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Indiana University as the "Mother of College Presidents": Herman B Wells as Inheritor, Exemplar, and Agent

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INTRODUCTION

At the middle of June, 1920, the leafy sentinels of Dunn's Woods bore stoic witness to the centennial celebrations of Indiana University. The university had endured fire and drought, a wholesale move to a different campus, ten presidents, and nearly 90 commencements. All of the living former presidents - David Starr Jordan, John M. Coulter, and Joseph Swain - were in attendance. Each one had served on the Indiana faculty before their selection as president, and both Coulter and Swain were alumni. The current president, William Lowe Bryan, was also an alumnus and faculty member before becoming president in 1902. In fact, so many other college and university presidents around the country were drawn from the ranks of Indiana alumni and faculty that IU possessed a growing reputation as the "Mother of College Presidents."1

In keeping with the Hoosier virtues of thrift and frugality, Indiana University had always done more with less over its 100-year history. Located in the smallest state beyond the Eastern seaboard, it had the distinction of being the oldest state university west of the Allegheny Mountains. Founded four years after Indiana statehood, pioneer Hoosiers made provision for higher education in the state constitution, but that dream had been caught in

the thickets of Indiana politics ever since. Opened as the Indiana State Seminary in 1825, the first building, situated on a few acres of cleared forest near Bloomington's town center, resembled a schoolhouse, not surprisingly, and the first class was composed of 10 young men, instructed by a lone professor teaching classics. In 1829 the faculty expanded to three individuals, including Andrew Wylie, who served also as President. Wylie, a minister of the Presbyterian faith, eventually transferred his allegiance to the Episcopal Church. Each of his presidential successors were Protestant clergymen as well, even though the university was non-denominational. For its first several decades, Indiana was among the struggling small and poor colleges on the Western frontier of settlement.

By the early 1880s, the campus, now nestled up to busy railroad tracks, boasted two large buildings, a dozen faculty members, and a co-educational student body of about 135.2 In 1883, disaster struck in the form of a raging fire that destroyed the ten-year-old Science Hall, and a pungent administrative scandal erupted in the following year that caused the resignation of President Lemuel Moss, a Baptist preacher. In short order, the Board of Trustees decided to move the campus to a 20-acre plot five blocks east of the courthouse purchased from the Dunn family, and to appoint David Starr Jordan, a biology professor, as president in 1885, thus ending more than a half-century of leadership by members of the clergy. These two events - the move to a new campus and the selection of a new president - contained the seeds of the university's rebirth.3

REBORN UNIVERSITY

The new campus arose like a phoenix on the old Dunn farm. Two buildings, Owen Hall and Wylie Hall, were promptly constructed of bricks that were salvaged from the ruins of Science Hall or produced on site. Substantial limestone buildings followed later. Upon being named university president, Jordan spoke of the institution "as the most valuable of Indiana's possessions, not yet a great university, not yet even a real university, but the germ of one, its growth being as certain as the progress of the seasons."⁴

Shaped by his scientific training at Cornell University and a disciple of the educational ideas of its president, Andrew D. White, Jordan revised the curriculum beyond the classics, to include science and modern languages, and emphasized specialization by instituting the "major" course of study for students. Among the professoriate, advanced training and an earned doctorate became standard. An apostle of the research ideal, Jordan declared: "The highest function of the real university is that of instruction by investigation, and a man who cannot and does not investigate cannot train investigators."5 He practiced what he preached, energetically pursuing taxonomic ichthyology (the study of the classification of fishes) and leading promising students to commit to careers in scientific or scholarly research.

Preoccupied with improving the faculty in the face of limited financial resources, Jordan experimented with another innovation. "Next to freeing the University from its self-imposed educational fetters," he recalled,

my next important move was to bring trained and loyal alumni into the faculty. Up to that time vacancies had often been filled by professors released for one reason or another from Eastern institutions. Among my own early selections were a few young teachers from the seaboard universities, but most of them failed to adapt themselves, appearing to feel that coming so far West was a form of banishment. Indeed, as a whole, they seemed more eager to get back East than to build up a reputation in Indiana. Moreover, I found among the recent graduates several of remarkable ability; to them, therefore, I promised professorships when they had secured the requisite advanced training in the East or in Europe.⁶

Included among the many alumni he inspired were Indiana faculty stalwarts Joseph Swain, William Lowe Bryan, Carl Eigenmann, James A. Woodburn, David Mottier, and William A. Rawles.⁷ Indiana was without endowed wealth or accumulated prestige, so Jordan took a page from Hoosier agricultural heritage and populated the faculty with homegrown talent.

