

# George Washington and Enlightenment Ideas on Educating Future Citizens and Public Servants

Scott A. Cook

*Air Command and Staff College*

William Earle Klay

*Florida State University*

## ABSTRACT

Historians and scholars occasionally remind us of facts and lessons we seem to have forgotten. One such fact is that George Washington was among the first thinkers to frame a vision for educating public servants in the administration of a democratic republic. Washington envisioned an education system, solidly grounded in liberal studies, that would utilize processes of socialization to enhance a sense of national community. Specifically, he emphasized the importance of educating young persons in the *science of government* (his term) at American universities rather than sending them abroad. This article uses primary documents from the Library of Congress archives along with secondary sources to discern George Washington's Enlightenment-based ideas for educating America's youth in the science of government. It also reveals how Washington's Enlightenment-based ideas on education for *public administration* (also his term) are still quite relevant in thinking about education for public service today.

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## KEYWORDS

George Washington, the Enlightenment, education policy, historical analysis

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## ENLIGHTENMENT PERSPECTIVES

The Enlightenment, also known as the Age of Reason, was a movement among intellectuals in Western Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries. Enlightenment-oriented thinkers sought to use logic, grounded in empirical observation, to expand knowledge and reform society. In general, they questioned authority, promoted science, opposed superstition, and promoted individual liberty and tolerance. In the American colonies, the influence of Enlightenment thinkers, especially a small group in Scotland, was profound. Frances Hutcheson, the acknowledged founder of what

became known as the Scottish Enlightenment, used ideas from John Locke to elaborate the conditions that justify the overthrowing of foreign rulers by oppressed colonial peoples in order to establish a new social contract for themselves (Hutcheson, 1753). Thomas Jefferson closely followed Hutcheson's reasoning in writing the Declaration of Independence, and the arguments of Locke, Hutcheson, and others on dividing powers and placing restrictions on a government to protect the rights and liberties of its people were used as guidelines by the framers of the Constitution.

Although he rarely mentioned the names of authors whom he had read, George Washington's letters reveal he had a solid understanding of the core ideas of Locke, Hutcheson, and Adam Smith, Hutcheson's most famous pupil. Moreover, Washington's ideas for educating young people were in line with the prescriptions of George Turnbull. A Scottish professor and clergyman, Turnbull was the only one among Scottish Enlightenment writers to fully address education. In 1749, Benjamin Franklin wrote an influential pamphlet on the education of young people in which he cited Locke, Hutcheson, and especially Turnbull. Washington and Franklin, along with Turnbull and other Enlightenment writers, clearly believed that the educating of young people was essential to both economic prosperity and effective citizenship.

The curriculum proposed by Turnbull, and reiterated by Franklin, has a contemporary feel to it. Believing that children are capable of learning to reason at an early age, Turnbull called for the use of Socratic methods to stimulate curiosity, imagination, and logical thinking. Emphasis was placed on the study of history, empirically oriented natural science, mathematics, the arts, and especially philosophy. Education was not to be done merely to enhance a young person's economic utility. As Turnbull (1742, pp. 20–21) put it, "The whole business therefore of liberal education, and it is called liberal for that very reason, is to cherish into proper vigour [*sic*] the love of liberty."

Enlightenment thinkers believed learning history, especially the causes of the occasional successes and numerous failures of past governments, was vital in the education process because it could enhance the well-being of future citizens. Studying human history is essential, said Turnbull (1742, p. xix): "It is such education only that can qualify youth for public service." The importance of incorporating history into public administration education and research has long been argued but often neglected. In the early 20th century, Leonard White (1926, p. 463) advised, "The student of administration must...concern himself with the history of the subject, and will gain a real

appreciation of existing conditions and problems only as he becomes familiar with their background." More recently, Stephanie Newbold (2010, p. xiv) stated, "History serves as one of the core foundations for social investigative study," and Jos Raadschelders (2010) cautioned that American public administration must end its detachment from history.

Enlightenment writers such as Hutcheson and Turnbull emphasized the importance of what we today call socialization. Locke argued that young minds were similar to blank tablets, *tabula rasa*, and that early exposure to behaviors and ideas greatly influenced subsequent development. Turnbull argued that the frequent use of corporal punishment in the schools of his day tended to produce men who were prone to violence and oppression of others. If concepts like tolerance and benevolence were to be instilled in youths, Turnbull concluded, the processes for doing so needed to begin early in childhood.

