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The History of Lawrence University, 1847-1925

William Francis Raney

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THE
HISTORY
OF
LAWRENCE
UNIVERSITY
1847-1925

William Francis Raney

David G. Ormsby Professor
of European History
Lawrence University

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Foreword

In 1955, on the occasion of his retirement from the Lawrence College faculty, William Francis Raney received, in the Lawrence custom, the honorary degree of Master of Arts ad eundem. The citation for the degree, delivered by President Douglas M. Knight, offered clear and strong testimony to Professor Raney's stature as an historian and may serve here as an apt introduction to this book.

History is our past but also our present; it is the most demanding of disciplines, because it constantly tempts us to pretend assurance where we do not have it. And even for those of great integrity it is a savage master, for it never remains constant. Our moving present modifies the past, and tomorrow will change every yesterday, placing it not only beyond recall but sometimes beyond understanding. You have superbly accepted this limit and this challenge; you have meditated the history of Lawrence as well as that of the world, and you have made yourself a permanent part of what you meditated.

Professor Raney, indeed, not only meditated on the history of Lawrence, but also undertook to record his meditations in a study of the origins and development of the university. The present volume is the product of that work.

His career was, from the start, a promising one. After attending Hastings College for three years, Mr. Raney won a Rhodes Scholarship in 1910 and studied at Oxford for another three years, receiving his B.A. there in 1913. He earned the Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin in 1919 in History and Romance Languages, an achievement that explains why he came to Lawrence in 1920 to teach French. Mr. Raney switched his allegiance to history in 1921 and remained in that department for the rest of his career at Lawrence (although he did serve as a lecturer in government during the first year after his retirement!). When he retired, he occupied the chair of the David G. Ormsby Professor of European History.

Remembered by generations of Lawrentians as a first-rate teacher, Professor Raney also earned the respect and esteem of his fellow historians for his book Wisconsin: A Story of Progress, which was first published in 1940. When it was reissued in 1963, it was still the definitive study of the topic, "the standard single volume work in the field," according to one reviewer. In fact, the reviewer went on, "until such time as there appears a successor volume to bring the story down to the present, Professor Raney's book rightfully commands the field."

Much the same can be said about this history of Lawrence as well. Mr. Raney began writing this study in 1955 and worked on it for the next seven years, until his death on June 24, 1962. At that time he had just completed the introductory chapter to the presidency of Henry M. Wriston, now the final one in the book. He titled the work The History of Lawrence College, 1847-1925; in printing this limited edition, the title has been changed to The History of Lawrence University, 1847-1925, in order to better reflect that name by which Lawrence has been known for most of its history; it was Lawrence College, after all, for only twelve of the years covered in Mr. Raney's history.

The story as Mr. Raney unfolds it here is one shaped, of course, by the "moving present" of his experience twenty-five years ago. To another historian, writing from a more recent vantage point, the story might be told differently and might cover more of the years since Wriston assumed the presidency. Be that as it may, this volume deserves the same accolade as his earlier book on Wisconsin: "Until such time as there appears a successor volume to bring the story down to the present, Professor Raney's book rightfully commands the field."

Lawrence is fortunate indeed to have had so able and devoted an historian undertake this task. Professor Raney knew the college well, meditated on its roots thoughtfully, and reported his findings accurately. For this and for his outstanding career as teacher, he has earned the gratitude of the Lawrence community.

Marshall B. Hulbert, '26

Appleton, Wisconsin

November, 1983

Introduction

This limited edition of Professor William F. Raney's book, The History of Lawrence University, 1847-1925, tells the story of our university from its founding through the tenure of its longest-serving president, Samuel Plantz. With a final chapter introducing the presidency of Henry M. Wriston, the book captures much of the flavor and fervor, the trials and triumphs, of Lawrence for its first seventy-eight years.

Since Professor Raney's death in 1962, his work has remained in the university archives, available in the form he left it: typescript chapters, footnotes gathered separately and unbound. A few years ago, Marshall Hulbert, whose career at Lawrence spans the final years of Raney's history and all the years since, undertook to prepare the volume for printing. His diligence and care result in the pages to follow and the university community owes him yet another debt of gratitude for the patience and persistence with which he has completed this task. I am delighted that this volume now is available in bound form and thus accessible to those who wish to deepen their understanding of the university we cherish.

Richard Warch

President, Lawrence University

Appleton, Wisconsin

November, 1983

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CHAPTER I

HOW PREDECESSORS CHARTED THE COURSE

. . . it is impossible to invent an institution. . . .
every institution is a crystallization from the past.
Henry M. Wriston, The Nature of a Liberal College

The founding of Lawrence University came out of a long tradition. Almost from the beginning the American people counted colleges a normal part of their way of life. Such institutions were usually initiated and supported by religious groups, and each college sprang from both a national and a denominational background. The westward movement carried the college idea across the Alleghenies into the Middle West, and ultimately to the Pacific. At any given point in the West, the idea could not become actuality until settlers had arrived and begun to form civil communities and churches. But after that, with the generous help of the East and much real sacrifice in the West, the growth of colleges was everywhere early and vigorous. This rapid development would have been impossible without a long established and accepted way of founding and conducting colleges, both in the nation at large and in the denominations concerned. Besides describing general American practice with reference to colleges, we must give special attention to the Methodist Church, founder and long the nurse of Lawrence University.

Between the opening of Harvard and the chartering of what would eventually be known as Lawrence University, the people of the United States founded more than three hundred institutions empowered to confer degrees in the liberal arts. Two-thirds of these foundations, to be sure, disappeared in time; but there are still more than a hundred colleges and universities in the country older than Lawrence.(1) Out of all this activity had come fairly settled ideas about colleges and the process of founding them.

For the most part this pattern had taken shape in the colonial period. Nine or, as some count it, ten colleges granted degrees before 1776; and many general statements may be made about them as a group. Then, as later, a college was usually the child of a church. Harvard was at first Congregational, then Unitarian; the College of New Jersey,

1. D. G. Tewkesbury, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities. . . , 1932, pp. 28, 44.

later Princeton, was Presbyterian; the College of Rhode Island, now Brown University, was Baptist; and so with all the others. The two most secular among them, King's College, later Columbia, and the Philadelphia Academy, which became the University of Pennsylvania, "were shared and fought over by Anglicans and Presbyterians." Yet colonial colleges always admitted as students Trinitarian Christians of any sect. Almost all of them, too, had men of more than one denomination on their governing boards. One reason for this "tolerance" was the hope of financial support from adherents of many sects.

The colonial colleges existed, according to their own statements, to produce moral and religious men and superior public servants in many walks of life. The idea that they were maintained to turn out ministers for the various denominations has sometimes been over-emphasized. It is indeed true that more than half of those who graduated from Princeton before 1776 entered the ministry; but Princeton was not typical in this respect. Taking all the colleges together, clerical graduates became a minority soon after 1700; and by the end of the eighteenth century, four-fifths of all graduates were not clergymen. Many colleges founded in the first half of the nineteenth century followed the early Princeton model and existed chiefly to turn out ministers; but Lawrence was more like the colonial majority; in her first half-century she sent only twenty-eight per cent of her male graduates into the ministry.

The enrollment in the colonial colleges was always small. In the latter part of the period Harvard and Yale each had about one hundred and fifty students. Most of the newer schools prior to the Revolution had only forty or fifty, though Princeton came to exceed one hundred. All colonial colleges conducted grammar schools as feeder institutions.

Details of financial management also fell into an almost uniform pattern. Land for the site of a college was always a gift; in many cases several localities competed to secure the college. After land came a building which provided classrooms, student living quarters, and sometimes rooms for the Faculty. Fees were very low, both because colleges were competing for students and because the idea was widely held that education should always be within reach of the sons of the poor. Consequently students contributed but a small part of the cost of their education. Collections and subscriptions in the supporting churches made up some of the difference; and subscription lists were circulated among the general public. As midwestern colleges in the nineteenth century looked to the East for money, so the colonial colleges sought gifts in the British Isles and in the West Indies. Income from invested funds was never a large factor in meeting college expenses. As one authority on these matters has written: "Thus these college founders of the colonial period, for all their heroic efforts, inaugurated the practice of 'shoe-string' financing, a procedure never to be abandoned by a great portion of American institutions of higher education."(2)

These colonial colleges followed what we would call today a program of the liberal arts and were not divinity schools, though churchly influences were brought to bear on the students. There were, however, prescribed courses in the Christian religion and the Bible; and daily attendance at morning and evening prayers was required. The first two years were largely devoted to Latin and Greek, often with some elementary mathematics. Juniors and Seniors, with most of their language work behind them, studied the natural sciences, metaphysics, and more advanced mathematics. Learning consisted largely in the mastery of textbooks and therefore undergraduates had little need of libraries.

Since in the beginning frontier conditions prevailed along the Atlantic seaboard, one may say that before the Civil War almost all American colleges were founded on the frontier. In a later age and under altered circumstances institutions of higher learning were established in the great metropolitan centers of the nation. The moving frontier crept across the continent and in time reached Wisconsin. Between 1840 and 1850 its population grew from 30,945 to 305,391. It was the mature men of the 1840's, almost all of them recent arrivals from the East, who took possession of the southern and eastern part of the present state, wrote the constitution, and in short imported and established a civilization. Also, between the years 1846 and 1851, they founded the State University (1848) and five colleges: Carroll, Beloit, Lawrence, Ripon, and an institute that later, uniting with other schools, grew into Milwaukee-Downer.

There was an urgency to set up colleges on the frontier in both the older and the newer parts of the country. Responsible people in the East, inspired largely by their churches, counted it part of their Christian and patriotic duty to provide schools and colleges for regions in process of settlement. Frontier families, also, especially those too poor to send their children to the older colleges far away, clamored for educational opportunities within their reach. To both East and West, colleges were a proper part of civilized community life.

