returned to the Center at age 76, insolvency forced a dramatic cutback in expenses and resurrection of Pacem IV as a fund-raiser. Ashmore explains how the shadow of the Center was "no more than a holding operation intended to maintain a base upon which an intellectual community still might be built."¹²⁵

1977: The Center died with Hutchins. Walter Lippmann had died December 14, 1974, at age 85, and Thornton Wilder died December 7, 1975, at age 78. Although William O. Douglas would not die until January 19, 1980, at age 81, he was by 1977 crippled by a stroke and confined to a wheelchair. In spring 1977, although he came to the Center daily, Hutchins had a recurring low fever. He

was placed in intensive care with an acute kidney infection. Mayer writes that what was probably Hutchins' final word was addressed to Vesta Hutchins. When she asked her husband how he was, he said, "Bored." He remained comatose for nearly a month before he died on May 14, 1977, at age 78.¹²⁶

The Santa Fe campus of St. John's College and the University of California at Santa Barbara made proposals to take over the work of the Center. Even in death, the legacy of Hutchins' aspirations rejected the small forum of St. John's that offered a possibility of survival, choosing instead a larger university that spelled doom. Efforts to revive the Center struggled unsuccessfully until it was officially closed in 1987.¹²⁷

Hutchins' final essay, "The Intellectual Community," was published in *The Center Magazine* three months before his death. "Much of what was central in Robert Hutchins' life," editor Donald McDonald notes, "is to be found in that essay."¹²⁸ Hutchins wrote that an intellectual community is necessary because it "offers the only hope" of achieving those qualities that mark the good life, which he listed as "peace, order, freedom, and justice."¹²⁹ Intentionally or not, the fact that Hutchins prioritized peace and order over freedom and justice in his final statement is revealing. The individuality and unpredictability inherent in unregulated freedom negates the order that Hutchins valued above all else. He could not tolerate the abuses possible under "negative freedom," or the absence of regulation; he embraced instead the "positive freedom" of regulated opportunity, in which a leisure class of great minds can clarify the basic issues and thereby guide a responsible citizenry. Ashmore concludes that Hutchins reasserted his faith in an intellectual community "as he sat among the ruins of the one he had tried to create in Santa Barbara."¹³⁰

Notes

1. Benjamin McArthur, "Revisiting Hutchins and *The Higher Learning in America*," *History of Higher Education Annual* (1987) 12.
2. Robert M. Hutchins, "Education for Freedom," *Christian Century* (15 Nov. 1944) 1314-6; Hutchins, "The Atomic Bomb versus Civilization," *Journal of the NEA* 35 (1946) 114-7; Hutchins, "The College and the Needs of Society," *Journal of General Education* 3 (1949) 175-81; Hutchins, *The Great Conversation: The Substance of a Liberal Education*, in "The Great Books of the Western World," Vol. 1 (Chicago IL: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952).
3. Milton Mayer (John Hicks, ed.), *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 388.
4. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Perfect Community Must Now Be Worldwide," in *Saint Thomas and the World State* (Milwaukee WI: Marquette University Press, 1949), reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977) 63-5, excerpted from "St. Thomas and the World State," a lecture delivered at Marquette University (6 Mar. 1949). [See Mayer (1993) 388.]
5. Robert M. Hutchins, "Why We Need World Law," *World Issues* (Dec. 1976/Jan. 1977) 29-30, excerpted from "An American Road to a World Society," an address delivered in Santa Barbara, California (1950).
6. Robert M. Hutchins, "Peace Depends on Enforceable World Law," farewell address to students, University of Chicago (2 Feb. 1951), in *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977) 65-6. [See Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1936).]
7. Harry S. Ashmore, *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989) 40.
8. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Idea of a College," *The Center Magazine* (May/June 1972) 45-9.
9. Hutchins, interview by Harvey Wheeler, "The Constitution Under Strain: A Conversation about Watergate," *The Center Magazine* (Mar./Apr. 1974) 43.
10. Mayer (1993) 388-9.
11. *Ibid.*, 398.
12. Robert MacIver, *Academic Freedom in Our Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955) 35.
13. *Report of the Proceedings*, Illinois Seditious Activities Investigation Commission (1949), excerpted in Robert Lasch, "Two Intrepid Colleges," *The Reporter* (21 Jun. 1949) 23. [See Mayer (1993) 390-1.]
14. Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 202. [Although the constitutionality of required loyalty oaths has been successfully challenged since 1949, some institutions still practice the policy. For example, as late as 1989, faculty at the University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, were required to sign oaths of loyalty to the U.S. Constitution in order to teach.]
15. Lawrence Kimpton, interview by George Dell (25 Jul. 1976), quoted in Ashmore (1989) 308.

16. Edward Shils, "Robert Maynard Hutchins," in Shils, ed., *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 214. [See Dzuback (1991) 227-8.]
17. Ashmore (1989) 187.
18. William H. McNeill, *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago, 1929-1950* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 163; Mayer (1993) 395; Dzuback (1991) 232.
19. Ashmore (1989) 308-10.
20. Mayer (1993) 396-403; Dwight Macdonald, *The Ford Foundation: The Men and the Millions* (New York: Reynal, 1956 [New Yorker Magazine, Inc., 1955]) 151. [See Macdonald, "Profile," *New Yorker* (7 Dec. 1955).]
21. Mayer (1993) 396. [See Ashmore (1989) 323.]
22. Macdonald (1956) 4. [See Dzuback (1991) 232.]
23. Dzuback (1991) 238. [See Dennis C. Buss, "The Ford Foundation and Public Education: Emergent Patterns," in Robert F. Arnove, ed., *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980) 331-62.]
24. Hutchins, letter to "Mother and Father" (19 Jan. 1952), quoted in Dzuback (1991) 234.
25. Ashmore (1989) 314, 319; Dzuback (1991) 236.
26. Clarence Faust, oral history, Ford Foundation Archives, quoted in Ashmore (1989) 319.
27. "Ford Foundation Annual Report for 1952" (New York, 31 Dec. 1952) 36. [See Macdonald (1956) 44; Ashmore (1989) 319-20.]
28. Macdonald (1956) 54-5.
29. 1952 Ford Foundation Report, 25.
30. *Ibid.*, 35-6.
31. *Ibid.*, 36.
32. "Ford Foundation Annual Report for 1953" (New York, 31 Dec. 1953) 55.
33. 1952 Ford Foundation Report, 36; 1953 Ford Foundation Report, 11, 15, 19. [See Macdonald (1956) 52.]
34. Dzuback (1991) 237-8.
35. 1952 Ford Foundation Report, 36, 55. [See Macdonald (1956) 53.]
36. 1953 Ford Foundation Report, 53.
37. Macdonald (1956) 56-8. [See Mayer (1993) 406.]
38. *Ibid.*, 163; 1953 Ford Foundation Report, 18.
39. Ashmore (1989) 348-9.
40. 1952 Ford Foundation Report, 36; 1953 Ford Foundation Report, 11, 15, 19.
41. Ashmore (1989) 322.
42. Dzuback (1991) 228-9.
43. Macdonald (1956) 152-3.
44. Ashmore (1989) 323-4, 328, 362. [See Mayer (1993) 448.]
45. Dzuback (1991) 241.
46. Macdonald (1956) 152. [See Mayer (1993) 419.]

47. W.H. Ferry, oral history, Ford Foundation Archives, quoted in Ashmore (1989) 326-7.
48. 1953 Ford Foundation Report, i.
49. Mayer (1993) 238.
50. Ashmore (1989) 300-1, 325.
51. Dzuback (1991) 238.
52. Mayer (1993) 425; Ashmore (1989) 335.
53. Thomas C. Reeves, *Freedom and the Foundation: The Fund for the Republic in the Era of McCarthyism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969) 13, 25, 63, 80-1, 98-9; Gorton Carruth, *What Happened When: A Chronology of Life & Events in America* (New York: Signet, 1991) 848-50; Mayer (1993) 419-21.
54. Mayer (1993) 421, 427.
55. Carruth (1991) 848-51.
56. Macdonald (1956) 70.
57. Harry S. Ashmore, "...The Only One There Is," *The Center Magazine* (Nov./Dec. 1984) 35.
58. Reeves (1969) 133-4. [See James Real, "Meanwhile, Back on Mt. Olympus: A Short History of The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions," *Los Angeles Times WEST Magazine* (5 Oct. 1969) 12.]
59. Mayer (1993) 439, 404-6, 453; Ashmore (1989) 332, 347, 372; Reeves (1969) 193.
60. Macdonald (1956) 74-5; Mayer (1993) 439.
61. Ashmore (1989) 344-5, 418.
62. Macdonald (1956) 72.
63. Dzuback (1991) 248. [See Ashmore (1984) 35.]
64. Reeves (1969) 189; Mayer (1993) 443; Ashmore (1989) 364.
65. Mayer (1993) 450-1.
66. John Fischer, "The Perils of Publishing: How to Tell When You Are Being Corrupted," *Harper's* (May 1968). [See Mayer (1993) 451-2.]
67. Mayer (1993) 443-4; Ashmore (1989) 360.
68. Macdonald (1956) 77-8.
69. Real (1969) 10.
70. Reeves (1969) 183, 193.
71. Mayer (1993) 446.
72. Ashmore (1989) 360-1.
73. Mayer (1993) 450.
74. Reeves (1969) 183, 193. [See Dzuback (1991) 246.]
75. Dzuback (1991) 231, 246.
76. Real (1969) 10.
77. Ashmore (1984) 35-6; Ashmore (1989) 384, 387; Dzuback (1991) 249-52; Real (1969) 12.
78. Ashmore (1984) 35; Ashmore (1989) 387; Mayer (1993) 466-7; Dzuback (1991) 249-52.
79. Real (1969) 10.
80. Adler, quoted in Reeves (1969) 273-5. [See Mayer (1993) 466-7; Real (1969) 10.]

81. Dzuback (1991) 248. [See Harold Ravitch, "Robert Maynard Hutchins: Philosopher of Education," doctoral thesis (University of Southern California, 1980), an exploration of the transition from metaphysics to politics in Hutchins' thinking from 1936 to the 1950s.]
82. Ashmore (1989) 390.
83. Ashmore (1984) 36.
84. Ashmore (1989) 386.
85. Mayer (1993) 460-1. [See McArthur (1987) 14; Harris (1970) 159; Real (1969) 9.]
86. Clark Kerr, interview by Gonders (Jul. 1994).
87. Real (1969) 16.
88. Ashmore (1984) 36; Dzuback (1991) 256-7.
89. John Didion and Gregory Dunn, "California Dreaming," *Saturday Evening Post* (21 Oct. 1967) 26; Ashmore (1989) 410-11, 415.
90. Mayer (1993) 472-3, 483, 487, 491. [See Ashmore (1984) 37; Dzuback (1991) 268.]
91. Ashmore (1989) 410-2.
92. Mayer (1993) 489, 491-2. [See Dzuback (1991) 268.]
93. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Mind Is Its Own Place: A mind not to be changed by place or time," *The Center Magazine* (Mar./Apr. 1968), reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977) 62-3, reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Nov./Dec. 1984) 16-9.
94. Ashmore (1989) 394, 408-9.
95. W.H. Ferry, "Robert Hutchins' Platonic Grove," *The Nation* (30 Jan. 1988). [See Ashmore (1989) 395.]
96. Ashmore (1989) 394-6; Mayer (1993) 471-2; Dzuback (1991) 261.
97. Mayer (1993) 472.
98. Real (1969) 9.
99. Dzuback (1991) 263-6, 272.
100. Mayer (1993) 480-1; Ashmore (1984) 39.
101. Real (1969) 13; Carruth (1991) 900-2.
102. Carruth (1991) 909-11.
103. Ashmore (1984) 37; Ashmore (1989) 420-1.
104. John K. Jessup, *Life* (5 Mar. 1965), quoted in Ashmore (1989) 433-4.
105. Ashmore (1989) 433-4.
106. Ashmore (1984) 39; Ashmore (1989) 432-5; Mayer (1993) 481-2.
107. Mayer (1993) 484. [See Ashmore (1989) 437.]
108. Harry S. Ashmore and William C. Baggs, *Mission to Hanoi: A Chronicle of Double-dealing in High Places* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1968); Ashmore (1989) 436; Mayer (1993) 481; Carruth (1991) 946, 948.
109. Ashmore (1984) 39; Ashmore (1989) 453-8; Ashmore and Baggs (1968); Real (1969) 13.
110. Ashmore (1984) 39.
111. Real (1969) 13. [See Ashmore (1989) 453-8; Ashmore (1984) 40.]
112. Hutchins, "The Mind..." (1968) 16.
113. Ashmore (1984) 38-9.

114. Mayer (1993) 493.
115. Ashmore (1984) 39.
116. Ibid.
117. Ashmore (1984) 39; Real (1969) 15; Mayer (1993) 487; Dzuback (1991) 267-8.
118. Ashmore (1984) 39; Ashmore (1989) 473; Real (1969) 14-5; Mayer (1993) 487.
119. Mayer (1993) 488-9; Ashmore (1984) 39, 41.
120. Hutchins, memo to The Center staff (9 Oct. 1969), quoted in Ashmore (1989) 479.
121. Mayer (1993) 496, 503-4; Ashmore (1989) 479-81.
122. Kerr (1994 interview); Mayer (1993) 494.
123. Ashmore (1989) 503; Ashmore (1984) 41; Mayer (1993) 494.
124. Ashmore (1989) 526-7; Ashmore (1984) 41; Dzuback (1991) 259, 269-70; Mayer (1993) 494-5.
125. Ashmore (1984) 41-2.
126. Mayer (1993) 504. [See Ashmore (1989) 526-7.]
127. Ashmore (1984) 42.
128. Donald McDonald, editorial on the death of Hutchins, *The Center Magazine* (Jul. / Aug. 1977) 1.
129. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Intellectual Community," *The Center Magazine* (Jan. / Feb. 1977).
130. Harry S. Ashmore, new introduction to *The Higher Learning in America*, by Hutchins (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994 [New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1936].)

CHAPTER VIII

ANALYSIS: SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS

Robert Hutchins' education philosophy and his press philosophy can be defined in terms of the influences and provisions of each, but an examination of the similarities between his two bodies of work provides deeper understanding of his philosophical mindset and therefore of the philosophical foundation upon which social responsibility theory is built. He valued order above all else, and because he harbored a pessimistic view about man in his "fallen state," he repeatedly looked to socialistic authoritarianism to ensure justice and to provide guidance. Findings thus reveal a recurring pattern of four themes in Hutchins' reasoning: (1) an intolerance of disorder, particularly as manifest in splintered goals, empirical uncertainty, unpredictable diversity, and the "chaos of freedom"; (2) a distrust of freedom and the acquisitiveness and incoherence he saw as attendant to unbridled liberty; (3) socialistic authoritarianism as a means to guard against the injustice and disorder of "negative freedom"; and (4) the impracticalities of abstract theorizing absent of real-life considerations.

Hutchins' abiding conviction was that the world is arranged in an orderly fashion with everything connected to everything else in a hierarchy of fixed Truth to be found in the philosophy of metaphysics. Hutchins' search for order, driven by that conviction, led in logical progression to a call for worldwide socialistic democracy wherein the ultimate objective of all endeavors would be classical liberal arts education in the Great Books. His logic was, however, flawed by the impracticalities of monocultural elitist assumptions about a diverse and

unpredictable world. He believed that the universe is ordered by fixed Truth; that Truth is to be found in the wisdom of the “permanent studies” of liberal arts; that liberal arts study provides the mental discipline to equip people to become rational and responsible citizens; that such a citizenry, when freed from the distractions of competitive practical demands, can create a rational and just democracy; and that only through such a single world democracy can justice and order thrive. Thus, Hutchins believed that the highest aspiration for each individual and each institution worldwide should be the educating of a responsible “leisure class” of citizens in the liberal arts of the Western culture, thereby providing some hope for the creation of a just and orderly rational community.¹

The rational community that Hutchins envisioned was grounded in the philosophy of ancient Greece. He sought an Aristotelian community of the intellectually enlightened in which Platonic philosopher-kings would lead the Great Socratic Conversation of a leisure class undefiled by practical exigencies. He believed a global Aristotelian community could be built within the parameters of a single world government if all people received a common grounding in the culture of Western heritage. Although he believed all people to be capable of rational thought if properly educated, he viewed human nature as self-serving and lethargic. It was therefore not enough to provide education and freedom from oppression. People also needed the means to pursue intellectual development. He believed all people could be free to pursue the Great Conversation if the best minds “clarified” the “basic issues” and provided for each man according to need, thereby guiding and freeing men from the practical pressures and acquisitiveness of survival. “He could not conceive of anyone strengthening his highest powers without the prosperity, peace, and justice,” Harris (1970) notes, “that only that final arbiter of force, the state, can provide.”²

Justice William Brandeis (1927) wrote that the founding fathers “did not exalt order at the cost of liberty.”³ Hutchins, on the other hand, valued order above all else. He did not fear that a strong state would destroy the individual. In fact, he thought a truly democratic state should help citizens to develop intellectual powers. He dismissed the Spencerian belief that the government which governs least governs best, declaring instead that “government is best which governs best.”⁴

The education philosophy of Hutchins

The Hutchins Plan for education was influenced by Socratic discussion, Platonic authoritarianism, and the Aristotelian intellectual community.⁵ Through the influence of Mortimer Adler, Hutchins sought the coherence of medieval universities through the ordering principles of metaphysics, particularly as enunciated by St. Thomas Aquinas.⁶ Hutchins disdained German influences on the university, particularly the emphasis placed on the suspended judgment of Newtonian empiricism.⁷ However, he approved of the prescribed liberal arts curriculum of the Oxbridge model that dominated American higher education from colonial days to the mid- 19th century.⁸ He was in accord with the Yale Report of 1828 that stated the case for the classical curriculum.⁹ Hutchins agreed with the Thomist construction of a unified program of university study proposed by Cardinal Newman in the middle of the 19th century.¹⁰ However, he denigrated the elective system that Charles William Eliot established at Harvard late in the 19th century, as well as Eliot's accommodation to popular demands.¹¹ Hutchins borrowed Thorstein Veblen's book title, *The Higher Learning in America*, and he agreed with Veblen that the intrusion of business distracts universities from the pursuit of knowledge.¹² However, he disagreed with the emphasis that

Veblen, Daniel Coit Gilman and Abraham Flexner placed on graduate research.¹³ He agreed with Flexner and Irving Babbitt that the university should focus on its primary mission; and he agreed with Babbitt and Abbott Lawrence Lowell that the mission should be the transmission of the culture of Western heritage through the classical liberal arts curriculum.¹⁴ In the survey course movement pioneered by Alexander Meiklejohn and the Great Books movement pioneered by George Edward Woodberry and John Erskine, Hutchins found a means of solving the problem of incoherency and disorder that he perceived in higher education.¹⁵

The Hutchins Plan was never completely implemented. It called for a 6-4-4 system, six years of elementary school and four years of secondary school followed by four years of general education to begin after the 10th grade. Everyone would spend four years in Socratic discussion of the Great Books of Western culture. Knowledge would be arranged in a hierarchy ruled by metaphysics. Year-long interdisciplinary survey courses would be prescribed and uniform for all students, without grades or compulsory attendance. All of the faculty would be generalists, leading the discussions from uniform syllabi. The faculty would be unranked and untenured, each paid according to need. All outside income would be turned over to the community for equitable distribution. Completely autonomous from any departments, the general education faculty would grant the bachelor's degree for successful completion of comprehensive examinations at the end of the program. After passing the examinations, everyone would continue the Great Conversation in adult study groups. Those capable of advancing could enter a professional school or a vocational-technical school independent of the university. The university would provide graduate studies in the pure academic disciplines.

