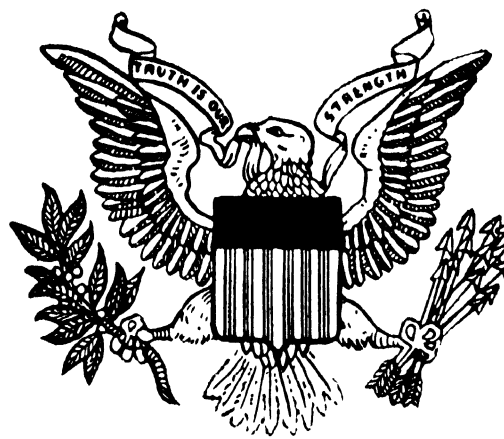
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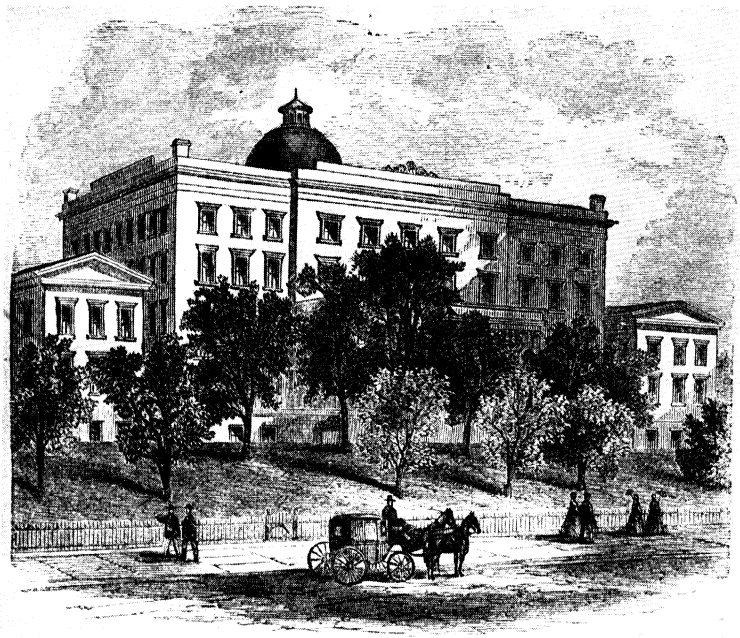
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COLUMBIA

COLOSSUS ON THE HUDSON

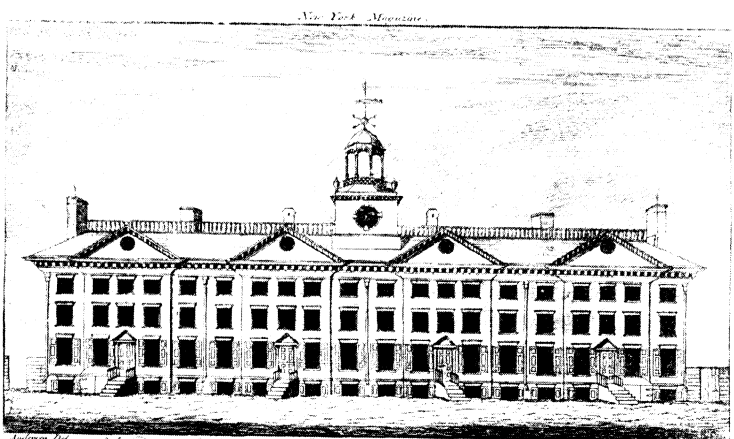
PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THIS is the first volume of the American College and University Series, independent books by distinguished writers devoted to leading American colleges and universities. The aim of these books is to interpret the history of an institution, its character, traditions and influence on national life, with particular emphasis on the personalities who contributed to its development, and the graduates who affected the local and national scenes.



Early Valentine Manual print, showing Columbia College at Madison Avenue, Forty-ninth Street

Early print of Columbia College building (King's College building) at Murray Street



Columbia

COLOSSUS ON THE HUDSON

By HORACE COON



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
I.	COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AT THE END OF AN ERA	13
II.	KING'S COLLEGE AND COLUMBIA	36
III.	THE COLLEGE BECOMES A UNIVERSITY	58
IV.	NICHOLAS THE MIRACULOUS	93
V.	THE ISSUE OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM	116
VI.	GREAT NAMES	134
VII.	MORE GREAT NAMES	162
VIII.	BARNARD COLLEGE	189
IX.	THE GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS	212
X.	COLUMBIA ATHLETICS	291
XI.	UNDERGRADUATE ACTIVITIES	324
XII.	COLUMBIA COLLEGE: A NEW ERA BEGINS	343

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Columbia College at Madison and 49th } *Frontispiece*
Columbia College at Murray Street }

Facing Page

Hamilton Hall, between 49th and 50th on Madison Avenue 18

Seth Low Library and campus today 52

Dr. Samuel Johnson 68

Dr. William Samuel Johnson 68

Dr. Samuel Bard 132

Dr. Frederick A. P. Barnard 148

Professor Thomas Egleston 148

Professor Charles Anthon 148

Professor Francis Lieber 148

Professor C. F. Chandler 164

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler 180

COLUMBIA

COLOSSUS ON THE HUDSON

CHAPTER I

Columbia University at the End of an Era

1

IT IS NO accident, perhaps, that the present site of Columbia University was once occupied by the Bloomingdale Insane Asylum. The era of Nicholas Murray Butler has ended. For nearly half a century he enjoyed delusions of grandeur, some of which became realities in brick and stone. For forty-four years he confused Morningside Heights with Mount St. Geneviève or the Acropolis. A garrulous, peace-loving internationalist, Dr. Butler practiced a ruthless educational imperialism worthy of Bismarck, and he absorbed every institution or school within his grasp, extending not only to Annandale-on-Hudson and Newark, N. J., but to Puerto Rico. Columbia wound up its mail-order business in 1937, and as yet offers no course in meat packing, but almost everything else is to be found somewhere in the Announcements of its many schools and departments.

Make no mistake about it, Dr. Butler created a great university as a place for graduate study. Upwards of two thousand graduate students at Columbia are obsessed with the necessity for a Ph.D. Their mental condition is made frantic by an impossible dilemma: they cannot obtain the coveted label until they get their theses published. This they cannot afford to pay for, and no commercial publisher will touch such manuscripts. Most of these students are further tortured by the need for making a living. Divorced from reality by their research, and compelled to

inhabit a dream world created by the department in which they labor, they produce such theses as forced a professor to comment: "I can see that this is nonsense, but is it the right kind of nonsense?" This same condition prevails at other graduate schools; Columbia is simply one of the biggest of the doctorate factories.

The fact of being in New York City has a profound psychological effect upon both faculty and students. It gives point to the description of Columbia as "cloisters on the half shell." For this, and other reasons, a pronounced tendency toward schizophrenia runs like a plague through the members of the faculty. Their personalities are apt to be split into fractions, for they are daily tempted by the market place, and most of them succumb insofar as their talents for turning scholarship into cash permit.

The majority have at least two jobs: one at Columbia and another downtown, advising or writing. Their university salaries are frozen and limited; to make a gesture toward meeting the rising costs of living, they must have outside income. To earn this is a severe strain on their energies, their time, and especially their minds. This is particularly true of the lower echelons. Columbia is a fine place for the full professors; it is a bad place for the young instructors. Like other universities, Columbia is greedy for professors with "names," hence it is difficult for young instructors to rise in their departments. They become elderly before they advance far.

The university is a big, great, soulless corporation, but at its core there is a heart and a soul too often forgotten or overlooked. That is Columbia College, on whose endowment the university has fattened. The boys in the college and the alumni have suffered for fifty years from an inferiority complex, which is both unnecessary and unjustified. What troubles them is that there is not enough ivy

around Columbia. Annually, on Class Day, they try to remedy this by planting some. They have been doing that on Morningside Heights since 1897, yet there never seems to be enough ivy.

While in college some of them are unhappy because Columbia is not Oxford or Cambridge, yet few imagined it was in the first place. They explain profusely, with totally superfluous apologies, why they did not go to Yale or Princeton, or Amherst or Williams. There are many good reasons why a boy should want to go to Columbia College, some of which will be stated in the last chapter of this book. The trouble is that many Columbia men want it to be what it isn't. They speak with derisive envy of country club colleges, and tell you why they cannot build a country club at 116th Street or a golf course in Harlem.

When their athletic teams score a victory they feel much better. They achieve a pride they should have felt from the moment they first registered. They are constantly plagued by the false, universal assumption that since Columbia boasts 30,000 students, they must therefore be involved in some kind of production-line educational operation. They cannot seem to get it into the heads of even their best friends that Columbia College has a proud and separate entity, that it has no relation to Extension. It is limited to about 2,000 undergraduates and has enough traditions to create a college spirit for twenty colleges. Yet college patriots worry about the desirability of moving the college to the country, and they fret about the college commuters whose golden hours of college life are passed on the subway. As a matter of fact, these commuters are a minority, and many of them are the most active in undergraduate activities.

Columbia College men look with dismay and bewilderment at the conglomeration of professional and graduate

schools built on their college. Much of this building has been financed by endowments originally given to the college. Many of the college undergraduates, however, welcome the opportunity, in their junior and senior years, to take graduate courses. They have a deep respect for the Law School across the street, and for the College of Physicians and Surgeons so far away (52 blocks) few ever see it.

Many aspire to the make-believe professions of business and journalism, schools in the Columbia galaxy which have their special, occupational delusions. Most of the undergraduates know little of the work or the high standing of the scientists on the Columbia University faculty. Teachers College appears to be, at first glance, a case of advanced educational paranoia. It is often referred to as something completely out of this world, and it is a common saying that 120th Street, which separates Columbia's buildings from those of Teachers College, is the widest street in the world.

Barnard presents a special case history which will be described in Chapter VIII. It suffers from some of the same inferiority neuroses that afflict Columbia, aggravated by the supercilious attitude of Columbia boys toward Barnard girls. Like Columbia, it is touchy on the subject of the Jewish problem, and tries to solve it as Columbia College tries, by attracting students from all over the country rather than just New York. What Barnard fears most is becoming another Hunter College, or a continuation of New York City high schools. But that is a wholly irrational fear; Barnard is Barnard and has much to be proud of in her own right.

In addition to the schools mentioned, Columbia's university system includes a School of Architecture, a Faculty of Political Science, a Faculty of Philosophy, a Faculty of Pure Science, a School of Engineering, a School of Dental

and Oral Surgery, a School of Library Service, a School of Pharmacy, New York Post-Graduate Medical School, a School of Tropical Medicine in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and the New York School of Social Work. Moreover, there is Summer Session, a School of General Studies, formerly known as Extension, and a Professional Course in Optometry. As a part of University Extension, which offers vocational and cultural courses afternoons, evenings, and Saturdays, there is a popular lecture series called the Institute of Arts and Sciences.

2

Those who have known Columbia during Dr. Butler's administration have been aware of another pathological condition that permeates the whole organization. It is difficult to describe, for it is a nameless, morbid fear or timidity. It is better not to ask anybody for any kind of permission because the person asked is apt to look at you accusingly, as if you were putting him on the spot. It is as if there were some kind of Gestapo at work behind the scenes. Yet no medieval torture chambers exist below street level. Those are scientific laboratories and human specimens are positively not used in the testing machines in the School of Mines or in the radio researches of Professor E. H. Armstrong. This pervasive fear has been particularly marked in the employees of the university, yet sometimes it infects the faculty and students so that they, too, are rendered incapable of taking a responsibility, making a decision, or voicing an opinion.

This lack of guts may be indigenous to big educational institutions. At Columbia it has been at times an implacable and impalpable Something that might well induce the screaming-meemies. As the Butler regime fades

into history, this neurasthenia will probably pass away. There have been, of course, conspicuous examples of courageous independence, made conspicuous by this very condition. Since the university elevator operators have become unionized the fears have begun to evaporate.

It has sometimes been whispered, among those who do not know him, that the ogre responsible for this reign of terror is Frank D. Fackenthal. But he is an amiable, alert, ironically rational human being who bears no resemblance in character or conduct to the late Heinrich Himmler. For thirty-four years he was secretary of the university, and after Dr. Butler retired, he was elected acting president. He has been *the* executive officer of the institution, and has generally been regarded as the man behind the throne during the last twenty years of Butler's administration. Much of Butler's reputation as an executive may very likely be due to Mr. Fackenthal's unobtrusive efficiency.

Since he is a highly intelligent, perceptive individual, Mr. Fackenthal has probably seen through the pomposity of Dr. Butler for these many years. He has unquestionably been in a position to observe the shortcomings in the great Nicholas Miraculous. But as long as he lives he will never admit anything but an uncritical hero-worship for the man he has spent the major portion of his life in serving. Put on his own, he is not self-effacing, but his diligent labors to build the university and to create Dr. Butler as a legendary figure have inevitably placed him in a secondary role. He sincerely admires "the Prez," as he calls him, and has been completely devoted to him.

And nobody could be more selfless in his devotion to an institution. Columbia has been his whole life, his career, his passion. A bachelor, he has almost no outside interests. By blood he is thoroughly German, a descendant on both sides of his family from Pennsylvania Dutch who



Hamilton Hall, between Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Streets on Madison Avenue was built 1879

came to this country in 1742. After receiving his early education in the schools of Roanoke, Va., and Brooklyn, he came to Columbia in 1902, and has literally been there ever since. After his graduation in 1906 he became a member of the staff of the secretary of the university in charge of student employment, later known as "the Appointments Office."

In 1910 he succeeded the late Frederick P. Keppel as secretary of the university. When he was given the title of "Provost" in 1937 he simply went on doing what he had been doing before, and when he became "Acting President" he continued to do it, although a little more in the limelight. Before he received his last title his form of locution was "the president disapproves"; afterward he had to resort to "the trustees disapprove." You may be certain that in nearly all cases it was Mr. Fackenthal who disapproved.

As soon as Mr. Fackenthal took over the office of president, the university began to quicken with new life. He let it be known at once that he felt that the university owed an obligation to the returning veteran, that the various schools and colleges should adapt themselves as far as possible to the veteran, and that educational opportunities be opened as far as could be done without compromising academic standards. Long-dormant plans for a much-overdue building program took shape once more—this will cost between 40 and 100 million dollars—to modernize the buildings on Morningside Heights and to provide desperately needed facilities. These funds must be raised. To help do this Mr. Fackenthal hired Paul H. Davis from Leland Stanford as a member of his administrative staff. Davis was highly successful in raising money for Leland Stanford. If he can do the same for Columbia, Morningside Heights will behold a building boom comparable to

that of the early 1900s when Columbia moved to its present site.

Of equal significance and importance is the proposed establishment of a third undergraduate college on the campus as a part of University Extension, of which Harry Morgan Ayres is the director. Columbia and Barnard Colleges have opposed this move in the past, but the postwar pressure for additional educational opportunities is making this dream a reality. It has been possible for mature students in Extension to work for a degree; now these academic courses are being expanded to accommodate an almost unlimited number of students over twenty years of age who want to work for a degree. This is an educational program that should have been inaugurated twenty years ago. It will shoot Columbia's total enrollment to astronomical heights. It will also give Extension the stature and recognition it has been so long denied.

3

"Columbia makes no effort to seduce the eye," declared Lloyd Morris in his autobiography; "outwardly its ugliness is sententious, within it is brisk and business-like." * Those who see it daily, however, become so accustomed to it they do not consider it ugly at all. Students of architecture find it curious rather than irritating, and to many a foreigner it is mightily impressive, a city in itself, a mammoth American factory of learning.

Actually it is no fault of Columbia that Morningside Heights should exhibit so many varied styles of architecture, from the modern Gothic Rockefeller Riverside Church on Riverside Drive on the west, to the twice-

* *A Threshold in the Sun,* by Lloyd Morris. (New York: Harper & Brothers, © 1943.)

changed Gothic of the still-uncompleted Cathedral of St. John the Divine on Morningside Drive to the east. Most of the apartment houses on the heights were built in the early 1900s in what the people of those days considered an elegant style. Today they are rabbit warrens, rooming houses whose ugliness on the outside is matched only by the depressing atmosphere within.

The International House on Riverside Drive, next to Grant's Tomb, is sleek and business-like, handsome in its way and modern, a comfortable dormitory for foreign students. The Union Theological Seminary behind it has the atmosphere of the Middle Ages; the Juilliard School beyond suggests the Italian Renaissance, and over on Broadway the Jewish Theological Seminary is something else architecturally, a kind of modern Colonial. So the whole neighborhood presents an astonishing variety.

McKim, Mead, and White, the original architects, set the style for the university, an Italian Renaissance that was intended to be soundly utilitarian. McKim said that the Seth Low Library should face south, toward 116th Street, so that it would always look the city in the face, and it seems odd that there should ever have been any debate about it. Since it somewhat resembles a pillbox, the standard joke is that strangers often mistake it for General Grant's mausoleum three blocks away.

The first of the university buildings to arise on Morningside Heights, it was completed in 1897, and it is the central figure of the quadrangle formed by 116th Street, 120th Street, Amsterdam Avenue and Broadway. Until the opening of the South Hall Library, Low was the main university library. At the left of the main door is the office of the secretary of the university. Behind a door marked "private" an elevator is hidden which lifts the specially favored to the president's office, which is deco-

rated in dark green and has on the wall the Columbus Tapestry, a 15th-century Flemish work.

On the east side of the vestibule is the trustees' room. The chair occupied by the president originally belonged to Benjamin Franklin. In the fireplace is set the cornerstone of King's College, laid in 1756. The iron crown over the fireplace is preserved from the original college building and is one of the few royal emblems that escaped destruction in the War for Independence. A photograph of the Royal Charter of King's is kept under glass behind a sliding panel at the north end of the room. The original, in vellum, is locked up.

The old reading room under the dome is now used for special ceremonies, such as the conferring of honorary degrees. In the wide court in front of the library are the fountains of pink Stony Creek granite which are copies of the famous fountains in front of St. Peter's in Rome. Directly in front of the library is the familiar figure of Alma Mater, presented in 1903 to commemorate Robert Goelet (class of 1860). She weighs four tons, and is heavily plated with pure gold leaf, toned to a dull finish. She sits in a chair with her elbows resting on its arms, both hands raised, an open book on her lap, a wreath on her head. She was sculptured by Daniel Chester French.

With one small exception, the only surviving structure of the old asylum is Alumni House, to the east of the library, a three-story brick building. The other Columbia buildings are of red, overburned Harvard brick, with Indiana limestone trimmings and green copper roofs. To the east of the library, in order, from 116th Street north, are Kent Hall (the Law School), Philosophy Hall, St. Paul's Chapel, Avery Hall (architecture), Fayerweather Hall, and Schermerhorn, whose basement drops some twenty-five feet to a lower level.

To the west of the library is the School of Business at the northeast corner of 116th Street and Broadway; north of that is the School of Mines, Earl Hall, the School of Engineering, and Havemeyer. Between Havemeyer and Schermerhorn is the uncompleted University Hall (registrar's office). Below it, at the lower level in the same building, is the university gymnasium, powerhouse and swimming pool. Around this is a small green with a few trees, and grouped about the green on the west are the Chandler Laboratories and the Pupin Laboratories.

Around what will probably always be called South Field, between 116th Street and 114th Street, bounded by Broadway and Amsterdam Avenue, are buildings that compose the South Quad. First to be built was Hamilton Hall at the southwest corner of 116th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, the college classroom building. South of it are Hartley and Livingston Halls, 10-story dormitories, and the newer 15-story John Jay Hall, which faces north, its back to 114th Street. Next to it, facing South Field, is the new library, called the Nicholas Murray Butler Library. Journalism Building is on the southeast corner of 116th Street and Broadway. South of it, its back to Broadway, is Furnald Hall, another 10-story dormitory. Beyond several tennis courts, over near Broadway and 114th Street is an early 19th-century cottage, rather quaint and out of place. It was the gatekeeper's lodge, a relic of the asylum, now used as a dwelling by the chief engineer.

In front of Hartley and Livingston is the Van Amringe Memorial, a circular structure of classic design with a raised platform and ten columns which support a dome that has a marble crown on its summit. An enlarged bust of the well-loved dean stands on a pedestal on the platform. North and south of it are stone benches with inscriptions from Van Amringe's speeches. In front of Jour-

nalism is a statue of Jefferson; in front of Hamilton is one of Alexander Hamilton in a declamatory pose.

Between Journalism and Hamilton are the Rives Memorial steps. Square in their center is the class of 1885 sundial. Nobody has ever been known to tell time by it, but it is a striking dark-green granite sphere about seven feet in diameter, conceived by McKim, Mead, and White, presumably all thinking together. Its astronomic function was devised by Professor Harold Jacoby. Theoretically it tells time once a day at noon, but since solar time and standard time vary irregularly throughout the year, sometimes by as much as twenty minutes, it is not very accurate. A circular arc at the base is marked with the names of the months, with a hole for each day; but for February 29th, in a leap year, it is necessary to imagine a hole. Somewhat more reliable is the class of 1906 clock between Hartley and Livingston. When it goes wrong, which is not infrequently, students and professors are compelled to consult their own watches.

In the block to the east of the university, bounded by 116th Street, Amsterdam Avenue, 117th Street and Morningside Drive, are the president's house, the Faculty Club, the Crocker Research Laboratory, and Johnson Hall, the dormitory for graduate women students. The president's house was ready for him in 1912. Its second floor was designed for entertaining large gatherings; living quarters are reached by an elevator to the third and fourth floors. In 1914 the Crocker Laboratory was erected as a temporary building for cancer research on mice and rats. Adjoining it is a greenhouse built for the botany department in 1911.

The Men's Faculty Club was opened in 1923. Next to it is the Women's Faculty Club, attached to Johnson Hall. Newest building, with an entrance on 117th Street, is the

Brander Matthews Academic Theatre. Facing the 117th Street block on the north side are four foreign-language houses: Maison Française, Deutsches Haus, Casa de las Españas, and at the northeast corner of Amsterdam Avenue and 117th Street, the handsome Casa Italiana. These houses are run by the respective language departments.

On the other side of the university, west of Broadway, is Barnard College, from 116th Street to 120th Street, bounded on the west by Claremont Avenue, except for a plot on Riverside Drive between 119th Street and 120th Street, site for a new academic hall. Apartment houses on Claremont Avenue facing Barnard were purchased in 1920 for the residence of faculty members and their families. Later two additional houses were purchased on Riverside Drive between 116th Street and 119th Street. The King's Crown Hotel, between Amsterdam Avenue and Morningside Drive, is also owned by the university.

4

Upton Sinclair, in *The Goose-Step,* published in 1922, called Columbia "the University of the House of Morgan." After sampling 40 courses at Columbia, Mr. Sinclair left in 1901, declaring that it was a mass of brick and stone, a hollow shell held together by red tape. In 1922 he pointed out facts since generally accepted without surprise about the interlocking directorates of universities, big corporations, philanthropic foundations, railroads, utilities, proving how all are dominated by a relatively small group of men who represent finance capitalism.

Economically and financially Columbia must of necessity be a part of this system. Otherwise it would not have grown as it has since Seth Low became president in 1891; otherwise it would not have prospered and been the re-

cipient of large benefactions as it has since Dr. Butler became president in 1901. It is not strange, therefore, that Dr. Butler has been on the boards of big insurance companies and banks. And it would be strange, considering the size of Columbia's resources, not to find financiers, their lawyers and representatives composing the Columbia board of trustees.

When Sinclair wrote his book the chairman of the board was William Barclay Parsons, engineer of the IRT, director in many corporations. The youngest member then was Marcellus Hartley Dodge, who in 1946 was still on the board. So was Frederick R. Coudert, who Sinclair called "one of the most prominent attorneys of the plutocracy." Herbert L. Satterlee, Morgan's son-in-law, was a trustee in 1922; so was Robert S. Lovett, then chairman of the Union Pacific; and Newcomb Carlton of Western Union. Sinclair said: "A study of those who have held office on the board from 1900 to 1922 showed 59 persons classified as follows: bankers, railroad owners, real estate operators, merchants, and manufacturers 20, lawyers 21, ministers 8, physicians 6, educators 1, engineers 3."

To the surprise of no one the situation has not changed, nor is it likely to. The Right Reverend William T. Manning was on the board in Sinclair's day; he was still there in 1946, one of the oldest. Even older was the late H. Hobart Porter, public utility official then aged 81. Almost as old was banker Willard V. King. Somewhat younger was Joseph P. Grace, banker, and Eugene H. Pool, surgeon. Thomas I. Parkinson of the Equitable Life Insurance Co., and Thomas J. Watson of International Business Machines were still there. Other members in 1946 were: Albert W. Putnam, George Earle Warren, Reverend Frederic S. Fleming (rector of Trinity Church), John G. Jackson. Eight of the twenty-five are elected by the alumni, a

custom since 1908: Judge Mortimer W. Byers, Henry S. Krumb, George L. Harrison, Ward Melville, Douglas H. Black, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, Morton G. Bogue, and Dr. James A. Miller. Judge Byers was succeeded by Albert G. Redpath. If they were compelled to retire at 70, as they should be, almost a whole new board would have to be elected, which would be an excellent idea.

Chairman of the board that has had the task of choosing Dr. Butler's successor is Frederick Coykendall, who succeeded Mr. Parsons in 1933. All his life, ever since he entered Columbia in 1891, he has been busy in Columbia's affairs. He was elected an alumni trustee in 1916; his fellow members liked him so much that when his term expired in 1922 he was elected a life trustee. Since 1926 he has been director of the Columbia University Press. His business interests include the presidency of the Cornell Steamboat Co., directorships in the Ulster and Delaware Railroad, the First National Bank of Roundout at Kingston, the Rhinebeck and Kingston Ferry Co.

Mr. Coykendall is the 19th chairman of the board since Columbia was established in 1787. Similar men, a few of them more important financially and politically, have usually held the post. The first was James Duane, an arch-conservative of Revolutionary days, who inherited a large tract of land in Schenectady County and spent most of his life speculating in farm land. He was succeeded in 1795 by Samuel Provoost, rector of Trinity, who became the first Bishop of New York in 1786. John Henry Livingston, pastor of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, followed him and resigned in 1810 to become president of Queen's College, now Rutger's.

Rich landowner Colonel Richard Varick, who had been mayor of New York from 1791 to 1801, was chairman for the next six years. Well-connected Brockholst Livingston,

brother-in-law of John Jay, headed the board from 1816 to 1823. A prominent lawyer, he was a judge of the Supreme Court of New York and in 1806 he became a justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. He, as well as Varick, was one of the original trustees, named in the charter of 1787. Another lawyer, Richard Harrison, followed him but served less than a year. The seventh chairman died after about a year in the job; he was Dr. William Moore, a distinguished obstetrician and brother of one of Columbia's presidents and the father of another.

A veteran of the Revolution, military-minded Colonel Nicholas Fish served from 1824 to 1832. Peter Augustus Jay, eldest son of John Jay, a lawyer and legislator, lasted almost ten years. A socially prominent lawyer, David B. Ogden, occupied the chair for the next six years. Two other lawyers followed: Edward W. Laight, 1849–50, and Beverley Robinson, 1850–54, whose father was a King's College alumnus and by all accounts a bad boy in college. Two preachers took up the burden in the 1850s: John Knox, of the Dutch Reformed Church, from 1854 to 1858, and Gardiner Spring, 1858–59, who studied law at first, and then harkened to the call of the pulpit, and was pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church from 1810 to 1859.

In that year Columbia was fortunate in getting the services of Hamilton Fish, whose father had been chairman from 1824 to 1832. Federalist, conservative Whig Fish served one term each as Congressman, Governor, and U. S. Senator and then became the pillar of respectability of the Grant Administration as Secretary of State. He served Columbia from 1859 to 1893 as chairman of the board and conscientiously kept in close touch with all that was going on. After he retired from politics he pretty well ruled the roost at Columbia, particularly during the last years of Dr. Barnard's presidency.

William Colford Schermerhorn was chairman for the next ten years. He had gone to Columbia when it was on Park Place (class of 1837), and devoted his life to the care of his family estates. He became a trustee in 1860, and served for forty-three years. He gave the university Schermerhorn Hall. Another intensely loyal Columbian, George Lockhart Rives (class of 1868), aristocratic lawyer, held the chair from 1903 to 1917, after having been a trustee for the twenty-one years previously. William Barclay Parsons succeeded him.

5

Columbia is a great university because it is rich, and it is rich for two reasons: first, because Dr. Butler raised, during his presidency, $120,000,000 in money gifts (his figures), and second, because it has made money in New York City real estate. Columbia, in 1787, by an act of the legislature, obtained the valuable land and ruined building of King's College. In 1857 the college moved up to Madison Avenue and 49th Street, selling a part of the Park Place site, known as the Lower Estate, for $442,800. In 1916 the trustees sold another slice for $224,951, and between 1928 and 1932 they collected $437,000 from the city for pieces of land taken by subway easements and the widening of Church Street. Columbia still has some Lower Estate left; enough in 1945 to bring in that year $58,291 in rentals.

The Madison Avenue property was not profitable, however. It cost a little more than $400,000, and before moving to Morningside Heights in 1897 about $1,500,000 was spent there on buildings. It was finally sold for $800,000. What has been and still is profitable, however, is the Rockefeller Center property, known as the Upper Estate,

granted to the college in 1814. Although urged to do so throughout the 19th century, the trustees had too much inertia, fortunately, to sell it. The first piece sold from it comprised the lots from 48th Street to 49th Street on Fifth Avenue to a depth of 200 feet, sold to the Dutch Reformed Church for $80,000. This money was spent on improving the Madison Avenue buildings.

After the move to Morningside Heights additional funds were needed by the university, so gradually almost the entire block bounded by Fifth Avenue, 47th to 48th Streets, was sold for not quite $6,000,000. In 1909 the trustees mortgaged the Upper Estate for $3,000,000; this was gradually amortized. There have been other mortgages since. In 1945 the balance of the mortgage amounted to $2,954,783. What the university did was to finance itself by selling portions of its real estate and by borrowing, using the Upper and Lower Estates as security.

The Rockefellers leased the Upper Estate in 1928, and the following year the university received $700,000 in rental for it. By 1945 this rental had grown to $3,743,295. Since it is assessed, for land alone, at $29,476,542.15, this may be considered an excellent investment. The use of the real estate given to Columbia College to supply funds for building the university was severely criticized by a committee of the class of 1921, headed by Lawrence R. Condon. The rental income from the realty endowment, this committee reported in 1941, is "amply sufficient to carry and retire the entire funded debt of the University and still leave a handsome sum for educational purposes. . . .

"Over one-third of the entire income of the University comes from rentals from the Upper and Lower Estates. Expressed another way, the rental income from the Upper and Lower Estates equals a figure approximately 70% of all income received by the University from endowments."

The income from students in 1945 was $2,714,574.81; this, added to the rentals, is $6,516,161.24. The total income of the university was $10,577,072.78.

The assets dramatize the growth of the college into a university:

1880	$ 572,345.60
1900	10,292,126.54
1920	56,522,349.64
1945	127,810,411.22

In addition to the Upper and Lower Estates, the university owns other income-producing real estate, worth $2,608,167.71 in 1945. It had special funds of $16,161,900.94. The university land, buildings and equipment, nearly all on Morningside Heights, are valued at $39,286,208.80. It also had securities—bonds, stocks, mortgages—valued at $31,526,774.54. To those curious about what common stocks the treasurer holds, in the 1945 portfolio were: 6,000 shares of International Nickel; 2,500 of Montgomery Ward; 1,100 of J. C. Penny; 2,100 of Reynolds Tobacco "B"; 1,000 of Sherwin Williams; 3,000 of Standard Oil of N. J.; 2,000 of Sterling Drug; 3,100 of Texaco Co., and many others.

Endowments for general purposes, the income of which the trustees can use as they like, were, in 1945, $13,866,833.66. The special endowments, in which the donors specify how the income can be used, amounted to $43,801,141.81. As Dr. Butler often complained, people who give money want to use the university for their own purposes. Nobody wants to give money for coal.

The more a layman who is not a certified public accountant studies a financial statement like that of Columbia's, the more he is apt to be confused by it. And it must be admitted that quotations are inclined to distort facts.

The whole report should be read by persons particularly interested. It is a 226-page book, and costs 25¢ at the secretary's office.

To confuse the searcher after facts about the relationship of the college to the university, it will be discovered that Columbia College has no budget at all, except as part of a general educational budget or as part of the various departmental budgets. There is no segregation of college income and expense. The Condon Committee tried in vain to find what relation the amount of tuition paid by the student bears to the salaries of the teaching staff and to the cost of maintaining the college.

It also asked: "What share or proportion of general University expense is allocable to the College? What portion of the endowment is actually used for the benefit of the College?" It could only wonder about these and other questions. And it could only conclude that "Columbia College, with the exception of the nominal Dean's Fund, has today no financial independence whatever."

Credit for the shrewd management of the vast Columbia University funds must go to an inconspicuous gentleman down in Wall Street by the name of Frederick Arthur Goetze, the university's treasurer. It has been said that he is the smartest real-estate man in New York. He was a student in the School of Mines from 1893 to 1895, when he began his long service to the university as superintendent of buildings and grounds. For nine years he was dean of the Schools of Mines, Engineering, and Chemistry. He has been Columbia's treasurer since 1916.

6

Not money, nor administrators, however, really make a university great. Only men can do that; men who are

great scholars and great teachers. Columbia has been exceedingly rich in them.

Great names usually come in clusters, for one creative scholar attracts others to work with him. In the early days of King's College and Columbia a remarkable group of medical men formed one of the first medical schools in this country. The founding of the School of Mines brought another brilliant group together right after the Civil War. When John W. Burgess began to build his Graduate School of Political Science, he collected another brilliant cluster. The Columbia Law School can boast a distinguished succession of great names. And today, in nearly all departments, Columbia possesses great names, worthy successors of those of the past.

Since the days of George Edward Woodberry and Brander Matthews, who disliked each other intensely, Columbia has had an outstanding English department. In recent years it shone with such luminaries as John Erskine, Carl Van Doren, George Clinton Densmore Odell. Today the graduate department has Marjorie Hope Nicholson, who is generally referred to as "the best man in the English department," O. J. Campbell, Mark Van Doren, Joseph Wood Krutch, Raymond Weaver, Harrison Ross Steeves.

For a quarter of a century the Extension English department has attracted students who could only take a few courses in literature or professional writing. The unforgettable Professor John Henry Hobart Lyon stirs his students by his lectures on Shakespeare, romantic literature, and the world's masterpieces. And the quiet Professor Dorothy Brewster imparts her insight into modern fiction. For the professional-writing courses Donald L. Clark has acquired a complete stable of practicing writers and editors who have been demonstrating over the years that

writing for publication is a trade that can be taught effectively.

Among the scientists at Columbia, E. H. Armstrong has followed courageously in the footsteps of his great teacher, Michael Pupin; and Columbia scientists Harold Urey, Enrico Fermi, Isidor I. Rabi (three Nobel prize winners) and J. R. Dunning played an important part in atomic research under the direction of George B. Pegram, dean of the Graduate School, himself a leading physicist. Today Columbia has Selig Hecht in biophysics, Douglas W. Johnson in geology, Ralph Linton and Ruth Benedict in anthropology, James Kip Finch in civil engineering, Leo H. Baekeland in chemical engineering, J. Russell Smith in geography, Jan Schilt in astronomy.

James Harvey Robinson inspired a generation of historians on Morningside Heights. Some of his students are still teaching there: Carlton J. H. Hayes, Lynn Thorndike, Harry J. Carman. To them has been added Allan Nevins, Henry Steele Commager, the international relations expert Nathaniel Peffer, and the Latin-American authority Frank Tannenbaum. Political scientists are rare whose theories are not out of date before their deaths, and the reputations of economists, in particular, are as subject to fluctuation as the stock market. The School of Business has a notable group of these, and there are, in addition, John M. Clark (son of John Bates Clark), Joseph Dorfman, Louis Hacker, Leo Wolman, Arthur R. Burns, Carter Goodrich; and Columbia remembers well that it once sheltered Rexford Guy Tugwell.

Forever Columbia will be honored as the academic home of John Dewey. Nor is it likely to forget Frederick J. E. Woodbridge. And the philosophy department has a right to be proud that William Pepperell Montague has been a member of it since 1903. A younger group has fol-

lowed these masters: Irwin Edman, John Herman Randall, Jr., and Herbert W. Schneider. Douglas Moore heads the music department started by Edward MacDowell, and led more recently by Daniel Gregory Mason. Associated with him is Paul Henry Lang, the distinguished musicologist.

Extraordinary personalities still stalk the campus, such as Dino Bigongari, who fought in the Italian Army in World War I and has since been expounding Dante. The tradition of sartorial elegance, once exemplified by A. V. W. Jackson, has since been carried on by Joaquin Enrique Zanetti, professor of chemistry. The brilliance of younger men shines on Morningside Heights: Meyer Shapiro in fine arts, Milton Smith, director of the Brander Matthews Theatre, and Jacques Barzun in history.

During the last years of Dr. Butler's presidency, Columbia lost a number of big names, such as Harold Urey and Enrico Fermi, who went to the University of Chicago. Death, retirement, and the lure of more pay elsewhere have weakened other departments. It takes time to find suitable replacements. In the last century Columbia was famous for its classical studies; that department has been rather neglected in recent years. However, as an illustration of the place of Columbia in the world's intellectual life, it should be pointed out that eighteen of the leading learned journals, or quarterlies, are edited and published at Columbia. Like a major-league baseball club, the university sends out scouts looking for new talent; new crops of great names must be constantly harvested. Unquestionably they will be found and the tradition of great names will go on.

CHAPTER II

King's College and Columbia

1

BERMUDA MIGHT possibly have become the seat of King's College, had the grandiose schemes of Bishop Berkeley, the British philosopher and churchman, not run headlong into unyielding realities. This eminent divine, like many a successful educator since, had a keen eye for the main chance and an astute awareness of the existence of unused philanthropic funds.

After the Treaty of Utrecht, the British crown sold some lands, and received £80,000 for them. It was proposed that this fund be used to establish four bishoprics in America. Berkeley, who had already obtained a well-paying deanery in Ireland, and become the recipient of a bequest from the wealthy Vanessa, Swift's friend (although he had only seen her once), had his eye on something that looked even better: control of £20,000 for one of the American bishoprics. He suggested that, for the better supplying of the "Churches in our Foreign plantations and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity," a college be established to be called St. Paul's, in "the Summer Islands, otherwise called the isles of Bermuda."

Although Swift ridiculed this idea, a charter was granted Berkeley, and he set out for America in 1728. His ship, by chance, landed him in Rhode Island, where he stayed and preached to the colonists. Soon he became convinced that Bermuda, where, he said, the inhabitants "are noted for their innocence and simplicity of manners," was not quite

the place for training missionaries for converting the Indians, and that perhaps New York was better suited. He wrote his friends in England to have the charter altered. Sir Robert Walpole who, as head of the British Treasury, controlled the funds, advised them to tell Berkeley that, "speaking as a Minister, he'll get it, as a friend, he had better come home." So the bishop returned to London, and later to an even richer deanery in Ireland. He never got his hands on the £20,000, and the whole £80,000 eventually went to Princess Anne on her marriage to the Prince of Orange.

Meanwhile, less romantic men were working slowly and with more success toward the establishment of a seat of learning in New York. One of the prominent vestrymen of Trinity was Lewis Morris, lord of the manor of Morrisiana, governor of the Province of New Jersey, and grandfather of Gouverneur Morris. In 1702 he asserted his interest in higher education by writing a letter to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in which he said: "The Queen has a Farm of about 32 Acres of land, wch Rents for £35 p.Ann: Tho the Church Wardens & Vestry have petitioned for it & my Ld four months since gave ym a promise of it the proceeding has been so slow that the begin to fear the Success wont answer expectation. I believe her Maty. would readily grant it to the Society for the asking. N. York is the Center of English America & a Proper Place for a Colledge— & that Farm in a little time will be of considerable Value, & it's pity such a thing should be lost for want of asking, wch at another time wont be so Easily obtained."

Instead of being given to the college, however, the land was deeded to Trinity Church, a deal that was probably engineered by the high churchmen in London who managed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in For-

eign Parts. The matter of a college was, however, very much on the minds of Trinity's vestrymen, for on February 19, 1703, they unanimously agreed that the rector and the churchwardens should see Lord Cornbury, the governor, to find out what part of this land was to be used for a college. Lord Cornbury did not reply to their inquiry. The proposal lay dormant until 1746 when promoters of the college persuaded the General Assembly of New York to permit a lottery to raise money for a college.

"Inasmuch as it will greatly tend to the welfare and reputation of the Colony that a proper and ample foundation be laid for the regular education of youth," the act declared, "and as so good and laudable design must readily excite the inhabitants of this Colony to become adventurers in a lottery of which the profits shall be employed for the foundation of a college for that purpose." The sum raised was £2,250, and in 1751 another lottery raised £3,443 18s. The whole amount was vested in a board of ten trustees. Two of these were members of the Dutch Reformed Church, one was a Presbyterian, and seven were communicants of the Church of England who were also vestrymen of Trinity. Lotteries were the usual means of raising money for educational purposes in those days. Princeton had six lotteries.

The General Assembly authorized the trustees to receive proposals from any "cities or Counties within this Colony which shall be desirous of having said College erected within said City or County." The vestrymen of Trinity promptly proposed to deed to the trustees "any reasonable quantity of the Church farm, which was not already let out, for the erecting and use of a College." On July 4, 1753, the Assembly passed a supporting act, directing the treasurer of the colony to pay the trustees "out of monies arising by Duty of Excise the annual sum of 500

pounds for and during terms of seven years to commence from after the 1st day of January next ensuing," this annuity to be distributed in salaries.

Because the college was obviously so closely identified with Trinity as to appear to be virtually a Church of England college, furious opposition to it arose, led by William Livingston, the lone Presbyterian trustee. Livingston was a democratic liberal who wanted a state college, supported by the legislature, rather than by any private or sectarian group. Extremely vocal and active, he stirred up the controversy to fever pitch.

Supporters of the college who were friends of Trinity had a powerful ally, however, in the lieutenant governor, James Delancey. A feud was going on at that time between the Delanceys and the Livingstons. Delancey received the petition for granting a charter on May 20, 1754, and on June 4th he directed the attorney general of the province to prepare it.

But then Livingston's group prevented any further progress. In the fall of 1755 a new governor, Sir Charles Hardy, arrived and Livingston tried to win him to his side. Instead, Sir Charles received the liberals coldly and promptly subscribed £500 for the college. The board of trustees then agreed to divide the lottery receipts with the city. So half of the money went toward building a new pesthouse and jail, and the other half to the college.

The charter was rewritten, and Delancey personally delivered it, May 7, 1755. At the first meeting of the board of governors the Reverend Johannes Ritzema, senior minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, asked for a further amendment to state that the "Dutch shall here enjoy Liberty of their Conscience in Divine Worship and Church Discipline." Furthermore, there should be established in the college a professor of divinity of "the Re-

formed Protestant Dutch Church for instruction of such youths as may intend to devote themselves to the Sacred Ministry of those Churches." These additions were agreed to, but the Dutch never attempted to establish such a professorship.

On May 13, 1755, the corporation of Trinity Church conveyed to the board, for ten shillings, the deed of "a piece of land situated on the west side of Broadway fronting easterly to Church Street, between Barclay and Murray Street to the North River." The condition of the gift, and this was also in the charter but later removed, was that the president of the college "forever and for the time being" should be a member of the communion of the Church of England, and that morning and evening services in the college should be in the liturgy of that church.

The much-praised liberal provision in the charter expressly stated that the college had no power "to exclude any person or any religious denomination whatever from equal liberty and advantage or from any degrees, liberties, privileges, benefits and immunities of said college on account of his particular tenets in matters of religion." However, the condition of the gift from Trinity were widely publicized and well remembered. They provoked furious opposition at the time from the Livingston group, and many people regarded the college as sectarian, a Church of England establishment. This was a serious handicap to the college for more than a hundred years.

2

As early as November, 1752, the trustees had decided to invite the Reverend Doctor Samuel Johnson of Stratford, Connecticut, to be the first president of their institution. He was known personally to a number of them and he had

tutored Delancey's grandchildren. He was to be paid £250 and to hire as his assistant Mr. Chauncey Whittelsey of New Haven for £200. They knew the offer was small so they expressed the belief that the vestry of Trinity would add to it. On January 1, 1754, the vestry informed Dr. Johnson that he would be called as assistant minister. A month later he said he would need time to consider it. In April he came to New York and began to serve three months later.

Dr. Johnson, one of the notable men of his time, was born in Guilford, Connecticut, in 1696. His family were Congregationalists. As a child he was educated by his grandfather. At six he was fascinated by the Hebrew characters he found in a book and he wanted to learn the language at once. By fourteen he was ready for college, so he went to a small college getting started in Saybrook, where he obtained his B.A. in 1714, and his M.A. in 1717, after the college had moved to New Haven.

Even as an undergraduate he had no small opinion of his abilities as a scholar. He read Bacon's *Advancement of Learning,* which had considerable effect on his thinking. He taught in the college while continuing his religious studies. These led him to abandon Congregationalism and to become converted to the Church of England. He was unpopular with his students and for a time was pastor of a small congregation in West Haven, whose members did not find out until later that he preached Episcopalian doctrines to them. In 1722 he resigned to take holy orders in England, where he was ordained, and returned the following year to Stratford, where he became the only Episcopal clergyman in the colony. "He discovered that New England was not the center of God's kingdom," H. W. Schneider sums up Johnson's intellectual revolution, "but an outlying province of the British Empire. . . . His trip to

England made him an Englishman and, as he thought, a gentleman. He lost his Yankee provincialism and found comfort in the orderly wisdom of the Anglican Church." *

After his trip to England, Johnson carried on a voluminous correspondence with prominent churchmen in Great Britain. When Bishop Berkeley visited Rhode Island, Johnson met him and continued thereafter to seek his advice. Johnson also wrote to Benjamin Franklin, who wanted him to come to Philadelphia to head the college being started there. Meanwhile, he had decided to go to New York. The only obstruction was his mortal fear of smallpox. His best friend died of it in London, and years later his wife and son succumbed to it. One of the trustees told him that if he did not come and accept the presidency of King's, plans for the college would be abandoned. He assented on the condition that he could retire to the country if smallpox epidemics became dangerous. As a matter of fact, he probably would have accepted anyway.

In the *New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy* of June 3, 1754, appeared this advertisement: "To such parents as have now (or expect to have) children prepared to be educated in the College of New York that it proposed to begin tuition first of July next." On July 1st Dr. Johnson announced: "This is to acquaint whom it may concern that I shall attend at the Vestry Room in the School House, near the English Church on Tuesdays and Thursdays every week between the Hours of Nine and Twelve to examine such as offer themselves to be admitted into the College."

Eight were admitted: Samuel Verplanck, Rudolph Ritzema, Philip Van Cortlandt, Robert Bayard, Samuel

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Provoost, Thomas Marston, Henry Cruger, and Joshua Bloomer. According to the records of the college, Bayard after two years went into the army, Marston after two years went into merchandising, Cruger after about three years went to England. He became a successful merchant in Bristol, was elected to Parliament, became a close friend of Edmund Burke, and returned to New York after the Revolution.

In 1754 the colonies sent delegates to Albany, where a federal union was proposed. Everybody feared French aggression from Canada. The French and Indian Wars had yet to be fought. New York was a small but thriving town of less than 20,000 people. In spite of the smallpox epidemics it was considered relatively healthy because so much of it was built on hills, and the rains washed most of the filth in the streets into the rivers.

Dr. Johnson instructed his eight students in the schoolhouse of Trinity while plans were made for a building. In June, 1755, a seal, designed by Johnson, was adopted which became the seal of Columbia University. By the next year funds were sufficient to start the building. In August, 1756, the cornerstone was laid. That cornerstone is now in the wall of the trustees' room at Columbia. *The New York Gazette* reported that "the Governor came in his chariot." This was Sir Charles Hardy. After the stone was laid a "Health was drunk to His Majesty, and to Sir Charles, and the Prosperity of the College and to the Advancement of true Religion."

The president's younger son, William, helped him as a tutor when the number of students increased. He went to England in 1756 to take holy orders and died there of smallpox. Mr. Leonard Cutting, of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, "a well bred classical scholar," was appointed in William's place. When, in 1757, Dr. Johnson fled to West-

chester because of the smallpox, Cutting had 30 pupils in three classes, so Mr. Daniel Treadwell of Harvard was engaged to help him at the annual stipend of £100. He died of tuberculosis in 1760. Since the building was not yet ready, and the college grew too large for the vestry room, Cutting took some of his classes in his private lodgings, for which he was paid an additional £10 a year.

King's first commencement was June 21, 1758, and B.A.s were awarded to Samuel Verplanck, Rudolph Ritzema, Philip Van Cortlandt, Samuel Provoost, Joshua Bloomer, Joseph Read (who had been educated at the Philadelphia college), Josiah Ogden and Isaac Ogden. The Ogdens had transferred from the College of New Jersey at Princeton.

By June, 1760, the building was sufficiently completed for the officers and students to "lodge and diet" in it. It was designed to be built around three sides of a quadrangle, but only one wing was finished, consisting of 24 apartments, each having a large sitting room, with study and bedchamber. An English visitor remarked that King's "will be the most beautifully situated of any college in the world." He said of Dr. Johnson: "A very worthy and learned man but rather far advanced in life to have the direction of so young an institution."

Edward Willett, it is recorded, was appointed steward in 1761, and was to have the use of two rooms and kitchen and such part of the garden as the president would allow. He was to keep the students' rooms clean, to have their beds made, and to provide "for such as might choose to diet with him on terms to be agreed." Rent of rooms was £4 a year. The rates for meals were: For breakfast, dinner and supper, 11s a week; for breakfast and dinner, 8s 3d; and the bill of fare was: Sunday: roast beef and pudding; Monday: leg of mutton and roast veal; Tuesday: corned

beef and mutton pie; Friday: leg of mutton and soup; Saturday: fish, fresh and salt in their season. For breakfast the students had coffee or tea with bread and butter. For supper they had bread, butter, cheese or milk, or the remainder of the dinner. Willett lost money on his commissary.

3

Dr. Johnson wanted to retire to his home in Stratford, but he had difficulty in finding a successor, although he corresponded with his British friends asking for recommendations. Archbishop Secker suggested Myles Cooper, a fellow in Queen's College, Oxford, who came to New York in 1762. He was appointed professor of moral philosophy. Johnson resigned the following March and Cooper was promptly elected. He was told his salary was to be £275, but he said he expected £400; he got it. A grammar school was established at this time to help in getting students for the college, but it was not very successful and was a financial loss to the college.

Attempts were constantly being made to obtain more endowment, but little progress was made. Dr. James Jay went to London in 1762 to try to raise funds. Dr. William Smith from the college in Philadelphia was already there soliciting for his institution. Ten thousand pounds was raised and divided between the two colleges. In February, 1767, the trustees petitioned Sir Henry Moore, governor of the province, for 24,000 acres of land. A grant was issued in 1770 which described the tract as being "within limits formerly claimed by the government of New Hampshire, laying in the county of Albany, on the west side of Connecticut river, beginning at a beech tree with letters W.K. on it. It was ordained that said tract be erected into a township by the name of Kingsland." This would in-

clude a generous part of what is now southern Vermont, for the land was lost in a later settlement of the boundary dispute between New Hampshire and New York. In 1774 another colonial governor, Tryon, granted 10,000 acres that were never actually obtained.

During the 1760s the faculty increased in numbers. One of the first medical schools in America was created then in connection with King's. Dr. Samuel Clossy, known for his book on morbid anatomy, was appointed professor of anatomy at a salary of £144 a year, with £36 additional for teaching natural philosophy. Dr. Peter Middleton was hired to teach pathology and physiology; John Jones for surgery; James Smith for chemistry and materia medica; Dr. Samuel Bard for the theory and practice of medicine; and Dr. John V. B. Tennent for midwifery. Bard and Jones became active promoters of the New York Hospital which later, in turn, created the Bloomingdale Asylum which Columbia, in the 1890s, bought on 116th Street. The college prospered under Cooper and acquired some valuable property under a new charter in 1767 when it was given some water lots on the Hudson River free of quit rent. One plot was still owned by the university in 1946; another was sold after the Revolution and the proceeds used to repair the college building.

Dr. Cooper wrote of the college while he was president: "All students but those in Medicine are obliged to lodge and diet in the college unless they are particularly exempted by the Governors or the President; and the edifice is surrounded by a high fence, which also encloses a large court and garden, and a porter constantly attends at the front gate, which is closed at 10 o'clock each evening in summer and 9 o'clock in the winter, after which hour the names of all who come in are delivered weekly to the President.

"The college is situated," he continued, "on dry gravelly soil about 150 yard from the bank of the Hudson river, is totally unencumbered by any adjacent buildings and admitting the purest circulation of air from the river and every other quarter, has the benefit of as agreeable and healthy a situation as can possibly be conceived."

When Dr. Cooper became president he was only twenty-six. The board of trustees were somewhat disturbed by his youth, so they directed that all women be cleared out of the college building. There is no record of any females hiding there, but the trustees were evidently taking no chances. Dr. Cooper tried hard to impose the Oxford system of discipline that he had known at Queen's, and so established a "Black Book of Misdemeanors" in which all infractions of the rules were recorded. Offences listed included taking teacups out of another student's room. Beverly Robinson (later involved in Benedict Arnold's treason) seems to have been difficult, for it was written that he spit in the cook's face, kicked him, and otherwise abused him. Furthermore, Robinson did not appear for a hearing. He was then publicly reprimanded and ordered to stay within the college fence for two weeks.

A slight disturbance enlivened the commencement of 1772. When punch was being prepared for the board of governors, several of the students broke into the room and carried off the liquors. When they were thrown out, Nicholas Ogden called through the window for wine. When he was refused, Ogden threw a candlestick at the porter who was making the punch and broke his pipe. The porter found another pipe, but Ogden pitched a wooden bar at him and broke that. About the same moment Beverly Robinson threw two andirons out of his window, but fortunately hit no one. Two students later admitted intoxication.

Dr. Cooper established fines for various offences. He ruled: "If convicted of Drunkenness, Fornication, Lying, Theft, Swearing, cursing or any other scandalous immorality he shall submit to open admonition and confession or be expelled. . . . None may keep company with persons of scandalous behavior or fight cocks, play cards, dice, or any unlawful game." Vacations were a month after commencement, one week at Michaelmas, a fortnight at Christmas, and at Easter from Good Friday to the following Friday.

John Parke Custis, stepson of George Washington, enrolled as a student, but remained for only four months because he was so much in love with Judge Calvert's daughter in Maryland that he left college to marry her. Custis wrote his stepfather that he was very comfortable at King's: "There is nothing that has been omitted by my good friend Doctor Cooper which was necessary to the contentment of this place." He had his saddle horses with him and he remarked that "riding is the only exercise here." To his mother he wrote: "I have a large parlour with two studys or closets, each large enough to contain a bed, trunk, and a couple of chairs, one I sleep in and the other Joe (his servant) calls his, my chamber and parlour are papered, with a cheap but very pretty paper, the other is painted; my furniture consists of six chairs, two tables, and a few paultry pictures. I have an excellent bed and in short everything is very convenient and clever. I generally get up about six or a little after, dress myself and go to Chapel. By the time prayers are over Joe has me a little breakfast to which I sit down very contentedly & after eating heartyly I thank God and go to my Studys, with which I am employed till twelve, then I take a walk and return about one, dine with the Professor and after Dinner study till six at which time the bell always rings

for Prayers. They being over College is broak up and then we take what amusement we please."

Alexander Hamilton was a friend and classmate of Jackie Custis. Although Columbians have always boasted that Hamilton was a student, he did not stay to graduate, and little is known about what he did during his one year at King's. He was given an honorary degree after the War of Independence and served as a trustee. He came to New York from St. Croix in the West Indies in 1772 and stayed with Hercules Mulligan, who was a friend of Nicholas Cruger, the St. Croix trader who sent Hamilton to the colonies. Alexander then attended Dr. Francis Barber's grammar school in Elizabethtown, N. J., for a year. He tried to get into Princton; when he was refused he went to King's. A biographer declares that he looked at this time like a small boy, had a rosy face and slight figure, and behaved with mature gallantry. He was a dandy in dress. There was considerable drinking in those days, apparently, among the undergraduates, but Hamilton was a young man in a hurry and said he could not spare the time for hang-overs. He studied hard and had the habit of talking to himself, especially on long walks he took along Batteau Street.

From the time Hamilton had been a guest of the Livingstons at Elizabethtown when he first came to the colonies, he had been anti-British and outspokenly on the side of the colonies. At a mass meeting in the Fields, now City Hall Park, soon after he entered King's, Hamilton spoke against the British measures. Soon afterwards he wrote letters to the New York papers, under a pseudonym, which showed such a grasp of the issues that the articles were attributed to John Jay. Dr. Cooper, when he was told of their authorship, was incredulous that a boy of seventeen wrote them. At the same time Hamilton organized a stu-

dents' corps and proudly wore a natty green uniform with a badge inscribed "Hearts of Oak." He was under fire when the British warship *Asia* bombarded the town from the Battery. Hamilton, says his biographer David Loth, directed a few ineffectual shots at the ship and bore off the cannon which were in danger of being destroyed. Young Hamilton looked disdainfully on the Sons of Liberty, who were threatening the local Tories with mob violence. Already Hamilton was an ardent defender of private property.

On May 10, 1775, a mob set out to seize Dr. Cooper. It had been inflamed by a letter published April 25th and addressed to Dr. Cooper and "other obnoxious gentlemen," denouncing them as parricides, telling them that "the Americans were reduced to desperation and will no longer satisfy their resentment with the execution of the villains in effigy," and ending, "Fly for your lives or anticipate your doom by becoming your own executioners." It was signed "Three Millions."

Hamilton and his friend Troup waited for the mob, which was raiding the royal warehouses. It then turned toward the college. Troup hastened to Cooper to warn him to flee while Hamilton held off the crowd with a speech. He urged the people to consider the principles for which they were fighting. Cooper looked out his window, saw Hamilton gesturing, and he feared that he would be tarred and feathered. He shouted out his window: "Don't listen to him, he's mad!"

By this time Troup had reached Cooper's room and persuaded him to flee. The president escaped half-dressed over the college fence and reached the shore of the Hudson River. He wandered along the bank until morning, found shelter in the house of a friend, where he hid until the next night when he went on board the *Kingfisher,* a British man-of-war, which sailed soon afterwards to England.

Cooper continued to get half his salary for several years and was *de jure* president until Columbia received its first charter May 1, 1784. The other half of the salary went to the Reverend Benjamin Moore who, six days after Cooper's departure, was appointed president pro tempore. He was a King's alumnus who had just returned from England with his holy orders. There was no commencement that year, but B.A. degrees were conferred on seven students and M.A. degrees on two. Eight were admitted. In nineteen commencements King's graduated 107 students.

Hamilton joined the militia. The college continued with a few students, sometimes meeting during the war in the rooms of professors. On April 6, 1776, the treasurer of the college received from the Committee of Safety a letter telling the board of trustees to prepare the college within six days for the reception of troops. The students dispersed; the library and apparatus were stored in City Hall. The college building was turned into a military hospital.

In 1776 there was no public commencement; six men were granted B.A. degrees. "The turbulence and confusion which prevail in every part of the country," it was recorded, "effectually suppress every literary pursuit." Yet a little instruction was given, the trustees met occasionally, and the Reverend Moore tried to carry on the college, at least in theory.

4

After the treaty with England ending the war had been negotiated by John Jay (class of '64) the surviving governors of King's petitioned the legislature to make the college a university and grant a new charter. The legislators thereupon created, May 1, 1784, "the Regents of the State of New York, impowered to found schools and col-

leges in such part of the state as may seem expedient." It also ordained that the "college heretofore called King's be forever and hereafter called and known by the name of Columbia College." The regents appointed a committee to receive from the "later corporation of the college called King's whatever property belonged to it."

Selection of a president was postponed and the reorganization of the college was carried out by a committee of the regents. On May 17, 1784, the first student in the new college was enrolled: De Witt Clinton entered the junior class. His father had brought him to New York on his way to Princeton. Mayor Duane heard that the nephew of the governor of the state was going to New Jersey to be educated. Duane was scandalized and arranged to have Professor William Cochran take care of him. Thus Clinton and several others were admitted to the junior class.

Professor Cochran taught Latin, Greek, and rhetoric. Benjamin Moore taught geography; the Reverend John D. Gros, natural philosophy, German, and astronomy; Dr. Samuel Bard, medicine; the Reverend John Peter Tetard, French; the Reverend Johan C. Kunz, Oriental languages. Others in the School of Medicine were: Dr. Benjamin Kissam, Dr. Charles Knight, Dr. Ebenezer Crosby, and Dr. Nicholas Romayne.

The college had so little money, said the regents committee, that no respectable character could be induced to accept the office of president. The duties were carried on by the faculty by monthly rotation. The Continental Congress, then sitting in New York, attended in a body the first commencement of Columbia, as well as both houses of the state legislature. This was held in St. Paul's Chapel, April 13, 1786.

Fires in 1776 and 1778 gutted half of New York; the whole city suffered painfully throughout the war. When



(Photo by W. L. Bogert)

Seth Low Library and part of Morningside campus as it looks today

it was over the inhabitants were largely, it is said, "ruined exiles, disbanded soldiery, mixed foreigners, disaffected Tories, and the refuse of the British army." The population had been halved by the war. Ten thousand New Yorkers left the city, never to return. One third of those remaining were Tories who had confidence in the good will of the colonial patriots. Everything had been demolished along both sides of Broadway up to Rector Street, and most of the houses between Broadway and the North River up to the college were in ruins. The fire of 1776 destroyed Trinity Church and the Lutheran church.

Disorders were so rampant at night that respectable people stayed indoors. Lighting of the streets was by smoky, ill-trimmed, whale-oil lamps. Brawls, riots, duels were frequent, especially in the burned-out section called "Canvas Town," where there were many whorehouses. In spite of these conditions the city boomed, so that by 1800 it was the largest in the country, bigger than its great rival, Philadelphia. The city was rebuilt rapidly. Trinity was restored. But epidemics continued: yellow fever, influenza, smallpox drove people to seek safety in Greenwich Village, Harlem, and Westchester.

William Samuel Johnson, eldest son of the first president of King's, was elected the first president of Columbia by the trustees on May 21, 1787, on the assurance by Mayor Duane that Johnson would accept. Of independent means, he had already had a distinguished legal career and did not really need the £400 salary. Well trained in church affairs by his father, the younger Johnson could read his primer at the age of four, and knew by heart the Psalter and Catechism a year later.

"Before he was ten," says his biographer, "he was on his way to becoming a well groomed Anglican, a student of the classics, as well as a properly brought up little gen-

tleman." * He was a Yale graduate; obtained an M.A. from Harvard and represented his county in Connecticut in the Colonial Assembly. He went to the Court in Great Britain in 1766 as a special agent for the colony in a litigation over a tract of land. Like his father, he was tremendously impressed by English life, so much so that he tried not to take sides during the War of Independence.

After it was over, however, he re-entered politics and played an influential role in the Constitutional Convention. He always advocated a compromise whenever arguments became heated. A colleague described him as a "Thomas Aquinas by implication"; he was generally regarded as a moderate Federalist. His most important contribution was in helping to draw up the Judiciary Act that created the Federal District and Circuit Court system.

A thrifty Connecticut Yankee, Johnson favored Hamilton's plan to pay the public debt in full. He had a big personal investment in it, holding more public obligations than all the public creditors in Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia combined: about $50,000 in all. He favored a standing army to put down domestic insurrections. Already, when he came to Columbia, he was along in years, and repeated sieges of gout had left their mark on his constitution and disposition. So palsied was his hand he could scarcely write and he was getting deaf. A year after he accepted the presidency he was elected U. S. Senator from Connecticut, but he resigned after two years because he found the journey to Philadelphia too arduous, and he disliked to be away from "the comforts of his wife."

The New York Advertiser hailed his election to the post as "a happy proof of the high estimate in which literature is held among us, since characters of first importance

* *William Samuel Johnson: A Maker of the Constitution*, by George C. Gioce, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, © 1937.)

seldom condescend to assume the care of education." On the board of twenty-four trustees at this time, in 1787, were two Anglican divines, a Presbyterian minister, the pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church, a rabbi of the Hebrew synagogue, nine lawyers, five physicians, several politicians, and at least one merchant. The number of laymen accounts in part for the selection of a layman for president, since it was the practice of American colleges to choose clergymen for such jobs. But the choice was small and Johnson filled all the requirements. Nearly all of the students came from the best New York families, from the mercantile and landed aristocracy. Discipline was light; few students were fined for infractions of the rules.

Faculty salaries were meagre: Professor Gros received nothing as professor of German or geography; he got £50 as instructor in moral philosophy. Cochran received £100 as professor of Latin, and another £100 to teach Greek. Dr. Kemp was paid £200 as professor of mathematics, and £50 additional as temporary instructor of natural philosophy. The medical faculty was paid nothing; its members collected fees directly from the students. In the college were 39 students: 18 freshmen, 7 sophomores, 10 juniors, 4 seniors. Only five undergraduates slept and boarded in the college, the others lived at their homes in the city. Two professors, Dr. Kemp and Professor Gros, had apartments in the building. None of the students or faculty wore academic gowns as was customary at colleges in those days.

Columbia badly needed equipment. What library existed before the war had been lost, and there were no suitable classrooms. A rule of the college, evidently in an attempt to compete with Princeton, was that the tuition and chamber rent should not exceed that paid in Princeton. The college owned 91 lots which were rented on leases, provid-

ing a small income, but the total annual income was only £1,331 in 1787.

The faculty members considered it their duty to teach polite learning, good taste, good manners, and good citizenship. Dr. Johnson persuaded them to wear academic gowns in 1788. He tried to be friendly with the students, and apparently was well-liked. Ceremonies, especially commencements, he enjoyed immensely. The first commencement after he became president was held in the college hall, but the second, in 1789, was in St. Paul's Chapel. Admission was by ticket. President Washington and Vice-President Adams honored the occasion as guests; the U. S. Senate adjourned for the day to attend. B.A. degrees were conferred on ten seniors. Dr. Johnson delivered what was described as a "pathetic" address, pointing out our duty to God and to our neighbors, and declaring that the path of virtue was the only true road to happiness.

Shortly after Johnson became president he bestowed honorary degrees upon his two sons, his son-in-law, and upon the Reverend Abraham Beach (a relative of his wife), and also upon his aged pastor in Stratford. The trustees prevented him from handing out any more, for they resolved that candidates for honorary degrees must be voted on by ballot three months in advance. Johnson reveled in the social life of New York: he saw much of the Beekmans, Baches, Stuyvesants, Van Horns, Livingstons, Bayards; John Jay, Aaron Burr, and Alexander Hamilton entertained him in their homes.

During his tenure Columbia escaped criticism from the press, remarkable for those days, since nearly all colleges, and especially Yale, were attacked by the Republicans as agencies of Federalist propaganda. The only political demonstration in which the college participated was a parade celebrating the adoption of the Constitution. The under-

graduates wore their academic gowns and carried as many kinds of mathematical and astronomical instruments as they could find. One student carried a flag "emblematic of science" which announced a motto: "Science and liberty mutually support and adorn each other."

The college did not prosper. Johnson tried to place responsibility on younger men. The Assembly in 1792 voted £8,500 for permanent improvements and £750 a year for five years for a new professor. In 1796 this was extended for two more years. The medical faculty quarreled bitterly in 1792 over the appointment of Nicholas Romayne. He was not a member of the New York Medical Society and was forced to resign. Dr. Bard continued his lectures, but a number of medical students left to study with Dr. Romayne. James Kent became professor of law in 1793, but he could not attract enough students to make it worth his while to lecture. Johnson could not get any additional endowment; enrollment did not increase. Other colleges in the United States grew but Columbia remained stagnant.

After the death of George Washington the vestrymen of Trinity wished to plan a suitable memorial. On his way to the meeting Johnson caught a sever cold; he recovered, but he seemed very feeble, and resigned July 2, 1800. Once back in Stratford he recovered miraculously, and lived nineteen more years. He even married again, his first wife having died in 1796.

Johnson is revered by lawyers as an important figure. But as an educator he counted for nothing. He did little for the college except to assume the presidency when nobody else was available. Not until nearly a century later did an administrator, Seth Low, come to the college who could really put it on its feet.

CHAPTER III

The College Becomes a University

1

AT THE BEGINNING of the last century Columbia was a small, insignificant college, without any endowment or prestige worth mentioning, and heavily handicapped by the popular and largely correct notion that it was Episcopalian and narrowly sectarian. By the end of the century Columbia was on its way toward becoming one of the great universities of the world. This transformation began in the 1880s, at first very slowly, and then gathered momentum in the 1890s. For the first fifty years of the nineteenth century Columbia made almost no progress at all. It barely and precariously remained in existence. It suffered a succession of pious but distinctly mediocre personages as president. They were dull men, without imagination or energy, lacking, generally speaking, in scholarship and administrative ability.

There is considerable doubt whether the man who succeeded Johnson ever bothered to visit the college except for one commencement. His only administrative act was to sign the diplomas in 1801. He was a clergyman, the Reverend Charles H. Wharton, rector of St. Mary's Church in Burlington, N. J. Why he was ever elected and why he accepted the post is a mystery. Born a Maryland Catholic, he studied at the Jesuit College at Saint-Omer in France, and was a chaplain in Worcester, England, for a time. But like the two Johnsons, he was tremendously impressed by the British and he became converted to the Church of

England. This seems to have affected his health, but he returned to America and became rector of the Episcopal church in New Castle, Delaware. After serving at the Swedish church in Wilmington, he went to Burlington, where he remained until his death in 1833.