There were no Methodist colleges in America in the colonial period because in 1776 Methodist activities had scarcely begun in this country. Even in England the Methodists were not yet a separate denomination, but a religious society directed by John Wesley (1703-1791), a clergyman of the Church of England. Wesley was a man of nearly thirty-five when he had a religious experience that colored and dominated the remainder of his life and which may reasonably be counted the beginning of Methodism. On Wednesday, May 24, 1738, he attended a small religious meeting in London and heard someone reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. Wesley tells what happened to him in these words: "About a quarter to nine, while he [Luther] was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for

2. Beverly McAneer, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 38, p. 612 (March, 1952).

salvation; and an assurance was given me that He hath taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

Such was Wesley's conversion, the "turning-point" in his life. He lived for fifty-two years after that experience, doing an almost incredible amount of traveling, preaching, and writing; and helping others to reach and pass through a conversion like his own. Though Wesley wrote a good deal of what seems to a layman rather argumentative theology, his evangelical work cut across doctrinal camps and denominational boundaries. The only requirement for membership in a Methodist society was the desire to flee from the wrath to come and the attainment, through faith, of the certainty of sins forgiven. Many of the features that gave Methodism its appeal and its expansive power in America originated in England during Wesley's lifetime.

Compared with several other denominations, Methodism had rather a late beginning in America. Two laymen, both from Ireland, did the first Methodist preaching about 1776, one in New York, the other in Maryland. Between 1769 and 1774 John Wesley sent eight preachers to the colonies, and others came as volunteers with his approval. Of all these, the most important was Francis Asbury, often called the "Father of American Methodism." He preached, and guided and built this church for forty-five years. The War of Independence was a period of difficulty for American Methodists for several reasons, among them the fact that John Wesley favored the English cause. Yet soon after the war Wesley took an important step to meet the needs of America. He ordained the Rev. Thomas Coke in England as Superintendent, and sent him to America with instructions to ordain Francis Asbury in turn as a fellow Superintendent. This was accomplished at the so-called Christmas Conference (December 24, 1784 - January 2, 1785). Asbury accepted the new office only after Wesley's choice was ratified by the Conference. Within a few years the Superintendents came to be called Bishops.

At this Christmas Conference, what had been a religious society became a separate church. Many features that had originated with the Methodists in England were as a matter of course continued in America. Touching the individual member most closely and binding him to the church, was the class meeting. A local society was divided into groups of twelve or more, each under a leader who supervised behavior and watched over souls; and members reported at regular class meetings. Methodist students still held a weekly class meeting at Lawrence, with the President or one of the Faculty as leader, as late as 1880.⁽³⁾ Lay preaching, both in England and in America, supplemented the work of ordained men and multiplied the manpower of the church. Hymn singing made meetings attractive. This exercise was, of course, as old as Christianity itself, and was no monopoly of the Methodists; but they made more use of it than other denominations. Both John and Charles Wesley wrote hymns, Charles being the author of more than six thousand.

3. Faculty Minutes (F.M.), Sept. 22, 1879, p. 265; Sept. 15, 1880, p. 330.

Probably much of the religious thinking on the American frontier was couched in the phrases of familiar hymns.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church was well developed. At the summit was the General Conference, which met once in four years. It legislated for the Methodists of the whole country until 1844, when the church divided over the issue of slavery, to remain divided until 1939. Below the General Conference was the Annual Conference. In the Methodist vocabulary the word "conference" was used either for this meeting or for the organized church within a certain area. Neither the General Conference nor the Annual Conferences contained any laymen; this "undemocratic" system of complete clerical control was only gradually breached beginning about 1872. Frequently it was an Annual Conference, or two of them in cooperation, that undertook to found and support a college. The Wisconsin Conference, set up in 1848, included at first the whole of Wisconsin, to which was soon added a mission in Minnesota. In 1856 its area was reduced by the establishment of the West Wisconsin Conference. First the Wisconsin Conference alone and then, after the division, both of these conferences pledged support to Lawrence. The conference was divided into districts and over each district was a Presiding Elder.

Besides the Superintendents or Bishops, the Methodists had several ranks of preachers or ministers. There were those on trial who were not ordained, and Deacons and Elders who were. Only the Elders were permitted to administer the Lord's Supper. In lieu of divinity schools the Annual Conference mapped out a four-year course of home study, and committees of older preachers gave examinations on this work in connection with the annual meetings. In 1849-50 the Wisconsin Conference was made up of twenty-six Elders and forty-seven other preachers, the others being partly Deacons and partly men on trial. Thus nearly two-thirds of the preachers could not officiate at the Lord's Supper. The Presiding Elder made the round of his district once every three months, and at "Quarterly Meetings" administered communion. The Presiding Elder also supervised, trained, and encouraged the younger preachers.

Through a certain period an important feature of Methodism was the work of its itinerant ministers or circuit riders who, it is often said, kept Methodism abreast of the frontier. This system originated in England, John Wesley himself being constantly on the move. One minister would have a considerable number of stations in his charge and would visit them in turn. Circuits were known as two, three, four, or five-week circuits, according to the time required for the circuit rider to go the rounds once.⁽⁴⁾ There were rather long circuits in Wisconsin in the 1830's, but by the middle of the century short ones were more usual and the only person constantly on the move in the settled parts of the state was the Presiding Elder of a district. William H. Sampson, whom we shall come to know as one of the founders of Lawrence, was the

4. W. W. Sweet, Methodism in American History, 2nd. ed., 1954, p. 144.

Presiding Elder of the Fond du Lac Mission District, and as such traveled between four and five thousand miles a year.

The Methodist Episcopal Church kept a close watch on the behavior of its members. In May, 1849 a meeting of the five Bishops of the Church (North) drew up certain resolutions. In part they ran as follows: "Information from reliable sources has occasioned us to entertain serious fears that there is an increasing tendency among some of our brethren and sisters in the church . . . to countenance certain fashionable and sinful amusements, such as dancing parties, theatrical and circus performances, and comical exhibitions Such amusements we believe to be wholly inconsistent with Christian character, destructive to vital piety, ruinous to the early religious impression of the rising generation, and a hindrance to the conversion of irreligious neighbors; and consequently, we deeply regret that they should in any wise be encouraged or even tolerated in the Church." Pastors were directed first to admonish and then to bring to trial any members offending in these matters. The Wisconsin Annual Conference duly approved these resolutions. This is the background for some of the disciplinary rules of Lawrence University during its first half-century.

A latecomer as a denomination in America, the Methodists also lagged behind others in establishing colleges. In accordance with a decision taken at the Christmas Conference (1784), the Methodists founded their first college at Abingdon, Maryland, some twenty-five miles northeast of Baltimore. They called it Cokesbury College in honor of Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury. A cornerstone was laid in 1785 and instructions began two years later. The building was burned to the ground in 1795, and the institution was again burned out in temporary quarters in the following year, whereupon it expired. Apparently the support of a college was at that early date beyond the financial resources of the Methodists. Also, then and far into the nineteenth century, most Methodist ministers were not college-trained and many felt that the immediate saving of souls was more imperative than secular learning.

Slowly the situation changed. The General Conference of 1820 recommended to the Annual Conferences the establishment of literary institutions under their control. The Ohio and Kentucky Conferences led the way with a college at Augusta, Kentucky, forty-five miles southeast of Cincinnati. Chartered in 1822 and opened in 1825, this college closed its doors in 1849, in part a victim of the schism over slavery. The oldest Methodist college in existence today is either Randolph-Macon, now at Ashland, Virginia, which has the earliest charter date, 1830; or Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut, first to begin instruction and first to grant degrees. As will be seen later, Connecticut Wesleyan was in many ways the parent of Lawrence University. Thirteen colleges exist today that were founded or taken over by the Methodists before Lawrence; and by the time of the Civil War the number of Methodist colleges destined to survive had reached thirty-four. Among other denominations, only the Presbyterians had more colleges than the Methodists.

CHAPTER II

THE LAWRENCE FAMILY

Lawrence of vertuous Father vertuous Son.
John Milton

Lawrence University bears the name of a Massachusetts family that has produced many men of outstanding ability and integrity. Established in New England during the first generation of settlement, the Lawrences have for the most part remained there down to the present. Too prosperous and well-adjusted to migrate, they have taken little part in the historic dispersion of New Englanders across the United States to the Pacific. During the nineteenth century some of them became widely known for their success in business, sense of public duty and philanthropy. One of them acquired land in Wisconsin, acting in the beginning not for profit but to help an individual in distress. His son, following the road thus opened, became the founder of Lawrence University.

John Lawrence, first of the family in America, came from England in 1635. In 1660 he helped set up the new town of Groton, thirty-six miles northwest of Boston. More than a century later a descendant named Samuel Lawrence (1754-1827) still lived on the ancestral homestead at Groton. He fought on the American side in the War of Independence and attained the rank of Major. He, with others, established an academy at Groton and thus began the long record of the family as benefactors of education. Two of his sons later endowed this school and it exists today as the Lawrence Academy at Groton. The more famous Groton School for Boys is a much later foundation.

Samuel Lawrence had five sons who lived to maturity. Four of them became merchants and capitalists; and three were of sufficient eminence to be included in the Dictionary of American Biography. Amos Lawrence (1786-1852) was the first of these sons to enter business. After a short training in a country store he set up his own establishment in Boston and took in his younger brother, Abbott, as an apprentice. Eventually the two of them formed the firm of A. & A. Lawrence. At first their business consisted chiefly in importing English textiles. Later they became distributors for several New England woolen and cotton mills, and eventually they became heavy investors in textile mills themselves.

Amos Lawrence's health failed in 1831 and he retired from active business, though he was spared for two decades to devote himself to his philanthropies. During this time he gave away altogether about \$700,000; of this, half a million was distributed during the last ten years of his life. Much of it went to educational institutions. To him religion was of paramount importance in life. The outstanding church of New England for several generations was the Congregational, which was Calvinistic in its theology. During the early nineteenth century this church was undergoing a division; while one segment remained orthodox, the other became Unitarian. After his removal to Boston Amos Lawrence joined the Unitarian Church on Brattle Square, and the pastor there, Dr. Samuel K. Lothrop, became one of his closest friends.

After his brother's retirement from business, Abbott Lawrence continued as the head of the firm of A. & A. Lawrence. In 1845 and 1846 a corporation in which he was the leader built a dam across the Merrimac River and there laid out the city of Lawrence, Massachusetts. Its abundant water power made it one of the nation's greatest textile centers. He served two terms in Congress and in 1848 he came within one vote of gaining the Whig nomination for Vice-President which went to Millard Fillmore. For three years he was the United States Ambassador to Great Britain. Abbott Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard, was his grandson.