The press philosophy of Hutchins

Hutchins rejected the optimistic view of human nature embraced by such libertarians as John Milton, Thomas Jefferson and John Mill, as well as by pragmatists like William James, John Dewey, George Herbert Mead and Charles Sanders Peirce. The Hutchins Commission's assessment of the press was instead influenced by the pessimistic view of human nature and the "positive liberty" interpretation of the First Amendment that Walter Lippmann, Reinhold Niebuhr and Zechariah Chafee advocated.¹⁶

The Commission called for the press to convey the culture and educate the public in order to create a harmonious community of responsible citizens. To fulfill its mission, the press should provide: (1) "a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning"; (2) "a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism"; (3) "the projection of a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society"; (4) "the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society"; and (5) "full access to the day's intelligence."¹⁷ To assure fulfillment of press responsibilities, the Commission argued that journalists need "the broadest and most liberal education," as well as an independent agency to assess press performance. The Commission concluded that failure to self-regulate will lead to establishment of a government agency to force fulfillment of responsibilities.¹⁸

Similarities between his education and press philosophies

In many aspects, there are similarities between Hutchins' proposals for higher education and his proposals for the press. His philosophical agenda was based on a call to "educate" or indoctrinate the masses into a monocultural

community, bonded in a common grounding of Western heritage. For higher education, Hutchins translated that mission as a responsibility for a common grounding in the dominant culture through a study of the Great Books of the Western World without regard to market motives that he termed the “love of money.” For the press, Hutchins translated that mission as a responsibility to meet the needs of society neglected by higher education without regard to market motives that he termed the “commercial impulse.” Because he believed that pressure groups hindered the development of a true democracy in America, Harris (1970) notes, “he did not identify contemporary majority rule with the real interests of all the people.”¹⁹ Hutchins believed that both higher education and the press should be “guided” by the best minds to guard against uncertainty and disorder, regardless of the practical demands of the populace. In both cases, the goal was to change a lethargic populace into good citizens.

Findings reveal four broad categories into which the traits that define Hutchins' philosophy can be placed: (1) intolerance of disorder, (2) distrust of freedom, (3) socialistic authoritarianism, and (4) impracticality. Moreover, those shared traits define the concept of social responsibility in terms of Hutchins' philosophical mindset.

(1) Intolerance of disorder

Hutchins looked to the philosophical wisdom of the ages to provide order in education, and he looked to liberal arts education to provide order in society. To cure the disorder that he perceived in the American system of education that serves multiple constituencies, he proposed a fully prescribed curriculum with a common grounding in the classical liberal arts. To cure the disorder he perceived in a globe of diverse cultures, he proposed a system of world government with universal grounding in the liberal arts of Western culture. And to cure the

disorder that he perceived in the American free press system, he suggested that regulation might be necessary to assure adherence to the media's responsibility for educating the citizenry. In each of these areas, Hutchins' intolerance of disorder was manifest in disdain for: (a) multiple goals, (b) uncertainty and (c) diversity, as well as (d) distrust of freedom.

(a) The disorder of multiple goals seemed self-evident to Hutchins. He could not conceive how institutions of learning could effectively provide more than one program of study. Hutchins believed that universities should focus on the intrinsically motivated values of liberal education because that is a vital service they are uniquely equipped to perform; they should not be concerned with vocational training because that is a service that not only diverts universities from their appropriate mission, but can better be provided by other organizations.²⁰ McArthur (1987) concludes that Hutchins' plan "to bring order and singleness of purpose to a multifarious system could only find rejection" because "competing educational goals created institutions that sought several ends simultaneously."²¹

(b) The disorder of uncertainty perplexed Hutchins and led him to denounce the notion of suspended judgment inherent in both empiricism and journalistic inquiry. He referred to "the chaos that we mistake for liberty" and "the noise and confusion of clashing opinions."²² He saw uncertainty in the empirical search for evolving truths, insisting instead that fixed and enduring Truth rule the university; he saw uncertainty in the elective system of education, insisting instead that the only proper education is in the fixed and enduring Truth of classical liberal arts; he saw uncertainty in the fleeting elements of vocationalism, insisting that only the "permanent studies" of classical liberal arts should make up the higher education curriculum; he saw uncertainty in the unbridled freedom of a democracy that allows lethargy and apathy, insisting

instead that universal education in the liberal arts would transform the lethargic and apathetic into responsible citizens; and he saw uncertainty among conflicting sovereignties, insisting instead that world government and universal grounding in the liberal arts provide civilization's only hope for survival.

(c) The disorder of diversity troubled Hutchins in its lack of harmony and predictability. He sought instead a grounding in liberal arts that would provide all people with a common language and a common world view, thus establishing a foundation on which the Great Conversation could be developed worldwide.

In "American Victorianism as a Culture" (1975), Daniel Walker Howe explains how the "American gentry" of the late 19th century and early 20th century tried to order the cultural and social norms through education:

These people were trying, very self-consciously, to humanize the emergent industrial-capitalist order by infusing it with a measure of social responsibility, strict personal morality, and respect for cultural standards. They thought of themselves as preserving certain patrician values while democratizing their application.²³

Although the demise of Victorianism may be marked by the development of the Chicago School, the emergence of pragmatism, and the work of John Dewey in the decades on each side of the turn of the century, Fred Blevens (1994) contends that the Hutchins' "calculus sought regression toward the cultural mean, an equation designed to exert very genteel social control in a culture trampled by immigration, industrialization and mass democracy."²⁴

In the midst of multicultural diversity, exemplified nowhere more dramatically than in Chicago, New York City and Southern California, the three places where Hutchins worked for 47 years, he sought a convergence of viewpoints through establishment of a common culture and common values. Joseph Duffey (1981), a supporter of Hutchins and a Center participant, notes a flaw in his formula for creating the Great Conversation. Although Duffey

believes the “tremendous need and function of a common culture . . . is something to which a government and a people must give their attention,” he argues that “education and understanding do not guarantee even the most minimal unity.”²⁵

(d) The disorder of freedom is a concept Hutchins described as “chaos” and “anarchy.” Like the diversity in which it must function, freedom lacks harmony and predictability. Because of his need for order, therefore, many of Hutchins' comments reveal a distrust of freedom.²⁶

(2) Distrust of freedom

Hutchins' views of human nature, as Harris (1970) notes, “form the foundation for the positions he took on most other subjects.”²⁷ Hutchins believed everyone has the capacity to develop a rational intellect. Moreover, he believed that “the power of the intellect is uniform” regardless of time or place. Arguing that Americans had made freedom “an end in itself,” Hutchins believed that freedom should provide the means by which men could develop rational intellect.²⁸

In a 1973 interview by Milton Mayer, Hutchins said the American “economic, social and political order” is unjust “because men are unjust, and because the institutions we have created are unjust, and because the procedures that we follow are unjust.” He said he didn't know whether or not justice was possible under capitalism because “we cannot assume that injustice will ever be completely wiped out as long as men remain in their fallen condition.”²⁹

Hutchins insisted that all men are capable of rationality if properly educated and guided. Believing in that “fallen condition” as he did, however, Hutchins thought men's natural tendencies were self-serving and lethargic rather than rational. Because men are self-serving, Hutchins concluded, they are driven

by the "love of money." And because they are lethargic, they will not be responsible citizens unless they are "freed" from the opportunity to be irresponsible. This is the fundamental difference between the absence of intervention in libertarian negative freedom and the "positive interference" attendant to the positive freedom of the social responsibility theory. To Hutchins, the prevailing concept of negative freedom leads to acquisitiveness and incoherence.

Acquisitiveness is a tendency Hutchins considered natural in man's "fallen condition," and he saw it reflected in the tension between market and mission in both education and the press. He insisted that education policies must be determined apart from demands external to the university, and he believed the media should create programming in the public interest that might not promise immediate profit.³⁰

To dismiss practical needs in the abstract may have been relatively easy when Hutchins lived in opulence. From his unpretentious but high-brow upbringing, Hutchins slipped easily into the elite levels of business, society and politics. Despite his disdain for personal wealth, "the rich were always thrusting things on him," Mayer recalls, "from summer houses to cars to, in Benton's case, great amounts of money for limited services to the Britannica operations. Still he was always heavily in debt, living not so much sumptuously as carelessly," with "unself-conscious snobbery."³¹ The deficit at the University of Chicago ran some \$1.2 million per year during his 21-year administration, he had access to \$3 billion and disbursed more than \$500 million at the Ford Foundation, he spent \$11 million in four years at the Fund for the Republic, and the cost of Center operations and convocations cost close to \$30 million over 18 years. All told, not counting his own salary and the lavish gifts he received, Hutchins spent close to \$600 million, or an average of about \$13 million per year from 1930 to 1977,

trying to sell his proposals.

Incoherence was to Hutchins the logical progression from acquisitiveness. Organizations driven by the “love of money” would try to cater to popular demands, and a splintered effort to satisfy a diversity of goals would eliminate the coherence of a focused mission. Libertarianism embraces the notion of a free marketplace of ideas wherein man is capable of self-determination; it is therefore decidedly Aristotelian in emphasizing human rationality. Although Hutchins was a self-proclaimed disciple of both Aristotle and rationality, he could not tolerate libertarianism because of the disorder he perceived in liberty.³²

Hutchins saw the disorder of unfettered inquiry as an obstacle to an ordered hierarchy of knowledge based on fixed Truth, and he saw the disorder of an unbridled press as an obstacle to an ordered transmission of the culture that makes up the body of knowledge. Hutchins insisted on a universal, timeless hierarchy of Truth; he thought the uneducated masses incapable of rational discretion, but he never identified who should fix the canon that could properly educate them. Likewise, he insisted that the press has a social responsibility to transmit Truth; he thought the uneducated of the journalism trade incapable of rational discretion because they lacked a grounding in liberal education; he thought they should be educated in the liberal arts rather than merely trained in the “tricks of the trade,” but he never identified who should judge the needs of society or the degree to which the press was meeting those needs. He said he didn't think government should interfere with the press, but he said it would if the press did not satisfy the ill-defined duties of “social responsibility.”

(3) Socialistic authoritarianism

As early as 1932, Hutchins endorsed socialist candidates and programs. In the 1940s, he informed faculty and trustees that “the whole scale of values by

which our society lives" must be "reversed." He said professors should be paid according to need, and they should turn all outside income over to the University for equitable distribution. He faulted capitalistic market motives in higher education for the "love of money" and in the press for the "commercial impulse."³³ Although findings indicate that the early critics of the Hutchins Commission Report were unaware of Hutchins' socialistic notions, many interpreted the Report's implications as a call for government regulation of the press. Although the Report explicitly denied any such implication, findings confirm that Hutchins valued the order of authoritarian regulation over the unpredictability of self-determination.

Implications of possible government involvement in the press system "antagonized" many editors and publishers, Merrill and Odell (1983) note.³⁴ "Perhaps what bothered the media the most," Black and Whitney (1988) argue, "was the shift in liberty being suggested."³⁵ With the shift from negative liberty, or freedom from restraint, to positive liberty, or freedom to pursue goals, Vivian (1991) asserts, "the Hutchins Commission was opening the way for the government to intrude in newsroom and other decisions." Moreover, Vivian argues that free speech is in jeopardy when "government or anybody else, including a private group of eggheads under Robert Hutchins' direction," try to "prescribe what the press should do."³⁶ Dominick (1983) concludes that "no one has successfully determined how to ensure that a free press will serve society without some sort of regulation."³⁷

The First Amendment reads: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." The Constitution thus explicitly prohibits abridgement of press freedom; nevertheless, in a 1974 interview with Center Fellow Harvey Wheeler, Hutchins said the First Amendment "does not have to be regarded solely as forbidding restrictions on the freedom of the press."

Moreover, although the First Amendment makes no such mention, Hutchins added, "It can also be thought of as promoting and protecting freedom of discussion." He concluded that government should be responsible for assuring the education and development of responsible citizens:

But if Congress were willing to say . . . that the primary responsibility of government has to do with the virtue and intelligence of the people, and if it made up its mind to see what it could do about education at all levels, we would have a far different situation. . . . Once the idea is really accepted that the primary responsibility of the government is to help the people become better citizens, then all of us will be able to think up a lot of devices to that end.³⁸

In that interview, Hutchins further suggested a positive interpretation of academic freedom under the First Amendment through government-enforced national education.³⁹ Given his socialistic leanings, his disdain for the Constitution is not surprising; and given his disdain for the Constitution, his inclination to alter the the meaning of the First Amendment is not surprising.

Disdain for the Constitution was revealed by Hutchins when he termed it "archaic," "primitive" and "nonapplicable." The Constitution was written as a framework for government, not as a guide for specific day-to-day problems. However, the man who insisted that practical considerations had no place in university curriculum, that the press should not succumb to popular demands, faulted the Constitution because it does not consider "contemporary problems."

When Hutchins addressed the "Nation's Law Schools" in 1966, he said the Constitution is "primitive":

The Constitution of the United States says nothing in regard to issues about which Americans are most concerned today. It does not mention technology, bureaucracy, education, cities, planning, civil disobedience, political parties, corporations, labor unions, or the organization of the world. It does not contemplate the conquest of the moon. And its references to communication, like its conception of the common defense, are, in the light of our present and impending experience, primitive in the extreme.⁴⁰

In 1968, when Hutchins reiterated his charge that the Constitution is “primitive,” he exaggerated current conditions, and he revealed a pervasive cynicism. He also cited Thomas Jefferson, a man he had denigrated since 1934:

Thomas Jefferson based his hopes for American democracy on the proposition that we would not live in cities, that we would all be self-employed, that we would be so well-educated that we could meet any new difficulties, and that we would be trained in civic virtue through local government. Now we live in cities, we are all employed by others, our educational system is partly custodial and partly technical, thus unfitting us to meet new difficulties, and anybody who connected civic virtue with local government would be sent to a psychiatrist. . . . Few, if any, of the subjects that concern us most today are even referred to in the Constitution of the United States. Its remarks . . . are primitive in the extreme.⁴³

In 1974, Hutchins again exaggerated when he said “there isn't anything of importance to us today that is mentioned in the Constitution”:

We have a highly sketchy Constitution that was drawn up for an agricultural society of three or four million people. The problems with which the Constitution dealt are not the problems we have today. . . . Cities are not mentioned in the Constitution. Corporations and labor unions are not mentioned. I can't think of a single problem that agitates us now that was present in the minds of the framers with the possible exception of the freedom of the press, and even that is an entirely different form today.⁴²

Hutchins wrote an article entitled “Is Democracy Possible?” for the *Saturday Review* in 1959. He reused the title in 1976 for an essay in which he posited that “the founding fathers meant us to learn.” As with all issues, Hutchins saw education as the primary objective:

They meant us to learn to form a more perfect union. . . . They founded a political community; a community learning together to discover and achieve the common good, the elements of which they set forth, but did not elucidate, in the Preamble. The reliance on us to continue learning is evident in every line of the Constitution and in the brevity of the whole. . . . The Constitution is to be interpreted, therefore, as a charter of learning. We are to learn how to develop the seeds the fathers planted under the conditions of our own time.⁴³

Hutchins found intolerable the “confusion,” “disorder,” “anarchy” and

“chaos” of both unfettered “negative liberty” and the empirical search for evolving truths. Other observers, as early as Gideonse (1937) and as recently as Carnochan (1993), view these conditions as the inevitable and desirable consequences of the competition of ideas at the essence of a democracy.⁴⁴

The intellectual community Hutchins sought at the University of Chicago, and ultimately for the entire planet, was no more than a puppet democracy. Intellectually capable men should “clarify” the “basic issues” for the masses. Each individual's financial needs should be met by the community, and all other income should be turned over to the authority for equitable distribution. That kind of thinking, markedly at variance with the American spirit, is consistent with the criticism Hutchins levied against the United States Constitution. Given such disdain for the Constitution, and given his distrust of freedom, Hutchins held little regard for the First Amendment, at least for a literal interpretation of it.

Changing the First Amendment is the essence of the “positive interpretation” favored by the Hutchins Commission. James Madison's original recommendation provided not only that “the people shall not be deprived or abridged of their right to speak, to write, or to publish their sentiments; and the freedom of the press as one of the great bulwarks of liberty shall be inviolable,” but also that “no state shall violate equal rights of conscience, or the freedom of the press.”⁴⁵ After compromising on the language, the founding fathers approved the following wording:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

The range of interpretations of the First Amendment can be grouped into four broad categories: (a) absolute prohibition against interference before or after publication, (b) power of prohibition granted to the states rather than Congress,

(c) prohibition against interference with limited exceptions, and (d) positive interference to ensure the rights and responsibilities of free speech.

Adherents to the first two categories are few, and both interpretations have been repudiated by scholars and the courts. Powers not mentioned in the Constitution, such as control over education, were delegated to the states, but there is no indication that the founding fathers intended for the states to intrude on such rights as that of free speech which they explicitly protected. Moreover, the due process clause of the 14th Amendment requires states to observe the same restraints that the First Amendment imposes on the federal government, and the courts often use the term "First Amendment rights" regardless of whether state or federal action is being challenged.⁴⁶

Some First Amendment absolutists believe that all forms of media should be totally unregulated and free from liability. However, the courts have ruled that the press is subject to the laws governing all citizens for such offenses as libel, slander, invasion of privacy and sedition. In addition, the "clear and present danger" doctrine enunciated by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1919 legitimized prior restraint under such extreme circumstances as war.⁴⁷ "Only an emergency can justify repression," Justice William Brandeis warned in 1927, adding that "no danger flowing from speech can be deemed clear and present, unless the incidence of the evil apprehended is so imminent that it may befall before there is opportunity for full discussion."⁴⁸

The majority of legal scholars interpret the First Amendment literally as a prohibition, with limited exceptions, against government interference.⁴⁹ Shortly after release of the Hutchins Commission Report, Alexander Meiklejohn (1948) argued that the First Amendment is "an absolute, unqualified prohibition" against interference with the press. "What is essential," Meiklejohn posited, "is not that everyone shall speak, but that everything worth saying shall be said."⁵⁰

Meiklejohn, a contemporary of Hutchins, was disappointed by his exclusion from the Commission on Freedom of the Press.⁵¹ If he had been included, his optimistic view of human nature and his literal interpretation of the First Amendment would have differed sharply from the views of Hutchins, Chafee and Niebuhr, who carried the day with their pessimistic view of human nature and their “positive liberty” interpretation of the First Amendment.