Dr. Wharton was elected president of Columbia by the trustees on May 25, 1801. He accepted the post in August and resigned December 11th. Apparently one commencement was enough, the one held on August 6th at which Gulian C. Verplanck delivered an oration on the "Effects of Enthusiasm upon Human Conduct." It was the custom to hold the exercises on the hottest day of the year. The ceremonies lasted all day, with a brief respite for lunch. They began with a procession led by the janitor of the college, followed by the students, the members of the state legislature, the judges of the Supreme Court, the clergy, and "Strangers of Distinction." This parade marched solemnly across the college green and through Robinson Street (now Park Row), then down Broadway to St. Paul's. In 1801 there were fourteen orations, several of them in Greek or Latin, and the assemblage apparently listened to the long-winded proceedings, which closed with an address by the president, without a whimper.

At the end of December the trustees decided that the professorship annexed to the presidency should be detached, and the president be charged merely with the superintendence of the institution, which included attendance at examinations and the collection of fees. Since it was necessary to find a professor of moral philosophy and rhetoric and belles lettres, the Reverend Dr. John Bowden of the class of 1772 was appointed. At the same time the Right Reverend Benjamin Moore (class of 1768), Bishop of New York, who had been president pro tempore after the flight of Cooper, and professor of rhetoric and logic in the col-

lege, 1784–1787, was elected president. During the Revolution he had remained loyal to King George III. One of his qualifications for the position was that he possessed the social graces. He is described as having been slender, of medium stature, and long-faced.

Bishop Moore's ecclesiastical duties prevented him from giving much time to the college which paid him only $500 a year. It struggled along on a very meagre income. In 1802 the revenue was less than £1,570. The professor of chemistry, Samuel Latham Mitchill, resigned when he was elected to Congress. Lack of funds prevented the payment of a salary to his successor, so the trustees directed that each junior pay him $8 for the course, which covered attendance for two years. Appeals to the legislature for money were unsuccessful. Salaries in 1802 amounted to £1,477, leaving a balance of £93 for repairs. Not only were repairs urgent, but the college building had yet to be completed. To do this the trustees borrowed $5,000. Professors were paid very little: Dr. Kemp got £500; Dr. Wilson, £400; Dr. Bowden, £400. Dr. Beach, secretary of the trustees, was paid £25, and the porter received $52. In 1802 Columbia was ceded some lands in northern New York State by the legislature to be held jointly with Union College, then a flourishing and much superior institution. The lands were later sold: part in 1823 for $3,244 and the remainder in 1828 for $3,213.

During Bishop Moore's regime the college sank to its lowest level in numbers, reputation, and resources. Everybody blamed everybody else for this condition. Professor McVickar said the denominational issue was the cause. The highly energetic and ambitious John Henry Hobart, an influential and very vocal trustee, declared that one denomination, the Episcopalian, should have a numerical majority on the board.

Several of the trustees criticized the lack of discipline n the college and John M. Mason, who was soon to be Provost, said: "Inefficiency has been the bane of our college system." In 1810 the trustees resolved that the admission requirements should be made stricter. No student should be admitted, they said, "unless he be accurately acquainted with both the Greek and Latin tongues." Later they asserted that "it cannot be supposed that it is the intention to try that most fruitless and mischievous experiment: of educating either the naturally stupid or the incurably idle." They recommended: "(1) Exactness, (2) Punctuality, (3) Progression."

Encouraged by this, Mason threw himself into the task of reorganizing the course of study and raising the standards of admission. No student, it was solemnly declared, could deliver any speech at commencement which he did not compose himself. All fees, it was ruled, paid directly to the professors by the students were to be abolished, and each student should pay to the treasury of the college $100. The president, it was decided, should receive $3,500 and a dwelling house; each professor should get $2,500 and a house. Since no funds existed to pay these stipends, a subscription was opened and an appeal made to the citizens of New York.

Bishop Moore became daily weaker and the inauguration of the new policies demanded an active administrator. In May, 1811, Moore resigned. Mason (class of 1789) was his logical successor. He was popular, vigorous, handsome, with patrician features, graceful gestures and carriage, and he had a manner "attractive and sympathetic." As professor of moral philosophy and logic, he was the leading member of the faculty, and he was also a trustee. In short, he had all the qualifications except the most important one. Nearly everybody agreed that he should succeed Moore,

but he was, unfortunately, a Scotch Presbyterian and hence was considered ineligible because of the condition of the gift of land from Trinity. A new charter, in 1810, under which Columbia has operated ever since, expressly reaffirmed that "no religious tenets should prevent admission to any privilege or office of said college."

In spite of that the trustees still felt bound by the religious qualification; they wrestled with the problem and could come to no conclusion. John Henry Hobart lay awake nights trying to resolve it. After a sleepless night he had what he thought was an inspiration. He arose early and went to see Rufus King, the most influential of the trustees, had breakfast with him and presented his brilliant solution. Dr. Mason should be made provost, he said, and Dr. William Harris, rector of St.-Marks-in-the-Bouwerie, should be named president. Harris would continue his ecclesiastical duties at St. Mark's, while Mason would administer the college. From Rufus King's home Hobart went to see Oliver Wolcott, leader of the pro-Mason forces, and he accepted that compromise. Harris began his duties by presiding at what is known as the Riotous Commencement, August 7, 1811.

2

The riot grew out of Dr. Mason's determination to enforce discipline as he thought it should be. One of the seniors prepared a commencement address on "The Duty of the Representative to Obey the Will of His Constituents." This was a highly inflammatory topic at the time. Party politics were bitter. Dr. Mason in his sermons frequently expressed strong political views to which some of the undergraduates took violent exception.

Stevenson, the senior who wrote the address, was one of

those who disagreed with Mason politically. He felt that he had the right to express his opinions in his oration. After he had written it he was compelled to submit it to Professor Peter Wilson for aproval. Wilson made corrections, toned down the opinions, told Stevenson he must deliver it as amended. Instead, he stuck to his original text. Wilson reported this to Mason during the speech, and Mason decided that the young man could not have his degree that day. Apparently the provost intended to call Stevenson on the carpet and grant the degree at a later date.

When the time came for the seniors to receive their degrees Stevenson advanced to the platform with the others. Dr. Harris, advised by Mason, told him he could not have it. That was just what the class was waiting for; they had known of the difference of opinion, and were ready to back Stevenson on the issue, as they saw it, of free speech. When Dr. Harris refused their classmate, they pushed him forward again. Dr. Harris shook his head, so they made the boy go back on the platform a third time. By then Stevenson had overcome his reluctance to make a scene and he demanded his diploma in a loud voice.

That aroused the congregation, which must have been thoroughly bored up to that point; it welcomed the diversion. It is probable that a number of people were expecting such an incident, and had prepared a demonstration. When Stevenson made his demand there was loud applause. Dr. Mason then stepped forward and demanded that the city marshal, who stood near by, seize Stevenson. His classmates shouted their disapproval; the audience joined in; questions and threats were yelled; and Hugh Maxwell, of the class of 1808, to whom the circumstances were hurriedly explained, jumped to the platform and told the crowd that Stevenson was not willing to speak the

sentiments of others and so was being unjustly deprived of his degree.

Harris and Mason thereupon answered with their side of the story, but were shouted down before they could finish. When the marshal tried to take Stevenson out his classmates rallied and compelled the officer to retreat. Then Gulian C. Verplanck, at that time a rising young lawyer, took the platform and asked Dr. Mason for an explanation. The provost replied briefly. Verplanck declared his remarks were unsatisfactory and the conduct of the professors oppressive.

That incited the audience to shout its approval of Verplanck's stand. By then everybody was pushing and screaming, trying to get on the stage to speak. Frightened by the turmoil, Dr. Harris and the faculty fled. When somebody expressed his fear that the platform would break down, an excited student shrieked: "Yes, and we will all go to hell together!" The police tried to interfere, but they were shoved aside by the undergraduates who held possession of the church. One man was knocked down by a blow on the head, and several constables suffered bruises. Shouts of "Tyrants!" and "Rascals!" rang out, hissing came from one corner of the hall, and in the confusion Stevenson slipped out. Since the faculty had left and the ceremonies were over, the confusion gradually subsided.

Nobody was arrested at the time. The riot was, however, investigated by the grand jury after several of the participants had written letters about it to the newspapers. Colonel Richard Varick, chairman of the board of trustees, consulted De Witt Clinton, then mayor of New York, and an indictment was drawn up against Hugh Maxwell, Gulian C. Verplanck, and others, charging them with rioting. Verplanck and Maxwell were fined $200, and Stevenson did not get his college degree until 1816 when he was

graduated from the College of Physicians and Surgeons. To be found guilty and fined so enraged Verplanck that he declared political warfare on Clinton. He wrote a series of pamphlets deriding him. Later he ran unsuccessfully for mayor, then became active in Congress and in the state senate as an important conservative Democrat. By 1835 all was forgiven and Columbia conferred an honorary LL.D. on him.

After the riot discipline at the college became more rigorous under Dr. Mason, but he was a poor administrator. The institution could not get the financial support it so desperately needed. In 1814 the trustees addressed an appeal to the legislature: "Columbia presents a spectacle," they said, "mortifying to its friends, humiliating to the city, and calculated to inspire opinions which it is impossible your enlightened body would wish to countenance." The new wing of the college building, they pointed out, was a heap of ruins; there was no place for a decent library, and the library was "the subject of ignominious comparison." The scientific apparatus had been damaged by long use; there was no hall fit for public exercises, no astronomical observatory. The professor of chemistry was still serving without salary and there was no provision to help financially the poorer students.

Dr. Mason went to Albany to lobby for the college. He arrived at the psychological moment. Largely out of sympathy for the institution and because both Hamilton and Union had received more from it than Columbia, the legislature granted to the college the Botanic Garden property which Dr. Hosack had sold to the state because he could not keep it up. The legislature was unwilling to appropriate funds to maintain it and did not know what to do with it. This tract is today the Rockefeller Center property and at that time ran from 47th Street to 51st Street,

from Fifth Avenue to within one hundred feet of Sixth Avenue. The 47th Street block was sold many years later when Columbia moved to Morningside Heights. The property was then about three miles out of town, and so rugged that the land speculators of the time spurned it.

The legislature estimated its value at $75,000, but Columbians said it would not bring, on a sale at that time, more than $6,000. In 1946 the land had an assessed valuation of $28,000,000 and was worth more. In 1814, however, it was not considered a welcome gift. Dr. Mason got small thanks, and the whole business was severely criticized. One difficulty was that the legislature attached a condition: that the college move to this site within twelve years. This was removed five years later.

3

So many people criticized Dr. Mason's administration that he resigned for "reasons of ill health" in 1816. Dr. Harris then resigned from St. Mark's to devote his full time to the college (until his death in 1829), except for periods of illness when Professor McVickar took charge. The trustees in 1818 debated for a time moving the college to a spot near what is now Astor Place; they also considered property owned by Colonel Varick which he was willing to sell for $700 per lot, but that was regarded as exorbitant. They also voted down a motion to consolidate with a college to be established on Staten Island. Instead, they voted to erect two new wings to the college building, each about fifty feet square, to contain houses for professors, and to spend $40,000 to alter the old building. They had to borrow this money.

Except for Kent, who returned in 1823 to lecture on law, the faculty was composed at the close of the college

year of 1825 wholly of Columbia alumni: N. F. Moore, McVickar, Renwick, Anthon, Anderson. To them was added for a brief period a distinguished scholar, poet, adventurer, and librettist for Mozart, Lorenzo Da Ponte, then 76 years of age, to teach Italian. He was discovered in New York in 1807 by Clement Moore, son of the bishop, graduate of the college, and later author of *'Twas the Night Before Christmas.* Moore was a lively New York society man. The distinguished Da Ponte, with his great learning and juicy anecdotes, was a magnificent social find, although he later turned out to be a troublesome beggar.

Da Ponte had come to the U. S. some years before, had failed in the grocery business in New Jersey, and lived largely on his wife's relatives. Moore encountered him in Riley's bookstore on lower Broadway. The Italian's appearance, as well as his past, captivated Moore, for he was tall, well-built, and very vigorous for his age although toothless. Moore invited him to dinner, discovered that he had been born in the ghetto of Venice, had become a Catholic abbé, had been a friend of Casanova, and enjoyed a career that rivaled that adventurer's. (It seems he lost his teeth when a physician, who had been in love with the same girl as Da Ponte, had given him a mouthwash that made all his teeth fall out.)

Da Ponte was lionized by New York's bluebloods, but except for selling a few books he earned very little. In May, 1825, he applied for the post of professor of Italian and was appointed in September. Actually, he had no chair on the faculty, and received no salary. Since all subjects were required, he had few students. Spanish rather than Italian was the fashionable language, and few undergraduates cared to go to the trouble of trying to learn Italian. Twenty-eight students paid him for ten months of lessons and in

return he gave the library 700 volumes. The second year he had no students at all, so he resigned in disgust, but his resignation was never accepted and he was called a Columbia professor until his death in 1838.

For a time he taught 70 pupils in a private language academy, but that did not prosper. At the age of 80, in 1829, the old adventurer offered to give two lessons a week for 40 weeks to 100 pupils at $15 each for the course. If the college could recruit 100 students for him, he promised to give 1,000 volumes to the library. By this time the old man had become something of a nuisance, and his proposition was not encouraged. His friend Clement Moore advised him not to press the matter, since the only way it could be arranged was to make Italian a required course, which was impossible. So Da Ponte opened a bookstore. After he died Columbia was proud to have his name associated with it, and to be able to claim that it was the first college in America to offer a course in Italian. Today Columbia has a Da Ponte professorship in Italian.

4

Another member of the first families of New York became president of Columbia when William Alexander Duer was installed August 1, 1829. He did not actually assume his duties, however, until January 1, 1830. Born in Rhinebeck, of an old Hudson valley family, he spent his boyhood in New York City, and grew up to study law and acquire a taste for Hebrew literature. Proud of his ancestry, since his mother was a daughter of General William Alexander, claimant to the Scottish earldom of Stirling, he was sent to England for his early education, and returned to New York to study under Professor Peter Wilson, who had retired from Columbia to teach at Erasmus Hall in



Dr. Samuel Johnson, first president of King's College



Dr. William Samuel Johnson, first president of Columbia College

Brooklyn. Closely associated with the Livingstons in politics, he rose to become a judge of the supreme court of the state in 1822. He resigned from the bench to head the college.

Friends of Columbia had the jitters in 1830 and the years immediately succeeding because another college, called the University of the City of New York (later N.Y.U.), was founded in that year by the liberal Livingston group. It was led by ex-Governor Morgan Lewis and Edward Livingston. Three of the nine, Valentine Mott, Hugh Maxwell, and John Delafield, were Columbia alumni. Two others, Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright and James M. Mathews, were Columbia trustees. Albert Gallatin lent his name to the movement and a campaign for $100,000 netted $82,530.

The promoters echoed what the Livingstons and other Presbyterians had said at the founding of King's College. Columbia, they said in substance, was not democratic; it was not giving the kind of education needed at the time. This was the age of Jackson and liberal ideas were sweeping the land. Education in New York, declared the promoters, should be "extending its benefits in greater abundance and variety than at present they are enjoyed and thus make them available to larger numbers of young persons." Columbia was harshly criticized for its entrance requirements: Latin and Greek were demanded and this cut off the possibility of higher education for large numbers. "Columbia does not meet the literary wants of the city. . . . It is only a preparatory school for the learned professions," they said. And furthermore: "Its president must of necessity be selected from one particular denomination of Christians."

The movement might have wrecked Columbia if it had had a better leader. The Reverend James M. Mathews,

pastor of the Garden Street Dutch Reformed Church, was highly resourceful in making mistakes. When he was elected chancellor of the new university strong opposition arose, and a number of subscribers withdrew their pledges. Almost at once Dr. Mathews involved himself and the institutions in complicated financial difficulties. A lot in Washington Square was purchased for $40,000, and a building started. After paying out the $82,530 that had been raised, Dr. Mathews ran up a debt of $175,000. He accepted subscriptions for scholarships and invested the money in the building. Lack of funds meant no salaries. At the beginning of the second year three professors resigned, and soon afterward four others quit because they disliked not being paid. In the third year Dr. Mathews dismissed seven more because he had no money to pay them. Others he tried to hold by promises that were not kept, which led to confusion and bitter recrimination. The impasse was not resolved until Dr. Mathews resigned in 1837.

Columbia lost many students to this university and for ten years enrollment was discouraging, although Duer apparently tried to make the courses more attractive. He abolished the custom of arranging the sitting in class according to rank or standing. He instituted so-called "scientific courses"—to compete with the new college—which did not require Latin or Greek for entrance. He inaugurated studies in modern languages and in Hebrew. He himself gave a freshman course in composition. But it was a dull period.

The only exciting event seems to have been a celebration in 1837 at which Latin odes were set to music and sung. On this occasion William Cullen Bryant was given an honorary degree. According to one story, Professor Anthon wrote a Greek ode, but placed it in the hands of a

musical composer who promptly lost it. The yarn is probably apocryphal. Afterward Anthon wrote an amusing description in verse of a reception at which each of the professors is presented as singing in the language of his department. It closed with the president entertaining the gathering with a song of farewell. In such manner did the faculty members entertain themselves. Anthon later called this period "the heroic age" of the college.

5

Duer became ill, resigned in 1842, and the trustees voted him $1,200 a year for life. He had been getting $2,600 as president. He retired to Morristown, N. J., to write a history of the earldom of Stirling. Professor McVickar acted for several months as president until Nathaniel Fish Moore took office in August, 1842. A graduate of the class of 1802, he was another scion of an old New York family. He had been admitted to the bar in 1805, but he disliked the practice of law, and in 1817 became adjunct professor of Greek. This was a language he loved; he always preferred books to an active life and always had difficulty maintaining order in his classroom. He enjoyed travel, resigned his professorship for a time to roam Europe, and then returned to act as librarian, the first Columbia librarian to devote his entire time to the job. Just before he became librarian he offered his own library to the college for $5,000, but the trustees thought that was too high. So they made him librarian at $300 a year, plus $500 a year as an annuity for life. He lived to be 90, so the library cost the trustees about $17,000.

N. F. Moore did not find the president's chair congenial. The college had only 100 students; its expenditures were $23,000 annually, and it had a debt of $60,000. Conditions

did not improve during Moore's tenure. He taught Latin and Greek, is described as having been "tall, spare, lithe," with "a fine intellectual face, a grave and serious manner." He reveled in the niceties of expression of the ancient poets and philosophers. Toward the students he was dignified and formal. On matters of discipline he was lenient, would listen to a student's story and then say: "Only please don't let it occur again, sir." After a chaotic service, during which the boys openly rebelled at the custom of delivering orations in chapel, Moore wrote to the parents asking them to cooperate on the manners and morals of their sons.

The only additional endowment during Moore's term was a $20,000 bequest from Frederick Gebhard to establish a professorship of German. J. Louis Tellkampf of Göttingen was appointed to the post; he purchased books in Germany for the library and took up his duties in 1844. German became compulsory. This was unpopular; the students made Tellkampf's life miserable, and in 1847 German was changed to an elective course. Professor Tellkampf thereupon resigned and the Reverend Dr. Henry I. Schmidt succeeded him.

6

Nathaniel Moore resigned in 1849. He was followed by another and even more distinguished gentleman of the old school, Charles King, whose father, Rufus King, had been a diplomat of distinction, minister to Great Britain, and whose son, another Rufus King, became a Civil War general and later minister to Italy. He thus had a distinguished father and a distinguished son, but he was content to be an amiable country gentleman. Born in New York in 1789, he went to London when his father became minister. He was sent to Harrow, where he was a schoolmate of

Lord Byron and Robert Peel. After six years he and his brother John went to Paris to school, where they became so enthusiastically Francophile they wanted to join the French Army.

For a short time King was a clerk in a banking house in Amsterdam, and then returned to New York for a job in the house of Archibald Gracie. He married Mr. Gracie's oldest daughter in 1810 and was made a partner. The firm did not prosper, however, and King served for several months as captain of a regiment stationed in New York in 1812, although he publicly opposed "Mr. Madison's war." He always lived the life of a man of wealth who was conscious of his financial responsibilities and social obligations. He enjoyed his social prominence, entertained regally at his estate near Elizabethtown, N. J. He served a term in the New York Legislature, dabbled in journalism, owned a newspaper, managed his affairs. The most exciting event of his life seems to have occurred on a trip abroad when he and his wife attempted to witness the Battle of Waterloo as sight-seers. The stagecoach in which they were traveling upset and King sustained a dislocated shoulder.

When King was elected president of Columbia, November 5, 1849, he was 61. Columbians found him an affable, cautious executive, strong in his prejudices, cheerful in spite of gout, and genuinely fond of his "boys." When the undergraduates objected to compulsory chapel he told them it was their academic duty. As an enthusiastic out-of-doors man, an assiduous horseman and cricketer, an excellent boxer, he tried to encourage athletics in the college, but the New York blue bloods of the time preferred Phelan's billiard room and the bakery at the corner of Murray and Church Streets. When he urged the trustees to set up a college billiard room the worthy gentlemen were shocked that he "should encourage a game so de-

moralizing in its associations and tendencies." Later he hired a teacher of boxing and fencing at his own expense to give the boys lessons without charge to them.

King suggested a chair of American history but nothing came of it. In 1852 a committee of the trustees considered the idea of "engrafting upon the foundation of this College a scheme of University Professorships and lectures in the higher departments of Letters and Science." Nothing came of that either, but it was apparently the first glimmering in the minds of the trustees of the possibilities of a university composed of graduate schools.

The centennial anniversary of the founding of the college was not celebrated in 1854 because the alumni and trustees were engaged in an unholy wrangle over the appointment of a professor of chemistry. The energetic Samuel B. Ruggles had become a trustee and he wanted Oliver Wolcott Gibbs, of the class of 1841, appointed. Gibbs was already recognized as one of America's foremost scientists. He had published a paper on the use of carbon electrodes in batteries. To further his researches he had studied medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, got his medical degree in 1845. But for the teaching of chemistry, according to the majority of the trustees, he had an overwhelming handicap: he was a Unitarian. Gouverneur M. Ogden, chairman of the board, bitterly and successfully opposed Gibbs' selection, so Gibbs went to Harvard, where he enjoyed a long and brilliant career and was recognized as one of the foremost chemists of his time.

The controversy over his appointment inspired Ruggles to write a historic pamphlet that did much to further the development of the idea of making Columbia into a university. Taking for his subject, *The Duty of Columbia College,* he pointed out that George III, who chartered King's College, also established Göttingen. After 100 years

Göttingen, in a small German town, had 89 professors, 1,545 students, and a world-wide reputation. But Columbia, after 100 years, had, although in a great metropolis, only 140 students, six professors, and was in a very sorry state. This comparison led to the idea that was to be Ruggles' main endeavor for the remainder of his life: the transformation of Columbia into a great university. Ruggles was a man of ideas and enthusiasm, but it was he who wanted the college to sell the Botanic Garden property to pay the debts. Fortunately the less brilliant members of the board refused to be budged. They held on to the property not because they had visions of what it would some day be worth but through sheer inertia.

The most important event in King's administration was the moving of the college to the Deaf and Dumb Asylum at 49th Street and Madison Avenue, the present site of the New Weston Hotel. The trustees had talked about moving uptown ever since the legislature gave them Hosack's garden. In 1855 a committee authorized plans for a college edifice on that property to face St. Patrick's Cathedral, which was being started at that time. It was to be one of the biggest college buildings ever proposed, extending from 49th Street to 51st Street.

The actual moving to 49th Street apparently was very sudden. After mulling the matter over for years, the trustees suddenly decided in the fall of 1856 to purchase the Deaf and Dumb Asylum as temporary quarters until buildings could be erected on the Botanic Garden site. In January, 1857, a part of the old site of the college at Park Place was sold, and the move was made in May. The rambling old asylum was completely refitted to accommodate the president and one of the professors with their families as well as to provide classrooms for the students.

The new site was so distant from the heart of the city

that a committee of the trustees conferred with Harlem railroad officials and representatives of omnibus lines to arrange for the conveyance of the 154 students then in the college, most of whom lived at home. Forty-ninth Street had been cut through a hill which contained the old potter's field, and the ends of the coffins still protruded from the ground when Columbia moved to the asylum. The bones were not removed until the following year. The Harlem railroad tracks ran along Fourth Avenue (now Park Avenue) behind the college, and the locomotives puffing and whistling up the steep grade were a nuisance for forty years. Madison Avenue was not paved at that time above 49th Street, and on the East side of Fifth Avenue, facing the college, were the Bull's Head cattle yards.

The Civil War, of course, occasioned much excitement, but Columbia students did not take part in it as a body as did those of other Northern colleges such as Harvard, where the boys enlisted by companies. Professor Richard S. McCulloh, who had the suitable religious qualifications to teach chemistry and had been selected instead of Gibbs, left the college to help the Confederate cause. Mr. King made patriotic speeches and sincerely regretted he was too old to fight. His son Rufus distinguishd himself, and another son, Augustus, died of malaria in the South. Another, Cornelius, was seriously wounded in the Battle of the Wilderness. During the New York draft riots King and his family were in Newport. He wanted to return at once to face the mobs that at one time threatened the college, but he was dissuaded.

Before the war King had moved to a house on 14th Street. Since he was known as an enthusiastic Unionist, an angry anti-draft mob tried to burn his home. A Catholic priest saved it, however, by haranguing the crowd. A few Columbia students enlisted and saw fighting. Those in the

class of 1861 who joined the army were given their degrees. Most famous of the alumni to play a prominent part was General Philip Kearney of the class of 1833. Several faculty members aided the government in advisory capacities, notably Professor Lieber, who advised the Secretary of War.

Toward the end of hostilities Mr. King felt suddenly old, particularly when a student remarked, in his hearing, "There goes the old president." King had his difficulties maintaining discipline and the trustees were dissatisfied with him. Talking it over with Hamilton Fish one day, Fish asked him: "Why don't you resign?" He did, the next day. He was then almost 75. When peace was declared he took his wife, four daughters, a small grandson, a French governess, and an old friend, Dr. Chetwood, to Europe. He died in Italy in 1867.

7

The dream of Columbia as a great university was the vision that was to illuminate the life of King's successor. During his years as president, Frederick A. P. Barnard described that vision in detail. He laid down the principles that were to guide the building of the university, and he fought until his death to see his dream become a reality. One of his greatest services was to pick a young student in the late 1870s and encourage him to become an educator, to fill him with his vision, and to inspire him to carry on his work to magnificent fruition. In selecting young Nicholas Murray Butler for this gigantic task Barnard himself could not have realized how far into the 20th century he was looking.

Barnard was born in Sheffield, Mass., in 1809, in the Berkshire Hills. As a boy he attended Saratoga Academy in Saratoga Springs, N. Y., then conducted by his maternal

grandfather. Afterward he went to the academy at Stockbridge, Mass., where he was a schoolmate of a boy who was to become another great educator, Mark Hopkins. From there he went to Yale in 1824 where, he said later, he was "surrounded by educating influences and by educators," but for him it was a "period of almost literal self-education." His first teaching job was in a Hartford grammar school. He there discovered that he was rapidly becoming deaf, a serious blow to a young man who then wanted to practice law.

Barnard turned his energies toward education and taught for a time at the American Institute for the Deaf and Dumb at Hartford and later at the New York Infirmary for the Deaf and Dumb, the same building which was later purchased by Columbia. In 1837 he went South to join the faculty of the University of Alabama as professor of mathematics and natural history. Later he added chemistry to his field. In 1854 he was called to the University of Mississippi and became president of it in 1856, chancellor two years later.

While in the South he took part in political debates, upholding the cause of the Union. In Alabama he carried on a long correspondence with a local editor, who published the letters with lengthy replies. When the editor went on vacation he asked Barnard to continue this feature, which he did, writing letters to the paper and answering them. With the outbreak of the war he resigned his Mississippi post and refused an appointment from the Confederate Government to investigate the natural resources of the South. Instead, he went to Norfolk and later to Washington. He wrote a public letter to President Lincoln, addressed: *To the President of the United States, from a Refugee.* This created wide public interest in the North, and attracted the attention of the trustees of Co-

lumbia. In this letter he attacked the institution of slavery, although, for a time, while living in the South, he had been a slaveholder.

At first Barnard was considered for Professor McCulloh's position in chemistry, but Professor Ogden Rood of Troy University was appointed instead. Then, when King resigned, Barnard's name was raised for the presidency. Although he had been brought up in the Calvinistic Congregationalism of his New England ancestors, he had fortunately become attracted to the Episcopal Church during his college years as a result of reading and reflecting upon the Book of Common Prayer. He became a communicant of the Anglican Church and was later ordained. There was little opposition to him; he was elected, and he came to Columbia in 1865 at the age of 55.

From the moment he arrived he was afire with a missionary zeal to create a genuine university. His first years would have discouraged a lesser man. In 1865 Columbia had only 150 students; by 1872 the registration had dropped to 116. Not until 1875 did it go above 150. Barnard turned to writing to get his ideas across, and one of his great monuments—considered by some authorities among the greatest papers on education ever written in this country—are his annual reports which he used as a sounding board for his educational ideas, most of which were not adopted, or even considered seriously, until many years later.

In 1865 he urged honor courses; in 1866 he demanded uniform entrance examinations for American colleges; in 1868 he championed modern languages; in 1871 he urged a generous program of fellowships and scholarships; and in 1879 he shocked the trustees by his revolutionary suggestion that women be admitted as students. This seems not to have occurred to him until he met an aggressive

woman of irresistible charm, Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake, who had been a suffragette in the late 1860s, and who thought women should be admitted to Columbia. After she had turned her charms on the old gentleman, he became a crusader for higher education for women.

"The presence of young women," he told the trustees, "is conducive to good order," while isolation of the sexes "tends toward rudeness by the males. . . . The comparative freedom of school intercourse," he declared, "tends far less to excite the imaginations of impressible youth and clothe for them the objects of their possible admiration with unreal charms than do the more constrained and less frequent opportunities of mutual converse afforded in general society." The students would live at home, he pointed out, "protected by paternal solicitude."

Barnard also began to demand a big endowment. To achieve his idea of a university, he said in 1866, Columbia needed $15,000,000 and was not likely to get it from the state legislature. Thinking of the real estate, he said that "Columbia is comparatively rich, but she has a mission of such dignity and grandeur that her original function as a school for training of boys shrinks into comparative insignificance." The period before 1864 he referred to contemptuously as the "gymnasial" period of Columbia.

The first faint outlines of the pattern of a university had been drawn during King's administration, for the School of Law had been established in 1858 and the School of Mines in 1864. With these, Barnard asserted in 1866, should be associated a school for civil engineering, a school of commerce, and schools of architecture, physics, chemistry, arts, agriculture, political and civil history, philosophy and philology. In 1870 he shocked the educational world, and startled Dr. Charles W. Eliot of Harvard into heavy thinking, by pointing out that although the population of

the U. S. had increased 50 per cent since 1838, the number of students in New England colleges was no greater.

In other words, college education was becoming less and less popular. This implied that there was something the matter with it. Barnard proceeded in the following years to tell what it was. The curriculum should be designed, he said, for the acquisition of knowledge and not merely for mental discipline. "The first business of education," he said in 1872, "is to find out what the individual is fit for, the next is to make the most of him in that for which he is fit." Four years later he announced he was in favor of a broad elective system.

What he had been preaching to young Murray Butler in private he shouted out in public in 1881: "Education is a science," he affirmed. "No one has made education itself a subject for investigation or to have regarded instruction in the theory and practice of education as a part of his business. . . . The educational system of the country will never be what it ought to be until education is made a profession into which no one is permitted to enter without first having passed through a course of training as is required for admission to other professions. Columbia College can supply this serious defect." This was the seed that was to blossom into the green bay tree known as Teachers College.

Barnard saw his dreams materialize slowly and at first in very rudimentary form. By 1880 Columbia was offering courses in a variety of subjects, and the School of Political Science which Ruggles and John W. Burgess worked for came into existence. Even as early as that Barnard looked forward eagerly to the time when the graduate department would overshadow all the others. The coming of Burgess to Columbia from Amherst started a movement that was to bring many of the foremost American scholars and sci-

entists to Columbia. In persuading Burgess, Ruggles and Barnard acquired a personality whose influence in shaping the course of the university was to equal theirs. He, too, was a stubborn fighter for the university idea, a master politician and intriguer for his pet projects.

The graduates who called themselves "the 49ers" looked back, years later, on those days at 49th Street with sentimental nostalgia. They recalled the famous tavern across the street and Schaefer's brewery on the other side of the New York Central tracks. But the college was crude and old-fashioned. Long beards were the hallmark of the professors and Barnard's was the longest and whitest. Faculty contact was confined to the classroom; the emphasis was upon formality and decorum. It was still a fashionable day school for the sons of New York's best families. The great names were Charles Anthon, Henry Drisler, and Charles Short. A popular undergraduate song was "Saw my leg off, Short," which was considered hilariously funny. Short was forever telling the same anecdotes which began "When I was at Cambridge—" Like many other Harvard men he liked to imply that he was referring to England's Cambridge. Others were Billy Peck, who had a West Point air and a squeaky voice, and Price of Virginia, who had difficulty understanding Northern accents.

Burgess was deeply discouraged by Columbia when he first saw it in 1876. It was, he reported in his *Reminiscences of an American Scholar:* "A small, old-fashioned college, or rather a school for teaching Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, and a little metaphysics, and a very little natural science, and called a School of Arts." * (That was what the college was always referred to as in Barnard's

* *Reminiscences of an American Scholar: The Beginnings of Columbia University,* by John W. Burgess (New York: Columbia University Press, © 1934.)

day.) The School of Mines taught natural science and educated mining and civil engineers. The School of Law was loosely connected with the college by a contract between the trustees and Professor Theodore W. Dwight which divided the fees between Dwight and the college. He did most of the teaching since it was to his pecuniary interest to do so. The School of Arts faculty consisted of only seven or eight professors.

Burgess vividly commented on the odd faculty: "I could not imagine upon what principle they had been brought together. . . . The students were rich loafers with no appreciation of anything scientific or intellectual." Professor Rood told Burgess: "I do as little as I can for these dunderheads and save my time for research." The faculty meetings were solemn; the members sat at a long table; Barnard at the head held an enormous ear trumpet which had speaking tubes running to each seat. He could hear nothing except through the tubes and usually he appeared rather confused, even dazed by the general conversation. He had no idea what the others were talking about, and sometimes agreed to decisions without any notion about what he was agreeing to. Burgess made a hit with him at once by speaking clearly into the tube so that Barnard could hear him.

The library contained less than 25,000 volumes, badly catalogued. The Reverend Beverly R. Betts, the librarian, crept into the building about eleven in the morning and kept it open about an hour and a half. He was resentful when anybody asked for a book and enraged when anybody suggested he buy one for the library. Burgess said Betts turned back half the annual appropriation of $1,500 to the trustees. In 1882 a six-story building was erected for the library and the Law School, and the following year

Melvil Dewey became librarian and installed his decimal system.

Burgess did not find a single student in his first class with any aptitude for political science, and he did not consider any of the seniors worthy of an A.B. Ruggles, however, kept up his spirit by encouraging his hope of founding a separate graduate school of political science, so he remained. He felt happier when he brought Richmond Mayo-Smith from Amherst to assist him and acquired such students in his class as William Barclay Parsons and Edwin R. A. Seligman (the economist).

To find out how a graduate school should be organized, Burgess went to Europe in 1880 to study in Paris and Berlin. He was the first—Butler was the second—of Columbia leaders who became tremendously impressed by German scholarship and the way in which German universities were organized. Charles Anthon already personified the best in German scholarship but Burgess and Butler had to go to Germany to understand it.

Burgess returned bursting with ideas but he ran at once into furious opposition. As in most things, he finally had his way, and he attracted students of distinction. Among his students in 1882 were Theodore Roosevelt and Nicholas Murray Butler. Roosevelt had prodigious mental activity, Burgess noted, but stayed only a year because he was elected to the state legislature. Butler was, says Burgess, "in most respects the most brilliant student it was ever my fortune to instruct. He became deeply interested in my plans for the new development of the college into a metropolitan university and became one of my most powerful and efficient allies."

Dr. Butler recalls that when he first went to Columbia in the fall of 1878 it had less than 250 students, a faculty of ten or twelve, and was conducted in an old-fashioned

manner. "Nevertheless," he asserts, "it did its work well, the young men who attended Columbia College between 1875 and 1885 carried away a discipline, a range of information, and an interest and a love for the college itself that has never since been equalled. They include eight or ten who subsequently rose to a very high plane of productive scholarship, and left behind them a noteworthy reputation as intellectual leaders. . . . My class entered with 78 students from New York City and vicinity. The old and well-to-do New York families were well represented." *

The prescribed college program consisted of fifteen academic exercises a week: three each day, Monday through Friday. Classes were at 10, 11, and 12, for 55 minutes, preceded by compulsory chapel at 9:30. Seth Low abolished compulsory chapel in 1891; Barnard might have done so, but did not. In the freshman year the undergraduates concentrated on Greek, Latin, and mathematics. In the sophomore year they had more of the same, and one lecture a week on general chemistry by Professor Chandler, and two exercises a week in English literature under Scotsman Charles Murray Nairne. To this were added a study of Anglo-Saxon, and a course in English constitutional history by Professor Mayo-Smith. In the junior year two lectures weekly were given by Professor Rood in physics, and the seniors had a course in astronomy with Professor Peck.

The personality of the time who has been most celebrated since was the great Columbia College tradition known as J. H. Van Amringe. No Columbian who ever knew him could thereafter speak his name without tears in his eyes. Few men associated with the college, perhaps none, had such a gift for arousing lifelong affection. Van Amringe went to Yale for two years, and then he came to

* *Across the Busy Years*, by Nicholas Murray Butler. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, © 1939), Vol. I.

Columbia, never to leave it. Columbia College was his whole life. He began to teach in 1863 as a tutor in mathematics, became adjunct professor in 1865, and was made the first dean of the college in 1894. Before that the president had assumed the duties of a dean. A big man, with a drooping gray moustache and square military shoulders, he liked to pretend fierceness in the classroom, but his students knew he was not really terrifying, for he was actually one of the most tenderhearted of men. He made it his business to know every student, and to know something about them. He was always particularly interested in family backgrounds.

"A jolly good fellow," Burgess described him, "like Drisler, he had spent his whole life in New York City, was a provincial who never went out of New York and knew nothing about any other educational institution. He was the ideal college patriot, idol of the students . . . a brave man and perfectly unselfish. He cared nothing for money, spent his salary as fast as he received it, and was always having an accident, breaking an arm or a leg. His wife said she trembled every time she heard the doorbell ring lest it be Howard brought home with a broken limb. No one could know the man and not love him."

For some time a real fight had been brewing between those who wanted a big metropolitan university and those who feared such plans would mean the annihilation of the college. Barnard battled for the university, but his physical strength was waning. Even so, his last reports still breathed his accustomed fire. He looked with disfavor, he said, on "the excessive multiplication of undergradute colleges. . . . The business of those colleges is greatly overdone and it would certainly be of material benefit to the educational interests of the country if a large proportion of existing colleges could be suppressed."

Burgess led the battle for a university; he was supported by Ruggles and C. M. Da Costa on the board of trustees, and he was aided by Butler, whose influence grew steadily as he became in quick succession professor and then dean of the philosophy department. Against them were the old college professors led by Van Amringe, Drisler, and Rees. Arguments became acrimonious. Barnard, almost on his deathbed, clung inflexibly to his determination. He was even willing to abandon the undergraduate course entirely if by so doing he could make Columbia the great graduate school of his dreams.

The trustees asked the several faculties for their views. The Faculties of Law, Political Science, and Mines replied at once suporting Burgess. The college faculty was divided. The majority wanted to control the graduate courses. Barnard could take no part in the discussion because of his failing health. Drisler was acting president, and this distressed Burgess, who recognized in him a formidable opponent. Van Amringe was arousing the alumni to rally and save the college. Just then Butler submitted a minority report, as a member of the college faculty, heartily endorsing Burgess. This seemed to Drisler a kind of stab in the back.

8

At that moment, Barnard died. Both sides were apprehensive about his successor. That, they thought, would decide the issue. Barnard's first choice to succeed him was General Francis A. Walker of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but he was not an Episcopalian. He also advocated the selection of George L. Rives, one of the leading trustees. In 1889 Trustee Charles Da Costa wrote both to Chairman Fish and to Rives himself regretting

that Rives could not be elected because of his lack of religious views. " 'This has deprived our College of an ideal President.' Such is the language that Dr. Barnard has recently applied to you, a feeling shared by all save for this one obstacle." Morgan Dix, rector of Trinity, urged Drisler. William Rainey Harper of Chicago was suggested, but the trustees decided upon Seth Low, whose selection pleased both factions. He was a patriotic alumnus (class of 1870), a man of wealth interested in civic affairs. He understood the vision of a great university and he quickly brought the warring groups together.

"The attitude of the institution toward the student," Low reported at the end of his first year, "was one of multiple opportunities, but opportunities held more or less out of relation to each other." In May, 1890, it was announced that students were entitled to all the facilities offered by the institution: seniors could take as electives courses offered by any faculty. The graduate schools were organized as Burgess and Butler wanted them. A university council was created, in which all the faculties were represented, to advise the president. No longer were the trustees to be bothered by trivial details.

With the election of Seth Low the old college took on a quickened tempo. Progress and change were in the air. Breezes of modernity swept through the dusty halls. Mr. Low did what no previous president could do; he raised money in large amounts. One reason he was able to do this was that he saw to it that the university had something important to offer: he brought Henry Fairfield Osborn from Princeton to be professor of biology and he acquired John Bassett Moore for the Law School. Moreover, Seth Low set an example by giving a million dollars himself for a new library when the university moved to Morningside Heights. The first large gift was $100,000 from Charles M.

Da Costa, who died in 1890, and it was used to establish the chair of biology. Columbians then began to look pleased and say: "Nothing attracts money like money." Columbia became a prime example of that adage.

The move uptown had been debated for years. In the late seventies the trustees discussed it but decided, instead, to build a new college hall at 49th Street: this four-story building running from 49th to 50th Streets on the east side of Madison Avenue was opened in 1880. The Law School and library building followed two years later. A new building for the School of Mines was also erected. These improvements cost $500,000 and postponed any move uptown. However, a tract of 10 acres of land known as the Wheelock property had been bought in 1872 for $375,000. This was at 160th Street and the Hudson River. There was some talk of using it as an athletic field, but nothing came of it. In 1889 it was sold for $320,000, so Columbia lost about $50,000 on the deal, not counting, of course, what that money would have earned had it been better invested.

Some trustees wanted to remain at 49th Street and buy the block between 50th and 51st Streets, but when Henry Villard bought the site and built his stately mansion there, it was realized the college could not expand in that location. John B. Pine, the youngest and most vigorous of the trustees, had meanwhile been searching for a site uptown. With young Dr. Butler he spent Sunday afternoons looking at Morningside Heights, at a plot of land near Audubon Park where the American Academy of Arts and Letters, the Geographical Society, and the Hispanic Society now are, and at a high point on what is today Ft. Washington Avenue, now the site of The Cloisters and Fort Tryon Park. The two explorers finally settled on Morningside Heights, and urged its purchase.

They suggested that the land between Morningside

Drive and the Hudson River, from 110th to 120th Streets, except that already owned by the Cathedral of St. John the Divine and St. Luke's Hospital, be acquired. Announcement of the purchase of the Bloomingdale property, they argued, would augment the value of other real estate near by and so this land should be bought and held for future endowment by leasing it in 21-year periods. Such a grandiose scheme, however, was considered impractical by the businessmen on the board. Columbia lacked the financial resources to swing such a deal.

An option was taken on the Bloomingdale Asylum in December, 1891, and in April, 1892, it was taken up for $2,000,000. The college took possession October 1, 1894. Seth Low laid the cornerstone of the library, which he gave as a memorial to his father, on December 7, 1895. Cornerstones for Schermerhorn Hall, the gift of William C. Schermerhorn, then chairman of the board, and for the Physics Building followed on May 2, 1896. In the following November, Havemeyer and the Engineering Building were started. By October, 1897, construction of Fayerweather and University Halls had begun. Two of the Bloomingdale buildings were remodeled and called "College Hall" and "West Hall."

Seth Low did many things Dr. Butler got the credit for later. As Roger Howson wrote in *His Excellency, A Trustee,* he "brought a sense of unity into the administration and into the University itself, and by instituting the University Council he definitely gave the faculty an advisory power. Before the institution of the University Council, there was no certain way by which the trustees could obtain the assured opinion of the faculty, and this was a point which was equally important. According to Professor Munroe Smith, Low brought to the office of president what are perhaps the highest qualifications of a good executive:

distrust of his own uninformed personal judgment and readiness to take counsel." *

Before Seth Low's time the mail received by the university during the summer was dumped into a closet and not opened until September. Sabbatical privileges were granted professors beginning in 1891. A system of alliances with neighboring theological seminaries was negotiated, first with Union, later with Drew, General, and the Jewish Seminary. In the first year of Low's administration the College of Physicians and Surgeons became an integral part of Columbia. The Law School was reorganized; Professor Dwight retired and most of the faculty with him. Professor Keener, however, remained, became dean, and introduced the case system.

The School of Pure Science was established in 1892. In 1896 arrangements were made with the New York Botanical Garden to transfer Columbia's botanical collections to Bronx Park, where research and advanced study could be carried on. Already, in 1889, Barnard College had been founded, and it moved uptown with Columbia. In 1893, after Teachers College had moved up to the north side of 120th Street, it came into the Columbia University system. Summer sessions began in 1900; extension courses in 1898, both at the instigation of Dr. Butler but with Low's hearty support.

Until 1896 Columbia retained the title of "college," but the trustees, excited by the university idea, authorized in that year the name: "Columbia University in the City of New York." Not until 1912, however, was it made legal by an act of the legislature. The move to Morningside Heights transformed Columbia from a private to a public institution in the eyes of the public. Seth Low's achieve-

* *His Excellency, A Trustee,* by Roger Howson. (New York: Columbia University Bookstore), © 1945 by the author.

ments as a money raiser aroused the envy of other educators. During his ten years' administration the gifts to Columbia exceeded all those received by the college prior to 1890. In 1889 Columbia had 203 instructors and 1,712 students; ten years later it had 399 instructors and 2,610 students. In 1889 the library had 100,000 books; by 1904 it had 362,000.

Mr. Low was nominated for mayor of New York in September, 1901; he accepted the nomination and resigned the presidency. Barnard's vision was fast becoming a reality. Low had taken a group of scattered and unrelated schools, a warring faculty, an institution that was potentially wealthy but actually in financial chaos, and created an integrated, well-organized university, charged with a new, optimistic spirit, aware that it was on its way toward a certain and glorious future.

CHAPTER IV

Nicholas the Miraculous

1

"'B' AREN'T YOU PROUD of your boy?" Mrs. Henry L. Butler of Paterson, N. J., asked her husband on the afternoon of April 19, 1902, as her son, just forty years old, was being formally installed as president of Columbia University in the presence of a large number of distinguished guests headed by the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, who, incidentally, listened to three hours of speeches without saying a word.

On April 24, 1945, when it was announced that Nicholas Murray Butler had resigned as president of the university after forty-four years in office, the whole American educational world paid him tribute. It was proud of him and his achievements, not only in building Columbia, but in advancing the cause of education. And he was pretty proud of himself. "I took education as my career," he told a reporter, "and I have never permitted myself to be diverted from it, either by public office or salary." He is serenely aware that no university president has had a comparable influence or contributed a comparable achievement to American education.

Theodore Roosevelt christened him "Nicholas Miraculous," thinking perhaps of the patron saint of Russia, but more likely T.R. confused this saint with St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, who was known as the miracle worker. He has more than lived up to the nickname; he has given it

new meaning, for he is the champion money raiser among university presidents. His first glimpse of Columbia was as a 16-year-old freshman in 1878, when it had only 227 students and a few buildings at Madison Avenue and 49th Street. In the year he retired the resident students totalled 23,764, about 8,000 less than the prewar high. Columbia had assets worth $231,561,407, and the money gifts to the university since Dr. Butler's election have been $120,161,727. Just before he was emerited he declared he wanted $50,000,000 more.

Dr. Butler had always the bearing of a Roman emperor. He has worked night and day to identify himself not only with people of wealth, but to create for himself an aristocratic background. He says he carries a strain of Scotch, English, Welsh, and Irish in his veins. His father was born in the Lambeth district of London in 1833 and was brought to the U. S. by his parents when he was two. For some reason never given they changed their name from Buchanan to Butler when they came to this country, so, except for his immediate family, Dr. Butler is not related to any other Butlers anywhere. His grandfather was a mariner who was lost off Nantucket. Several years later his grandmother married John Balfour Meldrum, manager of a jute mill in Paterson. Dr. Butler's mother was the fourth child of Dr. Nicholas Murray, who was born a Roman Catholic but was converted to Protestantism and called by New Jersey Presbyterians of his day "the Presbyterian Pope." In the latter part of his life he was violently anti-Catholic.

The future president of Columbia was born in the house of his grandmother Murray in Elizabeth, N. J. "When I was a few days old," he reports in his autobiography, "my Aunt Rosa, a woman of strong sentiment, carried me to the highest point of the cupola on the house,

accompanied by an American flag, a $10 gold piece, and a Bible, to symbolize patriotism, wealth, and piety." *

In 1864, the year when Dr. Butler declares his mother held him up in her arms so he could see Abraham Lincoln, the family moved to Paterson where his father was in the silk business. Henry Butler was an active Republican and for years was president of the board of education of Paterson. Those were the years when young Murray went to the public schools. He also attended the First Presbyterian Sunday school, but when he was twelve he joined his grandparents at St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Shortly after he was graduated by Columbia, he was confirmed as a communicant in the Protestant Episcopal Church by Bishop Horatio Potter, then a trustee of Columbia.

Young Nicholas's education was anything but progressive. He recalls that one of his Paterson teachers beat the pupils regularly on the slightest provocation with a narrow leather strap. The readers of that period were old-fashioned collections of the best poetry and the noblest prose. No natural science or any language, ancient or modern, was taught. In order to get into college Murray had to study Latin with a tutor. He graduated from high school the third in his class (two girls were ahead of him). At that high moment he gave an oration at the exercises on "The Age in Which We Live." Some of Dr. Butler's critics might remark that he has been giving the same oration ever since, for his theme was "This is, indeed, a wonderful age."

At first he intended to go either to Williams or Princeton, but a rearrangement of his father's business plans turned his eyes on the less expensive Columbia. He had become infected with Columbia spirit in the summer of

* *Across the Busy Years,* by Nicholas Murray Butler (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, © 1939), Vol. I.

1874 at the age of 13, when he was with his parents in Saratoga Springs. Eight college crews participated in a boat race at Saratoga Lake that June. Young Murray bought a blue-and-white Columbia pennant, and the Columbia crew won. It was a fateful day for Butler and the university. Enthusiastic advocates of bigger and better Columbia teams use this incident as an argument for spending more money on Columbia athletics. Another winning crew, they say, might attract to the college another Butler.

2

When Murray entered Columbia a scholar from Princeton, Archibald Alexander, joined the faculty to teach logic, psychology, and the history of philosophy. Butler was drawn to him, and majored in those subjects. In his junior year Murray acted occasionally as a substitute for Alexander, whose health was poor, and in his senior year he became the professor's regular substitute in psychology. It is clear that Butler saw an opportunity, should Alexander be forced by ill health to retire, to succeed him. This he did.

Before that, however, Murray considered law as a career that would lead to public life. He confided his ambition to Dr. Barnard, then president of the college. The venerable educator deflected his course. "Anyone can do that sort of thing," the white-bearded old gentleman told him, "and hundreds do it every year. Why not do something distinctive, something new and constructive?" Barnard thereupon pictured the place that the study of education should occupy in the intellectual and political life of the American people. The way was open, he told him, for someone

to make this topic his own and perform a really constructive service. Almost at once Butler became an enthusiastic convert to Barnard's vision. At the same time Professor John W. Burgess, whom Barnard had persuaded to come to Columbia from Amherst to teach political science and constitutional history, was widening Butler's view of the world and its institutions. Before Murray graduated he had determined on an educational career. It is more than likely that he already, as early as that, visualized himself as Columbia's president, and it is quite possible that Barnard had hinted that such an ambition could be realized at a not too distant date.

While he was an undergraduate Butler edited the college paper, *Acta Columbiana,* and wrote for his classbook a "pseudo-drama": "A Glimpse of Hell or an Hour with the Anglo-Saxons," a satire on a course in Anglo-Saxon which all the students detested. The faculty forbade the circulation of *The Columbiad,* and all copies were supposed to have been burned, but were not. Murray was rejected for his class crew, and for football; but he played cricket and enjoyed it, and was on the varsity cricket team for two years. His classmates voted him the "Height of Piety" just before their graduation. After he became president of Columbia he was generally referred to as "Nick," but his fellow students called him "Murray."

When he entered Columbia the annual tuition was $100. "From that day to this," he declares, "my father's check for $100 was the last money ever given to me by anyone which I have not myself earned. I had no difficulty in earning by teaching and journalistic work such modest sums as were needed to pay my college bills and to meet my ordinary incidental expenses. . . . When I was graduated I had paid all my college bills and incidental ex-

penses, including three summer trips to the West, and had about $1,000 in the bank." *

Professor Alexander advised Butler to get his Ph.D. before going abroad to study. This he did, and he learned German at the same time. In 1884 he sailed for England, studied in Berlin and Paris, and returned in the autumn of 1885 to join the philosophy department, which consisted of Professor Alexander and himself. It was on this first trip abroad that the miraculous young man began to hunt famous people and to boast of his friendship with them. "It is literally true," he asserts in *Across the Busy Years,* "that beginning with Gladstone, Prince Bismarck, Cardinal Newman, and Pope Leo XIII, it has been my happy fortune to meet, to talk with, and often to know in warm friendship almost every man of light and learning during the past half century. . . . To Mr. Gladstone I was presented in 1884 by Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, who was my father's cousin. . . . Bismarck I met in the autumn of the same year. . . . In England my acquaintances and friends have included every Prime Minister since Mr. Gladstone, except only Lord Salisbury and Andrew Bonar Law." Of men of letters Dr. Butler boasts of personal friendship with Tennyson, Browning, Matthew Arnold, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Rudyard Kipling. He also says he knew five masters of Balliol as well as professors Huxley and Tyndall, Herbert Spencer and Lord Kelvin. Of Americans of what he calls "consequence" he knew Whittier, James Russell Lowell, Mark Twain and Richard Watson Gilder.

Of the thirty-one presidents of the U. S. up to the time Dr. Butler was writing, "I have known thirteen: all who have held office since Hayes." Some day, he said, he would

* *Across the Busy Years,* by Nicholas Murray Butler (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, © 1939), Vol. I.

publish his correspondence with them. During the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt, Harding, and Coolidge, it was Dr. Butler's habit to stop at the White House whenever he was in Washington. Woodrow Wilson he had known since they were young lecturers together at Johns Hopkins in 1886, but they were never congenial.

Dr. Butler has rarely betrayed any jealousy for anybody, but it is possible he may have felt some jealousy of Wilson. Butler might at one time have run for governor of New York just as Wilson ran for governor of New Jersey. Wilson took the gamble, went on to the White House; Butler didn't. Furthermore, Butler's personal mission for years was world peace and a League of Nations, but he turned against the League when Wilson made it his own, and he had long conferences with Henry Cabot Lodge just before Senator Lodge wrecked the League in the Senate. As for Franklin D. Roosevelt, Butler was usually critical, and once remarked to him: "You will never be able to call yourself an intellectual until you come back to Columbia and pass your law exams." F.D.R. laughed heartily. "That just shows," he said, "how unimportant the law really is."

Ever since Butler sailed for Europe on the Cunarder *Servia* in 1884 such trips have been for him a highly romantic and exciting experience. While president of Columbia he went annually in the years between wars, usually at the expense of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which he headed. He met Henri Bergson and Benedetto Croce, visited Kaiser Wilhelm II and arranged through him to exchange professors and students with German universities. When he returned to New York, Butler invariably received reporters and imparted such nuggets of wisdom as he had gathered. In 1905 he said the Kaiser had told him, "one morning when I was his guest

at breakfast, that the U. S. would some day have to handle a few of the Old World problems."

As president of the Carnegie Endowment, Nicholas Miraculous added to his collection of famous names. Hindenburg's dignity of mind and manner he found most impressive. He also met Stresemann, Briand, Venizelos, Counts Apponyi, Teleki, Bethlen and Admiral Horthy. With Mussolini he had long and frank political talks in the summers of 1927, 1930, and 1934. On these journeys Columbia's president collected decorations from 15 nations and degrees from 37 universities. H. G. Wells commented: "He is the champion international visitor and retriever of foreign orders and degrees." And when the Great Names pass through New York Dr. Butler has always bestowed, if possible, an honorary degree on them. He is proudest of the 1931 Nobel Peace Prize which he shared with Jane Addams. His speeches and writings on international questions, which seem curiously irrelevant today, make a library in themselves.

3

Butler has always fancied himself, even in his younger days, as being a kind of elder statesman, and he hoped for years that he might, by some miracle, become president of the United States. He has never led his party; rather his party has led him. Between elections he has been a militant independent, but he has almost always voted the Republican ticket. His first experience in politics was in his freshman year when his father ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Paterson. The organized liquor traffic, he explained, was too much for him. He has been a delegate to nearly every Republican national convention since 1888. When he was mentioned as a possible candidate for governor of New York he insisted that his name be withdrawn. In 1912 he

replaced Sherman on the Republican national ticket when the vice-presidential candidate died during the campaign, and he went down to defeat with Taft. In 1920 he made an organized effort to capture the nomination with the slogan: "Pick Nick for a Picnic in November." He proudly records in *Who's Who in America* that he corralled 69½ votes at the convention. Since then he has offered tons of political advice in public and private, but has taken little active part in his party's affairs. During the prohibition era he won a reputation as a liberal, for he was one of the most forthright and vocal Republicans with the courage to demand the repeal of the 18th Amendment.

Neither in national nor in international affairs will his fame be enduring. It is in the vast industry that is covered by the word "education" that he will be forever remembered. In that world he can be certain of his reputation, for no one can challenge him. One of his enduring monuments is Teachers College. It grew out of a Kitchen Garden Club associated with the church of St. Marks-in-the-Bouwerie. This group trained girls of school age in domestic duties, the elements of gardening, and the care of flowers and vegetables. This little circle, concerned with plants, flowers, and birds, has since grown, blossomed and embraced the whole educational world and become the chief institution for the revolutionizing of American education. At the time of its beginning, in 1886, he was active in introducing manual training into the New Jersey public schools, and the earnest, eager women, anxious to promote industrial arts in New York schools, attracted young Butler's attention and sympathy. Upon his advice the group changed its name to the Industrial Education Association and in 1887 he became president of it. At once he changed it from a philanthropic enterprise into an aggressive agency for educational reform.

Inspired by Barnard's ideas about the role of education, and encouraged by him, Butler gave a course at Columbia at that time on Saturday mornings for teachers of New York City and vicinity. He was told that nobody would come; the trustees looked upon the project with jaundiced eyes, for they disapproved of allowing women in the college buildings. But the largest lecture room was packed and 1,500 requests had to be refused. This phenomenal attendance proved the need for a college for teachers, and in 1889 the Education Association was incorporated as the New York College for the Training of Teachers, known later as Teachers College. Because Columbia's trustees were so horrified at having females in classrooms, the embryo Teachers College was established forty blocks away, at 9 University Place. There courses were offered in the history and theory of education, with supplementary courses in art, manual training, and science. A model school for the observation and practice of teaching, forerunner of Horace Mann, was added.

In 1891 Dr. Butler withdrew as president of Teachers College, but he maintained an active interest in it, and demonstrated his money-raising talents so conclusively that the Columbia trustees must have marked him, as Barnard had done a decade earlier, as a future college administrator. After he and J. B. Pine, one of the trustees, had found a suitable site for Columbia on Morningside Heights, Butler took George W. Vanderbilt into his confidence and suggested that he acquire the adjoining property for Teachers College, which he did. Teachers College thus moved to Morningside Heights before Columbia. Large gifts followed from other millionaires and the main buildings for Teachers College were erected in the 1890s.

During those years, while Seth Low was president of Columbia, Butler's energy was boundless. Not only was he

active in the plans for moving the college to Morningside Heights, he even found time to get himself into a libel suit. He founded the *Educational Review* and wrote editorials that attracted nation-wide attention. In one of them he attacked Joseph J. Little, president of New York City's school board, whom he called "that fine old educational mastodon," adding that Little, as Tammany's representative, was supported by "two other antediluvians." Mr. Little was indignant, said it sounded like a "yellow journal," and he wrote Henry Holt, publisher of the *Review* that "disappointed young men should not be permitted to write billingsgate and label it an educational editorial." Butler was indicted but the matter was not pressed. The young educator explained that he wrote the piece "in a jocular vein." Little replied that he could not see the joke.

Butler made himself so conspicuous in the educational world that a number of colleges wanted him as president. Between 1886 and 1899 he was approached by the state universities of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Colorado, California, and Washington. General Leland Stanford persistently begged him to head the institution he founded, offered him $25,000 when he was getting only $3,500 at Columbia, and consulted him about his plans. Butler tells of visiting the Harvard campus with Mr. and Mrs. Stanford, who asked Dr. Charles W. Eliot how much it would cost to duplicate the buildings and equipment at that time. Dr. Eliot estimated $15,000,000, whereupon Mrs. Stanford exclaimed to her husband gleefully: "We can do it, Leland, we can do it!"

Ever since he helped to reorganize the state library system and the public schools of New Jersey as a young graduate of Columbia he has had, until very recently, his finger in every important educational pie. In that world of politics and intrigue, of militant reformers and equally

militant reactionaries, of those who contribute to education, those who make money out of it—and those who make education a career—Dr. Butler has been the top oracle, and his achievements and influence have been incalculable. He refused the office of U. S. Commissioner of Education when that post was created, but he recommended W. T. Harris, who got the job. He founded the Public Education Association, was active in organizing the New York State Department of Education and persuaded Governor Odell to appoint Andrew Draper the first commissioner. It was through Dr. Butler's efforts that William H. Maxwell was made the first New York City Superintendent of Schools.

Since then when an important chair at another university has to be filled or a new president selected for a college anywhere in the U. S., Dr. Butler has customarily been consulted. If an industrialist wants to find the "right man" for a university in which he is interested, he knows, or is told by his fellow bankers, that Dr. Butler will recommend a man who is eminently "sound." Only trustees and college presidents know how many heads of colleges have been picked in the last forty years by Dr. Butler, or with his approval. Such an influence is impossible to estimate. But ambitious educators have known very well the value of going through Teachers College and, particularly in the first twenty years of this century, basking in the academic sunshine generated by Dr. Butler's smile.

With Dr. Charles W. Eliot and eight other educators Butler wrote a history-making report on secondary education. He and Dr. Eliot fought for and established the College Entrance Examination Board for Eastern colleges. John L. Tildsey said in 1938 that Dr. Butler was no less a teacher of philosophy and practitioner of philosophy as president of Columbia than he was when he was dean of

the philosophy department. Actually, he never had any standing as a philosopher. Through the years Butler continued to battle for "general training and formal discipline" in education and condemned theories (some of which have been preached in Teachers College recently) which, he says, make the student "a kind of cow grazing in the grass, munching on what pleases the eye."

4

Apparently there was no doubt, when Seth Low resigned to run for mayor of New York City, that Butler had been picked by the stars as well as by the trustees to succeed him. Low has had no biographer or press agent. He did not boast of his educational achievements, and perhaps for that reason has been partially forgotten. But Seth Low took charge of a small college, torn by internal bickering and pulled apart by unrelated activities and projects, and integrated it into a harmonious place of learning. He laid the foundations for a genuine university. He brought to Columbia a number of scholars whom, since then, Dr. Butler has been credited with having attracted. He loosened the floodgates of private benefaction. Butler builded on Low's firm foundations. He was determined to get such a torrent of funds that what Low had raised would seem but a dribble.

In his first report to the trustees in 1901 the miraculous Nicholas said that Columbia needed $2,300,000 at once and $10,000,000 more for endowment. "It is without adequate grounds and buildings and without sufficient income to care properly for the work it has undertaken." The college, he pointed out, was without any building for academic purposes. When Columbia moved to 116th Street in 1897, to the site of the Bloomingdale Insane Asylum,

one of the asylum's old buildings had been renovated and called "College Hall." By 1901 the Low Library, gift of Seth Low, had been erected, and University Hall started, but few other buildings had been begun. Five hundred thousand dollars was needed, Butler declared, for a college hall, $400,000 for other departments, $400,000 for a Law School building, and $1,000,000 to complete University Hall. He got the $1,300,000, but to this day he has never obtained the million dollars necessary to finish University Hall. In his 1944 report he sadly commented: "It has remained in its present unfinished state for half a century." His first great accomplishment after becoming president was to acquire South Field, land between 114th and 116th Streets. A group of trustees took an option on it and Columbia bought it for $2,000,000, selling some of the university property on 48th Street in order to do it. In his first ten years Butler raised more than $16,000,000 for the university.

To start Summer Session Butler borrowed $5,000 from Seth Low in the spring of 1899. Low let him have it without question. The young and ambitious dean of the philosophy department was distressed at seeing the educational plant lie unused all summer; he saw an opportunity to exert tremendous influence upon American education and at the same time bring to the university additional income. The following October Butler returned the $5,000 with thanks. The first session more than paid its way, had 417 students. In 1946, at its peak, Summer Session had 16,000. Today, under the direction of Henry Morgan Ayres, it is both an annual institution and a habit. Thousands of teachers from the U. S. and from all over the world flock to 116th Street every July. Through the summer courses Teachers College reaches out on a wholesale scale and affects the thinking and practice of schools every-

where. It is probable that the majority of American public school teachers of the higher ranks have at some time attended Columbia's Summer Session. Thousands of them consider it the most valuable and interesting six weeks of their year, make attendance an annual holiday. How many have found husbands or wives on Columbia's summer campus it is impossible to estimate.

Dr. Butler took a leaf out of Barnard's monumental volumes and followed his example in writing his annual reports, sounding off each June on every subject that interested him. To educators his reports have been an inspiration and a guide for forty-four years. Not only do they lay down in sententious tones the principles which sound impressive almost any time they are uttered, but they are also a record of positive achievement in building the university. In 1904 he announced that he had obtained the promise of a million dollars from Joseph Pulitzer for a school of journalism. Pulitzer had offered the idea to Harvard, but Dr. Eliot had hesitated, so Butler snatched the proposition from under his nose, and agreed to Pulitzer's conditions. The newspaper proprietor insisted on naming the advisory board that would approve the course of study. The same year the College of Pharmacy became a part of the university system. In 1905 Butler happily reported that $500,000 had been given by an anonymous friend for a college hall, and immediately he began thumping the drum for funds to build a law school building. The following year the School of Mines building was occupied and St. Paul's Chapel on the campus was partly completed.

Columbia's first real dormitory, Hartley Hall, the gift of Marcellus Hartley Dodge and his sister, costing $350,000, was built in 1905. Mr. Dodge, of the class of 1903, was made a trustee in 1907. After the opening of Hamilton

Hall, the college building, in 1907, new halls sprang up miraculously as the tireless president tapped the sources of large money. Between 1910 and 1934 thirteen additional buildings appeared on the Heights. In 1910 the block between 116th and 117th Streets, from Amsterdam Avenue to Morningside Drive, was acquired for $1,000,000, contributed by W. K. Vanderbilt, George J. Gould, Frank A. Munsey and an anonymous donor. Butler at that time said it was to be the site for the Medical School, but the first building erected on it was the president's house. Later a laboratory for cancer research was built on the plot, to be followed by the Men's Faculty Club, Johnson Hall (for women students) and the Brander Matthews Academic Theatre.

In 1910 Dr. Butler boasted that enrollment in Columbia College had increased more than 48 per cent in the previous decade and that benefactions were coming in without precedent. Increased students, he noted, meant increased costs since the students pay only about half what they cost the institution. Seth Low had raised five and a half millions, but between 1901 and 1911 Butler raised three times as much; in the next decade he garnered 20 million, in the 1920s he reaped nearly 47 million. The 1930s were not so fruitful: only $29,407,103 came in. Yet Butler repeated again and again his cry: "Columbia is a giant in bonds." He never ceased to be insatiable.

Dr. Butler had his difficulties in raising funds and putting through the necessary agreements to bring to reality one of his greatest dreams: the Medical Center. Real progress was not achieved until 1921 when Columbia's trustees made an agreement with Presbyterian Hospital to take it over and incorporate it in the center. Three million had to be raised at once. Butler got it promptly: a million each from the Rockefeller Foundation, from the General Edu-

cation Board, and from the Carnegie Corporation. He then persuaded Edward S. Harkness to give the land at 165th to 168th Streets, formerly the old Yankee baseball park, and valued at $2,000,000. Mr. and Mrs. Harkness promised a million more later. At that time a legacy of $5,500,000 from Joseph R. De Lamar became available. By then Butler had upped his estimate of the center's needs from 12 million to 15 million. He already had the 12 million.

Unquestionably the most important event for Columbia in the 1920s and 1930s was the agreement with John D. Rockefeller Jr. to lease the Upper Estate, or Hosack's Garden, for the building of Rockefeller Center. Columbia had owned this land since 1814 and by sheer good luck had held on to it. The net income from this land, leased to the Rockefeller Corporation for 87 years, is today almost $4,000,000 annually. It was indeed, as Butler remarked in 1930, a new period in corporate financing for the university.

The other big event was the acquisition of Baker Field at 215th Street. This has been subjected to considerable criticism because it is so far from the college campus. As far back as 1909 a stadium was planned in the Hudson River, to be built on reclaimed land between 114th and 116th Streets, as a memorial to Robert Fulton. In 1921 the project was re-examined and not found feasible; another location had to be found. Fortunately at this time George F. Baker came forward and purchased the field named for him for $650,000. It was completed in 1925.