The first wife of Amos Lawrence was Sarah Richards, daughter of Giles Richards, an inventor. His grandson wrote rather tartly of him that he was "a man of great ingenuity and of little financial wisdom." The maternal grandfather of Sarah Richards was Amos Adams, a Congregational minister who died while a chaplain in the Continental Army. The second son of Amos and Sarah Lawrence was born in 1814 and was named Amos Adams Lawrence after his great-grandfather. He was educated at a private boarding-school at Andover and at Harvard. His Harvard years included eighteen months of rustication, during which he lived elsewhere with a tutor -- a period he always looked back to with satisfaction. During his Senior year he confided to his diary, in part, as follows:

My present design is to be a merchant, not a plodding, narrow-minded one pent up in a city with my mind always in my counting-room, but . . . I would be at the same time a literary man and a farmer My advantages for becoming rich are great; if I have mercantile tact enough to carry on the immense though safe machine which my father and uncle have put in operation, it will turn out gold to me as fast as I could wish I consider it an oyster-like dulness, and not a pious or enlightened way of thinking, that makes some despise riches. If any one has any love for his fellow creatures, any love of the worthy respect of his neighborhood, he will be willing and glad to be rich.(1)

1. William Lawrence, Life of Amos A. Lawrence, Boston, 1899, pp. 23, 24.

When Amos A. Lawrence graduated from Harvard in 1835, it seemed inadvisable for him to enter the firm of A. & A. Lawrence. In succession he took a position where he could learn the business of a dry-goods commission merchant, traveled in what were then the western and southern states, was in business for three years on his own account, and spent nearly two years in Europe. In 1843 he formed a business partnership which grew into the firm of Lawrence and Company. For forty years this firm held the selling agency of the Cocheco Company and the Salmon Falls Company, both large manufacturers of cloth and both of them firms in which Lawrence was a director and officer. Before the Civil War most knit underwear and hosiery of good quality were imported. In 1860 Lawrence bought the Ipswich Mills for the manufacture of knit goods. After many years of experiment and financial loss, success came and he emerged as the largest manufacturer of such goods in the country.

Amos A. Lawrence, like his father, was a very religious man. He was not satisfied with the Unitarian Church nor with the orthodox Congregationalism still widely followed in New England. In 1842 he and his wife were confirmed in St. Paul's Church (Episcopal) in Boston; and until his death forty-four years later he was active in that church and denomination. An Episcopal Theological School was established at Cambridge; for fifteen years Lawrence served as its Treasurer, often helping to meet the recurring deficits. To it he gave Lawrence Hall, a dormitory, in memory of his parents.

Lawrence also gave time and money to other causes. He contributed generously to the colonization of American Negroes in Liberia. As the Treasurer and chief financial supporter of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, he also helped send about 1300 settlers into Kansas from New England and other parts of the North. Lawrence, Kansas is named for him and he assisted in founding a college there which was the nucleus of the Kansas State University. During the Civil War he personally drilled recruits in Cambridge and he helped, sometimes with money, to organize regiments. Half the biography written by his son is devoted to Kansas, John Brown, and the Civil War.

The story of how Amos A. Lawrence became the owner of several thousand acres of land in Wisconsin will be told in due course. His motives in founding a college in the West were much the same as in his other philanthropies. His point of departure in this case was the responsibility resting on him as a landowner. Through a college he wished to improve the neighborhood where he had an interest, draw a better class of settlers, and improve those already there. He hoped it might "be the means of spreading the blessings of sound religion and learning over an extensive region of our country." These two influences, religion and learning, seemed to him the most effective agencies for the improvement of mankind. He never, however, in any of the sources now in the Lawrence Archives, raised such questions as: "What kind of religion?" or "What kind of learning?" He was not an innovator in these fields.

Finally, a word about the physical man: His son describes him after the age of fifty as having a "bald head, encircled by the finest

silken hair, which was too silvery to turn gray But his strong, stocky, active body, smooth complexion, soft skin and clear blue eyes were certain marks that great vigor still remained. And his habits were those of a vigorous man. A few minutes' exercise before the open window with his twenty-five pound dumbbells preceded breakfast." At a quarter to eight he would leave home on horseback for his office. "Six hours of active business gave him the impulse for a sharp ride home Dinner and a five minutes' nap refreshed him for a drive, a skate on Jamaica Pond, or another ride on a fresh horse, from which he returned after dark for his tea, newspaper, and pipe or cigar."(2) Such was the man, successful in business, deeply religious, filled with a sense of civic and social responsibility, active in mind and body, whom Lawrence University reveres as its founder.

Amos Adams Lawrence was married in 1842 to Sarah Elizabeth, daughter of William Appleton. This William Appleton, of a family long established in New England, came to Boston in 1807 and went into business. He was first a dealer in West India products and then an importer of English goods. In his later years he was a capitalist and banker of importance. His daughter directed with great skill the Lawrence household, which in time came to be of considerable size. Once during the Civil War Lawrence paid tribute to his wife's ability as a manager in this fashion: "If Mr. Lincoln would make her Quartermaster General, the army would be able to move on Richmond." For a brief period, before Samuel Appleton entered the story, it was possible to say that Appleton, Wisconsin was named after Sarah Elizabeth.

Several descendants of the founder, besides being outstanding persons in their own right, have had some contact with the University. To Amos Adams Lawrence and his wife eight children were born, of whom two sons and five daughters lived to maturity. The elder son, Amory Appleton Lawrence (1848-1912), had a long career in business and philanthropy. As late as 1904 he was making suggestions about the investment of the University's Library Fund. The second son was William Lawrence (1850-1941). The religious atmosphere in which he was reared, together with a very great admiration for Phillips Brooks, led him into the ministry. After attending two other seminaries he concluded his studies at the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge in which his father had shown so great an interest. He was for some years the pastor of a parish of poor people at Lawrence, Massachusetts. He then returned to the Theological School at Cambridge where he was first Professor and then Dean. After that, for thirty-four years (1893-1927), he was Bishop of Massachusetts.

This first Bishop Lawrence became one of the great men of his generation. Among other things he was the leader in several campaigns to raise money. Twice he secured large increases in the endowment of Harvard. The best known of these financial enterprises was the initiation of the Church Pension Fund of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

This was designed to help support retired and disabled clergymen and their dependents. Amos Lawrence had sent packages and money to the veterans of his own and other churches. His grandson's plan will bring a respected old age to thousands through many generations.

While Bishop Lawrence's financial accomplishments received most publicity, he was outstanding in other ways. It took courage to say, in the early 1880's, that "the labor unions are moving for legislation to protect child labor; they are right and the corporations are wrong."⁽³⁾ During his lifetime the educated world came to accept the Darwinian hypothesis of evolution in biology and extended it to other fields. A new attitude toward the Bible emerged, derived in part from the so-called higher criticism. In such conflicts between the old and the new Bishop Lawrence was usually on the side of the modernists.

Bishop Lawrence had two sons, both of whom followed their father into the priesthood of the Episcopal Church. The elder, William Appleton Lawrence, became in 1937 the third Bishop of Western Massachusetts. The younger, Frederic Cunningham Lawrence, was ordained Deacon in 1925 and Priest in the following year. In May, 1956 he was chosen Suffragan Bishop of the Massachusetts Diocese.

There have been many evidences of mutual respect and friendship between the descendants of the founder on one side and Lawrence University on the other. The elder son, Amory Appleton Lawrence, received from the University an "attorneyship of the Library Fund," and occasionally advised about investments. When he resigned this post in 1906, the Executive Committee thanked him for giving "services for so long a time without remuneration."⁽⁴⁾ The children of Amos A. Lawrence together gave \$2,300 toward the building of Science Hall, or about six per cent of its cost. In the spring of 1897 the Trustees voted to grant to Bishop Lawrence the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He declined the honor at that time because he "felt that [he] was too young for such a degree and was afraid that the impression might be given that the name of Lawrence created some obligation on the part of the University."⁽⁵⁾ Bishop Lawrence eventually reconsidered, and with his consent the degree was conferred in absentia at the commencement of 1910. In April, 1929 he and his elder son were the guests of the College. The father spoke in convocation and the son received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Eight years later, in 1937, the younger son, Frederic C. Lawrence, was honored in the same way. He returned to preach the baccalaureate sermon at the Centennial commencement in 1947.

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3. William Lawrence, Memories of a Happy Life, 1926, p. 48.
 4. Executive Committee of Trustees (Exec. Com.), Jan. 9, 1906, p. 96.
 5. William Lawrence to Plantz, Sept. 4, 1909.

The gift of a library building from Andrew Carnegie was announced in January, 1905; and almost immediately the heirs of Amos A. Lawrence offered the founder's portrait to hang in the new building. The portrait was the work of Adelaide Cole Chase (Mrs. William Chester Chase). It reached the University in March, 1905,(6) and was temporarily hung in the old Chapel in Main Hall after which it was prominently displayed in the new Carnegie Library.

While Bishop Lawrence and his elder son were visiting the College in 1929, someone took a picture of them and President Wriston standing in front of the Memorial Chapel. The students had the picture enlarged and framed; and Mr. Wriston presented it to the Bishop on their behalf. He thanked the students in a letter which appeared in the Lawrentian, and about the same time sent to the College a silver loving cup.(7)

In the fall of 1931 the Lawrence family gave the College a Glastonbury chair of handsomely carved black walnut. It was "used by Amos Adams Lawrence . . . at the time he carried on the correspondence that led to the founding . . . in 1847."(8) The chair has since been used by the President of the institution during commencement exercises and on other formal occasions.

6. The Lawrentian (Law.), March 16, 1905, p. 9.

7. Law., Apr. 26, May 17, May 24, 1929; Reports of the Pres., June, 1929. The loving cup is currently an item in the University Archives.