Those who advocate direct regulation of media by a government agency or commission base their arguments on mass society theory and/or propaganda theory, according to Baran and Davis (1995). Those influenced by mass society theory object to “trivialization” of what they consider to be “important moral values,” and they are troubled by “the power of media content to undermine high culture.” Those influenced by propaganda theory believe that the threat posed by propaganda is so great that highly trained “wise persons” should gather and disseminate information that will “serve socially valuable purposes.”⁵² Both arguments can find support in the views of Hutchins.

In explaining the reasoning behind the social responsibility theory of the Hutchins Commission in *Four Theories of the Press* (1956), Theodore Peterson notes that “the Commission thinks it questionable that press performance can be left to unregulated initiative alone,” but the Report called for responsible behavior on the part of both the press and the individual without addressing the issue of unregulated individual initiative. Apparently rejecting the likelihood that some people will always be interested in philosophy, others in politics, in intellectual pursuits, in physical pleasures, and that some people will not be interested in any of them, the Commission Report specifically states that the citizen is no longer morally free not to read or not to listen. The government “should not act with a heavy hand,” Peterson cautions. “The government should intervene only when the need is great and the stakes are high.” The Commission

did not define where the line should be drawn, and Peterson warned, "Any agency capable of promoting freedom is also capable of destroying it."⁵³ Moreover, the Commission approved of positive intervention to ensure First Amendment rights to free speech, but it did not mention the possibility of positive intervention to ensure the First Amendment rights to religious practice or political assembly.

Hutchins, like his chief adviser, Mortimer Adler, functioned in the abstract without addressing practical considerations. He said everyone should study the Great Books, but he did not identify how the canon should be fixed. He called for universal grounding in Western culture, but he did not consider the influence of other cultures or the limitations of literacy. He said everyone should be "free" to enjoy the privileges of the leisure class and everyone should pursue intellectual growth apart from practical demands, but he did not specify how everyone could be at leisure with nobody working. He sought order in a world of diversity, and he sought certainty in an unpredictable environment.

(4) Impracticality

In practical terms, Hutchins was not qualified for most of the positions he held. Instead of considering different and more practical views to offset his deficiencies, he repeatedly gathered like-minded intellectuals who would support his dogmatic abstractions. And, in the absence of practical considerations or opposing viewpoints, he remained at odds with the ethos of both academe and the press.

Hutchins was unqualified in terms of the expected credentials for many of the positions to which he was appointed. He was given an honorary master's degree at Yale so he could teach courses in which he had no interest or experience, and he received a compromise appointment as dean of the Yale Law

School before he had passed the bar examination.⁵⁴ Dwight Macdonald (1956) tells the story that Flexner offered Hutchins a \$10,000 Rockefeller grant so he could take a sabbatical to read and deepen his wisdom. A few years later, Hutchins became president of the University of Chicago. "If I'd taken your ten thousand, I wouldn't be president of the University," Hutchins allegedly told Flexner. "Maybe not," Flexner is said to have replied, "but you would have been prepared to be."⁵⁵

Hutchins received another compromise appointment when he was named president of the University of Chicago. He had never taught beyond the introductory level in any of the disciplines about which he was to make judgments, he held no advanced degree in the Arts and Sciences, and he was assuming the helm of a prominent research university without ever having conducted an empirical study.⁵⁶ That the University under Hutchins did not satisfy student needs and desires is reflected by the enrollment that continually declined under his administration and steadily increased after his departure.⁵⁷

At the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic, Hutchins displayed what Macdonald (1956) describes as "superficiality, arrogance, poor judgment about people, and a congenital lack of maturity both in understanding specific situations and in effectively dealing with them." Macdonald concludes that Hutchins was "the classic sophomore type, with all his vivid potentialities and his muted actualities."⁵⁸

Hutchins was also decidedly ill-equipped to analyze the press. He certainly had no operational knowledge of how to conduct research of any kind, he knew little about the practical demands on a working journalist, and he deliberately excluded journalists from the Commission.

Hutchins was dogmatic. He formed opinions based on untested assumptions, without regard to practical needs or opposing viewpoints. He

surrounded himself with like-minded men who would reinforce his convictions; in fact, they were usually much the same crew from one forum to the next. He also periodically purged each forum of confounding opposition.⁵⁹ T.V. Smith recalls that Hutchins, "incautious and arrogant" about his opinions, invariably surrounded himself with "a coterie of men" who were equally unwilling to admit their ignorance or fallibility.⁶⁰ The pattern began with noncollaborative appointments at the University of Chicago. Not satisfied with using presidential power to install his friends, Hutchins also wielded the appointment and promotion carrots to induce support for the Plan.

F. Champion Ward was dean of the College at Chicago, Ford Foundation vice-president for education and research, and chancellor and acting dean of the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research. As a member of the committee charged with selecting Hutchins' successor at Chicago, Ward asked Hutchins what personal traits the office required. After citing the usual virtues, according to Ward, Hutchins added, "and then he has to have a willful streak. He's got to say, 'It's going to be this way because I want it to be this way'."⁶¹

Each time Hutchins was presented with a new forum, he began by stacking the deck with like-minded men who would let him have it his way. "Hutchins led a group of other highly educated white men in drawing a canon of what Americans should read," Blevens (1994) notes, limited to "the works of still other white men." In the same manner, Blevens adds, "It was another panel of highly educated white men who drew up . . . the framework for ethics and the current social responsibility theory of the press."⁶²

When Hutchins founded the Center, "there was no effort to guarantee ideological balance" Ashmore (1984) recalls.⁶³ And later Hutchins guaranteed control, according to Dzuback (1991), "by eliminating those who differed with him."⁶⁴

Hutchins was at odds with the ethos of both academe and the press.

Tony Becher (1989), professor of education at the University of Sussex in England, defines a paradigm as the world views, value system and patterns of communication specific to a like group of people. What is valued by members of one paradigm differs from what is valued by people who think differently within another paradigm. It is impossible, Becher explains, for someone in a “hard” discipline, such as chemistry or physics, to fairly assess the work of someone in a “soft” discipline, such as language or literature.⁶⁵ Likewise, it is impossible for someone like Hutchins, in a “pure” discipline, such as philosophy or literature, to fairly assess the work of someone in an “applied” field, such as journalism or advertising. Because Hutchins could not see beyond the parameters of his own paradigm, and because his associates were primarily within that paradigm, Hutchins' proposals for academe were incompatible with the prevailing values and views of the university, and his proposals for the press were incompatible with the prevailing values and views of the media. Dzuback posits that Hutchins' proposals for academe “ran directly counter to the ethos and diversity of experience guiding the scholarly work and teaching of many of the faculty.”⁶⁶ If Hutchins had succeeded in implementing his Plan, Levine (1986) contends, “institutions of higher education would have ignored many of the changes in American economic and social life and scorned the new types of students attracted to the modern university.”⁶⁷

The Commission faulted the press for the “commercial impulse,” but Hutchins tried to buy editorial space in *Harper's* in 1968 in an effort to influence public opinion.⁶⁸ He wrote that the press should separate fact from opinion while at the same time placing news in meaningful context; he acknowledged that it was impossible to provide context without opinion. Because he dealt in the abstract, Hutchins ignored such details as who should determine the hierarchy of

knowledge, who should fix the canon of the Great Books, and who should determine at what point the press had crossed the responsibility line.⁶⁹

The philosophical foundation of social responsibility

Social responsibility of the press as defined by Hutchins' philosophy is an orderly system of educating a rational citizenry in the values of Western culture. It is based on untested and contradictory assumptions, and it relies on coercion, or at least the threat of coercion, to assure compliance.

The call for social responsibility is justified by what Lemert (1989) terms "untested assumptions about increased audience vulnerability."⁷⁰ Assumptions about audience vulnerability and skepticism about the the human capacity for rational self-determination contradict expectations of a responsible citizenry. Social responsibility "is a protective doctrine labeling humanity as lethargic," Black and Whitney (1988) note. Because some unspecified authority "is called upon to see that the lethargic populace is prodded and served," Black and Whitney conclude, social responsibility is "only a slightly disguised version of authoritarianism."⁷¹

Hutchins criticized the press for concentrations of power, but he thought the few great minds should lead the masses. He admonished the press to use only named sources, but he held the Commission hearings in secret and based the Report on anonymous sources. He called for media self-critiques, but he excluded the press from Commission deliberations. And he demanded that both individuals and the press be responsible in his terms, but he rejected the freedom of choice prerequisite to responsibility. Altschull (1990) asserts that journalists must be free to be either responsible or irresponsible. If forced to act under threat, they are not responsible for their behavior. "The one doing the threatening is

responsible," Altschull reasons.⁷² Moreover, Altschull (1984, 1990), Merrill and Odell (1983), and Black and Whitney (1988) all question whether it is possible for a press system to be irresponsible.

Individual members of the media may be unfair, unethical or even irresponsible. "In the eyes of individual persons in *any* society various media at times will perform what they see as irresponsible actions," Merrill and Odell (1983) argue, "for irresponsibility, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder."⁷³ However, Black and Whitney (1988) contend, press systems are "inherently" responsible to whatever social, economic and political system in which they operate.⁷⁴ In fact, all press systems endorse the concepts of responsibility and free expression; the concepts are just defined differently. In 1948, Andrei Vyshinsky described how free expression was assured in the Soviet State:

Freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of meetings, of street parades and of demonstrations, being natural and indispensable conditions precedent to the manifestation of freedom of thought and freedom of opinion, are among the most important political freedoms. . . . To make the press actually free it is necessary at the outset to take away from capital the possibility of hiring writers, buying printing houses, and bribing papers, to which end it is necessary to overthrow the yoke of capitalism. . . . The victory of the Socialist Revolution in the USSR, which transferred to the hands of the worker class, along with the basic means and instruments of production, buildings for meetings, printing houses, and stores of printing paper, meant the broad realization of freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and of meetings. For the first time in the world, these became genuine freedoms of the masses.⁷⁵

Positive liberty, Merrill and Odell assert, "is a limited view of freedom" and one that negates the possibility of a responsible free press. Merrill and Odell argue that a free press "is socially responsible for the very reasons that many critics call it irresponsible":

[It] contains maverick elements and dissident points of view; it contains units that seem to rock the proverbial boat and cause social dissention; it

has the freedom to take editorial actions not thought to be sound ones by various groups in the society. In short, a libertarian press is contentious, pluralistic, even mischievous It mirrors, or is compatible with, its society--a society which itself is contentious, pluralistic, controversial, outspoken, and mischievous.⁷⁶

The only way a free press system could be irresponsible would be to forfeit its freedom. "The truly free journalistic medium does not have to do *anything* to be free," Merrill and Odell conclude, "it is only necessary that it be unrestrained so that it can *choose* whether it wants to do anything or not."⁷⁷

Although almost all of Hutchins' proposals for education have been rejected because of their impracticality, naivete and narrowness of vision, he remains revered among educators for the questions he asked, questions that remain relevant today. On the other hand, his proposals for the press have become commonly accepted, despite the fact that they bear the same traits and are based on the same philosophical mindset as his proposals for education. They thus present additional questions that are relevant today. The final chapter considers these questions.

Notes

1. Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1936) 32, 66, 117.

2. Michael R. Harris, *Five Counterrevolutionists in Higher Education* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1970) 137.

3. William D. Brandeis, "Whitney v. California," concurring (1927), in Franklin, *The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate* (Mineola NY: Foundation Press, 1977) 76.

4. Robert M. Hutchins, "Is Democracy Possible?" *Saturday Review* (21 Feb. 1959) 8.

5. Philip Patterson and Lee Wilkins, *Media Ethics: Issues and Cases*, 2d ed. (Madison WI/Dubuque IA: Brown & Benchmark, 1994 [1991]) 6-7, 19, 137; Jay Black and Frederick C. Whitney, *Introduction to Mass Communication*, 2d ed. (Dubuque IA: William C. Brown, 1988) 7, 19; Charles U. Larson, *Persuasion: Reception and Responsibility*, 5th ed. (Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1989 [1973]) 57-8.

6. Melvin L. DeFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, *Theories of Mass Communication*, 5th ed. (New York: Longman, 1989) 242-3; Paul Westmeyer,

A History of American Higher Education (Springfield IL: Charles C Thomas, 1985) x-xii, 120.

7. Harris (1970) 25-6; DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) 242-3; Paul Westmeyer, *A History of American Higher Education* (Springfield IL: Charles C Thomas, 1985) xii-xiii.

8. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College & University: A History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990 [1962]) 3-11, 18-9, 27; Harris (1970) 26-7; Westmeyer (1985) 98.

9. Jeremiah Day and James L. Kingsley, *Yale Report of 1828*, in Conrad and Haworth, eds., *Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience* (Needham Heights MA: Ginn Press, ASHE Reader Series, 1990) 55; Rudolph (1990 [1962]) 130-1.

10. John Henry Cardinal Newman, *The Idea of the University* (Westminster MD: Christian Classics, 1873 [1852]); Carnochan, *The Battleground of the Curriculum: Liberal Education and American Experience* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1993) 40.

11. Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 3d ed. (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1982 [1972, 1963]) 34-5; Carnochan (1993) 10-5; Harris (1970) 29-30; Rudolph (1990 [1962]) 290-5; Westmeyer (1985) 76.

12. Thorstein Veblen, *Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men* (St. Louis/New York: Huebsch, 1918), reprinted in part in Hofstadter and Smith, eds., Vol. 2, *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961) 818-32; Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936).

13. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition, An American History: 1636-1956* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958) 182; Harris (1970) 30; Rudolph (1990 [1962]) 268-75, 349; Westmeyer (1985) 87-90.

14. David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration: 1915-1940* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1986) 102-3, 106, 110, 452-3; Laurence R. Veysey, "Stability and Experiment in the American Undergraduate Curriculum," in Conrad and Haworth, eds. (1990) 161-204; Harris (1970) 44, 49, 58-61, 73-6; Carnochan (1993) 63; Rudolph (1990 [1962]) 455, 462; Westmeyer (1985) 116.

15. George Edward Woodberry, *The Torch: Eight Lectures on Race Power in Literature Delivered Before the Lowell Institute of Boston MCMII* (New York: Macmillan, 1912 [1905]); John Erskine, *The Delight of Great Books* (Indianapolis IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1928); Erskine, *The Influence of Women and Its Cure* (Indianapolis IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1936); Carnochan (1993) 70, 79, 82-3, 94; Hofstadter and Smith (1961) 895-6; Harris (1970) 45-6; Rudolph (1990 [1962]) 477; Brubacher and Rudy (1958) 268, 896-903; Levine (1986) 96.

16. Reinhold Niebuhr, introduction to *Responsibility in Mass Communication*, by Schramm (New York: Harper, 1957); Niebuhr, *The Irony of Human History* (New York: Harper, 1962); Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Macmillan, 1922); Lippmann, *Essays in the Public Philosophy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1955); Donald L. Smith, "Zechariah Chafee Jr. and the Positive View of Press Freedom," *Journalism History* 5.3 (Aut. 1978) 86-92; J. Herbert Altschull,

From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism (New York: Longman, 1990) 235, 306-9; Daniel J. Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982) 103; Everett M. Rogers, *A History of Communication Study* (New York: Free Press, 1994) 234-5; Rudolph (1990 [1962]) 468-70; Levine (1986) 101; Hofstadter and Smith (1961) 949.

17. Robert M. Hutchins, ed., *A Free and Responsible Press: A General Report on Mass Communications--Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1947) vii, 4, 21-2, 25-9, 55-6, 93.

18. *Ibid.*, 80-1, 100-1.

19. Harris (1970) 153.

20. Robert M. Hutchins, *Freedom, Education, and the Fund* (New York, 1956) 117; Brubacher and Rudy (1958) 288; Harris (1970) 50-2; Levine (1986) 105.

21. Benjamin McArthur, "Revisiting Hutchins and *The Higher Learning in America*," *History of Higher Education Annual* (1987) 23.

22. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 119, 121.

23. Daniel Walker Howe, "American Victorianism as a Culture," *American Quarterly* (Dec. 1975) 507-32.

24. Fred Blevens, "The Rise and Fall of a Middle Brow: Robert M. Hutchins's Victorian Influence on High Culture and Low Journalism," a paper presented in the Qualitative Studies Division at the National Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Atlanta GA (10-13 Aug. 1994) 7.

25. Joseph Duffey, "A Thoreauvian Test of Hutchins' Faith in the Great Conversation," *The Center Magazine* (Jan./Feb. 1981) 6.

26. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 119, 121.

27. Harris (1970) 136-9.

28. Robert M. Hutchins, "Toward a Durable Society," *Fortune* 27 (1943) 201.

29. Milton Mayer (John H. Hicks, ed.), *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 335-6.

30. Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 159; Altschull (1990) 107; DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989) 138; Hutchins, *A Free and Responsible Press...* (1947) 93.

31. Mayer (1993) 259.

32. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning...* (1936) 119.

33. Harry S. Ashmore, *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989) 239-40, 247; William H. McNeill, *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago, 1929-1950* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 84; Dzuback (1991) 196-200; Mayer (1993) 326-9.

34. John C. Merrill and S. Jack Odell, *Philosophy and Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1983) 12.

35. Black and Whitney (1988) 597.

36. John Vivian, *The Media of Mass Communication* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1991) 338.

37. Joseph R. Dominick, *The Dynamics of Mass Communication* (Reading

MA: Addison-Wesley, 1983) 307.

38. Hutchins, interview by Harvey Wheeler, "The Constitution Under Strain: A Conversation about Watergate," *The Center Magazine* (Mar./Apr. 1974) 50-1.

39. *Ibid.*, 51.

40. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Nation's Law Schools: What we need is the liveliest kind of debate," dedication speech, Rutgers Law School, Camden (1966), *The Center Magazine* (Jul./Aug. 1986) 58.

41. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Mind Is Its Own Place: A mind not to be changed by place or time," *The Center Magazine* (Mar./Apr. 1968), reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977) 62-3, reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Nov./Dec. 1984) 16-9.

42. Wheeler (1974) 43.

43. Robert M. Hutchins, "Is Democracy Possible?" *The Center Magazine* (Jan./Feb. 1976), reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977) 66-7. [Also see Hutchins, "Is Democracy Possible?" *Saturday Review* (21 Feb. 1959) 8, 15-7, 58.]

44. Harry D. Gideonse, *The Higher Learning in a Democracy: A Reply to President Hutchins' Critique of the American University* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1937), in Hofstadter and Smith, Vol. 2 (1961) 941-8; Carnochan (1993) 90.

45. Edward G. Hudson, *Freedom of Speech and Press in America* (1963), in Franklin, (1977) 20.

46. Franklin (1977) 65; Altschull (1990) 120.

47. Altschull (1990) 120-1.

48. Brandeis (1927) in Franklin (1977) 76.

49. Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1987 [1983]) 114; Samuel L. Becker and Churchill L. Roberts, *Discovering Mass Communication*, 3d ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 1992) 425.

50. Alexander Meiklejohn, *Free Speech and Its Relation to Self-Government* (New York: Harper, 1948) 17, 25, reprinted in Franklin (1977) 79-81. [See Richard A. Schwarzlose, "The Marketplace of Ideas: A Measure of Free Expression," *Journalism Monographs* 118 (Dec. 1989) 12; Altschull (1990) 119.]