These very solid achievements in brick and stone and concrete have been Dr. Butler's greatest contribution to Columbia. He has never ceased building and it is as a builder he will undoubtedly be best remembered. He has also never ceased pleading for higher academic salaries. In 1944 he repeated once more: "It is not fitting that young

men and women who have chosen scholarship as their career and who have devoted six or more years to college and university study and training for that career, should be asked to begin their service in the world at salaries which are not more than half of what they might be." A capital fund of $10,000,000, he said, was necessary to make the readjustments possible. Columbia's scale is at present somewhat less than that of the University of Chicago and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. That is one reason why Columbia has lost some good men to those institutions.

During the 1930s the miraculous Butler's energies did not falter. He fought prohibition, criticized his own party, made frequent trips to Europe. In 1931 he spoke in German before the Reichstag, urging upon the members democratic ideals. In public statements he expressed his fear that a U. S. Secretary of Education would be a political agent. Hence he disapproved of that idea. He spoke in favor of adult education and scolded the younger generation for sloppy habits. One cause of the depression, he said, was that people had lost the habit of hard thinking, and he appointed a committee to do something about that. He approved of Franklin D. Roosevelt's policies at the beginning of his administration. Then in 1936 he complained about the unfair taxes upon wealth. He was rather proud of F.D.R.'s brain trust since it was recruited from Columbia, and he said it was much better than the "blockhead trust" that had been running things previously. At the same time he opposed the child labor amendment and was roundly denounced for his stand by some of the undergraduates. In a letter to a 14-year-old high-school girl in New Jersey Dr. Butler extolled the study of Latin. Later he spoke nostalgically of the little red schoolhouse and praised the old-fashioned training, which was, of course,

directly contradictory to the doctrines taught at the same time at Teachers College.

5

Nicholas Murray Butler's personal life has been a happy one. In 1887 he married Susanne Schuyler; they had one child, Sarah Schuyler Butler who, in the late 20s and early 30s, played a prominent part in the Republican Party in New York. The first Mrs. Butler died in 1903; in 1907 he married Kate L. Montague, a Catholic who was reputed to be wealthy. What his salary is has never been made public: the usual guess is $25,000 a year, with some additional allowance for entertaining. The president's house, 60 Morningside Drive, has not only always been in the *Social Register,* but it has been a social center for the reception of distinguished visitors to New York City. To be invited to one of Dr. Butler's dinners is the final accolade of social recognition. He obviously enjoys social life; he likes people, and he relishes having people around him, for they supply him with an audience. At his dinners he does most of the talking and even today, not so strong as he once was, he can still perform as a mighty talker. For many years his New Year's reception for faculty members and their wives has been the great social event of the academic year. High point of his life was the fifteen-minute reception to King George VI and Queen Elizabeth on June 11, 1939, when he showed them the original King's College charter granted by George II. President Butler presented the royal couple with a specially bound book suitably inscribed by the trustees and the faculty. The occasion was immortalized in a huge oil painting now hanging in the university library.

Throughout his busy life Dr. Butler has found time for

recreation, particularly if he could combine business with pleasure. He has been an enthusiastic golfer and frequently his partners have been men of "consequence," politically or financially. One of these groups met annually at Hotel Bon Air in March at Augusta, Georgia. These men were christened "The Little Mothers" by a woman who said they met for the purpose of rocking the cradle of the universe. Among the members were men of Butler's generation: Warren G. Harding, Senators Hale, Hitchcock, Brandegee, Saulsbury, Speaker Gillett, Governor Cox and others prominent at the time. Butler is proud of the many clubs of which he is a member. The Round Table at the Knickerbocker Club welcomed him regularly the first Friday of each month from November to May in the days when Elihu Root, Brander Matthews, James R. Sheffield, and William Barclay Parsons were present. For years he was seen frequently at the Century Club. At the Lotos Club he was one of the circle known as the "Occasional Thinkers" whose motto was "Don't let the old jokes die."

When Dr. Butler attempts to be humorous he seems to be committed to that motto. His wit, as would be expected, is heavy and academic. What he likes best is to tell anecdotes which involve famous people he has known. In 1921, for example, at Chequers in England, he was the guest of Lloyd George, and Dr. Butler was the only man present who was not a prime minister. "L.G."—Butler always called him "L.G."—was eager to have the principle of the British Commonwealth of Nations accepted by the representatives of the British dominions. He was uncertain about the attitude of William Morris Hughes of Australia, so he asked Dr. Butler to have a talk with him. The Columbia president took Hughes to see the cottage where Milton wrote *Paradise Regained,* showed him William Penn's grave, and Edmund Burke's, and soon Hughes

began to think that England was quite a place after all. Then all the prime ministers—and Dr. Butler—had lunch in the garden. Lloyd George offered toasts to each and then turned to Butler: "I'm sorry I cannot include you," he said. Whereupon Butler replied: "L.G., you do not need to. Last Monday was the Fourth of July!" "At this," narrates Butler, "we all had a good laugh in which, of course, L.G. joined."

On his 79th birthday in 1941 reporters found him still working hard. He told them he would not retire until somebody gave the university $50,000,000. "That would solve our problems for the next half generation," he said. His only personal problem at the time was trying to get his golf game down to his years, but the years were creeping up to his golf score, then 90. On that day he arose at 7:30, and at 9:30 was at his desk in his home, where he worked for two and a half hours on his mail and reports. Then he went downtown for a meeting with the executive committee of the board of directors of the New York Life Insurance Company, had lunch at the Bankers' Club, attended the executive committee meeting of the Pilgrim Society, and at 3 P.M. he met the finance committee of the Columbia trustees at the treasurer's office downtown. After that he returned to the campus to sign letters and clean up unfinished business on his desk. After dinner he conferred with some of his dinner guests about plans for rebuilding the library of the University of Louvain.

Dr. Butler did not want to retire; he wanted to die in harness. It is an open secret that he became president emeritus only when the trustees unanimously insisted upon it. And although he has been emerited, he is still a member of the board as a duly elected member. Many of his friends have said that he should have retired ten or twenty years ago; it would have been better, they say, for

his reputation had he done so. But he is a stubborn man and he has had his way for forty-four years. Although blind and deaf, he was determined to continue his duties. After he was emerited it was thought that he would move out of his office, but it became very clear that he had no intention of doing anything of the kind. Eventually he did, about a year later. And even before any announcement was made, it was known that under no circumstances would he move out of his residence. So the trustees graciously told him that he could live there the remainder of his days. Not a single member was on the board when Dr. Butler was chosen, so the selection of a president was a wholly new problem to them.

For years Butler liked to joke about his successor. At a meeting of one of the philanthropic foundations of which he is a trustee he seemed one day to be particularly jubilant. One of his friends asked him why he was in such high spirits.

"I attended a funeral yesterday," Dr. Butler replied happily.

"A funeral?" His colleague seemed puzzled.

"Yes," he said, beaming, "a funeral of one of the members of the board of trustees of Columbia. He was the last surviving member of a committee appointed fifteen years ago to choose my successor."

Columbia alumni have delighted to honor the man who has done so much for their college and the university. One of the notable occasions in Columbia's history was the Columbia-round-the-world night when the alumni celebrated his thirtieth year as president, his fiftieth as an alumnus, and his seventieth birthday. At a big dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria broadcasts were received from alumni clubs all over the world. Again in 1937 he was feted and he replied to his guests with deep emotion: "When you

have served a university all your life you learn the meaning of immortality. That university is not going to die. Your work is not going to be lost. Your service is not going to be thrown away. You are contributing to this vast, invisible cause, which is the highest thing on earth."

And he has often quoted Vauvenarques: "To find a noble ideal in youth, to pursue it through the years of a busy life, and to watch it flower in ripe age, are the most certain rewards of a happy and satisfactory life." That, better than anything else, describes Dr. Butler's career and his miraculous achievements. To most Columbia College alumni he has always seemed somewhat aloof, a man who commanded admiration rather than affection. But those who attended the last graduation exercises at which he presided as president, June 5, 1945, could not help feeling a deep emotion for the gallant figure who spoke to them with his old, customary vigor. As he stood on the steps of the Low Memorial Library, impervious to the threatened rain, the thoughts of 10,000 spectators must have been that it could be said of Dr. Butler, as truly as it was said of Sir Christopher Wren, "If you would see his monument, look about you."

CHAPTER V

The Issue of Academic Freedom

1

SCHOLARSHIP is only one of many qualifications for the academic life, and there are, it must be admitted, conspicuous examples of relatively prosperous academic careers achieved by men who have not been distinguished for their scholarship. Professors are not, as a rule, deficient in masculinity. That is evidenced by the number of their progeny, but there is still some truth in the saying about three sexes in America: men, women, and professors. And there is even more truth in Shaw's oft-repeated slap that those who can, do; those who can't, teach.

The academic man is a special kind of animal; he runs true to type because he has to go through the slow-grinding mills of Phi Beta Kappa, M.A., Ph.D., protected from the competitive world of business. He soon finds that success in his trade comes to those who conform, who do a little bootlicking now and then, and who faithfully serve the masters who head the departments in which they specialize. Getting on depends on knowing the right people at the right time and having them put in a good word for you. So it is not expedient to make enemies of anybody, for you never know when a chance word may ruin your career. Such conditions rule the educational world, and Columbia is no exception.

Nevertheless, with certain reservations, it can be asserted that Columbia is the freest university in the world. A great philosopher, such as John Dewey, a great scientist, such

as Pupin or Fermi, a distinguished anthropologist, such as Boas, can pursue his career without interference and with the maximum of encouragement. The university is, in A. A. Berle's felicitous phrase, a great free port of ideas. Inevitably many types of men get into the professorial profession, men who by temperament are not readily adaptable to the academic cloister. Teaching has its share of the cantankerous, the irascible, and the contentious rebels. And even a university professor, already married, occasionally loses his head over a female whom, in a more lucid interval, he would have the sense to ignore. This may lead to complications that are reported in the newspapers. Such lapses should be looked upon indulgently, but in one celebrated case at Columbia the incident led to personal tragedy. In our more enlightened age it is probable that a similar escapade would be reasonably overlooked.

Another type of person sometimes strays into the academic groves and discovers, too late, that they are no place for him. That is the genius, the poet, the gentle soul who is genuinely and divinely gifted, the man who has much to give to the world, who knows that he does not belong in business, and who hopes to find relief from practical responsibilities somewhere in the academic sphere. Theoretically, since there is no happy place for him in the world, the university should offer such a spirit refuge. But there is a routine which must be observed that makes gifted men very uncomfortable. After all, a university is a going institution, and inherent in all institutions is a certain amount of injustice and callousness.

Edward MacDowell, one of America's most gifted composers, had no business, considering his temperament, to undertake an academic career, and he was badly advised to attempt it. For him it was not only personally disastrous but literally fatal. Before accepting the chair of professor

of music at Columbia, he had had no experience in academic life. He was born in New York City in 1861; his father was a well-to-do Quaker businessman; both his parents were interested in the arts. He studied at French schools, and was kept away from the U. S. educational system. He was shy, delightful with friends, but he withdrew into a shell with mere acquaintances. He studied music abroad, was encouraged by Liszt and other prominent musicians of the time, and he returned to his native land in 1890 to teach and compose in Boston.

Professor John W. Burgess was influential in persuading MacDowell to come to Columbia. An endowment became available, given by Robert Center, for a chair of music, and several names were suggested. MacDowell's mother spoke to Burgess, and the professor took up the sponsorship with his customary energy. Dr. William Mason also recommended MacDowell, so Burgess arranged a party to attend a Boston Symphony concert when MacDowell was the soloist. Burgess invited Mr. and Mrs. Seth Low, and Bishop and Mrs. Potter. All were properly enthusiastic; MacDowell met Low, who was then president of Columbia, and he offered the young musician the post.

Filled at once with enthusiasm for the project, MacDowell, like other artists, gave free rein to his imagination and dreamed of impossible achievements. The chair of music would be the first in a new faculty of the arts, which would include painting and sculpture; he would revolutionize the popular attitude toward music, and then make the teaching and appreciation of music the task of the public and private schools. He became imbued with that mission. Like other artists, he seemed to have been rather naive and taken words and promises at their face value. He did not realize that a university cannot adapt itself to in-

dividuals but that individuals must adapt themselves to the university. He was fantastically unfitted for an organizational or administrative job; he had no notion of university procedure.

MacDowell found almost at once that he could not singlehandedly elevate the standard of musical instruction for the whole country through his lone efforts at Columbia. His students were woefully unprepared for what he had to give them. The solution, he thought, would be to demand that preparatory and public schools be required to give courses in music, and that a knowledge of and training in music be a compulsory requirement for college entrance. This was out of the question; if Columbia attempted to make music a requirement for entrance, students would go to other colleges.

One of MacDowell's first pupils was John Erskine, who wrote a vivid account of the composer as a teacher. Against the opposition of Dean Van Amringe, Erskine enrolled as a freshman in MacDowell's course in 1896. "His point of departure was not the precise frontier of the student's knowledge," Erskine declared, "but at some musical problem that at that time engaged his attention. It is an argument against university posts for great musicians that in a university, especially a large one, the chance is strong that some professors may know how to lecture. This puts the musician at a disadvantage. Lecturing is a branch of literature . . . it is a vestige of minstrelsy with the music left out."

MacDowell was no lecturer. He said what he had to say in words and then sat down at the piano and went on with his discussion in music. He worked himself to a nervous collapse. For a time he conducted New York's Mendelssohn Glee Club. He was much more conscientious than a sensi-

ble professor with a regard for his own health should be, and he went on sabbatical just when Nicholas Murray Butler became president.

Dr. Butler had his own ideas about how the music department should be organized. When the composer returned he was obviously unhappy and discouraged. He told friends that he felt his work had been futile, that he could not conduct the kind of department he wanted. So he sent his resignation to Butler, who did not make it public. Rumors seeped into the student body and two ambitious seniors, eager to be reporters, went to MacDowell, who was distressed when they repeated the gossip. He denied it, but when one of them implied that MacDowell was a quitter, the composer exploded and said much more than he intended to say. He let off steam; the reporters could not suppress such a story; inevitably it appeared.

Butler was outraged. MacDowell explained he had not talked for publication. The incident could not be smoothed over. MacDowell was offered a research professorship that would free him from teaching, but he was too emotionally upset to stay on any terms. He said: "My aims and ideas Butler dismissed as being impossible and revolutionary." So one of America's first composers left Columbia broken in mind and spirit; he brooded and lay awake nights thinking about it. For two years he was a body without a mind, sitting by the window staring into space. In 1908 he died, unable to contribute anything to music after his experience at Columbia.

2

Another poet resigned about the same time. George Edward Woodberry was a New Englander who grew from the same soil that nurtured Henry Adams, Emerson, Thoreau,

and Hawthorne. A brilliant undergraduate at Harvard, he seemed destined for an equally brilliant academic career when he came to Columbia in 1891. But somehow his life missed its aim; he was first and last a poet; he had the emotion, yet his poetry never won a wide audience. As a matter of fact, he never expected it would. He was, say all who knew him, a great teacher, and he had a special gift for friendship; his affection for his friends illumines his published letters. He created the chair of Comparative Literature at Columbia and he communicated to his students an appreciation of the Mediterranean world that he loved. He treated all literature as poetic. John Erskine, who was one of his disciples, said: "If there ever was a humanist, he was one." But he suddenly resigned in 1904 while on leave of absence, and devoted his life to writing beautiful essays and poems that never quite achieved greatness. He became a kind of itinerant teacher, lecturing at a number of colleges. He gave no reason for his resignation; he declared that there were no differences between him and Dr. Butler, and yet the suspicion has prevailed that he was somehow, in ways that cannot be specifically defined, forced out of the faculty.

3

Next to leave was Harry Thurston Peck, a classical philologist, editor, and literary critic. Excessive reading by candlelight as a child permanently injured his eyes, intensified his bookishness. He was brilliant as a student in Columbia College, graduated in 1881, and studied classical philology in Paris, Berlin and Rome. He married in 1882 and became professor at Columbia. For twenty-six years he taught Latin, Semitic languages and literature. His learning was encyclopedic; he possessed an astounding mem-

ory. He founded *The Bookman* in 1895, edited it until 1902, and contributed to it until 1907. He enjoyed social life, and was conspicuous for his colorful waistcoats and cravats, the choice of which his friends attributed to his defective eyesight. His wife divorced him in 1908; he married again a year later, and then a stenographer sued him for breach of promise. She published his letters to her. This was a sensational newspaper story for weeks. It made him ridiculous, his Puritanical friends avoided him, he was expelled from his clubs on account of the notoriety, and he was fired from Columbia. His wife left him; his friends deserted him; magazine editors refused his contributions; he was thoroughly ruined. It seems incredible that such a man should be treated in this fashion, but the priggishness of the times crushed him. The trouble seems to have been that he was a clumsy philanderer. Ostracism brought on a mental collapse; by 1913 he was bankrupt, and he died a suicide in 1914.

4

The issue of academic freedom came up again when Joel E. Spingarn, a protégé of Woodberry's, was suddenly dismissed after he had attempted to offer a resolution at a meeting of the English faculty expressing the admiration of the faculty for the scholarship of Professor Peck. It seemed to Spingarn a small but nice gesture to a man whose scholarship was in no way diminished by his outrageous treatment. The resolution was tabled. Spingarn was told to let the matter drop, but he was not the type of man to drop anything he set his mind on. Butler told him: "If you don't drop this matter, you will get into trouble." Butler had visions of newspaper headlines incited by Spingarn. But the professor was determined: "I

am not in the habit of altering my conduct," he told the president, "because of the prospect of trouble."

That, however, was not the only issue between Spingarn and the university. For some time, it is evident, the English department had been seeking to abolish or absorb the department of comparative literature. Spingarn was brought to Columbia by Woodberry and for some reason was suspect because of that. He succeeded Woodberry, but in 1910, against his protest, the department was abolished, and merged with the English department. Spingarn's work was thus placed under the authority of Professor Ashley Horace Thorndike. The two men did not get along. When the change was made Spingarn promised his cooperation, but reserved the right to ignore Thorndike's authority, for he would not agree that the university had any right to abolish his department. Thorndike complained to Butler that Spingarn was not cooperating. Butler talked to Spingarn and told him that the proposal to abolish the chair had not been finally ratified by the Committee on Education of the Trustees and that he would recommend that the proposal be withdrawn.

Instead, on March 6, 1911, the trustees voted not only to abolish the chair but to fire Spingarn forthwith. Spingarn was infuriated; he published the letters in the case together with his comments in order that "they may serve to arouse attention to the cause of academic freedom." The university, he said, was governed by a self-perpetuating board of trustees, financiers, lawyers, divines, and other men, "not one of whom is a scholar by profession or is familiar with the more intimate atmosphere of academic life. The trustees control the finances, appoint and promote professors, determine educational policy and no power is vested in any faculty except *as* granted to the faculty by the trustees. The president is the only officer on

the board and communications to the board must pass through his hands. Furthermore, officers hold their position at the pleasure of the trustees. No personal hearing is ever given by them to any member of the teaching staff and a professor may learn of their intentions only after they have made the final decision of dismissal, thus further increasing the power of the president."

In his case Spingarn said the recommendations were accepted, without independent investigation, by the Committee on Education, composed of seven members, but only three or four attended. "So the president is surrounded by sycophants and it is small wonder that intellectual freedom and personal courage dwindle." He accused Butler of official trickery and deception, of threat and insult; he declared Butler told him five deliberate falsehoods, broke three promises, and denied his own statements when it served his purpose. This, he added, was typical of Butler's executive career.

Thorndike complained that "Professor Spingarn's attitude of opposition creates bad feeling among the students and we have no means of dealing with him." Spingarn answered: "It is not true I have ever refused to any of my colleagues benefit of my counsel or scholarship as I had the power to offer them. My heart sickens at the very thought of administrative tasks and I do not propose to have the leisure of productive scholarship interfered with." Later he wrote: "If freedom of speech and conduct do not exist at Columbia, it is right that the academic world should know it." Butler commented: "This letter made a most unfavorable impression."

Spingarn a few years later published his best-known book, *Creative Criticism,* and for twenty years was respected as one of America's most distinguished scholars and critics. After Woodberry's death he published a letter

he received from his predecessor. Lewis Mumford has called it one of the great letters of American literature: "The first square experience of injustice, especially from the hands of a group of men so high in public power and position as the trustees of Columbia, is one to give a moral shock, whose lingering effects may last for years in one's thought of the world. Such a blow tends to corrode even the healthiest mind and to embitter the sunniest disposition. But something of the hollowness of our State—the moral hollowness, I mean, of the system of control that wealth has developed in the community—you must realize; and more easily perhaps the moral hollowness of what goes under the name of character in respectable circles.

"I do not think it is strange that you were finally sent away. There was at first an instinct to spare you. It was mere humiliation for you to make your consent to the abolition of the department (it amounts to that) of which you were, I might say, both child and father. It was merely smoothing down my grave, leveling it with the earth, that no memory of me might abide there. . . . I do not think the Peck incident more than an apt occasion. Given you, and your past affiliations, it was simplest to get rid of you before more trouble arose; it was clear that when you had a good cause, you would fight. I think so. Your dismissal lay in the conditions."

5

Shortly before World War I Dr. Butler became active in promoting peace through the Carnegie Endowment and subsidiary organizations, such as the Association for International Conciliation. Leon Fraser, at that time an instructor in economics at Columbia (later president of the First National Bank of New York), was given extra-curricu-

lar work by Butler to organize courses in pacificism and international conciliation throughout the country. The moment war started, however, Butler became an aggressive nationalist. Columbia's trustees, embarrassed by Butler's previous pacificism, compensated for it by being a shade more belligerent than the president.

Leon Fraser was one of the first to feel this change of heart. In 1917 he criticized the Plattsburg Officers' Training Program and thereby incurred official displeasure. His department was told not to renominate him. Fraser was dropped, but his department made it clear that it was because of lack of students. Butler thereupon informed the faculty that even if sufficient students should register, under no circumstances was Fraser to be renominated. And he wasn't. However, when he became a prominent New York banker he was elected to the board of trustees of Columbia.

Then, suddenly, on October 1, 1917, it was announced that Professor J. McKeen Cattell was dismissed from the chair of psychology which he had held since 1891. He was fired because of a letter he had addressed, on Columbia stationery, to the members of Congress in August, 1917, asking them to support a measure against sending conscripts to fight in Europe against their will. Professor Cattell stated immediately that he opposed all war and *that* war, but that he had engaged in no agitation against the government. He claimed that it was both the right and the duty of a citizen to petition the government to enact legislation he believes to be in the best interests of the nation. He held that forcing conscientious objectors to fight is not only contrary to democratic principles but is also subversive to the efficiency of the army and of national unity.

Professor Cattell was regarded on the campus as an ex-

tremely difficult personality, and it was known to him and to the faculty that it was only a question of time before he would either resign or be fired. Before the axe fell Cattell wrote to a friend about giving up the Faculty Club, which the trustees had asked to have turned over to academic purposes. Cattell suggested that the trustees be requested "to assign us the president's house, which cost $300,000 from funds given for education. . . . If our many-talented and much-climbing president should by a reactionary wave be swept into the national vice-presidency it is not likely that his successor will care to live in such a mausoleum." Another time he commented: "The trustees are only in place in Wall Street or in Trinity churchyard; the president is fit only to be a ward politician. A private corporation which now taxes the people to maintain the privileged class must ultimately be taken over by the people and conducted for their welfare."

Soon after his dismissal Cattell told a Boston audience: "The position of the teacher in a university is somewhat like that of the domestic servant in the family and he must exploit the virtues of the domestic servant in order to have his wages raised. . . . But he cannot get a new place, for he must submit to things as they are lest he be put on the employer's blacklist. . . . It is not dismissal which is the difficulty, but the dependence on favor for advancement in position and in salary and for the little offices and honors about the institution which serve in lieu of salary. . . . It is desirable to speak in faculty meeting but only so long as the policies and the prejudices of the president and the dean are re-echoed."

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, an instructor in English who had made anti-war speeches before the People's Forum, was fired at the same time. These dismissals were generally applauded by the war-minded American press.

The *New York Herald* said: "They cannot hide behind Columbia's mantle in the hours of their indulgence. Columbia has washed her hands of them and is well rid of them."

A week after these dismissals, the distinguished American historian, Charles A. Beard, resigned. "Having observed closely the inner life at Columbia for many years," he wrote Butler, "I have been driven to the conclusion that the university is really under the control of a small and active group of trustees who have no standing in the world of education, who are reactionary and visionless in politics, narrow and medieval in religion. Their conduct betrays a profound misconception of the true function of a university in the advancement of learning. How widespread and deep is this conviction among professors only one intimately acquainted with them can know. . . .

"I am convinced that while I remain in the pay of the trustees of Columbia University I cannot do effectively my honorable part in sustaining public opinion in the support of the just war on the German Empire or take a position of independence in the days of reconstruction that are to follow. For this reason I tender my resignation as professor of politics to take effect on the morning of October 9, 1917. . . ." Speaking of his colleagues he added: "As I think of their scholarship and their worldwide reputation and compare them with the few obscure and wilful trustees who now dominate the university and terrorize the young instructors I cannot repress my astonishment that America, of all countries, has made the status of the professor lower than that of the manual laborer, who, through his union, has at least some voice in the terms and conditions of his employment. Holding his position literally by the day, the professor is liable to dismissal without a hearing, without the judgment of his colleagues who are

his real peers." He ended by suggesting that legislative bodies should "strip boards of their absolute power over the intellectual life of the institutions under their management."

It was immediately assumed by the press and public, and is still the mistaken notion of many, that Beard resigned in protest because Cattell and Dana were fired. But Beard's action was independently taken and might have occurred anyway. In a letter to *The New Republic,* December 29, 1917, Beard tried to dispel "the insinuation that I resigned in a fit of unjustified petulance." He recounted the steps that led him to it: He first learned the inner workings of Columbia when Burgess retired. The man who should have succeeded to the chair had published a book in which he justified criticisms of the Supreme Court. "So the professorship was given to W. D. Guthrie, a successful corporation lawyer and partner of one of the trustees. The faculty was not consulted; the whole business was transacted by backstairs negotiations, and it was made known that no person with liberal views would be acceptable." This was the way the first vacancy in the department was filled after Dr. Beard's connection with the university.

In 1916 Beard advocated the use of public schools for discussion of public questions. This was just after a speaker in a public school meeting had said, "To hell with the flag!" Beard felt that such an incident should not be used as a pretext for closing the schools for public meetings. However, a New York newspaper leaped on Beard's advocacy of such meetings as approval of "to hell with the flag speech." He was promptly summoned before the Committee on Education of the trustees. He convinced them he had been misquoted, and that his remarks had been twisted by sensational-minded newspapers. However,

two of the trustees would not let him go with that. Mr. Bangs and Mr. Coudert subjected him to an inquisition on his views. They grilled him for half an hour. Beard was stunned. He was then ordered to warn all the men in his department against teachings "likely to bring disrespect for American institutions." When he repeated this to his colleagues, one of them, with a shout of derision, asked if Tammany Hall and the pork barrel were not American institutions.

After this Dean Woodbridge told Beard that the trustees had learned their lesson and such an inquisition would not occur again. Butler asked him to drop "the whole miserable business." However, in March, 1917, the trustees gave to the press a resolution instructing a committee to ascertain whether certain doctrines were being taught. The Faculty of Political Science promptly made known their disapproval of the move. This was followed by the firing of Cattell and Dana.

A faculty committee had been appointed to handle such matters, but it was ignored, so John Dewey resigned from the committee. "There may have been other reasons," he said, "why the trustees wanted to dismiss Professor Cattell, but they did not state those reasons. They smeared the whole case over with patriotism." Thereupon another professor was expelled without warning or trial, and the trustees warned the political science department about appointing "unacceptable persons." When Beard recommended an instructor to a neighboring college Butler told him that a "Bull Moose" would not be acceptable. Beard heard that another doctrinal inquisition was scheduled for the purpose of driving out, humiliating, or terrorizing every man who held progressive views. "The institution," Beard said, "was to be reduced below the level of a department store or factory, and I therefore tendered my resigna-

tion. I have merely held that teachers should not be expelled without notice or hearing, and their appointment and promotion depend on securing in advance the favor of certain trustees."

The resignation of Charles A. Beard shocked the academic world much more than the dismissal of Cattell and Dana. John Dewey commented: "I regard the action of Professor Beard as a natural consequence of the degrading action of the trustees last week. I personally regret the loss to the faculty of Columbia of such a scholarly man and a teacher of such rare power." Dr. Beard made a sacrifice for his colleagues and for the cause in which he believed, a sacrifice which was understood and appreciated. When President Butler or the trustees have been tempted to act hastily about faculty members who annoy them, they have probably recalled their shameful record in 1917.

6

There have been incidents since. The two most spectacular concerned students who expressed opinions in campus publications that angered the authorities. Morrie Ryskind was expelled from the School of Journalism in April, 1917, for writing an editorial in *Jester* attacking Dr. Butler. And in the spring of 1932 Reed Harris, then editor-in-chief of *Spectator,* was expelled by Dean Hawkes for editorials that criticized the management of the John Jay dining halls. Before that he had ridiculed the alumni and called football a "semi-pro racket."

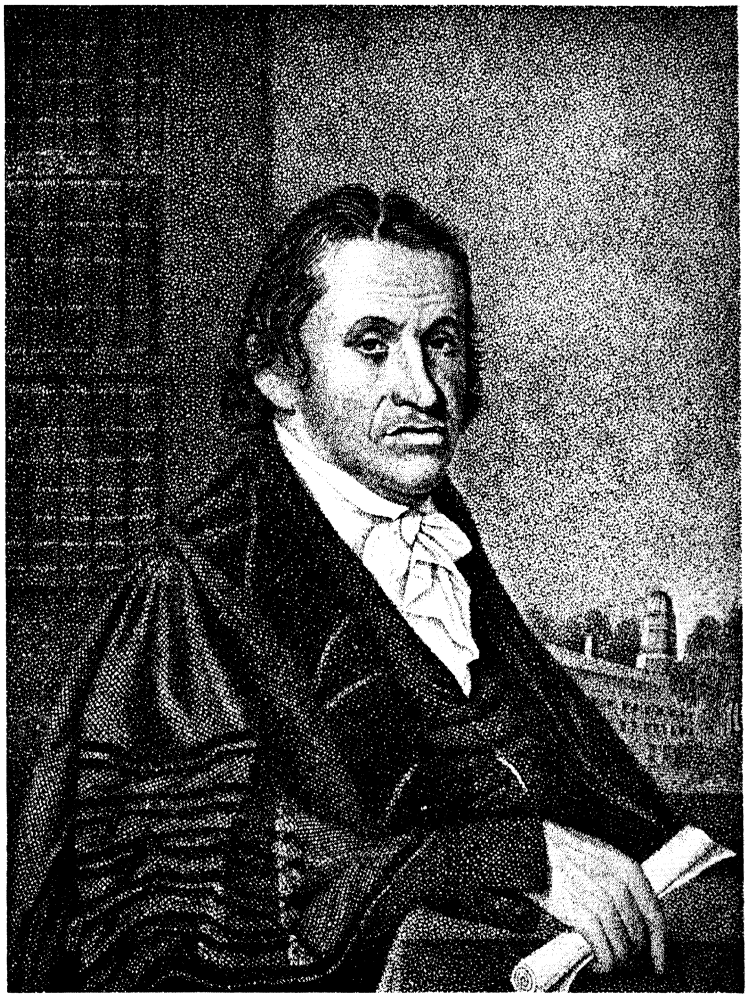
The question of academic freedom is far from settled. The battle has by no means been completely won. For the most part professors have conformed to the conventions. Since Beard's resignation, however, faculty members have felt freer to speak their minds. The trustees have taken, if

not a more enlightened view of the problem of academic freedom, at least a position of *laissez faire.*

Columbia has always been sensitive to newspaper criticism. That is one reason why it has employed a professional pubic relations counselor to handle its contacts with the press. Mr. J. T. Grady, until his retirement in 1946, did an excellent job, although he was chiefly devoted to publicizing Dr. Butler. New York newspapers are quick to sense a good story arising out of a university quarrel or any unconventional behavior by faculty members. Those who teach at Columbia are acutely aware of this and are careful not to bring disrepute upon the institution that employs them.

On the other hand, the faculty has been quick, collectively and individually, to resent any dictation about what they should say or think. When Dr. Butler, in the fall of 1940, called them together and read them a lecture on academic discipline and loyalty to American institutions, and to the cause of the Allies, there was instantaneous response and indignation. Dr. Butler did not proceed further. In his next report he simply reiterated his views, insisting on the primacy of "university freedom," which he defined as "the right and duty of the university to pursue its high ideals unhampered by acts or conduct on the part of its members which tend to damage its reputation, or to lower its authority as a center of sound learning and moral teaching. Those whose convictions are of such a character as to bring them into open conflict with the university's freedom to go its way should, in ordinary decency and self-respect, withdraw of their own accord." He then repeated the ancient distinction between "liberty" and "license."

Academic freedom depends much on the climate of opinion in the community. In a reactionary era the trustees are likely again to insist on conformity with reactionary



Dr. Samuel Bard, founder of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and of King's College Medical School

views; in a liberal period, when the dignity of the individual and his right to hold and to express his convictions is regarded as an indispensable part of political freedom and democratic ideals, the trustees are fairly certain to be slow to start inquisitions into what they may regard as unsound teachings. Like freedom and democracy everywhere, academic freedom cannot be won once and for all; it demands constant vigilance and a willingness by those who believe in it to fight for it whenever it seems to be threatened.

CHAPTER VI

Great Names

1

WHO ARE the Great Names in Columbia's history? Who are the men who have done most to create the university we know today? Who belong, for good and substantial reasons, in Morningside's Pantheon? Much depends on your frame of reference—a phrase unfortunately popularized by a recent Columbia scholar. Let us save the athletic stars for the chapter on athletics, and the shining lights of under-graduate publications and theatricals for another chapter. Let us, instead, review quickly Columbia's history and speak a little more fully of some of those men who were barely mentioned in the discussion of King's College and the account of Columbia in the 19th century.

Some of the great names revered, honored, sung about by the alumni and eulogized by Dr. Butler may, in the perspective of time, seem to be overrated, magnified by sentiment and the glow of memory. The services of many we know little about, or can only guess at. The place of others is still debated by historians. The contributions made by outstanding trustees might be overlooked: Dr. Morgan Dix, rector of Trinity, played a determined role for many years, for example, and the name of John S. Kennedy may seem obscure until you remember his large benefactions.

Certain it is that Columbia has nurtured numerous extraordinary characters. Alumni do not easily forget the

powerful personalities who influenced their lives. Whether some of them were true scholars is a question that should be left to their colleagues and peers. There can be no question about the overwhelming part played by Barnard, Butler, Ruggles, Low, Burgess, whose achievements have been described in earlier chapters. Never will Columbians forget Alexander Hamilton, although his most valuable gift to the college, other than the prestige of his name, was in putting the revised charter through the New York State Legislature after the War of Independence.

The wide acceptance of the case method by graduate law schools should not diminish the name or fame of Theodore W. Dwight, powerful teacher of an earlier method, who dominated the school for so many years and *was,* indeed, the Law School during his tenure. Those who know the story have no doubts about the importance of Egleston, who pioneered in founding the School of Mines and setting it on its course, or the almost legendary figure of Chandler, a man who lived well into the 20th century.

It is too early to evaluate contemporary figures, although we may feel certain about the future place that Rappleye and Pegram will occupy when their work is viewed in perspective. And no one can speak of the College of Physicians and Surgeons without thinking of Samuel Lambert and William Darrach. Dean Hawkes belongs properly in the chapter on Columbia College, while Harlan F. Stone and John Bassett Moore belong in the section on the Law School. Should we include William Barclay Parsons and George L. Rives for their services as chairmen of the board of trustees? Does the late Dean James E. Russell of Teachers College belong among Columbia immortals? What about such great names as Pupin, Zinsser, Urey, Dewey, Boas, Beard? Or the three Thorndikes? Was Lieber a great scholar or a fussy old Prussian fogy? Is Brander Matthews

now being justly forgotten? Such questions are loaded with explosive controversy.

We cannot ignore Sam Bard. Perhaps he was not a great physician, or a good teacher, or an important contributor to the science of medicine. He was a powerful agent in the chemical mixture of the early days of King's and Columbia. Today there is a Bard College at Annandale-on-Hudson, for a time a planet in the Columbia educational system; there is a Bard Hall at the Columbia-Presbyterian Hospital Medical Center, and there is a Bard Professorship of the practice of medicine in the faculty of the College of Physicians and Surgeons. He was largely responsible for the establishment of the Medical School at King's College, and was instrumental in founding the College of Physicians and Surgeons which he served as its first president.

Bard practiced medicine in the days before the medical profession adopted anesthesia. He performed a long and painful operation on George Washington without the use of anesthetics. Medical science in those days was crude. There was much quackery and bloodletting. American medicine owes much to the French and Indian Wars, for with the British Army came competent surgeons—competent for those days—and a number of them remained in the colonies to teach the young men interested in medicine what they knew.

Dr. John Kearsley was one of these; he settled in Philadelphia and instructed Sam Bard's father. When John Bard finished his apprenticeship and was ready to practice Benjamin Franklin shrewdly advised him to go to New York where the leading physician had lately died. He took advantage of this opportunity, and in a short time acquired both a reputation and a modest fortune. At that time anybody could set himself up as a doctor and treat

patients; since John Bard obviously possessed more skill than his competitors, and had a pleasing personality as well, he quickly became the leading physician of the town.

Thus he was able to send his son Sam to study medicine in London and Edinburgh in 1761. As a youngster the boy had acquired an interest in botany, vital in those days in the practice of medicine, which depended upon materia medica, or the use of herbs. He sailed for England ambitious not only to learn all he could but already determined to found a medical school at King's College. The ship was captured by a French privateer, and Bard was a prisoner at Bayonne for several weeks until Benjamin Franklin, then in Paris, was able to effect his release. After studying in London for a year, Sam Bard went to Edinburgh. John Morgan was a fellow student; they discussed starting a medical school in the colonies. Morgan finished his course first and established the first American medical school at Philadelphia before Bard could get home. Sam returned in 1766, however, and went into partnership with his father.

Within a year he had persuaded five outstanding doctors in New York to join him in founding the school. It granted its first Bachelor of Medicine degree in 1769, its first M.D. in 1770. At the graduation ceremonies in 1769 Bard made an eloquent plea for a hospital, which so stirred his audience that it was the chief subject of discussion at a reception that evening. Sir Henry Moore, the governor, opened a subscription that night; nearly £1,000 was subscribed. Thus the New York Hospital was founded, although it did not formally open until 1791.

Dr. John Bard retired to his estate at Hyde Park just before the Revolution. Bard sent his wife and children there while he tried to manufacture salt out of sea water at Shrewsbury, N. J. When that failed he went to British-

occupied New York and re-established his practice. When Columbia College was organized Bard became professor of chemistry. He was on the board of regents and then became a trustee; he served for 17 years. He became a visiting physician at New York Hospital when that opened; he helped found the city library and the New York Dispensary. He pioneered in the establishment of a psychopathic ward at the hospital, which later expanded and became the Bloomingdale Asylum. In 1795 he took Dr. Hosack (of botanical garden fame) into partnership and retired to Hyde Park soon afterward.

He returned to the city during the yellow fever epidemic of 1798 and caught the disease. After he recovered he gave up his practice almost entirely, although he did have Alexander Hamilton as a patient. It was Hamilton who persuaded him to remain a Columbia trustee after he had settled down to sheep raising at Hyde Park. When the charter for the College of Physicians and Surgeons was obtained in 1807 Bard was a trustee; in 1811 when it was reorganized he was named president. Since he was seldom in New York he apparently lent it simply his name and prestige. He died in 1821.

2

A name that should be better known in Columbia's Hall of Fame is that of a remarkable character, Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, who taught at Columbia every known science and some that were not known until years later. He also found time to serve in the state legislature and the U. S. Senate; he was a historian, linguist, icthyologist, botanist, geologist, editor, chemist, as well as one of the foremost physicians and surgeons of his era.

"His versatile nature and perhaps a certain eccentricity

of character," wrote George W. Kirchwey about Mitchill, "barred his way to the highest achievement of the public servant." The eccentricity, it seems, was drink, yet the only authority for that is Philip Hone, a bitter political opponent who may not have been quite fair to the old doctor. How Mitchill found time for the bottle in addition to his multitudinous other activities is a mystery. He was born in North Hempstead, Long Island, August 20, 1764. He studied, as did Bard, with Leonard Cutting, teacher at Columbia, studied medicine under Bard, and then went to Edinburgh in 1783. He returned to New York in 1787, and taught chemistry and agriculture.

He was one of the first lecturers in this country to explain the chemical theories of Lavoisier. But before he started teaching he was chosen, because of his knowledge of the Indians, to negotiate in 1788 at Fort Stanwix, a treaty with the Six Nations for the purchase of their lands. In 1786 he was licensed to practice medicine, but at that moment he suddenly became interested in law and studied that for a time. As professor at Columbia he engaged in a controversy with Joseph Priestley; he was one of the first chemists to analyze the waters at Saratoga Springs, and he spun out theories concerning the septic action of water that were erroneous but which led others to investigate them and resulted in the science of sanitary chemistry or sanitation.

Mitchill led Davy to investigate the problem of nitrous oxide which contributed much to industrial chemistry, and to the making of gunpowder, soap, and disinfectants. He published a paper on the non-action of nitric acid on silver, wrote a history of the uses of muriate of soda, pointed out the value of ocean water for washing. He collected minerals, studied fertilizers, did the pioneer geological research on the Hudson valley. At the same

time he established the first medical journal in the United States, the *Medical Repository* in 1797, which he edited for twenty-three years.

Described as of striking appearance, five feet ten, a comely, intelligent countenance, aquiline nose, keen gray eyes, a cheerful smile, he was slender and wore a blue buff coat, buff-colored vest, and buckled shoes. While working on his collections he was absentminded, forgot about mealtimes. But he had a hearty sense of humor, and once received a group of learned visitors garbed in the costume of a Fiji islander. Always ready to counsel the young, he was regarded as a dictionary of learning. He married Catherine Cock, a widow, who was the daughter of a wealthy shipbuilder; they had no children but adopted two girls.

Fishermen of the city brought Mitchill odd specimens they found in the waters around New York, and no one knew more about the denizens of those waters than the doctor. When he was asked: "Why do black sheep eat less than white ones?" he answered quickly: "Because there are less of them." A contemporary wrote of him: "A learned man almost ridiculously vain. He supported the Republican Party because Mr. Jefferson was its leader and he supported Jefferson because he was a philosopher."

When he went to the state legislature in 1798 Mitchill immediately began to fight in behalf of Fulton and Livingston to give them the right to experiment on the Hudson River with their steamboat. He won his point against ferocious ridicule, and encountered all the lawmakers' jokes with learned lectures. When, in 1801, he was elected to Congress he resigned from Columbia, and he lectured the House of Representatives much as he had lectured his classes. At once he became both a personal friend and an admirer of Jefferson. He had a hand in the plans for the building of the Erie Canal; he presented to Congress an

epoch-making report that resulted in the Lewis and Clark Expedition. He seemed to know more about the resources of the Northwest than anybody in Washington.

The New York State Legislature elected him to the U. S. Senate in 1804, but in 1808 he returned to New York and the practice of medicine; he joined the staff of the reorganized College of Physicians and Surgeons. As a lawmaker he had advocated quarantine laws, corresponded with Albert Gallatin, then Secretary of the Navy, on the purification of ships and suggested to him the use of inflammable gas in lighthouses. All that time he was producing books, giving lectures. He wrote an introduction to Erasmus Darwin's *Zoonomia;* he published his anthropological theories concerning the origin of the American Indians; he declared that they were Mongols who had come to North America by way of Alaska. He translated books from the Spanish, German, Latin, Dutch. He could also read Greek and decipher ancient Oriental tongues. In the War of 1812 he helped dig trenches to defend New York and he superintended the construction of a steam war vessel.

De Witt Clinton appointed him in 1818 surgeon general of the New York State Militia. Not only did he teach chemistry at P. and S., but he also lectured on natural history, botany and materia medica. He helped found the New York Literary and Philosophical Society in 1814, and in 1817 he founded the New York Lyceum, which was the forerunner of the New York Academy of Science. About this time he made geological expeditions to the end of Long Island, the highlands of the Hudson, the Blue Ridge Valley of Virginia; he climbed Schooley's Mountain on the New York-Pennsylvania border, and he examined the structure of the earth around Niagara Falls. Remember, during the same period, for twenty years he was visiting

physician at New York Hospital. How often he found time to visit is not clear, but he was not a man to neglect his duties in any field.

Mitchill helped Audubon become one of the foremost members of the New York Lyceum. Audubon was one of his students, and the doctor employed him to mount birds and mammals for him. Mitchill's friends called him a "stalking library," "the Nestor of American science," "the delphic oracle," and "a chaos of knowledge." He was the lion of his day in medical and literary circles. If he did drink, it is too bad; as Kirchwey remarks, he might have accomplished much more. He was indeed the Paul Bunyan of early 19th-century American science.

In 1831 Philip Hone wrote in his diary: "Died this day at noon Dr Samuel Mitchill in the 69th yr of his age. Few men have been more distinguished for scientific and literary acquirements and no American was better known amongst the literati of foreign countries. But he was always an eccentric man. Possessed of an uncommon degree of knowledge, he was strangely deficient in that useful commodity called common sense; and for several years past was a confirmed drunkard; and it would have been better for his posthumous fame if he had died before." That perhaps explains why this most versatile man of science of his time, not excepting Benjamin Franklin (he was the same type of universal man), is today virtually an unknown figure. Columbia has a right to be proud of him.

3

The Reverend John McVickar might have become a truly great name in Columbia's history if he had had a more forceful personality, and more ability. He had two chances to become president, but was passed over each

time. His career as a teacher was long and undistinguished. Everything was in his favor; he simply lacked greatness, or profundity, and was, as he admitted himself, a man of mediocre ability.

McVickar came from the right family, attended the right school and church, married the right girl, Eliza Bard, Sam's daughter. He was a handsome and upright rector, at home in the sleepy valley of gentlemen's estates. Democracy was to him a curious, unconventional, and wholly untenable notion. All his life he was conscious that he must set a good example. Dorfman and Tugwell describe him as a stiff martinet, a schoolmaster but never a scholar, "for he lacked breathless curiosity . . . he was incapable of shaping new ideas. He was excessively sound."

It is unfair, of course, to judge a man for what he is not, or for what he could not become, but that is the most fascinating thing about him. McVickar's father was a wealthy New York merchant, and from the moment he was born in 1787 he dwelt with the blue-blooded New York gentry. Enjoying the exclusive services of a private tutor, he grew up an aristocratic little gentleman with an unwavering faith in righteousness. At the age of 17 he graduated from Columbia at the head of his class, and he entered the ministry three years later. After a year abroad with his father he was ordained in 1812. When he married Eliza, Sam Bard gave the land and most of the money for the church, St. James, at Hyde Park (where Franklin D. Roosevelt worshipped). When it was completed McVickar became rector.

It was about this time he approved of church proceedings against a fellow minister accused of being too democratic. On a visit to Europe he was shocked when he noticed that German students did not rise in respect when the professor entered the classroom. Things were done

better, he thought, at Oxford. Later McVickar wanted to be known as the first American economist. He accepted the prevailing theory that drunkenness was the cause of poverty, good fortune the result of virtue, and that if people were badly off it was because they were wicked. He even applied this to himself. When he lost money in investments he ascribed it to some dereliction from the path of duty.

His rectorship at Hyde Park paid him $250 a year with some additional allowance from Trinity Church. In 1815 this allowance stopped, so McVickar fixed his eyes on Columbia and planned an academic career. Professor Bowden, professor of moral philosophy, belles-lettres, rhetoric and logic, under whom McVickar had studied, died in 1817. By proper wire pulling and knowing the right people the young rector got the job. It paid $2,500 with a house equivalent to $500 more.

McVickar shouldered gladly a heavy teaching schedule: he taught English grammar and the principles of universal grammar to freshmen, ancient history to sophomores, modern history to juniors, and moral philosophy to seniors. He also gave courses in belles-lettres and rhetoric to juniors, history of science to seniors. In 1821 he gave a course on the history of philosophy, intellectual and moral philosophy, and "political economy." It was all one course. Almost everything he taught boiled down to moral philosophy which was, inevitably, his own system of righteousness.

Many years later, in 1864, he claimed that he was the first to hold the chair of political economy in America. But he hadn't the faintest notion of what modern political economy meant. The trustees at that time allowed professors to call themselves almost anything they pleased, so it is possible he regarded himself as professor of "political

economy" as early as 1817. That, too, we may be sure, was the same old rehash of moral philosophy. Yet perhaps it was no more unintelligible than courses given in economics in more recent times.

When President Harris died in 1828 McVickar became acting president, and had nearly every reason to believe that he would be elected president. He lost by one vote, possibly because he had been severe with the son of a trustee. Angry and disappointed, he took a leave of absence, and traveled in Europe with his family. He visited all the famous people who would see him. He saw Wordsworth, Southey, the brothers Pestalozzi, and was mightily impressed by Walter Scott. Two years later he lectured on Scott, praising him because he could always be trusted to insert moral lessons in his stories.

McVickar returned to Columbia in good health and spirits. He told the boys that English literature was great because it was pure. Continental literature, on the other hand, was inferior and impure. Byron, he explained, was more of an Italian than an Englishman.

Advancing age made him even more religious. Frequently he asked his classes: "Who taught Moses what philosophers never learned until now?" It is not surprising his students did not know how to answer. His triumphant reply was that there is a higher wisdom in Christianity than man can teach. He wanted a chair of theology established in the college, evidently expecting that he would occupy it. He had ambitions to be made a bishop, but was disappointed in that also. When N. F. Moore resigned McVickar again was acting president and was again passed over. This time he concluded it was a part of God's plan for him; he was only disappointed that God had not provided a greater destiny.

In 1852 he took a summer place on the Hudson next to

Washington Irving's Sunnyside. A school was needed, so he purchased ground for it, and his son established St. Barnabas Chapel. McVickar then persuaded his nephew, John Bard, to give the land and buildings that later became St. Stephen's and still later Bard College.

McVickar didn't want to retire. When he was 70 his chair was divided into three parts: Lieber became professor of political economy, Nairne of philosophy and literature, while McVickar offered a course on "Evidences of Religion" which was, of course, his old moral philosophy not even warmed over. He left no evidences of scholarship; his outlines of political economy were lifted, with ambiguous acknowledgements, from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* to which he added notes. In 1827 he wrote a pamphlet, *Hints on Banking,* which E. R. A. Seligman considered important because the National Banking Act of 1863 bears some similarity to McVickar's treatise.

4

Sam Bard played a vital and primary role in the starting of King's College Medical School and the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Mitchill was a fabulous personality. McVickar was a pathetic little man so well tuned to his time that he and his ideas now appear rather quaint. The monumental personality and scholar of the early days of Columbia College, however, was unquestionably Charles Anthon. He gave it the only reputation it had: the prestige of being the first great classical school in America. He had no outside interest or political axe to grind. His first passion was pure scholarship; his second was to compel his students to get a thorough grounding in Greek and Latin.

Anthon was the unromantic son of an adventurous father, who came from Germany, was a surgeon in the

West Indies, was captured by the British and brought to New York. He promptly enlisted as a surgeon with the British Army, which sent him to the wilderness outpost of Detroit, where he fell in love with and married a French girl. Dr. Anthon then returned to New York and soon won a position prominent both professionally and socially.

Charles Anthon grew up in a large and intelligent family; he had five brothers and two sisters. When he was a boy it was remarked that he had the industry of a German and the quick perception of the French. He entered Columbia in 1811 and won so many honors his name was withdrawn from competition. After his graduation he studied law in his brother's office and was admitted to the bar, but he preferred reading Greek and Latin. In 1820 he was appointed adjunct professor in those subjects at Columbia. Almost immediately he acquired a reputation as a strict schoolmaster; he drove his students to memorize the inflections and the rules of syntax so, it is said, they never forgot them the rest of their lives.

When Columbia Grammar School was opened in 1830 he was made rector of it. The school was in an ugly square house at the rear of the college and fronted on Murray Street, then lined with fine private residences. A mysterious passage led from Anthon's house to the school; through this the schoolmaster habitually descended when least expected, suddenly appearing in the schoolroom. In his hand he carried a big gold watch. The terrified boys were hushed with fright; he whirled his watch fob for several minutes while he stared at them, or he jingled a bunch of keys. Under his arm was the much-feared rattan.

If a boy had broken the rules Anthon invited him into a side room where he frightened rather than hurt him; he seldom hit a boy except perhaps once or twice on the hand, but he put the fear of Anthon into them so that they

never forgot him for the rest of their lives. Actually, he gave no instruction in the grammar school, but he supervised it minutely.

In his early days of teaching he was known affectionately as "Charlie," but as he grew older, bigger and more forbidding, he was called "Bull" Anthon. He had a large head, a high forehead; his black eyes were deeply set; the lower face was square and firm, his voice clear and sonorous. Those who sat in his classes said he was a magnetic teacher, wonderful in his rapidity, precision, and thoroughness; he could get more out of a class in a single hour than any teacher Columbia ever knew. Attention was never allowed to slip for a moment; he not only held students rigidly to their tasks, he inspired them; he brought historical, geographical, archaeological knowledge to bear upon the daily lesson. He combined text with facts so that it became alive and was remembered.

Socially his conversation was brilliant, but he had few close friends, and never went out into society. He liked to take long walks after dark; they seemed to be his only relaxation. He was a congenital bachelor, had no political or religious affiliations. Since he thought it was a waste of time to browse in bookstores, he purchased his books from booksellers' catalogues. Invariably he used blue ink. In class he gave ornate translations in Johnsonian periods, which the students had to write down and repeat to him on examinations. Never did he leave the city in summer: "At the beginning of summer I remove to the second story of my house. From that time until autumn I am out of town."

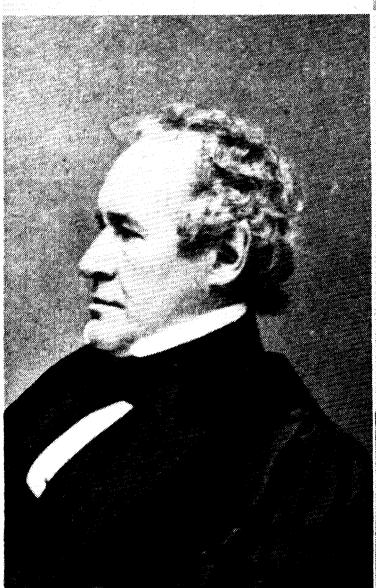
Edgar Allan Poe said of Anthon: "If not absolutely the best, he is at least generally considered the best classicist in America. In England, and in Europe at large, his scholastic acquirements are more sincerely respected than those of

Dr. Frederick A. P. Barnard, president of Columbia 1865-1889.



Professor Thomas Egleston, founder of the School of Mines





Charles Anthon, professor of Greek and Latin



Francis Lieber, professor of political history

any of our countrymen. His additions to Lemprière are justly regarded as evincing a nice perception of method and accurate as well as extensive erudition; but his own classical dictionary has superseded the work of the Frenchman altogether."

It was Anthon who opened the eyes of English and American scholars to what was being done by the Germans. His successor, Professor Drisler, said of him: "The most appalling vigor of his methods distinguished the classical work at Columbia at a time when American scholarship was too often slipshod and superficial. He kept up the standard when classical scholarship had fallen into disrepute." One of his students compared him to Arnold of Rugby and pointed out that Anthon left his name on thirty-six volumes of textbooks and dictionaries.

To prevent cheating he customarily placed a fresh textbook on the table and made each student come forward and translate from it rather than from his own. To make certain he lived up to his name he sometimes let out a taurine roar, just for effect. But he always cracked a joke before he left the classroom. One of his stunts was to give his class verses of Mother Goose to translate into Latin. When trustees or other distinguished visitors came to see him in action he would give them a copy of the book then being translated, open at the proper place.

After the visitors had left he would turn to his class and say: "Ha-hum, I think, I won't be sure, but I think I handed Mr. Whatsis the book upside down. Did any of you observe that he turned it?"

5

Though not usually attributed to him, the oft-quoted saying of the legal minded: "No right without its Duties

and no Duty without its Rights" seems to have originated with Francis Lieber. Whether it has an earlier source or not, it sums up as nearly as can be done in a sentence Lieber's thought and life work.

His most important contribution to the world seems to have been General Order No. 100, which he wrote while adviser to Stanton in the Civil War. It directed how armies in the field should conduct themselves, and it was later adopted by the English, the French, and the Germans, and became a part of the law of nations. Lieber also suggested the principle that all slaves forced into the Union lines be considered free men. And as early as January, 1864, he laid down the principles on which the *Alabama* claims were finally settled.

"It would be a grateful task," said Elihu Root, "to speak at length of the service Dr. Lieber rendered to political science in this country. . . . He was indeed the founder of this science in so far as his method, his fullness of historical illustration, his noble, ethical feeling, his sound practical judgment, which was of English rather than the German type, were concerned. He secured recognition among the first men of the land, and influenced political thought more than any of his contemporaries in the United States."

More recent critics have been less kind to this old German scholar who seems always to have been ill at ease and unhappy in America. Joseph Dorfman and Rexford G. Tugwell admit that Lieber was one of the 19th century's most impressive academic figures. But they point out how bitterly frustrated he was in all his ambitions, how he had no love or sympathy for democracy, how his advancements came always too late and never satisfied him. He had, they say, a typical Prussian mentality; he thought he could command armies successfully or manage plantations and "his astonishing suitability for the presidencies of South

Carolina state university and Columbia seemed to him so obvious that its neglect could be explained only as oversight."

Lieber's early life was romantic; he joined the armies fighting against Napoleon not because he was a rebel but because he was a German nationalist. He was severely wounded; later, as a student, he was arrested for nationalistic activity. He fled to Greece, and thence to Rome, where he would have starved had not the German ambassador, Neibuhr, taken care of him.

Lieber returned to Berlin only to be arrested again. Neibuhr obtained his release, so this time he went to London. When an opportunity came to organize a gymnasium in Boston he leapt at it. To his disgust the Bostonians took their exercise in moderation, hence he could not make it a typically German institution. Then he promoted a highly ambitious project: an *Encyclopedia Americana,* which Henry C. Carey's publishing house backed successfully. He enlisted American collaborators, translated hundreds of articles himself, and saw thirteen volumes through the press. This was the work which brought him into contact with people who helped him in his career.

Nicholas Biddle obtained for him the job of planning Girard College in Philadelphia. This led to his appointment as professor of political science in South Carolina. To him this seemed a kind of exile and he tried incessantly to get an appointment to a Northern college. In the 1840s he started corresponding with several of Columbia's trustees, particularly Ruggles, and carried on his campaign by mail. When it seemed to him that McVickar might become president in 1842 he hoped for McVickar's chair; he did not get it, however, until 1857, when it was split three ways.

The title offered him was "professor of political econ-

omy and science." That dissatisfied him; he asked that he be called "professor of history and political science." It mattered little to the trustees what he called himself, so they assented. Since he was a dreary lecturer he was kicked upstairs to the Law School, which he resented, but he later decided he liked it better than his post at the college.

Always he seemed to be on the wrong side of the political fence. His friends were Federalists while Andrew Jackson was in power. He held Darwinism in horror because it denied the beneficent guiding hand of God. He traced the origin of the American Constitution to inherent racial superiority. Strong for free trade, he irascibly denounced all attacks on property, the family, or the church. Dorfman and Tugwell sum him up severely: "The exile died an exile still, unreconciled to a wicked world, unconvinced that democracy was benign, fearing with his last breath the spirit of change which seemed to be working under the surface of society, not yet so manifest that it could be crushed, but plain enough to be fearsome to one whose reluctant lot it was to be an observer and an analyst."

Heartbreak came to him in the death of a beloved son who fought on the Confederate side. Another son lost an arm in the Union Army. Lieber was a decent citizen, and a kindly, unhappy man who never ceased to be ambitious for honors ever beyond his reach. While at Columbia he wrote Hamilton Fish, then Secretary of State, suggesting that he be appointed American ambassador to Spain. Fish thereupon obtained for him the post of umpire in the Mexican convention for settling claims. Lieber advised Sumner on the *Trent* Affair and Attorney General Bates on the suspension of habeas corpus during the Civil War.

Today there is a Lieber Professorship in Political Science at Columbia and his name is sometimes invoked as a great authority and scholar. In narrow fields of special research,

such as his work on General Order No. 100, he was unquestionably supreme. But in the region of general ideas his notions have become curiously outmoded.

6

The founder of the School of Mines was Thomas Egleston, known to his students as "Tommy Rocks." Born in New York in 1832 (his family came from Massachusetts), he graduated from Yale in 1854. He then went to Paris, studied at the Jardin des Plantes and the École des Mines, where he graduated with honors. Returning home he took charge of the mineral collection at the Smithsonian Institution, but his ambition was to start a school of mines like the École des Mines in Paris.

To get this project going he circulated a pamphlet embodying plans for such a school. The Columbia trustees were interested but without funds. That did not discourage Egleston; all he wanted was permission to go ahead. He persuaded the trustees to appoint him in January, 1864, although he was told that they could not offer any salaries or permit him to incur any expenses.

Egleston promptly called in his friend, General Francis L. Vinton, a fellow student in Paris, and a graduate of West Point. A few months later C. F. Chandler joined the pair. They obtained the use of the basement in the old college building on 49th Street which they thought would accommodate twelve students. Egleston raised $5,000 personally; the college spent $500 to fix up the basement. Egleston, Vinton, and Chandler made themselves personally responsible for $6,000.

Twenty-four students appeared when they opened. Forty-seven attended the first year. The college tried to help. William G. Peck taught mechanics and mining sur-

veying; Van Amringe taught mathematics; Rood, physics; Chandler, analytical and applied chemistry, assaying and geology. General Vinton taught mechanical drawing and elementary civil engineering.

To cover expenses the first year the Columbia trustees borrowed $6,000. A four-story building was obtained next to the college. Ten thousand dollars was appropriated for the second year; 72 students were anticipated, 89 showed up. The following year $30,000 was borrowed and a building was erected on 50th Street. In the third year $70,000 was needed; 116 students were enrolled. John S. Newberry joined the faculty as professor of geology and paleontology. He remained, until his death in 1892, a highly successful and popular teacher, and one of the most distinguished scientists to be associated with Columbia.

Egleston taught in the School of Mines until his death in 1897. As long as he was active as a teacher he spent every summer either in the West or studying in Europe. He worked on the government survey for the Union Pacific; he did mineralogical work for the Japanese and Russian Governments. Never strong physically, he gave the impression of strength, for he had the spirit of a crusader and he lived to see his school achieve the place he had determined it should occupy.

7

Last of the old guard from 49th Street, the man who lived long enough to be remembered personally by hundreds of old grads of Morningside classes, was Charles Frederick Chandler. Born in the house of his grandfather at Lancaster, Mass., he spent his boyhood in New Bedford and heard, as a youngster, the Lyceum lectures of Louis Agassiz. These fired him with the zeal to become a scien-

tist. He set up a laboratory in the attic of his home when he was fourteen, made guncotton, and demonstrated it to his parents in the parlor one evening, allowing it to flash on the table or on his bare hand to show that it did not burn the varnish or his flesh. He attended Lawrence Scientific School and when Professor Charles A. Joy of Union visited the school young Chandler sought his advice.

Joy told him to go to Woehler at Göttingen. This was exactly what he wanted to do. Quoting Joy, he persuaded his father to let him go. He sailed as a supercargo on a sailing vessel in 1855. Before he left he asked Joy what he could take Woehler that the German scientist would appreciate. Joy suggested a collection of mineral specimens. This gift endeared him to Woehler, who recommended the youth to Heinrich Rose in Berlin and Chandler became Rose's private assistant. He also met Alexander von Humboldt. After getting his doctorate at Göttingen he returned to the U. S. early in 1857.

All his life Chandler was interested in oil. Later in life he said no chemist enjoyed a more oleaginous career: in New Bedford he was brought up on whale oil, and in school he was punished with a whale bone switch. The ship that took him to Germany carried whale oil, and Chandler's first scientific contribution was rejected as too fantastic, for it was a paper for the *Scientific American* on the possibilities of obtaining illuminating oil from the earth.

To get started in an academic career Chandler took a job as janitor at Union College. He went to Schenectady to try to get Joy to hire him as an assistant. The college could not add to its teaching staff just then, but it did need a janitor at $500 a year. Chandler accepted at once. During the day he acted as assistant in the laboratory, and since the classes in mineralogy and geology needed an in-

structor, he took on that chore as well. In April, 1857, Professor Joy was called to the chair of chemistry at Columbia, and Chandler succeeded to his place at Union, first as adjunct and then as full professor. He was head of the chemistry department before he was twenty-one.

Chandler developed and expanded the department. His first class contained 150 seniors, many older then he. For eight years he remained at Union; other scientists heard about him and came to see his unique collection of ores and crystals. Egleston wanted him to come to Columbia to help start the School of Mines. Joy also urged him, although he pointed out that he was trading a certainty for an uncertainty. He came in 1864, after he was married. No salary went with the job, for professors were expected to get their pay directly from the students in fees. Again he became a janitor, this time in the School of Mines. He rose at dawn to build the fires and make the place comfortable for the students whom he lectured later in the morning.

All his students agree that Chandler made learning a pleasure. Never did he boast of his knowledge; his method was "to make everything appear easy and thus lure the student along, constantly whetting his curiosity and encouraging his facility, so that when he reached deep waters the student was glad and proud to swim." His anecdotes were remembered longer than his formulas. One of his favorites was about a Baptist minister who was worried about his efforts to give a lady of his flock total immersion. Her physician, it seems, confided to the minister afterward that the reason he had such difficulty was that the lady had gas on her stomach and a cork leg. This brought down the house.

When he lectured later in his career to Barnard girls he told them about the beer in Germany. Often, he said, he had seen German students drink twenty to thirty quarts

of beer each in an evening. A girl in the first row whispered audibly: "How in the world do they hold it?" Chandler replied promptly: "They don't."

Once some students wrote on the blackboard in his classroom: "Dr. Chandler is a jackass." When he saw it he wrote after it "driver," and that day he really drove them. He always carried a horn paper cutter in his pocket. In one of his experiments before the class he used to borrow a spoon from his assistant, who handed him a platinum spoon. Chandler thereupon remarked that this assistant was born with a platinum spoon in his pocket. When he finished the experiment he handed the paper cutter to the assistant and pocketed the spoon. Thereupon the assistant would say: "Please give me back my birthmark." Chandler then turned to the class and said: "Didn't we rehearse that well?"

When he met Roscoe Conkling, the politician did not trouble to take his hands out of his pockets to shake hands. Chandler remarked to him that he was proud to meet the eight wonder of the world, a lawyer with his hands in his own pockets. When a fat attorney about to cross-examine him in court announced that he ate chemical experts for breakfast, Chandler commented: "That explains why you have more brains in your stomach than in your head."

At first Chandler taught geology and mineralogy as well as chemistry at the School of Mines, but in 1865 Newberry relieved him of geology. He started his famous Chemical Museum about this time. In his second year at Columbia, Chandler wrote a paper for the New York Central on "Water for Locomotives and Boiler Incrustations." Assaying was included in the chemistry course at that time, and in 1866 Chandler worked out a system of assay weights that later was adopted universally.

At Union he joined the Kappa Alpha fraternity. When

the boys gave a dinner in New York, Chandler was invited —at the price of $6, which he did not think he could afford. His wife persuaded him to go anyway, and he did, but when the party broke up it was suggested that the older men pay for the champagne. This cost the professor $18 more. It was worth it, however, for one of the guests was a member of the sugar firm of Booth and Edgar, and he asked Chandler to work for him two hours a day for $1,500 a year to establish scientific control over the firm's operations. This doubled his income and it was the beginning of many lucrative consulting jobs. Chandler worked at Booth and Edgar's from six to eight every morning for a number of years.

In 1866 the New York City Board of Health asked Chandler to make scientific studies on sanitary problems. Although there was no appropriation for it the work had to be done and Chandler went at it. After a year the post of chemist was established and in 1873 Mayor Havemeyer appointed him president of the board. He studied food and water problems, the adulteration of liquors, poisonous cosmetics, kerosene accidents, and gas nuisances. He demonstrated that milk sold in the city was shamefully adulterated, so he started an open war on the practice. He declared that he was responsible for 130,000 children; he fought dealers' associations, and finally managed to send some milkmen to prison.

Shocked by the number of kerosene lamp explosions, he pointed out in 1869 that of the 78 examples of kerosene purchasable in New York not a single one was safe because the refiners left a small percentage of inflammable naphtha in it. After that he established the safety requirements for kerosene as an illuminant.

Sections of Manhattan suffered from intolerable odors, generally ascribed to the sewers, but Chandler traced the

smell to the gas works. The companies refused to do anything about it. The professor obtained a decision against them. He also cleaned up the slaughterhouses after a tough court battle, and stopped the driving of cattle through the city streets to the abattoirs. He showed the butchers how to use the blood of the animals for fertilizer. After a three-year fight he stopped the storing of manure in the city. He reformed the careless collection of night soil from tenements. He compelled a petroleum refinery to move out of the city because it spread offensive odors.

In 1873 cholera threatened New York. Stalls in Washington Market were filthy; the marketmen threw refuse on the ground and never cleaned it up. When they refused to do anything Chandler hired a house wrecker, and with the aid of the police the stalls were torn down and the filth cleaned out. Since the city could not make contracts for over $1,000 without advertising for bidders in advance, Chandler hired two house wreckers at $990 each. Marketmen were flabbergasted but helpless.

The following year the legislature directed the city Board of Health to take control of contagious diseases. This meant taking charge of the hospitals on Blackwell's Island, known as the "pesthouses." In many of the poorer districts a horrible fear had spread about these hospitals and it was believed that any patient, particularly any charity patient, who was sent to Blackwell's Island never returned. Chandler changed the name to Riverside Hospital and arranged with Archbishop McCloskey to furnish it with a quota of efficient nursing sisters. In place of the ambulance known as the Black Maria, a handsome carriage was substituted. This gave the hospital a certain prestige and made it possible to take cases of contagious diseases to the hospital, cases which had formerly been hidden from the health authorities.