Hutcheson and Turnbull, both philosophers and ordained ministers, emphasized that educators should encourage students to ask about the ultimate meaning and purpose of their lives. Each believed that a liberal education such as they envisioned would lead students to reason that the well-being of humanity in general, as well as the happiness of individuals, depends on the recognition that each person has a duty to act with benevolence toward others. In his treatise on education, Franklin summarized this belief: "For Doing Good to Men is the only Service of God in our Power; and to imitate his Beneficence is to glorify him." The attainment of material success was encouraged, but children were to be taught that material gain is not the source of the greatest meaning and happiness. Instead, said Turnbull (1742, pp. 344–345), a primary maxim of history is that societies fail when dominated by "that philosophy which set up pleasure as the sovereign good, and taught men that selfishness is wisdom... Can such philosophy produce public spirit, love of mankind and true magnanimity?"

If the primary purpose of humanity is to foster personal and collective happiness through bene

volence, reasoned Turnbull (1742), then “the arts of judging and governing are the most important of all arts” (p. 336) and “promoting public good is the noblest, the best End, the worthiest occupation” (p. 185). In his important biographical reviews of the lives of several reformers who influenced the shaping of American public administration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Richard Stillman (1998) noted that all had come from Protestant religious backgrounds. He concluded that these reformers had been motivated to become public servants by a sense of a “calling,” a belief in the existence of a divinely inspired purpose for one’s life. Public service motivation (PSM) is a central concept in modern public administration scholarship. The philosophical roots of the concept were developed by Enlightenment philosophers who proposed that youth should be encouraged to explore the meaning and purpose of their present and future endeavors.

#### **LITERATURE RECOGNIZING WASHINGTON’S CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDUCATION**

Several historians have acknowledged the importance of Washington’s desire to build a national university (Alden, 1984, pp. 219, 290, 303; Flexner, 1969, p. 71; Leibiger, 1999, p. 150; Marshall, 1804–07/1926, p. IV-6). However, two scholars, Albert Bushnell Hart and Richard Loss, examined the deeper implications of Washington’s contributions to education theory and practice. Both concluded that he was the leading thinker among the founders on educating youth in ways that could enhance the likelihood of success for a fledgling democratic republic. Washington’s convictions on the relationship between education and effective government are embodied in a 1790 message he gave to Congress:

Nor am I less persuaded, that you will agree with me in opinion that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one, in which the measures of government receive their impression

so immediately from the sense of the community, as in ours, it is proportionably essential. (Hart, 1932, p. 20)

Some of the subjects Washington considered important for public servants and democratic citizens to study were history, foreign languages, geometry and other forms of mathematics, and moral and natural philosophy.

According to Hart (1932), Washington endorsed not only formal schooling, but on-the-job training. In a sense, contemporary public administration education that emphasizes internship and mentoring experiences reflects this concept. Hart also pointed out that Washington believed education should teach a person how to do things that have never been done before. This belief is relevant to issues such as managing uncertainty, developing learning organizations, and solving complex problems. In the end, Hart concluded that Washington was the leading advocate for reorganizing the educational system of the United States in his era.

Loss compared Washington’s political philosophy with those of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. Loss (1989) determined that Washington’s thoughts on education for a nascent democratic republic were “better conceived than...[those] of his more respected contemporaries” (p. 471). Washington believed education was the surest means to virtue and moral excellence. He also reasoned that education was an antidote to the possibility that a republican democracy could become dominated by the rule of the uneducated poor.

One of Washington’s primary objectives for his national university was to educate American youth in the “science of government.” In his last will and testament, Washington writes about his frustration with the practice of sending the young people in his nation to be educated in foreign countries, where they were often taught “principles unfriendly to republican government and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind” (Loss, 1989, p. 480). More specifically, Washington’s plan was

to staff the university with the most talented professors, preferably “some of the most celebrated characters in Scotland,” to teach their pupils the constitution and other laws, the true interests and policies of their nation, and the theories and skills of the professions they wished to pursue.<sup>1</sup>

### WASHINGTON’S THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION

According to Washington, “The best means of forming a manly, virtuous, and happy people, will be found in the right education of youth.”<sup>2</sup> In his view, education could help solve problems ranging from illiteracy to prejudice to poverty. In his public career and private endeavors, he sought to improve education in the United States. Presaging 20th-century theory on educating public administrators (e.g., White, 1955, pp. 369–378), Washington’s plan for obtaining the “right education” involved phases. He wanted to establish a free public education system that encompassed the teaching of all future citizens accompanied by a university system for more advanced studies. His first phase addressed what we today think of as elementary and secondary education. It was intended to provide children with the capacity to reason for themselves and broad knowledge obtained through liberal studies. His second phase was intended to use public universities to provide students with more specialized training and exposure to the knowledge that he considered requisite to future leadership in a democratic republic.