51. Mack Palmer, professor emeritus of journalism, University of Oklahoma, a series of discussions (Norman OK, 1993). [Palmer wrote his doctoral dissertation in the 1960s on Meiklejohn.]

52. Stanley J. Baran and Dennis K. Davis, *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future* (Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1955) 77-8.

53. Theodore Peterson, in Siebert, Peterson and Wilbur Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956) 99-101.

54. Mayer (1993) 51-2, 58-60.

55. Dwight Macdonald, *The Ford Foundation: The Men and the Millions* (New York: Reynal, 1956) [New Yorker Magazine, Inc., 1955] 78-9.

56. Dzuback (1991) 58, 71-2. [See Ashmore (1989) 60; McArthur (1987) 11.]

57. *Ibid.*, 139, 154-6, 285-7.

58. Macdonald (1956) 79-80.

59. Mayer (1993) 127; Dzuback (1991) 98; Ashmore (1989) 84.

60. Dzuback (1991) 204.
61. F. Champion Ward, "Requiem for the Hutchins College," in MacAloon, ed., *General Education in the Social Sciences: Centennial Reflections on the College of the University of Chicago* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 94-9.
62. Blevens (1994) 2.
63. Harry S. Ashmore, "...The Only One There Is," *The Center Magazine* (Nov./Dec. 1984) 40.
64. Dzuback (1991) 266. [See Mayer (1993) 468-9.]
65. Tony Becher, *Academic Tribes and Territories: intellectual enquiry and the cultures of disciplines* (Milton Keynes, England/Bristol PA: Society for Research into Higher Education and Open University Press, 1989).
66. Dzuback (1991) 188.
67. Levine (1986) 90.
68. John Fischer, "The Perils of Publishing: How to Tell When You Are Being Corrupted," *Harper's* (May 1968). [See Mayer (1993) 451-2.]
69. John Dewey, "President Hutchins's Proposals to Remake Higher Education," *The Social Frontier* 3 (Jan. 1937) 103-4; Ashmore (1989) 139; McNeill (1991) 70-1.
70. James B. Lemert, *Criticizing the Media: Empirical Approaches* (Newbury Park CA: Sage, 1989) 31.
71. Black and Whitney (1988) 575, 597, 607. [See Merrill, *The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy* (New York: Hastings House, 1974) 3; Blevens (1994) 13.]
72. Altschull (1990) 286.
73. Merrill and Odell (1983) 163.
74. Black and Whitney (1988) 529.
75. Andrei Vyshinsky, *The Law of the Soviet State* (1948), in Franklin, *The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate* (Mineola NY: Foundation Press, 1977) 46.
76. Merrill and Odell (1983) 157, 162.
77. *Ibid.*, 157.

CHAPTER IX
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Synthesis of the bodies of knowledge concerning Hutchins' education philosophy and his press philosophy reveals answers to this study's four questions:

(1) What is the education philosophy of Hutchins? It is an uncompromising call for a prescribed, orderly, coherent transmission of the culture of Western heritage through a reading of the Great Books. For the system to be orderly and coherent, it must be structured in a hierarchy ruled by metaphysics. Compromise cannot be tolerated because the desired uniformity will be lost if students or professors are allowed to stray from the course of common grounding. Multicultural studies, like elective freedom, would make the intellectual community disordered and contentious because each individual would be inclined toward selfish goals rather than the good of the whole. The best minds must be in a position of authority to determine the hierarchy of knowledge and to guide students and professors so that they will pursue those activities that are good for them.

(2) What is the press philosophy of Hutchins? It is a call for the mass media to satisfy the responsibilities not satisfied by the institutions of education. Journalists should have a broad liberal arts background in the culture of Western heritage, and they should convey that culture to the public in an orderly and coherent manner. So critical is the responsibility of the press to educate society, that government will intervene to ensure it if the media fail to do so.

(3) Are there any similarities between the education philosophy and the press philosophy of Hutchins? The objective of both is to change a lethargic, apathetic, self-serving populace into responsible citizens. If the education system fails to maintain order and coherency through an intellectually superior authority, the press must do so. And if the press likewise fails, some other authority must intervene.

(4) What is the philosophical foundation on which the concept of social responsibility is based? Hutchins' concept of social responsibility is driven by the philosophy of socialistic authoritarianism. Some authority must maintain order by educating the masses in the values that are good for them, namely those of Western culture, in order to create a responsible citizenry.

Conclusions

The Hutchins Plan for education was rejected because it was impractical in its details, but it represented an attempt to solve problems that still exist. The Plan did not meet the needs of students, but Hutchins identified problems that still exist in the undergraduate curriculum. The Plan was incompatible with popular trends in higher education, but Hutchins identified such curricular deficiencies as neglect of general education and vocational trivialization. Hutchins' success, biographer William McNeill (1994) writes, "was in raising important questions about education, not in the answers he offered."¹ Educators can thus look to Hutchins for enunciation of questions that still need to be answered; they should also learn from consideration of his failures to avoid repetition of his mistakes.

Whereas the Hutchins Plan for education was rejected because it was impractical, the Hutchins Commission proposals for the press have been

accepted in spite of their impracticalities and without popular understanding of their philosophical foundation. Just as Hutchins identified problems that still exist in higher education, he identified problems that still exist in the press. However, the solutions he proposed for each field ignored practical considerations. The questions he asked still need to be answered, and the problems he identified still need to be solved. Through the study of the deficiencies in his proposals, perhaps better answers and solutions can be formulated that will be compatible with the practical details that Hutchins missed.

Hutchins remains revered as “the last of the giants” in American higher education, but the Hutchins Plan was rejected.² The Plan was too extreme to succeed. It focused on a single program to the exclusion of those functions of most practical interest, and it treated a diverse collection of constituencies in a multicultural environment as if their needs were all the same. Moreover, Hutchins demanded dramatic changes in academic structure, usually in spite of faculty opposition, often without even consulting faculty, and therefore without benefit of their input. Despite his attempts to intrude on academic territories internally, however, he courageously and effectively fought battles against external intrusions on academic freedom. Because he fought their battles and he never wavered in his resolve on any issue, Hutchins remains revered among educators, perhaps more for the questions he asked that remain relevant a half-century later than for any other reason. Dzuback (1991) concludes that the “power of his vision and the strength of his convictions make his stand on academic freedom and his challenge to examine and reexamine the ends of educational institutions his most lasting legacies.”³

There is merit, for example, in Hutchins' criticism of the vocational, disjointed nature of undergraduate general education. Proponents of general education reform preceded the Hutchins Plan and have subsequently grown in

influence. However, a better forum than the nation's leading research university could have been found to attack specialization and empiricism. A method less extreme than the Hutchins Plan would have been more feasible, such as the general education core proposed in the Harvard Report of 1945, although even that compromise approach met significant opposition. And any kind of curricular reform would have been more likely to be achieved with faculty collaboration rather than with dogmatic demand.

There is also merit in Hutchins' call for common cultural grounding. Those who recognize the rich benefits of cultural appreciation preceded the Great Books program and have subsequently grown in number. However, common ground can also be found in cultural diversity. Moreover, multicultural tolerance can be contagious, while dominant culture bias has increasingly met with objection. "Militant humanists," according to Laurence Veysey (1965), have continued "to define education according to a single desirable formula for everyone." Hutchins' aim, Veysey explains, was to produce a "dutiful, disinterested national elite."⁴ Frederick Rudolph (1977) explains that, in response to social demand, the curriculum "has been burdened with larger purpose than the provision of general education for the native governing elite."⁵

Hutchins opposed the influence of social demand on higher education policy, particularly the trends toward specialization, vocationalism and empiricism that have flourished. American higher education has responded to social demands, and it has "arrived at a position of awesome power," Rudolph (1977) notes, with "a near monopoly over entry to social and economic success."⁶ In *The Culture of Aspiration* (1986), David Levine explains how American higher education has moved from one extreme to another since 1800. Throughout most of the 19th century, few attended college and none needed to attend to be successful. Whereas higher education influenced American life very little in the

19th century, Levine asserts that it now has a stranglehold on “the culture of aspiration.” It is the way to get ahead, and a degree is prerequisite to success in a majority of careers.⁷

Clark Kerr (1994, 1962) agrees with Hutchins concerning the problems that have resulted from trends in higher education, but he differs with Hutchins about the solutions. Kerr has identified four issues as particularly problematic, three of which echo Hutchins: (1) the need to create a more unified intellectual world, (2) the need to improve undergraduate instruction, and (3) the need to preserve a margin of excellence in a populist society. Kerr's fourth issue, the need to relate administration more directly to individual faculty and students, is a task to which Hutchins rarely attended and at which he almost never succeeded.⁸

In regard to the need to create a more unified intellectual world, Hutchins proposed seeking interdisciplinary common ground through the dominant culture. Kerr agrees that interdisciplinary communication should be nurtured, but he favors contact between the many cultures rather than reduction to the dominant culture. In regard to the need to improve undergraduate instruction, Kerr says general education is often neglected because specialization draws the bulk of grant funding and other resources. In addition, because specialization provides publication and consultation opportunities, it is the key to faculty advancement and institutional distinction. Grants, publications and consultation contracts are much easier to rate on a comparative basis than is teaching quality. With these issues in mind, Kerr presents four problems that call for additional study:

- (1) how to give adequate recognition to the teaching skill as well as to the research performance of the faculty;
- (2) how to create a curriculum that serves the needs of the student as well as the research interests of the teacher;
- (3) how to prepare the generalist as well as the specialist in an age

of specialization looking for better generalizations; and

(4) how to treat the individual as a unique human being in the mass student body.⁹

When Kerr asserts that the university should see itself “in the sweep of history rather than just at a moment of time,” he is in accord with Hutchins. However, whereas Hutchins argued that the university's focus should be singular, Kerr asserts that the institution should see itself in totality as a “multiversity.”

Kerr differs with Hutchins even more markedly when he contends that “administration serves and stimulates rather than rules the institution,” and as such it must be “expendable when necessary and flexible all the time.”¹⁰

Hutchins believed in benevolent autocracy, and he was never flexible.

Hutchins had been committed to his inflexible ideas about education for more than three decades when in 1967 he asked Kerr to write an essay on the title, “Toward the More Perfect University.” “I have no reasonably clear idea of what he thought this title would call forth in my mind,” Kerr wrote:

He may have thought it would evoke *no* clear idea--in the sense of a vision of the “perfect university” unrelated to time and place, of an institution without spatial or temporal constraints. . . . There is not now, never has been, and never will be *the* “perfect university.” There is, or should be, however, always the search.¹¹

“It was a noble dream,” McNeill (1991) writes of Hutchins' attempt to create the perfect university. Acknowledging the defects of evanescence and monoculturalism in the Plan, McNeill concludes that Hutchins strove for “a glorious, gleaming, glittering--and unattainable-- ideal.”¹² In that “ideal,” Hutchins provided the foundation on which the traditionalist argument for the curriculum is built.

Curriculum debate

In Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience

(1990), Clifton Conrad and Jennifer Haworth point to “the growing conservative policy agenda” that calls for increased coherence in liberal arts general education with emphasis on basic skills, humanities and Great Books study.¹³ Among the leading spokesmen of this traditionalist movement have been James Bryant Conant (1945), William Bennett (1984, 1985), Allan Bloom (1987), E.D. Hirsch (1987, 1993), Diane Ravitch (1988, 1992) and Lynne Cheney (1989).

Conant, an organic chemist, was president of Harvard from 1933 to 1953, a length of time roughly equivalent to Hutchins' 1930-51 tenure at Chicago. In his charge to the Harvard Committee that studied the higher education curriculum, Conant said a good general education was essential to development of a good citizenry, a postulate Hutchins shared. In the Harvard Report of 1945, the committee called for renewed emphasis on general education with a common grounding in the Great Books. Although this was in keeping with Hutchins' position, the Harvard Report differed from the Hutchins Plan in proposing that general education be developed in tandem with vocational specialization.¹⁴

Bennett, a former philosophy professor, chaired a 32-member National Endowment for the Humanities panel. In the panel's 42-page report, *To Reclaim a Legacy: A Report on the Humanities in Higher Education* (1984), Bennett called on colleges to “reshape their undergraduate curricula based on a clear vision of what constitutes an educated person, regardless of major.”¹⁵ Ravitch, former assistant U.S. secretary of education and a member of Bennett's panel, has been one of the most outspoken proponents of the traditionalist movement.¹⁶

In *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987), University of Chicago Professor Bloom reiterates the concern about curricular coherence that Hutchins repeatedly expressed. The “crisis of liberal education,” Bloom argues, “constitutes the crisis of our civilization.”¹⁷ In *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (1987), Hirsch issues a similar call for coherence through the liberal arts, echoing

the arguments of both Bloom and Hutchins.¹⁸

In *50 Hours: A Core Curriculum for College Students* (1989), published by the National Endowment for the Humanities, Cheney reiterates the language of the Yale Report of 1828. “The two great points to be gained in intellectual culture,” Cheney writes, “are the discipline and the furniture of the mind; expanding its powers, and storing it with knowledge.”¹⁹ Like Bennett, Ravitch, Bloom and Hirsch, Cheney's suggestions echo elements of the Hutchins Plan, particularly: (1) a faith in fixed Truth, (2) the role of liberal arts in citizenship, (3) the need for coherence in the curriculum, (4) the merits of curricular prescription, (5) the importance of a common cultural grounding, and (6) the value of Great Books study.

Fixed Truth. The differences in philosophy between Hutchins and his faculty turned on the distinction later made by William Tierney (1990), then of Pennsylvania State University. In explaining how culture can be expressed in the higher education curriculum, Tierney contrasts the rational view taken by Hutchins against the critical view taken by most of his faculty. A critical view assumes that reality is defined through a process of social interchange that cannot be readily controlled because there is no single, simple, unilinear rationality. The rational view, on the other hand, assumes that Truth exists “out there,” external and independent of all else.²⁰ As Ravitch argues from the rational view, “Students cannot learn to ask critical questions or to think conceptually about the past or about their own lives as political actors unless they have sufficient background knowledge.” Her assumption, like that of Hutchins, is that knowledge is “neutral” and “timeless,” and mastery of such “background knowledge” is prerequisite to good citizenship.²¹

Citizenship. Through the study of the humanities and the great thinkers of the past, Conrad and Haworth explain, the traditionalist undergraduate

experience is crafted to provide students with the requisite “background knowledge” to be productive and informed citizens.²² The “great texts,” Bennett maintains, “embody the best in our culture” and “no student citizens should be denied access to the best that tradition has to offer.”²³ Bennett argues that students are missing “the best in our culture” because faculty do not steer them toward the humanities. Because he argues that a liberal arts curriculum should therefore be prescribed, Bennett apparently equates absence of prescription with denial of access. He also relates coherence to prescription.

Coherency. Frederick Rudolph (1977) supports the argument that a “loss of philosophic purpose” has accompanied the movement from full prescription to an elective system. He explains that numerous proposals have unsuccessfully attempted to structure “some coherent, defensible” plan of general education.²⁴ The traditionalist argument insists that a return to prescription is requisite to recovering lost coherence.

Prescription. Bennett laments the “steady erosion” of the structured curriculum with specific course requirements. He does not attempt to propose specific courses or texts, a task in which it is difficult to achieve consensus, as Hutchins discovered. Bennett does, however, recommend adoption of a “core of common studies,” embracing several notions that are also at the heart of the Hutchins Plan. Philosophy, specifically metaphysics, ruled the Hutchins Plan hierarchy of knowledge; Bennett believes that the core should provide “an understanding of the most significant ideas and debates in the history of philosophy.” Hutchins insisted that vocationalism should be relegated to schools apart from the university, and it should not be allowed to divert the higher learning from its mission; he added that educators should exercise their authority in prescribing what students should learn. Bennett believes that college faculties have succumbed to vocational pressures and abdicated their authority over what

students should study.²⁵

Common culture. Bennett further believes that educators have abdicated “the great task of transmitting a culture to its rightful heirs.”²⁶ Ravitch makes the case for the common culture in preference to multiculturalism. While the American idea of the melting pot promised to erase ethnic differences, Ravitch argues, multiculturalism perpetuates ancient hatreds. Ravitch insists that an “overall community” should be constructed from “common bonds.”²⁷ Edward Said (1991), professor of English and comparative literature at Columbia University, counters that, by widening the area of awareness, Eurocentrism should be replaced, not with Islamocentrism or Afrocentrism, but with the intellectual best.²⁸

Bennett follows Hutchins' lead with a call for a chronological study of the development of Western civilization. However, he breaks with Hutchins when he adds that the core should also require “familiarity with at least one non-Western culture or civilization as well as knowledge of the history of science and technology.”²⁹

Great Books. Bennett also believes, like Hutchins, that the core should include a “careful reading” of the Great Books of English, American and European literature; like Hutchins, Bennett mentions nothing about African, Asian or Latin literature.³⁰ Anderson (1990) and Gates (1989) take exception to such omissions. Margaret Anderson, University of Delaware Department of Sociology, cautions against the tendency of a liberal arts curriculum to “reproduce the errors of classical education,” particularly “sameness” in a world of differences.³¹ Henry Louis Gates, Jr., W.E.B. DuBois professor of the humanities at Harvard, writes that the canon of Western masterpieces “represents the return of an order in which my people were subjugated, the voiceless, the invisible, the unrepresented and the unrepresentable.”³² For this

reason, Charles Butterworth (1992), William Casement (1991) and Dinesh D'Souza (1991) all propose expanding the canon to include works by women, minorities and non-Western writers.³³

Other critics go beyond the demand for increased representation and call for abolition of the concept of the canon. John Searle (1990), philosophy professor at the University of California, Berkeley, for example, argues that the canon cannot be reformed merely by admitting new members because it is based on the texts that support a history of oppression by Western white males.³⁴ Searle supports a postpositivist approach that calls for a reevaluation of history from a multicultural perspective rather than a consideration of other cultures from a Western white male perspective.

Despite such criticisms and popular resistance to the notion, traditionalists continue to advocate a canon. Literary and social critic Irving Howe (1991), like Hutchins, displays a disdain for applied studies when he argues that, "if we cannot make judgments or demonstrate the grounds for our preferences, then we have no business teaching literature--we might just as well be teaching advertising." Howe believes there are a dozen or more writers "who are of such preeminence that they must be placed at the very center of this heritage" of mankind.³⁵ Again like Hutchins, Howe does not indicate how such "pre-eminent" writers should be selected. The difficulty in reaching consensus concerning canon selections was illustrated at the University of Chicago under Hutchins when a group of like-minded Great Books disciples could not reach agreement, and the difficulty was more recently demonstrated in a 1992 study. Florence Hamrick and John Schuh found little consensus when they surveyed 49 scholars; 22 books were recommended by only eight of the 49 respondents, and only five books were selected by one-third of the respondents.³⁶

Compromise

John Brubacher (1965) describes how the two major philosophies of education oppose each other. While traditionalists believe that the fixed Truth of philosophy should rule higher education, modernists are committed to the empirical search for evolving truths. "Just how the opposing views are to live together on the same campus," Brubacher notes, "is not clear." The Harvard Report of 1945 represents the most notable effort to synthesize traditionalism with modernism.³⁷

The Harvard Report called for the mutually supportive development of both experience and reason. The report acknowledged the value of specialism and vocationalism in the upward social mobility of students. However, it cautioned that modernism "runs the danger of achieving vitality without pattern." Likewise, a traditionalist curriculum provides "a common ground" without vitality. "The true task of education is therefore to reconcile the sense of pattern and direction deriving from heritage with the sense of experiment and innovation deriving from science," the report concluded. The report also distinguished an elitist "liberal education" for freemen from an egalitarian "general education" for everybody.³⁸

The Harvard faculty approved the report in principle by a vote of 135-10, but consensus could not be reached on the specifics to apply the abstract principle. The exercise illustrated what Carnochan (1993) describes as "inescapable limits" to consensus and prescription.³⁹ However, McArthur (1987) notes that the report is "the influential model for other colleges."⁴⁰

Hutchins revealed his distance from the mainstream in 1966 when he said the multiversity does not "reflect the considered judgment of the country."⁴¹ Hutchins could not tolerate the multiple goals and diversity of activities that characterize the multiversity, but it is the most accommodating environment for a

merging of the Harvard Report's experience and reason.