Dr. Chandler established compulsory vaccination and a disinfection corps, systems later adopted by other cities here and abroad. He drew up plans for a system of visiting physicians and worked to improve tenements. He reformed plumbing practices. It was popularly supposed that diseases came from sewer gas. Chandler proved this was only partially true; he made it compulsory to place a trap between the house and the sewer, and an inlet for air inside this trap. By a state law in 1881 all plumbing and drainage had to accord with Chandler's specifications. He designed the first flush-trap toilet, and gave it to the plumbers with no thought of patenting it.

In 1886 Peter Wendover Bedford, professor of pharmacy at the New York College of Pharmacy, asked Chandler if he would lecture there on chemistry. "Where is it and what is it?" he asked. Bedford explained that it was a small school started in 1831, had at that time only 32 students, and occupied a single room in the old university building on Washington Square. The pay was small but Chandler agreed. "My father always taught me," he explained, "that I should ask 'Is this a good thing to do?' and if so, to do it, regardless of whether or not there was anything in it for me. I have no patience with those whose first thought is 'What is there in it for me?' " Later he became president of the New York College of Pharmacy, retired from it in 1897 when it merged with Columbia.

In 1872 Chandler was lecturing at the School of Mines, at the College of Pharmacy, and working for the Board of Health. The College of Physicians and Surgeons needed additional instruction in chemistry, and invited him to lecture there three times a week. He accepted and later was made professor of chemistry and also of medical jurisprudence, duties which he performed until the college was consolidated with Columbia in 1891. In addition to

all this work he made studies for the Federal Government on hog products. He also made a comparative analysis of the water supplies of 52 cities. When William C. Whitney became Secretary of the Navy he appointed Chandler to investigate the preservation of timber.

During this same period Chandler served on committees investigating the manufacture of glucose, the denaturing of alcohol, and methods to waterproof paper money. When the New York City subway was built there were loud cries about the inadequacy of its ventilation. Chandler investigated it and pronounced it all right. He was chemist for the Croton Aqueduct Commission; president of it for three terms. For several years he was president of the State Charities Aid Association and helped obtain enactment of legislation for the care of the indigent insane. He also headed the Street Cleaning Improvement Society which obtained reorganization of the city's street-cleaning department.

Chandler habitually carried in his pocket a little pad. "Whenever an idea occurs to me during the day," he would say, "I make a note of it. Then at the end of the day I put my notes carefully away, where I can refer to them." The trustees thought Chandler should retire during Low's administration. When Low passed on the suggestion to Chandler the professor became so angry he never spoke to Low again. He kept at his job until 1910 when he retired and gave his museum to the university. He lived until 1925 and visited the campus frequently during his years of retirement. Thirty college classes came under his influence and remember him with deep affection.

CHAPTER VII

More Great Names

1

THERE ARE OTHER Great Names, countless others. It is impossible to tell about them all; it is impossible to make a selection that does not leave out a number that those who know Columbia well would consider important. The known and the unknown have endeared themselves to generations of students. If a selection is to be made it must be on the basis of fame beyond the borders of the campus, even though this is as manifestly unfair as fame itself.

Consider the scientists: Thomas Hunt Morgan, the zoologist, who was professor at Columbia from 1904 to 1928. Hans Zinsser, the bacteriologist, was at Columbia from 1913 to 1923. And zoologist Henry E. Crampton, now emerited, has been at Columbia since 1896. Remember the historians; and there have been quite a few: William A. Dunning graduated from Columbia in 1881, became the first Lieber Professor of History and Political Philosophy in 1904. He inspired a number of scholars to follow up his research in reconstruction in the South after the Civil War.

William R. Shepherd, Columbia 1893, was Seth Low Professor until 1923. His field was Hispanic history and colonization. Another authority on colonization and colonial history was Evarts B. Greene, who came to Columbia from the University of Illinois in 1923 and lectured until 1939. High-school students will long remember David Saville

Muzzey for his textbooks; he began as a tutor in mathematics, later taught Latin, and started teaching in Barnard in 1905, in Columbia in 1923. And don't overlook Dixon Ryan Fox, who began his academic career at Columbia in 1912 and continued until he went to Union in 1934 as president of that college.

Consider the teachers of literature: William P. Trent, who became a professor at Columbia in 1900. An early leader in Columbia's expansion in the 1890s and early 1900s was George Rice Carpenter. William T. Brewster, professor of English since 1906, was one of the scholars the Columbia Graduate School picked from Barnard. Recall the economists: E. R. A. Seligman, Henry R. Seager, Wesley C. Mitchell. Name these and more, and you still have forgotten men other Columbians will recall with admiration and affection: Herbert Lord, the psychologist; Franklin H. Giddings, the sociologist; Harold Jacoby, the astronomer. Then there was John Dynley Prince, who called himself a diplomat, and was professor of Semitic languages and later dean of the Graduate School. Later there was Samuel McCune Lindsay, professor of social legislation. And very much alive today are Marston Taylor Bogert, the chemist, and James T. Shotwell, the historian.

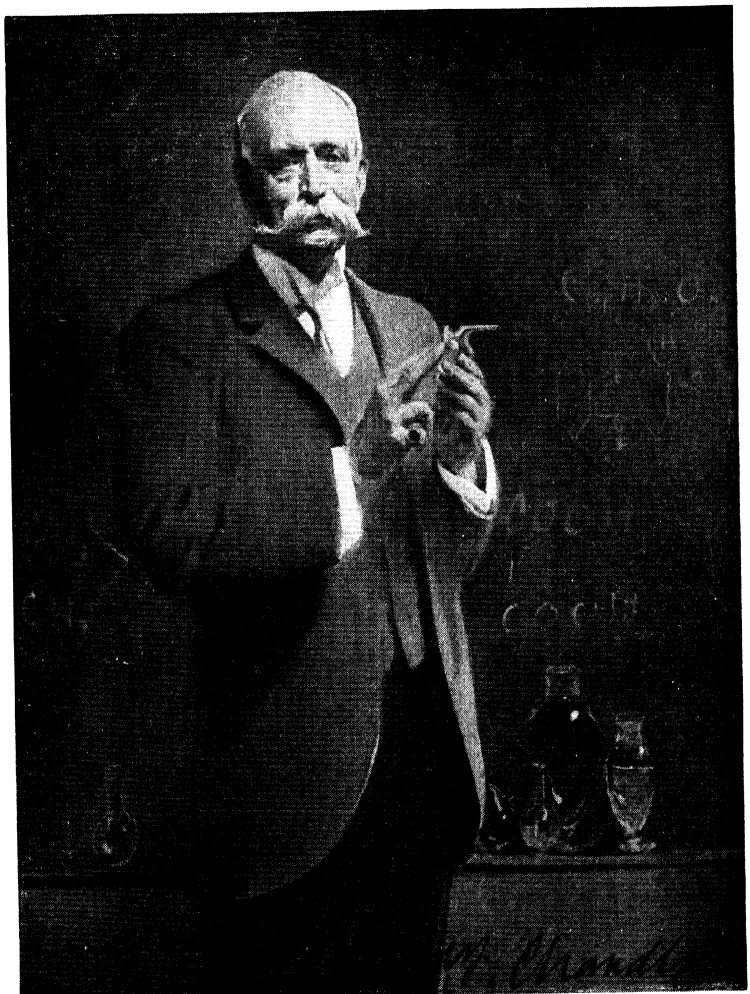
In Extension there was Frank A. Patterson, the Milton scholar; and there were also three remarkable and energetic women: Blanche Colton Williams, whose courses in the short story were famous, Dorothy Scarborough, who taught fiction writing, and Mrs. Estelle Davis, a dramatic coach who worked miracles. And for the students of playwriting there was Hatcher Hughes. If you know Columbia you can think of others. A Who's Who of Columbians past and present would be a volume in itself.

Let us, rather than make lists, dwell for a moment on Michael Idvorsky Pupin, whose reputation was that of an

inventor, but who, for the greater part of his life, lectured and researched at Columbia. Born in Idvor, in what is known as the Banat of Austria, a part of Serbia, of tough Serbian peasants who could neither read nor write, he showed as a child exceptional powers of self-discipline as well as a poetic temperament and a courageous spirit. He went to the village school and then to Prague. When his father died he immigrated to the United States, and arrived in New York March 12, 1874, with five cents in his pocket, and wearing a red fez.

The youth of 26 was immediately swindled out of his five cents, but he liked America in spite of that, and got a job on a farm in Delaware, driving a team of mules. When he had learned a little English he went to New York, found odd jobs, and studied at Cooper Union. While working in a cracker factory in Cortlandt Street he entered Columbia in 1879. He was a pupil of Ogden Rood's, who encouraged him in his aptitude for science. In 1883 Pupin won the Tyndall Fellowship in physics, which entitled him to study at Cambridge and in Berlin.

At Cambridge he became interested in the electromagnetic theory of Clerk Maxwell. At the suggestion of Helmholtz in Berlin he began his research in the new science of physical chemistry. After obtaining his Ph.D. in Berlin in 1889 he returned to America, where he married the sister of his old classmate, A. V. Williams Jackson, and became an instructor in the newly created department of electrical engineering. Francis B. Crocker and Pupin constituted the staff of the department. When Crocker was appointed instructor in electrical engineering there was some opposition from the chemists because they said electrical engineering was chemistry, since storage batteries had been developed by chemists. Others said it should be



(from a painting)

Professor C. F. Chandler, great chemistry professor

a part of mechanical engineering because generators were mechanical, but Pupin and Crocker insisted that it should be a separate department.

Their first building was a small brick shed, and their laboratory consisted of a dynamo, a motor, and an alternator, with some so-called measuring instruments. "When I compared the facilities with those at the Polytechnic School in Berlin," Pupin wrote afterward, "I felt somewhat humbled, but not discouraged. I said to Crocker: 'Our guns are small and few in number; the men behind the guns will have to expand beyond their present size if this department is to make any impression on the electrical art.' 'Pupin,' Crocker answered, 'you have no idea how rapidly a young fellow grows when he tries to teach a subject to poorly prepared beginners.'

"We raised some money," Pupin continued, "by giving a course of 12 popular lectures at $10 per person, and thus raised $300. The experience was worth it. A trustee looked surprised when I told him one cannot teach science without laboratories both for elementary and advanced instruction. He actually believed that graduate schools of science needed only blackboards and chalk and sponges. These instrumentalities were cheaper than laboratories and that appeals to many university trustees. Heaven help the country which entrusts its destinies to cheap men operating with cheap instrumentalities." *

Pupin taught basic theoretical courses in the mornings, worked in the laboratory in the afternoons. Yet he found time for experimental research, and was one of the earliest in the field of electrical phenomena associated with the discharge of electricity through gases. Interested in all prob-

* *From Immigrant to Inventor,* by Michael I. Pupin. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, © 1924.)

lems connected with electrical engineering, he did experimental investigation in the peculiarities of wave forms of alternating currents, to which Professor Rowland of Johns Hopkins had called his attention. Later, when he insisted on the superiority of the alternating as against the direct current for transmission of electricity, he ran up against the intrenched, vested interests, which had put their money into direct current. They tried to ridicule him; Seth Low, when he was president of Columbia, was told that Pupin was a crazy visionary to advocate alternating current. They even tried to frighten the public by saying the electric chair at Sing Sing had alternating current; it was therefore so much more deadly than direct current. It took years for Pupin to win that battle.

Meanwhile he worked on other problems. He was one of the few scientists who realized the full implications of Roentgen's discovery of X-rays in 1895, and two weeks after Roentgen had announced his discovery, Pupin took the first X-ray photograph in America. On April 3, 1896, Pupin announced the discovery of secondary X-radiation and is now generally accorded priority for it. His chief invention, on which he made a fortune, was the loaded line in telephone transmission which made long-distance telephony possible. It was Pupin who made underground cables feasible. His familiarity with the methods of Helmholtz in analyzing complex sound wave forms led him to the discovery of electrical tuning, essential in radio communication and harmonic telegraphy. He made a number of radio inventions which he sold to the Marconi Company. As early as 1899 he developed the theory of radio networks. Major E. H. Armstrong, the inventor of FM, now holding Pupin's chair as professor of electrical engineering, was one of his favorite pupils.

2

The Columbia campus has always boasted of two or three magnificent gentlemen who united in their persons sartorial splendor with profound scholarship; probably the most magnificent of them all, from the point of view of both scholarship and sartorial perfection was Abraham Valentine Williams Jackson (1862–1937). For more than fifty years he was one of the brightest decorations on the campus, and as recently as 1935 he appeared at a university function wearing his familiar stand-up white starched collar, an ascot tie, in the center of which was a diamond pin, a waistcoat trimmed with white piping, striped trousers and a formal morning coat. He always wore a hat and he invariable embarrassed his colleagues and students by ceremoniously tipping it in greeting them.

When he died in 1937 Jackson was acknowledged one of the three or four English-speaking experts on the ancient languages of southern Asia. He was born in New York City and graduated from Columbia in 1883, a classmate of Pupin. He won his A.M., L.H.D., and Ph.D. in quick succession, doing intensive work in Latin, Greek and Indo-Iranian languages. He began teaching English in 1886 in the college and continued it for twenty years. George Clinton Densmore Odell was one of his students and he impressed Odell mightily, so much so that Odell declared, sixty years later, that no teacher had ever impressed him more, nor could he think of any professor for whom he had a greater admiration. "All my life I have tried to be a teacher like that," Odell reminisced. "Jackson was a perfect gentleman in every respect." No higher praise could come from Odell.

All his life Jackson was popular with his students, class-

mates, and colleagues. He was sung about even as an undergraduate in a jingle:

> "Abraham Valentine Williams J.,
> He studies all night and studies all day!"

"But Billy, as he was generally called, did find time also for outdoor recreation, skating in winter and swimming in summer, besides indulging keenly in social affairs, leading the dance in the cotillions or Germans, as they were popularly known in those days, inventing new figures and property surprises and returning late to take up work again till the wee hours of the morning, but always in time to catch an eight o'clock train, because early lectures were the rule." (He wrote this about himself in 1931.) "The bad habit of taking only four or five hours of sleep during undergraduate years became inured and was only modified in much later life, though the keeping of reasonable hours has never been learned.

"Throughout the college course the winning of prizes in Greek and Latin helped pay my tuition fees. . . . My heart was set on the classics, although a star had already shone faintly forth on the eastern horizon, its rays beckoning toward the Land of the Rising Sun; but there was no opportunity yet to follow the light of its guiding beams. The happy chance came in senior year. The prescribed curriculum was then sufficiently liberalized to permit an hour or two to be elected from a limited number of subjects. To my joy I could choose Sanskrit. The course was conducted by an inspiring young teacher, Edward Delavan Perry '75. He filled me with enthusiasm, which I can never forget, for the study of the ancient language and literature of India."

Later Jackson took over the teaching of the course in

Sanskrit. He also taught Anglo-Saxon, which was called, naturally, by his students, "Anglo-Jackson." Before that, however, he learned Zend, the old-time language of the sacred book of Zoroaster, the prophet of ancient Iran. His teacher was Edward Washburn Hopkins (Columbia '78), who later became the noted Sanskrit authority at Yale. "I recall writing to this then youthful Columbia tutor in Latin to inquire whether I could take under him the beginners' course in the oldest language of Persia. His prompt response by mail was, 'he who reads Sanskrit reads easily Zend.' "

In 1887 he went to Germany to study further the Iranian languages: Avestan, Sanskrit, Prakrit. When he returned he continued to teach English more than twenty hours a week and in the evening continued his specialized studies, and sometimes traveled about the country delivering lectures at $10 per lecture to eke out his limited salary. In 1895 a new chair, full professor of Indo-Iranian languages, was provided for him.

Not until 1901 did he have an opportunity to visit the East. He talked with Hindu pundits in Sanskrit, and lectured to Zoroastrian Parsees on their ancient religion. In Ceylon he ascended "Adam's Peak before daybreak to pay obeisance to a fabled footstep of Buddha, two yards in length shown to pious but credulous pilgrims, and to behold the most magnificent sunrise imaginable as the orb of day rose out of the Indian Ocean, casting a weird cone-like shadow of the peak over the island.

"Two years later Persia became the sunlit realm of my next dream. A special furlough was granted for making researches in the Land of Iran. This journey to places little-visited involved an element of hardship, sometimes danger. Since there were no railroads in those days, one had to travel on animal back, camels, donkeys, mules or

horses—if one could get a horse. I remember once making seventy-seven miles in a single day, but no further mounts could be secured."

Once he was let down by rope over a 500-foot cliff so he could read the exploits of Darius carved on the face of the rock. "Mount Bahistan rises Gibraltar-like seventeen hundred feet sheer above the plain. On its beetling rocky face, at a height of more than 300 feet, the mighty King Darius had caused to be hewn in wedge-shaped characters a chronicle of the main events of his reign after gaining the throne, together with sculptures of himself and the rebel pretenders whom he had overcome and executed. The great English pioneer, Major (later Sir) Henry C. Rawlinson, in 1844, copied this famous cuneiform record and later made the first translation, but after him no scholar had yet emulated the example set. It was an exciting experience, therefore, to clamber and be drawn by ropes to reach at last the dizzy ledge. . . . Lack of time and especially money, because the skilled climbers demanded a high price for undertaking the risky job, prevented me from doing more." He made four ascents, confirmed and supplemented Rawlinson's reading, and took several photographs, the first ever taken there.

Jackson made seven journeys to the Orient between 1901 and 1926. On his last trip he was allowed to enter the forbidden country of Afghanistan. He continued, until a few years before his death, to teach and to write and edit books on Oriental languages. He boasted that he had the largest classes of Sanskrit of any teacher in America. Toward the end of his life he often said he wished he had specialized more and he delighted to tell the story of the German philologist on his deathbed who had regretted he had not specialized more. "Why," a friend said, "you have specialized on just one word for ten years."

"I know," the dying philologist said, "but if I had it to do over again, I would specialize on only the dative case of that word."

Jackson always had confidence that the world was growing better. He summed up the good life in the Zoroastrian motto: "Humata–hukta–huvarshta"–good thoughts, good words, good deeds. Zoroaster, he insisted, actually lived somewhere around 660–583 B.C. The omnipresence of the radio and the motion pictures would bring about some day, he thought, a world language. He confessed that he was a movie fan and liked Claudette Colbert and Greta Garbo.

3

Brander Matthews' father educated him to be a millionaire, a profession Brander was never able to practice, for the elder Matthews lost his fortune in the panic of 1873. All his life he loved and celebrated in his writing the city of New York, but he was born in New Orleans in 1852. He was brought to New York as an infant and enjoyed a happy boyhood in the city. He was then taken by his parents to Europe where he began to absorb the atmosphere of the salons of Paris and the clubs of London, an atmosphere he never ceased talking about the rest of his life.

Columbia beheld him first when he entered as a sophomore in 1868. He graduated with the class of 1871, obtained a law degree in 1873. From then on he devoted himself to literature and the writing of plays, or, as he preferred to say it: "to the profession of letters." Some of his plays, particularly those he wrote in collaboration with others, were produced, so in a sense he achieved his lifelong ambition, but his boyhood dream was of doing nothing except writing plays and seeing them performed.

From the early 1880s Brander was in almost every sense

"a literary man" and a gentleman. He wrote prodigiously about the theater, and about French, English, and American literature. Meticulous, he looked and dressed the part; he never shaved, and his reddish-brown beard stuck out in all directions. Generations of Columbia undergraduates recall vividly the nose glasses, silver-trimmed, perching precariously at an angle, and the cigarette dangling from his lips in imminent danger of setting his whiskers afire. He was addicted to big black capes and a cane. No one who saw him ever forgot him. It was as if he had assumed a pose early in life and stuck to it so tenaciously that it became genuine and an accurate expression of his personality.

Brander was passionate in his likes and dislikes. He adored with something like hero worship British and French authors and dramatists. He was an intimate friend of Kipling and he knew personally all the British and French writers of his period. Once he disliked a man, however, he never changed his mind; his hate grew with the years, and he could be hilariously vitriolic. He fought for authors' rights, and wrote a legal paper on *American Authors and British Pirates.* In 1882 he helped to found the Author's Club; in the following year he was one of the founders of the Copyright League, which later became the Author's League. In 1889 he was one of the fifteen founders of the Players' Club to which Edwin Booth gave his home facing Gramercy Park.

In the spring of 1891, H. A. Boyesen, Brander recollected in his autobiography, *These Many Years,* "dropped in one day to tell me that the professor of English, Thomas R. Price, was going to be absent in Europe the following winter and he inquired if I would entertain the proposition to act as substitute while Price was away." Brander entertained it, accepted, and stayed on the faculty until

1924. He was given the title of professor of dramatic literature in 1899, "the first such professorship," he recorded happily, "in any American university."

Columbia delighted him. Nobody ever enjoyed talking more than he, or enjoyed with greater relish the sensation of having audiences, large and small, hang rapturously on his words. Since Columbia was in New York City, he noted, the professors acquire "a certain urbanity by contagion. . . . At Columbia the professor is not uncommon who is both urban and urbane, who is not only a gentleman and a scholar, in the good old phrase, but is more or less a man of the world, and, on occasion, a man of affairs. . . . So far as I have been able to form an opinion there is no university in the United States where the position of the professor is pleasanter than it is at Columbia. The students, graduate and undergraduate, are satisfactory in quality; their spirit is excellent. . . . So far as we do our work faithfully we are left alone to do it in our own fashion." *

His attitude toward his students was that "if they were exposed to the contagion of literature some of them might catch it." His long residence in Paris and London provided him with an enormous fund of anecdotes, and he loved to tell them, polishing them until they were perfect, and then never deviating a breath from the superlative version. He was, as George Clinton Densmore Odell, his lifelong friend and colleague, said, "an unforgettable figure . . . the last of the gentlemanly school of critics and essayists . . . a great personality, intolerant of affection or pretense . . . his genius for friendship has seldom been equalled; a choice spirit, a wit, a master and inspirer of brilliant talk. He has become a tradition."

He has indeed. Brander was neither a great scholar nor

* *These Many Years,* by Brander Matthews. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, © 1917.)

a great critic, but thousands of Columbia men remember him with affection. To many he represented in his person the flavor of the 19th century. Lloyd Morris, who knew him in 1912, called him "an aging Cyrenaic, dryly malicious, often mocking, an imperturbable snob, a period piece." His lectures were spiced with anecdotes. His course in American literature, which nearly every sophomore took, was a succession of anecdotes so beautifully timed that it was said the boys could set their watches by them, for they knew that at 2:20 on a certain Tuesday he would tell that story about Mark Twain, and that at 2:41 on another Tuesday would come the anecdote about William Dean Howells. He was the William Lyon Phelps of Columbia as, in a sense, "Billy" was the Brander of Yale.

After he became a professor his books were chiefly an overflow from his lectures, except that they contained fewer anecdotes. He did an enormous amount of writing for newspapers and magazines and for many years pontificated on books almost weekly for *The New York Times Book Review*. When Walter Hines Page was editor of *The Forum* he asked Brander to write an essay about Columbia. He complied almost overnight—he always turned out such chores promptly—and sent it to Page. For weeks he heard nothing. Brander was not accustomed to that kind of treatment. One day he dropped into the editor's office. When he was announced, Page rushed out and greeted him effusively. Brander, however, was cool. "I've come," he said icily, "about the article."

"The article, oh yes, the article." Page bid him be seated. It was a beautiful article, a masterly article, Page told him, but it was not for *The Forum*. "At *The Forum* an article should be like a rifle shot, but your article was like a shotgun, a very fine article, but just not a *Forum* piece."

"You say *The Forum* is a rifle?" inquired Brander.

"Yes," Page replied, "that is how we think of it."

"Is that why," asked Brander, "it has such a smooth bore for an editor?"

He delighted in puns; in fact the majority of his stories involved puns, or a play on words. Once, when asked about the Virgin Islands, he remarked that they must be some distance from the Isle of Man. In his home he had a small female cat at one time, which the whole household regarded as too young to have kittens. But one day, to the astonishment of everybody, she produced them. When Mrs. Matthews brought them to Brander he looked at them critically. "It just shows," he commented, "all is not old that litters."

He did not suppress his wit at faculty meetings. To get a doctorate it was required of candidates to pass an examination in Latin. Another language might be substituted, however, in special cases if the student was particularly brilliant and there was a special reason. To make the substitution the faculty had to vote on the decision. One day a professor brought up a case which he thought merited such dispensation, the case of an Arabian student, and he suggested that Arabic be substituted and accepted. The professor then went on with unnecessary details. It seems that the young man had just had all his teeth out and it would therefore be very difficult for him to pronounce Latin words.

"I move," said Brander solemnly, "that he be permitted to substitute gum-Arabic."

4

When Franz Boas died in December, 1942, *The New York Herald Tribune* said of him editorially: "He was one of those catalytic agents who will be remembered as

much for his influence as for his specific contributions to science." And *The New York Times* said: "We owe it largely to him that anthropology was elevated far above the descriptive level."

Known to generations of his students as "Papa Franz," Boas at first resisted the pressure put on him at Columbia to popularize anthropology, and he spoke scathingly of students who registered for his courses because of his reputation, people "who had no business to be anthropologists." But he changed his mind in 1928 and wrote a popular book *Anthropology and Modern Life.* After that he wrote regularly and vividly for the general public.

Boas was born in Minden, Germany, in 1858, of Westphalian parents who were filled with the revolutionary spirit of 1848. He studied at the universities of Kiel, Bonn, and Heidelberg, and then went on an Arctic expedition primarily as a journalist. The experience fascinated him so that he became an anthropologist and spent a year with the Eskimos, determined to make the science of man his life work. For a time he was attached to the University of Berlin. He came to the United States in 1886, and joined the faculty of Clark University. After being in charge of the anthropology exhibition at the Chicago World's Fair he came to Columbia in 1899.

Boas was a pioneer in the use of statistical analysis of bodily measurements to establish anthropological data. Bodies of different individuals, he found, developed at varying rates of speed without any direct relationship to calendar time. In 1911 he published his findings, made at the instigation of the Immigration Department, on the changes in form and body of the descendants of immigrants.

When the Nazis burned his books at Kiel he said: "If they don't want to read, that is their lookout. If people want to be crazy what can you do about it?" The world,

he said in 1936, was sick, and Germany was sickest of all, but mankind was in only a temporary decline. He bitterly attacked E. A. Hooton for saying that modern man is losing his grip.

"The biological difference between races is small," Boas insisted. "What is happening in America now is a repetition on a larger scale of what happened when the people of Northern Europe were not yet attached to the soil." He tried to use anthropology as an instrument to rid modern man of dangerous superstitions, such as the notion that there is such a thing as a superior race, or a "pure" race. He fought the Dies Committee and at the age of 80 he joined the college section of the American Federation of Teachers because it was being attacked as "Communist."

5

John Dewey established in Chicago in 1896 with Mrs. Dewey the most important experimental school in the history of American education. It was so successful that President Harper of the University of Chicago wanted to take it over and fire Mrs. Dewey. When Professor Dewey saw what Harper was up to he resigned. Thus it was possible for James McKeen Cattell to persuade him to come to Columbia in 1904. Since then Dewey has been a part of Columbia, an influence impossible to estimate.

Thousands of people on the campus, over the years, have gone, out of curiosity, to hear him lecture, and have discovered that he sounded rather dull, prosaic and difficult to understand. They did not realize that they were witnessing the spectacle of one of the world's greatest philosophers thinking out loud. Once President Butler was asked what Dewey looked like. Butler pointed out the window to an elderly man walking by and said: "Any man

who looks like that might be Dewey." As a matter of fact, it was.

Innumerable stories are told about him. In the 1920s a friend phoned Dewey's apartment. "Is Professor Dewey there?" he inquired. "Just a minute," the maid replied, "I'll see." She returned in about a minute and reported: "No, I'm sorry, he isn't here. He's just gone to China."

Max Eastman says of him: "He changed school from a place where children prepare for life to a place where children live." * He was born in Vermont in 1859, the same year that Henri Bergson and Havelock Ellis were born. It was that year that John Stuart Mill published his essay *On Liberty* and Darwin his *The Origin of Species.* Dewey's father was a Burlington storekeeper with a sense of humor. He kept a sign in his window: "Hams and Cigars, Smoked and Unsmoked."

At 15, John Dewey, painfully shy and bashful, showing no aptitude for anything in particular although he was naturally studious, went to the University of Vermont. When he happened upon a textbook on physiology by Thomas Henry Huxley he started thinking. After teaching school for a short time, he went to Johns Hopkins, where he discovered Hegel. His first college job was at the University of Michigan where he met Alice Chipman in a boarding house and married her. She led him out of his introspective habits, made him more of an extrovert than he had been. In 1894 he went to the University of Chicago, where he was head of the department of philosophy, psychology, and education until the fiasco with Harper. He did, however, make the educational world aware of his ideas; he made it plain that he did not believe in the absence of control or direction but in learning through purposeful activity.

* Reprinted from *Heroes I Have Known* by permission of Simon and Schuster, Inc. Copyright, 1942, by Max Eastman.

Dewey found congenial friends at Columbia: James Harvey Robinson, Charles A. Beard, Wesley C. Mitchell, Frederick J. E. Woodbridge, and many of his students became his disciples, notably Irwin Edman, Herbert W. Schneider, and John Herman Randall, Jr. By his writings he removed the aura of remoteness from philosophy. He taught "instrumental logic," by which he meant that all thinking is instrumental, for people think out ways for getting what they want. He took an active part in political and intellectual controversies. When Maxim Gorky visited the U. S. and was ostracized because he was traveling with a woman not his wife, Dewey offered Gorky the hospitality of his home. For many years Dewey was a kind of unofficial intellectual ambassador of the U. S. to the world, for he visited and lectured in China, Russia, Turkey, Japan, Mexico, and South Africa.

Dewey was prominent in the Teachers' Union, organized the Teachers' Guild, helped found the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Association of University Professors. He protested loudly the Sacco-Vanzetti decision. After the election of Hoover in 1928 he advocated the formation of a third party. Several times he supported Norman Thomas. He denounced the motion picture *Mission to Moscow* for its distortion of fact and history, and he joined in the protest against the ousting of Bertrand Russell from the College of the City of New York.

When he was 78, Dewey went to Mexico City over the protests of his friends for the trial which exonerated Trotsky from the Moscow accusations. Everybody told Dewey he would be ill in Mexico. "Nonsense," he answered. "I'll enjoy the trip." And he did; he was the only one in the party from the U. S. who didn't get ill. Afterward he contributed to the 800-page report on the trial.

Dewey never stopped writing about or fighting for his convictions. He called the Hutchins group of educators,

who believe in special education for the elite and vocational training for the masses, "historical illiterates," "completely reactionary and anti-democratic." "The conduct of the boys on the battlefield," he declared, "shows what democratic discipline developed from within is capable of accomplishing."

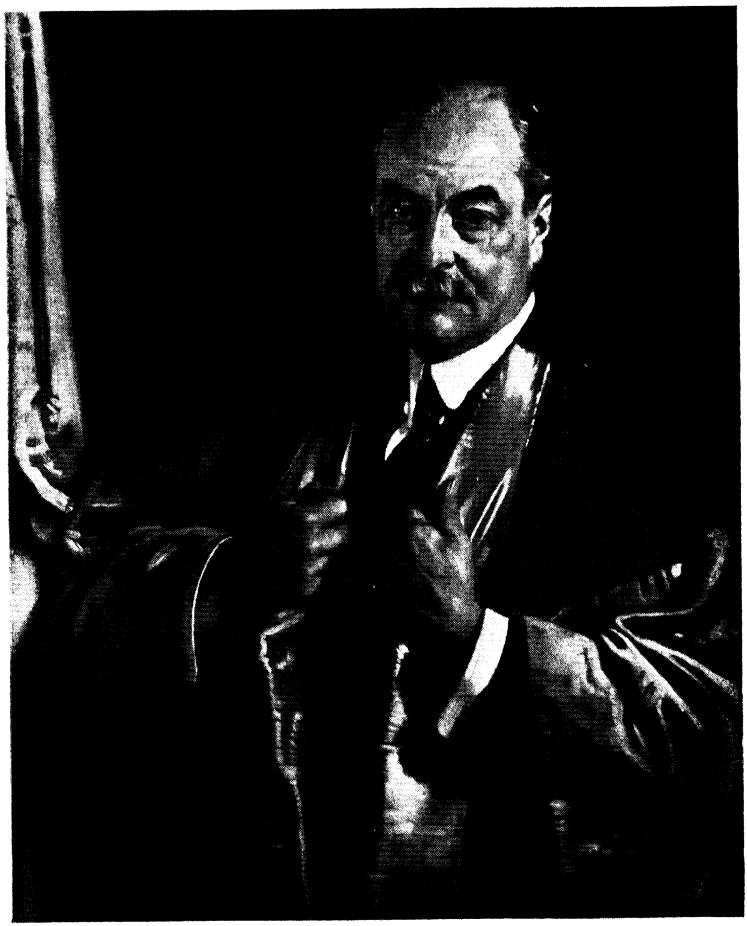
When Dewey was 82, Max Eastman wrote of him: "There is not a quaver in his voice or a quiver in his handwriting." At his summer home in Nova Scotia he used to swim in all weathers, and at the age of 79 rescued a woman from drowning. Eastman describes Dewey at Key West writing "stripped to the waist, brown as an acorn, in the hot sun." When somebody asked him about the white glare on the paper, he answered: "Well, my eyes have always been weak, it's just a matter of getting accustomed to it." At the age of 87, he remarried.

Today Dewey is ranked with William James, Emerson, Jefferson, and Paine as a thinker. Irwin Edman in his review of *The Quest for Certainty* declared: "He has initiated, more truly than Kant, a Copernican revolution in philosophy."

6

John Erskine wanted to be a musician, a concert pianist, but MacDowell convinced him that he would never be more than pretty good, so Erskine turned to poetry and scholarship. But he was too many-sided and energetic a man to confine himself within academic walls, so the general public came to know him as a novelist, short story writer, biographer, popular lecturer, magazine writer, and occasionally as a concert pianist.

Born in New York City, he graduated from Columbia College in 1900. After getting his Ph.D. in English in 1902



Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia 1901-1945

he taught for a time at Amherst, and then returned to Columbia as adjunct professor in 1909. He graduated to emeritus rank in 1926. As a student he sat at the feet of Woodberry, and he carried on in his person and his teaching the Woodberry tradition.

For many of his students Erskine was a genuine inspiration. He taught them to feel; he helped through his lectures on the great English poets to discover the world of the senses; he fired their imaginations, and opened to them the vistas and possibilities of life. He made them realize that man is capable of limitless nobility as well as limitless evil. To imagine such a thing as justice, he said once, is one of the highest tributes one can pay the human race. He taught something much more than the appreciation of literature and poetry; he taught boys to love it and to practice it. He was always an artist before he was a pedagogue. In his lectures on Castiglione and Shakespeare, and the earlier Elizabethans, he gave students his own notions of culture, and courtliness, and what it means to be a gentleman. He showed them what irony is, and skepticism, and the value of subtlety. For the first time many who listened to him began to understand themselves and the world about them.

"A huge mast of a man," Henry Morton Robinson described him, "with a bright red rudder of a nose and a humorous, diagonal mouth . . . the biggest man in any room. Hod carriers would say as they said of Tennyson, 'What a tremendous fellow we lost.' . . ." What impressed many was the richness of his voice, so musical in its overtones one seemed to get reverberations of meaning like a repeating echo. Where he got his accent, which is certainly not New York but has a kind of South of England sound, is a mystery, but nobody can deny its charm. Few who ever heard him say "layzhure" ever again said "lees-yure."

In his lectures on literature he performed a kind of miracle, for he transformed, like the consummate actor he was, the whole atmosphere of the stuffy classroom into another world and another century. Without notes, he would begin slowly and conversationally, stating his thesis so lucidly that even the stupidest boy could understand it and think himself pretty clever for catching on. Then he would proceed in great rolling periods, conveying not merely an idea, but a lusty and lasting emotion. He drew meanings you never had suspected if by chance you had read the lines he quoted; he enriched the lives of his students with insights and the methods of achieving those insights.

Those who knew him in those days, in the early 1920s, could say without hyperbole that he was one of the great conversationalists of his time. His erudition was enormous; he had a salty, sabre wit, and a genius for the illuminating anecdote. In his writing courses he tried to create the atmosphere of the atelier, the consciousness that all were skilled craftsmen talking shop. His first volume of poetry, *Actaeon,* appeared in 1907, and its theme was beauty and intelligence in art and manners, a theme he constantly elaborated in his discourse. He drew a distinction between elaborating a theme and embroidering it, and his pupils soon learned not to put embroidery in their writing.

Erskine scoffed at Pitkin's declaration that he could teach students to sell their stories. That, emphatically, was not his intention. If students wrote well enough they would sell, sooner or later, and it was beneath a craftsman's dignity, he implied, to aim at a particular market. You can never really write over a reader's head, he declared; if you are clear in your thought and expression, the reader will comprehend. "Some day," he would remark slyly, "I might

write a popular novel." That was two years before the publication of *The Private Life of Helen of Troy.*

Sometimes it seemed, until he got warmed to his subject, that lecturing bored him. Once he facetiously remarked that great teaching was nothing more than stating the obvious in terms of the profound. Often he gave the impression that he longed for a more active life than the academic scene could give him. He talked nostalgically of France and the days when he organized the A. E. F. university at Beaune in two weeks, just after the first World War. For that he was given the Legion of Honor, whose thin red ribbon he wore proudly in his lapel, and he was made an honorary citizen of Beaune.

By organizing a group of young poets into a club known as Boar's Head, by urging undergraduates to revive a college literary magazine, *Morningside,* and by leading and inspiring discussion on the great classics of the past in Honors Courses, Erskine had a profound and permanent effect upon a large number of students, many of whom became prominent in the literary and academic worlds. An Episcopalian from birth, a vestryman of Trinity Church, and a Republican, he was at one time a logical candidate to succeed Dr. Butler. But the president lived too long, and Erskine went on to other activities at the Juilliard School of Music and authorship. He wanted to live like Walter Scott, he once remarked, and he was able to do it, after he retired, at his summer home at Wilton, Connecticut.

7

It may seem strange to readers living a generation or more after Randolph Bourne to find him included in a chapter on Columbia's Great Names, for he has been almost forgotten even as a symbol of his time. Moreover, he

was never on the faculty; he was merely a student. Yet those who knew him, and those who lived in his generation and came to maturity a little later, will not think it strange. Countless students have become famous after graduation, some immediately after. Poets such as Joyce Kilmer and Melville Cane achieved recognition very soon after leaving college. But Randolph Bourne became a vital and vigorous thinker and writer, an intellectual leader for his generation, while still an undergraduate.

Twenty-five years after Bourne's death Max Lerner wrote of him: "One of the men of moral and intellectual stature of our century . . . one of the major critics of our time and place. He looms largest," said Lerner, "as a writer who brought to political discussion the sensitiveness of a poet, the polemical skill of a journalist, the magic of the master-craftsman in words, and the analytical power and sweep of a social thinker. . . . His was a more corrosive mind than Herbert Croly's (and he was a much better writer), more deeply founded than Walter Lippmann, more incisive and flashing than Charles Beard." *

Theodore Dreiser, Alfred Kreymborg, Lewis Mumford, Van Wyck Brooks, James Oppenheim, and Floyd Dell also wrote appreciatively of him. Bourne's biographer, Louis Filler, began by declaring: "Bourne was one of the most significant figures to come to public attention in the fateful years which preceded America's entrance into the First World War."

Coming from a middle-class family in Bloomfield, N. J., he early emancipated himself from that environment, although he later looked back on it nostalgically in an autobiographical fragment. He was a hunchback, his mouth was twisted, and his right ear was malformed. When he

* *Randolph Bourne,* by Lewis Filler, with an Introduction by Max Lerner. (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, © 1943.)

came to Columbia in 1910 he wore a black flowing cape, which he wore with a certain flair and distinction. Dean Keppel recognized him at once as an exceptional individual and did much to help him.

Columbia gave Bourne prizes, scholarships, and fellowships; it presented him with the opportunity to write and to edit the undergraduate literary magazine. It provided him with devoted friends. Bourne called Columbia "the best thing in New York. It may not be perfect, but its spirit is healthy, free, and progressive. . . . One can breathe intellectually here, and the external beauty of the place grows on the spirit and makes one happy to live among the buildings and along its Quadrangle."

At first Bourne intended to major in English; he liked Erskine, who showed an interest in him, but when he sampled the survey courses in literature he would have none of them. He wanted to study modern literature, and no such courses were offered then. One of his best friends was Dean Frederick J. E. Woodbridge of the philosophy department, and Bourne was probably thinking of him, as well as Beard and Keppel, when he wrote: "It is becoming more and more common that when you touch a professor you touch a man and not an intellectual specialty."

Bourne found plenty to criticize, such as the way the employment service treated him and the low wages paid to university scrub women. Alien students, he noted, were likely to feel the prejudice of majority groups; fraternities dominated undergraduate politics; athletics were overemphasized; many students valued "college life" more highly than education. Those are the commonplace criticisms that will always be made of American undergraduate life. To Bourne they were serious matters and he exercised his pen upon them.

His thought and writing matured quickly. Dixon Ryan

Fox was the editor of the *Columbia Monthly* that published Bourne's first college essays. "It would be stupid," Fox said later, "to compare Bourne's with any other undergraduate contributions. His ideas and their expression were even then, as I look back upon them, quite the equal of those of our foremost professors of the country." And Carl Van Doren, then a professor at Columbia, said of Bourne's essays at the time: "The initials R. S. B. will probably cause many readers to turn first to this essay. It would not be easy to find in any college journal of the year a sketch so thoughtful or so well written as these few words."

Bourne succeeded Fox as editor. By then he had become a contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly*. An essay, "Irony as a Philosophic Method," which he wrote for Professor Woodbridge's course, so impressed the professor that he encouraged him, and when Bourne wrote "A Letter to the Rising Generation" Woodbridge sent it to Ellery Sedgwick, who promptly accepted it. From that time on his classmate James Henle (later a publisher) said he was "a marked man." A. A. Knopf, another classmate, said: "Undergraduate writers were somewhat awed by a fellow who had made the *Atlantic*."

Bourne was active in the Boar's Head Literary Society, in the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, Philolexian, and in a little group of students who called themselves "The Academy." He took issue with Professor Spingarn's *The New Criticism* in an essay entitled "The Suicide of Criticism." At that time he admired Irving Babbitt's *The New Laokoon*.

In June, 1912, Bourne received his B.A.; he was Phi Beta Kappa, an honor student, and he won a scholarship for further study. In the Graduate School he majored in sociology under Franklin H. Giddings. At the same time

he came under the influence of John Dewey, whose ideas occupied the central part of his thinking for the rest of his life. His first book was then published, *Youth and Life,* by Houghton Mifflin. In 1913 he engaged in a discussion, through the pages of the *Columbia Monthly,* with Preston Slosson in which he took the then startling view that the I. W. W. represented the beginnings of a program for industrial democratization.

When Bourne received the Gilder Fellowship he elected to go abroad, a trip that give him a clearer and deeper perspective on America. *The New Republic* was getting started when he returned, and he joined its staff, and was sent to Gary, Indiana, to report on the schools. This resulted in a book. When war drew nearer to the U. S. Bourne's thinking became more and more independent and pacifistic. Merle Curti has pointed out that Bourne was virtually alone "in calling attention to the fact that many who were shouting loudly in behalf of the freedom and democracy for which the Allies stood were contemptuous of democratic strivings in their midst; that many well-meaning people who had never been stirred by the horrors of 'capitalist peace at home' had a large fund of 'idle emotional capital to convert in the oppressed nationalities and ravaged villages of Europe.' "

In 1917 Bourne became a member of the staff of *The Dial,* which had suddenly turned extremely liberal. He was moving rapidly to the left; he vigorously opposed American entry into the war. This meant a break with *The New Republic.* Shortly before that he was associated with the short-lived *The Seven Arts* (one of the best literary magazines ever published in the U. S.) which published his essays that were brought out in book form after his death as *Untimely Papers.*

His last months were tragic. He found it increasingly

difficult to make a living in a world engrossed in war. He died December 22, 1918, of pneumonia. Bourne represented the finest aspects of that type most college undergraduates despise: the campus radical who is a professional intellectual. But he had something to say; he said it beautifully; and by men interested in disciplined thought and appreciative of singing prose he will never be wholly forgotten.

CHAPTER VIII

Barnard College

1

ALARMED AT the possible consequences, the male sex has been unreasonably slow in granting females any kind of education. When free schools were established by the Pilgrim Fathers, it never occurred to them to include girls. Not until the 1840s was the first American high school admitting girls opened in Boston, and that was soon closed because so many applied. In the first part of the 19th century the East showed no inclination to permit higher education to ladies. The first coeducational college was Oberlin, Ohio; four "ladies" were admitted to special courses in 1837; after that a few female seminaries followed.

Philanthropic brewer Matthew Vassar made it possible in 1861 for the college named for him to pioneer. After that, in the 1870s, a handful of men's colleges let down the bars: Cornell, Michigan, and Boston allowed girls to take courses. Wellesley and Smith were founded in 1875, and Harvard Annex, which later became Radcliffe, opened its doors in 1879. Mount Holyoke Seminary had been in discreet existence since 1837, but it did not become a college until 1893. The idea of admitting ladies to Columbia College classes, suggested by Dr. Barnard in the 1870s, appalled the trustees.

It was virtually impossible for women to get any kind of higher education in New York City in the 1870s. A Normal College, connected with the free City College,

offered some training for teachers, but it required Greek for entrance and granted no degree. Private schools for girls in the city had, some of them, high social standing, but amounted to nothing at all academically. Other cities —Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and even New Orleans—had better provision for educating women than New York. A clergyman who did much to make Barnard College a reality remarked that a woman in New York could obtain gratification of every want, wish, or whim save one—she could not obtain a formal education.

Once an attractive lady planted the idea in his mind, F. A. P. Barnard never stopped crusading for higher education for women. He was supported by petitions from the women's club known as Sorosis, and in 1883 a petition was signed by 1,000 citizens. Parke Godwin, then editor of *The New York Post,* took a leading part in the agitation, and he organized a meeting at the Union League Club. This movement so horrified the Reverend Morgan Dix of Trinity that he delivered an eloquent lecture, declaring that education would destroy the modesty of women.

Reluctantly Columbia College agreed to establish a collegiate course for women, and would grant a degree, but there were several important obstructions: women could not enter the classrooms, and the college faculty could give no assistance, advice or instruction. The only things the girls were allowed to do was to take the exams. Since exams were, of course, based on lectures they were not permitted to hear, this, it was thought, would discourage them. But not altogether. Thirty girls applied, and among them was Annie Nathan, who did much to get Barnard established.

She tells about it with such gusto in *Barnard Beginnings* that she gives the impression she did it singlehandedly. "At the age of 18 I joined that intrepid band of young

women who, panting for the bread of knowledge, had with pathetic eagerness accepted from the authorities of Columbia the stony substitute known as 'the Collegiate Course for Women.' " * It seems that, contrary to the wishes of the trustees, some professors surreptitiously allowed ladies in the classroom. As early as 1873 Professor Rood permitted a few to attend his lectures on physics. When one of the trustees discovered that his own daughter was attending the arrangement was stopped forthwith.

Barnard continued his agitation, reprinting his reports on the subject. He was not trying to persuade parents to send their daughters to college, he explained, he was simply working in behalf of those who earnestly desired to do so. Until 1885 the rules laid down by the trustees made it so difficult that no woman was able to get a degree. In 1887, however, a brave girl named Mary Parson Hankey achieved an L.H.B., but she lived only a few years afterward.

Annie Nathan resolved to do something about the situation. Even though the examinations were based on lectures she was barred from hearing, she passed anyway. A year later she married Dr. Alfred Meyer and began to battle more persistently than before. One of her first allies was Melvil Dewey, then librarian at Columbia. He agreed with her wholeheartedly. When she asked him: "What can we do?" he answered positively: "Start a college yourself." When he told Mrs. Wendell, wife of the Harvard professor, Barrett Wendell, what Annie was up to the good Boston lady wept "to think of that sweet young girl wasting her life on an impossible attempt."

Mrs. Meyer set herself the task of seeing personally every man and woman in New York who might conceiv-

* *Barnard Beginnings,* by Annie Nathan Meyer. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, © 1935.)

ably help to organize public opinion for the project. She also set about trying to win over Columbia's trustees, and began the discouraging job of interviewing every one of them. They were weary of the whole idea. Barnard stubbornly insisted on making Columbia co-ed, and powerful forces led by Professor John W. Burgess said bluntly that if Columbia became co-ed the young ladies admitted would likely be Jewish, and that would make Columbia's student body predominantly Jewish. This bitter and unscrupulous raising of the racial issue had the effect of arousing the alumni in loyal support of Burgess.

Dr. Morgan Dix declared that he would oppose the proposition to the end. Mrs. Meyer softened him a little, however, and persuaded him to say that he was not against women's education *per se,* but only the idea of having them educated as men are. Annie then wrote a historic letter to *The Nation,* January 28, 1888. "At the present moment," she said, "there are in New York City and suburbs two women students at Cornell, four at Bryn Mawr, 13 at Smith, 17 at Vassar (15 more in preparatory school), and 31 at Wellesley, making a total of 57 students coming this year from New York City or some place whence they could easily attend a day college in New York. And if 57 girls can leave their homes and encounter the discomforts of an independent life for the sake of pursuing a collegiate education, how many would attend college gladly, enthusiastically, were it not necessary to face the obstacles of leaving home?"

It was the first outspoken broadside in favor of a separate college. A copy is embedded in Barnard College's cornerstone. She then persuaded several of the professors to give separate lectures to women without additional compensation. She wrote Hamilton Fish, then chairman of the board of trustees, asking for "an annex similar to Girton

at Oxford, or the Lady Margaret Halls at Cambridge." She asked for his cooperation and promised that she would see to it personally that the project would place no additional financial burdens on the college. She resolved to raise the necessary funds independently. Melvil Dewey and Mary Mapes Dodge helped her, and soon she had thirteen ministers, four lawyers, an ex-judge, five educators, four financiers, and four editors enlisted in her crusade. Dr. Arthur Brooks, of the Church of the Incarnation, wrote an enthusiastic letter to *The New York Post.* And even agile old Chauncey Depew leapt on the bandwagon. Before long Annie was persuading the trustees not to oppose her. It was easier than arguing with her.

Under such bludgeoning they finally relented, and on May 7, 1888, they declared in favor of an annex. There never was any question about what the college should be called. On that same day Dr. Barnard was compelled by ill-health and advanced age to retire. In Seth Low, Annie Nathan Meyer found a sympathetic helper. But when he was inaugurated in the Metropolitan Opera House the men trustees of Barnard sat on the stage while the ladies on the board occupied boxes. This separation of the sexes infuriated Mrs. Meyer, and she made herself heard on that and many other subjects in no uncertain terms.

There had been a question about who should be on the board. Annie wanted men because she thought they are more generous about money. Richard Watson Gilder, Mary Mapes Dodge, Josephine Shaw Lowell, Melvil Dewey, and Governor Fish became trustees. Dr. Brooks was elected chairman. It was he who got Frederic R. Coudert on the board by the expedient of sitting in his law office until he consented.

Columbia's trustees laid down strict conditions concerning the new college: it was to be built without any pecu-

niary aid from Columbia. The property was to be held and instruction administered by an incorporated association. The trustees and the regulations were to be passed upon and approved by Columbia's trustees. The building was to be used only for instruction, not for lodging. Instruction must be given exclusively by Columbia professors and instructors, but managed so independently that such work would not interfere with their duties in the men's college. Finally, any connection with Columbia could be terminated at any time.

Additional trustees joined the Barnard board: Mrs. Francis Arnold, Miss Helen Dawes Brown, Mrs. William C. Brownell, Mrs. Joseph H. Choate, Noah Davis, George A. Plimpton, Silas B. Brownell, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jacob H. Schiff, Francis Lynde Stetson, Mrs. James S. T. Stranahan, Mrs. James Talcott, the Reverend Henry Van Dyke, and Miss Ella Weed.

2

Barnard thus began with no endowment, no tract of land, but only with an idea and the irresistible enthusiasm and faith of a handful of people. Annie Nathan Meyer threw all her energies into money-raising, which was every bit as difficult as persuading Columbia trustees to permit the project at all. She persuaded Mrs. James C. Goodwin, a cousin of J. P. Morgan, to solicit $5,000 from the financier. She herself rang doorbells. "Never did I press a bell with a finger that didn't tremble," she recalls. Much opposition had yet to be overcome. A New York teacher said that parents wanted their daughters educated to marry well, with a sort of accident insurance attachment in case of disappointment. Ella Weed wrote a novel at this time entitled *The Foolish Virgin,* about an educated, intelli-

gent girl's dilemma. It helped to stir up sympathy for the girls who wanted a college education.

Melvil Dewey had meanwhile, in 1889, resigned from Columbia and gone to Albany to be secretary to the State Board of Regents. There he helped to get the Barnard charter approved. A brownstone house was found at 343 Madison Avenue to serve as the first home of the college, but the owner would not rent it to an unincorporated college unless one of the trustees became responsible. Undaunted, Mrs. Meyer signed a four-year lease: $3,250 for two years and $3,500 for the next two, although neither she nor her husband could have shouldered this financial responsibility.

The first class entered the four-story brownstone house, which was on a regulation city lot, 24 feet by 100 feet. The class, all freshmen, consisted of twenty women, only nine of whom wanted to work for a degree. Entrance examinations were held in the spring of 1889 in Columbia College. One flustered girl tried to register with Professor Drisler, who was acting president of Columbia at the time, and he personally conducted her to Mrs. Meyer, who acted as registrar for Barnard and director of admissions.

Barnard's first catalogue announced that the examinations would be identical with those of Columbia. But to her consternation Annie discovered that the mathematics examination was not the same. She flew into action. She made Miss Weed hold it up. The examination had been composed by Dr. Fiske, instructor in mathematics, and it was not the same as the one made out by Dean Van Amringe.

Annie rushed to Van Amringe's office demanding an explanation. He told her it was a much better examination than the one he had made out; he refused to give her a copy of his. With fire in her eye, Mrs. Meyer replied tartly

that she had no doubt it was better. The point was, it was not the same. "What will the world think?" she demanded. "If the exam for girls is different from the one for the boys will people think the one for the girls is more difficult or easier?"

Van Amringe saw he was licked; he gave in, and let her have a copy of the Columbia examination. This was no trivial issue. Mrs. Meyer saw that Barnard must stick to its ideals; nothing must be made easier because it was a college for women. She pointed out later how right she was: Evelyn College, connected with Princeton, sacrificed its ideals and no longer exists, even as a memory. The girls' examination papers were numbered. No names appeared on the papers for fear the instructors might be influenced.

The brownstone house on Madison Avenue had two large rooms on the first, or parlor floor, and behind them was a butler's pantry and locker room. On the second floor was a large front room which was reserved at the beginning for the Women's University Club, but soon served as a lecture room as well. The large room in the back was the office of Miss Weed, who acted as head of the faculty, and of Miss Elizabeth O. Abbott, who was secretary of the college. Miss Weed taught at Miss Brown's finishing school in the morning and went to Barnard in the afternoon. The third and fourth floors were laboratories and study rooms. The basement was occupied by Mrs. Kelly, the janitress, who was the unofficial chaperon. And all who entered the building recall Jimmy, the colored boy, who presided at the front door.

The first faculty consisted of Professor Nelson G. McCrea, Latin; Dr. Mortimer Lamson Earle, Greek; Edward B. Wasson, English; Bernard O'Connor, French; William H. Carpenter, German. Philosophy was added later when

Dr. Butler refused to give his lectures twice and arranged to have the by-laws of Columbia changed so that girls could attend his classes. Dr. Emily L. Gregory taught botany without pay.

Soon after the college started Miss Abbott resigned and Mrs. N. W. Liggett became the first registrar. A graduate of Packer and Vassar, she served Barnard for 35 years. The girls remember her most of all for writing the "F's" in red ink when the grades were posted on the bulletin board. Barnard's biggest handicap was that it required Greek for entrance. No other woman's college had such a requirement. Few girls studied Greek, even in those days, and no girls' schools offered it as a part of their regular curriculum. But since Columbia required Greek, Barnard was compelled to.

Expenses outran income from the very beginning. The first treasurer's report in 1890 showed: cash on hand, $4,181.17; general expenses, $13,572; expected deficit, $6,500. Jacob H. Schiff, chairman of the finance committee, pointed out that Barnard needed an endowment of at least $100,000. A plea for funds was made; Annie Nathan Meyer worked hard, but the results were so disappointing that Mr. Schiff resigned, shocked at the lack of response.

"I feel it is undignified to carry on the educational institution begging from door to door," he said. He was succeeded by George H. Plimpton, wealthy publisher, president of Ginn and Co., art collector, a man of wide interests and vision. He was Barnard's biggest money-raiser, and he remained treasurer of the college until his death in 1936.

The trustees set about raising the necessary funds. Frederick Waite persuaded Mrs. Van Wyck Brinckerhoff to give $100,000. She gave it on the condition that the trustees obtain a site for Barnard near Columbia within four years. One hundred and sixty thousand dollars was

raised, and the land between 119th and 120th Streets, west of Broadway, was purchased. Mrs. John D. Rockefeller gave $25,000; a few years later Mrs. Josiah Fiske gave the money for Fiske Hall. When Mrs. Rockefeller offered $200,000 for endowment provided a similar amount was raised, this was accomplished, and then Mr. Plimpton talked Mrs. A. A. Anderson and General Horace Carpentier into giving $2,000,000 for land and endowment. Thus the first three buildings erected were given by women: Brinckerhoff, Milbank, Fiske. And one of the first large gifts for endowment came through the legacy of a woman: Miss Emily O. Gibbs.

Miss Weed never had the title of dean; she was called "chairman of the academic committee." After her death Emily James Smith was appointed the first dean of Barnard. She was a brilliant 29-year-old Greek scholar who was in the first class to graduate from Bryn Mawr, and one of the first American women to go to Girton College, Oxford. Later she studied with Paul Shorey in Chicago. She possessed a contagious enthusiasm for learning, and she made it seem a great, amusing adventure for women to get an education against the will of the world.

Miss Smith gave a course in Homer for freshmen, she read Plato with the sophomores, and carried her enthusiasm for Greek to groups outside the classroom. She brought distinguished scholars to Barnard: Dr. Edward Delavan Perry to teach Greek and Dr. Charles Knapp to give a course in Horace. Later she brought Harry Thurston Peck to lecture on Roman life in prose and verse. Thus Barnard created a reputation and a standard for its attention to the classics. Miss Smith carried this further by helping to organize a Greek Club, and by persuading the girls to call the hazing of freshmen the "Eleusinian Mysteries."

Dean Smith brought other scholars of distinction to

Barnard. She arranged to have George Rice Carpenter teach freshman English and theme writing. Professors Price and Brewster came to Barnard at this time, and special lectures were given to the girls by the poet, Richard Hovey, and by Profesor A. V. Williams Jackson.

Seth Low personally guaranteed the salaries of three additional professors for three years. The Graduate School of Political Science wanted them, but they were brought first to Barnard, and then quickly borrowed by Columbia. Thus Barnard was able in 1895 to attract John Bates Clark from Amherst, James Harvey Robinson from the University of Pennsylvania, and Frank N. Cole from Michigan. Clark was a distinguished economist of the "classical" school who contributed to abstract economic theory by approaching economics by way of philosophy. He was one of a group of American university professors who studied in Germany in the 1870s. Columbia took him away from Barnard soon after he arrived. Strictly speaking, there are no Barnard professors. They are appointed by the Columbia University Trustees.

James Harvey Robinson, however, continued to lecture at Barnard for many years and his salary and professorship, until his retirement in 1919, came from Barnard. For a year, 1900–01, he was acting dean of Barnard. He was drawn almost at once into the Graduate School where he exerted a lifelong influence upon such students as James T. Shotwell, Charles A. Beard, Carl Becker, William R. Shepherd, Preserved Smith, J. Salwyn Schapiro, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Lynn Thorndike, Benjamin B. Kendrick, Harry J. Carman and many others. Preserved Smith declared later that Robinson was the most exciting teacher he ever had, and Carlton Hayes wrote: "James Harvey Robinson was the greatest teacher I ever had . . . I say 'greatest' because more than any other man he made me

think. He had a way of arousing the student's curiosity and of filling that student with a great and firm determination to satisfy that curiosity; and the curiosity he aroused—at least in me—was a curiosity about things which most of us take for granted."

When he came to Barnard, Robinson was chiefly interested in the Middle Ages, but he rapidly grew into more and more of a modernist and developed a course that became the most popular not only at Barnard, but at Columbia as well: the history of the intellectual class in Europe. He amused and thrilled his students by a singularly dry and drawling manner that held even large classes in rapt attention. His greatest influence came later, in his popular books, such as *The Mind in the Making,* and his textbooks which brought in a new epoch in textbook writing in history.

Dean Smith brought other outstanding people to Barnard: Mayo-Smith, Osgood, and Giddings. The first chair in sociology established in any American college was at Barnard, occupied by Franklin H. Giddings, one of the founders of sociology in the U. S. His students called him an adventurer; like Robinson he was an exciting lecturer, and much more dramatic, for he enjoyed intellectual controversy. Like Robinson also, his most enduring influence was on his graduate students who in turn became professors and administrators. In 1894, the same year that Giddings came to Barnard, Dean Smith arranged for Professor Hyslop to give a course in psychology to the girls.

In 1896 the brownstone front at 343 Madison Avenue had four classes and 238 students. The next year Brinckerhoff and Milbank Halls were ready and the college moved uptown. One of Barnard's most distinguished alumnae was an undergraduate then: Alice Duer, who was later Mrs. Alice Duer Miller. She did much for the college. She came

from one of New York's best families, and when Mrs. Astor heard that she was going to Barnard she was shocked: "What? That sweet young thing!" It seemed to her incredible.

Fiske Hall had been planned as a science building, but it opened as a dormitory because of the scarcity of rooms for the girls. Before the building of the west side Interborough subway it was a long hazardous trip to 116th Street from downtown homes. The little green horsecars that ran up Broadway were slow and tedious, and the nearest elevated station was three-quarters of a mile away, at 110th Street near Central Park. The alumnae, realizing the need for dormitories, rented and took charge of two floors of apartments, which provided 46 rooms. This so dramatized the need that Mrs. Anderson gave the money for a modern dormitory: Brooks Hall named in honor of Dr. Arthur Brooks. Thus Barnard ceased to be a day school for city commuters.

3

Miss Smith resigned after a year and a half to marry George Haven Putnam. Laura Drake Gill succeeded her in 1901. She was an energetic Yankee who, all her life, had to struggle hard for the things she wanted. By sheer persistence she achieved them and won a reputation as a scholar and an organizer. She was born in Maine, was educated by an aunt, Miss Bessie T. Capen, who ran a girls' school in Northampton, Mass. Miss Gill graduated from Smith in 1881, and then taught mathematics in her aunt's school for 17 years, meanwhile getting her M.A. and saving her money for graduate work in Europe. This she did at Leipzig, Geneva, and the Sorbonne from 1890 to 1893. Weary of teaching, she jumped at the chance to

do executive work for the Red Cross during the Spanish-American War. Afterward she helped General Leonard Wood organize the schools in Cuba.

While Miss Gill was dean she planned Brooks Hall; she established the degree of B.S.; she made the entrance requirements more reasonable, and she threw herself wholeheartedly into the crusade of finding jobs for college women, and in the wider cause of greater opportunities for women in professional careers. It was while she was dean that Mrs. Anderson bought for Barnard three city blocks.

As Barnard grew older it lost some of the zest of being a cause, and became an institution. It acquired traditions, customs, and maturity. The annual Greek games, best known of the Barnard traditions, began in 1905 when the sophomores challenged the freshmen to an athletic contest. The presentation of the games has grown and developed over the years. The students write their own dramas and lyrics, compose the music, design and make the costumes, invent and drill the dances. "For one afternoon," says Miss Gildersleeve, "they lead 400 girls back into what seems like that bright and beautiful world of ancient Hellas where, as we feel, bodies were all young, lithe, and active, costume and setting blended in lovely and balanced beauty, the atmosphere was clear and untroubled and the spirit of the world fresh and strong." Christopher Morley said, upon witnessing the games, "It was as beautifully mad, comic, and lovely as anything we have ever seen."

4

Miss Gildersleeve's association with the college goes back almost to the beginning, for she was in the class of 1899, and while a sophomore her classmates decided that

she would one day become dean. She seemed to be born for it. Her mother insisted that she go to college, and she went somewhat against her will. Once she enrolled she liked it, won high marks and discovered that she had a flair for study and for getting along with people. After her graduation she acquired her Ph.D. in English and then taught at Barnard. She inherited from her father, who was a New York State supreme court justice, a judicial temperament and an unwillingness to be angered or flustered by anything. When Dr. Butler told the judge that he intended to make his daughter dean, Justice Gildersleeve replied: "I'm not surprised. Virginia will make you a good dean." She took office in 1911.

Nobody has been able to say truthfully in the 35 years she has served that her father was mistaken. She put all her prodigious energy at once into the crusade to get the graduate schools to open their doors to women, and this should be considered her first major achievement. Journalism and architecture capitulated at once, but it was years before she broke down the barriers placed by the schools of medicine, law, and engineering.

Early in Miss Gildersleeve's tenure the undergraduates decided against sororities. This has saved the dean many headaches and made the college somewhat more democratic than the women's colleges which permit them. When the first World War came, the dean gave her energies to the problems created by it, and when the U. S. entered she went to Washington as chairman of the University Committee on Women's War Work. Eighty per cent of Barnard's students engaged in some kind of war work. "It gave them a sense of being part of a violently alive adult world," Miss Gildersleeve said, "and the honest truth is that there was satisfaction in it and a great deal of fun."

Her second major achievement has been to make Barnard an international college. As passionately obsessed with international affairs as Dr. Butler, she took the lead in founding the International Federation of University Women and served twice as its president. She has been a trustee of the Institute of International Education, which was started by Paul Munroe of Teachers College, and her interest in the Near East has resulted in her being made president of the American College for Girls at Istanbul. She has also served as vice-chairman of the American Committee on Intellectual Cooperation and as president of Reid Hall, an international residence for women in Paris, established by Mrs. Ogden Reid (Barnard '03). Finally, Miss Gildersleeve was the only woman delegate of the U. S. delegation to the United Nations conference at San Francisco in 1945.

Although her title was merely that of dean (the president of Columbia is ex-officio president of Barnard), she has, through her international activities, become better known abroad than any women's college president in the U. S. She has also enjoyed higher prestige at home. Through a system of scholarships and fellowships she has brought girls from all over the world to Barnard. This has had the effect of inducing the girls who come from all parts of the United States to become interested in other countries, and in international affairs. Moreover, she has brought to Barnard many professors from abroad and encouraged Barnard girls to try for exchange fellowships for study abroad.

Her third major achievement has been to make Barnard girls civic-minded, interested in social problems, in politics and in community affairs such as Parent-Teacher Associations. She has constantly preached to them the importance of women playing their roles as citizens. Congresswoman

Helen Gahagan Douglas might be cited as an example of one who has taken this advice seriously, and there are hundreds of others, less conspicuous. Politically, Miss Gildersleeve has been a Democrat, and has always held a liberal position.

Never did she want to be called "the dear dean," and few have dared to do so. She called students by their last names, and preferred to be considered an elder sister. Whatever you do, she told the girls, do it with distinction, if it is only washing dishes. During the twenties Barnard, like other colleges, went through the flapper era, and there was much discussion of politics and morals. Virginia was unruffled. "It seems to me highly desirable," she said, "to have radicals and conservatives meet and argue in college discussions." She let the girls smoke if they wished, and instituted a course in sex hygiene without raising a hubbub.

Several generations of Barnard girls will remember the dean's famous cairn terrier, "Culag Boag" (Gaelic for "little dog"). When she issued seven rules for the observance of the girls she hired to exercise "Coolie," the story was too good to keep out of the New York newspapers. She paid two girls fifty cents each for fifty minutes of exercising, which she said she understood was the usual rate for taking care of children. She was insistent that the girls be prompt in calling for him and in returning him, "for my household and personal plans depend on the dog's departing and returning exactly on time. Cairns need violent exercise, so you may have to pull him on the leash." After Culag reached the age of ten, exercisers were cautioned to be more lenient with him; he was not to be dragged "against his inclination." She tried to give the job to girls who also needed outdoor exercise. Once when Coolie ran away she offered a substantial reward, and he was promptly

found. Early every morning he was allowed to romp about the campus, and many an early riser in Brooks Hall remembers Culag's touching affection for the hedge by the Broadway fence. When he died at the age of 15, she refused to be interviewed and pleaded that he be left in peace.

In the years between the wars Miss Gildersleeve customarily spent her summers in England in a cottage on the Sussex Downs not far from Hastings. Alciston Manor is an old house and tithe barn which she owned in partnership with her friend, the late Professor Carolyn Spurgeon, of London University. She had the granary made over into a study. She was very happy there, weeding the garden, driving her car on the left side of the road, and hunting for old Roman coins and arrowheads of the Stone Age. "It is as though I lived two lives," she said. "I could go from one to the other and close the door between."

"Each spring, as thousands of young women are on the eve of graduation from college," she wrote in 1935, "I picture them as little ships about to leave the harbor where they have been sheltered for four years, to sail forth on the wide sea of the world without, each its own pilot; and I look out towards the great stretches of the ocean and try to see what sort of weather our little ships are likely to find out there and whither the winds and the tides may carry them."

Generally speaking the little ships do rather well. The marriage rate has been rising from 9 per cent in 1900 to better than 50 per cent in 1935. In another fifteen to twenty years the dean thought it would be 70 per cent. After all, she remarked, going to college is no longer a peculiar thing for a girl to do. Forty per cent of those working then were teachers as against 88 per cent in 1900. Few graduates go into nursing, but many, particularly during the second World War, went into government work when Barnard

supplied numerous chemists, mathematicians, statisticians, economists, research workers, psychologists and bacteriologists when they were most needed. More have been going in for social work recently and quite a few want to be lawyers. Among the odd occupations engaged in, two Barnard alumnae were found raising Blooded Saanens (milch goats). One graduate reported that she was raising three small children, and doing all the housework in a twelve-room house. She said she composed poems over the washtub. That's the Barnard spirit.