8. Law., Nov. 10, 1931, p. 1; picture on p. 4.

CHAPTER III
FROM THE FIRST STEPS TO THE ENACTMENT
OF THE CHARTER
(1844 to January, 1847)

The connection of the Lawrence family with Wisconsin began in May, 1844, when the attention of Amos Lawrence was drawn to Eleazar Williams, an Oneida Indian with some white blood. Early in the nineteenth century missionaries of the Protestant Episcopal Church were working among the Oneida in western New York state. Judging Williams to be a young man of promise, they trained him for church work and made him a lay reader. English-speaking settlers wished to secure the holdings of the Oneida, and the federal government put pressure on them to exchange their possessions in New York for more extensive lands in Wisconsin. As one who knew both the Oneida language and English, Williams was a useful negotiator. From the beginning he was a strong advocate of removal to the West; and he came to Wisconsin with the first Oneida in 1821.

The Oneida settled down in the midst of the Menominee, who had lived in northeastern Wisconsin and upper Michigan from prehistoric times. Soon after Williams came West he married the daughter of a French-Canadian of Green Bay and a Menominee woman. In 1831 the United States bought several million acres from the Menominee and assigned half a million to the Oneida. Seven years later the government repurchased most of this huge estate from the Oneida, leaving them with the familiar reservation of about 67,000 acres, partly in the present Brown County, partly in Outagamie. One of the treaties of 1838 promised a tract of land to Williams, either because he had been useful as a negotiator or on account of his wife's status as a Menominee: perhaps for both reasons. The patent making Williams the owner was signed by President Van Buren in 1840. The tract lay on the left bank of the Fox River between De Pere and Wrightstown and about fifteen miles northeast of Appleton. It had a frontage of two and one-half miles on the river and was three miles deep, thus containing about 4900 acres.

Eleazar Williams seemed always to be in debt; and since he owned land his creditors placed liens on his property. His land was also "sold" by the sheriff for the unpaid taxes of 1842 and 1843. In May, 1844 Williams, then in Boston, was introduced to Amos Lawrence by the latter's pastor and friend, Samuel K. Lothrop: thus Amos A. Lawrence came to know him also. In what followed it is sometimes difficult to separate the actions of the father from those of the son. To help the Indian in his distress the Lawrences arranged to buy first 2500 acres of his land and then all of it. Williams and his family, however, were permitted to live on in their old home. He and his principal creditor executed deeds which, at the direction of the elder Lawrence, named Amos A. Lawrence as the new owner. Later the son wrote:

. . . I paid Mr. Williams more than I believed the land would sell for, when he could not obtain the money anywhere else and when he would have lost it by a few hours delay. I also obtained a loan for him from my father [of \$1000, Aug. 2, 1845], or rather a gift, for he knew he was entirely without property and did not expect to receive a dollar back, as he was in trouble again, and I thought the land might be worth more than I had paid for it. I also agreed to allow him to live upon it and use as much as he wished free from rent for life, he paying only the taxes which he has not complied with.(1)

To sum up, the Lawrences paid Williams \$1,800 in 1844, lent him \$1,000 in 1845, and paid off incumbrances on the land amounting to \$610.40: total, \$3,410.40. This works out at about seventy cents an acre, which is fifty-five per cent of \$1.25, the established price of government land at that time. It should be remembered, however, that by using military land warrants one could often buy government land at sixty-two and one-half cents an acre. Two-thirds of Williams's land was more than a mile from the river and there was as yet no call for mere farm land. In getting seventy cents an acre in 1844 Williams did not do badly.

A few years after he sold his land to the Lawrences, Williams's name became known throughout the United States because he, or others for him, claimed that he was the "Lost Dauphin" of France: the titular king, Louis XVII. This boy was lodged in the Temple prison in Paris in August, 1792, along with his parents and other members of the royal family. In June, 1795, when he was a little more than ten years old, it was announced that he had died in the Temple; but it was soon rumored that he had been rescued, a substitute having died in his place. During

1. Rough draft of A.A.L. to Henry S. Baird, June 18, 1847, Corresp., vol. I, p. 157. After the death of Amos A. Lawrence his heirs transferred to Lawrence University papers relating to Wisconsin investments and the founding of the University. Most of these papers are in four volumes of which typewritten copies have been made. In footnotes these volumes, called Correspondence, are indicated by the abbreviation, Corresp., and Amos A. Lawrence by A.A.L. Page references are to the typewritten copy.

the next sixty years some forty pretenders arose claiming to be the escaped prince. The death of Louis XVII in prison has more probability than his escape; and in any case a French origin for Eleazar Williams is out of the question. The very making of this absurd claim indicated a certain moral obliquity in Williams, which was also evidenced in other ways. He did not understand, or pretended not to understand, that the sale of his land was complete and final; and he badgered Lawrence for years trying to get more money from him. On one of Williams's letters Lawrence wrote: "Lazy and deceitful old man." Williams abandoned his wife and son about 1850 and returned to live among the Oneida still in New York state. There he died in poverty and relative obscurity in 1858. Mrs. Williams did not accompany her husband to New York state; half Menominee, she chose to remain in the country of her Indian ancestors. When Lawrence sold the tract in 1855 he arranged that Mrs. Williams should not be disturbed and she lived on in her home there until her death in 1886.(2)

Amos A. Lawrence needed an agent in Wisconsin and at Williams's suggestion engaged a lawyer of Green Bay, one H. Eugene Eastman, to look after his interests. The first known communication between the two men was a letter from Lawrence to Eastman of September 24, 1844.(3) In the following year Lawrence instructed Eastman to buy more land. Eastman accordingly, as agent for Lawrence, bought some twenty-five parcels, most of them from the federal government at \$1.25 an acre. With two small exceptions they lay on the left bank of the Fox River between the site of Appleton and De Pere, both north and south of the Williams tract. They were counted more desirable than ordinary farm land because of their river frontage. By June, 1846 these additional lands amounted to about 1700 acres. With the Williams tract, Lawrence now owned about 6600 acres, or more than ten square miles.

So far as we know it was to his agent Eastman that Lawrence first broached the idea of having a college on his land. This seems to have been early in 1845. Thus, in January, 1848 Lawrence wrote: "It is now nearly three years since the project was communicated to Mr. Eastman of Green Bay who was requested to ascertain what was required, and what could be done in that vicinity."(4) In William Lawrence's biography of his father there is a letter which the author-son dates only by saying that it was written "as soon as the five thousand acres fell into his hands." (The final deed was executed in December, 1844.) This letter, or the part which the son chose to print, is as follows:

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2. There is an article on Williams in the Dictionary of American Biography (Dict. Am. Biog.).
 3. Not preserved; mentioned in Eastman to A.A.L., Oct. 28, 1844, Corresp., vol. I., p. 9.
 4. A.A.L. to Bishop Janes, Jan. 24, 1848, Corresp., vol. I, p. 131.

I have been thinking more of the establishment of an institution of learning or college on the Williams land, and there seems to be a good opportunity, not only for improving the tone of morals and the standard of education in that vicinity, but also of conferring lasting benefit on a portion of our countrymen who most need it. I have a high opinion of the adaptation of the principles of the Methodists to the people of the West, and I think, from all that I can learn, that their institutions are carried on with more vigor, and diffuse more good with the same means, than any other. It seems to be decided by experience, that all literary institutions must be controlled by some sect, and efforts to prevent this have often blasted their usefulness. I should desire most of all to see a Protestant Episcopal institution; but that is out of the question, as our form of worship is only adopted slowly, and never will be popular in this country. I think the old-fashioned name "college" or "school" is as good as any; "university" would hardly do for such a young child.

For reasons of his own, perhaps because he hoped someday to buy all the Lawrence land in Wisconsin himself, Eastman was very slow in communicating with the Methodists; more than a year passed before he acted. Finally he wrote to William H. Sampson, since 1844 Presiding Elder of the area first called the Green Bay, then the Fond du Lac, Mission District. This man Sampson was to make a great contribution to the University and will soon be adequately introduced. More than half of Eastman's communication was quoted from one or more of the letters Lawrence had written to him and included two sentences from the letter given above. Eastman's letter to Sampson was as follows:

April 17, 1846

Elder Wm. H. Sampson
Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of a letter from a gentleman in Boston, whose name I am not at liberty to disclose, containing the following proposition, which I take the liberty of tendering to you, to be submitted to your annual Conference, should you see fit to do so:

If there is any certainty of a vigorous co-operation of any other body, lay or clerical, I should be willing to put such a sum of money in the hands of Trustees as placed at interest will in ten years amount to \$10,000, and also give (provided there should be no failure in case of my death) the sum of One Thousand Dollars yearly for ten years toward securing a competent salary to such instructors as may be required, or if necessary, I will pay the \$10,000 in cash now to secure the desired object. But all this is founded on the expectation of a similar sum from other quarters. I should have a high opinion of the adaptation of the principles of the Methodists to the people of the west, and I

think . . . from all . . . I can learn, that their institutions are carried on with more vigor, and diffuse more good with the same means than any others. It seems to be decided by experience that all literary institutions must be controlled by some sect and efforts to prevent this have often blasted their usefulness. I wish you to keep this to yourself as far as possible, and at any rate keep my name out of view.

This proposition, it is proper to add, is for establishing an institution of learning at or near De Pere, Brown County, which appears to be a sine qua non with this gentleman who makes it. Please take the trouble to present the above to your Conference. If there is any reasonable prospect of the Society meeting the same with a similar endowment, inform me of the disposition as soon as possible; meantime, I should be glad to hear your views on the subject. Should you write soon, you will please address to Boston, Massachusetts.

H. Eugene Eastman.(5)

On the strength of this letter the Methodists accepted Lawrence's offer, decided to establish a college, and secured a charter for it. We need not give too much attention to the details of Eastman's letter because, about a year later (May 11, 1847), a new document replaced it as the legal basis of action. The offer in Eastman's letter is not entirely clear. It certainly seemed to say that, as one possibility, if time were allowed for compound interest to do its work, the Lawrence gift would amount to \$20,000; but when inquiry was made Lawrence replied: "The offer was ten thousand dollars and not twenty as I see in the newspaper: I am sorry for the mistake as it has been copied into some of the papers here, and makes some of my prudent friends here ask whether I am in my right mind."(6)

Sampson presented the communication from Eastman to the Rock River Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Peoria, Illinois in August, 1846. The Conference was not greatly interested in a college so far from its center of population, especially as it was already committed to an educational program in Illinois. Also, the Lawrence proposal was suspect because it was anonymous. The Conference referred the proposal to its educational committee and it was returned to Sampson with instructions "to secure a correspondence" with the initiator of the project. On returning home Sampson reported his instructions to Eastman, but the latter still refused to reveal Lawrence's name. Sampson "concluded it was all an imposition" and that the whole matter might

5. Copy in Sampson, Autobiography, Manuscript (MS Autobiog.), 1880 and 1882, pp. 77-79; Alumni Record (1915), pp. 13, 14; Alumni Record (1922), p. 10; slight differences in wording.