Washington used the term *liberal education* in much the same way that it is defined today. The definition used by the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) clearly reveals how contemporary thought regarding liberal education is rooted in Enlightenment perspectives:

Liberal Education is an approach to learning that empowers individuals and prepares them to deal with complexity, diversity, and change. It provides students with broad knowledge of the wider world (e.g. science, culture, and

society) as well as in-depth study in a specific area of interest. A liberal education helps students develop a sense of social responsibility, as well as strong and transferable intellectual and practical skills such as communication, analytical and problem-solving skills, and a demonstrated ability to apply knowledge and skills in real-world settings. (AAC&U, 2012)

Furthermore, a close reading of this definition reveals multiple overlaps with the Network of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) accreditation standards for master’s degree programs. The following three “Universal Required Competencies,” for example, are deeply rooted in a philosophy of education that originated in the Age of Reason—“to analyze, synthesize, think critically, solve problems and make decisions”; “to articulate and apply a public service perspective”; and “to communicate and interact productively with a diverse and changing workforce and citizenry” (NASPAA, 2009).

In multiple letters written to friends and associates, Washington explained that he wanted the young persons in his family to receive liberal educations. He directed in his will that the slaves owned by him be freed, stipulating that the youth among them be taught to read and write as well as being instructed in a useful occupation. Furthermore, he envisioned free education resulting from endowments created by public-private partnerships, and he urged governments to fund local primary and secondary schools. Washington also donated his own money “for the purpose of educating orphan children who have no other resource, or the children of such indigent parents as are unable to give it.”<sup>3</sup> He especially desired to establish an endowment for the children of soldiers killed during the Revolutionary War.<sup>4</sup> Washington, as pointed out by Loss (1989) and others (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954, p. 308; Gant & Davis, 1984), hoped that by making education available to the masses, he could answer Aristotle’s criticism of democracy: the problem

of putting the government in the hands of an uneducated and uninformed citizenry.

### **Educating Public Servants**

Washington promoted establishing two federally funded universities: a military academy and a civilian university. In each case, Washington's thoughts reflected his experiences in dealing with insufficiently prepared subordinates, first in the Continental Army and subsequently as president. At the end of the Revolutionary War, Washington beseeched the Continental Congress to establish a military academy to protect our national security.<sup>5</sup> In promoting a military academy, Washington was anticipating the need for a form of professional education for military officers who would learn the importance of republican values and civilian control, as well as to preserve the knowledge and experience gained during the eight-year war. Thirteen years later, in his final annual address to Congress, Washington again implored the members to build a military academy, which they finally authorized in 1802.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to a national military academy, Washington wanted to create a civilian university in the nation's capital where "the arts, Sciences and Belle lettres [*sic*], could be taught in the *fullest* [emphasis in original] extent" and where citizens could acquire the knowledge necessary "for the exigencies of public, as well as private life."<sup>7</sup> He envisioned this university serving two main purposes: educating private citizens for leadership roles and training some to become public administrators. Washington believed that liberal studies would reveal to reasoning students that active citizenship is essential to the protection of republican values. In his farewell address, Washington said that this national university should emphasize the "particulars" of a liberal education:

The more homogeneous our Citizens can be made in these particulars, the greater will be our prospect of permanent Union; and a primary object of such a National Institution should be, the education of our Youth in the science of *Government* [emphasis in original].<sup>8</sup>

By placing the university in the nation's capital city, Washington believed the young future public servants would benefit from opportunities for firsthand observation and experience in government administration. In his words, he wanted an educational institution

where those who were disposed to run a political course, might not only be instructed in the theory and principles, but (this Seminary being at the Seat of the General Government) where the Legislature wd. be in Session half the year, the Interests and politics of the Nation of course would be discussed, they would lay the surest foundation for the practical part also.<sup>9</sup>

### **Education to Promote Socialization**

In addition to wanting to increase the educational level of American citizens, Washington supported public education because he believed in the desirability of appropriate socialization. He indicated that young persons needed "the knowledge of men," or in other words, they needed to develop the ability to interact with others.<sup>10</sup> A public education system could provide the means for facilitating social interaction.