The pragmatic superiority of a "pluralistic multiverse" over a "monistic universe" was enunciated by William James in 1907.⁴² The monistic approach revolves around a single Absolute, such as theology or metaphysics; in the multiverse, "neighbors" are defined by their connection to each other, in the fashion of Becher's academic tribes, rather than by their relation to a central Absolute. Whereas the monistic approach provides the certainty that Hutchins sought, the multiverse accommodates conflicting forces. Kerr (1972) notes that "monistic universities, based on the Bible, or the Koran, or the Communist Manifesto, or the Great Books can test loyalty more precisely, can settle disputes more on principle, can limit their functions more readily." However, Kerr adds, "they also tend to be more static in a dynamic world, more intolerant in a world crying for understanding and accommodation to diversity, more closed to the unorthodox person and idea, more limited in their comprehension of total reality."⁴³ The multiversity thus accommodates a diversity of constituencies. Like an unfettered press, however, it is disorderly in its pursuit of multiple goals, in its diversity, and in the uncertainty that Hutchins termed "the noise and confusion of clashing opinions." Also like an unfettered press, it is always unpredictable and often disharmonious.

Recommendations

Analysis of this study's findings indicates several additional research needs. For higher education, relevant questions asked by both Hutchins and Kerr remain unanswered. In particular, the search for methods of improving undergraduate general education remains a challenge, faced as it is with competition for resources against more pragmatic specialization and graduate research

programs. In fact, 95 percent of American colleges and universities were considering fundamental changes in the undergraduate curriculum in the 1980s.⁴⁴

Five additional areas merit exploration:

(1) Clark Kerr, who is in his 80s, represents the best of Hutchins tempered by practical realities. Although he granted a series of interviews in the early 1990s, no biography of him has yet been published.⁴⁵

(2) Mass communication research was born in the Chicago School under the Hutchins administration. Findings indicate deep philosophical differences between Hutchins and the mass communication research pioneers on his faculty. In addition, Rockefeller funding supported both the early mass communication researchers and the University of Chicago under Hutchins. However, it is not known whether Hutchins influenced the direction of early research development.

(3) The theory of social responsibility has been accepted to a significant degree by the press, but additional research could determine the degree to which the assumptions and proposals of the Commission are reflected in statutes and judiciary rulings.

(4) Several revisionists have reconsidered social responsibility theory, and some alternatives have been proposed. With the benefit of a clear understanding of the philosophical foundation upon which social responsibility theory is built, and particularly in the face of emerging global information systems, additional theory development is needed.⁴⁶

(5) And, finally, it is important for people in both stable and emerging democracies to understand the role of a free press.

“It is ironic,” William David Sloan (1990) notes, that while chronicling a field central to American economic and social systems, “journalism historians have done hardly anything to convince anyone outside the field of the media's

importance."⁴⁷ Not only has the press had little impact on the thinking of general historians, it has failed to effectively tell its story to the citizenry and to students.

Even the most strict First Amendment advocates should recognize the impossibility of simply reverting to a pre-Hutchins posture. The approach worked at the University of Chicago, where the last vestiges of the Hutchins Plan were eradicated within a few years of his departure, but it is not possible, even if desirable, to revert to pre-Hutchins libertarianism because distrust of the media is deep-rooted and the concept of social responsibility, although largely misunderstood, is widely acknowledged. Moreover, professional prestige and credibility now more than ever depend on perceived responsibility. Perhaps it is time for journalists to become the educators Hutchins insisted they should be. Journalists might not want to be the educational purveyors of the culture as Hutchins had in mind, but perhaps they can educate the public concerning the role of the media in a system of democratic checks and balances, as well as concerning the dangers that abridgements of free speech pose to that critical role.

Nowhere in the American educational system is there a concerted effort to develop in students an appreciation for the critical role of the press in a democracy. Beyond the rudimentary introduction of adolescents to the ill-defined concept of free speech, most secondary school and higher education graduates, save perhaps those who have studied journalism, are largely oblivious to the critical role that a free press serves in a democracy. In addition, the growing sophistication and quantity of media messages increase the importance of developing the skills necessary to retrieving and assessing information.

Hutchins distrusted freedom because its uncontrolled nature accommodates irresponsibility. A free press is indeed subject to abuse by the unscrupulous, but it is essential to the functioning of a democracy. When the

importance of a free press is acknowledged, irresponsible behavior can be expected because journalists cannot be free to behave responsibly if they are not free to behave irresponsibly. Likewise, people cannot be free to read or view anything they want unless they are free to not read or view anything they want. Because a free press is essential to a democracy, and because irresponsible elements are inevitable in a free press, it is important for the people to be able to exercise discretion over the retrieval and assessment of information available through the various mediated channels of communication. It is, in short, important to develop "mediated communication" skills. Moreover, the development of mediated communication skills involves "languages" beyond those of conventional oral and written communications because of the increasingly sophisticated technology through which messages are communicated. "Mediated fluency" might be the appropriate term to describe those equipped to participate in interactive multimediated communication.

Not only is a free press essential to a democracy, control of the press is increasingly difficult because of technological sophistication. Because it is difficult to control press behavior, and because irresponsible elements are an inevitable part of a free press, the development of mediated fluency is increasingly important, not only to discern the responsible from the irresponsible, but also to deal with technological sophistication. Therefore, perhaps mediated fluency should be proposed as a companion to the general education skills of written communication, oral communication, and analytical thinking.⁸

Notes

1. William H. McNeill, letter to Gonders (27 May 1994).
2. Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 3d ed. (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1982 [1972, 1963] 33. [Kerr's label, "the last of the giants," is

frequently used by other observers.]

3. Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 293.

4. Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1965) 165-7.

5. Frederick Rudolph, "Frames of Reference," *Curriculum: A History of the America Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977) 1-24, in Conrad and Haworth, eds., *Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience* (Needham Heights MA: Ginn Press, ASHE Reader Series, 1990) 35.

6. *Ibid.*, 25.

7. David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration: 1915-1940* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1986).

8. Clark Kerr (1982 [1972, 1963]) 118-21; interview by Gonders (Jul. 1994).

9. *Ibid.*, 10; interview by Gonders (Jul. 1994).

10. *Ibid.*, 119.

11. Clark Kerr, "Toward the More Perfect University," an Occasional Paper on the University in America (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1967) 9.

12. William H. McNeill, *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago, 1929-1950* (University of Chicago Press, 1991) 149, 165.

13. Conrad and Haworth (1990) 8.

14. Harvard Committee, *General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1945), in Hofstadter and Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, Vol. 2 (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1961) 956-69. [See Paul Westmeyer, *A History of American Higher Education* (Springfield IL: Charles C Thomas, 1985) 102.]

15. William J. Bennett, *To Reclaim a Legacy: A Report on the Humanities in Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1984); Edward B. Fiske, "Colleges Are Called Failures at Teaching Humanities Courses," *New York Times* (26 Nov. 1984) 1, 15.

16. Diane Ravitch, "A Response to Michael's Apple," *Teachers College Record* 90.1 (1988) 128-30; Ravitch, "Multiculturalism: E Pluribus Plures," *American Scholar* (Sum. 1990), in Berman, ed., *Debating P.C.: The Controversy over Political Correctness on College Campuses* (New York: Laurel, 1992) 271-98.

17. Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987). [See Carnochan, *The Battleground of the Curriculum: Liberal Education and American Experience* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1993) 3.]

18. E.D. Hirsch, Jr., *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987). [See Hirsch, Kett and Trefil, *Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1993).]

19. Lynne V. Cheney, *50 Hours: A Core Curriculum for College Students* (Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1989).

20. William G. Tierney, "Cultural Politics and the Curriculum in Postsecondary Education," in Conrad and Haworth, eds. (1990) 40-3.
21. Ravitch (1988) 129-30.
22. Conrad and Haworth (1990) 8.
23. Bennett (1984) 29. [See Conrad and Haworth (1990) 8.]
24. Rudolph (1977) in Conrad and Haworth (1990) 35.
25. Bennett (1984); Fiske (1984) 1, 15.
26. Ibid.
27. Ravitch (1990) in Berman (1992) 274-8, 295.
28. Edward S. Said, "The Politics of Knowledge," *Raritan Review* (Sum. 1991), in Berman (1992) 183-5.
29. Bennett (1984); Fiske (1984) 1, 15.
30. Ibid.
31. Margaret L. Anderson, "Changing the Curriculum in Higher Education," in Conrad and Haworth (1990) 123.
32. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Whose Canon Is It, Anyway?" *New York Times Book Review* (26 Feb. 1989), in Berman (1992) 197.
33. Charles E. Butterworth, "Understanding and Preserving Traditional Learning," *College Teaching* 40.3 (Sum. 1992) 102-5; William Casement, "The Great Books and Politics," *Perspectives on Political Science* 20.3 (Sum. 1991) 133-40; Dinesh D'Souza, "Multiculturalism 101: Great Books of the Non-Western World," *Policy Review* 56 (Spr. 1991) 22-30.
34. John Searle, "The Storm over the University," *New York Review of Books* 37 (6 Dec. 1990) 34-42, in Berman (1992) 92-3.
35. Irving Howe, "The Value of the Canon," *New Republic* (18 Feb. 1991), in Berman (1992) 160, 166.
36. Florence A. Hamrick and John H. Schuh, "The Great Books of Student Affairs," *NASPA Journal* 30.1 (Fall 1992) 66-74.
37. John S. Brubacher, *Bases for Policy in Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965) 129. [See Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition, An American History: 1636-1956* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958) 294.]
38. Harvard Report (1945) in Hoftstadter (1961) 956-69.
39. Carnochan (1993) 91.
40. Benjamin McArthur, "Revisiting Hutchins and *The Higher Learning in America*," *History of Higher Education Annual* (1987) 23.
41. Robert M. Hutchins, "The Nation's Law Schools: What we need is the liveliest kind of debate," dedication speech, Rutgers Law School, Camden (1966), *The Center Magazine* (Jul. / Aug. 1986) 59.
42. William James, *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1907).
43. Kerr (1982 [1972, 1963]), 1972 postscript, 137-9.
44. E. El-Khawas, *Campus Trends, 1986*, Higher Education Panel Reports No. 75 (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1986); Conrad and Haworth (1990) 90.
45. Dr. Clif' Warren, University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, conducted a series of interviews with Dr. Kerr in the early 1990s in California.

46. Press theory revision: Elisabeth Hupp Schillinger, *A dynamic theory of world press action and motivation: an integrative model*, a doctoral dissertation (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University, 1992); Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1987 [1983]); McQuail and Windahl, *Communication Models for the study of mass communications* (New York: Longman, 1981); Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Role of News Media in Human Affairs* (New York: Longman, 1984); J. William A. Hachten, *The World News Prism: Changing Media, Clashing Ideologies*, 2d ed. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1992 [1981]); Robert G. Picard, "Revisions of the 'Four Theories of the Press'," *Mass Communications Review* (Win./Spr. 1982) 25-8.

47. William David Sloan, ed., *Makers of the Media Mind: Journalism Educators and Their Ideas* (Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1990) 66.

48. A proposal to incorporate "mediated fluency" into the undergraduate general education core curriculum at Southeast Missouri State University is being written by the Curriculum Committee in the Department of Mass Communication; the term also appears in the department's Statement of Objectives for 1995-2000. [See Black and Whitney, *Introduction to Mass Communication*, 2d ed. (Dubuque IA: William C. Brown, 1988) 587. Black and Whitney note that Everette Dennis has also suggested interdisciplinary media education.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aaron, Daniel. "The Worldly Puritan." *New Republic* 9 (Oct. 1989): 32, 34-6.
- "A Clear Course for Press Freedom: More Effective Self-Regulation." *Advertising Age* (31 Mar. 1947): 12.
- Adler, Mortimer. "The Crisis in Contemporary Education." *Social Frontier* 5 (Feb. 1939): 141-4.
- "The Chicago School." *Harper's Magazine* 183 (Sep. 1941): 377-88.
- "In Defense of the Philosophy of Education." In the National Society for the Study of Education, 41st Yearbook, Part I, *Philosophies of Education*, 242-3. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.
- "Labor, Leisure, and Liberal Education." *Journal of General Education* 6 (Oct.-Jul. 1951): 43.
- Philosopher at Large*. New York: Macmillan, 1977.
- "The Chicago Fight." *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 50-60.
- and Milton Mayer. *The Revolution in Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.
- "Advertising as a Danger to Freedom of the Press." *Printers Ink* (28 March 1947): 120.
- Agee, Warren, Phillip H. Ault and Edwin Emery. *Introduction to Mass Communications*, 10th ed. New York: Harper Collins, 1991.
- Almond, Gabriel A. "Charles Edward Merriam." In Shils, ed., *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars*, 338-50. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Altbach, Philip G. Review of Robert M. Hutchins: *Portrait of an Educator*, by Dzuback, and *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago, 1929-1950*, by McNeill. In *Journal of Higher Education* 64 (Jan./Feb. 1993): 102-5.
- Altschull, J. Herbert. *Agents of Power: The Role of News Media in Human Affairs*. New York: Longman, 1984.
- From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism*. New York: Longman, 1990.

- Anderson, A.J. Review of *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir*, by Mayer, ed. Hicks. In *Library Journal* 118 (15 April 93): 100.
- Anderson, Margaret L. "Changing the Curriculum in Higher Education." In Conrad and Haworth, eds., *Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience*, 119-44. Needham Heights MA: Ginn Press, ASHE Reader Series, 1990.
- Aronson, James. *The Press and the Cold War*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970.
- Ary, Donald, Lucy Cheser Jacobs, and Asghar Razavieh. *Introduction to Research in Education*, 3d ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985 (1972).
- Ashmore, Harry S. "Santa Barbara Memorial Service." *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 19-22.
- ". . . The Only One There Is." *The Center Magazine* (Nov./Dec. 1984): 34-42.
- *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1989.
- Letter to Gonders, 1 Jun. 1994.
- Introduction to *The Higher Learning in America*, by Hutchins. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction, 1994 (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1936).
- Babbitt, Irving. *Literature and the American College: Essays in Defense of the Humanities*. Washington, D.C.: National Humanities Institute, 1986 (1908).
- Democracy and Leadership* (1924). Excerpted in Harris, *Five Counterrevolutionists in Higher Education*, 49-80. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1970.
- Baran, Stanley J., and Dennis K. Davis. *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future*. Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1995.
- Bark, William C. "Charlemagne." *World Book Encyclopedia* 1 (1960): 291-2.
- Barr, Stringfellow. "Scott Buchanan, Teacher." *The Center Magazine* (Nov. 1968).
- Barzun, Jacques, and Henry F. Graff. *The Modern Researcher*, 2d ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970 (1957).
- Becher, Tony. *Academic Tribes and Territories: intellectual enquiry and the cultures of disciplines*. Milton Keynes, England and Bristol PA: Society for Research into Higher Education and Open University Press, 1989.
- Becker, Samuel L., and Churchill L. Roberts. *Discovering Mass Communication*, 3d ed. New York: Harper Collins, 1992.
- Bennett, William. J. *To Reclaim a Legacy: A Report on the Humanities in Higher Education*. Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1984.
- Involvement in Learning: Realizing the Potential of American Higher Education*. National Institute for Education, 1984.

- Integrity in the College Curriculum*. Association of American Colleges, 1985.
- Bent, Silas. *Ballyhoo*. New York: Boni and Liverright, 1927.
- Berman, Paul, ed. *Debating P.C.: The Controversy over Political Correctness on College Campuses*. New York: Laurel, 1992.
- Bertrand, Claude-Jean. Foreword to *Good News: Social Ethics and the Press*, by Christians, Ferre and Fackler. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Biagi, Shirley. *Media/Impact: An Introduction to Mass Media*. Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1988.
- Bingham, Barry. "Report on the Press Sound in Some Respects, Disappointing in Others." *Louisville Courier-Journal* (28 March 1947): 6.
- Bittner, John R. *Mass Communication: An Introduction*, 4th ed. Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1986 (1977).
- Black, Jay, and Frederick C. Whitney. *Introduction to Mass Communication*, 2d ed. Dubuque IA: William C. Brown, 1988.
- Blanchard, Margaret A. "The Hutchins Commission, The Press and the Responsibility Concept." *Journalism Monographs* 49 (May 1977).
- Bledstein, Burton J. Review of *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins*, by Ashmore. In *History of Education Quarterly* 31 (Summer 1991): 268-71.
- Blevens, Fred. "The Rise and Fall of a Middle Brow: Robert M. Hutchins's Victorian Influence on High Culture and Low Journalism." Paper presented in the Qualitative Studies Division at the National Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC), Atlanta GA, 10-13 Aug. 1994.
- Bloom, Allan. *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.
- "Hutchins Idea of a University." *London Times Literary Supplement* 7 (Feb. 1992): 4-5.
- Bork, Robert H. "Edward Levi." In Shils, ed., *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars*, 287-99. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Botstein, Leon. "The Higher Learning," *The Center Magazine* 11 (March 1978): 41-2.
- Review of *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins*, by Ashmore. In *Academe* 76 (May/June 1990): 69-70.
- Brandeis, William D. "Whitney v. California," concurring (1927). In Franklin,