6. A.A.L. to R. Smith, Jan. 27, 1847, Corresp., vol. I, p. 130.

well be forgotten.(7) Three months later the proposal reached the Wisconsin Methodists by another channel and met with a hearty reception.

After Eastman presented Lawrence's proposal to the Methodists of Wisconsin he had little to do with the history of the University, and he may now be ushered out in a paragraph. For some years longer he had a part in the story of Lawrence's investments in Wisconsin land. Eastman always greatly desired to own the Williams tract and the other property he had bought for Lawrence. He made a number of offers to purchase all this; but on each occasion he could not produce the money stipulated as the first payment. By February, 1851 Lawrence considered all earlier bargains invalidated by Eastman's non-performance and refused to entertain new offers from him. Eastman then began a chancery suit to compel him to carry out one of the earlier bargains. At that time Lawrence was inspired to write: "He [Eastman] is a rascal and I must suffer for dealing with him."(8) The suit begun by Eastman dragged on for nearly four years and during much of that time an injunction forbade the conveyance of any of the lands involved. Lawrence had to tell would-be purchasers that he was not in a position to sell. Eastman eventually dropped the suit. Lawrence, in one transaction, sold the Williams tract and almost all the land he had bought from the government. The deed bore the date June 25, 1855 and gave the consideration as \$15,942.30. This sale ended Lawrence's earliest and largest investment in Wisconsin real estate.

The involvement with Eastman had run only a part of its course when Lawrence entered into a relationship with his second principal agent in Wisconsin matters, the Reverend Reeder Smith. This man was destined to be very important both in Lawrence's financial affairs and in the history of the University. Lawrence's connection with him was to be long, vexatious and exceedingly difficult to terminate.

Reeder Smith was born in eastern Pennsylvania in 1804, the son of a Methodist minister. He joined the Methodist church at the age of ten and in 1831 became a member of the Genesee Conference in western New York. After some years in the itineracy, he became, in or before 1843, the traveling agent of the Wesleyan Seminary at Albion, Michigan.(9) He was in Boston in the summer of 1846; there on July 6 he married his second wife, Eliza Kimball, Bishop Waugh of the Methodist Church officiating. He also waited on Amos A. Lawrence to present the cause of Albion Seminary. Lawrence refused to give to Albion because, he said, he was planning to establish an institution of learning in Wisconsin. Reeder Smith was interested; also, he impressed the Lawrences as having

7. Sampson to A.A.L., Jan. 7, 1847, Corresp. I, p. 119.

8. A.A.L. to Packard, July 7, 1851, Scrapbook I, No. 5

9. Listed in Albion Catalogues of 1843-44 (first one issued), 1844-45, and 1845-46; catalogues for two succeeding years, if any were issued, are no longer available at Albion.

vigor and competence.

The outcome of this contact was that Smith left Boston charged with the double duty of reporting on the condition of the Lawrence lands in Wisconsin and of looking into the advisability of establishing an institution of learning there. As to the latter, Lawrence wrote on August 20: "I intend to transfer to you the proposition which I made to Mr. Eastman and of which I have given you a copy . . . provided you can obtain either from the legislature or from your friends [the Methodists] the requisite sum." (10) Smith was not sent out as a paid agent, though Lawrence occasionally sent money for his expenses. He had "presented himself to Lawrence as wishing to cooperate with him in carrying out his design of aiding the moral and educational interests of the west." (11) Eastman continued as a financial agent to look after the lands purchased by Lawrence up to this time.

Thus commissioned in August, 1846, Smith gave most of his time to Albion for nearly two more years. He interrupted this employment, however, to make several short visits to Wisconsin, during which he was surprisingly active and effective. According to a bill which he later presented, the first period devoted to Lawrence University extended from November 29, 1846 to January 29, 1847. (12) Smith reported from Fond du Lac, December 13, that he had already traveled in different parts of the territory to interest the preachers and people in Lawrence's offer. People had not taken it seriously up to that time because no one had confidence in Eastman. Smith claimed, however, that he had already "effected a change of sentiment." (13)

Smith called on William H. Sampson at Fond du Lac and on Henry Root Colman, a veteran Methodist missionary to the Indians. Colman had been stationed for five years at Oneida and then for more than two at Brothertown on the east shore of Lake Winnebago. Smith organized a party consisting of himself and his wife, Colman, and an unnamed Vermont farmer who could judge land. They traveled first up the east side of Lake Winnebago and then followed the right bank of the Fox. Mrs. Smith seems to have spent the next two or three days at the home of Hoel S. Wright at Wrightstown. The others crossed the river by ferry and continued on to Green Bay on the left bank, passing through the Williams tract and other Lawrence property. Much of the following day, Thursday, December 17, was spent in Green Bay calling on Eastman and others and looking into the records of land ownership. On Friday Eastman and Smith rode over the Williams tract and spent the night at Williams's cabin. Saturday morning Mrs. Smith in her "conveyance" rejoined the party.

10. Corresp., vol. I, p. 80.

11. Corresp., vol. IV, p. 65.

12. Reports of the President (Reports of the Pres.), Aug., 1849, p. 18.

13. Smith to A.A.L., Dec. 13, 1846, Corresp., vol. I, p. 95.

Eastman accompanied them to Grand Chute, the site of Appleton, and John Lawe came on from his home at Kaukauna to the same place. Eastman and Lawe then departed and the others went on to Neenah where they spent Sunday. On Monday Smith, Colman and the farmer returned to have a last look at Grand Chute and then all returned to Fond du Lac. Smith and Colman were now convinced that Grand Chute was the best location for the institution. Sampson did not make the trip with the others; for more than two years he had been traveling between Fond du Lac and Green Bay and knew the country well. In writing to Lawrence shortly afterward he gave several reasons why the Williams tract was not a good location for the school. "The nearer it can be located to the foot of Lake Winnebago" (Neenah), the better. He added that Eastman's management would destroy confidence in the enterprise, but that of Reeder Smith would insure success.(14)

From Fond du Lac on December 22 a call went out for a "convention" of Methodists to take action on the Lawrence offer. It met in Milwaukee, December 28 and 29. No roster of all those present has survived, but lists of committees yield the names of seven persons: five Methodist ministers, among them Reeder Smith, Sampson and Colman; and two laymen. The group voted their thanks to Amos A. Lawrence and decided on the name, Lawrence Institute of Wisconsin. They prepared a memorial to the legislature, drafted a charter and, having a separate committee for this task, chose the thirteen original Trustees named in the charter. Of the thirteen, four (Smith, Sampson, Colman and George E. H. Day) were members of this convention. William H. Sampson drew up the minutes of the gathering and sent an account of its doings to the Milwaukee newspapers.(15)

14. Letters to A.A.L. from H. S. Baird, Dec. 18, 1846; R. Smith, Dec. 13, 31, 1846, Jan. 1, 2, 1847; Eastman, Dec. 23, 1846; Sampson, Jan. 7, 1847; Colman, Jan. 8, 1847. Corresp., vol. I, pp. 95-103; 111-112; 115-119. Besides the four volumes of letters already described there is a bound blankbook into which selected papers relating to Wisconsin were copied. Largely a duplication of material contained in the four volumes, it adds 48 items. One of them is R. Smith to A.A.L., Dec. 31, 1846, Blankbook, pp. 6-17.

Julia Colman, daughter of Henry R. Colman wrote to President Plantz in 1899: "My honored father . . . with Rev. W. H. Sampson . . . travelled on horseback the entire distance from Fond du Lac to Green Bay prospecting for a site" (Nov. 8, 1899, Scrapbook II, No. 11.) There is no other evidence that Colman and Sampson made such a trip together. It seems probable that the two men on horseback were Colman and Reeder Smith, making the trip of December 15 to 21, 1846. Colman was a member of this party but Sampson was not. Colman committed himself to this site immediately after this trip, and later "prospecting" would seem unnecessary. (Colman to A.A.L., Jan. 8, 1847.)

15. For example, Milwaukee Courier, Jan. 6, 1847.

After the convention Reeder Smith went to Madison to have the Charter enacted into law; and a few days later Sampson joined him there. The Legislature of the territory consisted of a house of representatives of twenty-six members and a council of thirteen. Smith, apparently, was rather tactless in arguing for his bill. He quoted the opinion of Amos A. Lawrence that the Methodists "diffuse more good with the same means than any others." Eastman, who was also at Madison, reported that Smith "gave the House to understand" that Lawrence "intended the Institution to be strictly and exclusively under the control and patronage of the Methodists," and "took to himself and to his society more credit and merit than some of the good Catholics and other Christians were willing to allow."⁽¹⁶⁾ Smith should have been more aware of the fact that in a population approaching three hundred thousand there were fewer than eight thousand Methodists -- even with their children, a very small part of the whole. Nor was Sampson more complimentary. "Mr. Smith," he wrote, "was so offensively officious that some of the members of the Assembly [Sampson inadvertently used the word for the lower house introduced with statehood] declared that they would the next day kill the bill and get rid of him, but [through] the influence of Mr. [Elisha] Morrow in the Assembly and Dr. [Mason C.] Darling in the Council the bill finally passed . . ."⁽¹⁷⁾ Henry Dodge, the Territorial Governor, approved and signed the bill on January 15, 1847, and by that act ushered in the corporate life of the University.⁽¹⁸⁾

Shortly after chartering the Institute, the same legislature, prompted by Eastman, established the town (township) of Lawrence in Brown County. It included the Williams tract.