Washington worried greatly that the nation might be split apart by sectionalism, which he often called localism. Consequently, he emphasized that young men from all sections of the country should be brought together in the national university to undergo a process of socialization that would promote a sense of shared American citizenship. Washington reasoned

that the Juvenal period of life, when friendships are formed, and habits established that will stick by one, the youth, or young men from different parts of the United States would be assembled together, and would by degrees discover that there was not that cause for those jealousies and prejudices which one part of the Union had imbibed against another part: of course, sentiments of more liberality in the general policy of the Country would result from it.<sup>11</sup>

Washington expected that the “interchange of information” between “youth from the different parts of the rising republic” would give future administrators knowledge of “local circumstances” throughout the nation.<sup>12</sup> By knowing and considering these circumstances when making policies and taking actions, public administrators would give citizens more confidence in their federal government. Legitimacy, the confidence of the people in their government, was of paramount importance to Washington, whose knowledge of history made him aware that all previous experiments in republican forms of government had failed. To Washington, the education of citizens was essential to securing legitimacy.

Among the hot topics today is whether public service education should be taught online via distance education. Some have questioned whether distance education can replace the more traditional forms of socialization for careers in public service (Brower & Klay, 2000). Enlightenment writers recognized the importance of what we today call socio-emotional aspects of learning. Socio-emotional interactions are self-generated behaviors that students perform to build trust, seek a sense of well-being, and establish networks for support (Rovai, 2001). George Washington, in his thinking about a national university, recognized that physical proximity among students may be conducive to learning tolerance and forming a new nation-oriented sense of identity. One implication of the Enlightenment for the 21st century, it would seem, is that we need to better understand the processes of socialization in the education of citizens and future public servants.

### **Educating Policy Analysts**

Washington understood that the education of public servants should include honing the ability to reflect on experience. His letters reveal that he often thought about the lessons of his experiences. In this he was a “reflective practitioner,” as described by Donald Schön (1983). To Washington, this combination of experience and reflection was essential in dealing with the complexities of public policy. Washington used the phrase “Art Magick” to describe indefinable

behaviors or skills required to accomplish confusing and conflicting tasks. In this context, art is the creative and imaginative application of knowledge, skill, and experience to solve unique problems (Reilly, 2008). For example, in a letter approving the appointment of Robert Morris as the Minister of Finance during the Revolutionary War, Washington wrote:

I have great expectations from the appointment of Mr. Morris, but they are not unreasonable ones; for I do not suppose that by Art Magick, he can do more than recover us, by degrees, from the labyrinth into which our finance is plunged.<sup>13</sup>

Washington understood the complexity of the nation’s financial crisis and realized that no instant solution existed, but he recognized that Morris’s Art Magick gave him a managerial ability that went beyond technical knowledge and skill and into the realm of experience and reflection. At the time, Morris was the richest man in America, and Washington was well aware that he had demonstrated the intuition, tacit recognition, and judgment required to successfully manage a nation’s finances.

As commanding general of the Continental Army and later as president, Washington was known to have demanded from his subordinates detailed, well-reasoned, objective analyses of policy alternatives. Performing well-ordered analysis was at the core of what Washington deemed to be the science of government. Enlightenment thinkers, Washington included, called for educating young citizens in multiple subjects related to policy analysis. Enlightenment writers, particularly Francis Hutcheson and Adam Smith, established the foundations of the field we today call economics. Hutcheson initiated the concept of utility, which is widely used in contemporary teaching of policy analysis. Washington showed several times in his letters that he clearly understood some of these early treatises on economics. All of these subjects were seen as important, but the study of history was seen as essential. An under-

standing of the causes of past policy successes and failures can be learned only through the study of history.

### Encouraging Public Service Motivation

An axiom of our profession is that the quality of public service is related to the presence of public service motivation (PSM). As previously mentioned in this article, Stillman's biographies of public administration reformers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries revealed that their motivation to serve others was rooted in their belief that humans are intended to seek a higher purpose in life. According to the reasoning of both Hutcheson and Turnbull, a "proof" of the existence of a benevolent creator was the capacity of humans to take pleasure and satisfaction from both performing and observing acts of benevolence toward others. Hutcheson, in particular, was no Pollyanna. He argued that humans would usually act in their own self-interest. He used this perspective to develop some of the foundations of modern economics. Both Hutcheson and Turnbull, however, reasoned that lives spent solely in pursuit of material pleasures would ultimately prove to be unsatisfying. A benevolent creator, they reasoned, fashioned "human nature" so that the greatest ultimate satisfaction comes from acts of benevolence.