- The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate*, 76-9. Mineola NY: Foundation Press, 1977.
- Boucher, Chauncey Samuel (A.J. Brumbaugh, ed.). *The Chicago College Plan*, 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940 (1935).
- Brann, Eva T.H. Letter to Gonders, June 1994.
- Brindley, Thomas A. Review of *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago, 1929-1950*, by McNeill, and *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator*, by Dzuback. In *Educational Studies* 23 (Winter 1992): 438-44.
- Broder, David. Letter to Vesta Hutchins. In *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 46.
- Brown, Les. *The Reluctant Reformation: On Criticising the Press in America*. New York: David McKay, 1974.
- Browne, D. "The international newsroom." *Journal of Broadcasting* 27.3 (1983): 204-31.
- Brubacher, John S. *Bases for Policy in Higher Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.
- and Willis Rudy. *Higher Education in Transition, An American History: 1636-1956*. New York: Harper and Row, 1958.
- Buchanan, Scott. "The Metaphysics of the Higher Learning." *Southern Review* 4 (1938): 1-14.
- Embers of the World*. Interviews by Harris Wofford, Jr. The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1970.
- Bulmer, Martin. Review of *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator*, by Dzuback, and *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago, 1929-1950*, by McNeill. In *Teachers College Record* 94 (Fall 1992): 193-6.
- Bundy, McGeorge. "An Impossible World Republic." *The Reporter* (22 Nov. 1949).
- Buss, Dennis C. "The Ford Foundation and Public Education: Emergent Patterns." In Robert F. Arnove, ed., *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism at Home and Abroad*, 331-62. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.
- Butterworth, Charles E. "Understanding and Preserving Traditional Learning." *College Teaching* 40.3 (Summer 1992): 102-5.
- Butts, R. Freeman. "History of Education." *World Book Encyclopedia* 5 (1960: 65-73.
- "But You Can't Flunk the Reader." *Quill* (May 1947): 3.
- Canham, Edwin D. "A Free, Responsible Press." *Christian Science Monitor* (27 March 1944): 24.
- Carnochan, W.B. *The Battleground of the Curriculum: Liberal Education and American*

- Experience*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1993.
- Carruth, Gorton. *What Happened When: A Chronology of Life & Events in America*. New York: Signet, 1991. An abridged edition of *The Encyclopedia of American Facts & Dates*. New York: Harper and Row, 1989 (1987).
- Casement, William. "The Great Books and Politics." *Perspectives on Political Science* 20.3 (Summer 1991): 133-40.
- Chafee, Zechariah. "Freedom of Speech." *New Republic* (16 Nov. 1918): 66-9.
- "Freedom of Speech in War Time." *Harvard Law Review* 932 (1919): 957-60.
- Freedom of Speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920.
- "The American Commonwealth." *Cambridge* (1941): 559-66. Reprinted in "The Second World War and After, 1940-49." *The Annals of America*, 76-9. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968.
- Free Speech in the United States*. New York: Atheneum, 1969 (1941). Excerpted in Franklin, *The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate*, 69-71. Mineola NY: Foundation Press, 1977.
- Government and Mass Communications*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.
- Chandler, Norman. "The Press and Criticism." *Los Angeles Times* (3 April 1947): II-4.
- "Challenge to the Press." *Washington Evening Star* (30 March 1947): 4C.
- Charmaz, Kathy. "The Grounded Theory Method: An Explication and Interpretation." *Theory and Evidence in Field Research* (1983).
- Chase, Harry Woodburn. "Hutchins's 'Higher Learning' Grounded." *American Scholar* 6 (Spring 1937): 236-44.
- Cheney, Lynne. *50 Hours: A Core Curriculum for College Students*. Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1989.
- Childs, Marquis. "An Eye on the Press." *Denver Post* (28 March 1947): 10.
- Christians, Clifford G., John P. Ferre, and P. Mark Fackler. *Good News: Social Ethics and the Press*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Clark, Charles E. "The Higher Learning in a Democracy." *International Journal of Ethics* 47 (1937): 317-35.
- Clark, G. Kitson. *The Critical Historian*. New York: Basic Books, 1967.
- Cohen, I.B. "Sir Isaac Newton." *World Book Encyclopedia* 13 (1960): 306-8.
- Commager, Henry Steele. "Thomas Jefferson." *World Book Encyclopedia* 10 (1960): 58-69.

- "Colleges Criticized for Not Teaching Students Humanities." *Daily Oklahoman* (Associated Press, 26 Nov. 1984): 11.
- "Commission to Make 2-Year Study of All Phases of Press Freedom." *New York Times* (29 Feb. 1944): 11.
- Conrad, Clifton F. "A Grounded Theory of Academic Change." In Conrad and Haworth, eds., *Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience*, 337-50. Needham Heights MA: Ginn Press, ASHE Reader Series, 1990.
- and Jennifer Grant Haworth, eds. *Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience*. Needham Heights MA: Ginn Press, ASHE Reader Series, 1990.
- Cross, Bert. "He Brought the Great Minds of the World Together." *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 38.
- Czitrom, Daniel J. *Media and the American Mind: From Morse to McLuhan*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.
- "Dangers to Press Freedom." *Fortune* (April 1947): 2-3.
- Day, Jeremiah, and James L. Kingsley. *Yale Report of 1828*. Reprinted in Conrad and Haworth, eds., *Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience*, 55-64. Needham Heights MA: Ginn Press, ASHE Reader Series, 1990. Also reprinted in Hoftstadter and Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, 275-88. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Day, Louis A. *Ethics in Media Communications: Cases and Controversies*. Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1991.
- DeFleur, Melvin L., and Sandra Ball-Rokeach. *Theories of Mass Communication*, 5th ed. New York: Longman, 1989.
- DeFleur, Melvin L., and Everette E. Dennis. *Understanding Mass Communication*, 4th ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991.
- Dennis, Everette, Arnold H. Ismach and Donald M. Gillmor, eds. *Enduring Issues in Mass Communication*. St. Paul MN: West Publishing, 1988.
- and John C. Merrill. *Basic Issues in Mass Communication*. New York: Macmillan, 1984.
- DeSanto, John, AECJMC. Telephone interview by Gonders, Jan. 1995.
- Dewey, John. *The Educational Situation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1902.
- Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*. New York: Macmillan, 1916.

- Human Nature and Conduct*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1922.
- "Pragmatic America." *New Republic* (22 April 1922): 185-7.
- "Public Opinion." *New Republic* 30 (3 May 1922): 286-8.
- "Practical Democracy." *New Republic* 45 (2 Dec. 1925): 52-4.
- Liberalism and Social Action*. New York: Putnam's, 1935.
- "President Hutchins's Proposals to Remake Higher Education." *The Social Frontier* 3 (Jan. 1937): 103-4. Reprinted in Hofstadter and Smith, *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, 949-53. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Freedom and Culture*. New York: Putnam's, 1939.
- "Challenge to Liberal Thought," *Fortune* (Aug. 1944): 155-7.
- "The Problem of the Liberal Arts College." *American Scholar* 13 (1944): 391-3.
- Didion, John, and Gregory Dunn. "California Dreaming." *Saturday Evening Post* (21 Oct. 1967): 26.
- Dominick, Joseph R. *The Dynamics of Mass Communication*. Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1983.
- Dorfman, Joseph. *Thorstein Veblen and His America*. New York, 1934.
- Douglas, James H., Jr. "Chicago Memorial Service." *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 22-31.
- "Dr. Leigh Says 'No'." *Editor & Publisher* (16 Dec. 1944): 38.
- D'Souza, Dinesh. "Multiculturalism 101: Great Books of the Non-Western World." *Policy Review* 56 (Spring 1991): 22-30.
- Illiberal Education*. New York: Free Press, 1991.
- Duffey, Joseph. "A Thoreauvian Test of Hutchins' Faith in the Great Conversation." *The Center Magazine* (Jan./Feb. 1981): 3-9.
- Duncan, Ben D., professor of higher education, University of Central Oklahoma. A series of interviews by Gonders, Edmond, OK, 1993-95.
- Dzuback, Mary Ann. *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Letter to Gonders, 23 May 1994.
- "Editorial Writers." *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 23-37.
- "Editors Welcome Time-Life Inquiries into Press Freedom." *Editor & Publisher* (15 April 1944): 9, 60.
- El-Khawas, E. *Campus Trends, 1986*. Higher Education Panel Report No. 75.

- Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1986.
- Campus Trends, 1987*. Higher Education Panel Report No. 76. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1987.
- Campus Trends, 1988*. Higher Education Panel Report No. 78. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1988.
- Emery, Edwin, and Michael Emery. *The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media*, 4th ed. Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978 (1954).
- Emery, Edwin, and Joseph P. McKerns. "AEJMC: 75 Years in the Making." *Journalism Monographs* 104 (Nov. 1987).
- Emery, Michael, and Ted Curtis Smythe. *Readings in mass communication: concepts and issues in the mass media*, 4th ed. Dubuque IA: William C. Brown, 1980.
- Epstein, Joseph. "The Sad Story of the Boy Wonder," *Commentary* 89 (March 1990): 44-51.
- Ernst, Morris L. *The First Freedom*. New York: Macmillan, 1946.
- "Press Threatens Freedom of the Press--Special Commission Urges Changes." *Guild Reporter* (28 March 1947): 2-3.
- "Let Freedom Ring True." *Time* (April 1947): 2-3.
- Erskine, John. *"The Moral Obligation to Be Intelligent" and Other Essays* (New York: Duffield, 1916.
- The Delight of Great Books*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1928.
- The Influence of Women and Its Cure*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1936.
- Ervin, R. Ferrell, AECJMC. Interview by Gonders, Jan. 1995.
- Fadiman, Clifton. "The Decline of Attention." *Saturday Review* (6 Aug. 1949): 20-4.
- Ferry, W.H. "Robert Hutchins' Platonic Grove." *The Nation* (30 Jan. 1988).
- Farrell, John T., and Fulton J. Sheen. "John Henry Cardinal Newman." *World Book Encyclopedia* 12 (1960): 297.
- Ferry, W.H. "Robert Hutchins' Platonic Grove," *The Nation* (30 Jan. 1988).
- Fischer, John. "The Perils of Publishing: How to Tell When You Are Being Corrupted." *Harper's* (May 1968).
- Fiske, Edward B. "Colleges Are Called Failures at Teaching Humanities Courses." *New York Times* (26 Nov. 1984): 1, 15.
- Fitzsimons, Matthew A., Alfred G. Pundt, and Charles E. Nowell, eds. *The Development of Historiography*. Port Washington NY: Kennikat, 1967 (1954).
- Flexner, Abraham. *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*. New York:

- Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910.
- Universities: American, English, German*. Fair Lawn NJ: Oxford University Press, 1930. Reprinted in Hofstadter and Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, 905-21. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- "Ford Foundation Annual Report for 1952." New York, 31 Dec. 1952.
- "Ford Foundation Annual Report for 1953." New York, 31 Dec. 1953.
- Frank, Glenn. "Towards an Ordered Learning." *Yale Review* 26 (Winter 1937): 242-4.
- Franklin, Marc. A. *The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate*. Mineola NY: Foundation Press, 1977.
- "Freedom and the Press." *New York Times* (1 April 1947): 26.
- "Freedom in Our Time." *Time* (6 March 1944): 47.
- "Free Means Free." *Wall Street Journal* (7 April 1947): 6.
- Frey, Lawrence R., Carl H. Botan, Paul G. Friedman, and Gary L. Kreps. *Investigating Communication: An Introduction to Research Methods*. Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1991.
- Fry, Amelia R. "The Nine Commandments of Oral History." *Journal of Library Science* 3.1 (Jan. 1961): 63-73.
- Gamble, Michael W., and Teri Kwal Gamble. *Introducing Mass Communication*, 2d ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989 (1986).
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. "Whose Canon Is It, Anyway?" *New York Times Book Review* (26 Feb. 1989). Reprinted in Berman, ed., *Debating P.C.: The Controversy over Political Correctness on College Campuses*, 190-200. New York: Laurel, 1992.
- Gaunt, Philip, ed. *Beyond Agendas: New Directions in Communication Research*. Westport CT: Greenwood, 1992.
- "The Future of Communication Research." In Gaunt, ed., *Beyond Agendas: New Directions in Communication Research*, 1-16. Westport CT: Greenwood, 1992.
- Gauss, Christian. "The Plight of the Higher Learning." *North American Review* (March 1937): 171-2.
- Gideonse, Harry D. *The Higher Learning in a Democracy: A Reply to President Hutchins' Critique of the American University*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1937. Reprinted in Hofstadter and Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, 941-8. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Gillmor, Donald M. "Press Councils in America." In Dennis, Ismach and Gillmor, eds., *Enduring Issues in Mass Communication*. St. Paul MN:

- West Publishing, 1978.
- Glaser, Barney G., and Anselm Strauss. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine, 1967.
- Glasser, Theodore L. "Objectivity precludes responsibility." *Quill* 72.2 (Feb. 1984): 13-6.
- Goldstein, Tom, ed. *Killing the Messenger: 100 Years of Media Criticism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.
- Gonders, Susan, and David S. Webster. "Hutchins . . . Still Fascinating, Still Provoking." *Review of Higher Education* (accepted for publication in spring 1996).
- Grant, Gerald, and David Riesman. *The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Hachten, William A. *The World News Prism: Changing Media, Clashing Ideologies*, 2d ed. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1992 (1981).
- Hammond, Lewis. M. "Aristotle. *World Book Encyclopedia* 1 (1960): 547.
---"Plato." *World Book Encyclopedia* 4 (1960): 504.
- Hamrick, Florence A., and John H. Schuh. "The Great Books of Student Affairs." *NASPA Journal* 30.1 (Fall 1992): 66-74.
- Harless, James D. *Mass Communication: An Introductory Survey*. Dubuque IA: William C. Brown, 1985.
- Harris, Michael R. *Five Counterrevolutionists in Higher Education*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1970.
- Harvard Committee. *General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1945. Reprinted in Hoftstadter and Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, 956-69. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Hawkins, Hugh. "The Higher Learning at Chicago." *Reviews in American History* 20 (Sep. 1992): 378-85.
- Herbst, Jurgen. Review of *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator*, by Dzuback. In *American Historical Review* 97 (Dec. 1992): 1620.
- Hesburgh, Theodore M. Letter to Vesta Hutchins. In *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 44-5.
- Hicks, John H. Letter to Gonders, 15 June 1994.
- Hight, Gilbert. "Ideas That Shape the Minds of Men." *New York Times Book Review* 540 (14 Sep. 1952): 34.
- Hirsch, E.D., Jr. *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*. Boston:

- Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
- and Joseph F. Kett and James Trefil. *Dictionary of Cultural Literacy*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1993.
- Hocking, William Ernest. *Freedom of the Press: A Framework of Principle*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.
- Hoeveler, J. David, Jr. "A Reconstructionist amid Orthodoxies." *Science* 17 (17 Nov. 1989): 939.
- Hofstadter, Richard, and Wilson Smith, eds. *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Hohenberg, John. *Free Press, Free People*. New York: Free Press, 1971 (1950).
- Holt, Hamilton. *Commercialism and Journalism*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908.
- Hook, Sidney. *John Dewey: An Intellectual Portrait*. Westport CT: Greenwood, 1971 (New York: John Day, 1939).
- Education for Modern Man*. New York: Humanities Press, 1973.
- "How Do You Like Criticism?" *Publishers Auxiliary* (5 April 1947).
- Howe, Daniel Walker. "American Victorianism as a Culture." *American Quarterly* 27 (Dec. 1975): 507-32.
- Howe, Irving. "The Value of the Canon." *New Republic* (18 Feb. 1991). Reprinted in Berman, ed., *Debating P.C.: The Controversy over Political Correctness on College Campuses*, 153-71. New York: Laurel, 1992.
- Hudson, Edward G. *Freedom of Speech and Press in America* (1963). Reprinted in Franklin, *The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate*, 17-22. Mineola NY: Foundation Press, 1977.
- Hutchins, Maude Phelps McVeigh. *The Diary of Love*. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1950.
- Hutchins, Robert M. *The Higher Learning in America*. New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1936.
- No Friendly Voice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936.
- "What Is General Education?" *Harper's* 173 (Nov. 1936): 603.
- "Grammar, Rhetoric, and Mr. Dewey." *Social Frontier* 3 (1937): 137-9.
- "Hutchins Answers Hutchins." *Saturday Evening Post* (24 Sep. 1938): 23, 34, 36.
- "Gate Receipts and Glory." *Saturday Evening Post* (3 Dec. 1938): 23, 73-7.
- "America and the War." NBC radio broadcast, 23 Jan. 1941. In *University of Chicago Magazine* (Feb. 1941): 7.
- "Education for Freedom." *Harper's* 183 (1941): 412-26.

- "The University at War." *University of Chicago Magazine* (Jan. 1942): 1-7.
- "Victory Must Begin at Home!" *Christian Century* (29 April 1942): 554-6.
- "Blueprint for Wartime Education." *Saturday Evening Post* (15 Aug. 1942): 17, 69-72.
- "Education and the Duration." *Christian Century* (10 Feb. 1943): 162-4.
- "Toward a Durable Society." *Fortune* 27 (1943): 158-60, 194-207.
- "Education for Freedom." *Christian Century* (15 Nov. 1944): 1314-6.
- "The Atomic Bomb versus Civilization." *Journal of the NEA* 35 (1946): 114-7.
- "The Administrator." *Journal of Higher Education* 17 (Nov. 1946): 395-407.
- "The Good News of Damnation," speech in St. Louis, MO, 4 March 1947. In *University of Chicago Magazine* (April 1947): 5-8.
- ed. *A Free and Responsible Press: A General Report on Mass Communications--Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.
- "Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education." *Educational Record* 29 (April 1948): 10-22. Reprinted in Hoftstadter and Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, 990-1002. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Speech to the National Conference of Editorial Writers, Louisville KY, 19 Nov. 1948. In Hutchins, *Freedom, Education, and the Fund*, 46-56. New York, 1956).
- "The College and the Needs of Society." *Journal of General Education* 3 (1949): 175-81.
- "The Perfect Community Must Now Be Worldwide." In Hutchins, *Saint Thomas and the World State*. Marquette University Press, 1949. Reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 63-5.
- "An American Road to a World Society." Address delivered in Santa Barbara, CA, 1950). In Hutchins, "Why We Need World Law." *World Issues* (Dec. 1976/Jan. 1977): 29-30.
- "Peace Depends on Enforceable World Law." Farewell address to students, University of Chicago, 2 Feb. 1951. In *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 65-6.
- The Great Conversation: The Substance of a Liberal Education*. Vol. I of "Great Books of the Western World," ed. by Hutchins. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952.
- "The Unique Responsibility of the Press--Public Enlightenment." Address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), 1955. In *The Center*

- Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 65.
- Freedom, Education, and the Fund*. New York, 1956.
- "Is Democracy Possible?" *Saturday Review* (21 Feb. 1959): 8, 15-7, 58.
- "Science, Scientists, and Politics." An Occasional Paper of The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1963. Reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Nov./Dec. 1987): 29-32.
- "The Nation's Law Schools: What we need is the liveliest kind of debate." Dedication speech, Rutgers Law School, Camden, 1966. In *The Center Magazine* (July/Aug. 1986): 51-9.
- "The Issues." In "The Role of Education in the Free Society," an Occasional Paper of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (1967): 4-8.
- "The Mind Is Its Own Place: A mind not to be changed by place or time." *The Center Magazine* (March/April 1968). Reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 62-3. Also reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Nov./Dec. 1984): 16-9.
- "The Idea of a College." *The Center Magazine* (May/June 1972): 45-9.
- "The Constitution Under Strain: A Conversation about Watergate." An interview by Harvey Wheeler. *The Center Magazine* (March/April 1974): 43-52.
- "All Our Institutions Are in Disarray." Dedication address, Graduate Studies Research Center, California State University, Long Beach, 1974. In *The Center Magazine* (Dec. 1974): 19-22.
- "Why We Need World Law." *World Issues* (Dec. 1976/Jan. 1977): 29-30. Excerpted from "An American Road to a World Society," by Hutchins. Address, Santa Barbara CA, 1950.
- "Is Democracy Possible?" *The Center Magazine* (Jan./Feb. 1976). Reprinted in *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 66-7.
- "The Intellectual Community." *The Center Magazine* (Jan./Feb. 1977).
- Hyman, Sidney. *The Lives of William Benton*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Ickes, Harold. *The Secret Diaries of Harold L. Ickes*. New York, 1954.
- Inglis, Ruth A. *Freedom of the Movies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.
- Irwin, Will (Clifford F. Weigle and David Clark, eds.). *The American Newspaper*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1969. Originally a 15-part series in *Collier's* (1911).
- "It's Not a Glass House Affair." *Editor & Publisher* (9 Dec. 1944): 38.