Almost every American college has, like Lawrence, been brought into existence by the passage of a law thereafter known as its charter. At first this would be done by a colonial legislature and later, by that of a state or territory. These charters have been drawn up almost without exception by copying earlier documents of the same kind. The chief models for the Lawrence charter were those of the Wesleyan Seminary at Albion, Michigan, and Beloit; and these in turn were copied from others of earlier date. The use of the Albion charter is easily explained by the fact that Reeder Smith had been employed by that institution for several years. The charters of Beloit and Carroll were available in the Wisconsin Territorial Laws of 1846.

The nature and amount of this borrowing may be shown in the first section of the Lawrence charter. What is quoted is identical with the Beloit charter except for the words in square brackets, which are peculiar to Lawrence. The omissions will be explained in a moment.

16. Eastman to A.A.L., Jan. 22, 1847, Corresp., vol. I, pp. 126-128.

17. Sampson, "History of Early Movement in Founding Lawrence University," MS ("Founding...L.U."), apparently written in 1852 or 1853.

18. General Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, 1847, ch. 1.

Section 1. That [thirteen persons named] and their successors, be, and they are hereby created a body politic and corporate, to be styled the board of trustees of [Lawrence Institute of Wisconsin], . . . and by [the aforesaid corporate] name to remain in perpetual succession, with full power to sue and be sued, to plead and be impleaded, to acquire, hold and convey property, real and personal . . . ; to have and use a common seal, to alter and renew the same at pleasure; to make and alter from time to time such by-laws as they deem necessary for the government of said institution, its officers and servants, provided, such by-laws are not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the United States, or of this territory; also to have power to confer on those whom they may deem worthy all such honors and degrees as are usually conferred in [colleges and] like institutions [in the United States].

What was here copied from Beloit had been used frequently and with little variation by other colleges. The charters of Western Reserve College (1836) and the Oberlin Collegiate Institute (1834) have the same wording. And except for the grant of power to confer honors and degrees, state legislatures, before general incorporation acts became usual, employed these same formulas in setting up business corporations.

There were two omissions in the quotation of Section 1 above. These gaps, in the section itself, were filled by short bits taken from the Albion charter of 1841. The Methodists of Michigan had secured a charter for Spring Arbor Seminary in 1835. By an amending act of 1839 name and location were changed; the institution became the Wesleyan Seminary at Albion. In 1841 the charter was re-enacted, and from this version the Lawrence committee took the following words (the first omission above): "and shall be trustees of said corporation, for the purpose of further establishing, maintaining, and conducting the [institution] of learning, for the education of youth generally." These words, apparently copied by Albion from the charter of Wesleyan University, Connecticut (1831), contain one of the two statements of purpose in the Lawrence charter. A close scrutiny of the words, however, convicts the compilers of hasty composition: they copied the word "further," which was appropriate in a re-enactment but was unnecessary, and indeed had no meaning, in a first charter. Also, in the framework provided by the Lawrence document, "the institution" should be "an institution." The words, "for the education of youth generally," first appeared in the Albion Charter in 1841, and were adopted by Lawrence in 1847. At a later time they were understood to mean that men and women students were on an equal footing at Lawrence.(19)

19. S. Plantz, Wisconsin Magazine of History (Wis. Mag. Hist.), vol. 6, p. 8, Dec., 1922.

The second phrase borrowed from Albion and placed in the Lawrence charter, Section 1, was: "provided, always, that the annual income shall not exceed ten thousand dollars."

A tradition among colleges had been established in colonial times against requiring religious qualifications for students, teachers or trustees. This was a matter that could be dealt with either with a charter or through by-laws. Lawrence expressed itself on this subject in its charter. The following excerpts show that she followed a regular pattern.

The charter of Wesleyan University (Connecticut, 1831) had the following provision:

That no by-laws or ordinances shall be established . . . which shall make the religious tenets of any person a condition of admission to any privilege in said university; and that no president, professor or other officer shall be made ineligible for or by reason of any religious tenets that he may profess, nor be compelled . . . to subscribe to any religious test whatever.

Beloit had the following in its charter:

That no religious tenets or opinions shall be requisite to entitle any person to be admitted as a student in said college, and no such tenets or opinions shall be required as a qualification for any professor, tutor or teacher of said college, and no student of said college shall be required to attend religious worship in any particular denomination.

The Lawrence charter seems to echo that of Beloit in this matter without copying exactly, and in addition it mentioned the Trustees.

No religious tenets or opinions shall be requisite as a qualification for the office of trustee, except a full belief in divine revelation; nor of any students, shall any religious tenet be required to entitle them to all the privileges of the institution; and no particular tenets, distinguishing between the different Christian denominations, shall be required as a qualification for professors in said institution, and no student shall be required to attend religious worship with any specific denomination, except as specified by the student himself, his parents or guardian. (Part of Section 2)

From colonial times onward there was felt to be an appealing broadmindedness in these repeated negatives. It is perhaps fair, and certainly clearer, to say affirmatively that Lawrence required its Trustees to believe in divine revelation; professors must adhere to some Christian denomination (it did not matter which one); and a student or his parents would normally indicate a denomination whose services of worship the student must attend.

Section 2 of Beloit's charter said in part: "That the said college shall be erected on a plan sufficiently extensive to afford instruction in the liberal arts and sciences" The phrase, "the liberal arts and sciences," was in fairly common use. The words were employed, for example, in the charters of New Jersey, later Princeton (1746 and 1748), of Western Reserve (1826), and Oberlin Institute (1834) as well as at Beloit. The authors of the Lawrence charter must have considered and rejected these words. Their formula (giving a second statement of purpose in the document) was as follows: "That the said institute . . . shall be erected on a plan sufficiently extensive to afford ample facilities to perfect the scholar." (Section 3) No earlier use of the phrase "to perfect the scholar" has been found. When the Lawrence charter was re-enacted in 1901, the wordings of Beloit 1846 and Lawrence 1847 were combined in one statement of purpose as follows: "The design and purpose of the said corporation is . . . to found, establish and maintain . . . an institution of learning on a plan sufficiently extensive to afford instruction in the liberal arts and sciences and to develop the scholar." (Section 1)

At Albion and Lawrence certain details of organization or operation were to be identical in practice, though the charters used slightly different words in describing them. At each there were thirteen trustees, of whom seven made a quorum; and they had staggered three-year terms. The Trustees had authority to appoint all officers, teachers and agents except the head of the institution. The Principal at Albion or the President at Lawrence was to be chosen by the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the respective areas. As already noted, the annual income of each was not to exceed ten thousand dollars. Two of these details copied from Albion did not please Amos A. Lawrence,⁽²⁰⁾ and in accordance with his wishes the legislature amended the charter in March, 1849, allowing the Trustees to choose the President, and changed the upper limit on income from ten to sixty thousand dollars.⁽²¹⁾ This amending act was passed before any president was elected or any regular income established. The same act re-christened the institution "the Lawrence University of Wisconsin," a change not entirely pleasing to Amos A. Lawrence. This remained the institution's official title until 1913.

Section 7 of the Lawrence charter required that all funds received be applied to the upbuilding and support of the institution and that gifts for special purposes be administered in conformity with the wishes of the donors. It was copied verbatim from Beloit and was almost identical with parts of the charters of Western Reserve and Oberlin. Section 8, last in the Lawrence document, reads: "This act may at any time be altered or amended by the legislature." In this form it could have been copied from the charter of Carroll College, though Beloit had

20. A.A.L. to R. Smith, Aug. 4, 1847, letter to be read to the Rock River Conference, Blankbook, pp. 45-48.

21. Wisconsin Statutes (Wis. Stat.), 1849, ch. 135.

a similar provision in other words. Such a clause was usually included in college charters after the decision in the Dartmouth College case in 1819.

The inactivity of Reeder Smith from August to December, 1846, caused Lawrence to lose heart and to write withdrawing his offer: to Eastman before January 1, 1847, to Smith shortly after that date.⁽²²⁾ When news of the mid-winter activity in Wisconsin reached him, Lawrence cancelled the withdrawal of his offer. Though nothing more was done for many months after the granting of the charter, and Lawrence had subsequently to suffer many delays and disappointments, he never again considered abandoning the college enterprise.

Reeder Smith left Madison for Detroit about the end of January. In two months he had made the Lawrence offer known to leading Methodists in Wisconsin, managed a small convention in which they accepted the offer, and secured a charter. He had also inspected the land from Neenah to Green Bay and in his own mind had chosen Grand Chute as a site for the University. Occupied with work for Albion Seminary, he did not return to Wisconsin for more than six months.

22. These letters have not survived; they are mentioned in A.A.L to Eastman, Mar. 23, 1847., vol. I, p. 149.



CHAPTER IV

SITES FOR A CITY AND A COLLEGE

(Through September, 1847)

Reeder Smith left Wisconsin at the end of January, 1847 and again, it is assumed, devoted all his time for several months to the interests of Albion Seminary. As the spring passed, Lawrence heard nothing either from him or from the Methodists of Wisconsin. On the first of May he signed a document called an "indenture" or a "deed of trust." Formally, it was a contract between himself and three Boston friends; really it was an offer to any group in Wisconsin that cared to meet his conditions. It carried out a promise made in the letter from Eastman to Sampson of April 17, 1846; and it had a wider appeal than that letter because any denomination might take advantage of it. Also, it put the projected college on a basis secure even in the event of Lawrence's death. The document stated that he wished to found a college on his own and in Wisconsin, "in the town of Lawrence." He had transferred to three Trustees in Boston stock valued at \$10,000. Those desiring to accept his offer were to raise a further sum of \$10,000 and pay it over to the Boston Trustees, whereupon these gentlemen would transfer the whole sum of \$20,000 to the Wisconsin group. The proposal would be valid for a year. These were the terms which the Methodists of Wisconsin a few months later undertook to fulfill.

It may be well to disregard chronology and follow the matter of indentures to the end. The Methodists asked for and were granted an additional six months in which to raise \$10,000; even so, they failed in the effort and on November 1, 1848 the first indenture became void. It was followed by two others in succession, the third naming conditions to be met within twenty years. Eventually, in 1852, Lawrence University received \$10,000 under the third indenture.(1)

1. Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 59-63; vol. II, pp. 183-288; A.A.L. to R. Smith, Apr. 5, 1848, vol. I, p. 210.