Benjamin Franklin, in an influential pamphlet on the purposes of education, explicitly stated that he agreed with the reasoning of Hutcheson and Turnbull. Franklin (1749) wrote that encouragement of virtue was a primary justification for liberal education and that virtue was evidenced through acts of benevolence:

The Idea of what is true Merit, should also be often presented to Youth, explain'd and impress'd on their Minds, as consisting in an Inclination join'd with an Ability to serve Mankind, one's Country, Friends and Family.

Washington often spoke of the importance of virtue, and he similarly wrote that a primary purpose of education was to encourage a sense

of "philanthropy," a word that then referred to the concepts of benevolence and love of others.<sup>14</sup>

In the late 20th and 21st centuries, it has not been fashionable to talk in classrooms about concepts such as virtue and benevolence as duties or as manifestations of one's purpose in life. Numerous historians have observed that these concepts of public service motivated some of the most important founders of our republic. They also motivated the founders of contemporary public service professions. It is reasonable to suspect that students today are more likely to be attracted to careers in public service if those of us who teach them become more willing to talk about public service as a calling. Contemporary students, as much as those of the 18th century, seek a sense of meaning and purpose.

### Educating Citizens

Washington indicated that "a plan of Universal education ought to be adopted in the United States."<sup>15</sup> He believed that educated citizens who were capable of critical reasoning would be more willing and able to participate in democratic government. He wanted to teach

the people themselves to know and to value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasions of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority; between the burthens [*sic*] proceeding from a disregard to their convenience and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of Society; to discriminate the spirit of Liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy, but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the Laws.<sup>16</sup>

Today some persons in politics question the legitimacy of nearly all forms of taxation. Washington, however, cautioned that there are legitimate "inevitable exigencies of Society" and that education should help citizens use reason to discern what burdens are necessary to enable a government to function effectively.

**TABLE 1.**  
**Analysis of Sources Used**

Literature Analyzed	Findings	Importance
<p><b>Letter: Washington to Thomas Jefferson (March 15, 1795)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Washington called for a national university. He was willing to invest his own money.</li> <li>• He wanted professors from the Scottish Enlightenment.</li> <li>• Washington recommended teaching students principles directly related to the administration of government.</li> <li>• Washington recommended training citizens in the skills required for their specific professions.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Washington shared Enlightenment philosophers’ understanding of the importance of socialization and a broadly available education in critical reasoning.</li> <li>• Washington believed that a democratic republic’s success depended on a widely available public education system.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Letter: Washington to George Chapman (December 15, 1784)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Washington believed that “the best means of forming a manly, virtuous, and happy people, will be found in the right education of youth.” He called education a “foundation.”</li> <li>• Chapman sent Washington a treatise on education. It remained in Washington’s personal library after his death (Appleton, Lane, Poole, Washington, &amp; Boston Athenaeum, 1897, p. 552).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Washington linked education to the virtue and happiness of the American people.</li> <li>• Washington was well versed in the current literature on education. In addition to the Chapman treatise, his library contained works on education by Samuel Knox, Catharine Graham, and Benjamin Rush.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Letter: Washington to the trustees of the Alexandria Academy (December 17, 1785)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Washington sought to establish an endowment for the education of orphan and indigent children in subjects “useful to people of the lower class of citizens, viz. reading, writing and arithmetic, so as to fit them for mechanical purposes.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Washington perceived education as a means to alleviate poverty.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Letter: Washington to Edmund Randolph (July 30, 1785)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Washington sought to establish two charity schools “for the Education and support of the Children of the poor and indigent of the Country” especially the children of the men “who have fallen in defence of the rights and liberties of it.”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Washington sought to negate Aristotle’s criticism that democracy would fail, being government of the uneducated and uninformed.</li> </ul>

Perhaps one of the most important lessons from Washington and others of the Enlightenment is that education for public servants is inextricably linked to the broader education of all citizens. Turnbull and others going back to Locke understood that the teaching of young persons to use reason must begin early in childhood. They concluded that only a citizenry that is capable of reason could have a basic

understanding of the complexities inherent in the governance of a democratic republic. It was only a well-educated citizenry that could ultimately have both liberty and an effective government. Consequently, a university-based education to prepare persons for public service would be effective only if the students had already been taught to use reason and empirically based knowledge.

## CONCLUSION

George Washington was a man of the Enlightenment. His letters repeatedly reflect how he embraced the reasoning and perspectives of Enlightenment writers. Table 1 presents a summary of his thoughts.