College fits girls for life, Miss Gildersleeve often said, and college girls learn to discriminate in marriage. She told one graduating class: "Put a diploma in your hope chest. Marriage isn't enough for the modern girl. She should pick a vocation as well. Women are happier if they have careers in addition to marriage." Her strongest indignation is against school systems which place difficulties in the way of college graduates teaching in public schools. This, she has said, is a racket to favor certain normal schools.

The abduction of Barnard professors by the Columbia Graduate School has served as an inducement to teachers Barnard wants to lure from other colleges. There has always been a fear, in the academic profession, lest accepting a post at a women's college might mean the end of a career. It ordinarily does not have the same prestige as a men's college, or even a coeducational college. That this is largely a professorial superstition is irrelevant; it is one of the handicaps women's colleges suffer in bidding for brains, brilliance, and names. Barnard's position in respect to Columbia is in this way an asset, for Columbia has frequently taken top-flight men after Barnard has discovered them. So a teaching position at Barnard is not an invitation to obscurity. A man may graduate, like Raymond

Moley, to even higher things than the Columbia faculty. Professor Moley, incidentally, is still (1946) on the Barnard staff.

One of the outstanding men Dean Gildersleeve brought to the college was Douglas Moore, who came to head the department of music and is now also a professor of music in Columbia. Three of the foremost men in their respective fields have for years been professors at Barnard: Henry E. Crampton, the zoologist, William T. Brewster, now emeritus professor of English, and William Pepperell Montague, the philosopher. Others on the Barnard faculty (1946) are: Edward Kasner, mathematician; Harry L. Hollingworth, psychologist; Helen H. Parkhurst, philosopher; Robert M. MacIver, political scientist. One of the best teachers of playwrighting also has long been at Barnard: Miss Minor W. Latham.

Some off-the-record criticism has been made of Barnard as a "provincial college set in the midst of the greatest city in the world." To this Barnard answers with a statement on page 19 of its Announcement: "In choosing the members of its freshman class and also the students from other colleges admitted to higher standing, the College keeps in mind the desirability of having a student body which, though reasonably congenial, will be as far as possible a cross-section of the country geographically, economically, socially, and in other ways, so that it will be educationally valuable for the members to know one another and work together. This consideration may influence the selections of the Committee on Admissions." The "cross-section" phrase is emphasized because Barnard does not want to be simply a continuation of New York City high schools. Of course, Barnard denies it has anything like a quota system on admitting any racial or religious group, but the paragraph quoted above gives the rationali-

zation for whatever policy the admissions office seems to pursue.

There are excellent reasons why a girl should prefer to go to a college in New York City instead of to Vassar or Wellesley. To those who say that Barnard does not take full advantage of the cultural and other opportunities and advantages of a great city, the college answers with a leaflet entitled *New York Is Barnard's Laboratory.* It describes how students in anthropology go to the Museum of Natural History, the botanists go to the Bronx Park Botanical Garden, while those majoring in economics and social science can investigate the city's welfare institutions and attend hearings of State and National Labor Relations Boards. English students have the advantage of being close to the world's theatrical capital. It is also the world's fine arts and music center. Qualified seniors can take courses in Columbia's graduate schools, but Dean Gildersleeve has discouraged girls from taking such courses for what she considers inadequate reasons.

Miss Gildersleeve organized the seven leading women's colleges of the East for fund-raising purposes, pointing out that women who have not gone to college are inclined to leave money to men's colleges out of loyalty to the husband or father who made the money. Barnard, she has constantly pointed out, does not share in Columbia's reputed wealth. The notion that the university is wealthy has made it difficult to obtain necessary funds. The college owns equipment, buildings and grounds valued at $4,300,000 and holds productive funds of approximately $200,000. But its needs have grown: it desperately needs more dormitories, a new building for lecture and study rooms, and new laboratory equipment. While the girls can use the big Columbia library, more space for a reading-room library is imperative on the Barnard campus. Barnard tries to keep

its registration down to 1,000 students; during the war it went considerably higher, and the equipment and accommodations were painfully inadequate.

Situated as it is, Barnard must steer a careful course. Sometimes it must struggle for independence against the encroachments of the university; sometimes it must assert itself as an independent unit. Yet it is a part of Columbia, its faculty is one of the faculties of the university, and it must follow policies that are consistent with those of Columbia. Its prestige and its destiny are irrevocably linked with Columbia. Conflicts could easily arise, and minor ones inevitably do. It must be set down to Dean Gildersleeve's credit that during her administration she has shown caution when it seemed necessary and courage when it has appeared expedient.

Announcement of her retirement in June, 1947, naturally aroused a certain amount of sentimental regret on the part of the alumnae. But 36 years is a long time to serve as the administrative head of a growing college, perhaps too long. The institution becomes too much identified with one personality, so that it has often been said that Barnard is Gildersleeve and Gildersleeve is Barnard. It is a healthy thing to come to an end of an era, even so splendid an era as Gildersleeve's, and Butler's. On November 25, 1946, Dr. Millicent Carey McIntosh was named to succeed Miss Gildersleeve, to take office July 1, 1947. She is the mother of five children, the headmistress of the Brearley School, and the wife of Dr. Rustin McIntosh, Professor of Pediatrics at the College of Physicians and Surgeons.

Barnard has a devoted and hard-working alumnae. Two outstanding graduates on the board of trustees are Mrs. Ogden Reid and Mrs. Arthur Hays Sulzberger. The alumnae are loyal but not uncritical. You will not find that dewy-eyed sentimentalism about the old campus, or that

idealistic emotionalism for their alma mater that characterizes the graduates of some other women's colleges. You are more likely to find a sound realism, and sometimes a lingering, remembered resentment about something that irked them in their college days. They are not likely to display such a repertoire of poses, and their sophistication is more inclined to be genuine. That, too, may be one of the results of going to college in New York City.

CHAPTER IX

The Graduate and Professional Schools

TEACHERS COLLEGE

OLDEST AND STRONGEST of the traditions of Teachers College has been its crusading championship of democracy in education. John Dewey's ideas appeared on the horizon just as the college was getting started. Those in charge of the college saw these ideas as the brilliant sunrise of a new day in education. They took them seriously and literally; they expanded and added to them. Dewey, to them, was something of a messiah; he gave them a mission which they have pursued with the fervor of religious mystics. The new day in education belongs to them.

Some of them have distorted Dewey's ideas so that they sound like gibberish. But beneath all this a fundamental fact must not be forgotten: Teachers College began as an industrial educational association for the laboring classes, and it has never forgotten or lost the consciousness that its main responsibility is to those classes. In doing that it has not forgotten the rich or the well-to-do. Year in and year out for more than fifty years it has tried faithfully, sometimes in strange ways, to serve the poor as well as the rich, the stupid as well as the clever. Whatever may be said about the place, that must not be forgotten, for it is the key to this educational colossus which is the biggest professional school in the world.

It has never stopped repeating that American education

is, or should be, for everybody, of all ages, races, sexes, colors, creeds, and economic levels. It has attempted to embrace them all in its curriculum. Some of its professors have taken this credo to mean that the function of education is to reform or revolutionize the social and economic system. The faculty has worked hard on all conceivable problems on how to educate everybody. They have not been unopposed. The college has enjoyed its fights, and the battles still go on.

The institution has had plenty of critics. The professors admit that they talk a language of their own, known in the profession as "pedagese." They plead guilty to championing vocational education. One of its critics took it to task just for that. Abraham Flexner was instrumental in getting Rockefeller funds for Teachers College; he was largely responsible for obtaining Rockefeller money to support Lincoln School. But when he wrote a book on American universities and lectured about them at Oxford, he ridiculed the T.C. curriculum by the easy device of quoting the titles of some of the courses it offers.

The names of some of the courses, it must be admitted, sound a little strange to the uninitiated in educational theories. Not quoted by Dr. Flexner but included in the 1945 Announcement are: Home Furnishing, 2 points; Clay Modeling, 2 points; Fundamental Cookery Processes and Informal Table Service, 3 points; Massage and Protective Strapping, 2 points; Methods in Relaxation, 1 or 2 points. This has a note that "those needing extra practice in relaxation should elect Phys. Ed. 136s," which is given in Summer Session when perhaps relaxation comes easier. However, a course on home furnishing makes sense to those seeking a Bachelor of Science degree in the industrial arts. Clay modeling is necessary to those who intend to teach craft courses in public schools; cookery to teachers

of home economics. Athletic trainers and specialists in physical education probably get something valuable in courses in massaging, strapping, relaxation, and advanced stunts.

Many men and women have made Teachers College what it is today, but first among them was James Earl Russell, dean for thirty years. After the resignation of Dr. Butler in 1891 as president, the college had several uncertain years. Walter L. Hervey served as president for a time and an attempt was made to bring it into the Columbia College corporation. But Columbia's trustees did not like the idea of running a kindergarten and primary school as T.C. was then doing, and had been doing since 1889, called Horace Mann. In 1897 Dr. Hervey resigned, and the T.C. trustees tried to get Benjamin Ide Wheeler to take the job. Before he accepted he persuaded Dr. Russell to join the faculty. Russell came to New York expecting to serve under Wheeler only to discover that Wheeler had declined the post. So Russell had to take it himself.

The personality of Russell is best described in his own words: "I was brought up in the strictest sect of Pharisees, a Scotch Presbyterian community in upstate New York. I went to the village school for eight years until the masters of my fate, the State Board of Regents, were satisfied of my proficiency. Indeed, I could spell all the words in the spelling book, even to abracadabra and hypersusceptibility. I could do all the sums in arithmetic, including longitude and time, allegation, partial payments and cube root. I could bound all the states, name their capitals, and say where the main rivers rose and where they emptied. Canada was a big pink splash on the map and the rest of the world didn't matter much anyway. My reading books had some choice bits like 'The Death of Little Nell,' but it was long afterwards I discovered they were excerpts from standard

literature. Formal grammar was the culmination of language study and the apex of grammar was parsing Gray's *Elegy* and the first three pages of *Paradise Lost*—quite enough of Milton, I am sorry to say, to last me a lifetime." *

Russell won a scholarship at Cornell in 1883. "Strange as it may seem today," he continued, "in all my schooling to the Junior year in college no book was ever suggested as desirable correlative reading, much less required. Textbooks were deemed sufficient for all needs. My schooling was a dull, senseless grind, enlivened only by what Kipling calls the art of guessing what kind of answers please certain kinds of examiners. . . .

"A new era was opened to me in my Senior year with the coming of two young professors, Jacob Gould Schurman and Benjamin Ide Wheeler. In reply to an inquiry how I might best spend the summer preparatory to his courses, Schurman wrote me to study Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Three months is hardly time enough for a neophyte to absorb all that Essay contains, but it was my first effort to analyze a masterpiece. At the end of the summer vacation I knew its contents from A to Z. With this as a starter I was permitted to take all the regular courses that Schurman gave and was admitted to his Seminar. The rest of my time was given to Wheeler's Seminar in Greek. An investigation of the use of the dative case in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was specifically the main task assigned to me, but the seminar sessions devoted to the rapid reading of Homer illuminated by excursions into the life and thought of Greek civilization were eye-openers to a student blind to the world in which he had lived during his school days."

* *Founding Teachers College: Reminiscences of the Dean Emeritus,* by James Earl Russell. (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, © 1937.)

After a year with these teachers Russell went to Yale to teach Greek. He remained three years, and spent another three years trying to manage a preparatory school. As soon as he could afford it he rebelled, and went to Europe, where he studied the German educational system. The gap between theories and practice in Germany confounded him. He admired the scholarship but he recognized that the German system was not for America. He returned to teach at the University of Colorado, convinced that it was his job to use the schools from kindergarten to university as a means of coordinating formal instruction with the educational influences proceeding from the home, the church, the press, and other social forces. "In a word," he said, "to make the schools instruments of education as well as a means of instruction."

To make of teaching a true profession was his chosen task. "Teachers capable of such service," he said, "would be truly professional workers and take their place alongside of professional experts in law, medicine, and engineering. Why not a professional school for teachers?" When he went to T.C. it was a private normal school with 69 regular students of Junior College grade, and a demonstration school of 400 pupils. The annual deficit was $80,000. Russell's dream was of a professional school of university rank. He put his plan in writing, suggesting that T.C. be made a professional school in the Columbia University system, dispensing with a "president" and simply having a "dean." Two weeks after submitting his report Spencer Trask, then chairman of T.C. trustees, handed him a letter which said that the trustees were in session and were ready to adopt his plan of affiliation but that President Seth Low had stipulated that Dr. Russell should be dean.

Russell replied that he was not qualified; he wanted to teach, not administrate. Low persuaded him. He resigned

twice the first year, but he was unable to get away, not for 30 years, when he was emerited in 1927. For 18 years he fought the university for complete freedom and for university rank. He hated the practice of one-man rule over departments. The Columbia trustees were suspicious of new courses. In the public schools powerful superintendents ruled like feudal barons their pedagogical realms. But dissatisfaction was growing; a new social era was coming in; ideas percolated in educational circles. Russell saw his opportunity and he took it.

"How and when to act, why a certain procedure is preferable to some others, what knowledge and skill are requisite for the purpose—these are the objectives of professional education," declared Russell. More knowledge was needed of the learner and learning, he thought, more about past achievement and present practice, more about possible materials of instruction in all grades, about school management and administration, and about the purpose of it all. The people who most needed to be educated, Russell discovered, were the teachers in the public schools, particularly the principals and the school superintendents. Teachers College proposed to educate them, but first of all they had to be persuaded to come.

Dr. Russell asked the superintendent of the schools of Newark, N. J., to teach a course in school supervision, telling him that the course would run two hours weekly through the academic year. "Why," he answered, "I can tell all I know in six weeks." Russell replied that he was not so much concerned with what he could tell as what the students should learn. "Why not investigate what the schools are doing, how they are managed?" That sent the superintendent back on his heels. "Do you propose to have these students visit schools, pry into their methods, and quiz the superintendent about how he conducts his

business? All that the superintendent wants the public to know can be found in his reports. I have never visited another superintendent except as a friendly caller or perhaps to steal a teacher. Snooping around just can't be done; it isn't ethical." Under Russell's urging, however, he gave the course, which has since been taught by some of T.C.'s most distinguished professors of education.

Russell wrote the first catalogue. Dr. Butler asked him where he expected to find students for a course on foreign school systems restricted to college graduates with a reading knowledge of French and German. Russell said he didn't know but he thought it looked well in the catalogue. (Thirty-four registered for it.) He got Paul Monroe, then a young instructor in history in Columbia College, to give a course in the history of education. Both the course and the man became internationally famous. The influx of graduate students in the first year overwhelmed them. Teachers College attracted as students men and women who were later to become college presidents or leading teachers of education. With the help of V. Everitt Macy, who gave scholarships for foreign students, teachers came for training who were later to hold strategic positions in educational systems not only of the U. S., but throughout the world.

Like Barnard, T.C. has always been financially independent of Columbia and has never had any share in Columbia's wealth. It has had to depend on student fees. Its endowment has been shockingly small for so influential an institution. A devoted board of trustees by their personal gifts carried the college through its first critical period. Miss Grace Dodge was the guiding hand and financial backer. It is not known how much she gave, but it ran into hundreds of thousands, and on her death she left the college more than a million. For years she acted as treasurer,

and personally met the annual deficit which ranged from $60,000 to $100,000.

Dr. Russell went talent-hunting. He picked Edward L. Thorndike from Western Reserve when he was only twenty-five. Thorndike had been experimenting up to then only on mice and monkeys; for forty years his educational psychology was equally as effective on human beings. He developed the subject of educational psychology so it was the first study for students in all departments. Russell then lifted classicist Gonzales Lodge from Bryn Mawr, and noted with great satisfaction that Lodge refused later to head the Latin department at Columbia. For mathematics Russell chose David Eugene Smith, who was lecturing on the beauties of algebra in an upstate New York normal school. He thus drew to T.C. not only students of education as such, but a brilliant group of men who had an enthusiasm for teaching their respective subjects in the lower schools. To supplement Lodge and Smith, he attracted Franklin T. Baker in English, Maurice A. Bigelow in the biological sciences, and Henry Johnson in history.

He instigated an entirely new venture: the teaching of trained nurses in methods of conducting nurses' training schools. Under the leadership of Mary Adelaide Nutting this became one of the largest departments in the college. For kindergarten education he brought in Patty Smith Hill; for fine arts, Charles H. Farnsworth in music; and Arthur Dow in the graphic arts. He gave each a free hand. It was his policy when some pet theory or practice seemed to be gaining the ascendancy to bring in an advocate of a different point of view. He stood up to scathing criticism from Columbia professors. For fifteen years he sat in the University Council knowing that for him to advocate a measure was automatically to defeat it. Even today hostility to Teachers College knows neither geography, creed,

nor occupational status. To many it looks like an octopus, its tentacles fastened on public schools and educational systems the world over. If a survey has to be made of the schools of Iraq or Japan, experts from T.C. are called upon. Even from China have come cries that T.C. has a monopolistic control over the schools. But T.C. professors talk back; they can dish it out as well as take it.

The institution came on the scene at a time when American schools were multiplying at an astronomical rate. In the eighties about 300,000 boys and girls went to high school; by 1940 it was 7,000,000. Teachers had not only to be found; they had to be trained; and if they were to do their jobs well they had to have some kind of philosophy of education, some idea of what they were trying to do. Where were they to get this, directly or indirectly, except from Teachers College?

During this same period private academies and preparatory schools, as well as high schools, changed their objectives. Instead of preparing youngsters merely for college, they began to prepare them for jobs. Proportionately fewer went on to college. In 1890 four times as many pupils were graduating from high school as from college. By 1940 there were twelve times as many. Only about one in five high-school graduates goes on to college. That has changed the whole complexion, content, objective and character of secondary education. Who was to train the teachers for these new schools? Teachers College led the way in that job. As vast changes took place in the schools, and in society, the faculties of most American colleges wrung their hands and moaned. Teachers College set out to do something about it; not only to keep step, but to look ahead.

Under Dean Russell's leadership his colleagues studied how the new demands could be met. Largely through T.C.'s pervasive influence, the secondary school's curricu-

lum has been adjusted to the 20th century. It has had the courage to try out new theories and to find out how they work in practice. That has been done at the Horace Mann-Lincoln School. Teachers College students observed the teaching there. To find out what to do the professors and students sought basic facts. During the second and third decades of this century there was an orgy of fact-finding. Data was gathered on every imaginable subject, and published, of course, with elaborate charts. From these charts it was said to be possible to ascertain the average mark in Latin for the fifteen-year-old children of blond Presbyterians in the public schools of the Second Congressional District of Arkansas. Teachers College is proud of such studies.

Teachers College has championed progressive education; it has gone to incredible lengths in measuring pupils by psychological and every other kind of tests; it has changed the whole character of kindergarten teaching, of manual training, of English teaching, and the methods of teaching every subject under the sun. It has surveyed, evaluated, criticized. It has abolished such textbooks as Trents' *Minor Poems of Milton,* which had forty pages of verse and seventy of notes. It went through phases when the faculty talked about "apperception mass" and invented such things as the Five Formal Steps. From that it wallowed in "dramatic and artistic play" until the "play way" became too exhausting for the teachers.

Its English methods degenerated into studying Shakespeare by carving Macbeth's castle out of a piece of soap. At one time it required students to distinguish between purpose, aim, objective, goal, and "big goal." Research went so far that a bibliography was compiled of research studies in reading and related fields that had more than 8,000 titles. That is an example of what educators will do

when turned loose in a library. The college went through a stormy period of curriculum reform, from "correlation" to "integration," from "integration" to "core curriculum." Teachers College has indeed invented and followed madly countless fads and fancies; but out of it has come real achievement that nobody can laugh off.

Teachers College gets into the newspapers when one of the professors is labeled "radical," when his textbooks are banned by a terrified local board of education, or when there is a rumpus about the Horace Mann-Lincoln School. Leader of the intransigent group, whose radicalism frightened the conservatives, was William Heard Kilpatrick, now retired. He organized the John Dewey Society "to bring the school and society effectively together." It published essays demanding social change through education. For a time it published a magazine, *Social Frontier,* "a journal of educational criticism and reconstruction." George S. Counts was editor, and Harold Rugg, Clyde R. Miller, Goodwin Watson, E. C. Lindeman, Robert K. Speer, Henry Pratt Fairchild and other outstanding liberals were contributors. In its first issue, in 1934, it declared that it "assumes that the age of individualism in economics is closing and that an age marked by close integration of social life and by collective planning and control is opening." Communists contributed to the journal, but it was not communist, and Kilpatrick himself emphatically rejected what he called "high Marxism" because "it rejects education as a process of social change."

George Sylvester Counts has been characterized as a "cross between a Jeffersonian Democrat and a Lincoln Republican." That is perhaps the mildest description ever applied to him. He came to T.C. in 1927, the same year in which he published a book, *The Social Composition of Boards of Education,* showing that local boards are drawn from a narrow section of the population. After seven

months in Soviet Russia, where he drove 6,000 miles in a Ford, he wrote *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* "Capitalism no longer works," he declared; "it is not only cruel and inhuman, it is wasteful and inefficient. This gives teachers an opportunity and a responsibility unique in the annals of education." He advocated the unionization of the teaching profession from kindergarten to college; he has been active in the National Educational Association and in New York City politics. He helped organize the Liberal Party when it split from the American Labor Party.

Teachers College's professors of education have always had voices that carry far beyond the campus: R. Freeman Butts, Milton C. Del Manzo, Roma Gans, George W. Hartmann, Isaac L. Kandel and Lyman Bryson are occasionally heard from, and if you listen to them you will notice at once that they do not always agree. One of the best known is cherubic, gray-haired, balding Harold Ordway Rugg, whose social science textbooks have sold more than 2,000,000 copies, and are in more than 4,000 schools. He has been professor of education since 1920. One of his first jobs was to measure and to chart the abilities of every child in Lincoln School. He said he believed in salvation through fact-finding. Later he became identified with Technocracy, but he did not invent it.

Some of the greatest names associated with T.C. are now in the ranks of the emerited: Allan Abbott of English, William C. Bagley, David Snedden and Thomas Henry Briggs of Education, Elijah William Bagster-Collins of German, and Thomas Denison Wood of Health Education. They are among the conservatives. And the present dean, William Fletcher Russell, is a very pronounced conservative. He succeeded his father in 1927 after a busy career in teaching in Colorado, Tennessee, Iowa, and Columbia, and working with numerous international educa-

tional organizations and movements. His attitude toward education and toward T.C. might be likened to that of the president of International Business Machines who is interested in seeing that his organization turns out the latest, most advanced product, and is concerned that this product be installed wherever possible throughout the world. Thus he has promoted the name, fame, and influence of T.C. the world over.

Although something of a Babbitt, and lacking the color, force and imagination of his father, he is an excellent administrator and he has needed to be. One of his first problems was to see the institution through the depression; one of his most recent was to see it through the second World War—both serious problems for a school dependent on student fees for its existence. The lack of endowment has been his most serious concern, and because T.C. did not have great financial resources it could not afford the luxury of the Horace Mann-Lincoln School.

Horace Mann was founded in 1887, was taken over by T.C. in 1891. The Lincoln School was founded in 1917 by the General Education Board with Rockefeller funds for educational experimentation. The board gave T. C. annual grants from 1917 to 1926 when it gave $500,000 and another $500,000 the following year. In 1928 it gave $2,000,000 —a total of $3,000,000 altogether. In 1940, against the protests of the parents of the children attending both schools, T.C. merged Horace Mann with Lincoln School. That resulted in a lawsuit, but the court ruled that the college could, at its discretion, change the instrumentality through which it expended the funds so long as the general intent of the original grant was fulfilled.

In February, 1946, the administrative staff of the college, headed by Dean William F. Russell, voted unanimously that the Horace Mann-Lincoln School be dropped.

Immediately the cry of "betrayal" went up from the parents of more than 1,000 pupils. Both parents and children liked the kind of progressive education the school was providing. But if it was to continue, Dean Russell told them, the parents would have to take it over. The school was a private, not a public school, and T.C.'s main interest for years has been in the public, not the private, schools. It was a valuable place for educational experiments and for observation of methods. But T.C. could not continue to meet the deficit. This, so far as Dean Russell was concerned, was the beginning and the end of the matter. Thus ends an era of the cradle of progressive education.

There has been an effort recently to denature professional schools of education, making them departments in colleges or universities. William C. Bagley fought this movement and loyally defended Teachers College: "Because it has been spatially, fiscally, and corporately independent, this institution has been free to meet the needs of the lower schools as it has conceived these needs. In doing this, it has been able to develop in its staff and in its tens of thousands of students a professional enthusiasm, a professional loyalty, and a professional consciousness and conscience which could never be developed by an institution which relegates the professional study of education to a dim and uncertain background." It can only be added that it was the infectious spirit of James E. Russell which has given to every student this professional enthusiasm, and thus made the school a dynamic influence wherever there is such a thing as education.

THE COLUMBIA LAW SCHOOL

"The first professorship of law in America was established by Columbia (then King's) College in 1773, the

chair being filled by John Vardill," declares the "historical statement" in the Announcement of the School of Law. Vardill left for England soon afterward to become a secret agent for the British Government and the few lectures he gave in no sense constituted a law school. Nor could the lectures of James Kent, important though they have been to lawyers, be considered a law school as we understand it. Kent was named professor of law in 1793, but he had very few students, and he left for a judicial career in 1798. He returned after his retirement from the bench in 1823 and for two years gave lectures which were the basis for his classic *Commentaries.*

Until that time, said Harlan F. Stone, "there had been no effort in America worthy of note at the systematic exposition of the principles of Anglo-American law. . . . It remained for Kent to add the last of the great institutional treatises on common law and to identify it with the instruction of law in an American institution of learning. . . . His purpose was the enlightenment and liberalization of his profession. The time had not yet come for the development of legal training as a preparation for professional practice. This phase of American legal training found its most notable exponent in Theodore Dwight, who gave to legal education its utilitarian trend more than any other person of his time."

Dwight's appointment as professor of municipal law in 1858 was the real beginning of the Columbia Law School. Then 36, he was law professor at Hamilton College, from which he had graduated at 18. He was the grandson of Timothy Dwight, president of Yale and the cousin of another Timothy Dwight who was also a Yale president. At Columbia he was the only instructor in private law. During his service as warden 6,000 students listened to him, first in the Historical Society's building at Second Avenue

and 11th Street, then from 1859 to 1873 at the former home of William B. Astor at 27 Lafayette Place, and at other locations until the school moved to the Madison Avenue campus. In 1858 he had 35 students; by 1875 he had 573. Except for optional evening lectures by Francis Lieber, Charles Murray Nairne, and the frugal John Ordronaux (who would spend only 25 cents for lunch and then gave his fortune to the school after his death), Dwight was the faculty up until 1875 when additional teachers came to help him.

Dwight was a great teacher in every sense of the term. In his time he was regarded as the greatest living professor of law. James Bryce said of him: "Better law teachers than Mr. Dwight it is hardly possible to imagine; it would be worth an English student's while to cross the Atlantic to attend his course." In his early days he spent six hours a day on instruction and on Friday evenings presided with two seniors in Moot Court trials. The university study of law was an experiment in those days; many lawyers still favored the apprentice system. It was Dwight who convinced the Bar that university legal education was not only the best, but the only satisfactory way to study law.

In the late 1870s Charles W. Eliot of Harvard became so impressed by the scientific method in German universities he decided to have it adapted to the teaching of law. He found a disciple in Langdell who introduced the "case method" at Harvard. Columbia's trustees, who were not getting along with Dwight just then, thought Columbia should follow suit. They persuaded red-haired, red-bearded William A. Keener to come as professor of private law, which had been Dwight's province for more than thirty years. In 1890 they directed that the course be changed from two to three years. This infuriated the Dwight adherents. Some of the students felt they had been

tricked, for they said they had enrolled on the understanding it was to be a two-year course. Dwight retired, and a number of students quit to study with him. Many years later the students who had left without getting their degrees were given their law degrees by the school as a gesture of giving them full justice.

Keener made a terrific impression on his students, not only because he was a great hulk of a man, but because he was master of the Socratic dialogue, merciless in his questioning, and when he took out his big red bandanna handkerchief and blew his nose before starting his lecture the rafters echoed the explosion. He built up a faculty of giants in the law. He brought George W. Cumming, a railroad attorney, who paced the platform nervously, his nose glasses always about to fall off. His lucidity of exposition was incomparable. He also engaged Francis M. Burdick, a lawyer's lawyer, the opposite of Keener in personality, although he also had red hair. He was a man of great personal charm and was always ready to help his students. In 1892 Keener added George F. Canfield to this group, whose keen, analytical mind concentrated on doctrines peculiar to New York law. John Bassett Moore also came to the school to teach criminal law; he was the true gentleman and scholar who had a social and human approach that made contact with him an inestimable privilege always remembered.

John W. Burgess, Munroe Smith and Frank J. Goodnow also lectured at the school. Then, in the middle 1890s, came a man who will always be vivid in the memory of his students: Charles Thaddeus Terry, another terrifying master of the Socratic method. He initiated Dean Smith into the necessity for a critical attitude toward the law. When Smith was a first-year student Terry put a hypothetical case to him involving the offer of a reward,

revoked by publication, asking if this was a revocation. "Yes," said Smith. "Why?" demanded Terry. "Because the Supreme Court decided it was a revocation in *Shuey v. the United States.*" Terry with his unforgettable sardonic grin then inquired: "Yes, and you believed them, didn't you?" Terry is said to be the only man ever to frighten Harold R. Medina. He called on Medina every session of the class for four months because he knew Medina would give him an argument.

Keener resigned in 1902 to devote his time to private practice. George W. Kirchwey, whom Keener had brought in in 1891, succeeded him. Kirchwey was always entertaining; he made the law interesting; scores of anecdotes are told about him. When his students started to leave his class too early he would call them back: "Just a moment, gentlemen, I have a few more pearls to cast." After his retirement he became warden of Sing Sing, and after that, when he met smiling young men on the street, he said he never knew whether to ask when they graduated or when they were released. Usually he asked when they got out.

In 1907 Dr. Butler tried to get Harlan F. Stone to accept the office of dean. A member of the Amherst class of 1894, he had a brilliant academic career, won his Phi Beta Kappa in his junior year, played right guard on one of Amherst's best football teams, was selected by his class as "the man who would become most famous." He then went to Columbia Law School, got his degree in 1898, and went to work for Sullivan and Cromwell; later with Wilmer and Canfield. He lectured at the school from 1899 to 1902 when he became a professor. In 1905 he left to join the firm of Satterlee, Canfield and Stone.

When Butler made his offer Stone accepted on condition that he would be consulted on all appointments. Before he took the position, however, Butler appointed

Harry Cushing to the faculty. Since Stone had not been consulted, he withdrew his acceptance. Butler was annoyed, made Cushing dean. The students knew the story, disliked Cushing, and made his life so miserable that he quit and disappeared for a time. The trustees and the law alumni thereupon insisted upon Stone, so Butler had to invite him and did not again interfere.

Stone made the school a truly distinguished institution. He was tremendously popular; he introduced reforms in teaching, amazed his students by his grasp of details. He always found time to see students who had special problems to discuss with him. In lectures he twirled his glasses, never opened a book, never raised his voice or razzed his students, but spoke in a conversational tone that was an expression of his kindliness of manner and his desire to meet the class more than halfway. His argument was closely knit; if a student's attention wavered at the beginning and a point was missed, the rest of the hour was apt to be meaningless to the inattentive. His profound personal integrity left a lasting impression; students who knew him were conscious that they had touched greatness. Moreover, he was revered as a liberal; he objected when Cattell and Dana were fired, and he helped Cattell obtain a cash settlement from Columbia. During the first World War he aided the Wilson Administration in dealing with conscientious objectors, traveled from camp to camp to listen to their stories. He publicly opposed A. Mitchell Palmer's Red raids. However, because of his Wall Street connections, and the fact that his partner, Satterlee, was J. P. Morgan's son-in-law, leftists considered him an arch-conservative.

While he was dean he literally did the work of three men, for he practiced law at the same time. He remembered his students, gave them sound advice, and frequently

found jobs for them. He resigned in 1923 and in the following year Coolidge appointed him Attorney General. He went on to the Supreme Court in 1925, and followed another Columbia law alumnus, Charles E. Hughes (class of '84), as Chief Justice. The Law School can boast of contributing five justices to the U. S. Supreme Court since 1930. At one time four members of the court were alumni of the school: Hughes, Stone, Benjamin N. Cardozo ('92), and Stanley F. Reed ('09). Later, William Orville Douglas ('25) was appointed. Harvard never had more than two of its alumni on the Supreme Court bench at one time. Incidentally, it should be mentioned that Thomas E. Dewey is a graduate. A picture of him at the school shows him without his moustache; he looked somewhat handsomer then. Franklin D. Roosevelt was a student, but did not stay to graduate.

Other distinguished teachers of Stone's period should be mentioned: tender, lovable old Nathan Abbott; always gentle and considerate, he was almost inaudible in the classroom for he spoke in a whisper, from chain-smoking cigarettes. He was a gentleman of the old school, precise in dress and manner; he lectured on real property and domestic relations. When Abbott became so ill he could no longer teach, Dean Stone one night phoned Harold Medina, and asked him to take the course in domestic relations. Medina was already teaching at the school, but he accepted at once, asked when he was to begin. "Tomorrow morning at nine o'clock." Medina was there, and ready; he was on the faculty for 25 years.

Thomas Reed Powell was considered unconventional because he suggested that judges were moved not by legal argument solely but by social, economic, and psychological biases of which they were usually quite unconscious. Ralph W. Gifford and his famous moustache that he liked to

twist when excited, was a master of classroom technique. His emphatic phrase, "Such is *not* the law," is still a slogan for some of his students. Underhill Moore pounded and shouted, but he was highly respected for his cultural and intellectual background.

After Stone resigned Professor Thomas I. Parkinson acted as dean. He was followed by Professor Huger W. Jervey, whose poor health compelled him to resign as administrator although he continued to lecture. Young Berryman Smith, who had given new life to the teaching of torts, became acting dean; this was made official in 1928. He immediately began to demonstrate his high order of executive ability by bringing warring factions in the faculty together. After several professors left, he got the staff to work together as a team. He built on the foundations laid down by Harlan F. Stone. That today the school stands as the first law school in the country is due, in large measure, to Dean Smith's capacity for leadership.

He has demonstrated this capacity in the twenty years since he became dean by leading the way in re-examining the curriculum to tie the law closer to the social sciences and to broaden the base of law. For a time the case system was carried to ridiculous extremes to impart simple information. Things that could be said in minutes took hours. To teach students that Massachusetts, for example, requires three witnesses to a will, and that wills in that commonwealth are not considered valid if they have only two, students had to read through a whole case that had been carried from one court to another. There has been a reaction against that sort of thing in most law schools; today casebooks tell the students something. New teaching materials came from the Columbia law faculty, reflecting new attitudes. James P. Gifford described this change in 1941: "The criterion for determining the goodness or bad-

ness of any rule of law was to be found in its effects on social behavior, not in its logical symmetry or lack of symmetry to the existing body of rules. Law, as these thinkers conceived of it, was not merely a set of rules; it was a tool with a function—that of producing an orderly, smooth-working, dynamic society. Logic was not to be discarded but the critical scholar must find his premises not in the rules themselves but in the area of their effects."

Because it was thought unfair to admit too many students and then flunk out a large number, a selective system of admission was introduced in 1928 to limit the enrollment to 500. During the war the registration dropped to 115, including 45 women. After the war the enrollment doubled overnight. To meet the backlog created, the school has been admitting 150 students at each of the three entering periods during the calendar year. This, with the special and graduate students, will bring the registration up to nearly 800. This means that the quarters in Kent Hall, already cramped, will be cruelly overcrowded and some classes must be held elsewhere.

This flood of students led Dean Smith in his 1946 report to warn that undue expansion of the country's law schools would mean eventual overcrowding of the legal profession. What Professor Smith wants most of all is a law center at Columbia to combine all the activities concerned with law and government, and for a legal clinic to offer low-cost service to persons of low or moderate income and at the same time provide practical experience for students.

THE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

After the second World War, when the deluge of veterans and other young men and women who wanted uni-

versity training poured onto the campus, the department of admissions attempted at first to process the applications in routine fashion by examining the applicant's academic record. Dean Robert D. Calkins of the School of Business was one of the first to see the fallacy of judging men with war, and probably combat, experience, on the basis of school and college records five years old. He had new ideas about the function of his school and the service it could render American economy. He seemed to be ambitious to build a school that will produce graduates who have genuine competence in managing economic affairs, who will, moreover, have the vision to be long-range policy-makers and possess the capacity for making sound decisions.

To obtain the kind of human material that could develop into the type of men and women he visualized, Calkins saw that it was not enough to look at prewar academic records. In school or college a boy may be an indifferent student, but the experience of war may awaken new ambitions. Facing death may give a man the determination, if he survives, to build a completely new life. A boy who flunked courses which bored him is not the same person as the man who rose from the ranks to become a company commander or to assume responsibility for a destroyer. So Calkins hired a capable assistant to interview all applicants to the school, Louis E. Bloetjes, a war veteran himself, who could judge, by talking to the applicants, whether they were qualified to profit sufficiently from the school's training to pursue successful careers after graduation. Such interviewing is, in itself, an important educational job, for the record of the school will be determined by its selection of the candidates for admission.

Columbia's School of Business grew out of University Extension. Teachers College blazed the trail by offering

courses afternoons, nights, and Saturdays to adult students who wanted to attend university classes at times that would not interfere with regular jobs. So many people tried to take advantage of these offerings that University Extension was organized in 1910 under an administrative board and a director, James C. Egbert, who had been a professor of Greek and Latin. The classics were not booming; Egbert had the time, the energy and, as he later proved, the competence to handle the administrative job. He never had a closed mind; he was always ready to take a chance. Extension grew rapidly. It tried to give people the kind of courses they wanted. This has meant that its emphasis has been on practical, vocational training. And this, inevitably, meant courses in business.

Soon there was such a demand for courses in accounting, advertising, banking, insurance, marketing, statistics, and allied subjects, that in 1916 the School of Business was organized with Professor Egbert in charge. In 1924 the School of Business Building was erected from funds donated by Emerson McMillin and from a bequest by A. Barton Hepburn. Incidentally, it took the School of Business to get Nicholas Murray Butler into a trade union; when he laid the cornerstone the building trades representative made Dr. Butler an honorary member, which he duly appreciated at the time.

Already the school had acquired some of the best men in their respective fields. The prodigious H. Parker Willis started lecturing there in 1912 and became professor of banking in 1917; at the same time he was editor of *The New York Journal of Commerce* and was writing books about the Federal Reserve System; a tyrannical editor, he was a kind and patient teacher. The school was also fortunate in persuading Roswell C. McCrea, who was dean of the Wharton School of Finance at the University of Pennsyl-

vania, to come to Columbia. He brought with him three top-flight authorities: T. W. Van Metre on transportation, Paul F. Blanchard on insurance, and Roy B. Kester on accounting.

Dr. Egbert retired in 1932 from his post at the School of Business, although he continued to hold his job as director of Extension until 1941 when he was past 80. McCrea then became dean. When he retired in 1941 the university showed enlightened judgment in bringing Dr. Calkins from the University of California to head the school. A Connecticut Yankee, he graduated from the College of William and Mary in Virginia in 1925, and then took his graduate work at Leland Stanford in California. Before he came, the conception of the school, and of all schools of business, was confined to the now somewhat old-fashioned conception of business. Calkins has a much broader prospective. Aware that he is living in a revolutionary era, he had ideas about how the school can adapt itself, and its students, to rapidly changing economic conditions.

Looking at the world's economic landscape, he observed recently in *The Harvard Business Review:* "We have by no means understood the art of managing economic affairs, despite our high technical efficiency. . . . Education has failed to provide competent managers; schools of business must have a broader conception of their function. They must train young men to take command of an economy which this generation has failed to master. . . . In educational circles there has been no real agreement on the sort of education a student should receive unless he intends to enter one of the well-established professions. It is not uncommon for students to be advised to seek a liberal arts or professional education and if he fails in that he can always pursue a business career." The rejects of every other

profession turn to business, he pointed out, and more often than not make a mess of things. But "the cost of muddling has soared, and today the muddler is no longer the principal loser."

Our economy, Calkins insists, "is not a fabulous oriental bazaar in which greedy people make a living cheating each other; it is a productive system on whose output we all depend. . . . Only by raising the general level of competence can society realize the goal of freedom in the midst of plenty." Such ideas sounded pretty revolutionary to the men F.D.R. called "economic royalists"; but Calkins was applauded for his stand by the more advanced and imaginative members of the business and financial community.

The School of Business at Columbia under Dean Calkins was not engaged in the job of training men to make money in Wall Street or merely to understand or juggle bank balances. It graduates may, indeed, never be employed in what is laughingly called private enterprise; their opportunities may be in Government agencies, or in some type of public administration. It is even conceivable that labor unions may need trained managerial minds to handle their business affairs. "If the nation is to attain and maintain abundant employment, high production, and favorable economic conditions, operating institutions must be staffed with men who are both technically competent and capable of formulating and executing sound policies," Calkins says. "To this end purposeful education for business and economic affairs is needed."

Thus he visualized a new kind of business education. After all, we live in a world of change, and one of the things that is changing rapidly is the economic system. But no matter what kind of system we have, if it is to distribute goods and services satisfactorily, somebody has to run it.

Calkins wanted to create a kind of education at his school that would be as enduring as the university. He wanted to make it more and more a graduate school doing a professional job. He did not try to train men to start as vice-presidents of corporations. Perhaps it would be a good idea if some of the best of them could start there; but Calkins realized that men must start wherever they can, and then rise as their abilities are recognized. So, in planning the curriculum of the school, Calkins was careful not to shoot under the student's potentialities. What he tried to do was not at first appreciated by big and little business. But Calkins felt that all business, as well as quasi-business agencies, will need the kind of leaders he proposed to produce.

To carry out his program Calkins would have had to create a new faculty. As the school expands, new professors will be needed, and a number now on the staff are close to retirement age. The group which he inherited from his predecessor are top-notch men in their fields: James C. Bonbright, professor of finance, was for years chairman of the New York Power Authority concerned with the St. Lawrence waterway project. Nobody knows more about public utilities than he. The labor authority is Paul F. Brissenden; long experienced in mediation, he was, during the war, vice-chairman of the New York Regional Labor Board. The brilliant, imaginative Eli Ginzberg is comparatively young; his chief concern recently has been occupational mobility or why people don't move when you'd expect they would. He studied Welsh coal miners and their families, and more recently unemployed families in this country. He is one of the economists who are bringing economics closer to psychology and even to psychiatry. Frederick C. Mills is the key man in statistics, an authority on prices and price behavior. His

book on the latter subject is considered the best example of good social science research in recent years. He is also a director of the Bureau of Economic Research. H. K. Nixon is a psychologist turned advertising man. A student of group behavior and mass psychology, he is a master of advertising technique. Carl S. Shoup is one of the top men in the U. S. on public finance; he has been a consultant for the U. S. Treasury Department. The dynamic Van Metre is still there, still interested in the book he wrote years ago, *Trains, Tracks and Travel,* which is a great favorite with children.

Dean Calkins wanted to lift his school to a position comparable to that of the Law School, and to make it as modern in its approach to economic affairs as the Law School is to legal matters. There are still large areas of knowledge to be explored, and for this a new body of scholars must be found to study and interpret the forces at work in the world. We need to know more about the industrial system and the economic problems of business firms, industries, and nations. American capitalism has in this century an opportunity literally to Americanize the world.

But Calkins did not stay to carry out his program. Even though he is an idealist, he was not immune to the lure of big money, and he resigned to join Rockefeller's General Education Board.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

"While it is a great pleasure to feel that a large number of young men will be helped to a better start in life by means of this college," wrote Joseph Pulitzer, "this is not my primary object. Neither is it the elevation of the profession which I love so much and regard so highly. In all my planning the chief end I had in view was the welfare

of the Republic. It will be the object of the college to make better journalists, who will make better newspapers, which will better serve the public. It will impart knowledge—not for its own sake, but to be used for the public service. It will try to develop character, but even that will be only a means to the supreme end—the public good."

As early as 1892, at the height of his career as publisher of *The New York World* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* Mr. Pulitzer thought of founding a school of journalism. In May, 1893, he considered founding a school as a perpetual memorial of the tenth anniversary of his purchase of the *World.* In 1904, after considerable discussion when Harvard was considered, he agreed to have it started at Columbia. After his death the necessary funds, about $2,500,000, became available under the provisions of his will; the school opened September 25, 1912.

It has had two directors, Talcott Williams and John W. Cunliffe. In 1931, Carl W. Ackerman became the first dean. Drs. Williams, Cunliffe, and Ackerman are men who have inspired the respect of the students. But the men most affectionately remembered are the two newspapermen whose personalities have illuminated the school and made it seem a glamorous place while they served it. Robert L. McAlarney and Charles P. Cooper gave the place a quality and an atmosphere by their presence. Both were lifelong newspapermen of the city room type; no working newspaperman would insult either by calling him a journalist. McAlarney was managing editor of *The New York Tribune* for years; Cooper served most of his life on the old *New York Sun* and then was for many years night city editor of *The New York Times.* Nobody who knew them doubted for a moment their intimate knowledge gained by tough experience in the routine of newspaper work. Best of all, they were the kind of men who could

also teach; they brought the atmosphere of the city room to the school. They gave the boys and girls unfamiliar with newspaper offices a sense of what it was like to work on a newspaper. Although stern realists, they communicated, because they loved their jobs, a feeling of the romance of the trade to which they gave their lives.

The first director, Talcott Williams, was a missionary who embraced newspaper work as a field for his evangelism. His father had been a Congregational missionary in Turkey, and there Talcott was born. Five languages were spoken daily in his boyhood home at Beirut, Syria; the youngster learned to speak them all and later acquired others. All his life he was a tireless talker in all languages, especially English, and considered himself an authority on practically every subject you could mention, but especially the Near East.

His parents sent him to Amherst; he graduated in 1873, and promptly got a job on *The New York World;* he was Albany correspondent and later night editor. He then went to Washington to be correspondent for several newspapers. He was editor of the *Springfield Republican* for two years, and after that spent the best years of his life on the *Philadelphia Press,* where he remained 31 years. He was managing editor, associate editor, chief editorial writer, financial writer. He wrote on all subjects with equal facility. He also found time to make an anthropological expedition into Morocco for the Smithsonian Institution and the Archaeological Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1880 he began a private clipping collection; by 1900 he had hundreds of boxes of clippings which he later bequeathed to the School of Journalism. They are the foundation of its morgue.

When he came to Columbia he was 63, a thin, wiry, little man with a great walrus moustache and large, blue,

surprised eyes. He took Mr. Pulitzer's admonition very seriously; he was bursting with missionary zeal to reform the profession of journalism, to elevate it, and to spread the gospel of good will through the press to all mankind. Unfortunately, he had only the foggiest notions of how a school should be organized and run. He lived only for the moment; he could neither see nor plan ahead. Whatever subject was mentioned at any time or place elicited from him a cascade of information; tap him with a question and a flood of facts poured forth; he was a complete walking encyclopedia.

The students confused and bewildered him; he seemed to have little understanding of them. He treated them as if the place were a prep school; he warned the boys against the perils of masturbation; and he lectured the girls on the danger of inflaming the senses of the boys. He gave impossible assignments, expecting students to absorb mountains of knowledge overnight. Morris Ryskind, in the first class in the school, led a revolt against him, aided by George Sokolsky, also in that class. After a brief student strike the other professors ironed out the difficulties.

Dr. Williams was assisted by Walter B. Pitkin and Roscoe C. E. Brown. Pitkin's encyclopedic knowledge rivaled Williams', but was tempered by common sense and a sense of humor. Roscoe C. E. Brown had been a political writer for the *Tribune*. A 19th-century gentleman, he was always calm, gracious, understanding, polite; he never lost his poise, and served for 30 years as a peacemaker in the tumultuous difficulties that rocked the faculty. His political ideas dated from the McKinley era; he was a dry lecturer, but his infinite patience commanded the respect of the students.

The initial mistake of the original faculty was to try to teach everything. The program attempted to embrace all

human knowledge. Pitkin covered the history of philosophy, modern psychology, a dash of anthropology, the world's great ethical systems, and an outline of logic. Dr. Williams lectured on ancient history, medieval history, modern history, economics, languages, journalism, the drama, the novel, and anything else that might be suggested by the students' questions. Dr. Brown was modest; he covered only politics. E. E. Slosson was brought to the school by Williams, and he took over all the sciences. He started as early as that to hammer at the theme that science is news, that whatever happens in the fields of science can be written about accurately and journalistically—a doctrine that has only recently become widely accepted by newspapers and magazines. In addition to all these courses, McAlarney tried to tell the students what newspaper work was like.

After four years of that, the faculty decided that it was trying to do too much, and that it should not be an undergraduate school. The courses were then revised, and two years of college were required for entrance. Dr. Williams was emerited and Dr. Cunliffe, who had been serving as associate director, was placed in charge. He was an amiable, kindly Englishman, born in Lancashire, who more than anything else wanted to be an English gentleman. He had been a Shakespearean scholar at the University of Manchester (then Owens College), and had worked on his father's newspaper. In 1892 he went to Canada, where he did newspaper work and began his professorial career at McGill University. For six years he was head of the English department at the University of Wisconsin. He came to the Columbia School of Journalism when it opened.

Pleasant and soft-spoken, anxious to please and easy to get along with, he tried to make the school a comfortable place for faculty and students. Neither worked too hard.

Pitkin worked overtime on his own multitudinous projects and seemed to have only a casual and hurried interest in the work of the school. Cunliffe edited a number of excellent selections of readings; one which he edited with Dr. G. R. Lomer was adopted as a standard textbook by teachers of journalism. In a dark-purple velvet smoking jacket he lectured on modern novelists and dramatists, but students from Columbia College, who had been accustomed to the gusto and insight of Erskine, found Cunliffe's discourses rather thin. During Cunliffe's time few students ever flunked.

From the beginning the school had its critics. The academically minded took a top-lofty attitude about anything so practical and superficial as the teaching of journalism. That, they said, was below university standards. Hard-boiled old newspapermen spat their contempt at the school and its lily-fingered, culture-imbued graduates. It took years to overcome these twin prejudices; vestiges still remain. The quality of its graduates has been the most forceful answer to the school's critics. Many of its alumni have been highly successful. That, however, has not been due to the training the school has given them, but because the school, by its location and prestige, has attracted superior minds; men and women who would have probably been first-rate without the school. Nevertheless, most of them admit that the school did give them something, although sometimes it is hard to define what it was. Leon Fraser, Geddes Smith, F. F. Vandewater, Lester Markel, Frederick C. Painton, Bronson Bachelor, Otto Tolischus, Maria Sermolino, M. Lincoln Schuster, Phyllis Perlman, Bill Corum, Joseph L. Jones, David Sentner, Merle Stanley Rukeyser are among its graduates. Pitkin investigated the careers of graduates and discovered that those who had made the biggest success were the ones who had sense

enough to get out of newspaper work into some allied field, such as publishing or public relations. The moral of his study seemed to be that after being trained for the copy desk, those who make it should get away from it as soon as possible.

Until 1935 the school gave the degree of B.Litt. to its graduates. When Carl W. Ackerman became dean in 1931 he revised the curriculum and in 1935 made the institution a graduate school in the sense that students must be graduates of colleges or universities accredited by Columbia. He has since cut the enrollment to 65 students. The school now confers the degree of Master of Science in Journalism. Ackerman was a top-notch newspaperman. He graduated from the school into the first World War as a foreign correspondent; he worked for *The New York Times* in Russia, was the first to get the news of the Bolshevik Revolution out by a journalistic feat that belongs in the story books. He wrote for *The Saturday Evening Post* from Mexico, Spain, France, and Switzerland; he covered Siberia for *The New York Times,* and later Japan and China. After that he was director of foreign news for *The Philadelphia Public Ledger.* Before he became dean he also had a career as a public relations expert, first for General Electric, then for clients of his own firm, and finally as assistant to the president of General Motors.

With such a background it would seem that suave, self-reliant, business-like Dr. Ackerman was ideally fitted to return to his alma mater as dean. Opinions differ, however, about that, for Ackerman is a rather cold individual. He has, however, been extremely successful in keeping the school in the limelight. He has, moreover, cultivated the newspaper publishers of the U. S. in order, among other things, to get the graduates of the school placed in key positions with leading newspapers on the sound theory

that they, in turn, will hire graduates of the school. For that many alumni are grateful, for there is nothing they need more than good jobs.

Dr. Cunliffe built up an excellent faculty: A. W. Atwood, McAlarney, Cooper, Franklin Matthews, and W. P. Beazell were there in the early days. Graduates such as Merle Stanley Rukeyser, M. Lincoln Schuster, Fraser Bond, Ben Franklin, Herbert Brucker returned to teach. Cunliffe added to them such lecturers as J. W. Krutch (now in Columbia College), John Chamberlain, Henry Pringle, and others. Ackerman's faculty, although it contains such men as Roscoe B. Ellard from Missouri, Harold L. Cross from *The New York Herald-Tribune,* and for a time Douglas Southall Freeman, and although he has been able to persuade Lewis Gannett to lecture on book-reviewing, the list is altogether somewhat less distinguished than Cunliffe's.

Soon after he became dean, Ackerman lost Walter B. Pitkin who, in his last four and a half years on the faculty, wrote ten books, many articles, investigated the wheat situation in Texas for the North American Newspaper Alliance, and supervised a National Intelligence Test for the *New York Evening Journal,* in addition to his work at the school. Incidentally, one of the books he produced during this period was *A Short History of Human Stupidity.*

In his annual reports to the president of the university Ackerman has surveyed not only the work of the school but has taken the whole field of journalism throughout the world as his province. In 1933 he reported that only the newspapers of the country saved the nation from a dictatorship imposed by Franklin D. Roosevelt. He brought George Gallup and later Elmo Roper to the faculty and tried to get support for a foundation to study public opinion. He lectured on research in public opinion at Yale, to

the Ohio Newspaper Association, to the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and also at the Imperial University in Tokyo, and the Sorbonne. In 1937 he declared that the profession of journalism "must emerge from industrial control." Newspaper owners should confine themselves to the business side of the papers and "leave to editors supervision over public policies." On the invitation of Joseph L. Jones of the United Press he toured South America to study journalism and radio, and in 1945 was a member of the three-man commission appointed by the ASNE to tour the world in the interests of international freedom of the press.

The annual Pulitzer Prizes, selected by an Advisory Committee of the school, have always given the institution considerable publicity. In 1938, Dr. Godfrey Lowell Cabot of Boston set up a fund to bestow, through the School of Journalism at Columbia, two to five prizes annually to publishers, editors, and writers of the Western Hemisphere "who by their professional achievements shall advance sympathetic understanding among peoples of South, Central and North America." These are known as the Maria Moors Cabot Prizes and Dr. Ackerman has made the most of the ceremony of their bestowal. Sometimes, it appears, the prizes have gone to the wrong persons, but they have never failed to extend the name of the school.

In 1940, Dr. Ackerman opposed the Wages and Hours Act as applied to newspapermen on the grounds that "journalism is a profession and newspapers should challenge any attempt to regulate wages and working hours." Since then he has been successful in establishing two other extra-curricular activities which spread the fame of the school. The first was the establishment of a kind of branch of the school in Chungking, China, during the war. This curious and adventurous project was carried on under

terrific difficulties. It spread the American gospel of the freedom of the press to the Chinese. Harold L. Cross was dean, and it is reported he made many converts. Other teachers showed Chinese students how to avoid censorship and directed the publication of an excellent student newspaper, *The Chungking Reporter,* in English, which was all the more remarkable because it was handset by compositors who could neither read nor write English.

Another pet project of Ackerman's was launched in 1946: the American Press Institute, which was established to conduct seminars each year at Columbia for select groups of working newspapermen who wished to study and discuss technique and news backgrounds. Twenty-seven newspapers or newspaper chains contributed to a fund to start the project. The idea is said to have originated with Sevellon Brown, editor and publisher of the *Providence Journal-Bulletin,* who said it was "an application of the idea of clinical study to journalism." It was the energetic Dr. Ackerman, however, who got the institute organized. Floyd W. Taylor, editorial writer for *The New York Herald-Tribune,* and a professor at the school, was appointed director to supervise the round-table discussions.

The other professional graduate schools of the university consider it necessary to give three or more years to intensive graduate work to fit their students for law, engineering, medicine. But the journalism course has been condensed into one year, and students are expected to follow a forty-hour-week schedule approximating that of a working newspaperman. In fact, the entire work of the school is designed to reproduce actual working conditions on a newspaper, with a few essential modifications. Students are organized into competing staffs and cover New York in competition with the afternoon papers. They

have, many times, the same assignments given to regular reporters; students and veterans meet in courtrooms, City Hall, police headquarters and on other beats. The old hands almost always give the new hands the benefit of their experience. In the school's city room, copy desks operate under Robert Garst and Theodore Bernstein, night city editor and cable editor respectively of *The New York Times,* who teach make-up as well as copy-editing. A wire room supplies the competing desks with the service of the Associated Press and the United Press. Thus the School of Journalism is unique among its competitors; it is a school without textbooks, a working laboratory of newspaper practice, under the direction, largely, of working newspapermen.

Even with this plan it may legitimately be asked whether this school is truly a graduate school, and whether journalism is, or ever can be, truly a profession. As a matter of fact, these questions have been asked over and over again since even before the school was founded. In 1930, Dr. Cunliffe pressed for an inquiry into the subject and called attention to the two schools of thought: one held that departments of journalism should be trade schools; the other, that such schools should "equip the youth of today for the journalism of tomorrow with a broader background, a surer cultural foundation, a wider understanding of history and problems, the arts, and the manifold relationships of men to society than most of us have acquired."

Many people still maintain that newspaper work can never be anything more than a trade because the working newspaperman is not truly independent in the sense that a scientist, a physician, or a lawyer is independent. Few can pick and choose among jobs. Only in public relations do they acquire clients. That does not discourage Dean

Ackerman or the deans of other schools of journalism. They are still doggedly at work, insisting first that journalism is a profession, and second that it ought to be made one. Most newspapermen probably agree with the second contention, yet regard it as somewhat idealistic and out of reach. Meanwhile it must be admitted that the American Newspaper Guild, by giving working newspaper people a sense of independence, has done more to make journalism a profession than all the schools of journalism in the country.

THE SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING

Although the School of Engineering was not formally established until 1864, the engineering tradition at Columbia may be traced back to the days of King's College. Men of the same generation as Hamilton, Jay, and Clinton graduated from King's or, later, early Columbia College, who, although not specifically trained as engineers, were active in the planning and construction of a number of great pioneer American engineering works.

One of the first of these was Colonel Stevens of Hoboken who gave his name to Stevens Institute. John Stevens (King's 1768) was a pioneer of steam transportation by land and by water. In the days when James Watt was insisting on low-pressure steam Stevens, anticipating modern high-pressure practice, was experimenting with high-pressure boilers. He also pioneered in screw propulsion and his steamboat, the *Phoenix,* missed by only one day securing the Hudson River monopoly which gave Fulton, with the *Clermont,* his reputation as the American steamboat inventor. Stevens opposed the Hudson-Fulton monopoly, which was later outlawed in the famous *Gibbons vs. Ogden* decision of the Supreme Court. He sent the

Phoenix around to Philadelphia—the first steamboat to make a sea trip—and operated it on the Delaware.

As early as 1812—seventeen years before the final demonstration of the locomotive—Stevens said that "water carriage will prove too slow and cumbersome" and advocated the steam railroad. In 1825 he built an experimental track on his estate at Hoboken and on it operated the first locomotive built in the United States.

Probably the most influential of the later group of early Columbia engineers was James Renwick, a close friend of Washington Irving. Born in Liverpool, emigrating to America in 1794, graduating from Columbia in 1807, Renwick became professor of natural and experimental philosophy and chemistry in 1820 and held this post until 1854 when he was made emeritus professor, the first to be so designated in the history of Columbia.

Professor Renwick was not only called in as consultant on many of the knotty engineering problems of the day—the Hudson River Railroad, the Morris Canal in northern New Jersey and other projects—but he published pioneer American texts on mechanics, the steam engine, chemistry and similar subjects basic to sound engineering practice. He was called upon by President Van Buren to establish safe practice for steam boilers, was an active political writer and biographer, and an artist of more than average skill.

Renwick knew Colonel Stevens' sons, both of them Columbia graduates, and founders, with their father, of the pioneer Camden and Amboy Railroad of New Jersey. Horatio Allen (1823) was one of his students and not only brought to America and operated the first full-size locomotive used in this country (on the Delaware and Hudson in 1829), but also became a pioneer railroad engineer and machine manufacturer. He was Jervis' right-hand man in

building New York's first public water supply, the old Croton reservoir, completed in 1842.

Another early Columbian, Alfred Craven (1829), had the difficult task of operating this famous Croton Aqueduct, which, due to the rapid growth of population and demand, soon proved inadequate to the needs of the city. Still another Renwick pupil, Gillespie, became professor of civil engineering at Union College and, in turn, exerted an important influence on the development of engineering education in America.

After Renwick's retirement in 1854 there was an intermediate period until 1864, when the School of Mines was established, during which science at Columbia was more or less at a standstill. Renwick had, apparently, so dominated the science scene that a new birth was necessary. This came with the acceptance of the proposal of Thomas Egleston to found at Columbia the first school of mines in the United States. Egleston's venture, however, was not only the first in its field in America but it established new standards in American engineering education.

It was not until just before the Civil War that science really began to occupy a basic position in engineering education. Up to this time the young engineer was trained chiefly through apprenticeship to an established engineer. Engineering was still largely an art and there were few, very few, engineering problems which could be answered by resort to mathematical calculations and the principles of physics and mechanics. There was a big gap between the limited knowledge of science and the application of this knowledge in the practical planning and design of engineering works. The emphasis in early American engineering was, thus, on the practical man and on practical training rather than on real engineering education.

The movement to develop engineering design on a

more scientific foundation began in France in the late 18th century. It was accelerated by the scientific interests of the French Revolution, spread during the earlier 19th century, and finally found expression in effective form in such early engineering tests as those of Renwick but, especially, in the several volumes of the famous Scotch author, Rankine, published 1858–60.

Egleston had studied in France at the École des Mines. He brought to his work at Columbia, therefore, the scientific tradition of French engineering education. Thus, while some earlier American engineering schools had begun as mechanics institutes and gradually changed their programs as this scientific movement developed, the instruction offered by the School of Mines was, from its very beginning, on a solid and sound foundation of science. It was both the first American school of mines and a pioneer school in the scientific education of the engineer. That this movement was sound is illustrated by the fact that, during the period up to 1870, some seventy other schools were founded in the United States and that many of them were called "scientific schools." In fact, as soon as it became clear that much, if not most, of the basic education of the young engineer was mathematical and scientific, it was obvious that this type of work could be more effectively and expeditiously taught through the formal processes of the classroom than through the casual contacts of apprenticeship. Egleston's vision of the true function of an engineering school was thus confirmed and strengthened as the years passed by. He always insisted that the engineer be, first of all, well trained in fundamentals, especially science, and that his education in the specific techniques of his particular branch of engineering—civil, electrical, etc.—should come later. The School of Engineering at Columbia has consistently followed this plan and it is as

characteristic of the education offered by the school today as it was of Egleston's pioneer venture of 1864.

While Columbia's engineering school thus began as a School of Mines and while it retained this title until almost the close of the 19th century, it soon became a full-fledged engineering school. A course in civil engineering was established in 1869, only five years after the founding of "Mines," and courses in mechanical and, later, electrical engineering followed as these fields began to develop in importance. Chemical engineering was added in 1908 and industrial in 1919 so that the school today offers undergraduate and graduate instruction in chemical, civil, electrical, industrial, mechanical, metallurgical and mining engineering—the major branches of the modern profession of engineering.

This earlier use and the persistence of the term "School of Mines" has not only led to some public confusion as to the scope of engineering education at Columbia but has been the source of several special legislative actions by the trustees. Almost without exception the present university departments devoted to the natural sciences originated in the old School of Mines. There was a lapse in the development of science at Columbia during the decade following Renwick's retirement in 1854. The revival of scientific studies paralleled the growth of the School of Mines. Chandler, the great teacher of chemistry, of whom it was said: "for generation after generation he took the freshman class and, through a clever combination of science, wit and humor, made men of them," was an early dean of engineering and not only a founder of the School of Mines but also of the modern department of chemistry—one of the greatest in the United States, with a notable record of accomplishment in pure and applied chemistry.

The department of geology, first under Newberry, later

guided by James F. Kemp, the "Uncle Jimmy" of so many famous mining and civil engineers and geologists, and, more recently, by Dr. Charles P. Berkey, who has examined and "blessed" the foundations of more great engineering works than any other geologist in history. Now a mainstay of the Faculty of Pure Science, this department was also mothered by the old School of Mines.

The present School of Architecture began as an appendage to the School of Mines. It was not until 1896, when it was realized that the title "School of Mines" could not cover either this field or the whole scientific field, that a split occurred and architecture and science were separated from what became "The School of Mines, Engineering and Chemistry." Still later, in 1923, this title became simply "The School of Engineering."

The present dean of the School of Engineering, a graduate of the class of 1906, formerly instructor and later Renwick Professor and head of the department of civil engineering, James Kip Finch, in a recent address to the alumni, called attention to the major factors which "make a modern engineering school click." "In earlier days," he remarked, "college education was in the hands of a relatively small group of outstanding teachers who, teaching the relatively simple principles and procedures of the day, exercised a great influence through sheer force of character and personality. Science and engineering, in the last twenty-five years, have become more intricate and involved and thus far more difficult to teach. The modern student still, of course, values a 'good performance' on the part of his instructors, but given the choice, would unhesitatingly prefer the teacher who 'knows his stuff' and can 'get it over,' to use campus terms, to the man who attempts to rely on sheer personality to carry his classes."

The factors which "make a modern engineering school

click" are, Dean Finch (or "Kippy" as he is known to hundreds of alumni and students) believes, the same as those which make any engineering group or industry a success. First: a valuable, an outstanding product; second: a progressive educational policy with adequate backing to make constantly possible new and forward-looking educational ventures; third: an outstanding instructing staff, competent both as teachers and in adding to the frontiers of scientific and technical knowledge; and, finally, a fully adequate and flexible plant—laboratories, equipment, class and drafting rooms. "Add to all these," says the dean, "a loyal and enthusiastic spirit of cooperation between staff, alumni and students—a sense of being comrades in a great adventure—and the product is a great engineering school, great in spirit and performance, a school in which quality comes before quantity and education is recognized as more important than mere technical training."

The school points with pride to the host of distinguished engineers who have followed Stevens, Renwick, Allen, Craven and Gillespie. R. D. Irving, '69, was a pioneer at the Lake Superior ore regions; Bailey Willis, '78, and J. F. Kemp ("Uncle Jimmy"), '84, were outstanding mining geologists; John A. Church, '67, was the mainspring of the Comstock Lode. J. Parke Channing, '83, pioneered in improving conditions in the mines for workers. T. H. Leggett, '79, carried American methods to the South African Rand. Among the metallurgists were: Devereaux, '78, known for his cyanide process; Howe, '79, for his work in zinc; Klepetko, '80, for his copper blast furnace; Walker, '83, for copper refining; Dwight, '85, for sintering ores; Moldenke, '85, who made a modern science out of the ancient art of cast iron. Monell of nickel fame graduated in '96. Matthews, one of the first in the development of corrosive-resistant alloys, was in the class of '95.

Of the civil engineers the best known was William Barclay Parsons, '82, but there were also Daniel E. Moran, '84, dean of American foundation experts, Charles G. Curtis, who invented the Curtis turbine; Steinman, '09, the suspension bridge expert; Beggs, '10, who became a professor at Princeton and knew all about stresses; Grover Loening, '12, who built one of the first amphibian planes; Gavin Hadden, '12, the stadium builder, and a host of successful engineering contractors.

Mechanical engineers were Pigott, '03, who assisted in the development of the turbine and later, as director of the shipyards at Clydebank in Scotland, built the *Queen Mary*. Pond, '03, became manufacturing manager of Pratt and Whitney when that firm was famous for its tools. Gano Dunn, '91, is perhaps the first of Columbia's electrical engineers, for he became president of the J. G. White Co., and an authority on power transmission. Of course there are also Francis B. Crocker, '82, and E. H. Armstrong, '13. Of the chemical engineers best known are H. Y. Castner, '75, a pioneer, and Horne, '94, who was tops for his sugar chemistry. Then there was Shiefflen, '87, in drugs; Gray, '07, in petroleum; Kendall, '08, who went to the Mayo Foundation. And that list leaves out Nobel prize winner Irving Langmuir, who graduated in metallurgy in '03 and then devoted his life to electrical science. Do not forget W. H. Woodin, the industrialist, class of '90.

Similarly in the teaching group many members of the staff, in addition to Egleston, Chandler, Newberry, and Kemp, have achieved outstanding distinction. In 1877 William P. Trowbridge came from the Sheffield Scientific School as dean. In 1889 he established the electrical engineering course with Francis B. Crocker and Michael I. Pupin. Another colorful teacher was R. S. Woodward, who told his students: "We are now on the level of Galileo. Let

us see if we can make the vast step to the level of Mr. Newton." He dismissed ideas he disapproved of as "elaborately useless and ingeniously unprofitable."

Professor Trowbridge used to say: "First make students engineers and then some particular kind of an engineer." The engineering faculty has understood that theirs is basically an educational job, using engineering as a tool. It has been the keynote of Columbia training not to produce "cook book" engineers who believe everything is in the book. As Major Armstrong likes to tell his students, the most important things are not in any book. Nor does Columbia produce men who are first and last draftsmen. It sends out into the world men who can think for themselves when faced with a problem.