- James, William. "The Chicago School." *Psychological Bulletin* 1 (5 July 1904): 1-5.
- Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*. New York: Longmans, Green, 1907.
- Jankowski, Laurence, moderator. "Exploring Mass Media: Theories of the Press." Maumee OH: Bowling Green State University Instructional Video, 1994.
- Jencks, Christopher, and David Riesman. *The Academic Revolution*. Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1968.
- Keene, Tom H. "Editor Answers Critics on Monopolist Charge." *Editor & Publisher* (29 March 1947): 57.
- Kelly, Frank. *Court of Reason: Robert Hutchins and the Fund for the Republic*. New York: Free Press, 1981.
- Kerr, Clark. *The Uses of the University*, 3d ed. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1982 (1972, 1963).
- "Toward the More Perfect University." In "The University in America," an Occasional Paper of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (1967): 9-16.
- Telephone interview by Gonders, July 1994.
- Knight, Frank S. "Faults of the Press." *Chicago Daily News* (31 March 1947): 10.
- Larson, Charles U. *Persuasion: Reception and Responsibility*, 5th ed. Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1989 (1973).
- Lasch, Robert. "Two Intrepid Colleges." *The Reporter* (21 June 1949): 23.
- Lemert, James B. *Criticizing the Media: Empirical Approaches*. Newbury Park CA: Sage, 1989.
- Levine, David O. *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration: 1915-1940*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Levine, Donald L. "Challenging Certain Myths about the 'Hutchins' College." *University of Chicago Magazine* 77 (Winter 1985): 36-9, 51.
- Lippmann, Walter. *Public Opinion*. New York: Macmillan, 1922.
- "Humanism as Dogma." *Saturday Review of Literature* (15 March 1930): 817-9.
- "The Scholar in a Troubled World." *Atlantic Monthly* 150 (1932): 148-52.
- The Good Society*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1937.
- "A Free and Responsible Press." *New York Herald Tribune* (28 March 1947): 24.
- "A Useful Criticism of the Press." *Kansas City Star* (28 March 1947): 24.
- *Essays in the Public Philosophy*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1955.

- Lipset, Seymour Martin, and David Riesman. *Education and Politics at Harvard*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975.
- Love, Donald M. *Henry Churchill King of Oberlin*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956.
- Lowenstein, Ralph L., and John C. Merrill. *Macromedia--Mission, Message, and Morality*. New York: Longman, 1990.
- Lowery, Shearon A., and Melvin L. DeFleur. *Milestones in Mass Communication Research: Media Effects*, 2d ed. New York: Longman, 1988 (1983).
- Lyons, Louis M. "A Free and Responsible Press." *Nieman Reports* (April 1947): 1-2.
- MacAloon, John J., ed. *General Education in the Social Sciences: Centennial Reflections on the College of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Macdonald, Dwight. "The Book-of-the-Millennium Club." *New Yorker* (19 Nov. 1952): 171-88.
- "Profile." *New Yorker* (7 Dec. 1955).
- The Ford Foundation: The Men and the Millions*. New York: Reynal, 1956 (New Yorker Magazine, Inc., 1955).
- "Masscult and Midcult." *Partisan Review* (Spring 1960): 203-33.
- MacDougall, Curtis D. *The Press and Its Problems*. Dubuque IA: William C. Brown, 1964.
- MacIver, Robert. *Academic Freedom in Our Time*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.
- Marshall, Catherine, and Gretchen B. Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research*. Newberry Park CA: Sage, 1989.
- Mayer, Milton. "Hutchins of Chicago." *Harper's* (March and April 1939).
- "An Undemoralized Man." Address at the Shimer College trustees dinner, University Club of Chicago, 10 Oct. 1972. Quoted in Ashmore, *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1989).
- "The Red Room." *Massachusetts Review* (Summer 1975).
- (John H. Hicks, ed.). *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- McArthur, Benjamin. "Revisiting Hutchins and *The Higher Learning in America*." *History of Higher Education Annual* (1987): 9-28.
- "A Man for No Season." *Reviews in American History* 18 (June 1990): 235-41.

- McCaughey, Robert A. "Shaking Things Up at Chicago." *New York Times Book Review* (3 Sep. 1989): 10-1.
- McCracken, Jane., ed. *Oral History: Basic Techniques*. Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature, 1974.
- McDonald, Donald. Editorial on the death of Hutchins. *The Center Magazine* (July/Aug. 1977): 1.
- McDonald, William F. "Middle Ages." *World Book Encyclopedia* 12 (1960): 428-33.
- McKelway, B.M. "Challenge to the Press." *Washington Evening Star* (30 March 1947): 4C.
- McNeill, William H. *Hutchins' University: A Memoir of the University of Chicago, 1929-1950*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Letter to Gonders, 27 May 1994.
- McQuail, Denis. *Mass Communication Theory*. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1987 (1983).
- and Sven Windahl. *Communication Models for the study of mass communications*. New York: Longman, 1981.
- Meiklejohn, Alexander. "What the Liberal College Is." In *Liberal College* (1920). Reprinted in Hofstadter and Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, 896-903. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- *The Experimental College*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932.
- Education Between Two Worlds*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932.
- Inclinations and Obligations*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948.
- Free Speech and Its Relation to Self-Government*. New York: Harper, 1948.
Excerpted in Franklin, *The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate*, 79-83.
Mineola NY: Foundation Press, 1977.
- Merrill, John C. *The Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy*. New York: Hastings House, 1974.
- *The Dialectic in Journalism: Toward a Responsible Use of Press Freedom*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989.
- Global Journalism: A Survey of International Communication*, 2d ed. New York: Longman, 1991.
- and Ralph L. Lowenstein. *Media, Messages, and Men*. New York: David McKay, 1971.
- and S. Jack Odell. *Philosophy and Journalism*. New York: Longman, 1983.
- and John Lee and Edward Jay Friedlander. *Modern Mass Media*, 2d ed. New York: Harper Collins, 1994.

- Mill, John Stuart. *The Autobiography of John Stuart Mill*. London: Oxford University Press, 1971 (1873).
- Mott, Frank Luther. *American Journalism: A History: 1690-1960*, 4th ed. New York: Macmillan, 1971 (1962, 1950, 1941).
- Murrill, Judith, ed. *Hutchins Commission*. Freedom of Information Publication No. 69, School of Journalism, University of Missouri, Jan. 1962.
- Newman, John Henry Cardinal. *The Idea of the University*. Westminster MD: Christian Classics, 1873 (1852). Also an edition ed. by Charles Frederick Harrold. New York: Longmans, Green, 1947.
- Niebuhr, Reinhold. Introduction to *Responsibility in Mass Communication*, by Schramm. New York: Harper, 1957.
- The Irony of Human History*. New York: Harper, 1962.
- Obermiller, Tim. "First impressions." *University of Chicago Magazine* 86.2 (Dec. 1993): 32-5.
- O'Brien, Dennis. "There's a Troublemaker." *Commonweal* (15 Dec. 1989): 710-1.
- Olson, Elder. "Richard McKeon." In Shils, ed., *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars*, 300-6. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Oretega y Gasset. *The Mission of the University*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1946.
- Palmer, Mack, professor emeritus of journalism, University of Oklahoma. A series of interviews by Gonders, Norman OK, 1993.
- "Part of the Press." *American Press* (May 1947): 24.
- Patterson, Philip, and Lee Wilkins. *Media Ethics: Issues and Cases*, 2d ed. Madison WI/Dubuque IA: Brown & Benchmark, 1994 (1991).
- Pauly, John M. "A Beginner's Guide to Doing Qualitative Research in Mass Communication." *Journalism Monographs* 125 (Feb. 1991).
- Pember, Don R. *Mass Media in America*, 5th ed. Chicago: Science Research Associates (IBM), 1987 (1974).
- Picard, Robert G. "Revisions of the 'Four Theories of the Press'." *Mass Communications Review* (Winter/Spring 1982): 25-8.
- The Press and the Decline of Democracy*. Westport CT: Greenwood, 1985.
- Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. Reprinted in *Common Cause*. Committee to Frame a World Constitution, University of Chicago Press (March 1948).
- "Press Responsibility." *Washington Post* (30 March 1947): 4B.

- Pritchard, John Paul. *Return to the Foundations*. Durham, 1942.
- "Problems of Journalism." Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. New York, 1947.
- "Professors and Freedom." *Wall Street Journal* (28 March 1947): 4.
- Purcell, Edward A. *The Crisis of Democratic Thought*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1973.
- The Crisis of Democratic Theory, Scientific Naturalism and the Problem of Value*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1974.
- Ragin, Charles C. *Constructing Social Research*. Pine Forge Press, 1994.
- Ravitch, Diane. "A Response to Michael's Apple." *Teachers College Record* 90.1 (1988): 128-30.
- "Multiculturalism: E Pluribus Plures." *American Scholar* (Summer 1990). Reprinted in Berman, ed., *Debating P.C.: The Controversy over Political Correctness on College Campuses*, 271-98. New York: Laurel, 1992.
- Real, James. "Meanwhile, Back on Mt. Olympus: A Short History of The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions." *Los Angeles Times WEST Magazine* (5 Oct. 1969): 9-17.
- Real, Michael. *Super Media: A Cultural Studies Approach*. Newbury Park CA: Sage, 1989.
- Redfield, James. "Robert Maynard Hutchins and his University." *Change* 22 (May/June 1990): 48-52.
- Redman, Ben Ray. "Not Without Socrates." *Saturday Review* (9 Dec. 1950): 6-7.
- Reedy, George E. Letter to Vesta Hutchins. In *The Center Magazine* (Sep./Oct. 1977): 45-6.
- Reeves, Thomas C. *Freedom and the Foundation: The Fund for the Republic in the Era of McCarthyism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969.
- "Research on Freedom." *Editor & Publisher* (4 March 1944): 32.
- Richardson, John V., Jr. Review of Robert M. Hutchins: *Portrait of an Educator*, by Dzuback. In *Library Quarterly* 62 (Oct. 1992): 452-4.
- Riesman. *Thorstein Veblen*. New York, 1953.
- "My Education in Soc 2 and My Efforts to Adapt it in the Harvard Setting." In MacAloon, ed., *General Education in the Social Sciences: Centennial Reflections on the College of the University of Chicago*, 178-216. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Rivers, William L., Wilbur Schramm, and Clifford G. Christians. *Responsibility in Mass Communication*. New York: Harper and Row, 1980 (1969).

- Robinson, Michael J. "Fifty Years in the Doghouse: Blaming the Press is Nothing New." *Washington Journalism Review* (March 1986): 44-5.
- Rogers, Everett M. Foreword to *Milestones in Mass Communication Research*, by Lowery and DeFleur, vii-xv. New York: Longman, 1988.
- "Looking Back, Looking Forward: A Century of Communication Study." In Gaunt, ed., *Beyond Agendas*, 19-39. Westport CT: Greenwood, 1992.
- A History of Communication Study*. New York: Free Press, 1994.
- Letter to Gonders, 1 June 1994.
- Telephone interview by Gonders, 15 June 1994.
- and Steven H. Chaffee. "Communication and Journalism from 'Daddy' Bleyer to Wilbur Schramm: A Palimpsest." *Journalism Monographs* 148 (Dec. 1994). Paper presented to the Communication Theory and Methodology Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Convention, Montreal, Aug. 1992.
- Rosten, Leo. "Harold D. Lasswell." In Shils, ed., *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars*, 276-86. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Routhblatt, Sheldon. "Education and Exclusion." *London Review of Books* (13 Feb. 1992): 13-4.
- Rubin, David M. "Liebling and Friends: Trends in American Criticism, 1859-1963." Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism, Mass Communications and Society Division, Ottawa, 16-19 Aug. 1975.
- Rubin, Joan Shelley. *The Making of Middle Brown Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- Rudolph, Frederick. *The American College & University: A History*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990 (1962).
- "Frames of Reference." In *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636*, 1-24. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977. Reprinted in Conrad and Haworth, eds., *Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience*, 21-38. Needham Heights MA: Ginn Press, ASHE Reader Series, 1990.
- Rulon, Philip Reed. Review of *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator*, by Dzuback. In *History: Reviews of New Books* 21 (Spring 1993): 135-6.
- Sabine, George. *A History of Political Theory*, 3d ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.
- Said, Edward S. "The Politics of Knowledge." *Raritan Review* (Summer 1991). Reprinted in Berman, ed., *Debating P.C.: The Controversy over Political*

- Correctness on College Campuses*, 172-89. New York: Laurel, 1992.
- Schiller, Daniel. "An historical approach to objectivity and professionalism in American news reporting." *Journal of Communication* 29.4 (1979): 46-57.
- Schillinger, Elisabeth Hupp. "A dynamic theory of world press action and motivation: an integrative model." Doctoral dissertation, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1992.
- Schlegel, John Henry. "American Legal Realism and Empirical Social Science: The Singular Case of Underhill Moore." *Buffalo Law Review* 29 (1980): 204-13.
- Schuyler, Philip. "Group Studying Press Freedom Meets." *Editor & Publisher* (25 March 1944): 13.
- "Press Freedom Probers Provocative Pundits." *Editor & Publisher* (1 April 1944): 54.
- "2 Civil Liberties Champions Clash on Press Freedom." *Editor & Publisher* (9 Dec. 1944): 58.
- Schwarzlose, Richard A. "The Marketplace of Ideas: A Measure of Free Expression." *Journalism Monographs* 118 (Dec. 1989).
- Searle, John. "The Storm over the University." *New York Review of Books* 37 (6 Dec. 1990): 34-42. Reprinted in Berman, ed., *Debating P.C.: The Controversy over Political Correctness on College Campuses*, 85-123. New York: Laurel, 1992.
- Seldes, George. *Lords of the Press*. New York: Julius Messner, 1938.
- Shils, Edward, ed. *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- "Robert Maynard Hutchins." In Shils, ed., *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars*, 185-96. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- "Robert E. Park." In Shils, ed., *Remembering the University of Chicago Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars*, 383-98. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Siebert, Fred S. "Contempt of Court and the Press." *Journalism Quarterly* 5 (1928): 22-33.
- and Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm. *Four Theories of the Press*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956.
- Sinclair, Upton. *The Brass Check*. Muscatine IA: Norman Baker, 1928 (1919).
- Singer, Milton. "Robert Redfield." In Shils, ed., *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars*, 413-29. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Slade, Clyde Melvin. "Daily Newspapers and Social Accountability." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 5.2 (Winter 1980): 42-51.

- Sloan, Douglas. "Harmony, Chaos, and Consensus: The American College Curriculum." *Teacher's College Record* 73.2 (Dec. 1971): 221-51.
- Sloan, William David, ed. *Makers of the Media Mind: Journalism Educators and Their Ideas*. Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1990.
- Smith, Albion W. "Harper as University President." *Biblical World* 27 (March 1906): 217-8.
- Smith, Dennis. *The Chicago School: A Liberal Critique of Capitalism*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.
- Smith, Donald L. "Zechariah Chafee Jr. and the Positive View of Press Freedom." *Journalism History* 5.3 (Autumn 1978): 86-92.
- Smith, J. Winfree. *A Search for the Liberal College: The Beginning of the St. John's Program*. Annapolis MD: St. John's College Press, 1983.
- Smith, T.V. "The Chicago School." *International Journal of Ethics* 46 (April 1937): 378-9.
- *A Non-Existent Man: An Autobiography*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962.
- Sperber, Murray. *College Sports Inc.: The Athletic Department vs. The University*. New York: Henry Holt, 1991 (1990).
- Steinbauer, Mary Youatt, ed. "The 100 most important Americans of the 20th century." *Life* (Fall 1990).
- Steiner, George. "An Examined Life." *New Yorker* 23 (Oct. 1989): 142-6.
- Stensaas, Harlan. "Development of the objectivity ethic in U.S. daily newspapers." *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 2.1 (1986): 50-60.
- Stevens, John D. *Shaping the First Amendment: The Development of Free Expression*. Beverly Hills CA: Sage, 1982.
- Stewart, Milton D. *The American Press and the San Francisco Conference*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.
- Stipp, H., K. Hill-Scott, and A. Dorr. "Using social science to improve children's television." *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 31.4 (1987): 461-73.
- Straubhaar, Joseph, and Robert LaRose. *Communications Media in the Information Society*. Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1996 (review copy).
- "Study on Free Press Delivered to Truman." *Louisville Times* (26 March 1947): 13.
- Swain, Bruce. *Reporters' Ethics*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1978.
- Sykes, Charles J. *Profscam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.
- Tebbel, John. *The compact history of the American newspaper*. New York: Hawthorn, 1963.