Lawrence must have given a good deal of time and thought to the preparation of the first indenture. In mid-July, still having no news of activity in Wisconsin, he was considering the possibility of others than the Methodists taking advantage of his offer. Late in that month, however, Reeder Smith visited him in Boston, and implanted two ideas, each of which had important consequences.

Smith convinced Lawrence, first, that the Methodists of Wisconsin would accept and carry out his plan of founding a college. Lawrence accordingly wrote a letter, dated August 4, for Smith to read late in the month at the annual meeting of the Rock River Conference in Chicago. Lawrence promised that he would cooperate fully with the Methodists and placed the matter of the location of a college in the hands of its Trustees.(2)

Reeder Smith duly presented Lawrence's offer to the Conference. In marked contrast to their attitude a year earlier, they now accepted it with enthusiasm. The Wisconsin members expected soon to be a separate conference and in a meeting by themselves accepted responsibility for the Lawrence Institute. They promised their "best efforts to raise ten thousand dollars by the first of January next as a part of the endowment," and appointed Reeder Smith as Agent to procure the funds.(3)

The other idea that Reeder Smith gave to Lawrence in late July or early August was that the Trustees would without doubt choose Grand Chute as the site of the institution. This French name had been given to the Appleton area in the fur trade period because in this vicinity the river falls nearly forty feet within three miles. Originally, before there were any dams, one could see toward the southwest corner of the present city a considerable waterfall, variously described as from four to seven feet in height. Such a power potential seemed to make it certain that a great city would develop here. Even though the location of the University was really still undecided, Lawrence instructed Reeder Smith to buy land there. From the letter containing that commission flowed great consequences both for Appleton and for Lawrence University. It was as follows:

(To Reeder Smith)

August 9, 1847

Dear Sir

In order to secure a good plan for the settlement which may hereafter be made at "Grand Chute," and also a good neighbourhood for the Institution, if it should be there located, I wish

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2. Blankbook, pp. 45-48.
 3. Two letters, R. Smith to A.A.L., both Aug. 26, 1847, Blankbook, pp. 49-51; Corresp., vol. I, p. 172.

you to proceed at once to the spot, and secure by purchase as much land in that vicinity as may be necessary for this purpose. As there may be an advance in the value of this land, and in order that you may have a direct interest in managing it with prudence and efficiency, I will give you a joint and equal interest with myself in the investment, on condition that you give me your services if required, in looking after this and my other lands on that river in such a manner as shall be satisfactory. You may draw on me at sight for any sum not exceeding two thousand dollars. Of course you will have all the land conveyed directly to me, and send me the deeds as soon as they are recorded. I wish to be advised frequently of your progress.

Herewith I hand you fifty dollars for your expense.

Yours truly
Amos A. Lawrence(4)

One may see from this letter that, in authorizing the purchase of land at the Grand Chute, Lawrence was impelled not by the hope of gain but by his idea of the welfare of the institution and of the community that would grow up about it. That such was his motive is confirmed by a letter which he wrote nearly three years later:

As soon as enough land for the school (and this was the whole object which I had in view in making the purchase: the plan of making a profit on the land was not thought of until afterwards) I stopped further purchases, though the sum authorized had not been expended.(5)

To Reeder Smith the most important words in Lawrence's letter were doubtless these: "I will give you a joint and equal interest with myself in the investment." He saw here a great opportunity, not to promote a college, but to grow rich as the owner of a half-interest in a real estate development in a very eligible location.

Dividing his time between college and real estate business, Reeder Smith was a very busy man for two weeks or more after the meeting of the Rock River Conference in Chicago. From Fond du Lac he wrote on August 26 that he was starting by steamboat that day "to examine minutely for the precise location of the Institute."(6) His presence in Wisconsin occasioned the first effective meeting of the Board of Trustees. The Charter had called for a first meeting at Fond du Lac within six months of the date it was granted. An attempt was made to

4. Original among papers of Case No. 1, Outagamie County Circuit Court; copy in Blankbook, pp. 48, 49.

5. A.A.L. to T. O. Howe, Apr. 23, 1850.

6. R. Smith to A.A.L., Aug. 26, 1847, Blankbook, p. 51.

hold such a meeting on June 30, but the three men present were not a quorum. All they could do was to choose temporary officers, among them William H. Sampson, Secretary pro tem. Sampson, writing on August 25, called a meeting of the Board for September 2. "Rev. Reeder Smith is here entrusted with the agency of the whole matter by Mr. Lawrence and also by the Conference."(7)

At this meeting seven were present, a quorum. They elected five permanent officers, among them Mason C. Darling, President, and William H. Sampson, Secretary. The five made up the Executive Committee. The Trustees "authorized and requested" the Rev. Reeder Smith "to act as the agent of the said Institute in procuring the necessary funds and donations for the endowment of the said Institute in accordance with the action of the Rock River Conference."(8)

The Trustees on September 3 set up a committee of seven with power to locate the Institute. Four days later this committee met at Green Bay where two of the members lived and where Reeder Smith was carrying on negotiations for the purchase of real estate. (Details of these transactions will follow in a moment.) Some of the committee urged a location at what is now South Kaukauna. Smith, we are sure, preferred Grand Chute: on September 7 and 8 he bought three parcels of land there for Lawrence. Since the committee could not agree on a site, they adjourned without coming to a decision and each member was to "use his efforts to get written propositions for location."(9) The only offer resulting from this effort, so far as we know, was one thus described by Sampson: "Mr. [Harvey] Jones of [Neenah] . . . proposes to give forty acres of land in the village plat and a water power sufficient to run four runs of stone from the dam already erected, provided the Institution is located on the land given" (10) It took about eleven months to bring the committee into formal agreement with Smith. On August 9, 1848, at the second annual meeting of the Board, they made a final report: they favored locating a university at Grand Chute.

By the time Lawrence commissioned Reeder Smith to buy land at Grand Chute (August 9, 1847) the north bank of the Fox River at this point was entirely in private hands, having been bought from the federal government in 1845 and 1846. What was someday to be downtown Appleton belonged to John F. Meade. Outlined in terms of later streets it extended from North Division and Elm Streets to a line a little east of Drew Street. To the east lay the property of George W. Lawe of Kaukauna which extended almost three-quarters of a mile in that direction. It

7. Alumni Record (1922), p. 97.

8. Trustees Minutes (Trustee Min.), Sept. 3, 1847, p. 3.

9. Smith to A.A.L., Sept. 14, 1847, Blankbook, p. 53; Trustee Min., Sept. 7, 1847, p. 4.

10. Sampson to A.A.L., Apr. 19, 1848, Blankbook, p. 66.

was bounded on the south (except for a small point) and the east by the Fox River. The north boundary of both these properties was a little beyond North Street. South of the west half of Meade's land, and extending farther west than Meade, was the property of Daniel Whitney. His land had more than half a mile of river frontage and offered the best prospect of water-power development. And north of the east point of Lawe's land was a small tract owned by John V. Suydam. This lay north of North Street and extended approximately from Tonka Street to the line of Leminwah Street.

Meade, Whitney and Suydam all lived in Green Bay and Reeder Smith probably spent several days there engaged in negotiations. At any rate, acting as Agent for Amos A. Lawrence, he bought land at Grand Chute from all of them. The deeds and other public records yield the following data:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Price</u>
Sept. 7, 1847	John F. Meade	149.18	\$472.71
Sept. 8, 1847	John V. Suydam	39.50	98.75
Sept. 8, 1847	Daniel Whitney (about)	19.00	100.00

Each of these deeds included a condition binding upon the purchaser, an obligation in addition to the payment of money. In the Meade document it was expressed as follows:

Condition: That the Lawrence Institute of Wisconsin . . . shall be permanently located upon said land and on failure of said location being made on or before the 7th day of September, 1848, and on repayment of the purchase money without interest, the said lands shall revert to . . . the said grantors.

The Whitney deed required the location of the Institute upon or within one mile of the Whitney land within one year. The condition in the case of the Suydam land was that the Institute should be permanently located upon Section 26. (Both the first two college buildings were on Section 26; Suydam's land was in Section 25.)(11)

A fourth transaction was carried through somewhat differently. George W. Lawe gave bond at this time for a deed: then, eleven months later than Meade and the others, on August 7, 1848, executed a deed. It conveyed to Amos A. Lawrence "for the benefit of the Lawrence Institute" the west thirty-one acres of his property. This was a strip about 575 feet wide, bounded west by a line a little east of Drew Street and east by Union Street, and extending from the river to a little beyond North Street. In this case, too, if the Institute were not located on this

11. Office of Register of Deeds (Off. Reg. Dds.), Meade, 1 D. 217; Suydam, 1 D. ; Whitney, 1 D. 215.

land it would revert to Lawe or his heirs.(12)

When Reeder Smith presented a bill for his early services to the University, the second period for which he asked compensation extended from August 10 to September 17, 1847.(13) The activities just narrated came in the central part of this period and made an impressive record. Within fewer than three weeks he presented Lawrence's plan for a college to the Wisconsin Methodists assembled in Chicago and gained their enthusiastic acceptance of it; he took part in the first meeting of the Lawrence Board of Trustees; bought the land at Grand Chute on which the first plat of the village of Appleton would later be laid out; and secured from George W. Lawe a gift of land on which Main Hall stands today. Then again he vanished from Wisconsin and did nothing more for the Lawrence Institute or the development of Appleton until far into the year 1848.

There is a special problem with respect to one action of Reeder Smith at this time. To it the remainder of this chapter is devoted.

The Diversion of Meade's Gift

It has often been told in connection with the founding of the University that Messrs. Lawe and Meade each offered thirty-one acres to the institution and thus determined its location. The gift from Lawe remained University property; but, so it is asserted, Reeder Smith diverted the Meade gift to serve the real estate enterprise of himself and Amos A. Lawrence. William H. Sampson wrote two brief accounts of the origins of the University and in both of them he asserted that Smith had "swindled" the institution out of the thirty-one acres given by Meade. Later, referring to the combined offerings, Sampson wrote in his autobiography (1880): "So Smith cheated the college out of one half of the donation and took pay for it."(14)

Because the business district of Appleton developed on Meade land, parts of it became very valuable. Thirty-one acres of that tract, more than one-fifth of the whole, would have been a magnificent addition

12. Off. Reg. Dds., 1 D. 252.

13. Reports of the Pres., 1849-1889, p. 18.

14. Sampson, "Founding...L.U."; Sampson, "Brief Sketches of the Early History of Lawrence University," MS ("Brief Sketches"), 1865 or later. Sampson used the word "swindled" in both accounts; MS Autobiog., p. 81.

to the resources of Lawrence University. The important and central fact is, of course, that the institution never came into possession of any such gift. But it seems worthwhile to determine, if possible, whether the University ever had legitimate expectations here. And in view of the severe judgments passed by Sampson and others on Reeder Smith, it is only fair to state as clearly as possible what he actually did, fortifying the account with several quotations from contemporary writings.