By 1929 the faculty had grown in size and included a number of brilliant names: George B. Pegram, who came to Columbia in 1901 as an assistant in physics, became dean and a full professor in 1918. Morton Arendt, inventor of a railway train lighting system, automotive power, arc welding, etc., was assistant professor of electrical engineering. Charles Peter Berkey, at Columbia since 1903, always a believer in a broad educational background for engineers, was head of the geology department. Walter Rautenstrauch, at Columbia since 1906, creator of the department of industrial engineering, made that department famous. James Kip Finch was professor of civil engineering. William Campbell, another top-flight man in his profession, was professor of metallurgy. One of the most popular men was Thomas H. ("Pop") Harrington, of the class of '89, who taught drafting for 40 years. A bachelor, he was the guide, counselor, and friend to generations of students.

When Pegram succeeded F. J. E. Woodbridge as dean of the Graduate School, Dr. Butler lifted Joseph Warren

Barker out of his post as head of the electrical engineering department at Lehigh and sat him in the chair as dean of engineering at Columbia. Although a M. I. T. graduate, the students welcomed him and were delighted to discover he was no stuffed shirt. During the second World War he served as assistant to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy in charge of courses in engineering schools. In 1946 he resigned to assume the presidency of the Research Corporation. He was succeeded by James Kip Finch, who had been acting as dean in Barker's absence. For more than thirty years Finch has been one of the most popular professors on the campus.

Like all engineering schools, Columbia's is proud of its tough-minded faculty. Since the days of Egleston and "Uncle Jimmy" Kemp they have been men who wrestled with real engineering problems in the field, not merely academic ones in the laboratories and classrooms. Most of them have consulting jobs which augment considerably their academic salaries. Pupin and Armstrong made fortunes out of their inventions. In the days of Fitzhugh Townsend, his course in electrical engineering was known as "Rough-house 7," but the boys are much more serious today and the rough-house days are now only a colorful memory.

Slichter believed in old-fashioned pedagogy, drilled his boys in basic fundamentals. Curry was nicknamed "Slug" and the boys called him a slave driver. Boris Bakhmeteff, once Russian ambassador to the U. S. representing Kerensky's government, lectures on civil engineering at about 200 words a minute without looking either at his notes or his students. Lucke has ruled as another tyrant for years; like all men who seem to bulldoze the students, he has one of the kindest hearts on the campus. But beginners are terrified at his first lecture when he slaps his yardstick on

the desk and says: "You are bubbles. You know nothing. Don't argue with me. I know. Then, I do not tolerate lateness. I do not tolerate interruption. It's a big job to fill bubbles and I need every minute. Your job is to help." The boys soon find that this martinet is really not a monster; they even like the smell of his old meerschaum pipe when they talk to him in his office.

In 1932, Dr. Butler said in his annual report that the School of Engineering needed an Engineering Center comparable with the Medical Center. That has been the engineers' dream for more than a generation. It is cruelly restricted in its present quarters, and even doubling them with another building, which has long been planned, will not solve the problem. One result of such crowding is that nothing new can be attempted unless an older project has been cleared away: hence the laboratories have been in no danger of becoming museums. Since New York City is the greatest engineering center in the world, Columbia's engineers still hope that the School of Engineering will obtain the space and equipment it requires for its continued progress and development.

The school has changed during the last 20 years from a large undergraduate institution offering relatively few graduate courses to one whose interests center more and more in graduate study and research. The small laboratories, tucked away in every nook and corner of the campus, have multiplied. In a small north recess of the drafting department is the heat and mass flow analyzer. Banked around the walls are hundreds of electrical condensers and resistances, connecting cords, electrical devices, which may be set up to simulate the conditions met when heat finds its way through insulating materials or when a steel ingot is heated. On the third floor, secreted back of the elevator, is a remarkable laboratory for testing transparent models.

At least two thirds of room 417 is occupied by small water tanks and pipes and electrical equipment varying from common magnets to radio tubes and oscillographs. Here there has been developed a new magnetic-electrical device for measuring fluid velocities. During the war research in flame-proofing uniforms for tank operators was carried on in the top floor of Mines. So today an infinite number of researches are carried on under often trying and frequently crowded conditions.

Yet, Dean Finch insists, all this is not entirely bad. "We have been forced," he says, "to constantly discard older equipment to make room for new and have, thus, effectively prevented our becoming a museum of interesting but obsolete apparatus. Furthermore, our limitations of space have encouraged our efforts to keep close to our students, to know them and work with them on an intimate and friendly basis, for we have been forced to limit our enrollment to relatively small classes and the undergraduate actually rubs elbows with the graduate and research worker."

Nevertheless, the great need at Columbia today is for increased space for the continued growth of its engineering work and courses. Plans are thus being made for new laboratories and especially for the still further development of research. "Technological change," predicts the dean, "will be ever more rapid in the future than in the past, and Columbia, located in the greatest engineering center of the world, is fully alive both to her responsibilities and her opportunities."

Perhaps the greatest change which has taken place in engineering education at Columbia was that which resulted from a prolonged study by the faculty and alumni just before the first World War. Up to this time the major emphasis had been on scientific and technical instruction

and little or no attention had been given to carrying the students' general education beyond the high school level. Columbia, together with Thayer School at Dartmouth, pioneered in this new movement which was taken up by a number of progressive engineering schools throughout the country.

Basically what the engineering profession and educators seek is not the combination of the older classical with a technical education. It is conceded, however, that the engineer should be an educated man in the sense that he has an adequate command of his mother tongue, both oral and written, and knows something of the forces—social, economic, and political, as well as scientific and technological —which have shaped, and are now active in shaping, the world in which he must live and serve.

Columbia undertook to provide this type of education in 1914 by requiring at least two years of arts college preliminary to admission to engineering. In effect this means that the undergraduate takes his freshman and sophomore years under the aegis of Columbia College. These years include the usual engineering courses in drafting, mathematics, chemistry, physics and mechanics plus the special courses known as contemporary civilization and humanities and an effective course in English.

The Engineering School itself thus consists only of juniors, seniors and graduate students—a highly selected, earnest and competent group of students who are expected to, and actually do, carry their studies beyond the normal and usual limits of their groups. "Our objective is education," says the dean as spokesmen for the faculty, "rather than mere technical training and, having as our tool one of the most stimulating and inclusive of all possible educational vehicles, namely engineering, we know that we have

an opportunity second to none to turn out useful men who know not only how to obtain a living but how to live."

The Columbia Engineering Library is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, in the world and is supplemented by such special collections as mathematics, physics, chemistry, business, and economics. A visit to this library always reveals a group of students using what the staff feels is an often neglected but vitally important engineering laboratory.

No description of the School of Engineering would be complete without mention of Camp Columbia. This camp has played a major role in developing Columbia engineers. The first summer classes in surveying were held in Central Park and in 1884 a camp was established at Pelhamville. In 1891, the present camp was occupied for the first time; in 1908, practical geodesy became part of the curriculum. On this area, almost a square mile of lake front, woodland, and farm, students working for a B.S. degree are required to take, as a part of their program, courses in June and July, following the completion of their sophomore year. There are also courses in chemical, mechanical, industrial and civil engineering.

THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS

The College of Physicians and Surgeons can claim to be 200 years old in 1967, because a medical faculty was organized at King's College in 1767. It was the first institution in the North American colonies to confer the degree of Doctor of Medicine. The first graduates were Robert Tucker and Samuel Kissam, who received the degree of Bachelor of Medicine in 1769. Tucker obtained his M.D. degree in 1770, Kissam a year later. In all fairness, and for

the record, it should be noted that the medical school at Philadelphia, later the University of Pennsylvania, granted a bachelor degree in medicine in 1768, but the candidate did not get his M.D. until 1772.

P. and S. can also claim to be 150 years old in 1957, because, on March 12, 1807, its first charter was granted by the New York State Board of Regents, as an institution independent of Columbia. It had such famous teachers as Samuel L. Mitchill, Nicholas Romayne, Edward Miller, David Hosack, Archibald Bruce, Benjamin De Witt, and John Augustus Smith. Nearly all these had obtained their medical training abroad, most of them at Edinburgh. The course in those days was only four months, from November to March, given by lectures. There were few demonstrations and little practical work except anatomical dissection, which was not required. It had no laboratory or clinic, although students had some opportunity to study at New York Hospital, the almshouse, and the Lying-In Hospital. Students were expected to stay two years, thus getting eight months of lectures.

When Samuel Bard became president of P. and S. in 1813, it absorbed the medical faculty of Columbia College, and it remained independent of Columbia until 1891. During that time, in its early days, it had such distinguished teachers as Wright Post, Valentine Mott, and John W. Francis. Success brought both contentiousness and other famous names: John Torry in chemistry and botany, Alexander H. Stevens in surgery, Edward Delafield in obstetrics, Joseph M. Smith in the practice of medicine. A few years later came Robert Watts in anatomy, Willard Parker in surgery, and Chandler Gilman in obstetrics.

Through the efforts of Parker in 1841 a general medical and surgical clinic, with supplementary bedside instruc-

tion in hospitals, was established. It was to be many years, however, before students had any right to go into any New York hospital ward; from time to time they were merely granted a precarious privilege, which could be, and was, withdrawn at will. Not until 1853 did any practical work in obstetrics for students begin. Alonzo Clark, fresh from postgraduate study in pathology in Paris, joined the staff at that time to teach physiology and pathology; and John C. Dalton came from Claude Bernard's laboratories in Paris to demonstrate his master's experimental methods.

In 1856, the college moved to 23rd Street and Fourth Avenue. This was the fourth time it had moved. Its first home was on Park Place; its second on Pearl Street, near Broadway; its third at 3 Barclay Street, where it stayed for 26 years; its fourth, in 1837, was at 67 Crosby Street, where it remained for 19 years. In 1887, it left East 23rd Street for quarters on 59th Street, opposite Roosevelt Hospital. The present Medical Center at 168th Street is the seventh home of P. and S.

A nominal connection was made with Columbia in 1860 by an agreement between the trustees of the two institutions. All this amounted to was that diplomas of the graduates were signed by the president of Columbia College as well as by the president of P. and S. Each institution continued to hold its own property and be otherwise independent. In 1878, the course was lengthened to seven and a half months (in 1856 it had been stretched from four to five months) and the alumni association established a student laboratory. This was the first step the college made toward getting laboratory facilities.

In 1884, John C. Dalton became head of the college, and during his five-year administration the site on West 59th Street was acquired. Mr. William H. Vanderbilt and his children gave funds for land and buildings, and a little

later Vanderbilt's son-in-law, William D. Sloane, and his wife, gave the Sloane Maternity Hospital, dedicated in 1887. The course was then lengthened to eight and a half months; a third year of study was added, the staff increased, and some demonstrative teaching made possible. Eighteen months after the move to 59th Street, Dr. Dalton died. Dr. James W. McLane, one of the foremost obstetricians in the city and professor of obstetrics—and who brought most of the Vanderbilt children into the world—became the twelfth president. He had much to do with the expansion at 59th Street.

One of the first things Seth Low did when he became president of Columbia was to arrange to make the College of Physicians and Surgeons an integral part of the university. He described it as the most notable achievement of his first year. He remarked that up until then P. and S. had been a proprietary medical school—that is, it depended on the fees paid by its students—among the best in the country. Consolidation with Columbia was the first step toward becoming a university school. By the terms of the agreement the separate charter of P. and S. was surrendered, the right of nomination to its faculty was guaranteed, and the right to refuse women students was reserved unless the P. and S. faculty consented. (Not until 1917 were women admitted.) Low added, by his agreement, $1,652,850 to the assets of Columbia College.

P. and S. immediately began to grow. By 1893 it had 661 students and the goal of a four-year course came "distinctly in view," as Dr. McLane expressed it. By 1895 it had 799 students; the Vanderbilts gave two more buildings and the Sloane Maternity Hospital was enlarged. After that there was some falling off in enrollment as Cornell opened its medical school in New York. In 1900, however, there were 801 students.

Dr. Butler took a great interest in P. and S., and when he became president of Columbia he began to preside over meetings of the medical faculty. In his 1903 report he declared that it was already a "semi-university school" which had stood in the first rank in its entire history, that it needed $4,000,000. He suggested that it begin to demand two years of college work for entrance and consider a new, improved curriculum.

Dr. McLane retired that year as dean. John G. Curtis acted as dean for two years and then, in 1905, Samuel W. Lambert took charge. The son of a physician, Lambert had been saturated with medical tradition. Educated at a private day school in New York, and at Yale, he studied at Sheffield Scientific School and at P. and S. One of his colleagues said that he appeared on the medical scene "at the very nick of time." Changes, however, were taking place in other medical schools, and Lambert kept pace with this progress. He noted at once that facilities for practical clinical work were needed and he began to insist that what the school needed was the control of a hospital.

When Lambert became dean of P. and S. there were few recitations in any subject, only a few weeks' instruction in physical diagnosis. Students had to join private quiz classes to get the kind of drilling they needed. This meant payment of substantial additional fees. Thus the wealthy boys had the advantage while the poorer ones paid for something the college should, but did not, give them.

Lambert led a group of physicians who were called the "Young Turks." They had gotten him on the faculty. He had been instrumental in making the N. Y. Lying-In Hospital a high-class institution and as a physician he had a following among N. Y. Hospital graduates. At P. and S. he brought about a much-needed revolution in medical education. He insisted on recitation in class with the result

that the extra-mural quiz racket was no longer patronized. He inaugurated a system of "clinical clerks" and surgical dressers; he saw to it that every student had daily ward attendance in medicine, surgery, and obstetrics. For years he fought against the obstacles New York hospitals raised against medical students going into the wards. No hospital in the city was college-affiliated, or regarded the teaching of medicine of equal importance to the care of the patients.

When Lambert became dean there were only three first-class science departments: anatomy, physiology, and pathology. In the summer of 1904 he started a clinic in his department of applied therapeutics; and he installed at his own expense the first real case history records in the Vanderbilt Clinic. Previously the only record made was written in a book: "Name, Address, Diagnosis." The treatment was scribbled on a card—usually it was "rhubarb and soda." Lambert installed also the first clinical pathological laboratory in the clinic. Although he was regarded by some medical men of the time as "impractical," he was one of four entrusted in 1910 by Dr. Simon Flexner with the use of salvarsan. One of his private patients was the first in New York to have a Wassermann and be treated with 606.

When Dr. Lambert retired as dean in 1919 one of his colleagues commented: "He is probably the last, dominating, predominating medical leader in practice teaching and organizing ability we are likely to know." Lambert believed in young men. At St. Luke's Hospital he was remembered for his Sunday morning rounds, generally referred to as "Dr. Lambert's Sunday School." He fought against prohibition and praised the moderate use of alcohol in old age. He spoke of the family doctor as "the forgotten physician." Concerned with the comfort of the patient as much as with the treatment, he warned against "shot-gun" pre-

scriptions. "Learn to mix your drugs with your brains," he told his students. In his spare time he was an enthusiastic angler, and a translator of Vesalius, the early Latin writer on medicine. Lambert died in 1942 at the age of 82.

Lambert fought for years for adequate hospital facilities for the medical school. The Flexner report in 1910 on American medical education commented on the lack of every New York City medical school to control its hospital and clinical facilities. Year after year various plans for combining with a New York hospital fell through. Agreement was almost reached at one time with St. Luke's and plans were drawn up for a hospital on top of a skyscraper medical school to be built at Amsterdam Avenue and 116th Street. Finally, in 1911, agreement with the Presbyterian Hospital was achieved, helped by the generosity of Edward S. Harkness, who set up a fund to pay the hospital for all its scientific and educational work except nurses' training. Lambert joyfully hailed this alliance as the first important break in the antagonism between New York hospitals and medical education. Now, he said, both the hospital and the medical school need new homes.

After many difficulties an agreement for a medical center with the Presbyterian Hospital was finally effected in 1921. The whole story of those difficulties has never been publicly told, probably never will be. A committee of Columbia trustees negotiated with a committee of trustees of the Presbyterian Hospital over a period of years. Johns Hopkins had shown the way toward a true medical center, an idea whose germ goes back to a speech made by Sam Bard in 1769. Both the Presbyterian trustees and the Columbia trustees saw the vision that has since become a reality, but personal animosities delayed final action. At one time negotiations broke off entirely. When Dr. Butler realized his presence was not helping matters he had the

wisdom to bow out, personally, for a time. Frederick Coykendall, Columbia trustee, did much to smooth over ruffled tempers. But the deciding factor was monetary: Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness and Edward S. Harkness were ready to give the money for the land and additional sums for building and endowment when needed. That made the Medical Center possible.

Dr. William Darrach, who had been a colonel in the Medical Corps in the army in the first World War and who was well known for his natural administrative ability, succeeded Lambert. Born in Germantown, Pa., in 1876, he graduated from Yale in 1897 and obtained his M.D. at P. and S. in 1901, partially supporting himself both at Yale and Columbia. After serving as an intern in the Presbyterian Hospital, he became a demonstrator of anatomy at the Vanderbilt Clinic. For a time he was a surgeon at Roosevelt Hospital and he was recognized as one of "the coming men" in surgery. Dr. Frederick T. Van Beuren speaks of his "integrity, kindness, stability, vision." He was dean during the transition period when P. and S. moved to 168th Street and the Medical Center was built.

Soon after he became dean he made a trip abroad to study medical schools; he advised the architect, James Gamble Rogers, on the functional design. Ground was broken in 1925; the move made in 1928. At the same time the work of the School of Dental and Oral Surgery was integrated with P. and S. The Columbia School of Dentistry had been established in 1907 as a part of University Extension; it became a separate school in 1923. Meanwhile the School of Tropical Medicine in Puerto Rico had been created by that island's legislature, and in 1925 Columbia was given administration of it.

As of January, 1944, all the voluntary hospitals and

clinics at the Medical Center have been consolidated into a single corporation under the Presbyterian Hospital. They function as separate units of the hospital. The center occupies about 20 acres from West 165th Street to West 168th Street, and from Broadway to Riverside Park. The whole group includes: the College of Physicians and Surgeons, School of Dental and Oral Surgery, DeLamar Institute of Public Health, Washington Heights Health and Teaching Center, New York State Psychiatric Institute, the Presbyterian Hospital and its subdivisions, the Squier Urological Clinic, the Institute of Ophthalmology, Harkness Pavilion, Sloane Hospital for Women, Vanderbilt Clinic, Babies Hospital, and the Neurological Institute. When the Medical Center was built these units not only agreed to move, but they raised funds for their buildings.

Dr. Darrach retired in 1931 to resume active medical practice and teaching, after having integrated the whole program of medical studies, the hospital, laboratory, clinic, nursing, social service and public health. He was succeeded by Willard Cole Rappleye who has generally been regarded as a socially minded, liberal physician. He obtained his B.A. at the University of Illinois, his M.D. at the Harvard Medical School. He taught biology for two years at Illinois; he taught anatomy at Harvard, and at the same time lectured on pathology at Foxboro State Hospital in Massachusetts. From 1922 to 1926 he was superintendent of the New Haven Hospital and was also professor of hospital administration at Yale.

Speaking on "The Larger Social Aspects of Medical Education" in 1935, he said: "The real problem is to create methods of delivering medical services of a high quality to the entire population and to devise programs by which the quality of the care may be continued. The danger in most

schemes developed by lay and political groups is that the quality of medical care is gradually sacrificed for nominal performance and mediocrity. This has been the experience in most countries of the world." An oversupply of doctors, he declared, led to unnecessary services.

"Adequate medical service to the entire population," he said in 1943, "is the greatest problem facing American medicine after the war." In his report of 1944 he added: "Medical education must acquaint itself with basic social and economic trends which will modify the forms and opportunities of practice in the future. Problems of medical care cannot be divorced from those of unemployment, old age, income, living conditions, and other features of social security."

P. and S. has been severely criticized by the American Jewish Congress and others for its alleged discrimination in accepting candidates for admission. This charge is exceedingly hard to prove, even though a great many people are convinced that it is valid. The fact is that Christians as well as Jews find it very difficult to gain admittance. Dr. Rappleye is convinced that there is no shortage of physicians in this country; the task of his school, as he sees it, is to train superlatively good physicians. He wants to keep the enrollment small and select. While millions of dollars have been spent to make P. and S. the finest medical school in the world, no attempt has been made to enlarge its facilities to accommodate more students. In 1900, the school, in cramped quarters on 59th Street, had 800 students; in 1946, in the beautiful Medical Center it had only about 400. Nearly 2,000 students apply for admission each year; only 110 can be accepted because the building was designed for four classes of 100 students each. That is the policy of the College of Physicians and Surgeons; only the overwhelming pressure of public opinion can change it.

THE SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE

The patron saint of the Columbia School of Architecture is William Robert Ware, who was the founder of American architectural education. A New Englander by birth and education, he studied at Harvard and the Lawrence Scientific School, where he got his B.S. He then went into the office of Edward Clarke Cabot in Boston, and was a pupil in the atelier of Robert Hunt. In 1863 he formed a partnership with Philip Van Brunt. He was disturbed by the chaotic character of architectural education. The apprenticeship system was perishing and there was nothing to take its place. From 1863 to 1865 he conducted his own atelier for students. He was then called upon to found the school of architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which he did after studying architectural education abroad. At M. I. T. he established the École des Beaux-Arts system of training in design, but stressed American procedure, tradition, and requirements.

The Columbia trustees, therefore, were fortunate in persuading him to come to New York in 1881. He came on the stipulation that he would have an absolutely free hand in organizing the school and conducting its affairs. It opened with four students in a gloomy, shabby room in the building on Madison Avenue known to the students as "Maison de Punk." Professor Ware was the school; he had no assistants at first. For 22 years his individuality gave the school its special character. "To him an architect was much more than a mere technician; he was also an artist and an exponent of traditional cultural history, and a member of society as a whole," wrote T. F. Hamlin, who remembers him as a benign personality, with silky white hair and beard, and a gentle, gracious expression.

In the fall of 1882 Professor Ware brought to the school another New Englander to help him: Alfred Dwight Foster Hamlin, who had studied architecture at M. I. T., taught drawing at Miss Porter's School at Farmington, Conn., and in 1878 had gone to France to study at the École des Beaux-Arts. For a time he worked in the office of McKim, Mead, and White, and then began to lecture at the school on the history of ornament, and later on the history of architecture, two subjects on which he was the recognized authority.

The school was a part of the School of Mines, and in 1883 moved into the Mines building on Madison Avenue. From the very beginning, however, Professor Ware tried to cut the ties that bound his school to the schools of science. In 1891 he got Frank Dempster Sherman, a member of the first class to graduate from the department, to instruct in architectural engineering. He had an electric personality, was a born teacher. Sherman developed the shorthand method of casting shadows, known as the Sherman method. He also had a reputation as a poet, and was elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, not as an architect but as a poet.

Professor Ware insisted that architecture was not a hodgepodge smattering of several sciences, but a distinct art in itself, and he gathered a faculty of artists. He brought Charles A. Harriman and Charles P. Warren to the faculty. By the time the school moved to Morningside Heights it was well established in the front rank of American schools. In 1902 it was finally liberated from the schools of applied science, and the trustees became fascinated with a new idea: a school of fine arts, of which music and architecture were to be the nucleus. It was then that Professor Ware retired and A. D. F. Hamlin became the acting head.

The school grew and prospered during the period when

it was nominally a part, and the major part, of a so-called School of Fine Arts. In 1904 it had 98 students; in 1905 it required a degree, or its equivalent, for admission. University ateliers were conducted by Charles Follen McKim, Thomas Hastings and later by J. R. Pope, Jr. In 1906 the director and assistant director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art joined the faculty. In 1912 Avery Hall was opened, the memorial gift of Samuel Putnam Avery and his wife, who in 1890 founded the Avery Architectural Library in memory of their son, Henry Ogden Avery, a young architect who died that year. Today it is the largest architectural library in America and one of the three great architectural libraries of the world.

In 1913 F. J. E. Woodbridge, who held the title of "dean of the School of Fine Arts," pointed out that "as presently constituted it does not provide in the most efficient manner for the conduct of the work under its charge." The School of Architecture was really an independent school, he observed, with nothing to gain by an alliance with the School of Music or the School of Design. So the Fine Arts dream dissolved, and the School of Architecture at last stood on its own firm foundation.

W. H. Carpenter acted briefly as director, and soon after, in 1917, William A. Boring came to the school first as professor of design and later as dean. He was over 50 at the time, a highly successful practicing architect, head of his own firm, Boring and Tilton, known for his designing of the University of Southern California and many public buildings. A student, in his younger days, at the École des Beaux-Arts, and later one of the founders of the American Academy at Rome, he was imbued with the ideals which Professor Ware had exemplified, and he carried on the Ware tradition, emphasizing architecture as an art as well as a science.

Boring dwelt on the advantages the Columbia school had in being located in New York: "Every conceivable type of architecture can be seen without traveling more than an hour from the doors of the school. On every hand are new buildings being erected which serve as models of modern practices of construction. The great builders and architects have their offices not far away, and these men visit the school and watch its activities. Our students find work as assistants in these same offices and often carry on their studies in the school at the same time. Every year the location of the school becomes more and more ideal as a place to study architecture, for where architecture is being built that is the place to study it."

When A. D. F. Hamlin was suddenly killed by an automobile in 1927, Joseph Hudnut, who had been head of the School of Architecture at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, and then of the School of Architecture of the University of Virginia, came to Columbia as professor of the history of architecture. And when Boring retired in 1934, Hudnut became dean of the school. He had a more scientific attitude toward his profession than his predecessor. "The technique of building," he noted in 1934, "has never been so rapidly developed as in the past 30 years. . . . An architect must have some insight into the quaint habits of realtors and bankers." Hudnut was interested in town planning. "It should be one of the purposes of architectural education," he said, "to give the architect an immediate sense of this responsibility to his community and an understanding of the relation of this art to community life."

Hudnut left Columbia in June, 1935, to become dean of the graduate school of design at Harvard. Professor Leopold Arnaud then became acting dean and, in 1937, dean of the school. He had graduated from the school in 1919 and studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris,

where he received the French Diplôma in 1924. From 1924 to 1932 he practiced in New York City, being associated first with the firm of Warren and Wetmore, and then with Voorhees and Walker. After having taught several courses in the evening, he joined the regular staff in 1927. Developing a much closer tie between the courses in design and those in construction than had previously existed, he carried on, as Ware Professor of Architecture, the tradition of the patron saint of the school.

In 1937 Arnaud defined an architect as "an artist with a highly developed creative sense balanced by a practical knowledge of the science of building." He said: "Architecture, being an art as well as a fundamental need of the human race, is perhaps the most concrete and all-inclusive expression of the age that produces it." Members of his profession, he commented, are profoundly influenced by the economic fluctuations of the day—more so, perhaps, than any other profession. He established a graduate division of planning and housing in the school, and developed a special curriculum for graduate work in architecture.

During the long depression in the 1930s architecture languished economically. America had the architects, but was unwilling to spend the money to set them free on the rebuilding of our towns and cities that modern technical progress and humanitarian thought demanded. Columbia architects had a hand in designing the World's Fair in 1939. In 1940 the Architectural League of New York put on an exhibit of the work of forty architects under 40 years of age, chosen for their contribution to the profession by an impartial jury. Thirteen of these forty exhibitors were graduates of the Columbia School of Architecture.

Some of the most distinguished members of the profession have taught and lectured at the school. Such important

practitioners as Arthur Ware, Harvey Wiley Corbett, Francis Nelson, and Maurice Prevot have been design critics. Henry Wright was the first professor of planning and housing, and his son, managing editor of the *Architectural Forum,* is now on the staff. Sir Raymond Unwin lectured at the school for four years. Carl Feiss, now director of City Planning in Denver, John C. B. Moore, well-known practitioner, and Edgar Williams, another practitioner who taught at the school for seven years, have been connected with the institution. Today many practicing architects at the top of the profession visit the school as critics and lecturers.

The present staff brilliantly carries on the traditions. George Allen, pupil of Sherman, and well known as a teacher of graphics, has been at Columbia since 1917. Talbot Hamlin, Avery librarian for ten years, is one of the best-known authors on architectural subjects. He also lectures on the theory of architecture. Kenneth H. Smith and William H. Hayes, professors of architectural construction, have both been at Columbia since 1935 and are nationally known. James Marshall Miller, the town planner, has returned after three years' leave of absence during which time he served as director of City Planning, Pasadena, California.

The school is also making important contributions to the scholarship and literature of architecture. It is sponsoring the first complete work, in more than half a century, on the principles and elements of architecture. Talbot Hamlin is editor of the work. He is the third generation of Hamlins who have been professors at the school and he carries on the distinct Hamlin tradition. He is writing some of the text himself, while others, also representing the best thought in the profession, will contribute other chapters.

"The architecture of today is no longer revolutionary," Dean Arnaud declared in announcing this project. "Contemporary design in buildings has been sufficiently established, and has developed over a long enough period, so that its elements and principles can be studied and evaluated. Its place in the continuing stream of architectural tradition is assured; its relationships to the basic problem of architecture—the integration of use, structure and beauty—is clear.

"The time thus seems ripe to produce a work for architects and architectural students which will do for the architectural elements, the principles of design, and the building types of today what Julian Gaudet did for the eclectic architecture of 50 years ago in *Elements and Theory of Architecture.* The School of Architecture at Columbia, realizing this, had undertaken to prepare such a work."

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

It is terrifying to consider what an important role the graduate faculty of Columbia played in creating the atomic bomb. It is perhaps even more terrifying to contemplate the number of Ph.D.s Columbia produces—1,851 between 1930 and 1940. Graduate work, one must conclude, is certainly no child's play.

Don't forget it was a group of Ph.D.s who made the atomic bomb. When Niels Bohr of Copenhagen arrived at Princeton, January 16, 1939, he brought news of Otto Hahn's discovery of the splitting of uranium atoms, and he told U. S. scientists there of the suggestion of Lise Meitner and O. R. Frisch that the fission of an atom of uranium must be a very violent action, liberating a large amount of energy. Professor I. I. Rabi, now head of the physics department, and Dr. Lamb brought word of this to Co-

lumbia scientists. A few hours after hearing it Enrico Fermi, the brilliant Italian who escaped from Fascist Italy to become a professor at Columbia, was estimating how large a part of Manhattan Island could be blown up by a few pounds of uranium properly disposed.

"As a result of discussion among professors Fermi, Dunning, Rabi, Pegram, Urey, and others of our staff," reported Dr. Butler, "experimental demonstration of the large amount of energy liberated by the fission of an atom of uranium was sought. In the experiment planned by Dunning and Fermi, and carried out by Dunning on January 25, 1939, unmistakable evidence of the violence of the fission was found. Later it was learned that Frisch in Copenhagen had made the same demonstration ten days earlier." From that time on, the larger part of the work of Columbia's physicists and numerous members of other departments was devoted to the problems of nuclear fission and the release of atomic energy.

In March, 1939, Dean George B. Pegram of the graduate faculties, who became head of Columbia's Division of War Research, telephoned Washington and arranged for a conference between Fermi and the Navy Department. Fermi suggested the possibility of achieving a controllable reaction of atomic energy, using slow neutrons, or a reaction of an explosive character, using fast neutrons. The Navy expressed interest and asked to be kept informed. Experiments were continued at Columbia's physics laboratories through 1939 without outside support. Leo Szilard, a Hungarian physicist, and A. V. Grosse, chemist, joined the group in the physics department as research guests.

By the fall of 1939 the significance of their work became so clear that Alexander Sachs, stimulated by Dr. Szilard and Professors Einstein and Wigner of Princeton, told President Roosevelt of the revolutionary possibilities of

this work and its importance to the government. The President at once appointed an Advisory Committee on Uranium which, in 1940, obtained $6,000, most of which was allocated to Columbia for needed apparatus and materials. By this time Fermi and Szilard had proposed that efforts be made to attain a controllable chain reaction through the use of a pile of graphite blocks with masses of uranium distributed through it. These efforts proved successful and culminated elsewhere in the pile for the production of plutonium. In the summer of 1940 the Advisory Committee on Uranium was absorbed by the National Defense Council. One of the first contracts for research let by the Council was with Columbia, November 1, 1940, for carrying on the "Fermi-Szilard Experiments."

Meanwhile John R. Dunning at Columbia demonstrated that the uranium isotope of atomic weight 235 is the one which suffers fission under the action of slow neutrons. The first government contract for the task of separating the U-235 from U-238 was let to Columbia by the Navy, on May 25, 1941. It was for investigation of a centrifugal method under the direction of H. C. Urey, then professor of chemistry at Columbia. This was not carried far because Dunning, E. T. Booth, and E. G. Slack had found a more promising method. So Professor Urey and his assistants, particularly Dr. Carl Cohen, turned their attention to this diffusion method and contracts were made with the Office of Scientific Research and Development for carrying it on.

By the summer of 1941 enough had been learned to make it appear that atomic fission could be used to make an explosive bomb of superlative power. If Germany should do this, these scientists realized, England would lose the war. To discuss with British scientists the question of such a bomb, Professors Urey and Pegram were sent to England by the government in October. Their reports

made it clear that the United States would have to assume the job of making the bomb before Germany could. Greatly enlarged efforts were made by Columbia scientists. Already, by that time, Fermi, Szilard, Anderson, Zinn, Weil, Feld and others had made considerable progress. But there was not enough laboratory space available and so the work was moved in 1942 to the University of Chicago.

Some work continued at Columbia, however, until the whole research and development could be turned over to industrial companies. A large group of physicists, chemists, engineers, technicians, and others occupied a large part of Havemeyer Hall, the greater part of the Pupin Physics Laboratories, the basement and mezzanine of Schermerhorn, most of a large garage building at 133rd Street and Broadway, and a number of temporary structures erected for the purpose on the northern end of the campus. An apartment house on West 118th Street was remodeled for office purposes, and several other buildings used for storage. All this was, of course, strictly hush-hush, and few on the campus had any suspicion of what was going on.

At Chicago, on December 2, 1942, Fermi and his group attained the first self-sustaining, chain-reacting pile of uranium and graphite, and thus achieved the goal of a steady and controllable release of atomic energy. The Columbia men in this group included Walter H. Zinn, Ph.D. (class of '34), Herbert L. Anderson, Ph.D. (class of '40), George L. Weil, Ph.D. (class of '42), and Bernard T. Feld, Ph.D. (class of '45).

At Columbia the number of persons employed on this work rose in 1944 to 250 members of the scientific staff and more than 1,200 others. So pressing was the personnel problem that Robert F. Moore, secretary of the Appointments Office, was recalled from his work as civilian recruiting officer for the Naval Ordnance Laboratory in December,

1942. Several hundred alumni were hired, and a considerable group of young engineers and technically trained men went to the Hanford and Oak Ridge plants. Students from all the late graduating classes in science were promptly absorbed into the laboratories.

During 1941–42 Columbia scientists worked under contracts with the Office of Scientific Research and Development, but from 1943 their work was carried on under a single large contract with the Manhattan District, U. S. Corps of Engineers. Professor Urey was director of the work under this contract, with Professor Dunning in direct charge of one part, and R. H. Crist, associate professor of chemistry, in charge of the chemical section. Other important members of the staff were H. A. Boorse, associate professor of physics, Barnard; H. T. Beans, professor of chemistry; T. B. Drew, professor of chemical engineering; Maria Mayer, lecturer in chemistry; T. T. Booth, lecturer in physics; H. C. Paxton, instructor in physics; W. W. Havens, lecturer in physics; and L. G. Rainwater, assistant in physics.

It was Dr. Butler in his 1945 report who publicly revealed that it was the work on diffusion separation of uranium 235 that led to the great plant at Oak Ridge, Tenn., which produced the explosive material for the bomb that fell on Hiroshima, while the material from the plutonium bomb that was dropped on Nagasaki came from the uranium-graphite pile at Hanford, Wash., which was the direct outcome of work begun and carried on until the spring of 1942 at Columbia under the direction of Professor Fermi.

When the Manhattan District established a laboratory at Los Alamos, N. M., Dana P. Mitchell, assistant professor of physics, became assistant director of that laboratory in charge of purchase and equipment. Professor Rabi was a

consultant and spent a good deal of time there. Later, N. F. Ramsey, assistant professor of physics, joined the staff. Others on the staff were Professor Jette, of the department of metallurgy, H. L. Anderson, Joseph Keller, Professor Failla, professor of radiology, Edith Quimby, associate professor of radiology, Kenneth Cole, associate professor of physiology, and P. W. Schutz, assistant professor of chemical engineering. It must also be remembered that Professors Pegram and Urey were members of the Uranium Section of NDRC, the former being vice-chairman while Fermi and Szilard were active consultants.

For a number of years it has been fashionable for writers on education to attack what William James called "the Ph.D. octopus, "but the octopus appears invulnerable and actually grows larger after each savage whack. It is indeed true, as Jacques Barzun said, that "the Ph.D. degree has become the union card of the American college teacher." And Columbia issues more of those union cards than any other university. One reason is that a Ph.D. at Columbia means more, and carries more prestige, than a doctorate from any other university. It is not as easy to obtain as many of its critics suppose. The standards are exceedingly high: less than 35 per cent of those who enter the graduate schools actually go on to any kind of a degree. You may read of two or three thousand students enrolled in the graduate faculties, but you do not hear of the hundreds who drop by the wayside. Nor do you hear of the poor psychopathic souls who have completed all their research, and written a thesis, but whose work is so poor and their thesis so empty of scholarship that the department simply cannot grant the coveted label. Such people accept no outside judgment on their abilities, and often they threaten to sue the university because it does not deem them worthy of a Ph.D.

Yale granted the first earned doctor's degree in 1861 on the basis of two years' work beyond college. Other universities followed, often giving the Ph.D. as a honorary degree. Columbia's first Ph.D. was in the School of Mines in 1875, based on one year of graduate study. But the whole modern graduate school movement began at Johns Hopkins, planned and inspired by Daniel Coit Gilman in 1876 and patterned on the German universities. After that the number of institutions that granted doctorates grew so rapidly that by 1930 there were nearly a hundred in the U. S. and the graduate population multiplied to such an extent that in 1940 there were, in this country, 2,632 Ph.D.s handed out.

Columbia's Graduate School is represented by the distinct but closely allied Schools of Political Science, Philosophy, and Pure Science, whose total enrollment in 1940 was 2,482. It dropped, of course, during the war, and rose again afterward. The Faculty of Philosophy, which has charge of the work not only in philosophy but also in psychology, classical philology, ancient languages and literatures, and modern languages and literatures, was established in 1890. Its headquarters is Philosophy Hall. The Faculty of Political Science was begun by J. P. Burgess in 1880 and includes the departments of history, economics, public law, and social science. Its home is Fayerweather. The Faculty of Pure Science, established in 1892, comprises the departments of geology, mineralogy, botany, zoology, chemistry, mathematics, and the physical sciences. These are spread out in Havemeyer and Schermerhorn Halls, Chandler and Pupin Laboratories.

In 1935 an analysis was made of the students then registered, numbering 2,599. Of these, 1,570 were men; 1,029 were women. Most of them, surprisingly enough, came from the metropolitan area; only 22 per cent came from

beyond the environs of New York City. One out of five was married: 25 per cent of the men and 13 per cent of the women. Forty per cent had full-time jobs while working for their degrees; of these, 30 per cent were teachers.

These people are working for a Ph.D. largely for its monetary value: because educational institutions, even down to the high-school level, place a high estimation, relatively, on the worth of a Ph.D. They require it for important jobs; it is the only way a teacher can get advancement and a professorship. Thus a large proportion of those who are working for doctorates are not so much interested in research or scholarship as in getting a label that will automatically guarantee desirable jobs. Colleges and universities contribute to this situation by asking for Ph.D.s who have personality, who are good teachers, and who will fit into the academic community. Asked if these students can carry on research, the institution often replies: "Of course. We'd like them to do research." On investigation, however, it is apparent that the dean making the request does not really mean it; research is nice, it gives prestige, but neither money nor facilities are available, particularly in the physical sciences. Why, then, should a man whose main concern is research want to go to such an institution? He doesn't, but he is often compelled to do so in order to get a job.

Better opportunities are offered to many of these scientists by industry, and that is where they are going instead of into teaching. The colleges and universities get the other type: the men who are first of all teachers. And this is the problem that Columbia and other graduate schools face. They have two types of students: those who are primarily teachers, and those who actually contribute to the advancement of knowledge. The second type is rare, but it is for that type that graduate schools should be main-

tained. At Columbia a Ph.D. is not granted—at least in principle—except to those who have actually done something toward advancing the boundaries of knowledge in their particular field. A separate degree for those whose aim is primarily teaching—such as a Ed.D.—is not a solution of the problem, for it would be considered secondary in value, and the educational world would consider it second-best and put all the more emphasis on the Ph.D.

As one of the means of keeping its standards high, Columbia insists that doctoral dissertations be published, or that a contract for publication be shown before the degree can be granted. This is unquestionably a hardship on the candidates, for they are not likely to find commercial publishers interested in their subjects. Few of them are sufficiently realistic to check with publishing houses on subjects which might interest the reading public. The graduate student who said that his department would not let him select a topic that interested him, and he would not take a topic that interested his department (they compromised on a topic which interested neither) was not enrolled at Columbia, but he might have been. Yet topics that seem incredible to people outside the learned professions may be of considerable value to scholars in the particular field. Some years ago, at a meeting of scholars, somebody ridiculed the topics of doctoral dissertation emanating from Columbia and from Teachers College. Dean Woodbridge of Columbia answered that he agreed, on the whole, with the criticism, but the reason Columbia and Teachers College could be ridiculed in this manner was that the dissertations were actually published and available. Other universities, he pointed out, did not make public the subjects of theses.

The candidate in the physical sciences has an advantage in the matter of publication over the student in the social

sciences. He can summarize and explain the work of several years in a brief scientific paper of perhaps fifteen printed pages. That costs relatively little to print; and if it is published in a scientific journal, which it probably would be, that is sufficient. But in history, English, economics, psychology and such departments the doctoral manuscript is apt to be 300 or more pages. That runs into considerable money no matter who pays for it. An arrangement can be made through the Columbia University Press to have it published by King's Crown Press, and the cost met in deferred payments. But that loads the graduate starting out on his career with a debt that he is probably in no position to carry. The solution, of course, is a large endowment fund to pay the expenses of publication, but present-day millionaires seem loath to give money for such purposes. They prefer to pay for useful research in their own corporations, whose profitable results can be clearly foreseen.

Graduate work can be strengthened and improved. Some of the ways in which this can be done have been indicated by Dr. Ernest V. Hollis in his book, *Toward Improving Ph.D. Programs,* published by the American Council on Education (1945). He pointed out that before 1918 the universities were the primary agencies for organized research in the United States. That is no longer true. In 1918 there were fewer than 300 private laboratories for industrial research; there were at that time no endowed research organizations to speak of except the Carnegie Institution in Washington and the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. The Federal Government was spending comparatively little on research.

By 1941, however, there were 2,263 industrial research laboratories, employing 44,900 workers. The chemical industries alone were spending $50,000,000 annually. After

the second World War it became clear that there was a conflict between private industry and government to control research. "Since the graduate school is the primary agency through which research workers are trained," Dr. Hollis remarked, "it is, in the nature of things, of interest to both contending parties." Thus it is in business or government that the most serious-minded, and probably the best, of the graduate students find employment. That fact is bound to change the thinking, so far as future jobs are concerned, of all graduate schools.

In the past the employment picture has been rather sad. Not only is the remuneration low, and the chances of advancement in the educational world discouraging, but the graduate students themselves are often pathetic individuals. Dr. Hollis recognized this as a basic assumption: "Most graduate students are not wholly capable of self-direction," he observed. Analyzing the records of 22,509 persons who received Ph.D. degrees between 1930 and 1940, he discovered that 60 per cent entered college teaching. He found Ph.D.s working in such positions as village postmaster, rental agent, laundry manager, village banker, police court judge; others were a Ph.D. in Greek who was selling bakery products, a history scholar who operated a retail flower shop, and a Ph.D. candidate in Oriental languages who worked as a podiatrist.

Dr. Hollis's recommendations do not apply so much to the Columbia Graduate School as to some others. He said first that doctoral programs must be adjusted to the uses to which recipients can put the degree in the scheme of American life today, and second, that the Graduate School must function as an integrated organism—rather than an aggregation of competing departments—if it is to do its job properly. At Columbia both these suggestions have been basic assumptions. By being in New York, the great

research center of the modern world, the faculty and students are in a preferred position to obtain a realistic perspective on the American century.

Aware of America's international responsibilities, the Faculty of Political Science has established a School of International Affairs to train students for posts in international fields. This has been made possible by a fund set up by the late Judge Edwin B. Parker of Washington, D. C. Professor Schulyer C. Wallace is the director of this school. And a further step in bringing the university to close grips with international affairs has been the establishment of the Russian Institute, with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation. Under the direction of Geroid Tanquary Robinson it offers graduate study to a limited number of qualified Americans to help them to understand the Soviet Union and its people.

CHAPTER X

Columbia Athletics

1

CHARLES KING, the son of Columbia's president during the Civil War, started a baseball club at Columbia even before he became an undergraduate in the college. He organized a nine while he was in the Columbia Grammar School in 1858, at a time when there were a number of clubs meeting every Saturday at Hamilton Square, Fourth Avenue and 65th Street.

The youngsters at the grammar school called their club the "Uncas" after Fenimore Cooper's famous Indian, and they obtained permission to practice on one of the college's lots on 49th Street, now Radio City, which had been recently leveled off. A fence bounded Fifth Avenue, 49th and 50th Streets, and the field extended westward toward Sixth Avenue.

An old cobbler of the neighborhood named Van Horne manufactured the Uncas' baseballs out of old overshoes. He cut the rubber into slender strips, wound these tightly into an elastic core, and bound it by hand with woolen yarn. This he covered with a white skin. He achieved a kind of monopoly on the manufacture of baseballs so far as New York City was concerned. Since his baseballs were more satisfactory than any others, they were the only ones the players would use.

Masks, pads, and gloves were yet undreamt of; the pitchers used an underhand delivery. An alumnus who remembers that period says that "a lot of balls were lost to

the proletariat, for a score of ragged, unprincipled sons of Tammany hung around the edges of the playing field." As the game was then played, the ball was not thrown to the baseman, but "we soaked the runner himself, and didn't care where we hit him."

In 1859 three undergraduates asked the trustees of the college for accommodations for a baseball club, but little or nothing was done until 1867 when the board granted $200 for the purchase of bats and other necessary appliances. In that year there was a Columbia University Baseball Association with J. M. Brady, '68, as president and Hamilton Fish, Jr., '69, as vice-president. In May, 1867, the team, captained by George J. Geer, Jr., '68 (School of Medicine), beat N. Y. U., 43–21, and again in October won by 51–19. It also vanquished C. C. N. Y., 15–8, but lost to Yale, 46–12 and to Princeton, 58–12.

After that, baseball was confined to class teams, although a Columbia College Baseball Association was formed in 1878. Francis H. Bangs, '78, was president, and Joseph W. Spalding, '78, captain of the team. Apparently it played no intercollegiate games, however. The sophomore team played Rutgers in 1876 and 1877. A team officially represented Columbia 1883–84, managed by F. W. Woodward and coached by John W. Woods, pitcher for the N. Y. Giants, then a student at Columbia Law School. It played Rutgers, Lafayette, R. P. I. and local clubs. By 1886 baseball was firmly established and when the team licked Harvard that year the college celebrated for twenty-four hours.

Cricket competed with baseball for attention in those days and many thought that cricket would replace the ruder game. Lacrosse had been played early in the 19th century at Columbia but lack of a field forced its suspension. In the seventies and eighties the boys went in for all the fashionable sports of the period and established a

number of clubs. A fencing club was started in 1873, a boxing club in '75, a rifle club in '78, a walking club and a bicycle club in 1879, and a riding club in '81. In the late sixties William A. Duer, '69, assisted by Brander Matthews, '71, organized a velocipede club. Unfortunately, no pictures exist of the young Brander on a velocipede. The Columbia Lawn Tennis Club was formed in 1880. W. Bard McVickar and W. Barclay Parsons, Jr. were prominent in it. In 1888 Columbia players won both singles and doubles in intercollegiate games.

2

Legend has it that the boys at Columbia kicked a ball around the Park Place campus as early as 1824. A mongrel game of soccer and fisticuffs that included some wrestling and ended in drinking bouts existed even earlier. Not until the seventies did American football begin to get organized and not until the middle seventies was football played according to the Rugby rules.

In the late sixties the students at 49th Street kicked and punched a ball in a kind of degenerate soccer. Then, in 1870, Rutgers challenged Columbia to a game. It seems that in 1869 Princeton's baseball team had defeated Rutgers so, in retaliation, Rutgers organized a football team and played Princeton in what has been called the first intercollegiate football game. It was really a kind of soccer, but the Rutgers boys liked it, and looking for somebody they could beat, picked on Columbia.

The challenge from Rutgers aroused the old college spirit. The whole student body elected the captain, Stuyvesant Fish, '71, and on November 12, 1870, twenty men composing the team—not the squad but the team—journeyed to New Brunswick and there played what has been

called the fourth game of intercollegiate football on record. Rutgers won 6–3. The leather ball was as yet unknown; a sphere of black rubber was used which was so light it could be batted by the fist as far as it could be kicked.

The game was played with twenty men on each side; each team had two goalkeepers. Three men were supposed to play in the center of the field, three down each side, and two at the enemy's goal. That left seven rushers to follow the ball. Games were supposed to last 45 minutes, but on that historic day at New Brunswick nine games were played, beginning at 11:50 A.M. and continuing until dusk.

It was no gentle game these gentlemen played. No man left the field except to be carried off, since no substitutions were permitted. They kicked each other at random. Jumping on an opponent's stomach with both feet was not uncommon. Injuries, of course, were frequent, but nobody was killed. Shins were covered only with colored socks, and these were expected to distinguish the teams. Body protection was unknown; they played bareheaded. No training schedule was observed; a banquet followed the game and the boys ate a big meal just before they played. During a tedious part of the game at Rutgers, when action was at the other end of the field, one of the Columbia goalkeepers lit a cigar; when the Rutgers team suddenly broke through and came down on him, he shoved the lighted cigar effectively into his opponents' faces.

The known members of that first varsity team were: Stuyvesant Fish, '71; Denning Duer, '71; Moses H. Epstein, '71; J. Herrick Henry, '71; William E. Fales, '71 (Mines); Arthur D. Weekes, '72; Robert H. Arnold, '72; Valentine Mott, '72; Travers C. Van Buren, '72; Percy H. McMahon, '73; Alexander B. Simonds, '72; Gilbert M.

Spear, Jr., '73; David Thompson, '73; Robert C. Cornell, '74; E. I. Frost, '74 (Mines); Chester C. Munroe, '71; John Watts Russell, '71; H. Walter Webb, '73 (Mines); Casimir de Rham Moore, '73. One name is missing.

Since, in 1871, the seniors were too busy with other things to play football, Columbia played no intercollegiate games. But in 1872 another team was organized with Alexander B. Simonds as captain; he challenged Rutgers. The game was played at the Tremont grounds near Mott Haven on November 2, 1872. It lasted only three hours and ended in a draw. Before the game an experiment was agreed upon: a score could be made by kicking the ball over the crossbar between the goal posts. When neither side could do it, the idea was abandoned.

A second game was played at New Brunswick on November 9th which Rutgers won seven goals to five. A Yale man witnessed the game and challenged the Columbia team. This game was at New Haven, November 16th. It began at three in the afternoon and lasted until five. Yale made three goals; Columbia none. A Columbia critic declared that his team had not had the right kind of practice. The field was 400 feet long and 250 feet wide; the goal posts six paces apart. Yale strung men around the field and passed the ball from one to another while the Columbia team stuck together and wore itself out in rushing. So the Yale boys played rings around them. About 400 spectators witnessed the affair. Later Columbia played Stevens; this time, with eleven men on each side, Columbia won.

In 1873 the game with Rutgers was immortalized in verse by an unknown poet in *Facta Columbianara,* a parody of *Acta Columbiana,* the college paper. A section describes the game:

"Legs, and the men I sing, who fought that day
With Rutgers order, in unplayful play,
And teach O muse, my pen to sing
Of Leonowens and of King,
Of Kent, McMahon, Morewood, Late,
Who struggled hard 'gainst harder fate,
Of all Columbia's chosen score
Who scored one goal and then three more,
But lost the game and more from luck
Than want of skill or lack of pluck.
No sooner had the word been given
And rose the ball in air to heaven
Than rushed the Rutgers' rushers in
Determined a quick goal to win;
And while the ball was still on high
A Rutgers caught it 'on the fly.'
Straight on him ran our Bob Cornell
And knocked the fellow down to—swell.
The crowd of fallen Rutgers men
Whose shout we soon shall hear again.
The ball propelled by Bob afar
Fell midst the surging ranks of war,
But ere a Rutgers man could kick
Jim Kent was there with movement quick
And striding with a cunning plan
Did hit the ball and kick the man.
And thus they battled all that day
On Jersey's sticky red-hued clay,
And many an awful swear was sworn
And many an undershirt was torn,
But when the gods display their hate
'Tis vain to struggle 'gainst our fate
And so alas! By set of sun
The Victory was by Rutgers won."

Princeton, one of the parents of intercollegiate football, did not play Columbia until 1874, winning six goals to

none for Columbia. The team that year was still composed of twenty players, and it fought valiantly against Rutgers, but lost again, 6—1. It also lost to Stevens, 4—2, a game which had one period of an hour and twenty minutes of play without a score. Columbia won a return game with Rutgers, but lost two games to Yale that season.

Columbia was discouraged. The fault was obvious: the team had no place to practice. An attempt to use a field in Jersey City was abandoned. *Acta Columbiana* reported: "The advantage of going to the outskirts of Jersey City to play football, only to have to have a free fight with the rowdies of that vicinity, is not to be commented upon."

Representatives from Columbia, Harvard, and Princeton formed the Intercollegiate Football Association, November 23, 1876. No other college was to be admitted into the league, they decided, until it had defeated one of them. That year Columbia played Stevens with 17 men, Princeton with 20, Yale with 11. At Princeton a rope was stretched across the goal posts ten feet from the ground. To make a goal it was necessary for the ball to pass above the rope. Most of Columbia's games were played at the St. George's Cricket Field in Hoboken. In the Princeton game Princeton had three goals when darkness ended the game.

The Yale game was on December 9th, a bitterly cold day, seven above zero. Walter Camp recalled that he played halfback for Yale and wore a pair of gauntleted sealskin gloves. The fullback had almost nothing to do and nearly froze to death, although he too was wearing fur gloves. Camp tackled a Columbia man whose head hit the frozen ground; he was stunned. Camp believed he had killed him. "I was sure the man's head had broken open like an eggshell," he wrote, "and I ran to the captain and said I wished to be taken out as I had killed a man and

could not play any more. I was astonished and tremendously relieved when the man came to and went on playing." Unfortunately, the hard-headed Columbian was not identified. In this game Yale knew the Rugby rules; Columbia did not. Yale made two touchdowns and kicked the goals.

The lack of a practice field so handicapped Columbia that it lost to Harvard and Princeton the following year. It played only one intercollegiate game in 1878, with Pennsylvania, a scoreless tie. The 1879 games were no more satisfactory. The most spectacular was Yale's victory with a team led by Walter Camp, in a game which ended by moonlight.

To place the game on a firmer footing a football association was formed at a mass meeting of the undergraduates, January 7, 1880. Before that time the team members had been paying their own expenses. Nicholas Murray Butler, '82, was secretary of the meeting. George H. Taylor, '81, was elected, at a second meeting, president of the association. F. A. Potter, '80 (Mines), was elected captain, according to custom, by the student body and not by the team. Yale, Harvard, and Rutgers defeated Columbia that year, although the team held practice at the Polo Grounds at 110th Street and Fifth Avenue.

Less discouraging was the season of 1881. In seven games the team beat Penn, Stevens, Rutgers, held Yale to one goal, lost to Harvard and Princeton. The Harvard game was at Cambridge before what was considered a large crowd; the gate receipts were $342. But the 1882 season was disappointing: all the games were lost except the one with N. Y. U. An outstanding player during these seasons was William Fellows Morgan, who played on the team for eight years. He had previously played Rugby in England and knew the game. In the 1882 game against

Harvard in Hoboken he tackled a Harvard man between the Columbia goal posts, wresting the ball from him for a safety instead of a touchdown.

No better was the 1883 season. Columbia's membership in the Intercollegiate Football Association lapsed. Only two games were played in 1884; after that Columbia dropped intercollegiate football for a time. Class games continued, but the lack of a field discouraged the football rooters. It was during the late seventies and early eighties that the football suit appeared. A jersey was adopted as standard uniform and a canvas jacket was worn to prevent tearing of the jersey. For a time players greased their jackets, but this was soon prohibited by the rules. Excellent players were developed during that period, such as T. C. Bach, '75, Ed Price, '75, J. W. Pryor, '78, Charles D. Brower, '78, Frank L. Henry, '82, William T. Lawson, '82. *Spectator* tried in vain to whip up the football spirit, then commented: "The pleasures of the metropolis have far greater attractions than the exhilarating sport of the football field."

Albert W. Putnam recalls that when he entered as a freshman in 1893 there had been no varsity football for several years. Each freshman class had a team, however, which played prep schools and usually the Yale and Princeton freshmen. Occasionally upper class teams played outside football clubs. Then the move to Morningside Heights incited an upsurge of college spirit and revived the hopes of the football enthusiasts. Since facilities would probably be available for practice, the question of re-establishing the football team was agitated. In the spring of 1899 a University Football Association was formed. Billy Mitchell was instrumental in arranging for an exhibition game in the Durland Riding Academy to raise funds to hire a professional coach. George Foster Sanford of Yale

was hired for $1,500 and an ambitious schedule was arranged: Yale, Cornell, West Point, Dartmouth, Annapolis and the Carlisle Indians.

It was thought necessary to arrange such a schedule in order to defray the expenses of hiring Manhattan Field for the games. But this cruelly impossible schedule has been a traditional error throughout Columbia's football history. As soon as it seemed as if Columbia would have a good team, the schedule makers contracted to play a succession of games that would cripple the best team imaginable. The results have been tragic: good teams seem to make poor records, and poor teams appear worse than they should. And the effect on football followers has been psychologically disastrous: every September hopes skyrocket; every December is given over to explanations.

Before the season the team went to Margaretsville in the Catskills for early workouts. After defeating Rutgers and Union in early games, the team was beaten by Princeton, 11–0. The big game was against Yale when Harold Weekes, '03, leaped into the spotlight, never to be forgotten by Columbia football fans. He ran the field for a touchdown, winning the game, 5–0. After the game ecstatic Columbians drew the team in a coach down Seventh Avenue from the gridiron.

The other games were lost, and the Navy game cancelled because the team was so battered. Ted Simons, '99, the captain, wrenched his knee in the Princeton game and was out for the season. Bert Wilson, '01 (Law), was badly hurt in the Cornell defeat. However, the crippled team played the Carlisle Indians on Thanksgiving Day and was licked, 45–0. It was a green team at the start of the season, but a thoroughly experienced one by the end. Such memorable players were developed, in addition to Weekes, as Bill Morley, '02, Jack Wright, '02 (Law), Buzz Longacre,

'99 (Science), Ned Bruce, '01, James Knapp, '00 (Mines), and John Wolff, '01 (Law). At that time there were no eligibility rules in intercollegiate football. Big colleges borrowed players from the small colleges. Only three members of the team were Columbia College students; the others came from the graduate schools and had played intercollegiate football for their undergraduate colleges.

The 1900 team, Mr. Putnam recalls, was one of the best that ever fought for the light blue and white. It defeated Harvard and Penn, tied Yale, beat Princeton, Annapolis, and the Carlisle Indians. The Indians sent the same team that had rolled up such a heavy score the year before. The 1901 team defeated Penn, Annapolis, and the Indians once more. Three great players appeared: Fred Irvine, '02 (Science), Billy Duel, '04, and Dick Smith, '04 (Law). In seven years of intercollegiate football a highly creditable record was achieved; big teams were met, and enough money was accumulated to rent Manhattan Field for the entire year.

After 1900, football affairs were placed under the financial supervision of T. Ludlow Christie, '92, graduate treasurer of the Football Association. The indebtedness was paid off, and a surplus of $10,000 was in the treasury when, in 1905, the game was suddenly abolished at Columbia by the faculty, which considered football an academic nuisance. The professors said it interfered seriously with the studies of the players, particularly those in Mines and Law. The students were dumbfounded, rallied in protest, but the decision had been made and could not be reversed.

Columbians will always be proud of Harold Weekes. It was in his freshman year that he defeated Yale almost singlehandedly; he was captain in 1902, and Walter Camp named him as halfback in his All-Time All-American team. "Weekes is the best end runner for a man of his

weight the game has ever seen," said Camp. "He was stockily built, yet not short; powerful and fast, and had that particular burst of speed at the right moment that enabled him to circle any end." Those who remember him as a student recall his most outstanding characteristic was his modesty. He later became a stockbroker in Wall Street.

3

Friends of Columbia rowing say that the abolishing of football hurt rowing because the best athletes stopped coming to Columbia. As a matter of fact, the period of 1905 to 1915 produced some of the most brilliant crews in the light blue and white's history. But it is possible that some of those crews might have been even better. After all, rowing is an aristocratic sport; it can be made democratic, and crew members certainly live in a close democratic fraternity. Generally speaking, however, the sons of the best families have been most prominent in the sport. They are the ones who started rowing in prep school days, and they make the best material for a varsity boat. Other boys can, of course, be developed into good oarsmen, but a first-rate crew takes long training and experience. Oarsmen who have rowed before they have come to college have an obvious and terrific advantage over those who have never been in a shell before.

The earliest record of rowing in the United States is that of a contest between two barges in 1811 in New York harbor. Rowing began at Harvard and Yale about 1845, and in 1852 the first Harvard and Yale race was held on Lake Winnepesaukee, N. H., Harvard winning. Seven years later a Columbia crew practiced on the Harlem River, but apparently it did not compete with any other college. At that time there were a number of private row-

ing clubs and a considerable interest in boating around New York. By 1869 the time was ripe when George L. Rives, '68, who was then in Trinity College, Cambridge, England, wrote to *Cap and Gown* advocating the formation of an athletic association to encourage rowing.

Since rowing was an expensive sport even then, it was difficult to raise the funds for boats and boathouse. The first crew to represent Columbia was organized by the fraternity, Psi Phi. It entered the intercollegiate regatta on the Thames River at Springfield, Mass., in 1873. Thirteen crews participated; Columbia was fourth, a very creditable showing that aroused enormous enthusiasm. So rowing was established in 1874 with a varsity crew which won the regatta at Saratoga in a shell called the "Van Am." This was a six-oared crew on a three-mile course. Fifteen crews participated. The time was 16 minutes, 42 seconds. The victors were greeted with a parade, fireworks, and the salute of cannon. So stirred were the students and trustees that a boathouse was erected in 1876 toward which the trustees appropriated $4,000.

Columbia came in second at Saratoga in 1875, third in 1876. Probably Columbia's greatest athletic victory came in 1878 when the light blue and white crew swept the waters of the Thames at London and gave the best crews of Oxford and Cambridge their first defeat by an American crew. In 1869 Harvard had sent over a four-oared crew which was defeated by Oxford. The victory of the Columbia four was a complete surprise, for nobody conceded them the slightest chance.

The annual Royal Henley Regatta is one of the great traditions of Oxford and Cambridge. On July 4, 1878, Columbia was first in the race for the Visitors' Challenge Cup, beating the Jesus College Boat Club and the University College Club of Oxford. On the following day it

defeated the Hertford College, Oxford Club. *The New York Times* reported: "The Columbians have won the only boat race ever gained by an American crew in England, and are today the heroes of Henley. The American crew took an early lead, rowing a tremendous stroke. They covered the distance of one mile and five sixteenths in the most remarkable time of eight minutes forty seconds. The crew of Oxford, fully two lengths behind, was so completely exhausted that their boat, uncontrolled, was demolished on the shore." The oarsmen were: Jasper Goodwin, Henry C. Ridabock, Cyrus Edson, and Edwin E. Sage. On their return to New York they were greeted by a tremendous ovation; the mayor and the city councilmen welcomed them; the college declared a holiday, and they were banqueted at the Hotel Buckingham.

Since that memorable day Columbia's boating history has hit many high pinnacles with magnificent crews, and there have been long intervals when rowing fans witnessed discouraging reverses. The spirit, however, has persisted, and no matter how long the interval between victories, the determination has not wavered among a small group of undergraduates and alumni to send their colors to victory on the water. Columbia can justifiably boast that it is one of the great rowing colleges, with a long and distinguished tradition.

In 1879 the varsity four won at Lake George. The following year it established one of its traditions by winning the first of the races for the Childs' Cup. Later Columbia won this race four times in succession. The cup was established for the Middle States colleges. The top-lofty attitude of Yale and Harvard about their annual regatta aroused some resentment among the other colleges. So Mr. Childs gave a cup for the Middle States colleges to compete for: the colleges of New York, New Jersey and Penn-

sylvania. Columbia has not always competed, but when Columbia crews have entered they have almost always done well.

Varsity eights were revived in 1881 when the crew lost to Harvard at New London. It came in second again in 1883 after winning on the Passaic River in New Jersey against Pennsylvania and two private boat clubs. In 1884 and 1885 Columbia was second against Harvard at New London, but won in 1886 against Pennsylvania, Cornell and Harvard. In the next two years it came in second; in 1891 it was third.

During the next three years there were only class crews; then in 1895 came the beginning of the Poughkeepsie Regatta, the scene of many heartbreaks and a few magnificent victories. Columbia, Cornell, and Pennsylvania organized the Intercollegiate Rowing Association under whose auspices the annual event is held. A great Columbia crew stroked by Hamilton Fish, Jr., '95, won. He carried a rabbit's foot (left hind, black) in his rowing sock, and when he dived overboard after the race he carried it ashore in his teeth. He was later killed in the Spanish-American War, serving with the Rough Riders. F. H. Sill (later Father Sill) was coxswain. The others were R. W. Pressprich, J. H. Prentice, Orleans Longacre, Jr., W. C. Hobdy, Don MacGregor, G. H. Carter, H. E. Pierrepont, Jr. Wild was the rejoicing of Columbia men in Poughkeepsie the night of June 24th. They wrecked, it is said, the bar in the Nelson House.

The next twenty-five years of the Poughkeepsie Regatta is the history of Cornell crews coached by Charles E. Courtney, who told his charges: "If you want to win you must first beat Columbia." The eight came in fourth in 1896, second in 1897, fourth in 1898, 1899, and 1900. Ed Hanlon, the famous Australian sculling champion coached

the crews of the early 1900s. At Poughkeepsie the 1901 crew made a record that stood until 1928.

James Trelawney Rice, generally referred to as "the grand old man" began his long service by coaching the 1907 crew, which tied Cornell, according to Columbia men, although Cornell was given the decision. In 1908 Columbia finished ahead of Cornell, but the two crews wore themselves out by the fast pace and Syracuse won; Columbia was second. The varsity eight was second at Poughkeepsie in 1909, third in 1910. The years 1911 to 1914 were brilliant ones. George S. Downing is remembered as the great stroke of the 1911 crew, and he rowed gloriously for two more years. In 1911 the crew put up a terrific fight at Poughkeepsie but unfortunately Sage at the bow collapsed just before the finish; Cornell won.

Columbia won the Childs' Cup race at Princeton in 1912, 1913, and 1914. That was the big year of victory, for the crew went on to win at Poughkeepsie in a thrilling race. Not since 1895 had there been such a triumph, for the light blue and white came from behind to beat Pennsylvania, Cornell, Syracuse, Washington, and Wisconsin. I. W. Hadsell was the captain; the others were: H. A. Naumer, A. C. Rothwell, E. I. Williams, V. G. Sanborn, S. Pitt, Jr., W. N. Bratton, C. F. McCarty, and R. U. Wood as coxswain. Not until the late twenties could the rowing fans hold another such celebration, although in 1915 the eight beat Yale at New Haven and in the early twenties there were some fine crews

The 1921 crew was especially good; Paul Gallico rowed on it. Just before the Childs' Cup race Van Houten became ill and Sidney Waldecker took his place; the crew won. Both the varsity and the junior eights beat Yale that year at Derby, Conn., a feat they accomplished again in 1922 on the Harlem River. In 1923 the varsity eight won

at Philadelphia against Pennsylvania and Princeton, was second at Derby against Yale and Penn, and beat M. I. T. on the Harlem. It was third at Poughkeepsie. That year marked the passing of Jim Rice from the Columbia scene. The alumni and old-time oarsmen had been criticizing him and his methods for several years. Some of the members of the crew resented the way he treated them. After 1914 he had enjoyed a year of hero-worship, but with the lack of success at Poughkeepsie the wave of rowing enthusiasm subsided. When Rice made a change in his varsity eight just before a big race, an alumnus wrote him a letter severely criticizing him. After that, harmony and good feeling went overboard, and in matters a coach would ordinarily be consulted about, he was more or less ignored. An alumnus, Fred Miller, succeeded him, and coached for two years.

By getting the first of the Glendons to come to Columbia in 1925, the rowing committee achieved one of the best moves in Columbia's boating history. First they brought Richard Glendon, Jr.; then when he died his father, the old Navy coach, came for a year. He was succeeded by still another Glendon, Hubert, brother of Richard, Jr., and son of Richard, Sr. They have done a miraculous job with the material available. The number who come out for crew at Columbia is comparatively small; Columbia does not have the student body to draw upon that its rivals upon the water have.

To be a good crewman a youngster must first of all be a good athlete; he ought to be tall as well as strong, and while a coach must necessarily spend time in building up the bodies of his crew, his main object is to get them to row together as a unit. To give his crews the utmost advantage, Glendon taught them his special stroke, based on his long riggers. Prior to the Glendon era all riggers, which

extend from each side of the shell and hold the oarlock, were extremely short. The elder Glendon, when at Annapolis, conceived the brilliant idea of lengthening the rigger and at the same time retaining the water length of the stroke by an exaggerated back swing, terminating in a long layback. This was unlike the then common arm and leg stroke motions.