- Thelin, John R. "Rudolph Rediscovered." Introductory essay to *The American College & University: A History*, by Rudolph, ix-xxiii. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990.
- "The Press and Criticism." *Los Angeles Times* (13 April 1947): II-4.
- "The Press Debates Itself." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (1 April 1947): 2C.
- Tierney, William G. "Cultural Politics and the Curriculum in Postsecondary Education." In Conrad and Haworth, eds., *Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience*, 39-54. Needham Heights, MA: Ginn Press, ASHE Reader Series, 1990.
- Trimmell, Angus. Review of *Robert Maynard Hutchins: A Memoir*, by Mayer, ed. Hicks. In *Booklist* 89 (1 May 93): 1553.
- Udick, Robert. "The Hutchins Paradox: Objectivity Versus Diversity." *Mass Communication Review* 20.3-4 (1993): 148-57.
- Veblen, Thorstein. *Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Vanguard, 1927 (1899).
- Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men*. St. Louis/New York: Huebsch, 1918. Reprinted in Hofstadter and Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, 818-32. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Veysey, Laurence R. *The Emergence of the American University*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- "Stability and Experiment in the American Undergraduate Curriculum." In Keyser, *Content and Context*, 1-63. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973. Reprinted in Conrad and Haworth, eds., *Curriculum in Transition: Perspectives on the Undergraduate Experience*, 161-204. Needham Heights MA: Ginn Press, ASHE Reader Series, 1990.
- Villard, Oswald Garrison. *How Stands Our Press?* No. 19 in the Human Events Pamphlet Series. Chicago: Human Events Associates, 1947.
- The Disappearing Daily*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.
- Vivian, John. *The Media of Mass Communication*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1991.
- Vyshinsky, Andrei. *The Law of the Soviet State* (1948). In Franklin, *The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate*, 46. Mineola NY: Foundation Press, 1977.
- Wali, Kameschwar C. "Subrahmanyam Chandrasekhar." In Shils, ed., *Remembering the University of Chicago: Teachers, Scientists, and Scholars*, 42-58. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Ward, F. Champion. "Requiem for the Hutchins College." In MacAloon, ed., *General Education in the Social Sciences: Centennial Reflections on the College of the University of Chicago*, 77-100. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

- Webster, David S. "Rudolph's *American College and University: A History: An Appraisal a Generation after Publication.*" *Review of Higher Education* 13.3 (Spring 1990): 398-411.
- "History of Higher Education." Lectures at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, fall 1991.
- Westmeyer, Paul. *A History of American Higher Education*. Springfield IL: Charles C Thomas, 1985.
- Wheeler, David L. "An Ominous Legacy of the Atomic Age." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 40.19 (2 Jan. 1994): A6-7.
- Wheeler, Harvey. "The Constitution Under Strain: A Conversation about Watergate." Interview with Hutchins in *The Center Magazine* (March/April 1974): 43-52.
- Whetmore, Edward Jay. *Mediamerica, Mediaworld: Form, Content, and Consequence of Mass Communication*, 5th ed. Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1993 (1989).
- White, Llewellyn. *The American Radio*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.
- and Robert D. Leigh. *Peoples Speaking to Peoples*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946.
- Wilson, Woodrow. "Should an Antecedent Liberal Education Be Required of Students in Law, Medicine, and Theology?" *Proceedings of the International Congress of Education* (Chicago, 1893): 116-7.
- "Mere Literature" and Other Essays. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1896.
- "The Spirit of Learning." *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* 18 (Sep. 1909): 1-14.
- Wimmer, Roger D., and Joseph R. Dominick. *Mass Media Research*, 3d ed. Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 1991 (1983).
- Winks, Robin W., ed. *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence*. New York: Harper & Row, 1969.
- Wittcoff, Raymond H. "Yes: Bootstraps of Free Men." *Saturday Review* (9 Sep. 1950): 7-8.
- Wofford, Harris, Jr., ed. *Embers of the World*. The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1970.
- Wolff, Robert Paul. *The Ideal of the University*. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction, 1992 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).
- Wood, Donald N. (with A. Arvo Leps). *Mass Media and the Individual*. St. Paul MN: West, 1983.
- Woodberry, George Edward. *The Torch: Eight Lectures on Race Power in Literature Delivered Before the Lowell Institute of Boston MCMIII*. New York: Macmillan,

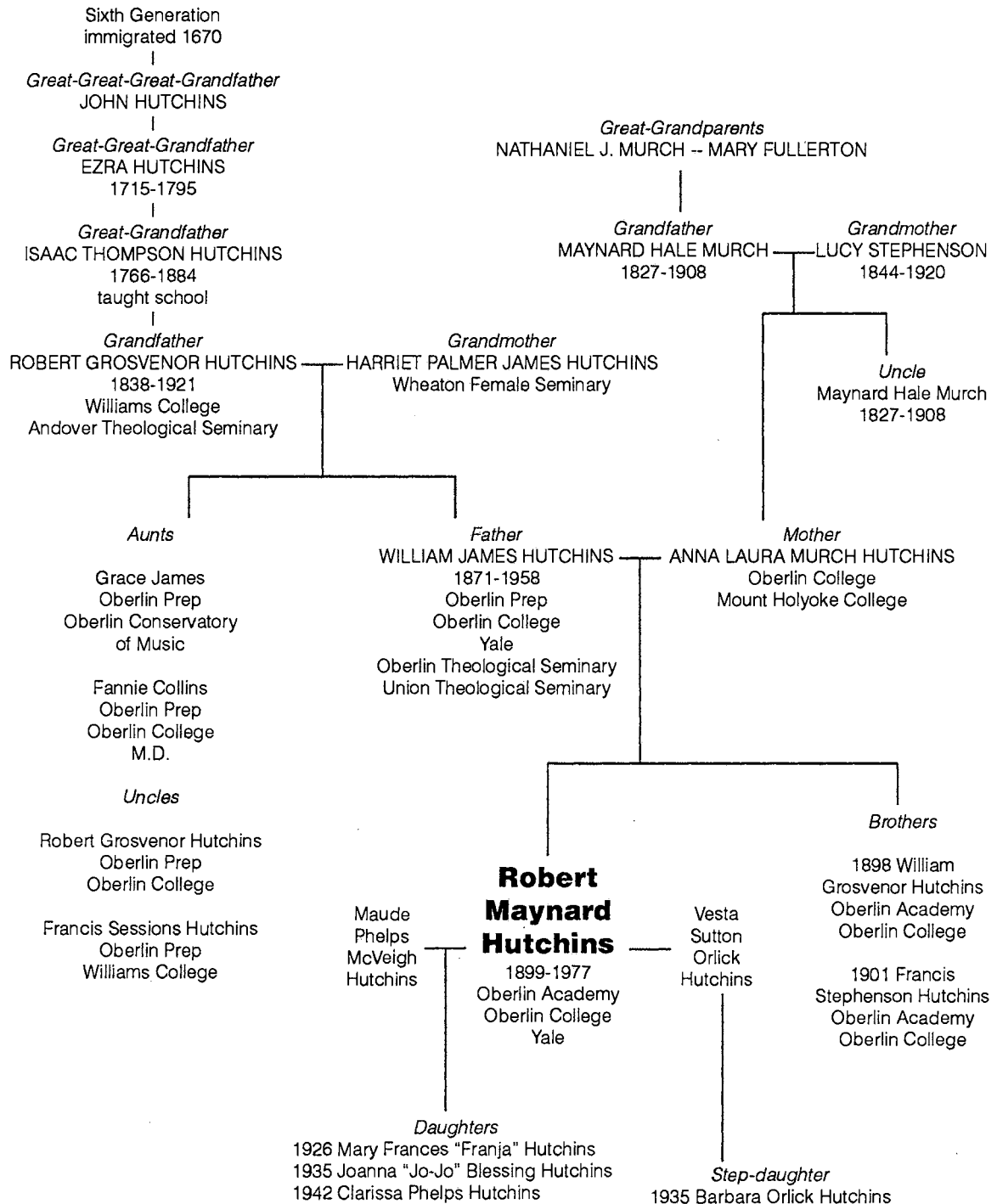
1912 (1905).

---*Great Writers*. New York: Macmillan, 1912 (1907).

Wright, Quincy. "What Is a University?" *Bulletin of the Association of University Professors* 30.2 (Summer 1944): 175.

APPENDIX A

GENEALOGY



APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGY

- 1608-74 JOHN MILTON
1636 Harvard founded
1644 Milton's *Areopagitica*
1743-26 THOMAS JEFFERSON
1773-67 JEREMIAH DAY
1802-53 Benjamin Sillman at Yale
1806-73 JOHN STUART MILL
1810 U of Berlin founded
1828 Yale Report and Jacksonianism
1831-08 DANIEL COIT GILMAN
1834-26 CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT
1838-21 I.T. HUTCHINS (RMH grandfather)
1842-10 WILLIAM JAMES
1850 Francis Wayland counters Yale Report
1852-59 Cardinal Newman's discourses
1859 Darwin's *Origin of the Species*
1859 Mill's *Essay on Liberty*
1859-52 JOHN DEWEY
1852-63 Henry Tappan, U of Michigan president
1856-06 WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER
1861-65 Eliot at Harvard U
1861-65 Civil War
1862 RMH father, Williams grad
1865-33 IRVING BABBITT
1865-69 Eliot at MIT
1866-58 ABRAHAM FLEXNER
1868-09 Eliot, Harvard president
1871-58 WILL HUTCHINS (RMH father)
1872-64 ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
1872-76 Gilman, U of California president
1876-01 Gilman, Johns Hopkins president
1876-78 Harper at Denison U
1879-86 Harper at Baptist Theological Seminary
1884 Dewey, Johns Hopkins Ph.D.
1884-86 Flexner enrolled at Johns Hopkins
1884-94 Dewey at U of Michigan
1885- Babbitt enrolled at Harvard
1886-91 Harper at Yale
1886-56 ZECHARIAH CHAFEE
1889-74 WALTER LIPPMANN
1890 Death of Cardinal Newman
1892 U of Chicago founded
1892-06 Harper, Chicago president
1892-71 REINHOLD NIEBUHR
1892-82 ARCHIBALD MacLEISH
1893-97 Meiklejohn enrolled at Cornell
1894- Babbitt at Harvard
1894-04 Dewey at U of Chicago
1894-31 Mead at U of Chicago
1897-12 Meiklejohn at Brown
1898-67 HENRY LUCE
1899-77 ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS
1901-09 T. Roosevelt Administration
1902-78 HAROLD LASSWELL
1904-52 Dewey at Columbia
1905-06 Flexner enrolled at Harvard
1906-07 Flexner enrolled at U of Berlin
1905-46 Amos Alonzo Stagg coach at U of Chicago
1906 Death of Harper
1906-23 Judson, Chicago president
1907 The "first" *Higher Learning* (Veblen)
1907-87 WILBUR SCHRAMM
1907- Hutchinses at Oberlin
1908 Death of Gilman
1908 Walter Williams Journalist's Creed
1910 Death of James
1912-26 Meiklejohn Amherst president
1912-16 Buchanan enrolled at Amherst
1913-21 Wilson Administration
1913-28 Flexner at Rockefeller Gen Ed Board
1913-35 Park at U of Chicago
1914 Amherst survey course
1915-17, 19-21 RMH at Oberlin
1916-19 Buchanan at Amherst
1917 Columbia general education honors
1918 RMH in Italy
1918-24 Lasswell enrolled at U of Chicago
1919 Barr and Buchanan Rhodes Scholars
1920-36 Erskine's Great Books at Columbia
1921 Yale grads: RMH, Luce, Benton
1921 Death of RMH grandfather
1921-48 RMH mar. Maude Phelps McVeigh
1921-22 RMH at Lake Placid
1921-23 Harding Administration
1921-24 Buchanan enrolled at Harvard
1923-25 Burton, U of Chicago president
1923-28 RMH, Yale secretariat
1923-28 Gideonse enrolled at U of Geneva
1923-29 Coolidge Administration
1923 ASNE Canons of Journalism
1924-25 Buchanan at College of City of New York
1924-38 Lasswell at U of Chicago
1924-36 Barr at U of Virginia
1925-27 Mason, U of Chicago president
1926 Franja Huchins born
1926 SDX Code of Ethics
1926 Death of Eliot
1926-38 Meiklejohn at U of Wisconsin
1927 RMH meets Adler
1927-29 Woodward, U of Chicago president
1927-32 Meiklejohn's Experimental College
1928-29 RMH, Yale Law dean
1928 RMH passes Connecticut Bar
1928-37 Erskine president of Julliard
1929 Great Depression begins
1929-36 Buchanan at U of Virginia
1929-33 Hoover Administration
1929-51 RMH, U of Chicago president/chancellor
1930-39 Flexner, Institute director at Princeton
1930-47 Schramm at U of Iowa

1930-51 Adler at U of Chicago
 1930 Motion Picture Code of Ethics
 1930 National Advisory Council on Radio in Ed
 1930 NBC Advisory Council
 1931 Death of Mead
 1931-32 Buchanan sabbatical in England
 1933-53 James Bryant Conant, Harvard president
 1933 Mayer's first RMH interview
 1933 Death of Babbitt
 1933-34 Buchanan sabbatical at Johns Hopkins
 1933-45 F. Roosevelt Administration
 1934 Adler debate with Carlson
 1934 McNeill enrolls at U of Chicago
 1935 Hearst infiltrates U of Chicago
 1935 Walgreen Case
 1935 Jo-Jo Hutchins born
 1935 Barbara Orlick (Hutchins) born
 1936 *Higher Learning* published
 1936 First Heisman to Chicago's Jay Berwanger
 1936-37 Barr and Buchanan at U of Chicago
 1937-47 Barr and Buchanan at St. John's
 1937 AAUP recommends changes at U of Chicago
 1937 Death of Walgreen
 1937 Radio Code of Ethics
 1938 Lasswell and Gideonse leave Chicago
 1939-75 Wm. O. Douglas on Supreme Court
 1939 Hutchins proposes 8-year program
 1939-45 War in Europe
 1941 Hutchins radio war addresses
 1941-45 American involvement in WWII
 1942 Clarissa Hutchins born
 1942 Self-sustaining nuclear reaction at Chicago
 1943 U of Chicago acquires *Britannica*
 1943-47 Schramm at U of Iowa
 1944 P&T and compensation proposals
 1944 Commission created
 1944 Death of Park
 1945-54 Truman Administration
 1945 First test bomb exploded in New Mexico
 1945 Death of FDR
 1945 First Harvard Report
 1945 Birth of United Nations
 1945 World Constitution Committee created
 1945-46, 48-51 RMH, U of Chicago chancellor
 1945-55 Schramm at U of Illinois
 1946-57 Riesman at U of Chicago
 1946-70 Lasswell at Yale
 1946 First local press councils established
 1946 Truman Commission on education
 1946 Football abolished at U of Chicago
 1946-48 RMH, leave of absence
 1946 *Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution*
 1947-77 RMH, *Britannica* chairman of the board
 1947 Report on the press published
 1947 RMH leaves Maude
 1947 Barr and Buchanan leave St. John's
 1947 Buchanan softens on canon
 1947 McNeill at U of Chicago
 1948 RMH and Maude divorce
 1948 *World Constitution* published
 1949-77 RMH mar. Barbara Sutton Orlick
 1949 Broyles Commission
 1950-53 Korean War
 1951-54 RMH, Ford Foundation
 1951-61 Kimpton, U of Chicago president
 1952 Adler's Institute of Philosophical Research
 1952 *Great Books of the Western World* published
 1952 Death of Dewey
 1952 Television Code of Ethics
 1952 Arkansas Fifth-Year Plan
 1953-57 McCarthyism
 1953-61 Eisenhower Administration
 1954-59 RMH, Fund for the Republic
 1954 Hutchins on *Meet the Press*
 1955-73 Schramm at Stanford
 1955 RMH addresses ASNE Convention
 1955 Ford grant for St. John's self-study
 1956 *Four Theories of the Press* published
 1957 Riesman to Harvard
 1957 Death of Chafee and McCarthy
 1958 Death of Flexner and father of RMH
 1959-77 RMH, at The Center
 1961-63 Kennedy Administration
 1961-68 Beadle, U of Chicago president
 1961 *Columbia Journalism Review* founded
 1961 The Center Seminar in Athens
 1963-69 Johnson Administration
 1963 The Center Pacem test-run, New York City
 1964-74 Vietnam War
 1964 Santa Fe campus of St. John's founded
 1964 Death of Meiklejohn
 1965 The Center Pacem in Terris I, New York City
 1965 Death of Stagg
 1967 *The Center Magazine* founded
 1967 The Center Pacem in Terris II, Geneva
 1967 Death of Luce
 1967 First ombudsman at Louisville
 1968 Death of Buchanan and Carlson
 1968 The Center "refounding"
 1968-75 *Chicago Journalism Review*
 1968-76 Levi, U of Chicago president
 1969-74 Nixon Administration
 1969 Pacem in Maribus
 1970-72 Lasswell at City U of New York
 1970 The Center's *World Constitution* published
 1971 Death of Niebuhr
 1971 First state press council established in Minn.
 1972-76 Lasswell at Temple and Columbia
 1973 Death of Benton
 1973 Watergate
 1973 The Center Pacem in Terris III, D.C.
 1973-84 National News Council
 1973-87 Schramm in Hawaii and Hong Kong
 1974-77 Ford Administration
 1974 Death of Lippmann
 1975 Malcolm Moos heads The Center
 1975 Reorganization of The Center under Hutchins
 1975 The Center Pacem in Terris IV, D.C.
 1975 Death of Wilder
 1976-78 Wilson, U of Chicago president
 1977 Death of RMH
 1977 The Center bequeated to U of California
 1977 *Washington Journalism Review* founded
 1978 Gray, U of Chicago president
 1978 Death of Lasswell
 1980 Death of Wm. O. Douglas
 1982 Death of Barr and MacLeish
 1984 National Endowment panel on general education
 1986 Death of Mayer
 1987 Death of Schramm
 1989 RMH bio by Ashmore
 1991 RMH bio by Dzuback
 1991 RMH bio by McNeill
 1993 RMH bio by Mayer (ed. Hicks)

VITA 

Susan Dell Gonders Golike
Candidate for the Degree of
Doctor of Education

Dissertation: A GROUNDED THEORY COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HUTCHINS PLAN PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION AND THE HUTCHINS COMMISSION PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRESS

Major Field: Higher Education

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, December 9, 1950, daughter of Vada Margaret "Bonnie" Gonders and Roy H. Gonders.

Education: Graduated from Midwest City High School in Midwest City, Oklahoma, in May 1969; received Bachelor of Arts in Journalism from the University of Oklahoma, Norman, in May 1973; received Master of Education in Community College Teaching from the University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, in May 1991. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Education in College Teaching in Mass Communication at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, in December 1995.

Experience: Faculty at Rose State College, Midwest City, Oklahoma (1985-93); the University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond (1989-91); the University of Oklahoma, Norman (1992-93); and Southeast Missouri State University, Cape Girardeau (1994-present). Professional communications consultant with Gonders Graphex, Oklahoma City (1973-94), Oklahoma State Home Builders Association, Oklahoma City (1973-present); Oklahoma Breast Cancer Screening Center (1987-present); The Ninety-Nines, Inc., International Organization of Women Pilots, Oklahoma City (1978-80, 1992-94); Urban League of Greater Oklahoma City (1978-93); Oklahoma Water and Pollution Control Association (1974-87); Oklahoma Zoological Society, Oklahoma City (1974-83); Oklahoma Living Magazine, Oklahoma City (1974-81); Oklahoma Monthly Magazine, Oklahoma City (1974-76, 1982-84); Oklahoma Gazette Newspaper, Oklahoma City (1979-81).

Professional Memberships: Public Relations Society of America and the Society of Professional Journalists.

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW

Date: 11-14-95

IRB#: ED-96-046

Proposal Title: A GROUNDED THEORY COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HUTCHINS PLAN PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION AND THE HUTCHINS COMMISSION PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRESS

Principal Investigator(s): Maureen Nemecek, Susan Dell Gonders Golike

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): None

ALL APPROVALS MAY BE SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY FULL INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD AT NEXT MEETING.

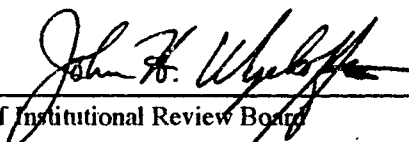
APPROVAL STATUS PERIOD VALID FOR ONE CALENDAR YEAR AFTER WHICH A CONTINUATION OR RENEWAL REQUEST IS REQUIRED TO BE SUBMITTED FOR BOARD APPROVAL.

ANY MODIFICATIONS TO APPROVED PROJECT MUST ALSO BE SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL.

Comments, Modifications/Conditions for Approval or Reasons for Deferral or Disapproval are as follows:

IF THE APPLICATION HAD BEEN SUBMITTED IN A TIMELY MANNER, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN APPROVED AS EXEMPT.

Signature:


Chair of Institutional Review Board

Date: November 17, 1995