In March 1891, tycoon Leland Stanford, Senator and former Governor of California, and his wife Jane, paid a visit to Jordan in Bloomington to describe plans to found a university, named in honor of their deceased son, and to offer the presidency to Jordan. Quite excited by the opportunities (as well as the munificent salary of \$10,000), Jordan could not resist, and tendered his resignation. ⁸ He left with warm feelings for IU, having spent 12 years -- nearly a third of his life -- in her service, first as a professor and then as a president, making strenuous efforts "to put Bloomington on the map." ⁹

The IU Board of Trustees basked in the reflected honor and asked Jordan to name his successor. Jordan suggested his colleague in botany, John M. Coulter. The trustees were probably less pleased that he convinced six other IU faculty members to accompany him to Stanford to provide a nucleus for the new university, but Jordan found replacements before he departed. Local Bloomington wits referred to Stanford as the western branch of Indiana with a combination of pride and chagrin. President Coulter left after two years in office, and the Indiana trustees again turned to Jordan for advice. He recommended mathematician Joseph Swain, who was one of the six IU men that accompanied Jordan to Stanford two years before. Swain, a Quaker, served for nine years before he was called to lead Swarthmore College. Again, counsel was sought from Jordan, and he recommended another alumni and faculty member, William Bryan, whose research in experimental psychology was well known in the discipline.¹⁰

INTO THE 20TH CENTURY

By 1902, when Bryan took office, the campus had grown into its new site. An arc of five substantial buildings was arrayed on the border of Dunn's Woods. In contrast to the old campus, where the land was cleared of trees, now the forest served as an amenity and source of identification with the natural world and the pioneer past. The university had grown to sixty-seven faculty members supervising nearly 800 students on the woodland campus.¹¹

During the first two decades under Bryan, Indiana experienced unprecedented growth and programmatic diversification. The student population doubled during this period, with a corresponding increase in faculty numbers. IU responded to the state's need for physicians by opening the School of Medicine in Indianapolis in 1903; new professional schools for nurses and for dentists followed later. On the Bloomington campus, the Graduate School was organized in 1904 to oversee graduate work, although viable PhD programs were slow in coming, and specialized professional schools were created for education (1908), commerce and finance (1920), and music (1921). Statewide general education was addressed by the formation of the Extension Division in 1912. Thus, in its first 100 years, IU had expanded beyond the liberal arts to encompass many categories of training for the professions.

In the space of a century, Indiana University had evolved from humble beginnings to a more diverse coeducational institution in step with national trends. It was an overwhelmingly white school, with a few African Americans in the student body. In its two decades under the Bryan administration, the university labored mightily to modernize its academic profile, creating professional schools and outreach programs to serve Indiana citizens while operating under frugal state appropriations. In contrast, some of its sister schools – the state universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois – had emerged as national leaders in research and service, using their increasing enrollments and more generous public support to make gains in scope, influence, and quality. Indiana remained a decent, if provincial, university.

The centennial celebrations in 1920 looked to the past in wonderment that the university had survived numerous vicissitudes, including disastrous fires, political infighting, and penurious financing from the state, while providing educational services for a growing proportion of the state's citizens. That history, connected to the longer history of universities in Western civilization, gave the academic community encouragement to face the uncertainties of the future.

Without the advantages conferred by status or affluence, Indiana had developed an unusually extensive network of educational leaders, much of it traceable to Jordan and his influence. When Jordan left Indiana in 1891 for Stanford, he took several IU faculty members with him, including mathematician Swain and geologist

John C. Branner, whom he had met when they were students at Cornell in the early 1870s. In 1913, Branner succeeded Jordan as Stanford president. When Swain was Indiana president in the 1890s and Bryan head of the Philosophy Department, three future presidents got their undergraduate training in Bryan's department - Elmer B. Bryan [no relation to William] who was president, in turn, of Franklin College, Colgate University, and Ohio University; Ernest H. Lindley, who served at the University of Idaho and the University of Kansas; and Edward Conradi, at Florida State College for Women. Another disciple of Jordan, alumnus Robert J. Aley, became head of mathematics at Indiana before serving as president of the University of Maine and, subsequently, Butler University. Swain's replacement at Swarthmore was Indiana alumnus Frank Aydelotte, IU's first Rhodes Scholar, who graduated in 1900 and taught in the IU English Department from 1908-15. Many other alumni graduates from the 1880s and 90s were presidents of normal schools and colleges, and several former faculty members became presidents of other U.S. universities, including Walter A. Jessup at the University of Iowa. 13