Washington was exposed to these Enlightenment perspectives in his youth, and he was attracted to the idea that meaning and purpose in life were associated with living in a self-disciplined, well-reasoned manner that is motivated by a sense of public duty. His letters, including those sent to his closest confidants, consistently indicate this is how he thought. It is not surprising, then, that Washington sought to promote Enlightenment-based ideas to guide the education of young people. He reasoned that citizens who have learned to think for themselves would strive to perpetuate the republic. The thoughts of Enlightenment writers do seem relevant in thinking about some of the issues confronting education today, including especially the education of future public servants.

The primary philosophical roots of citizenship and PSM are in the Enlightenment. Enlightenment thinkers promoted both tolerance and benevolence toward others. Census projections indicate that the United States of America is moving toward a future in which diversity of heritage is the norm and in which no racial or ethnic group will dominate. Looking ahead, it seems reasonable to surmise that the future of our republic might well depend on our ability to convey Enlightenment ideals to future generations—a love of liberty accompanied by tolerance, reason as opposed to superstition and tribalism, and the idea that each of us has a purpose in life that goes beyond material consumption to include benevolence. Promoting forms of education in which the values of citizenship and public service are emphasized, as did George Washington, still seems likely to enhance the future prospects of our republic.

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## NOTES

- 1 *George Washington to Thomas Jefferson, March 15, 1795* [letter]. From Library of Congress (LOC), *George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741–1799*, series 2, letterbook 19, image 102. Hereafter referred to as LOC, *George Washington Papers*. Retrieved from <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>
- 2 *George Washington to George Chapman, December 15, 1784* [letter]. From LOC, *George Washington Papers*, series 2, letterbook 11, image 319.
- 3 *George Washington to The Trustees of the Alexandria Academy, December 17, 1785* [letter]. From LOC, *George Washington Papers*, series 2, letterbook 12, image 319.
- 4 *George Washington to Edmund Randolph, July 30, 1785* [letter], from LOC, *George Washington Papers*, series 2, letterbook 12, image 160; *George Washington to Thomas Jefferson, September 26, 1785* [letter], from LOC, *George Washington Papers*, series 2, letterbook 12, image 234.
- 5 *George Washington, Peace Settlement May 1, 1783* [letter]. From LOC, *George Washington Papers*, series 3a, letterbook 7, image 60.
- 6 *George Washington to Congress, December 7, 1796* [address]. From LOC, *George Washington Papers*, series 2, letterbook 27, image 161.
- 7 *George Washington to Washington, D.C., Commissioners, January 28, 1795* [letter]. From LOC, *George Washington Papers*, series 2, letterbook 24, image 169.
- 8 *George Washington to Congress, December 7, 1796* [address]. From LOC, *George Washington Papers*, series 2, letterbook 27, image 162.
- 9 George Washington, *To Alexander Hamilton, September 1, 1796* [letter]. From University of Virginia (UV), J. C. Fitzpatrick (Ed.), *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799*, volume 35. Hereafter referred to as UV, *The Writings of George Washington*. Retrieved from <http://etext.virginia.edu/washington/fitzpatrick>
- 10 *George Washington to William A. Washington, February 27, 1798* [letter]. From LOC, *George Washington Papers*, series 2, letterbook 21, image 83.

- 11 See note 9.
- 12 See note 7.
- 13 *George Washington to John Mathews, June 7, 1781* [letter]. From LOC, *George Washington Papers*, series 3h, letterbook 2, image 239.
- 14 George Washington, *To Governor Robert Brooke*, March 16, 1795 [letter]. From UV, *The Writings of George Washington*, volume 34.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 *George Washington to Congress, January 8, 1790, Annual Address to Congress*. From LOC, *George Washington Papers*, series 2, letterbook 25, image 121.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Scott A. Cook, PhD**, is a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Air Force and an assistant professor of public administration and public policy at the Air Command and Staff College. He also serves as the course director for Regional and Cultural Studies. His research interests include political and strategic culture, administrative history, and interagency collaboration.

**William Earle Klay, PhD**, is a professor and director of the Askew School of Public Administration and Policy of the Florida State University. He teaches a required doctoral course titled “The Intellectual History and Future of Public Administration,” and some of his research looks at the future to identify problems that will challenge nonprofits and governments. His practitioner experience includes service as a captain in the U.S. Army, a systems specialist in a federal agency, a policy analyst for a state legislature, and a senior planner in a governor’s office of planning and budgeting.