Glendon began working on the freshman crew in 1926 and built up a crew that won at Poughkeepsie in 1927, the first great victory since 1914. This proved Glendon's contention that a swinging crew, using the back movement he taught them, and the rig he devised, would beat a "leg and arm" crew. The 1928 race was a grueling one; California won. Columbia was sometimes ahead, but was not able to hold it and came in second. Both crews broke the record for the course and California went on to win at the Olympic Games in Amsterdam.

The Glendon stroke was further vindicated in 1929. It was proved that the long body backswing helped the men to build up faster and make first-rate oarsmen out of men who had never rowed before they came to college. Columbia won in 1929 at Poughkeepsie against a nasty head wind that swamped some of the other shells. The boys demonstrated that they knew seamanship and made no mistakes. Alastair McBain stroked this crew and formed with Horace Davenport one of the greatest combinations in the history of rowing. Both were six feet tall and weighed 180 pounds. Glendon declared that it was the greatest crew he had ever coached.

4

When intercollegiate football was abolished in 1905 a ten-year fight began to get it re-established. Mass meetings

and campaigns by *Spectator* had no effect. Van Amringe sympathized with the undergraduates, and interclass games were permitted in 1908. Rowing occupied the main interest of the sports-minded, and the crew enjoyed the attention the football team had previously possessed.

Finally, in 1915, the faculty relented, and a varsity team was organized on the understanding that no games be played with Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Cornell or Penn for at least five years, that all games were to be played on the college grounds, either Saturdays or holidays, that all coaches be on the staff of the Department of Physical Education, which was to regulate practice periods. Only Columbia College men were eligible for the team. Frank D. Fackenthal, then chairman of the committee on student organizations, was instrumental in getting this plan approved.

When Columbia alumni speak of the "Restoration" they do not mean the return of the Stuart kings to the throne of England. They are thinking of the resumption of football. Charles Halstead Mapes expressed their emotions when he said: "Of all universities Columbia needs something to arouse and bring out the latent enthusiasm and patriotism in both the alumni and the students. Without football there was nothing to bring this out until the middle of the college year when basketball and other indoor sports opened. This was bad for the undergraduates, who in a city like New York are very apt to get fixed in their routine of outside diversions, social and otherwise, and also for the alumni who, instead of becoming interested in what was going on at the college when the fall season opened, would have nothing to call their attention to it until the first of the year."

Tom Metcalf was brought from Oberlin as head coach; he came partly because he wanted to get his Ph.D. in

physical education. He was assisted by Alexander Telfer; Frank C. Fisher became freshman coach. Gus Peterson became trainer of the team, and Francis M. Simonds, '16, was elected captain. Metcalf faced many difficulties. He could not use freshmen on the varsity team, and as soon as a man became a junior he went into a professional school and became ineligible. Late classes in the afternoon meant even later practice. One third of the squad had no previous football experience, and half of the candidates weighed less than 150 pounds. The first outstanding star to be developed was Howard Miller, a fine quarterback and dropkicker. Otherwise the first season was undistinguished; the best game from the Columbia point of view was with Williams, which ended in a tie. Jeff Healy made his appearance that season; he captained the 1917 team and went on to a hero's death in France, in August, 1918.

Howard Miller, on leave from the Naval Reserve, returned in 1918 long enough to help beat N. Y. U. He did it with a drop kick from the 48-yard line. Chester Robb flew into the spotlight that year and almost singlehandedly beat Wesleyan, 14—0. The trackman, Charlie Shaw, appeared on the gridiron that season and proved a fast ground-gainer. J. D. Kennedy captained the 1919 team which beat Amherst, and on Thanksgiving Day tied Brown in a memorable battle. That was when the boys learned that Fred Dawson, who had succeeded Metcalf, was leaving for the West because of lung trouble. Dawson had been a successful coach before he came to Columbia, and later, after he left, he coached a sensational team at Nebraska.

Frank J. (Buck) O'Neill followed Dawson. He had made a brilliant reputation at Syracuse, Colgate, and Williams. The boys called him a slave driver; he insisted on terrific scrimmages all week so that the team welcomed the Saturday game as a relief. His teams did not win a single major

victory. The big event of the 1920 season was the bus trip to Ithaca. Nobody who made that journey is likely to forget it, for the expedition was as heartbreaking as the game. Some of the buses broke down, some took 24 hours to make the trip, and one bus did not arrive until the game was half over. Cornell won, 34—7.

Once again, in 1921, the mistake was made of arranging too ambitious a schedule. South Field beheld Walter Koppisch for the first time; he captained the team from 1922 to 1924, and was regarded as the speediest back in the country at that time. Carl Moszczenski, who later changed his name to Mos, was a powerful halfback. Kes Scovil, tackle, was captain in 1921. The team beat Ursinus, Amherst, Wesleyan, and N. Y. U.; it lost to Williams, Cornell, and Dartmouth.

The spring of 1923 saw the dawn of a new era, for it was announced that Percy Haughton, the famous Harvard coach, had been hired. He was known as a master of strategy and detail, an uncanny diagnostician. The hopes of the alumni and undergraduates soared. Haughton, however, could not perform a miracle overnight; he was a coach who built a system, not stars. Baker Field became available that fall, and the college began to feel that it was at last in big-time football. It was the year Koppisch was chosen by Walter Camp for his All-American.

After the season Columbians were flabbergasted by an Associated Press report from Boston that quoted Haughton as saying: "I went to Columbia on a one-year basis and there seems to be very little chance I will return. All this talk about a three-year contract is bosh. Many things will have to be straightened out before I can agree to return." The following evening frightened alumni gathered at the Columbia University Club to see slow-motion pictures of football and to hear Haughton speak. At six Haughton

arrived and had dinner with the football committee, which consisted of Robert W. Watt, James R. Knapp, Charles Halstead Mapes, and Milton Cornell. At nine o'clock Knapp announced: "Mr. Haughton will be back in the fall." Old graduates and young yelled their relief and approval. Haughton said that he "was crazy to come back." All agreed Columbia was crazy to have him; no double meaning was intended.

The 1924 season opened auspiciously with a smashing victory over Williams. And then, on the Monday following, Percy Haughton died of a heart attack. Once more Columbia's hopes crashed; the team was brokenhearted. Mrs. Haughton went to Ithaca from Boston and spoke to the boys before the Cornell game. This, of course, was emotionally disastrous. The nerve-racked team put up a brave fight, showed flashes of brilliance, but Cornell was steadier, and won, 14—0.

Dr. Paul Withington, Haughton's chief assistant, expected to be appointed, but instead Charles Crowley was induced to come at a salary said to be $15,000. Salaries of coaches at Columbia have never been made public. Such secrecy probably does more harm than good, but that has always been the settled policy. At Columbia he developed such players as Ray Wagner, a fine end, Larry Tiihonen, Manning, and Hyde. But Crowley was criticized as too easygoing; it was said he lacked the drive to inspire the team. In December, 1925, it was reported that Knute Rockne had signed a contract to come to Columbia. Apparently the story was premature; he had not obtained his release from Notre Dame and the announcement that he was coming killed the possibility that Notre Dame would let him.

The whole incident was embarrassing to all concerned. Crowley, of course, was annoyed, but he stayed as coach

until 1929. By this time all the sports writers in the country were saying that Columbia was the graveyard of coaches and their reputations. Nobody, it was said, could cope with the conditions and produce winning teams. And nobody could until Lou Little was acquired for a reported $18,000 a year. When he first appeared on the campus, after signing up, he said: "I did not come here to fail: I came here to give Columbia the success in football she deserves." That he has done.

Little had been an All-American tackle on the big Penn team of 1916; after two years of service he returned to play tackle again, and in 1920 he was graduated from dental school. The story is told that after his graduation he discovered that all dental chairs and equipment are designed for right-handed dentists; he is left-handed. That is probably only an additional reason why he became a professional football player with the Buffalo All-Americans and then with the Philadelphia Yellowjackets. In 1925 he went to Georgetown as coach and made a remarkable record.

When one considers what happened to his predecessors, and what difficulties stand in the way of developing top-notch teams, Lou Little's record at Columbia must be regarded as something much better than remarkable. He found, in 1930, a squad of 35 men, only four of them veteran players. His first team was composed chiefly of sophomores, but one of them was Ralph Hewitt. Little said of Hewitt: "I would not trade him for any college player on the field." After the Dartmouth defeat (52—0), Little told his team: "Boys, we are preparing for next year's Dartmouth game right now." The same teams met a year later and Columbia won, 79—16. That is the kind of thing that give Columbia players and alumni confidence in Little. In 1932 his contract was renewed.

Little instigated a campaign to get good football players

to come to Columbia. Not only did Hewitt come; there were others: William McDuffie, at center, Steve Grenda, at guard, Manuel Rivero, halfback, and a year later Cliff Montgomery, a great star whose generalship at the Rose Bowl game marked one of the thrilling moments of football history. On that team, too, were Anthony Matel, at end, Newell Wilder, at center, Albert Ciampa, also at center, Joseph Ferrara, at tackle, and Alfred Barabas, who made the touchdown that beat Stanford, 6—0.

The whole Pacific Coast laughed at the Columbia team when it went out to Pasadena. Nobody conceded it a chance. Leland Stanford had the edge in power, speed, weight. Columbia had a fighting spirit, an alertness for every opportunity, and by sheer smartness won. Behind all that was Lou Little with his concentration on deceptive plays and his long drilling in them. The famous KF 79 play that won the game had been practiced over and over again until the boys were practically in tears from the relentless rehearsal of that one play. They could do it in their sleep. It made such a sensation in the football world, however, that other coaches copied it. Little came to be acknowledged as the leading exponent of modern football. Yale took movies of it to study it in slow motion.

Little works hard. So eager was he to teach a man how to play tackle that he got into a scrimmage and sustained a broken neck. During the 1933 season some of the players stopped to look at the eclipse of the sun. Little grew impatient. "Get away from the silly moon," he told them, "we have work to do." He continued to develop first-rate players and teams: George Furey, '37, the blocking back, and Sid Luckman, '39, the greatest passer Columbia has ever seen. In 1936 Columbia beat Stanford again, 7—0, this time in the East, when George Furey made a touchdown at the opening kickoff.

Since then Lou Little's teams have continued to make football history. The 1945 team carried on his strategy of few first downs and many touchdowns, became famous for its 60- and 70-yard sprints, finished every game except one at least 14 points better than its opponent. Outstanding player was Gene Rossides, who has been compared with Sid Luckman and Paul Governali. Equally outstanding were Lou Kusserow and Frank Sniadack, Captain Stan Smith, Emil Ladyko, Don Bleasdale, and Len Will. Speaking of them to the alumni, Little said: "My best advice to you, who have the interests of Columbia College most deeply at heart, is to keep boys like these coming. It is boys like these who will be the new leaders of another generation."

5

Columbia has had stars of comparable brilliance on its baseball teams. Eddie Collins, the great second baseman of Connie Mack's first championship Philadelphia Athletics played on the Columbia team of 1907. And in 1916 Columbia had what coach Andy Coakley insists was the greatest college baseball team ever seen. On that team were Don Beck, pitcher, and Bob Watt, either of whom could have been top-notch big-league players. Bob Watt played 20 games without an error, and batted .376. He was captain of the team in 1915. During the same period there was also George Smith, who pitched in 1914, 1915, and 1916. In his senior year he was judged by the alumni the best all-around man in the college. He went on to the Giants. Beals Beck, another pitcher, who might have graduated to the big leagues but chose to go to the College of Physicians and Surgeons instead. The catcher of that aggregation was Les Lane.

In 1920 another brilliant pitcher led the team to eight straight wins: Cy Meany. And a pitcher not forgotten by Columbia's baseball fans was Ed Lautenbach, who continued his career after college in professional baseball. Ralph Hewitt, the football player, was outstanding on the baseball diamond as well, and for a time he was in the Yankee system. Another man whose exploits on the diamond were comparable to his success on the football gridiron was Governali. Still another baseball name is that of Fresco Thompson who went to Columbia but unfortunately was never eligible for the team. In 1926 the captain was Ferdinand Zegri, a Puerto Rican, who demonstrated that he was of big-league caliber but preferred to become a highly successful businessman.

The man who built these teams and taught these players how to develop themselves into top-notch form is Andrew J. Coakley, who has coached Columbia's baseball teams since 1914. Born in 1882 in Providence, Andy went to Holy Cross, where he made a reputation as a pitcher. He went on to the Philadelphia Athletics, 1902 to 1906; he was with the Cincinnati Reds for two years and with the Chicago Cubs for two more years. He joined the Yankees in 1911 and then left the big leagues to coach at Williams College, where he was exceptionally successful. Baseball players, like other athletes, are apt to be rather sentimental fellows, but the feeling Columbia players have for Andy Coakley is something much deeper than mere sentiment. It is a profound respect and admiration. When an old-time player says that Coakley not only has made players but has made men, he means something much more than he can put into words. Players never forget him; they correspond with him regularly. Coakley is very proud of his boys, and he is especially proud of the business success

they have made. They have made good as a group, and that group very emphatically includes the baseball managers. The hard work they put in has paid off in later life.

Of all the athletes who ever played for Columbia there is one whose name brings tears to the eyes of all who knew him. To Columbians, Lou Gehrig dwells in their memories not as a great Yankee ballplayer but as a man for whom the word "greatness" is pitifully inadequate. Lou was the kind of man by whom all other men can be judged. After his death, Quentin Reynolds in London watched a British bomb expert dig out a big German bomb that threatened to explode at any minute. When the job was completed Reynolds was asked: "Did you ever see a braver man?"

"Yes," said Reynolds, "I knew Lou Gehrig."

Lou was born at 179th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, June 19, 1903. His parents were German immigrants; his father was an iron-worker. As a kid he felt keenly the taunts he received for being a German-American during the first World War. He went to the High School of Commerce at 66th Street and 10th Avenue. Ungainly and awkward, he did not seem promising material as an athlete, and he had little time for athletics as he had to work at odd jobs during his spare time.

When his father's health began to fail, his mother took a job as cook at the Columbia Phi Delta Theta house. That destined Gehrig for Columbia. His first contact with the college boys was when he tended the furnace in the fraternity house. They called him "little Heinie" but after he went to Chicago with his high-school team and knocked the ball out of the park he became known as the Babe Ruth of the high-school world. It was as a football player, however, that he first attracted the attention of the Colum-

bia athletic administration. When Commerce played De Witt Clinton at South Field, Bob Watt, then graduate manager of athletics, and coach Buck O'Neill saw Gehrig in action. They wanted him, talked to him, and finally persuaded him to enroll at Columbia although his baseball prowess had already attracted the attention of some of the athletically-minded alumni of other colleges.

The person who probably decided him was his mother, who liked the idea of her boy becoming a "collision," as she called collegians. Watt arranged for a scholarship; Gehrig took Extension until he could become eligible. And then disaster almost prevented him from playing college baseball. In order to earn some money, he joined the Hartford Baseball Club. Watt discovered it and rescued him. In 1922 Lou played tackle on the football team and won his letter. He was a good punter.

At Commerce High the baseball coach, Harry Kane, saw his possibilities and worked over him. When he came to Columbia, Coakley took him in hand and realized that he had an extraordinary youngster on his hands. He played the season of 1923, pitching and playing first base and the outfield. Then Paul Krichell, the Yankee scout, heard about his knocking the ball out of South Field regularly. Legend has it that Lou broke windows in the School of Journalism building nearly every game. He knocked plenty of home runs but Andy Coakley declares that he never broke any windows. The coach knew that he could not hold Lou in college very long. Gehrig's mother was ill; his father needed an operation; and it was to raise money for his parents that Lou signed up with the Yankees and accepted an advance on a contract. The rest is baseball history. Lou Gehrig honored Columbia by his presence on the campus and all who went to Columbia during his generation are proud that they were there then.

6

There are other sports at Columbia: basketball, track, fencing, tennis, swimming, wrestling. The varsity "C" can be won in any of them. Each has had its share of the limelight. Each has had outstanding coaches; those of the present era are tops in their fields. The story of each sport is largely buried in statistics: records of games won, championships achieved, records broken. The full story of the personalities involved is locked in the memories of those who have followed these sports over the years.

At Columbia when you mention basketball somebody is sure to speak of the famous "lightning fives," which must have been very remarkable quintets. As early as 1909 Columbia had first-rate basketball teams. That was the year that saw Ted Kiendl and Sam Melitzer as forwards, when Jack Ryan was captain and center. Pete Cerussi and Bill Kimbel the guards. The next two years witnessed the lightning five: Ted Kiendl, captain, Bob Mahon, forward, Arthur Alexander, center, Claus Benson and Murray Lee, guards. Other outstanding players of that era were Harry Fisher, Benjamin Von Sholly, Mark Hurley, and Dan Meenan. Reynolds Benson, later graduate manager of athletics and brother of Claus Benson, played on the teams of 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1915. He and his brother were Intercollegiate League Champions in 1912 and 1914.

Some of these players returned as coaches. Harry Fisher was coach from 1905 to 1917. Claus Benson coached the teams of 1920 and 1921. Joe Deering was coach from 1921 to 1924. Dan Meenan took over from 1925 to 1931, and Paul Mooney from 1932 to 1946. During this period memorable players tossed the basketball in Columbia's gym. In 1926 there were Johnny Lorch, Don McGurk, and Al

Mannhein; in 1930, when the team won 21 out of 22 games and for the second time in history went through the Eastern Intercollegiate League without a single defeat, the two best players were Sam Schoenfeld and Lou Bender. In 1931 there was Davy Jones and in 1936, Bill Nash.

The track coach is Carl Merner, angular, reticent, highly competent and efficient, himself an all-around athlete. He studied at Iowa State and then Springfield College, where he was a one-man track team. He started coaching at Kansas State College in 1913, where he supervised football and basketball as well as track. He came to Columbia in 1916, and has been there ever since except for one year in the army in the first World War. Rarely has he had more than one or two good men in a season, but when he does get a first-rater he makes the most of him. When he luckily has three or four on the squad he gets an I.C.A.A.A.A. championship.

Merner has developed some outstanding athletes: Walter Higgins, '22; Ben Johnson, "the dark flash" who, in 1937–38, was known as the fastest human of his day; Frank Ryan, the shot-putter; Dick Ganslan, the pole-vaulter (1939); Bill Patterson, the half-miler (1934); Joe Hagen, the two-miler; Herb Weast, the sprinter. Every day, rain or shine, Merner can be seen on South Field, or up at Baker Field, working on his men, telling a sprinter the kind of stride he wants, or showing a miler the arm action he should have. Merner is laconic, but when he does speak it is to the point.

Ed Kennedy, the swimming coach, has been at Columbia almost as long as Merner. At Columbia swimming is a tradition like rowing; it has a small group of completely devoted followers. Like track, swimming is a sport that develops individual outstanding athletes, and Kennedy has had usually one or two men each year who are good.

He needs, however, three or four top-notchers in order to have a complete team. Without them, the team loses, and the scores are not truly indicative of how good some of the individuals really are.

Outstanding in the water sports have been Hal Vollmer, 1919, who won six intercollegiate championships in three years, Bill Wright, an intercollegiate champion whose record still stands, and Ray Ruddy, 1922, a water-polo player who Kennedy declares was the greatest all-around swimmer of his time. Ruddy broke the world's record for the quarter mile. Then there were Wally Krissel, diver; Gene Rogers, an all-around swimmer who won the 220 and 440 National Collegiate Championships; and Parnell Callahan, breast-stroke champion.

Gus Peterson has been wrestling coach since 1915. Born in Sweden, he learned the profession of massage and came to America to practice it. For a time he did Y. M. C. A. work and then went to Princeton as assistant to Keene Fitzpatrick, acted as cross-country coach, taught boxing to freshmen, and coached the freshman football team. He was wrestling coach for one year and his team defeated Yale. Among the intercollegiate champions Peterson has developed are Lee, Pascanella, Amy, Barish, Hendry, Clark, King, Chilvers, Kallegran, and Johnson.

Oldest coach of them all, and probably the oldest active athletic coach in the country today, is James Murray, now in his eighties and Columbia's fencing coach, a position he has held for the last 50 years. Jimmy Murray holds a certificate from the Salle d'Armes of Paris, an honor few in America can claim. He has produced many famous swordsmen, including Norman Cohn, the Bloomer brothers, and Hugo Allesandroni.

Columbia's athletics are conditioned by three factors. In the first place, it is a college whose student body is

largely pre-professional: the boys are thinking of one of the graduate or professional schools and they have to work hard at their studies to get into these schools; they are not eligible for intercollegiate competition as freshmen and they go into the professional school as juniors or seniors, which cuts down the number of available athletes to a very small group. Secondly, the admission requirements are high and no exceptions are made for athletes: they must be eligible and stay eligible; they are either eligible for the whole season or not at all; they are not dropped from the team in the middle of a season because they have failed in their studies; hence, Columbia's athletes are apt to have brains, which today is not so much a handicap as was, and still is, popularly supposed. And thirdly, by being situated in New York, there are competing interests and obstacles in the way of developing athletes. It takes effort and determination to train and to attend the regular practice periods.

But the spirit is there. Columbia boys are busy. They haven't time for drinking, as they do at some country club colleges. They do not have the athletic facilities their rivals possess. There is too much skepticism, too much maturity on the part of the student body, for athletics to be overemphasized. The whole athletic program is in the hands of the physical education department, and physical education is required for four years at Columbia. The boys keep healthy, and in their competitive games they know how to lose as well as how to win. Coaches at Columbia say that the boys use their heads these days more than they used to do ten or twenty years ago. The boys of today keep the coaches on their toes. And the Navy V-12 program demonstrated that the boys can stand much more training, and harder conditioning, than was thought pos-

sible before the war. The coaches of today do not simply train teams; they train men.

After the war in the Pacific a Columbia athlete told one of the coaches of his experiences. He had been in the water 36 hours, longer than he had ever thought possible. He was in command of a landing party after his superior officer had been shot down. And when a bullet hit him and he was knocked into the water he said: "All I could think of was one thing. I kept thinking of what Lou Little used to say: 'The offense always moves forward.' " And it did. That describes the quality of Columbia athletes.

CHAPTER XI

Undergraduate Activities

1

THE FIRST reference to a literary society at Columbia is to be found in *Holt's New York Journal,* May 17, 1768. An account of the eleventh annual commencement of King's College mentions that Benjamin Moore and Gouverneur Morris, of the graduating class, were awarded silver medals by the Literary Society for superior excellence in oratory and composition. Legend has it that Alexander Hamilton was prominent in a literary society when he was an undergraduate. If there were such a society it is reasonable to suppose he was; and if there were not it is likely that he organized one, although the records do not report it.

Evidence does exist of a literary society later, for a certificate has been preserved of membership in the Columbia College Society for Progress and Letters issued to John B. Johnson of the class of 1792. The president of the society who signed it was John P. Van Ness, class of 1789. Apparently this society became extinct in 1795. College literary societies have their ups and downs; even the oldest become inactive for a time, and then when an energetic spirit appears on the scene the society is rejuvenated and for a college generation it blooms vigorously.

Each class, in the early days of the college, had its own literary society. Since there were almost no athletics, or other undergraduate activities, the energies of the stu-

dents, to find a legitimate outlet, inclined toward debating which was for years the great indoor sport, not only at Columbia but at most American colleges in the early 19th century. In 1801 the junior class formed the Philomathean; the following year it was thrown open to all undergraduates, and became the Philolexian Literary Society. After this, each succeeding freshman class created its debating club and met the older and larger society. In 1806 the freshman club was perpetuated; membership was opened to all undergraduates, and it adopted the name, Columbia Peithologian Society. The two organizations continued in active existence through most of the 19th century, except for a few years when Peithologian had no members. The colors of Philolexian were light blue; of Peithologian, white; and this is the origin of the Columbia College colors. Each society celebrated its anniversary, and sometimes joint meetings were held.

After the college moved to 49th Street the Philolexian Society had many meeting places, but usually the members gathered in the top floor of a ramshackle building, formerly a paper mill, at the southwest corner of 49th Street and Madison Avenue. Sometimes the meetings lasted until long into the night, and the members engaged, according to report, "in other than intellectual pursuits." Presumably that means they did some beer drinking, since that was a popular undergraduate diversion of the day. For a time Philo met at 8 Union Square in a large Masonic Lodge room, which contained an organ. Inevitably it was used for impromptu concerts. Sometimes the society met in what was known as the "old Gibson building" over Wallack's Theatre, at the corner of 13th Street and Broadway. This was also a Masonic clubroom, and was reached by a long, winding stair. Mock initiations resembled those of fraternities; one night the members dressed the statuary

about the room in fancy costumes. The effect was said to be startling.

Columbia College spirit enjoyed a kind of renaissance after the Civil War, and during the 1864–69 period Philo bloomed radiantly, boasting an average attendance at meetings of about fifty. It met in various places; never has it had a permanent home of its own. In 1877 the society was threatened by a democratic movement led by disaffected members who formed the Barnard Literary Association. From time to time aristocratic members have tried to make Philo exclusive; whenever they have tried to do that a healthy reaction results: a new and more democratic group is organized. Undergraduate politics ran feverishly high at 49th Street. The Greek letter societies had, it appears, an informal agreement about selecting members, the presidency of Philo was held by each in turn, and membership was restricted to fraternity men. After a revolt against this sort of thing, Philo mended its ways while Peithologian declined to moribundity. Dr. Butler was a member of Peithologian, but even he could not resuscitate it. Philo's meetings were sometimes haphazard, with much throwing of cushions; during its darkest days it had very few members, but it never actually disbanded, and has continued in uninterrupted existence.

2

It was Philolexian which published the first undergraduate publication in 1813: *The Philolexian Observer.* It ran for twelve issues. After that there was no real undergraduate publication for fifty years except an unofficial catalogue issued in 1848. (Today there is an honorary society at Columbia known as the 1848 Society.) The oldest continuous campus publication is the *Columbian,* which

has come out annually since 1864. It was started by the class of 1865. "The custom, which has been prevalent for many years in the principal colleges of our land," it announced, "of publishing a college paper containing a list of the societies and fraternities connected with the college and such other matter as may prove of interest to the students, the class of '65 now propose to inaugurate in our venerable institution."

It was a scanty affair, 19 by 12½ inches, of four pages. The undergraduate organizations were listed: Alpha Delta Phi, Psi Upsilon, Delta Phi, Phi Kappa Sigma, Delta Kappa Epsilon. Fraternities came to Columbia in 1836 when a chapter of Alpha Delta Phi was started; Psi U. came in 1842, followed about a year later by Delta Phi. So the *Columbian* began and continued as a kind of fraternity balance sheet, with accounts of each society. Another fraternity was also in existence: Axe and Coffin; and there was a Chess Club and a Billiard Club. The editors, Archibald Campbell and George S. Kip, of the class of 1865, listed all these on the first page.

An editorial and a class poem appeared on page two; membership lists of Philo and Peithologian on page three; and on the last page were listed the trustees, faculty, officers of the Alumni Association, Y. M. C. A., the Chemical Society, the class officers, and the officers of the Baseball Association. On this crowded page was also the program of the 58th anniversary celebration of Peithologian. Professor McCulloh, who fought for the Confederacy, was referred to as "Dirty Dick." There were only seventeen on the faculty at that time.

The yearbook was called *The Columbiad* until 1891 when it reverted to its original name. A monthly publication was started in 1868, *The Cap and Gown*. Seth Low was its editor in 1869–70. In 1873, representatives of the

School of Mines joined the board on the condition that its name be changed "so it shall be a name that shall not belong peculiarly to the Academical School or to the School of Mines." It was called *Acta Columbiana,* and became a weekly.

The Columbian of 1880 was edited by Nicholas Murray Butler; it had 89 pages, was lighter and more amusing than its predecessors. The '82 book took digs at Cornell, Yale, and Princeton. By 1886 it achieved stiff covers, and in 1891 it had half-tone reproductions of team photographs. A so-called comic paper had three issues: *Facta Columbiana*—"a journal devoted to expurgations." It was sold at Fritz's, the beloved saloon across from the 49th Street campus.

Acta Columbiana staggered along with ten issues a year in precarious financial straits until John B. Pine took charge as managing editor in 1875. F. S. Bangs was also active on the board. It was the first campus publication to have an office; it was in what the students called the Maison de Punk, a small college building that contained a stand-up lunchroom. James W. Pryor was editor in 1878; Harry Thurston Peck in 1879. Its best years were those when it was edited by John Kendrick Bangs in the early eighties; it was then lighthearted and audacious. After he left, it was absorbed by *Spectator.*

3

Spectator, started in 1877, was the product of a fraternity feud designed to put *Acta Columbiana* out of business. It aimed to be a weekly newspaper, and in the years 1880–95 it succeeded fairly well. It published its first cartoon in 1879. After that, small illustrations were scattered through it. *Spec* covered the ground of what was going on, was a typical college paper, tried to be universal in its appeal and

looked rather commonplace. In 1893, 1894, and 1897 it carried on crusades for college dormitories and claimed credit for the erection of Hartley and Livingston. No rivals threatened *Spec,* although there was much talk, and one was started, *Columbia News,* which had a very brief existence.

The move to Morningside Heights ushered in a new day for Columbia and a great upsurge of college spirit and undergraduate activity. *Spec* reflected this in the late nineties, became a semi-weekly and announced that it intended to become a daily paper. Arthur K. Fowler, '99, edited it in his senior year and he was assisted by George S. Hellman, Morton G. Bogue, and William Aspinwall Bradley. It became a daily in the fall of 1902. Two years later the future publishers, Donald Brace and Alfred Harcourt, were editors of it. In 1906 Frank D. Fackenthal was managing editor; later he shifted to the position of business manager. In 1912 it attempted for a time to be a university paper and include news from Teachers College, the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and Barnard. By 1916 it began to assume a modern appearance.

The years of the first World War were lively ones on the campus, for some strong personalities began to express themselves in those days. In 1917 James R. Harrison was editor of *Spec.* A department was started, called *Reviews and Interviews;* William S. Knickerbocker, Gustav Davidson, and Bennett A. Cerf contributed to it. Otis Peabody Swift wrote the *Stroller* column; and *Off Hour* began a brilliant career, written by Frederick C. Schang, Jr., Morris Ryskind, Irwin Edman, M. Lincoln Schuster, and Bennett Cerf, all of whom were in the School of Journalism. This group was followed, so far as *Off Hour* was concerned, by Richard H. Fox, who signed himself "O'Grady Sezz." Unquestionably his column was the most distinctive

and whimsical *Spec* ever had; he had a light, satiric wit that was sometimes deeply penetrating; nobody ever equalled his ability to express the psychology of the undergraduate.

Through the years *Spec* has held its place as one of the best college newspapers in the country and has maintained over the years a standard of high-quality reporting that has graduated many of its staff into the newspaper business. Working for *Spec* is no cinch; staying up all night at the printer's to see that no glaring errors get into it, and then getting up for morning classes, is a memorable experience many editors now look back upon nostalgically. And the next day these night editors, after all their labors, see their issue posted on the *Spec* editorial bulletin board with all the errors they overlooked pointed out in glaring blue and red crayon. Editors of *Spec* have always contended that the training they obtained on it has been more valuable to them than the training in the School of Journalism.

The quality of its writing and editing has, of course, fluctuated, dependent as it has been upon the personalities working on it. Those who were in the college in the early 1920s consider that *Spec,* under the editorship of Nicholas McKnight and, later, of Floyd Taylor, achieved a degree of excellence and liveliness not since equalled. Not only did Dick Fox conduct *Off Hour* (he was later ably succeeded by Lester H. Conklin and Ted Shane), but Corey Ford wrote regularly for it, and Richard Watts, Jr. began his theatrical criticism. Jack Wildberg, '21, E. J. Long, '22, Paul W. White, '23, Herbert S. Solow, '24. Ferdinand Kuhn, '25, Hugh J. Kelly, '26, were on the board in those days. Its most notable campaign was instigated by Nicholas McKnight for an adequate athletic field. This crusade

stepped up the pressure which resulted, soon after, in the acquisition of Baker Field.

The next lively period came during the depression of the early 1930s when the students became acutely aware of the kind of world into which they were graduating. In prosperous years the boys are not likely to be much concerned with social problems, but when jobs are scarce they take a sharp look at the business system. Reed Harris reflected this attitude and achieved quick notoriety by the vigor of his editorials. His attacks on football stirred up hysterical controversy and when he turned his guns on the management of the dining halls he got into trouble with the dean's office. He was expelled and then reinstated, finally resigning during a frenzied period when everybody on the campus took sides. Following him, James A. Wechsler had trenchant things to say in *Spec's* editorial columns about students marching into a jobless world. "I am not terrified," he said defiantly, "by those who tell us 'to go back to Union Square.' " Since then *Spec* has calmed down politically; its revolutions have been in type face and format while the quality of its reporting in its streamlined editions has remained, generally, very high.

4

Jester, in its best days, has also expressed the rebellious spirits of the campus. Sometimes it has claimed that it was founded in 1867, but that is simply another myth it gayly perpetuates. Recently it has bragged that it is "the best college comic" in the country, which means, of course, in the world. That is probably true, but there seems to be a lack of humor in shouting it so loudly. It began in April, 1901, and was edited by Walter Henry Grace. It was, of

course, conservative in that halcyon era. The following year Lyman Rhoads, Jr. and Richard Kelly edited it. Among its contributors in the early 1900s were Ely Jacques Kahn, Rockell Kent, Pendleton Dudley, and Roi Cooper Megrue.

Mr. Kahn did the covers. Kent wrote editorials about the need for South Field, and suggested that the university buy the Interborough Rapid Transit, whose deficit, he argued, would finance the college indefinitely. In 1905 it had a Barnard girl, Margaret Hall Yates, on its board, but apparently she did not last. By 1909 it achieved colored covers. In 1912 it began its magnificent era when Archie Austin Coates became editor. Then it was that the journalism students, who did so much to make *Spec* lively, began to take over *Jester.*

Frederick C. Schang, Jr. began the *Almanack,* later carried on by Bennett Cerf. In 1913 it issued its first parody of a national magazine with a brilliant *Ladies' Home Jester.* It began to show its political courage in 1915 when, under the editorship of Eugene Arthur Scherpick, it suggested seriously that Scott Nearing, just fired from the University of Pennsylvania, be hired by Columbia. After that it waxed more radical when Morris Ryskind became managing editor, and later editor-in-chief, Irwin Edman wrote delightful light verse for it in those days, verse which *Jester* has occasionally reprinted since. Howard Dietz contributed wonderful verses, signing himself "Freckles." "Wild Bill" Hanemann also wrote for it, as did Herman J. Mankiewicz, who was on its business board.

Ryskind pitched *Jester* to victory in the annual baseball game between *Jester* and *Spec* in the spring of 1916, and in the fall proceeded with more serious matters. He attacked the Student Board, the rule that formal togs must be worn at the Junior Prom, adopted a friendly attitude

toward C.C.N.Y. (he said the only difference between Columbia College and C.C.N.Y. was about $200 tuition), and then, in February, 1917, he launched into a militant attack on Dr. Butler's "jingoism." Thereupon the Student Board requested him to resign; he refused, was ejected, and *Jester* announced that it was resolved henceforth "always to play the gentleman."

George J. Macy, '21, became editor in 1919. With Harold J. T. Horan as associate he continued the brilliant era, and attracted considerable off-campus attention by the excellence of the publication. F.P.A. declared that *Jester* was the best of the college comics. However, it was the *Cornell Widow* that won the College Wits Contest run by *Judge* in 1920. In 1921 Dick Fox became editor-in-chief and Corey Ford managing editor. Henry Morton Robinson and Richard Watts, Jr. were contributors. Editorially the magazine demanded a complete residence rule for all freshmen. "Without this Columbia must necessarily continue to be New York's biggest day school." Furthermore, in words that sound like Corey Ford's, it demanded that Furnald Hall, still occupied by women since 1917, be given back to the boys.

Ford organized the Laughing Lion Association in 1921, which persuaded name writers to contribute to an annual celebrity number. Many of the leading wits and artists for *Judge* and *Life* (when that was an intentionally humorous magazine) contributed. In November, 1921, its satire became sharper when it published a drawing of the Seth Low Library with the caption: "Where wealth accumulates and men decay." Floyd Taylor was then editor. David Sentner, David Cort, and Paul White were contributors, and in April, 1922, appeared a hilarious parody, "Little Orchid Annie," signed by F. Riley Fitzriley, who was actually John McNulty, then in the School of Journalism.

The Corey Ford tradition was carried on by David Cort, assisted by Tom Wenning and William Morris Stahl. In 1925 Lynd Ward, the artist, was an editor, and he was followed by Wood McClure, with Frank Nugent assisting. *Jester* after that became less lively. It had a gothic period; it had a year or so when it went as far as it dared with pin-ups. For a time it revived under the editorship of Barney Dougal, who started an era when he imitated *The New Yorker,* particularly its *Talk of the Town* or *Campus Fugit* departments. Later, Byron Rabbitt, Richard Kelly, Stanley Wronker, Gerald Dickler, and Herman Wouk gave it their characteristic touches of gayety. The best cartoon in 1931 was of the football team in a huddle, with the caption: "An' listen, make believe you're playing the managing board of *Spec.*"

The 1934 board sounded somewhat discouraged, for it reported: "College humor really stands today where so much college writing stands—at the bottom of the ladder looking wistfully upward." It then went in for ultra-modern art and lower-case type in the heads. This was followed by a photographic binge apparently ushered in by Sigmund Sameth and Arthur Rothstein. The best issue of *Jester* in recent years was the 1941 Birthday Number. It reprinted some of the best stuff of the past forty years. One of the most amusing was Lincoln's Gettysburg Address as blue-penciled by one of *Spec's* night editors, an idea originating with Jack Long, '22.

5

The Varsity Show is a Columbia institution more than fifty years old. It has bequeathed to Broadway a large number of famous playwrights, composers, and actors. A comic operetta, written and produced by undergraduates, was

produced as early as 1892, and after that the show became an annual event. *Blue-Eyed Susan* seems to have started a long line of successes; it was followed by *William Penn* in 1894. The campus matinee idols of the nineties were Kenneth Murchison, '94, Victor W. Hungerford, '95, William B. Crowell, '96, George Lange, '99, Howard S. Harrington, '99, Charles H. Matchen, '97, Henry B. Machen, '97, Henry Culver, '92.

The Columbia Players' Club was organized in 1904 to manage the varsity shows. Before that the affair was in the hands of the Strollers, later the Musical Society. In 1900 this society covered itself with glory by presenting *The Governor's View,* which ran for a week at the old Lyceum Theatre, a record for a college show at that time. The authors were Henry Sydnor Harrison, '00, and Melville Hart Cane, '00. John Erskine, of the same class, wrote the score. His classmate, William C. DeMille, was in the cast.

Following this smash hit came another, *Princess Proud,* with George Middleton, '02, in the cast. Roi Cooper Megrue and Roscoe Crosby Gaige wrote *The Isle of Illusion* in 1904. Frank D. Fackenthal, Philip Moeller, and Raphael K. Wupperman (who later changed his name to Ralph Morgan), played in it. Kenneth Webb began his long association with varsity shows in that year. In 1905 Webb wrote and directed *The Khan of Kathan.* Among the players in it were Kenneth S. Spence, later a District Attorney for Nassau County, Foster Ware, and Ralph Morgan.

Kenneth Webb then wrote *The Conspirators,* in which Fackenthal, Walter E. Kelley, and Louis J. Ehret appeared. The next two shows, *The Ides of March* and *Mr. King,* were the work of Emil Breitenfeld. Webb returned, this time in collaboration with his brother Roy, to do the 1909 show, *In Newport;* the cast featured Dixon Ryan Fox

(later president of Union College), the future reverend H. V. B. Darlington, and John G. Baragwanath. This was followed by *The King of Hilaria,* by John H. Lang and Frank J. Field. Breitenfeld did the job again in 1911; his *Made in India* was unforgettable because it was the year in which Willie Spalthoff stepped into the spotlight. Archie Coates wrote the 1912 show, *The Mysterious Miss Apache,* the first varsity show to go on tour. It gave performances in Pittsburgh and Washington. An Offenbach operetta was offered in 1913, and in 1914 William P. S. Earle, who had been an editor of *Jester,* collaborated with Louis J. Ehret on *The Merry Lunatics.*

Although he was an alumnus Kenneth Webb continued to write and direct shows. With his brother Roy he wrote the 1915 production, *On Your Way.* It was in this extravaganza that Oscar Hammerstein, '16, made his stage debut. Willie Spalthoff, however, was the star, billed as "our own John Bunny." The audience considered him funnier than the now-forgotten movie comedian. Herman J. Mankiewicz wrote the book and lyrics for the 1916 show, *The Peace Pirates,* and Ray Perkins did the score. Oscar Hammerstein was in it; he appeared again, and for the last time as an actor, in the 1917 show which he wrote in collaboration with Herman Axelrod. Newspaperman Bill Hannemann was also in the show.

Because of the war there was no production in 1918, but a new and brilliant era began in the following year when *Take a Chance,* written and directed by the Webbs, proved to be one of their most popular hits. This was topped by two of the most brilliant years in varsity show history, for Richard C. Rodgers and Lorenz M. Hart were then on the Morningside campus; the first of their great collaborations was at and for Columbia. Their 1920 show, *Fly with Me,* was directed by Ralph Buck and staged by Herbert Fields.

Appearing in it were William T. Taylor, Carlos Contreras, and F. Fraser Bond. In 1921 Rodgers and Hart wrote *You'll Never Know.* The book was by Herman Axelrod, Henry William Hannemann, Malcolm H. Sanger and George D. Heller. It was staged under the direction of Hammerstein, Axelrod, and Hannemann.

Corey Ford then turned his energies toward the show business and with Perry Ivins, who had worked on a number of shows, *Half Moon Inn* was created. The stars in it were Homer Eddins and Maurice T. Reilly. It had a highly successful tour. This was followed in 1924 by *Old Kings,* written by Ford in collaboration with Eugene P. Wright, and in 1925 Ford and Ivins rewrote their *Half Moon Inn* for a second successful edition. The score for it was done by Henry S. Steward and Morris W. Watkins. It was in *Half Moon Inn* that the song *Roar, Lion, Roar* was introduced.

There have been a number of excellent shows since. In 1926 *His Majesty the Queen,* by Alan H. Max and Edgar Bromberg, maintained the high standard set by the long record of brilliant productions. Other men with a flair for the show business continued to come to Columbia. Arnold H. Auerbach, for example, did the book and lyrics for *Great Shakes* in 1931; and in 1932 William H. Ludwig and Auerbach masterminded the show called *How Revolting.* Jacques Barzun wrote *Zuleika* (music by Donald K. Phillips); Herman Wouk was involved in two shows, *Home James,* and *Laugh It Off.* In 1936 the experiment, often talked about and seldom tried, of having real, live, female girls in the cast was attempted. The show was called *Off Your Marx.* The girls were Extension students; there was a question about whether some of them were eligible, and the old deathless Columbia College antagonism to Extension raised its ugly head. The show went on

against undergraduate opposition and hostility, but the lesson was learned. The experiment has not been tried since.

Isadore Diamond came to Columbia as a freshman in 1937; he straightway got to work on a show which was called *You've Got Something There,* for which Lee Fenn and Lupin Warner wrote the music and the lyrics. The same group then did *Fair Enough.* Diamond also did the book for the 1940 shows, *Life Begins in '40.* Altogether, Diamond wrote four varsity shows while he was at Columbia.

6

Few boys go to college to learn to become professional athletes. Through athletics boys become strong and healthy and make valuable friends for use in later life. In that sense, athletics is utilitarian and valuable. But even more utilitarian are most undergraduate activities, particularly those which involve work on the campus publications. Most of the students are headed for professional schools, and for professions where the experience gained on campus papers becomes very useful. The business side of the publication helps the boy going into business. To see his stuff in print and to have it publicly criticized helps the writer and the future newspaperman. It even helps those who will some day be teachers.

Varsity shows have, as we have seen, helped to give a start to those going into the show business. Glee clubs have not flourished in recent years, but experience in a glee club is of value to singers, just as playing in the university orchestra gives experience to a musician. Artists first have their work shown to the public through *Jester,* and lawyers may gain rich experience in college debating.

Competition in all these activities is a healthy thing in itself.

All the non-athletic activities come under the administration of King's Crown. Its function is purely advisory. It has nothing to do with the election of officers, boards, staffs, or the selection of casts for shows. For twenty-five years King's Crown has been personified in the flesh by Benjamin A. Hubbard. Until 1936 the costs of these undergraduate activities were underwritten by a fund derived from the students' contributions, known as the Students' Activities Fee. This was abolished in 1936 when the fees were raised and the student publications were put on their own. The trustees did not like the idea of subsidizing a free press that permitted student editors to express opinions of their own. So now *Spectator* and the other publications must sink or swim, depending upon the support of the student body. To replace the S. A. F. the students set up a mass subscription system, entirely voluntary, of $2 a term which entitles the boys to all student publications and reductions on such items as the Junior Prom and other social affairs.

Mention should also be made of other undergraduate activities, such as the Columbia University Radio Club which may in time absorb most of the others. Since there have been, and are, opportunities in the radio and broadcasting industries, many undergraduates are interested in the work of CURC—script writing, announcing, etc.—and this will inevitably grow as the new Columbia FM station expands its activities.

And not to be forgotten, ever, is the Columbia symbol, the Columbia lion. It is an example of how traditions originate. The idea was suggested in 1910 by George Brokaw Compton, '09, and was immediately adopted by the student board after the presentation of a light blue

and white banner, bearing a lion rampant, with the motto, *Leo Columbiae.* The animal was later immortalized in bronze at Baker Field, where he occupies a rocky pinnacle, visible from across the Hudson. He was sculptured by Frederick G. R. Roth, who also created the Princeton tiger.

7

Columbia College also has its honorary societies, not to mention Phi Beta Kappa which is, of course, purely academic and a matter of scholarship. In Columbia's history is something called the "Goodwood Cup," although how it came to be called that is something of a mystery. In 1864 the graduating class decided to present a testimonial to its most popular member. This came about because the Alumni Association and the faculty gave an award to the member of the class who was "most faithful and deserving." At that time there were races in England known as the Goodwood Races. Taking that name, the seniors had made a handsomely carved wooden cup with a gold plate on it.

The first recipient was Joseph Bayley Lawrence. The next year the class changed the name and form to a wooden spoon. In 1866 the Goodwood Cup was again presented and it became a custom of the junior class. The prize became hotly sought after; so hot were the conflicts and the factions that the class of '79 abolished it. And that was the end of the Goodwood Cup.

The idea, spirit, or tradition of it endured, however, and since 1898 there has been a Senior Society of Nacoms patterned after the Skull and Bones of Yale. They are the boys most distinguished in the athletics and undergraduate activities, including politics, of the college. It is a self-perpetuating society whose members wear a little gold

ring on the small finger of the left hand. A zigzag green line runs around the ring. Fifteen seniors are elected to membership each year.

Similar to it, and a rival, is the Society of Sachems. Their ring has what looks like a string of diamond shapes running around it. These are honorary secret societies peculiar to Columbia, whose purpose is to promote undergraduate activities and offer a badge of distinction to those who participate conspicuously in them.

In spite of severe economic hardships, chapters of a number of national fraternities have survived at Columbia. During the depression and the war, a majority of the fraternities ceased to function. Several of these may be expected to revive. But fraternities at Columbia have been fighting a losing battle against increasing costs for more than twenty years. It is out of the question for such private clubs to exist in New York City and be self-supporting unless the members are exceptionally wealthy. Not only is the ownership of a house expensive but the upkeep and taxes on it are prohibitive. National fraternities could not afford the luxury of subsidizing a chapter at Columbia even if they wished to do so. And the chapters on Morningside Heights cannot collect enough in dues to pay assessments to their national organization. Failure to keep up such payments has meant the end of some chapters at Columbia.

The whole situation so far as fraternities is concerned is self-defeating. Freshmen who want to become members of fraternities are naturally impressed by well-furnished houses which seem to have a certain swank and social prestige. But once they are pledged such freshmen soon find out what a financial burden they have placed upon themselves—or their parents. Such small eating clubs were practical twenty or more years ago; with food prices what they

have been, and the difficulty of finding any cooks, they are economic absurdities. When you add to these expenses the demand for repairs, taxes, and the service of debt already assumed in the past, you realize why fraternities have not lately flourished. Moreover, the whole present democratic spirit is against such groups. The younger generation now in college no longer takes fraternities as seriously as their fathers did. Once fraternities were powerful in undergraduate activities, in the election of class presidents, team captains, and members of the Student Board and to the editorships of *Spectator* and *Jester;* but the time when such rivalry was keen and politics bitter has passed.

In 1946 there were but 13 chapters of national fraternities left at Columbia. Two of these had chapter rooms in Livingston Hall, and their members arranged to have rooms on the same floors. Another, Beta Sigma Rho, gave 76 Beaver Street as its address, which is an office building in the downtown financial district. This leaves Beta Theta Pi, at 550 West 114th Street; Phi Gamma Delta, 538 West 114th Street; Phi Kappa Psi, 529 West 113th Street; Sigma Chi, 565 West 113th Street; Tau Epsilon Phi, 627 West 115th Street; and Zeta Beta Tau, 523 West 113th Street. The two fraternities in the dormitories are Sigma Alpha Epsilon and Sigma Nu. One possible solution for the fraternities' problem, which has been frequently suggested, is the erection of a cooperative apartment building in which each chapter will take some space, probably a floor. This would be a considerable undertaking financially, but if it could be done, and a common restaurant established for all these fraternities in the building, fraternities might survive. One objection, of course, is that it would thus set off fraternity men as a group apart and introduce a snobbish spirit contrary to the prevailing tendency in Columbia College.

CHAPTER XII

Columbia College: A New Era Begins

1

BEFORE HARRY CARMAN, Columbia College had only three deans: Van Amringe, Frederick P. Keppel, and Herbert E. Hawkes. Before Van Amringe the college was so small that the office was conducted by the president.* And even in Van Amringe's day there was comparatively little correspondence or record-keeping. When he retired all the records which he passed on to his successor were in one large brown paper envelope.

In 1910 the tasks of the dean began to pile up. President Butler remarked then that the duties of the dean of Columbia College were almost exactly those which "devolved upon the president as recently as the administration of president Barnard." In that year the college had 802 students and had outgrown its long tenure as a day school for New York City boys. Keppel reported happily that it was at last no longer a local college, basing his conclusion on the fact that less than one third of the students had been born on Manhattan. He commented on their seriousness of purpose and the high quality of their academic work. The average undergraduate, he said, was not only a good student, but "he is broadminded and tolerant." Columbia deans have always taken the attitude that those qualities are important.

There is a danger that Fred Keppel, as he was called by

* Henry Drisler had the title of Dean of the School of Arts from the death of Barnard until 1894.

all who knew him, will be remembered only as the administrator of the mighty Carnegie Funds ($150,000,000), capitalized in the Carnegie Corporation. In that position his services to education were enormous, not only in his decisions on where the funds were to go, and in the many careers which he aided, but in his annual comments and criticisms on higher education. That was an important job and he did it magnificently. But those who knew him at Columbia will always regret that he left the Morningside campus for a Fifth Avenue office. Like Seth Low, he did such a good job that he should have stayed longer. He was never a teacher, but a superb administrator who aroused affection and respect in both the faculty and the student body.

A unique and important figure, Frederick Paul Keppel was a native New Yorker, the son of a highly successful art dealer and connoisseur. He graduated from Columbia College in 1898, and after serving as assistant secretary and secretary to the university, he became dean in 1910. One of his associates said of him: "He was an outstanding example of a liberally educated man for whom the learning process was never ended." Unfortunately for Columbia he left to become Assistant Secretary of War in 1918, and from that he went to the Carnegie Corporation. The job for which he was best fitted, that of a university president, he never held.

In describing his duties as dean, he simultaneously described how he handled them, and his own qualities. In such a position a man needed to retain, he said, his faith, hope, and charity in the face of a pretty heavy load of duties, no one of which seems to be of any particular importance, but the aggregate is very considerable. The secret of success in dealing with the young men he had was "to be at the top of one's game all the time, other-

wise the atmosphere of good humor and sympathy is hopelessly lost." Too much precedence, he believed, existed in college affairs. The dean's power is based on confidence, he observed, and quoted E. E. Slosson: "Educators are apt to get tangled up in a web of their own spinning and then make a big buzzing getting out."

Characteristic of Keppel was the help he gave to Randolph Bourne. He felt responsible for seeing that lonely boys, particularly those not in residence in the college, get that "certain personal touch and influence of which small colleges makes so much." His hardest duty was in providing social opportunities for shy youngsters. He understood the tendency of boys to slump from time to time. He knew that "many a boy will not actually lie, but he sees no harm in presenting selected aspects of the truth." What Keppel possessed was an instinctive sense of the one thing that would light up each boy intellectually and socially.

When students put him on the spot he knew how to handle the situation. One year the sophomores got out of hand and paraded through a Barnard dormitory. The Senior Council realized the gravity of the offense, but quite properly asked what its status would be in fixing the responsibility. Perhaps the council's decision would not be backed up by the authorities. One of the seniors asked Keppel: "Suppose we go into this, suppose I vote punishment of an intimate friend, a fraternity brother. Then supposing the college doesn't do anything, where does that leave me?"

Keppel appreciated the point. He agreed at once to recommend publicly the findings of the Senior Council. "Then if you are over-ruled, I'll be over-ruled with you." That was satisfactory to the Senior Council. It thereupon decided that the punishment of the offending class was to be the cancellation of its traditional Junior Prom.

2

Herbert Edwin Hawkes came to Columbia College as professor of mathematics in 1910 and, although he was known in his profession as a distinguished mathematician, he began advising students almost immediately. When Keppel needed assistance he turned to Hawkes, who said: "In spite of my fiercest resolution, I began deaning as soon as I arrived in Hamilton Hall. Keppel would send boys to me and I didn't know any better than to treat them as human beings." For the next thirty years Hawkes created techniques for dealing with undergraduates, and evolved methods which could be, and were, adopted at other institutions, but he never ceased, to the day of his death in 1943, to treat boys as human beings.

When Keppel went to the War Department in 1917 it was inevitable that Hawkes should become acting dean, and when it was certain that Keppel would not return, it was equally inevitable that the title be made permanent. Irwin Edman summed him up: "The 'open door' is a phrase that characterized the point of view of Dean Hawkes as well as anything could. It was a phrase often used by his colleagues, his students, and himself. His office door was always open when he was in his office; through *his* office one passed to that of his secretary. The open door described his mind and his method. Students and colleagues came always to a receptive, flexible, and hospitable spirit."

Originally Hawkes was a Yale man. Born in Massachusetts, he never lost his Yankee accent or down-East sense of humor. Geoge F. Zook, president of the American Council of Education, said of him: "Scarcely one research or experimental undertaking dealing with students dur-

ing the last thirty years can be found with which he was not actively associated. His influence spread in ever-widening circles over the country." President Seymour of Yale declared: "He was more than dean of Columbia—he was really dean of American deans."

When achievement and aptitude tests were developed to a point where they could be used accurately in measuring students, Hawkes adopted them enthusiastically. He steered the whole development of psychological measurements which have been used by thousands of secondary schools and colleges on millions of students. Thus Hawkes profoundly influenced education far beyond the confines of Morningside. However, it is for his services to the boys who went to Columbia during his years as dean that he will be remembered by them. When he found a boy in desperate financial circumstances he was quick to cut the red tape to give him help. A kindly, alert, receptive man, he understood boys' problems.

At Columbia discipline is handled exclusively by the dean's office; no officer of instruction exercises discipline directly. A faculty member, when he sees a case that needs attention, refers it with his observations to the dean, who takes care of the matter. It is a high tribute to Hawkes that never did any student, subject to discipline, feel for a moment that he was treated or judged unfairly. What Hawkes did was always to put the problem up to the boy himself, present him with the facts, indicate the alternatives, and so far as possible let the young man decide among the choices open to him. Hawkes felt that the college should adapt itself to the undergraduate; it was the college's responsibility to help the boy adapt himself. "We don't especially need any new ideas," he said. "We shall only have to work harder to fit the college to the boy and keep everlastingly at the job of learning the student."

Hawkes believed in college spirit. He felt encouraged at every sign of a growth of Columbia spirit. He wanted to see Columbia a residence college rather than a day school college. He liked to have everything harmonious, everything going smoothly, although he knew well from experience that it is not the destiny of any dean to administrate a college where all is serene. College radicals and undergraduate agitators disturbed him; he hoped they would not be troublesome, and he was disappointed in them when they continued to go against the accepted conventions.

During Hawkes' time and through his influence the college curriculum underwent revolutionary changes. Many of them have been copied at other colleges. What the educational world has not rightly understood is that Columbia has solved, by a process of evolution, those problems of required versus elective courses which have been so hotly debated on other campuses. It has, largely under Hawkes' direction, worked out a college program that works. This has been described in a book that reviews the working principles of the Columbia plan, known at Columbia as the "Steeves Report."

3

Hawkes was succeeded by the most popular professor on the faculty, Harry James Carman, professor of history, who began life as a farm boy and his teaching career as a high-school principal. He came to Columbia from Syracuse in 1918. His friendly, liberal, magnetic personality attracted students to him; his courses in American history were eye-openers to boys who knew only the conventional high-school textbooks. Logically, he was the successor to Hawkes. In speaking of the Columbia attitude toward

curriculum changes, he said: "We have no educational panacea to offer, and we think we know that none exists. Our program is not perfect, even for our own designs."

Throughout the annual reports of most colleges and graduate schools one finds, year after year, discussions about changes in curriculum, and happy self-congratulation on how this year the curriculum has been improved or revised. Sometimes the authors seem to think that this latest change is final; that this program now in operation solves everything. Columbia has had a number of such "plans" to tie-in the undergraduate work with the graduate. They have seemed at the time to be the ultimate solution. But Dean Carman and his faculty apparently have no such delusions. The Committee on College Plans is simply the most recent of a succession of such committees, and it certainly will not be the last. And the most encouraging thing about it, as about all worth-while committees, is that it has its divergencies of opinions.

The authors of *A College Program in Action* are representative of the college faculty. Harrison Ross Steeves, the chairman, has been a vital force at Columbia ever since he was an undergraduate. Soon after he received his A.B. he began teaching. His deliberate, meticulous speech has enchanted thousands of students, and his Henry James-like sentences have fascinated as many more. His mind coldly slices through irrelevancies to the heart of a problem, and as shrewdly dissects the technique of a piece of writing.

Jacques Barzun, secretary of the committee, French-born and educated, is professor of modern European history, and is known outside of Columbia for his book, *Teacher in America,* and for his essays in the *Atlantic.* The report is studded with the felicitous phrasing which is characteristic of his essays. Among his colleagues he is regarded as a marked man who will one day become a col-

lege president. An accomplished lecturer, he can be thoroughly devastating in debate.

The others on the committee were: Stephen F. Bayne, Jr., chaplain of the university, who, during the war, saw service on an aircraft carrier; Clifford D. Carpenter, professor of chemistry, who came to Columbia from the University of Chicago in 1919; James Gutmann, Columbia '18, who is a philosopher by training, as is John Herman Randall, Jr., author of *The Making of the Modern Mind.* Bernard Osgood Koopman is a Harvard graduate, now a member of the Columbia mathematics department. Nicholas McKnight graduated from Columbia in 1921, worked for a time in China, and returned to his alma mater as secretary of appointments. Hawkes chose him as his assistant; he was made associate dean in 1931. Dwight C. Miner, several times selected by the senior class as its favorite professor, is another Columbia alumnus, and is an outstanding interpreter of American history. Texan Horace Taylor has been head of the college economics department since 1933.

All of these men have been closely associated with the famous Columbia course: Contemporary Civilization, the highly respected grandparent of all the so-called orientation courses. It was organized in 1919 to explain the issues growing out of the war just concluded by armistice. It pooled the interests of the departments of history, economics, government, and philosophy. Between 1919 and 1946 it has been revised completely at least half a dozen times, which has meant a rewriting of texts and fresh selections of course readings. This has given it renewed vitality; the changes have been "in scope and form but not in aim." In 1929 it was expanded into a two-year program. In its latest form it requires four hours weekly in the freshman year and three in the sophomore.

"C. C.," as it is called, starts with the breakup of the Middle Ages and begins with an analysis along three main lines: How have people made a living? How have they lived together? How have they understood the world and their relations to it? Through such a study certain values emerge, interpreted in this way: "We live in a free society in which the spirits of justice, love, and scientific inquiry have been the touchstone of social invention; in such a society the individual has labored to achieve freedom from an arbitrary authority (whether ecclesiastical or political), and that in a climate of experimental science, technology, and liberal-capitalist institutions, man seeks to shape his world to achieve welfare for himself and for the constantly growing numbers of the human race."

The whole freshman class is divided into sections of from 25 to 30 men, and usually an instructor has only one section, which he teaches for the whole year. Instructors are encouraged to teach in terms of their own interests, so they can speak as specialists in their own fields, and at the same time operate with intelligence in related fields. Textbooks are subordinated and may be eliminated, for since 1935 the substance of the printed matter of the course has consisted of readings of specialized articles written by the staff. The second year is concerned chiefly with present-day problems, emphasizing that such problems cannot be fully understood or solved if considered in isolation, or only if one aspect is singled out for investigation. Thus the course acts as an introduction to more advanced studies for those who intend to major in one of the social sciences, and gives a thorough background of contemporary civilization to those who are, perhaps, going to be engineers or physicians.

The course is not considered to be the place for the display of personality in the form of lectures to student

audiences large enough to fill a theatre, although among its teachers are several who have the gift of hypnotizing such audiences. No required courses of the pontifical type are given at Columbia, for the faculty has long been aware that the man-to-man effectiveness of a proved instructor, young or old, with a small group (about 25) "has had much to do with the active undergraduate interest in introductory work." The effectiveness of the dramatic style of lecturing has not been forgotten, however, by some of those who give elective, graduate courses.

Having discovered what valuable and revolutionary changes can be achieved by crossing departmental lines in the "C. C." course, Columbia followed it with the "Humanities" course which united, at least so far as the student was concerned, the departments of literature, music, and the fine arts. Instructors in philosophy, history, English, Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, and religion are also brought in. First tried in 1937, based upon readings in literature, philosophy, and history, from Homer to Goethe, it is still undergoing evolution. As an experiment it has been highly successful.

"Humanities," as it is called, rests on three assumptions: that the college should produce educated men, not merely pave the way to professional training; that educated men should possess an inner life of sufficient richness to withstand the slings and arrows of fortune by learning to feed their souls on good books, pictures, and music; and that memorizing labels, catchwords, and secondhand opinions about art and books is not educative. It is reliably reported that students discover that Rabelais, Montaigne, and Machiavelli are readable, and have something to say to 20th-century freshmen, and even sophomores. In the second year they discover that music is also a foreign language which cannot be understood without special training.

Furthermore, they learn that the fine arts require certain attitudes of technical observation to be understood intelligently.

More recently another conviction has been growing in the minds of the faculty: that another introductory course should be added—an introduction to the sciences. That has met stubborn difficulties and objections. Some scientists say that it would fail to touch more than the surface of such subjects as chemistry, physics, and biology. A start was made by an elective course in the history of science. That, however, is only a first step. A two-year introduction to the sciences now supplements "C. C." and Humanities.

The second World War shook up preconceived notions about the learning of foreign languages. The Army demonstrated that it could teach, in a comparatively brief time, mastery of a single language. Many now believe that similar methods in colleges would produce comparable results. The French and German departments have worked out an intensive elementary course. The question has been raised, however, whether even a Columbia College freshman could carry successfully such a heavy schedule. Probably he can. It is another highly significant experiment. When the suggestion was made that a ten- or twelve-week summer course, devoted to a single language, would be highly profitable, the students themselves responded enthusiastically. They wanted it, and they are getting it as an elective.

Ever since medieval scholars quarreled about writing what they called the vernacular, academic minds have fretted and fumed about composition, especially English composition. That boys from secondary schools write carelessly has been taken as an axiom, although a few write superlatively well. For the poor writers freshman English

has been prescribed; the good writers are left to their own devices, which are apt to be the undergraduate publications. The Columbia College faculty has put its collective finger on the crux of the difficulty: the whole business has been left to one department, one instructor. After all, there is no reason why teachers in history, philosophy, or even mathematics should accept slovenly writing.

History instructors have said that it is their business to impart facts; if the students get the facts, that is the limit of the responsibility of the history department. It is up to the English department to teach youngsters to write. Thus the student regards English as something isolated; when he gets a passing mark in his freshman year he is through, and he means through. At Columbia the faculty takes another tack: instructors in Humanities and "C. C." are expected to judge the written work both as command of the material and as presentable writing. These standards are required in every course, even to the extent of making them the determinant of passing or failing. This seems so sensible and logical that it is, to those unfamiliar with college practices, amazing that colleges have held to antiquated notions so long.

This is only part of the story of the gradual breaking down of departmental barriers. It is going on all over the university, and in the college the cooperation of departments is not limited to the introductory courses. Dean Hawkes wanted to establish collegiate professors, or professors without departmental connections, and teaching fellows of junior rank, but there was too much opposition. What has been accomplished, however, is the outdating of the college classroom as a smaller lecture hall. Much of the upper-class instruction is in seminar and conference courses. In them the student has an obligation to show resourcefulness, particularly in finding and using scholarly

materials. Another experiment that breaks down some of the partitions is the "area studies," where a group of courses are combined to give an intensive training and study of a special "area": Russia, or the Orient, for example, so that the undergraduate in his last two years concentrates on the language, economics, and everything that can be learned about his chosen "area."

The furor, and the fury, aroused in educational circles about the "100 Great Books" was really started by John Erskine as far back as 1916 when he suggested a series of two-year sequences in literature, philosophy, and science, based on the great books of the Western world. This simple and sensible idea has since been seized upon, elaborated, and oversimplified to its ultimate absurdity in such places as the University of Chicago and St. John's. The first World War postponed the plan, but a piece of it was used in the organization of the "C. C." course in 1919. This left the field clear for Professor Erskine to institute his famous junior and senior Honors Course.

It was devoted to the reading and discussion of fifty great books, with side excursions into music and the plastic arts. About fifty students and eight instructors pursued this annually for ten years. Its most glaring and obvious result (and defect) was in training academic evangelists who carried their single-minded gospel to extremes in other institutions. When the aghast faculty saw what it had fathered, it suspended the course in 1929. Two years later it revived the idea with modifications as "Colloquium on Important Books." No pretense is made of doing justice to any of the authors in a week's time. Attention is simply concentrated on "the best that has been thought and said"—some of it at least, certainly not all.

These are healthy signs of a lively college, aware of the kind of world in which it is situated, and prepared to give

the student the kind of education the 20th century demands. Columbia College was moribund 100 years ago; it began to awaken in the 1880s, an awakening that nearly cost the college its life. But, led by Keppel, Hawkes, and Carman, it has advanced educationally to the front rank of American colleges.

Another evidence of lusty health is to be found in the generally good relations of the college faculty. A certain amount of faculty politics and professional jealousy is to be expected, but on the whole the relations between junior faculty members and their elders is excellent. No longer is the instructor's position merely that of an apprentice. In the old days an instructor "read" for a professor in charge of a course, gave a section in a required elementary course, and then faded into limbo where he worked for his Ph.D. He never carried on an independent course of his own. Now he does. In the sectional courses such instructors carry on their own work, and often offer courses of their own. They participate in the discussion and organization of departmental policies. The younger generation has something to say both to its elders on the faculty and its juniors in its classes.

Because of these intelligent policies—treating students as reasonably mature human beings—the undergraduate body at Columbia has grown markedly in social maturity and responsibility. Classroom disorder and horseplay is a thing of the past. There is less throwing of paper bags full of water out of dormitory windows, fewer rolls of toilet paper fluttering in the breeze over Amsterdam Avenue. A larger proportion of students than ever before are in some degree self-supporting. Robert F. Moore, Secretary of the Appointments Office, has done much to help these undergraduates find suitable jobs while in college and worthwhile opportunities when they graduate.

The Committee on College Plans concluded by stating an important idea in academic language: the man of thought, said the committee, "must be aware that the most trivial conveniences of his life are related to astronomical infinities, and that Thucydides pondered the same tangle of economics and politics that we do today. Our first business is to create that awareness, to post the roads of learning so that a student may recognize the continuity of the explosive present with the historical past, and may intelligently use that knowledge—within the allowances of the gods—to develop his own later usefulness and happiness."

In a word, Columbia College makes the boys think for themselves. If it is a well-rounded education a boy wants, there is no better place in the world to get it. And as for college life, as Keppel once said, at Columbia that is an elective, not a required course. The characteristic quality of independent thought is the hallmark of a Columbia man. Such recent graduates as have visited the Columbia University Club may become painfully aware of a gap between them and those of an older generation. That gap is not merely a matter of years; it is also a matter of habits of thought. The older men who have become enthusiastic alumni are apt to be puzzled, and perhaps bewildered, or even disapproving of some of the youngsters to whom college spirit does not mean what it does to the oldsters. It is quite possible, however, that it is the younger men who are the more mature, and the better educated.

4

At Columbia a student does not wait until his junior or senior year before he has an opportunity to study with top-flight professors. In Contemporary Civilization, the Humanities, and the science courses he has the privilege

of meeting in small discussion groups men of distinction and scholarship whose reputation and works are known far beyond the Columbia campus. The 1946–47 Announcement lists, for the C. C. course, Professors Carman, Barzun, Brebner, Hacker, Hofstadter, Miner, Randall, and Schneider. Mark Van Doren has also participated in C. C. as well as in the Humanities. In Humanities the professors currently listed are Dick, Everett, Trilling, Forhock, Gutmann, Hadas, Highet, Kinne, Garlan, Gross, Marshall, and Weaver.