This dense web of academic ties, fostered initially by Jordan's successful experiment in growing IU faculty members, kept Indiana from falling off the map of the Big Ten. In 1922, the editor of the Indiana alumni quarterly noted how Indiana was supplying educational leaders in colleges and universities all across the U.S.: "Their fellow alumni rejoice in their progress and advancement in the educational world, but feel regret that the University and the state of Indiana must be deprived of their

leadership."¹⁴ Jordan's efforts to "put Bloomington on the map" in the late nineteenth century paid off in unexpected ways, knitting the alumni and faculty closer together and imbuing them with a conception of the modern university that proved useful in a time of sustained growth in American higher education.

HERMAN WELLS, COLLEGIAN

The first year of IU's second century saw the enrollment of Herman Wells. Hoosier-born and bred in Boone County, he attended Lebanon High School, getting top grades. He was an unusually popular young man, being voted "Funniest" and "Best All-Around Boy" by his senior class peers. He willingly served as business manager for all sorts of activities, ranging from the high school yearbook and class newspaper to theatrical productions and the band. The real secret of his popularity, however, was an extraordinary sensitivity to other people and the development of remarkable powers of intuition and empathy. At Indiana, Wells pledged Sigma Nu fraternity and entered into communal life at the chapter house at 344 E. Kirkwood. 15 Enrolled in IU's new School of Commerce and Finance (now the Kelley School of Business), he gravitated toward economics as an academic subject while maintaining a very active social life. Wells was able to hone his social skills in service to Sigma Nu, the Union Board, the YMCA, and other activities while at the same time building an elective family composed of his fraternity brothers and an extensive circle of friends. 16

President Bryan enjoyed great respect among the 2,500 students. But it was a far cry from Bryan's student days in the 1880s where the student body was less than 150 and the faculty could not help knowing each student by name. Wells, like many of his fellow students, admired Bryan from afar, but he did, however, know other faculty members better, including T.C. Steele, who was in residence as a visiting artist.

"From the very beginning," Wells declared, "I fell in love with Indiana University." The university brought an alternate reality to light. Wells later recalled, "those years revealed a hitherto unimagined world to a small-town boy." In his autobiography, *Being Lucky*, he reflected:

For me it was an efflorescent period when my mind was open to receive a myriad of new ideas. It was also a time when my senses were so keen that they eagerly absorbed the beauty of the changing seasons in southern Indiana, the delicate pastel colors of spring, the drowsy lushness of summer, the brilliance of the fall foliage, and the still but invigorating atmosphere of winter. Music, literature, and art – my whole being responded to the stimuli of collegiate life, in and out of the classroom. It was for me a time of response, growth, transformation, and inspiration.¹⁷

Indiana's *genius loci*, the place-based constellation of material energies and cultural associations, left an indelible imprint on Wells.¹⁸

Wells graduated in 1924, and returned to campus as an economics instructor in 1930. He became busy with the formulation and implementation of new regulations for the state of Indiana's financial institutions in the context of the national economic depression. In 1935, President Bryan chose Wells as the Dean of the School of Business Administration, succeeding William Rawles upon his retirement. Two years later, Wells became Acting President, and then, a few months later, was selected as President, completing his meteoric rise to the top administrative position at the university from which he had graduated only 11 years before. A confirmed bachelor with a large body and small ego, Wells embarked on the presidency with relish and great vigor, and single-minded dedication. He remembered,

in some mysterious fashion, I seemed to have a total vision of what I hoped the university could become in my time. With this to guide me, *all* my activities were undertaken with the thought and expectation that they would be of benefit to the institution as it moved toward what I believed to be its manifest goals.²⁰

As he shouldered the responsibilities of public service, he found freedom in serving as an agent of the state. "My personal ambitions," Wells explained, "became ambitions for the university's greatness, for the realization of the

university's full potential, including the wish that every student . . . could enjoy as exciting and stimulating an experience as I had had.²¹

After Wells' ceremonial inauguration in 1938, the alumni magazine published an article, "Why Is Indiana the 'Mother of College Presidents'?" Based on a survey of the 47 living IU alumni who headed colleges and universities, it probed the reasons for this phenomenon. One respondent answered: "Young men had no basis for a great economic career, coming as they did from the rock-ribbed hills, but they had ambition, the outlet for which was in the field of education."22 A president of a West coast college singled out David Starr Jordan and William Lowe Bryan, the former for his "far-sighted and liberal philosophy" that had been "cherished and developed" at Indiana since his time, and the latter who was "the most admirable exponent and prophet of that philosophy since the turn of the century." Another suggested that, "although Indiana did not have great buildings or great financial resources, she 'did have some great men'" and a remarkable camaraderie among students, faculty, and administration. In his response, the newly installed President Wells reflected:

When I entered college, I had no thought for preparing for an academic career. I am convinced that I was influenced to do so by admiration for the men and women of the faculty. It seems to me that I found here more than anywhere else an intellectual integrity and sacrificing devotion to the welfare of the students, which were inspiring.²³

The recurring theme of the article stressed that human relationships were the foundation of education.

Additional support for the contention that IU provided a milieu conducive for the development of educational leaders was found in a study by sociologist R. M. Hughes conducted in 1939. Motivated by an interest the changing landscape of learning in America, he noted the essential role of chief executive in collegiate life. "Any one conversant with the affairs of higher education for an considerable period has seen moribund institutions stimulated to new life and vital institutions chilled to low intellectual activity by a change in administration."24 He endorsed Carnegie Corporation President Frederick Keppel's belief that many institutions have certain periods characterized by faculty harmony and esprit de corps among all members of the academic community due to an outstanding president. For his study, Hughes identified 300 of the more important colleges and universities and collected demographic and educational data on their chief executives. The 300 presidents were graduated from 180 different baccalaureate institutions. Harvard was the leader, with 9 presidents; Yale and Indiana followed, with 6 presidents apiece.²⁵ (Interesting, Harvard, Yale, and Indiana were then headed by baccalaureate alumni.) The Hughes study lent a measure of empirical support to what IU boosters had been saying for two decades.

A SUPERB LEADER

Herman Wells was the right man at the right time. Energetic, shrewd, and charming, he had a vision of what the university could become, and the uncommon good sense to take advantage of the opportunities that came his way.26 Wells was Indiana's chief executive during a time of tremendous change in higher education. He took office during the lingering years of economic depression, oversaw the mobilization of IU for World War II, and presided during the beginning of the "Golden Age" of American higher education. His record of achievement in leading IU was studded with noteworthy administrative accomplishments, such as the creation of a world-class music school as the centerpiece of a vibrant arts and humanities curriculum; lavish support of libraries, laboratories, classrooms, performance venues, residence halls, and dedicated green-space in a greatly expanded campus; the nurture and protection of Alfred C. Kinsey's pioneering sex research; and the extension of the university's global reach with international programs and partnerships. By the time he stepped down from the presidency in 1962, he was a beloved figure on the Indiana campus and an "educator's educator" on the national scene.

As President Jordan did before the turn of the century, Wells did not let Indiana's relative lack of wealth deter him from building a superior faculty. A superb advocate for a shared vision of Indiana's renaissance, he used his considerable charm and persuasive powers to attract teacher-scholars. One appreciative faculty member

said, "Not an artist or a natural scientist himself, by sheer power of sympathetic imagination he has, innumerable times, anticipated the needs of specialists in the pursuit of his goal of making the University great." With his abundant enthusiasm for inquiry and investigation, he "became a patron to his own faculty, a Maecenas, so to speak, of the humanities and the sciences." 28

In addition to the cultivation of faculty, Wells paid great attention to students, both as individuals and as members of the student body. Working with concerned African American students, a tiny minority at IU, he strove to eliminate barriers to their full participation in campus life. Unacknowledged racism pervaded many university practices. For instance, African American students were restricted from university dining services and residence halls, and black students could not participate in intercollegiate basketball, wrestling, and swimming. As chief executive, Wells methodically dismantled discriminatory practices and encouraged egalitarianism. He announced his support for civil rights from the pulpit of the First Methodist Church, in March 1944, during a "Layman Sunday" address:

we must prepare to renounce prejudice of color, class, and race. . . . Where? In England? In China or in Palestine? No; we must renounce prejudice of color, class, and race in Bloomington, Monroe County, Indiana. Our renunciation must be personally implemented by deeds. Our actions will the measure of the sincerity of our words.²⁹

Although racist attitudes were not completely eliminated, progress was made. In 1962, upon his retirement as president, the local chapter of the NAACP presented Wells with their "Brotherhood Award" for his efforts.