These are among the most popular professors in the college, but there are others equally popular toward whom the undergraduates are drawn either because they have "names" or because the student grapevine reports that So-and-so puts on a good show. Taken by departments, Columbia has professors who, if considered as teams, would challenge comparison with similar teams representing any other college in the world and win, hands down.

In history Columbia boasts of Jacques Barzun, who keeps his colleagues as well as his students on their toes; few men are more intellectually alive or exciting. In a sense he occupies for the students the place once held by Carlton J. H. Hayes, whose lecture mannerisms caused the boys of the early 1920s to say that he represented the "acrobatic school" of history. His influence is now largely behind the scenes, in departmental matters, where his power is so great he is generally referred to as "The Cardinal." Hayes is still at Columbia, and lecturing, but his reputation as a liberal was not enhanced by his excursion into diplomacy as American Ambassador to Franco's Spain.

The young men listen with respect to Louis Hacker, author of *The Triumph of American Capitalism* and a

prolific book reviewer. Once he was regarded as a Marxian, but recently his thinking has appeared to be a little closer to left of center. An outstanding American historical scholar is Austin P. Evans, whose chief activities are centered in the Graduate School, but who also lectures in the college. J. Bartlett Brebner is another distinguished scholar, whose field is Canada and Canadian history.

In English you may have—and you are fortunate if you get him—Mark Van Doren, whose stature as a scholar and poet is unquestioned today, modest though he appears to be. Henry K. Dick is not known outside of Columbia, but generations of students who have had the advantage of his wise and witty talk know and appreciate his full worth; since he has refrained from writing and publishing, the rest of the world is not so lucky. One of the foremost critics of literature and the theatre today is Joseph Wood Krutch, now a full-time professor in addition to his considerable writing. Lionel Trilling is rapidly attaining a comparable reputation. And Raymond Weaver maintains his popularity through the years by his electrifying lectures and unforgettable personality.

In philosophy there is Irwin Edman, whose ideas and language never fail to fascinate. The anecdotes about him are innumerable; only a *New Yorker* profile could begin to describe his personality and influence. There is also Horace Freiss, John H. Randall, Jr., and James Gutmann. Other departments have their big names and personalities: physicist John R. Dunning, who played an important role in the atomic bomb project, is on the college faculty. Also in physics and well known to the students is Hermon F. Farwell, a martinet, who believes in the tried-and-true ways of teaching. His implacable Fs have done much to discourage youngsters from pursuing pre-medical courses.

L. Parker Siceloff likes to teach large classes, and he

can drive trigonometry, and make it interesting, into eighty heads faster than most mathematics teachers can do it with twenty. French professor Burdette Kinne is known as a character because of his sardonic wit; he is popular because he is amusing, sarcastic and hard-boiled. Another personality popular with undergraduates is William C. Casey, whose influence on his students often puzzles his colleagues. He teaches sociology, it is said, like no other human being. He spends almost half the term teaching the boys the vocabulary, or the tools of the trade. And then he impresses them with masses of mimeographed material. Boys who would never have become interested in sociology have been almost literally hypnotized by Casey's personality.

There are many others. In German, for example, no student who ever sat under him will forget Gottlieb Betz, a powerful personality who has always put on a good show that enhances the learning process. In chemistry there is the elegant Professor Zanetti; in economics, the lively Horace Taylor; in music, Douglas Moore; in engineering, James Kip Finch; in Chinese, L. C. Goodrich. In any department you may mention, you encounter scholars and gentlemen who communicate to their students their gusto for learning.

5

The class of 1921 report on the relationship of Columbia College to the university was published in June, 1941. It was the product of careful research, an enormous amount of serious work and discussion by a committee, most of whom were lawyers, completely devoted to Columbia. They criticized policies not as outsiders, but as insiders who loved their college. All who knew Columbia

recognized the truth of their findings; nobody before had dared to speak up. The university administration was shocked; the Condon Committee seemed to have spoken out of turn. Dr. Butler, it was reported, was offended that anybody should be so impertinent.

The venerable trustees, who knew the fundamental rightness of the report, did not seem to know what to do about it. Their first impulse, as always, was to do nothing, to ignore it. But Larry Condon is not the kind of man who can be ignored when he has something to say. Other alumni agreed with him, and said so. Influential alumni, who had been active in athletic affairs, told their friends on the board that something should be done. Slowly the ideas penetrated; committees were appointed, promises were made and it was rumored that the college would at last get the attention it had so long deserved.

Apparently not much could be done, however, until Dr. Butler was emerited. After that the first faint stirrings of change became apparent on Morningside Heights. A new atmosphere, like the fresh breeze of a new dawn, began to flutter through the university halls and offices. At long last it appeared that various people had already been working on plans to renovate the university, to restore the college to its central position, to provide adequate facilities, to modernize buildings. The Condon Committee's ideas began to bear fruit, and it became evident that the recommendations were, after more than five years of indifference, to be put into effect. What the Condon Committee asked for is now becoming a reality, not precisely in detail, or in accordance with the committee's specific suggestions, but in broad outline. The orientation of Columbia's policies has changed; this means a new era, another renascence for the college.

What the Condon Committee recommended was:

1. More consideration should be given to Columbia College and the plans for its future by the trustees and other officials of the university, with emphasis on the college and the development of college-mindedness in contrast to the university-mindedness which has existed.

2. Ways and means should be devised to make Columbia College more separate and distinct from the university. Whereas Barnard College and Teachers College are, according to university officials, "a splendid combination of independence and close affiliation," possessing their own boards of trustees, Columbia College has the close affiliation but no independence.

3. There should be established a separate Columbia College budget. (The college faculty endorsed that.)

4. There should be established a separate Columbia College fund, separate and apart from any university fund, which can be earmarked for the use of the college alone.

5. There should be acquired immediately, in close proximity to the Morningside Heights campus, ample play space for undergraduates, as well as resident university students, for the development of the "whole man." No further building should be constructed on the South Quadrangle until this has been done.

6. There should be constructed a new gymnasium, with adequate facilities, to be used primarily by Columbia College undergraduates.

7. There should be a cessation of further university expansion until at least Recommendations 5 and 6 have been satisfied.

8. There should be appointed a Committee on Columbia College, composed of three groups representing the trustees of the university, the faculty of the college, and the alumni of the college, to consider the special interests

of the college and to plan for its development, such a committee to function until details of Recommendation 2 can be satisfactorily developed.

The last recommendation was accepted first; the others are, at this writing, in process. Consideration is being given to the college and to the development of college-mindedness. But the plans under way will not completely satisfy the Condon Committee. The fight for the college is not wholly won and it must be vigorously carried on by alumni, students, and college faculty. A beginning has been made, however, in the rejuvenating and restoring to usefulness of the overage and almost obsolescent Hamilton Hall.

Baker Field is also being modernized. Four practice fields and thirty tennis courts are being built there. A new stadium is planned; the Field House is to be rebuilt. This will be the place for all undergraduate sports. The Condon Committee, however, severely criticized Baker Field as being too far away and presented impressive statistics to prove how little the field was actually used: "While Baker Field has undoubtedly been of considerable benefit to the college, it has failed to meet the crying need of adequate athletic facilities adjacent to the college where students can meet for the informal, casual, and spontaneous type of activity where only a short period of time is available to the participant. Moreover, such facilities are particularly important in the light of the development of intramural sports, annual tournaments, and many separate events being presently attempted in the form of such activities."

A bus service to Baker Field is not the answer. Columbia students, the majority of whom have jobs of some sort partially to pay their way, simply do not have the time to make the long trek to the end of Manhattan Island for a

few sets of tennis. Nor does the rebuilding of the gymnasium solve the undergraduates' problem. This is a project which has been talked about for years, and those connected with athletic activities take the attitude: "I'll believe it when I see it."

The new gymnasium is on the site of the old. On top of it will be a playing field, 320 feet by 210 feet, which will be roofed over so it can be used twelve months of the year. When that is done, South Field will be done away with as a playing field, and will be landscaped. When the laborers start that job they are likely to meet some furious and personal opposition from aroused college alumni. When South Field was acquired, soon after Columbia moved to Morningside Heights, the students of those days yelled with delight. At last, they said, Columbia will have a place for football, baseball, track, and an adequate place for play. Since then it has constantly been encroached upon by buildings, so that only a comparatively small space remains in front of the Nicholas Murray Butler Library. When that is taken away there will be nothing nearer than a half-hour bus ride to Baker Field.

To infuriate further those who like to see South Field a decently wide open space, a student center, to be called a Student Union, will be built facing the Van Amringe Memorial. This will be in front of Hartley and Livingston, will face the dormitories and will form a rectangle with Hamilton on the north and John Jay on the south. It will create a little rectangle of brick, and perhaps a few spots of grass, which will, in effect, constitute the college campus. The result may well give the youngsters and the alumni acute claustrophobia. The Student Union is to be a three-story affair, will house a lunchroom and provide rooms and offices for undergraduate activities. Alumni who remember the Madison Avenue quarters may regard

it as a reincarnated Maison de Punk. Such a building is needed, but fault will be found with its location.

Columbia College patriots admit that the question of a playing field next door to their college is a tough problem in New York City. The only solution would be to buy the ancient apartment houses on the other side of 114th Street, between Amsterdam Avenue and Broadway, and the virtual tenements on the east side of Amsterdam Avenue, and tear them down. On one of these sites a Student Union should be built. More space could also be acquired by underpassing 116th Street from Broadway to Amsterdam Avenue and giving this space to the campus. On South Field there is room for another building at the northeast corner of 114th Street and Broadway, where the old gatekeeper's lodge is now located. Present plans call for a graduate school on this site. The Condon Committee and its successors should fight that proposal to the bitter end. It would be much better to put the new gymnasium there and build the new graduate school upon a new university hall. South Field should be for Columbia College, and college men, old and young, should continue to battle for it.

These are matters that will not work themselves out by themselves. They must be brought forcibly and persistently to the attention of the trustees. They are issues which give the students and alumni something worth fighting for. The present faculty has won the battle for a forward-looking liberal arts college in the best sense of the term; a curriculum has evolved which is a model of its kind. But the war for the integrity of the college, to keep it intact, to hold it in its position as the vital core around which the whole university lives, must go on. It is a crusade into which the *Alumni News* needs to put all its vigor.

6

Why should a boy go to Columbia College in preference to any other college in the world? For that the Columbia man has three principal answers. First, that it is a part of one of the world's great universities. The disadvantages of that have just been pointed out: in the last forty years the sheer weight of the university and the emphasis put upon the graduate schools has threatened the very life of the college and relegated the undergraduate school to a second place. But those forces have now been reversed and the college is definitely coming into its own. In the next decade it will enjoy a kind of renascence, and any kind of renascence is a good time, and place, in which to live.

The emphasis that has been put on the graduate and professional schools has not been wholly detrimental to the college community. The building of such institutions as the Law School, the College of Physicians and Surgeons, the Engineering Schools—and also, to a lesser degree, the Schools of Business and Journalism—has inevitably set a pace, furnished some examples of what to do—and what not to do—and created some standards for the scholarly. Any kind of intellectual activity stimulates more of the same, and no one can say that Morningside Heights in the last forty years has been lacking in intellectual activity. Perhaps certain departments, or certain compartments within departments, have lagged or become somnolent, but generally speaking the university has gone forward and grown to the stature of an enormously powerful magnet pulling toward it the great tides of world ideas.

This has had its stimulating effect on the college faculty. Many of the outstanding scholars brought to the graduate faculties have given courses in the college. And Columbia

College students in their junior and senior years, if they are qualified, can take graduate courses. That, in itself, has brought some of the most promising men to the college as students, men who have since fulfilled the promise of their undergraduate years.

Boys are drawn toward Columbia College because they intend to go on to the Law School, the College of Physicians and Surgeons, or one of the other graduate schools. They may change their minds, or fail to gain entrance, but a very large proportion of Columbia College students have always been, and will continue to be, pre-professional. It is logical and natural that Columbia College should thus be a preparation, or seem to be a preparation, for the university schools. That brings to the college a superior type of student. Boys who have definite purposes in life have a salutary effect on their fellows, particularly on those who have not yet made up their minds what they want to do.

Mention should perhaps be made of a contradictory argument. There was a time when boys and their parents thought it a good idea to sample for a few years, at least, a country club college, to enjoy college life, to soak up atmosphere, to acquire the social prestige that goes with institutions which have aristocratic or romantic reputations. Such snobbish and irrelevant reasons are no longer so persuasive. Columbia possibly does not have quite the social prestige of Harvard, Yale, or Princeton, partly for the mistaken reason that some people think the bulk of Columbia College students are from New York City high schools. Columbia could, if it wished, assert a snobbish and aristocratic tradition which is overlooked or forgotten: it has always been the college for the blue bloods of New York, than whom there is nothing bluer. But that is, of course, a silly reason, and is mentioned only to point out the equally silly reasons why some boys, egged on by

socially ambitious parents, go to the country club institutions.

Country clubs, however, have declined, both as social and as educational institutions. Parents, and their sons, have grown more realistic. College life is no longer what it once was in the story books. American undergraduate life since the depression, and particularly since the second World War, has grown increasingly serious and the students immeasurably more serious-minded. If a variety of experiences is to be desired, most of us have discovered that life can be depended upon to supply them. And if that is not enough, more things can happen to you in New York than in Williamstown or Amherst.

The fact that Columbia College is in New York City is, for most of those who have been students there, the most compelling reason of all for choosing Columbia. The university is the lively center of international intellectual movements largely because it is in the biggest city in the world, the capital of what is left of Western civilization. Barnard College calls the city its laboratory; that is even truer of Columbia College, for the boys have more freedom. Living in New York brings you as close as you ever want to get to reality. The city is the engineering, architectural, cultural axis of the modern world. Something may be said for seeing this metropolitan phenomenon from the safe distance of Connecticut or New Hampshire. We need, perhaps, to look at our competitive frenzies sometimes at arm's length. But much more can be said for being in the center of things. Those who have the appetite for living in this century relish the excitement and exhilaration New York gives. For New Yorkers to be exiled from it means to be exiled from contemporary life.

It would be easy to rhapsodize about the city one loves —and Columbia students from the hinterland of America

and the distant places of the globe soon learn to love it. They can say quite truthfully that living in New York at this period in human history is like living in Rome at the height of the empire, or in any of the great cities of Europe at the moment of their highest grandeur. Educationally it is stimulating, and to be young, and to be going to college on Morningside Heights in these days, is to be taking advantage of one of the greatest opportunities of our time.

George Clinton Densmore Odell went to Columbia in the 1880s. At first, he recollects, he intended to go to Yale, but he preferred Columbia, and his life has been happy because he went to the old college on Madison Avenue at a time when some of the greatest theatrical and musical stars of the 19th century were at their height. Odell saw, as an undergraduate, Edwin Booth, Ada Rehan, Agnes Booth, and Rose Coghlan. He had the ineffable experience of hearing and seeing Adelina Patti six times. He would not trade that for all the gold in Fort Knox. And, as he says, he would have missed it had he not gone to Columbia. Present-day undergraduates may today enjoy comparable experiences.

Finally—the third reason is not so obvious to outsiders and hence more difficult to establish so clearly—Columbia College stands for something today. Once, and perhaps it still sometimes happens, the college was the second choice of entering freshmen. Many have gone to Columbia because they could not get admitted to Yale, Harvard, or Princeton. But today the boys themselves realize that Columbia stands for something educationally in the present era, very much as Harvard, Princeton, and Yale stood for something in the past.

Columbia turns out men who think for themselves, and the habit of independent thought is both a precious her-

itage and a distinct advantage. It may lead to a questioning of values that is possibly a doubtful asset in the advertising business. But it creates integrated individuals who know what they want and the price they must pay to get it. Columbia men are social units in that they are both self-sufficient and able to contribute something important to their professions and to the people with whom they live. They do not wear a conspicuous badge or dress; you may not recognize their qualities until you know them, but when you do know them you appreciate the qualities which their college has done much to develop.

That this is true makes the apologetic or the inferiority complex attitude of some Columbia graduates somewhat silly. Not silly at all, however, is the attitude of people who speak contemptuously of Columbia as a liberal institution. They are thinking of charges of racial discrimination made against the institution and its entrance policies. They are thinking ironically of Dr. Butler and his treatment of scholars mentioned in the chapter on academic freedom, or they are thinking of the trustees.

The racial discrimination charge cannot be lightly ignored. Neither can it be proved. All that can be said here is that such charges are salutary; they need to be made and pressed, for the Columbia administrative authorities very much need to be put on their toes and to prove that such criticisms are not justified. Sometimes individuals in the university and college organization need to be reminded that Columbia is a liberal college, or it is nothing, and that its future reputation depends upon its faithfulness to liberal ideas.

What can be said is that Columbia—both the university and the college—is as free as any human institution can be that is a creation of the capitalist system. It is liberal because every influence that is liberal bears its force upon it.

Dr. Butler has retired. Reactionary trustees cannot live forever, and when they are gone the liberal forces in the university and among the alumni must see to it that reactionary, Tory, and moribund policies are no longer a part of the Columbia tradition.

Those who love Columbia and are jealous of its liberal reputation, a reputation they want to see grow ever stronger, can take hope in the fact that the faculty and the student body of Columbia College are uncompromisingly liberal. It is creative and it is to the creative that the future belongs.

INDEX

Abbott, Allan, 223
Abbott, Elizabeth O., 196, 197
Abbott, Nathan, 231
Ackerman, Carl W., 240, 245-250
A College Program in Action, 349
Across the Busy Years, 85, 95, 98
Acta Columbiana, 97, 295, 297, 328
Actaeon, 182
Adams, Franklin P., 334
Addams, Jane, 100
Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 276
Alabama, University of, 78
Alexander, Archibald, 96, 98
Alexander, Arthur, 319
Allen, George, 278
Allen, Horatio, 251, 256
Allesandroni, Hugo, 321
Alma Mater, 22
Alpha Delta Phi, 327
alumni, 74, 115, 192, 340, 357, 364, 371
Alumni Association, 327
Alumni House, 22
Alumni News, 365
American Academy of Arts and Letters, 89, 274
American Authors and British Pirates, 172
American College for Girls at Istanbul, 204
American Council on Education, 288, 346
American Federation of Teachers, 177
American Labor Party, 223
American Newspaper Guild, 250
American Press Institute, 248
American Jewish Congress, 272
Amherst College, 15, 81, 84, 97, 181, 199, 229, 241, 310, 311, 368
Anderson, Mrs. A. A., 198, 201, 202
Anderson, Herbert L., 282, 284
Annandale-on-Hudson, 13, 156
Annapolis (Navy), 300, 301
Anthon, Charles, 67, 71, 82, 84, 146-149
Anthropology and Modern Life, 176
Architectural Forum, 278
Architecture, School of, 16, 22, 255, 273-279
Arendt, Morton, 258
Arnaud, Leopold, 276-279
Arnold, Benedict, 47
Arnold, Mrs. Francis, 194
Arnold, Robert H., 294
Armstrong, E. H., 17, 34, 166, 257, 258, 259
A Short History of Human Stupidity, 246
Astor, William B., 227
Associated Press, 249
A Threshold in the Sun, 20
Atlantic Monthly, 186, 349
Atwood, A. W., 246
Audubon, John James, 142
Auerbach, Arnold H., 337
Authors' League, 172
Avery Architectural Library, 275
Avery Hall, 22
Avery, Henry Ogden, 275
Avery, Samuel Putnam, 275
Ayres, Henry Morgan, 20, 106
Axe and Coffin, 327
Axelrod, Herman, 336, 337

Babbitt, Irving, 186
Bach, T. C., 299
Bachelor, Bronson, 244
Baekeland, Leo H., 34
Bagley, William C., 223, 225
Bagster-Collins, Elijah William, 223
Baker Field, 109, 311, 320, 331, 340, 363, 364
Baker, Franklin T., 219
Baker, George F., 109
Bakhmeteff, Boris, 259
Bangs, Francis H., 129, 292, 328
Baragwanath, John G., 336
baseball, 291, 292, 315-318
basketball, 319-320
Bayard, Robert, 42
Bayne, Stephen F., 350

Beach, Abraham, 56
Beans, H. T., 283
Beard, Charles A., 128-131, 135, 184, 185, 199
Beazell, W. P., 246
Beck, Beals, 315
Becker, Carl, 199
Bedford, Peter Wendover, 160
Bender, Lou, 320
Benedict, Ruth, 34
Benson, Claus, 319
Benson, Reynolds, 319
Bergson, Henri, 99, 178
Berkeley, Bishop, 36, 42
Berkey, Charles Peter, 228
Berle, Adolph A., Jr., 117
Berlin, University of, 164, 176
Bernard, Claude, 256
Bernstein, Theodore, 249
Beta Sigma Rho, 342
Beta Theta Pi, 342
Betts, Beverly R., 83
Betz, Gotlieb, 360
Biddle, Nicholas, 151
Bigelow, Maurice A., 219
Bigongiari, Dino, 35
Billiard Club, 327
Black Book of Misdemeanors, 47
Black, Douglas H., 27
Blake, Lillie Devereux, 80
Blanchard, Paul F., 236
Bleasdale, Don, 315
Bloetjes, Louis E., 234
Blue-Eyed Susan, 335
Bloomer, Joshua, 43, 44
Bloomingdale Insane Asylum, 13, 90, 105, 138
Boar's Head, 183, 186
Boas, Franz, 117, 135, 175-177
Bogert, Marston Taylor, 163
Bogue, Morton G., 27, 329
Bohr, Niels, 280
Bonbright, James C., 238
Bond, Fraser, 246, 337
Bookman, The, 122
Boorse, H. A., 283
Booth, Agnes, 369
Booth, Edwin, 369
Booth, E. T., 281, 283
Boring, William A., 275-276
Boston University, 189
Bourne, Randolph, 183-190, 345
Bowden, John, 59, 60
Boyesen, H. A., 172
Brace, Donald, 329
Bradley, William Aspinwall, 329
Bratton, W. N., 306
Brady, J. M., 292
Brebner, J. Bartlet, 358, 359
Breitenfeld, Emil, 335, 336
Brewster, Dorothy, 33
Brewster, William T., 163, 208
Brick Presbyterian Church, 28
Briggs, Thomas Henry, 223
Brinkerhoff, Mrs. Van Wyck, 197
Brissenden, Paul F., 238
Blomberg, Edgar, 337
Brooks, Arthur, 193, 201
Brooks, Van Wyck, 184
Brower, Charles D., 299
Brown, Helen Dawes, 194
Brown, Roscoe C. E., 242, 243
Brown, Sevellon, 248
Brown University, 310
Brownell, Mrs. William C., 194
Brownell, Silas B., 194
Bruce, Archibald, 264
Bruce, Ned, 301
Brucker, Herbert, 246
Bryant, William Cullen, 70
Bryce, James, 227
Bryn Mawr, 192, 198, 219
Bryson, Lyman, 223
Buck, Ralph, 336
Burdick, Francis M., 228
Bureau of Economic Research, 239
Burgess, John W., 33, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 97, 118, 129, 135, 192, 228, 285
Burke, Edmund, 43, 112
Burns, Arthur R., 34
Burr, Aaron, 56
Business, School of, 23, 34, 233-239, 366
Butler, Henry L., 94, 95
Butler, Mrs. Henry L., 94
Butler, Nicholas Murray, 13, 17, 18, 25, 27, 29, 31, 35, 77, 81, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93-115, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135, 177, 183, 197, 203, 204, 214, 218, 229, 230, 235, 258, 260,

267, 269, 280, 283, 298, 328, 333, 343, 361, 370, 371
Butler, Nicholas Murray, Library, 23, 364
Butler, Sarah Schuyler, 111
Butts, R. Freeman, 223
Byers, Mortimer W., 27

Cabot, Edmund Clarke, 273
Cabot, Godfrey Lowell, 247
California, University of, 236, 308
Calkins, Robert D., 234, 236-239
Callahan, Parnell, 321
Cambridge University, 15, 43, 164, 193, 303
Camp, Walter, 297, 298, 301, 302, 311
Campbell, Archibald, 327
Campbell, O J, 33
Campbell, William, 258
Camp Columbia, 263
Cane, Melville, 184, 335
Canfield, George F, 228
Cap and Gown, 303, 321
Cardozo, Benjamin N., 231
Carlisle Indians, 300, 301
Carlton, Newcomb, 26
Carman, Harry James, 342, 348, 356, 358
Carnegie Corporation, 109, 343
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 99, 100, 125
Carnegie Institution in Washington, 288
Carpenter, Clifford D., 350
Carpenter, George Rice, 163, 199
Carpenter, William H., 196, 275
Carpentier, Horace, 198
Carter, G H, 305
Casa de las Espanas, 25
Casa Italiana, 25
Casey, William C., 360
Castner, H Y., 257
Cathedral of St. John the Divine, 21, 90
Cattell, J. McKeen, 126-129, 131, 139, 177, 230
Century Club, 112
Cerf, Bennett A., 329, 332
Cerussi, Pete, 319
Chamberlain, John, 246
Chandler, Frederick C., 85, 135, 153, 154-161, 254, 257
Chandler Laboratories, 23, 285
Channing, J. Parke, 256
Chess Club, 327
Chicago, University of, 35, 88, 110, 198, 282, 355
Childs' Cup, 304, 306
Choate, Mrs. Joseph H., 194
Christie, T. Ludlow, 301
Chungking Reporter, The, 248
Church, John A., 256
Church of the Incarnation, 193
Ciampa, Albert, 314
Clark, Alonzo, 265
Clark, Donald L., 33
Clark, John Bates, 34, 198
Clark, John M., 34
Clark University, 176
Clinton, De Witt, 52, 64, 65, 141
cloisters-on-the-half-shell, 14
Clossy, Samuel, 46
Coakley, Andrew, 315-318
Coates, Archie Austin, 336
Cochran, William, 52, 55
Coghlan, Rose, 369
Cohen, Carl, 281
Cohn, Norman, 321
Colbert, Claudette, 171
Cole, Frank C., 199
Cole, Kenneth, 284
Colgate University, 310
Colorado, University of, 103, 217
College Entrance Examination Board, 104
College of the City of New York, 189, 292, 333
Colloquium on Important Books, 355
Columbia College, 14, 15, 16, 30, 31, 33, 51-57, 58-92, 115, 135, 138, 146, 189, 190, 195, 246, 250, 262, 264, 301, 309, 315, 325, 337, 343-371
Columbia College Baseball Association, 292
Columbia College Society for Progress and Letters, 324
Columbiad, The, 97, 328
Columbia Grammar School, 147, 291
Columbia Lawn Tennis Club, 293
Columbia lion, 339

Columbia Monthly, 186
Columbian, The, 326, 327, 328
Columbia News, 329
Columbia Players' Club, 335
Columbia University Baseball Association, 292
"Columbia University in the City of New York," 91
Columbia University Club, 311, 357
Columbia University Press, 27, 288
Columbia University Radio Club, 339
Collins, Eddie, 315
Commager, Henry Steele, 34
Commerce High (N. Y.), 318
Committee on College Plans, 349, 357
Compton, George Brokaw, 339
Condon committee, 32, 360-363, 365
Condon, Lawrence L., 30, 361
Conklin, Lester H., 330
Conkling, Roscoe, 157
Contemporary Civilization, 350-354, 357
Contreras, Carlos, 337
Coolidge, Calvin, 99, 231
Cooper, Charles P., 240, 246
Cooper, Myles, 45-51
Cooper, Fenimore, 291
Corbett, Harvey Wiley, 278
Cornbury, Lord, 38
Cornell, Milton, 312
Cornell, Robert C., 295
Cornell University, 189, 192, 215, 300, 305, 306, 309, 311, 328
Cornell Widow, 334
Cort, David, 333, 334
Corum, Bill, 244
Coudert, Frederick R., Sr., 26, 130, 193
Counts, George S., 222, 223
Courtney, Charles E., 305
Coykendall, Frederick, 27, 270
Cox, James M., 112
Crampton, Henry E., 162, 208
Craven, Alfred, 252, 256
Creative Criticism, 124
cricket, 292
Crist, R. H., 283
Croce, Benedetto, 99
Crocker, Francis B., 164, 165, 257
Crocker Research Library, 24
Croly, Herbert, 184
Crosby, Ebenezer, 52
Cross, Harold L., 246, 248
Crowell, William B., 335
Crowley, Charles, 312
Cruger, Henry, 43
Cruger, Nicholas, 49
Culag Boag, 205-206
Culver, Henry, 335
Cumming, George W., 228
Cunliffe, John W., 240, 243-244, 246, 249
Curti, Merle, 187
Curtis, Charles G., 257
Curtis, John G., 257
Cushing, Harry, 230
Custis, John Park, 48, 49
Cutting, Leonard, 43, 44, 139

Da Costa, C. M., 87, 89
Dalton, John C., 256, 266
Dana, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 127, 129, 130, 131, 230
Da Ponte, Lorenzo, 67-68
Dare the School Build a New Social Order?, 223
Darlington, H. V. B., 336
Darrach, William, 135, 270-271
Dartmouth College, 300, 311, 313
Darwin, Charles R., 178
Darwin, Erasmus, 141
Davenport, Horace, 308
Davidson, Gustav, 329
Davis, Paul H., 19
Dawson, Fred, 310
Deering, Joe, 319
Delafield, John, 69
De Lamar Institute of Public Health, 271
Delancey, James, 39
Dell, Floyd, 184
Del Manzo, Milton C., 223
De Mille, William C., 335
Delta Kappa Epsilon, 327
Delta Phi, 327
Dental and Oral Surgery, School of, 16, 270, 271
Depew, Chauncey, 193
Deutsches Haus, 25

Dewey, John, 34, 116, 130, 131, 135, 177-180, 187, 212
Dewey, John, Society, 222
Dewey, Melvil, 84, 191, 193, 195
Dewey, Thomas E., 231
De Witt, Benjamin, 264
De Witt Clinton High (N. Y.), 318
Dial, The, 187
Diamond, Isadore, 338
Dickler, Gerald, 334
Dick, Harry K., 358
Dies Committee, 177
Dietz, Howard, 332
Dix, Morgan, 88, 134, 190, 192
Dodge, Grace, 218
Dodge, Marcellus Hartley, 26, 107
Dodge, Mary Mapes, 193
Dorfman, Joseph, 34, 150, 152
Dougal, Barney, 334
Douglas, Helen Gahagan, 205
Douglas, William Orville, 231
Downing, George S., 306
Draper, Andrew, 104
Dreiser, Theodore, 184
Drew, T. B., 283
Drew Seminary, 91
Drisler, Henry, 82, 87, 149, 195, 343
Duane, James, 27, 52, 53
Dudley, Pendleton, 332
Duer, William Alexander, 68, 70, 71, 293
Duer, Denning, 294
Duel, Billy, 301
Dunn, Gano, 257
Dunning, John R., 34, 280, 281, 283, 359
Dunning, William A., 162
Dutch Reformed Church, 27, 28, 30, 38, 39
Duty of Columbia College, The, 74
Dwight, Theodore W., 83, 91, 135, 226, 227, 228
Dwight, Timothy, 227

Earl Hall, 23
Earle, Mortimer Lamson, 196
Earle, William P. S., 336
Eastman, Max, 177, 180
Ecole des Beaux-Arts, 273, 274, 275, 276
Eddins, Homer, 337
Edman, Irwin, 35, 180, 379, 332, 346, 359
Edson, Cyrus, 304
Educational Review, 103
Egbert, James C., 235, 236
Egleston, Thomas, 153-154, 156, 252-253, 257, 258
Ehret, Louis J., 335, 336
Einstein, Albert, 280
Elements and Theory of Architecture, 279
Eliot, Charles W., 80, 103, 104, 107, 227
Ellard, Roscoe B., 246
Ellis, Havelock, 178
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 180
Encyclopedia Americana, 151
Encyclopedia Britannica, 146
Engineering Center, 260
Engineering, School of, 16, 23, 90, 250-262, 366
England, Church of, 41
Epstein, Moses H., 291
Erskine, John, 33, 119, 121, 180-183, 185, 244, 335, 355
Evans, Austin P., 358
Evelyn College, 196
Everett, Charles W., 358
Extension, University, 15, 17, 33, 91, 234-35, 318, 337

Fackenthal, Frank D., 18, 19, 309, 329, 335
Facta Columbiana, 295, 328
Fair Enough, 338
Fairchild, Henry Pratt, 222
Fales, William F., 291
Farnsworth, Charles H., 219
Farwell, Harmon F., 359
Fayerweather Hall, 22, 90, 285
Ferrara, Joseph, 314
Field, Frank J., 336
Feld, Bernard T., 282
Feiss, Carl, 278
fencing, 321
Ferin, Lee, 338
Fermi, Enrico, 34, 35, 117, 280, 282
Fields, Herbert, 336
Filler, Louis, 184
financial statement (Columbia University), 31

Finch, James Kip, 34, 255, 256, 258, 261, 262, 360
Fine Arts, School of, 275
Fish, Hamilton, 28, 77, 88, 152, 192, 193
Fish, Hamilton, Jr. ('65), 292
Fish, Hamilton, Jr. ('95), 305
Fish, Nicholas, 28
Fish, Stuyvesant, 294
Fisher, Frank C., 310
Fiske, Mrs. Josiah, 198
Fleming, Frederic S., 26
Flexner, Abraham, 213
Flexner Report on Medical Education, 269
Flexner, Simon, 268
Fly With Me, 336
FM station of Columbia University, 339
Foolish Virgin, The, 194
football, 293-302, 308-315
Ford, Corey, 333, 334, 337
Forum, The, 174
Founding Teachers College, Reminiscences of the Dean Emeritus, 215
Fowler, Arthur K., 329
Fox, Dixon Ryan, 163, 186, 335
Fox, Richard H., 329, 330, 333
Francis, John W., 264
Franklin, Benjamin, 22, 42, 136, 137, 142
Franklin, Ben, 246
Fraser, Leon, 125, 126, 244
fraternities, 340-342
Freeman, Douglas Southall, 246
French, Daniel Chester, 22
Friess, Horace, 359
Frisch, O. R., 279, 280
From Immigrant to Inventor, 165
Frost, E. I., 295
Furnald Hall, 23, 333
Fulton, Robert, 109, 140
Furey, George, 314

Gaige, Roscoe Crosby, 335
Gallatin, Albert, 69, 141
Gallico, Paul, 306
Gallup, George, 246
Gannett, Lewis, 246
Gans, Roma, 223
Ganslan, Dick, 320
Garbo, Greta, 171
Garlan, Edwin N., 358
Garst, Robert, 249
Gaudet, Julian, 279
Gebhard, Frederick, 72
Gehrig, Lou, 317-318
Geer, George J., 292
General Education Board, 108, 224, 239
General Electric, 245
General Motors, 245
General Order No. 100, 150, 153
General Studies, School of 17 (*see also* Extension)
General Theological Seminary, 90
Geographical Society, 89
Georgetown University, 313
Gestapo, 17
Gibbs, Emily O., 198
Gibbs, Oliver Wolcott, 74
Giddings, Franklin H., 163, 186, 200
Gifford, James P., 232
Gifford, Ralph W., 231
Gilder, Richard Watson, 193
Gildersleeve, Virginia C., 202-210
Gilman, Daniel Coit, 285
Gilman, Chandler, 264
Gill, Laura Drake, 201, 202
Ginzberg, Eli, 238
Girard College, 151
glee club, 338
Glendon, Hubert, 307, 308
Glendon, Richard, Sr., 307, 308
Glendon, Richard, Jr., 307, 308
Godwin, Parke, 190
Goelet, Robert, 22
Goetze, Frederick Arthur, 32
Goodnow, Frank J., 228
Goodrich, Carter, 34
Goodrich, L. C., 360
Goodwin, Mrs. James C., 194
Goodwin, Jasper, 304
Goodwood Cup, 340
Goose Step, The, 25
Göttingen University, 74, 75, 155
Gould, George J., 108
Governali, Paul, 315, 316
Governor's View, The, 335
Grace, Joseph P., 26
Grace, Walter Henry, 331

Gracie, Archibald, 73
Graduate School, 34, 186, 199, 207, 279-290
Graduate School of Political Science, 33, 81, 199
Grady, J. T., 132
Great Shakes, 337
Greene, Evarts B., 162
Greek games, 202
Gregory, Emily L., 197
Grenda, Steve, 314
Groce, George C., Jr., 54
Gros, John D. L., 52, 55
Gross, Mason W., 358
Grosse, A. V., 280
Guthrie, W. D., 129
Gutmann, James, 350, 358, 359

Hacker, Louis, 34, 358
Hadas, Moses, 358
Hadden, Gavin, 257
Hadsell, I. W., 386
Hagen, Joe, 320
Hahn, Otto, 279
Half Moon Inn, 337
Hamilton, Alexander, 24, 49, 50-51, 54, 56, 135, 138, 250, 324
Hamilton College, 65
Hamilton Hall, 23, 24, 107, 346, 364
Hamlin, Alfred Dwight, 274, 276
Hamlin, Talbot, 278
Hamlin, T. F., 273
Hammerstein, Oscar, 336
Hanemann, William H., 332, 336, 337
Hanford, Wash., 283
Hankey, Mary Parson, 191
Harcourt, Alfred, 329
Harding, William Gamaliel, 99, 112
Hardy, Charles, 39, 44
Harkness, Mrs. Stephen V., 270
Harkness, Edward S., 269
Harper, William Rainey, 88, 177
Hanlon, Ed, 305
Harriman, Charles A., 274
Harrington, Thomas H., 258
Harrington, Howard S., 335
Harris, William, 62, 63, 64, 66
Harris, Reed, 131, 331
Harris, W. T., 104
Harrison, George L., 27
Harrison, Henry Sydnor, 335
Harrison, James R., 329
Harrison, Richard, 28
Hart, Lorenz M., 336, 337
Hartley Hall, 23, 24, 328, 364
Hartmann, George W., 223
Harvard Annex, 189
Harvard College (university), 74, 82, 107, 240, 273, 276, 292, 297, 298, 299, 301, 302, 303, 304, 309, 350, 367, 369
Harvard Business Review, The, 236
Harvard Medical School, 271
Hastings, Thomas, 275
Haughton, Percy, 311, 312
Havemeyer Hall, 23, 90, 282, 285
Havens, W. W., 283
Hawkes, Herbert E., 131, 135, 343, 346-348, 354, 356, 357
Hayes, Carlton J. H., 34, 199, 358
Hayes, William H., 278
Healy, Jeff, 310
Hecht, Selig, 34
Hegel, G. H. F., 178
Heller, George D., 337
Hellman, George S., 329
Helmholtz, H. L. F., 164
Henle, James, 186
Henley Regatta, 303, 304
Henry, Frank L., 299
Henry, J. Herrick, 294
Hepburn, A. Barton, 235
Heroes I Have Known, 178
Hervey, Walter L., 214
Hewitt, Ralph, 313, 314, 315
Higgins, Walter, 320
Hill, Patty Smith, 219
Himmler, Heinrich, 18
Hiroshima, 283
His Excellency, A Trustee, 90
His Majesty, the Queen, 337
Hispanic Society, 89
Hobart, John Henry, 60, 62
Hobdy, W. C., 305
Hollingworth, Harry L., 208
Hollis, Ernest V., 288, 289
Holt, Henry, 103
Holt's New York Journal, 324
Home James, 337
Honors Course, 355
Hone, Philip, 139, 142

Hopkins, Edward Washburn, 169
Hopkins, Mark, 78
Hosack, David, 65, 75, 138, 264
Hovey, Richard, 199
Howells, William Dean, 174
How Revolting, 337
Howson, Roger, 90
Hubbard, Benjamin, 339
Hudnut, Joseph, 276
Hughes, Charles E., 231
Hughes, William Morris, 112
Hungerford, Victor W., 335
Humanities course, 352, 354, 357
Hunt, Robert, 273
Hunter College, 16
Hyslop, H. A., 200
Hurley, Mark, 319
Huxley, Thomas Henry, 178

I.C.A.A.A.A., 320
Ides of March, The, 335
Illinois, University of, 103, 271
Imperial University, Tokyo, 247
Indiana, University of, 103
In Newport, 335
Institute of Arts and Sciences, 17
Institute of International Education, 204
Intercollegiate Football Association, 297, 299
Intercollegiate Rowing Association, 305
Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 186
International House, 21
International Affairs, School of, 290
International Federation of University Women, 204
International Workers of the World, 187
Iowa, University of, 103, 320
Irvine, Fred, 301
Irving, Washington, 251
Isle of Illusion, The, 335
Ivins, Perry, 337

Jackson, A. V. Williams, 35, 164, 167-171, 199
Jackson, Andrew, 152
Jackson, John G., 26
Jacoby, Harold, 24, 163
James, William, 180, 284
Jay, John, 28, 29, 49, 51, 56, 250
Jay, John, Hall, 23, 365
Jay, James, 45
Jay, Peter Augustus, 28
Jefferson, Thomas, 24, 140, 180
Jervey, Huger W., 232
Jester, 131, 331-334, 336, 338, 342
Jewish problem, 16
Jewish Theological Seminary, 21, 91
Johnson, Ben, 320
Johnson, Douglas W., 34
Johnson Hall, 24, 108
Johnson, Samuel, 41-45
Johnson, William Samuel, 53-57
Johnson, William, 43
Johns Hopkins University, 178, 285
Jones, Davy, 320
Jones, Joseph L., 244, 247
Jones, John, 46
Journalism Building, 23, 24, 318
Journalism, School of, 131, 239-250, 329, 333, 366
Joy, Charles A., 155, 156
Judge, 333
Juilliard School, 21, 107, 183

Kahn, Ely Jacques, 332
Kaiser Wilhelm II, 99
Kane, Harry, 318
Kansas State, 320
Kant, Immanuel, 180
Kappa Alpha, 157
Kasner, Edward, 208
Kearney, Philip, 77
Kearsley, John, 136
Keener, William A., 91, 227, 228, 229
Kemp, James F., 255, 256, 257
Kemp, John, 55, 60, 258
Keller, Joseph, 284
Kelley, Walter E., 335
Kelly, Richard, 332, 334
Kendrick, Benjamin B., 199
Kent Hall, 22
Kent, James, 57, 66, 226
Kent, Rockwell, 332
Kennedy, Ed, 320-321
Kennedy, J. D., 310
Kennedy, John S., 134
Keppel, Frederick P., 19, 185, 343-345, 346, 356

Kester, Roy B., 236
Kiendl, Ted, 319
Kilmer, Joyce, 184
Kilpatrick, William Heard, 222
Kimbel, Bill, 319
King of Hilaria, The, 336
King, Charles, 73-77, 79
King, Willard V., 26
King, Charles, Jr., 291
King, Rufus, 62, 73-77
King's College, 22, 28, 29, 33, 36-51, 69, 74, 111, 136, 137, 146, 250, 263, 324
King's Crown, 341
King's Crown Hotel, 25
King's Crown Press, 288
Kinne, Burdette, 358, 360
Kip, George S., 327
Kipling, Rudyard, 172, 215
Kirchwey, George W., 139, 229
Kissam, Benjamin, 52
Kissam, Samuel, 263
Knapp, Charles, 198
Knapp, James R., 301, 312
Knickerbocker Club, 112
Knickerbocker, William S., 329
Knight, Charles, 52
Knopf, Alfred A., 186
Knox, John, 28
Koopman, Bernard Osgood, 350
Koppisch, Walter, 311
Kreymborg, Alfred, 184
Krumb, Henry S., 27
Krissel, Wally, 321
Krichell, Paul, 318
Krutch, Joseph Wood, 33, 246, 358
Kuhn, Ferdinand, 330
Kunz, Johan C., 52
Kusserow, Lou, 315

lacrosse, 292
Ladyko, Emil, 315
Lafayette College, 292
Laight, Edward W., 28
Lambert, Samuel W., 135, 267-270
Lane, Les, 315
Lang, Paul Henry, 35
Lang, John H., 336
Lange, George, 335
Langmuir, Irving, 257
Latham, Minor W., 208
Laugh It Off, 337
Lawrence, Joseph Bayley, 340
Lawrence Scientific School, 155, 273
Law School, 16, 22, 23, 33, 80, 83, 88, 89, 91, 106, 135, 152, 225-233, 292, 301, 366, 367
Lawson, William T., 299
League of Nations, 99
Leggett, T. H., 256
Leland Stanford University, 19, 236, 314
Lerner, Max, 184
Lewis, Morgan, 69
Liberal Party, 223
Library Service, School of, 17
Lieber, Francis, 135, 146, 149-153, 227
Life, 333
Life Begins in '40, 338
Liggett, Mrs. N. W., 197
Lincoln School, 213, 221, 222, 224
Lindeman, E. C., 222
Lindsay, Samuel McCune, 163
Linton, Ralph, 34
Lippmann, Walter, 184
Little, Joseph J., 103
Little, Lou, 313-315, 323
Livingston, Edward, 69
Livingston Hall, 23, 24, 329, 342, 364
Livingston, John Henry, 27
Livingston, William, 39, 40
Lloyd-George, David, 112, 113
Lodge, Gonzales, 219
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 99
Loening, Grover, 257
Lomer, G. R., 244
London University, 206
Long, E. John, 330, 334
Longacre, Orleans, Jr., 300, 305
Lorch, Johnny, 319
Lord, Herbert, 163
Los Alamos, N. M., 283
Loth, David, 50
lotteries, 38, 39
Lotus Club, 112
Louvain, University of, 113
Lovett, Robert S., 26
Low, Seth, 21, 25, 85, 88-92, 102, 105, 106, 108, 118, 135, 161, 166, 193, 199, 216, 327, 344

Low, Seth, Library, 21, 57, 106, 115, 266, 333
Lowell, Josephine Shaw, 193
Lower estate, 29, 30, 31
Lucke, Charles E., 259
Luckman, Sid, 314, 315
Ludwig, William H., 331
Lyon, John Henry Hobart, 33

McAlarney, Robert L., 240, 246
McBain, Alastair, 308
McClure, Wood, 334
McCulloh, Richard S., 76, 79
McCarty, C. F., 306
McCrea, Nelson G., 196
McCrea, Roswell C., 235, 236
MacDowell, Edward, 35, 117-120, 180
McDuffie, William, 314
McGill University, 243
McGurk, Don, 319
MacGregor, Don, 305
McIntosh, Millicent Carey, 210
MacIver, Robert M., 208
McKim, Charles Follen, 275
McKim, Mead, and White, 21, 24, 274
McKnight, Nicholas, 330, 350
McLane, James W., 266
McMahon, Percy H., 294
McNulty, John, 333
McVickar, John, 60, 66, 67, 71, 142-146
McVickar, W. Bard, 293
McMillin, Emerson, 235

Machen, Henry B., 335
Mack, Connie, 315
Macy, George J., 333
Macy, V. Everitt, 218
Madison avenue property, 29
Maison de Punk, 273, 328, 364
Maison Française, 25
Making of the Modern Mind, The, 350
Manchester, University of, 243
Manhattan District, 283
Mankiewicz, Herman J., Jr., 332, 336
Mann, Horace, School, 102, 214, 221, 222, 224
Mannheim, Al, 320
Manning, William T., 26
Mapes, Charles Halstead, 309, 312
Maria Moors Cabot Prizes, 247
Markel, Lester, 244
Marshall, R. D., 358
Marston, Thomas, 43
Mason, Daniel Gregory, 35
Mason, John M., 61, 62, 63, 66
Mason, William, 118
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 87, 110, 273, 274
Matchen, Charles H., 335
Matel, Anthony, 314
Mathews, James M., 69, 70
Matthews, Brander, 135, 171-175, 293
Matthews, Brander, Academic Theatre, 25, 35, 108
Matthews, Franklin, 246
Max, Alan, 337
Maxwell, Clerk, 164
Maxwell, Hugh, 63, 64, 69
Maxwell, William H., 104
Mayo-Smith, Richmond, 84, 85, 200
Meany, Cy, 316
meat-packing, 13
Medical Center, 108, 136, 260, 265, 270, 271
Medical Repository, 140
Medina, Harold J., 229, 231
Meenan, Dan, 319
Megrue, Roi Cooper, 332, 335
Meitner, Lisa, 279
Melitzer, Sam, 319
Meldrum, John Balfour, 94
Melville, Ward, 27
Men's Faculty Club, 24, 108, 127
Merner, Carl, 320
Merry Lunatics, The, 336
Metcalf, Tom, 309
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 275
Meyer, Alfred, 191
Meyer, Annie Nathan, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197
Michigan, University of, 189, 199
Middleton, George, 335
Middleton, Peter, 46
Mill, John Stuart, 178
Miller, Alice Duer, 200
Miller, Clyde R., 222

Miller, Edward, 264
Miller, Fred, 307
Miller, Howard, 310
Miller, James A., 27
Miller, James Marshall, 278
Mills, Frederick C., 238
Mind in the Making, The, 200
Miner, Dwight C., 350, 358
Mines, School of, 17, 23, 32, 33, 80, 83, 89, 107, 135, 154, 155, 156, 157, 160, 252-261, 274, 285, 301, 328
Mississippi, University of, 78
Mitchell, Billy, 299
Mitchell, Dana P., 283
Mitchell, Wesley C., 163
Mitchill, Samuel Latham, 60, 138-142, 146, 264
Moeller, Philip, 335
Moley, Raymond, 208
Montague, William Pepperell, 34, 208
Montgomery, Cliff, 314
Moore, Benjamin, 52, 59, 60, 61, 324
Moore, Casimer de Rham, 295
Moore, Clement, 67, 68
Moore, Douglas, 35, 208, 360
Moore, Henry, 45, 137
Moore, John Bassett, 88, 135, 228
Moore, John C. B., 278
Moore, N. F., 67, 71, 72, 145
Moore, Robert F., 282, 356
Moore, Underhill, 232
Moore, William, 28
Mooney, Paul, 319
Moran, Daniel E., 256
Morgan, John, 137
Morgan, J. P., 25, 26, 194, 230
Morgan, Thomas Hunt, 162
Morgan, William Fellows, 298
Morley, Bill, 300
Morley, Christopher, 202
Morningside, 183
Morningside Heights, 13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 29, 30, 31, 34, 66, 88, 89, 91, 102, 274, 299, 329, 361, 364, 366, 369
Morris, Gouverneur, 37, 324
Morris, Lewis, 37
Morris, Lloyd, 20, 174
Moszczenski, Carl, 311
Mott, Valentine, 69, 264, 294
Munroe, Chester C., 295
Munroe, Paul, 204, 218
Mumford, Lewis, 125, 184
Munsey, Frank A., 108
Murchison, Kenneth, 335
Murray, James, 321
Museum of Natural History, 209
Mussolini, Benito, 100
Muzzy, David Saville, 103
Mysterious Miss Apache, The, 336
Mr. King, 335

Nacoms, 340
Nagasaki, 283
Nairne, Charles Murray, 85, 146, 227
Naumer, H. A., 306
Nash, Bill, 320
Nation, The, 192
National Defense Council, 281
National Educational Association, 223
Nearing, Scott, 332
Nebraska, University of, 310
Nelson, Francis, 278
Newberry, John S., 154, 157, 254, 257
New Criticism, The, 186
New Laokoon, The, 186
New Republic, The, 187
New Weston Hotel, 75
New York Academy of Science, 141
New York Advertiser, 54
New York Botanical Garden, 91
New York Evening Journal, 246
New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy, 42
New York Herald, The, 128
New York Herald Tribune, The, 175, 240, 246, 248
New York Hospital, 137, 138, 142, 264, 267
New York Journal of Commerce, The, 235
New York Is Barnard's Laboratory, 209
New York's Mendelssohn Glee Club, 119
New York Lyceum, 141
New York Lying-in Hospital, 264, 267

New York Post, The, 190, 193
New York Post Graduate Medical School, 17
New York University, 69, 298, 310, 333
New Yorker, The, 333, 359
New York School of Social Work, 17
New York State Psychiatric Institute, 271
New York Sun, The, 240
New York Times, The, 176, 240, 245, 249, 304; Book Review, 174
New York World, The, 240, 241
Nicholson, Marjorie Hope, 33
Nixon, H. K., 239
Nobel Peace Prize, 100
North American Newspaper Alliance, 246
Notre Dame University, 312
Nugent, Frank, 334
Nutting, Mary Adelaide, 219

Oak Ridge, Tenn., 283
Oberlin College, 189, 309
O'Connor, Bernard, 196
Odell, George Clinton Densmore, 33, 167, 173, 369
Off-Hour, The, 329
Off Your Marx, 337
Ogden, David B., 28
Ogden, Gouverneur M., 74
Ogden, Isaac, 44
Ogden, Josiah, 44
Ogden, Nicholas, 47
O'Grady Sezz, 329
Ohio, University of, 103
Old Kings, 337
O'Neill, Frank J., 310, 318
On Liberty, 178
Optometry, Professional Course in, 17
Oppenheim, James, 184
Ordronaux, John, 227
Origin of the Species, The, 178
Osborne, Henry Fairfield, 88
Osgood, Herbert L., 200
Oxford University, 15, 45, 47, 144, 193, 198, 213, 303, 304

Packer Institute, 197
Page, Walter Hines, 174, 175
Paine, Thomas, 180
Painton, Frederick C., 244
Palmer, A. Mitchell, 230
Parent-Teacher Association, 204
Parker, Edwin B., 290
Parker, Willard, 264
Parkhurst, Helen H., 208
Parkinson, Thomas I., 26, 232
Parsons, William Barclay, 26, 27, 29, 84, 135, 257, 293
Patterson, Bill, 320
Paxton, H. C., 283
Peace Pirates, The, 336
Peck, Harry Thurston, 121-122, 125, 328
Peck, William G., 85, 153, 198
pedagese, 213
Peffer, Nathaniel, 34
Pegram, George B., 34, 135, 258, 280, 281, 284
Pennsylvania, University of, 199, 235, 241, 264, 298, 301, 305, 309, 313, 332; Philadelphia, college in, 45
Perlman, Phyllis, 244
Perry, Edward Delavan, 168, 198
Peterson, Gus, 310, 321
Pharmacy, School of (New York College of), 17, 107, 160
Phelps, William Lyon, 174
Phi Beta Kappa, 116, 186, 229, 340
Phi Delta Theta, 317
Phi Kappa Sigma, 327
Phi Kappa Psi, 342
Phi Gamma Delta, 342
Philadelphai Press, The, 241
Philadelphia Public Ledger, The, 245
Phillips, Donald K., 337
Philolexian Observer, The, 326
Philolexian Literary Society, The, 186, 325-337
Philomathean Society, The, 325
Philosophy Hall, 22, 285
Physicians and Surgeons, College of, 16, 65, 74, 135, 136, 138, 141, 160, 263-272, 315, 329, 366, 367
Pierrepont, H. E., Jr., 305
Pine, John B., 89, 102, 328
Pitkin, Walter B., 182, 242, 243, 244, 246

Pitt, S., Jr., 306
Plimpton, George A., 194, 197, 198
Poe, Edgar Allan, 148
Political Science, Faculty of, 16, 130, 285, 290
Pool, Eugene H., 26
Pope, J. R., Jr., 275
Porter, H. Hobart, 26
Poughkeepsie Regatta, 305, 308
Post, Wright, 264
Potter, F. A., 298
Potter, Horatio, 95, 118
Powell, Thomas Reed, 231
Prentice, J. H., 305
Presbyterian Hospital, 108, 136, 269, 270, 271, 272
president's house, 24, 108, 111
Pressprich, R. W., 305
Prevot, Maurice, 278
Price, Ed, 299
Price, Thomas R., 82, 172
Priestley, Joseph, 139
Prince, John Dynley, 163
Princeton, College of New Jersey in, 15, 44; University, 49, 55, 88, 95, 196, 279, 280, 292, 293, 296, 297, 298, 300, 301, 306, 309, 321, 328, 367, 369
Princess Proud, 335
Pringle, Henry, 246
Private Life of Helen of Troy, The, 183
Providence Journal-Bulletin, The, 247
Provoost, Samuel, 27, 43, 44
Pryor, James W., 299, 328
Psi Phi, 303
Psi Upsilon, 327
Public Education Association, 104
Puerto Rico, 13, 17, 270
Pulitzer, Joseph, 107, 239, 240, 242
Pupin Laboratories, 23, 282, 286
Pupin, Michael I., 34, 117, 135, 163-166, 257, 258
Pure Science, Faculty of, 16; School of, 91, 285
Puritan Mind, The, 42
Putnam, Albert W., 26, 299, 301

Quest for Certainty, The, 180
Quimby, Edith, 284

Rabbitt, Byron, 334
Rabi, Isidor I., 34, 280, 283
Radcliffe College, 189
Ramsey, N. F., 284
Rainwater, L. G., 283
Randall, John Herman, Jr., 35, 350, 358, 359
Randolph Bourne, 184
Rappleye, Willard Cole, 135, 271, 272
Rautenstrauch, Walter, 258
Rawlinson, Henry C., 170
Read, Joseph, 44
Redpath, Albert G., 27
Reed, Stanley F., 231
Reid, Mrs. Ogden, 204, 210
Rehan, Ada, 369
Reilly, Maurice T., 337
Reminiscences of an American Scholar, 82
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 292
Renwick, James, 67, 251, 252, 254, 256
Reynolds, Quentin, 317
Rice, James Trelawny, 306, 307
Ridabock, Henry C., 304
Ritzema, Johannes, 39
Ritzema, Rudolph, 42, 44
Riverside Church, 20
Riverside Hospital, 159
Rives, George Lockhart, 29, 87, 135, 303
Rives Memorial Steps, 24
Rivero, Manuel, 314
Rhoades, Lyman, Jr., 332
Roar, Lion, Roar, 337
Robinson, Beverley, 28, 47
Robinson, Henry Morton, 181, 333
Robinson, Geroid Tanquary, 290
Robinson, James Harvey, 34, 178, 199, 200
Rockne, Knute, 312
Rockefeller Center, 29, 65, 109
Rockefeller Foundation, 108, 290
Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, 288
Rockefeller, Mrs. John D., 194, 198
Rockefeller, John D., Jr., 109
Robb, Chester, 310
Rodgers, Richard C., 336, 337

Roentgen, W. K., 166
Rogers, Gene, 321
Rogers, James Gamble, 270
Romayne, Nicholas, 52, 57, 264
Rood, Ogden, 79, 85, 154, 191
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 99, 110, 143, 231, 246, 280
Roosevelt, Theodore, 85, 93, 99
Root, Elihu, 150
Roper, Elmo, 246
Rose Bowl, 314
Rossides, Gene, 315
Roth, Frederick G. R., 340
rowing, 302-308
Rothstein, Arthur, 334
Rothwell, A. C., 306
Ruddy, Ray, 321
Rugby rules, 293, 298
Rugg, Harold, 222, 223
Ruggles, Samuel B., 74, 75, 81, 82, 87, 135
Rukeyser, Merle Stanley, 244, 246
Russell, James E., 135, 214-221, 225
Russell, John Watts, 295
Russell, William Fletcher, 223-225
Russian Institute, 290
Rutgers College, 27, 292, 293, 294, 295, 297, 298, 300
Ruth, Babe, 317
Ryan, Frank, 320
Ryan, Jack, 319
Ryskind, Morrie, 131, 242, 329, 332, 333

Sachems, 341
Sachs, Alexander, 280
Sage, Edwin E., 304
St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, 94
St. John's College (Annapolis), 355
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, The, 240
St. Luke's Hospital, 90, 268
St. Marks-in-the-Bouwerie, 62, 66, 101
St. Paul's Chapel (Broadway), 52, 56
St. Paul's Chapel (Columbia campus), 22
salaries, university, 14
Sameth, Sigmund, 334
Sanford, George Foster, 299
Sanger, Malcolm H., 337
Saratoga Springs, N. Y., 96, 139, 303
Satterlee, Herbert L., 26, 229, 230
Saturday Evening Post, The, 245
Schang, Frederick C., Jr., 329, 332
Schermerhorn Hall, 22, 23, 29, 90, 285
Schermerhorn, William Colford, 29, 90
Scherpick, Eugene Arthur, 332
Schiff, Jacob H., 194, 197
Shilt, Jan, 34
schizophrenia, 14
Schneider, Herbert W., 35, 41, 42, 358
Schurman, Jacob Gould, 215
Schuster, Max Lincoln, 244, 246, 329
Schoenfeld, Sam, 320
School of Arts, 82, 83, 343
Schutz, P. W., 284
Scientific American, The, 155
Scott, Walter, 183
Scovil, Kes, 311
Seager, Henry R., 163
seal of Columbia University, 43
Secker, Archbishop, 45
Seligman, E. R. A., 84, 146, 163
Sentner, David, 244, 333
Sermolino, Maria, 244
Seven Arts, The, 187
Seymour, Charles, 347
Shane, Ted, 330
Shapiro, Meyer, 35
Sheffield Scientific School, 267
Shepherd, William R., 162, 199
Sherman, Frank Dempster, 274
Shorey, Paul, 198
Short, Charles, 82
Shotwell, James T., 163, 199
Shoup, Carl S., 239
Sigma Alpha Epsilon, 342
Sigma Chi, 342
Sigma Nu, 342
Sill, F. H., 305
Simonds, Alexander B., 294, 295
Simonds, Francis M., 310
Sinclair, Upton, 25, 26
Shaw, Charlie, 310
Skull and Bones, 340
Slack, E. G., 281
Sloane Maternity Hospital, 266
Sloane, William D., 266

Slosson, E. E., 243
Slosson, Preston, 187
Smith College, 189, 192
Smith, David Eugene, 220
Smith, Dick, 301
Smith, Emily James, 198, 199, 200, 201
Smith, Geddes, 244
Smith, George, 315
Smith, Kenneth H., 278
Smith, James, 46
Smith, J. Russell, 34
Smith, John Augustus, 264
Smith, Milton, 35
Smith, Munroe, 90, 228
Smith, Preserved, 199
Smith, Stan, 315
Smith, William, 45
Smith, Young Berryman, 232, 233
Smithsonian Institution, 241
Snedden, David, 223
Sniadack, Frank, 315
Social Composition of Boards of Education, The, 223
Social Frontier, 222
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 37
Sokolsky, George, 242
Solow, Herbert S., 330
Sorbonne, University of the, 201, 247
Sorosis Club, 190
South Field, 23, 106, 311, 318, 320, 332, 364, 365
Southern California, University of, 275
Spalthoff, Willie, 336
Spalding, Joseph W., 292
Spear, Gilbert M., 294
Spectator, The Columbia, 131, 299, 309, 328-332, 334, 339, 342
Speer, Robert K., 222
Spingarn, Joel C., 122-125, 186
Spring, Gardiner, 28
Springfield College, 320
Springfield Republican, 241
Spurgeon, Carolyn, 206
Stahl, William Morris, 334
Stanford, Leland, 103
Steeves, Harrison Ross, 33, 349
Steeves report, 348
Stetson, Francis Lynde, 194
Stevens, Alexander H., 264
Stevens Institute, 297
Stevens, John, 250, 256
Stevenson, John B., 62, 63, 64, 65
Steward, Henry S., 337
Stone, Harlan F., 135, 226, 229, 230, 232
Stranahan, Mrs. James S. T., 194
Stroller, The, 329
Students' Activity Fee, 339
Student Board, 332, 333, 342
Student Union, 364, 365
Sulzberger, Arthur Hays, 27
Sulzberger, Mrs. Arthur Hays, 210
Summer Session, 17, 91, 106, 107, 213
Swift, Jonathan, 36
Swift, Otis Peabody, 329
swimming, 320-321
Syracuse University, 306, 310
Szilard, Leo, 280, 281, 282, 284

Taft, William Howard, 101
Talcott, Mrs. James, 194
Tannenbaum, Frank, 34
Taylor, Floyd, 248, 330, 333
Taylor, George H., 298
Taylor, Horace, 350, 360
Taylor, William T., 337
Tau Epsilon Phi, 342
Teachers College, 16, 81, 91, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 111, 135, 204, 212-225, 234, 287, 329
Teacher in America, 349
Technocracy, 223
Telfer, Alexander, 310
Tennent, John V. B., 46
Terry, Charles Thaddeus, 229
Tetard, John Peter, 52
Thayer School at Dartmouth, 262
These Many Years, 173
Thompson, David, 295
Thorndike, Ashley Horace, 123, 124, 135
Thorndike, Edward L., 135, 219
Thorndike, Lynn, 34, 135, 199
Tiihonen, Larry, 312
Tildsey, John L., 104
Tolischus, Otto, 244
Torry, John, 264

Toward Improving Ph.D. Programs, 288, 289
Townsend, Fitzhugh, 259
track, 320
Treadwell, Daniel, 44
Trilling, Lionel, 358, 359
Trinity Church, 26, 27, 37-40, 42, 43, 53, 57, 88, 127, 134, 144, 183, 190
Triumph of American Capitalism, The, 358
Tropical Medicine, School of, 17, 270
Troup, Robert, 50
Trowbridge, William P., 258
Troy University, 79
trustees, 26-28, 74, 80, 123, 125, 126, 127, 129, 131, 132, 133, 153, 164, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 217, 339, 370, 371
Tryon, Governor, 46
Tucker, Robert, 263
Tugwell, Rexford Guy, 34, 151, 152
Twain, Mark, 174
'Twas the Night Before Christmas, 67

Uncas (baseball club), 291
Union College, 65, 155, 156, 157, 300, 336
Union League Club, 190
Union Theological Seminary, 21
United Press, 247, 248
University Council, 88, 219
University Football Association, 299
University Hall, 23, 90, 106
university orchestra, 338
Untimely Papers, 187
Unwin, Raymond, 278
Upper Estate, 29, 30, 31, 109
Urey, Harold, 34, 35, 135, 280, 281, 283, 284
Ursinus College, 311

Van Amringe, J. Howard, 23, 85, 86, 87, 119, 154, 195, 196, 309, 343
Van Amringe Memorial, 23, 364
Van Beuren, Frederick T., 270
Van Buren, Martin, 251
Van Buren, Travers C., 294
Van Brunt, Philip, 273
Van Cortlandt, Philip, 42, 44
Vanderbilt Clinic, 270
Vanderbilt, George W., 102
Vanderbilt, William H., 265
Vanderbilt, W. K., 108
Vandewater F. F., 244
Van Doren, Carl, 33, 186
Van Doren, Mark, 33, 358, 359
Van Dyke, Henry, 194
Van Metre, T. W., 236, 239
Van Ness, John P., 324
Vardill, John, 226
Varick, Richard, 27, 28, 64, 66
Varsity Show, 334-338
Vassar College, 192, 197, 209
Vassar, Matthew, 189
velocipede club, 293
Vermont, University of, 178
Verplanck, Gulian C., 59, 64, 65
Verplanck, Samuel, 42, 44
Villard, Henry, 89
Vinton, Francis L., 153, 154
Virginia, University of, 276
Vollmer, Hal, 321

Wagner, Ray, 312
Wainwright, Jonathan Mayhew, 69
Waite, Frederick, 197
Waldecker, Sidney, 306
Walker, Francis A., 87
Wallace, Schulyer C., 290
Walpole, Robert, 37
Ward, Lyn, 334
Ware, Arthur, 278
Ware, William Robert, 273-275
Warner, Lupin, 338
Warren, Charles P., 274
Warren, George Earle, 26
Washington, George, 48, 56, 57, 136
Washington Heights Health and Teaching Center, 271
Washington, University of, 306
Wasson, Edward B., 196
Watkins, Morris W., 337
Watt, Robert W., 312, 315, 318
Watts, Robert, 264
Watson, Goodwin, 222
Watson, Thomas J., 26
Weaver, Raymond B., 358, 359
Webb, H. Walter, 295

Webb, Kenneth, 335, 336
Webb, Ray, 335, 336
Weast, Herb, 320
Wechsler, James A., 331
Weed, Ella, 194, 195, 196, 198
Weekes, Arthur D., 294
Weekes, Harold, 300, 301, 302
Weil, George L., 282
Wellesley College, 189, 192, 209
Wells, H. G., 100
Wendell, Mrs. Barrett, 191
Wenning, Tom, 334
Wesleyan College, 310, 311
Western Reserve University, 219
West Point (Army), 300
Wharton, Charles H., 58-59
Wharton School of Finance, 235
Wheeler, Benjamin Ide, 214, 215
White, Paul W., 330, 333
Whitney, William C., 161
Whittelsey, Chauncey, 41
Wildberg, Jack, 330
Wilder, Newell, 314
Will, Len, 315
Willett, Edward, 44
William and Mary, College of, 236
William Samuel Johnson, A Maker of the Constitution, 54
Williams College, 15, 95, 310, 312, 316, 368
Williams, Edgar, 278
Williams, E. I., 306
Williams, Talcott, 240, 241-243
William Penn, 335
Willis, Bailey, 256
Willis, H. Parker, 235
Wilson, Bert, 300
Wilson, Peter, 60, 63, 68
Wilson, Woodrow, 99
Wisconsin, University of, 103, 306
Withington, Paul, 312
Wolcott, Oliver, 62, 65
Wolff, John, 301
Wolman, Leo, 34
Women's Faculty Club, 24
Women's University Club, 196
Wood, Leonard, 202
Wood, R. U., 306
Wood, Thomas Denison, 223
Woods, John W., 292
Woodberry, George Edward, 33, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 181
Woodbridge, Frederick J. E., 34, 130, 185, 186, 258, 275, 287
Woodin, W. H., 257
Woodward, F. W., 292
Woodward, R. S., 257
Wouk, Herman, 334, 337
wrestling, 321
Wright, Eugene P., 337
Wright, Bill, 321
Wright, Henry, 278
Wright, Jack, 300
Wronker, Stanley, 334
Wupperman, Raphael K. (Ralph Morgan), 335

Yale, 15, 85, 153, 226, 267, 210, 285, 292, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 304, 306, 309, 328, 340, 346, 347, 367, 369
Yonkers, N. Y., 318
Yates, Margaret Hall, 332
You'll Never Know, 337
Youth and Life, 187
You've Got Something There, 338

Zanetti, Joaquin Enrique, 35, 360
Zegri, Ferdinand, 316
Zeta Beta Tau, 342
Zinn, Walter H., 282
Zoonomia, 141
Zinsser, Hans, 135, 162
Zook, George F., 346