One consequence of Indiana University's relatively enlightened racial policies was a veritable flood of African Americans coming for graduate studies in the 1950s and 60s. Before the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964, southern universities avoided expanding their graduate offerings by actually paying for students to go elsewhere, mostly to northern universities. Indiana, by virtue of its location as the southernmost Big Ten university and its reputation for progressive racial attitudes, was an attractive option. The School of Education was the main beneficiary, with summer school classes filled up with black schoolteachers and others pursuing advanced degrees.³⁰

In particular, the College Student Personnel Administration Program (now the Higher Education and Student Affairs Program) in the Ed School was a major training ground. Initial faculty members Robert Shaffer, Elizabeth Greenleaf, and Kate Hevner Mueller developed a program that emphasized student development and notions of co-curricular education. Enough graduates went on to become chief executives of historically black colleges and universities (HBCU) that Indiana extended its reputation to become the "mother of black college presidents." But that was not the explicit focus of the program, as Shaffer explained, "we never said we trained college presidents [but] we tried to develop people who

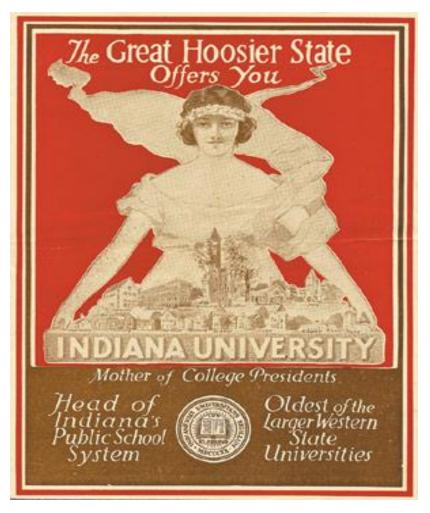
were broadly educated."³² Perhaps, as my colleague Dick McKaig, longtime dean of students, pointed out, the Indiana milieu fostered an atmosphere that provided affirmation of careers in university administration, the presidency included.³³

Wells inherited an educational culture of caring about students and learning when he first encountered Indiana University in 1921 under the presidency of Bryan, who was, in turn, was greatly influenced by Jordan, both in his ideas and by his example. Wells was an Indiana man, through and through, and became a leader of the state's flagship university and also an effective advocate for higher education on national and international stages. He was an exemplary president by nearly every measure as well as an extraordinary agent of progressive change.

Not the least of his many contributions was creating a remarkable *esprit de corps* among IU's academic community. Spirit, Wells thought, was the essential element for educational achievement. Unquantifiable yet unmistakably real, a university's spirit, co-located in a material place with geographical coordinates, resided in the hearts of those devoted to its welfare. "With the right spirit, the right atmosphere, the right ambience, nearly all things become possible in the learning process, which is the central purpose of a university," Wells wrote.³⁴

In an inimitable way, he became not only a symbol or icon of the university, but also a corporeal embodiment of its values and spirit. With his passing, his memory still keeps watch over his beloved *alma mater*, whether in the

form of a bronze statue with hand outstretched, greeting visitors to the campus he first encountered in 1921, or in the rich annals of university history. In his death, Wells has become identified – and perhaps unified – with the guardian spirit, the *genius loci* of Indiana University.³⁵



A 1930 advertisement for Indiana University

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NOTES

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¹ Ivy L. Chamness, "Indiana University – Mother of College Presidents," *Educational Issues*, 1921, 2 (8), 28-29; idem, "Indiana University – Mother of College Presidents," *Indiana University Alumni Quarterly*, 1922, 9, 46-49. See also James A. Woodburn, "President Aley Comes to Butler College," *Educational Issues*, 1921, 2 (7), 10-11, where he mentioned "teachers' migrations" and the presence of IU teaching staff, including presidents, in other states.

² In 1867 Indiana University became the first state university in the U.S. to admit women on the same basis as men.

James A. Woodburn, *Indiana University, 1820-1902* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1940); Thomas D. Clark, *Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer*, vol. 1 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970).
 David Starr Jordan, *The Days of a Man*, 2 vols. (New York: World Book Company, 1922), v. 1, p. 290.

⁵ Jordan made this statement in 1888, in his report as an out-going trustee of Cornell University; quoted by W. T. Hewett, *Cornell University: A History* (New York: University Publishing Society, 1905), p. 286.

⁶ Jordan, Days of a Man, v. 1, p. 295.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 295-296.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 354-355.

⁹ Ibid., p. 300.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 359-360.

¹¹ Burton Dorr Myers, *History of Indiana University, 1902-1937* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1952); Thomas D. Clark, *Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer*, vol. 2 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973).

¹² Minuscule gains were made in racial diversity by 1920, with African Americans accounting for about 1% of the of the student body. Although Marcellus Neal became the first African American graduate in 1895, it was not until 1919 that Frances Marshall became the first black female to obtain a degree.

¹³ In addition, Bryan's older brother, Enoch Albert Bryan, class of 1878, was president of Vincennes University and the State College of Washington.

¹⁴ Chamness, "Indiana University," p. 49.

¹⁵ The chapter house is still standing and is home to a variety of businesses today, including the Laughing Planet restaurant and Soma coffee house.

¹⁶ James H. Capshew, "Boone County Days," unpublished manuscript, July 2010.

¹⁷ Herman B Wells, *Being Lucky: Reminiscences and Reflections* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), pp. 31, 42.

¹⁸ See James H. Capshew, "Encounters with *Genius Loci*: Herman Wells at/and/of Indiana University," *Perspectives on the History of Higher Education*, 2009-10, 28, in press.

¹⁹ Paul Musgrave, "Fractional Reform: Herman Wells and Hoosier Bankers" (Senior Honors Thesis, History Department, Indiana University, June 2004). ²⁰ Wells, *Being Lucky*, p. 133.

wells, Being Lucky, p.

²¹ Ibid., p. 43.

²² Frederic M. Said, "Why Is Indiana the 'Mother of College Presidents'?" *Indiana Alumni Magazine*, 1939, *I* (7), p. 12.

²³ Frederic M. Said, "Why Is Indiana the 'Mother of College Presidents'?" *Indiana Alumni Magazine*, 1939, *1* (8), pp. 12, 30-31, quotes on p. 12.

²⁴ R.M. Hughes, "A Study of University and College Presidents," *School and Society*, 1940, *51*, 317-320, quote on p. 317.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 319.

²⁶ One definition of "being lucky" put forth by Donald J. Gray, personal communication, 24 April 2008.

²⁷ Lander McClintock, "Wellsian Indiana for 25 Years," *The Arts and Sciences Review*, 1962, 40 (6), 10-23, quote on 13, 23. McClintock became a professor of French at Indiana in the 1920s.

²⁸ Harold T. Davis, *The Adventures of an Ultra-Crepidarian* (San Antonio: s.n., 1962), p. 351. On the IU mathematics faculty, Davis left for Northwestern University as Wells became president, and admired the Wells administration from afar.

²⁹ Herman B Wells, "Remarks on Layman Sunday, at the First Methodist Church, Bloomington, Indiana," 10:30am, 5 March 1944; IU Archives, HBW Speech File.

³⁰ Laurence D. Brown, personal communication, 9 September 2010. See also Debbie O'Leary, "Higher Education and Student Affairs," *Chalkboard*, 2001 (Fall/Winter),
8-9; Janet Cheatham Bell, *The Time and Place That Gave Me Life* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), p. 257.

³¹ This phenomenon was noted in Herman C. Hudson, *The Black Faculty at Indiana University Bloomington*, *1970-93* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1994), pp. 54-60.

Nadine F. M. Pinede, "The Higher Education President," *Chalkboard*,
 2001 (Fall/Winter), 1-14, quote on p. 11. The article list 95 graduates from the IU School of Education who became college and university presidents.
 See also O'Leary, "Higher Education and Student Affairs."

³³ Richard N. McKaig, personal communication, 8 October 2010.

³⁴ Wells, *Being Lucky*, p. 120.

³⁵ See Capshew, "Encounters with *Genius Loci*." On personifying place, Rothblatt suggests: "Pathetic fallacy or not, the ancient practice of attributing personality to structures and precincts is irresistible as a means of explaining the attractions of space. The personal possession of space in the sense of investing it with emotion and significance is a fundamental aspect of culture. . . . The problem is how to bequeath the inheritance, and it is an institutional problem as well as wider one of culture and history." Sheldon Rothblatt, *The Modern University and Its Discontents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 105.