Out of the negotiations between Smith and Meade came an agreement, later sometimes called a bond, dated August 30, 1847. Signed by Meade, it stated:

I hereby agree to convey to Amos A. Lawrence of Boston by warranty deed a certain tract of land situated at the Grand Chute in Brown County, Wisconsin, containing about 149 18/100 acres (reserving therefrom thirty-one and one quarter acres which is to be conveyed as a donation to the trustees of the Lawrence [Institute] of Wisconsin). . . .

Eight days later, on September 7, Meade executed a deed conveying to Amos A. Lawrence all the land mentioned in the agreement, none of it deeded directly to the Institute. On the outside of the folded agreement Reeder Smith endorsed a "receipt of satisfaction" which ran as follows:

"Received of J. F. Meade the deed of conveyance of the within described tracts of land as per the within agreement, being in discharge of this writing including the donations therein mentioned"; and he added, "the same being valued at one hundred and twenty-five dollars to the Institution. Sept. 8, 1847, Reeder Smith, Agt. of Lawrence Institute."(15)

Reeder Smith, as we know, had two responsibilities at this time: he was an agent of Amos A. Lawrence in real estate matters; he had also been appointed by two bodies, the recent Conference of Methodists at Chicago and the Trustees of Lawrence Institute, as agent to raise, or help raise, the sum of \$10,000. In his transactions with Meade, he combined his two functions very cleverly. In buying land for Lawrence he paid Meade four dollars an acre for 118.18 acres (this comes to \$472.72); for 31 1/4 acres he paid nothing; but he directed Meade to deed the whole to Amos A. Lawrence. At the same time he entered the name of John F. Meade on the list of subscribers to the \$10,000 fund, as having given \$125.00 (31 1/4 times \$4.00). Smith then asked Amos A. Lawrence to pay Meade's subscription of \$125.00; and this, with some reluctance, Lawrence eventually did.

15. Original of the agreement, with endorsement, among papers of Case No. 1, Circuit Court of Outagamie County; Subscription Book No. 1, printed in Alumni Record (1922), p. 31 (misprints).

Reeder Smith made a similar "deal" with George W. Lawe: he credited him with subscribing to the fund the Methodists were raising and let Lawrence pay the subscription. Lawe insisted, however, that his land was worth \$5.00 an acre; in giving thirty-one acres he had given \$155.00 and he was credited with that amount. The important difference between the two transactions was that Lawe, instead of giving a warranty deed as Meade had done, conveyed to Amos A. Lawrence "for the benefit of the Lawrence Institute" the thirty-one acres which later became the property of the University. Apparently Reeder Smith tried to persuade Lawe to deed directly to Amos A. Lawrence, but Lawe refused to fall in with his plan.(16)

A keen observer of Smith's maneuvers was Timothy O. Howe, a lawyer of Green Bay, who knew all the persons involved. He was later a United States Senator from Wisconsin (1861-1879). A letter which he wrote to Amos A. Lawrence confirms other evidence and in addition suggests that possibly Meade and Lawe originated the whole procedure. There is no other evidence for this point of view. Howe wrote:

Reeder Smith was not only your Agent to purchase lands but he was the Agent of the Conference to procure the \$10,000 subscription on which yours depended. It was therefore not so difficult for Mr. Meade and Mr. Lawe to persuade him [Smith] (while they agreed to convey the lands to you as the consideration for your locating the School there) -- to let you also pay a handsome subscription for them to the \$10,000 fund.(17)

Amos A. Lawrence also summarized what had taken place, in these words:

I am led to believe that the purchases made by Mr. Smith from Messrs. Lawe, Meade and Whitney were bona fide, and he paid them the full value of the lands at that time, or rather I paid the money for the rest. Some of the parties who were desirous to have the school established at that point gave land in order to secure it: this was because they had more land than money, and I paid the money which they valued the land at, to the school, though at the time against my will.(18)

About two years after the events just described, the University laid claim to thirty-one acres of what Meade had sold to Lawrence.(19) There was considerable negotiation with Lawrence on the matter but the

16. Lawe's deed, Aug. 7, 1848, Off. Reg. Dds., 1 Deeds 252.

17. Howe to A.A.L., Dec. 31, 1849, Corresp., vol. II, pp. 49, 50.

18. A.A.L. to Howe and Prescott, Apr. 23, 1850, original letter among papers of Case No. 1, Outagamie County Circuit Court.

19. Trustee Min., Aug. 10, 1849, p. 10.

Trustees naturally refrained from legal action against their chief benefactor. As shown in the quotation above, Lawrence felt that, since he had paid money specifically for it, the land involved was fairly his.

The best support of the claim of the University to the thirty-one acres involved was the agreement or bond signed by Meade on August 30, 1847. But once Meade had given the warranty deed of September 7 the title to the land in dispute rested completely in Amos A. Lawrence. Later there was a long drawn-out lawsuit between Reeder Smith and Amos A. Lawrence, and this matter of the "diversion" of the Meade gift was introduced into it. The judge ruled that "for the purposes of this suit . . . all contracts made between Smith and Meade previous to the execution of the deed were merged in it That deed conveys the land in fee [to Amos A. Lawrence] upon a condition that now seems satisfied."(20)

It thus appears that in denying to the University the possession of this land Smith had done nothing illegal. But judged by broader ethical standards he is certainly to be censured, and the wrath of Sampson and other trustees at the loss of this potential endowment seems natural, even reasonable. One might adduce in excuse of Smith his anxiety to get on with raising the \$10,000; but this is not very convincing, especially since he did almost nothing in that direction between September, 1847 and sometime in the following spring. In Lawrence's mind the community-to-be, later called Appleton, was meant to be contributory to the University. But Smith, it is clear, had other ideas. When Meade signed an "agreement," he had in mind a gift of land; and some time later he asserted that he had given "about thirty acres of land" to the University.(21) It was in Smith's power to turn this gift over to the University in the form of either land or money. Smith chose to deliver to the Institute a paltry sum of money and keep the land for a real estate development in which he had a half-interest.

20. Judge S. R. Cotton, Apr. 27, 1857, MS, p. 8, Case No. 1, Outagamie County Circuit Court.

21. Reported in Sampson to A.A.L., Jan. 30, 1850, Corresp., vol. II, p. 73.

CHAPTER V
SAMPSON TO THE RESCUE
(1848-1852)

The Methodist ministers of Wisconsin and the Trustees of the Institute had both appointed Reeder Smith to raise the money required by the terms of Lawrence's offer. In September, 1847, however, he left Wisconsin for the second time, not to return until the following June. All other interested persons were occupied with their own concerns and, besides, had no authority to canvass for money. The University enterprise again became completely dormant.

In January, 1848 Lawrence inquired of Bishop Edmund S. Janes of the Methodist Church why nothing was doing in Wisconsin. "I have seen a letter," he wrote, "from Rev. Mr. Sampson of Fond du Lac to Mr. Smith in which he says he could easily raise the whole sum required if he could be supplied with a substitute to perform his present duties."⁽¹⁾ As a result of Sampson's initiative and Lawrence's prodding, Sampson was released from his duties as Presiding Elder and about March 1, 1848 set to work raising money for the Institute. From then on, save for an interval occasioned by ill-health, he served the institution in one capacity or another full time for more than a decade. His name used to be placed at the head of the list of Presidents, though strictly speaking he never had that title. But next to Amos A. Lawrence himself, he was the most important among the founders of the University.

William Harkness Sampson was born September 13, 1808 at Brattleboro, Vermont. He came of a long-established New England family, the first American Sampson having come from England to Massachusetts in 1629 or 1630. In the fifth generation appeared Nathaniel, who married Nancy Harkness and moved to Vermont. He was a soldier in the war for American Independence. Thomas, eldest son of Nathaniel, married Eliza Darling, and they were the parents of William Harkness Sampson. Mason C. Darling

1. A.A.L. to Janes, Jan. 24, 1848, Corresp., vol. I, p. 131.

of Fond du Lac was Sampson's uncle.

When William was six years old Thomas Sampson moved to Tioga County, Pennsylvania, and for many years all the family members devoted themselves, according to their strength, to the heavy task of turning forest into farm land. Schooling was meager. In 1826 William went to Elmira, New York where, as an apprentice, he learned the trade of wool carding and cloth dressing. He followed this occupation for more than three years, then gave it up because it was undermining his health.

About this time Sampson became greatly interested in religion and was especially attracted to Methodism. His account of his conversion is as moving as John Wesley's own. At the end he uses a stanza from one of Charles Wesley's hymns. In 1880, more than half a century after the event, Sampson wrote:

I became more and more in earnest as my convictions of the divine authenticity of the Bible increased and during the winter led an earnest praying life though yet without the knowledge of sins forgiven. In May, 1829, while alone in my room just at the break of day after three almost sleepless nights in great agony and almost in despair, the Lord in great mercy revealed to me my sins forgiven and gave me the Spirit to witness with mine that I was his child, and I could say

"My God is reconciled;
His pardoning voice I hear;
He owns me for his child;
I can no longer fear;
With confidence I now draw nigh,
And Father, Abba, Father, cry."(2)

Sampson remained in New York state nine years after his conversion. He joined the Methodist Church and gradually became convinced that it was his duty to enter the ministry. He felt, however, that because of his scanty education he was ill-prepared "for such a high and holy calling." For several years he either attended school or was a teacher. When he was part way along with his preparation, in 1834, he was licensed to preach. His formal education ended with two years on which he later passed judgment as follows:

I started again for the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary to remain till I had a thorough education Had I been directed to the right studies I would have graduated, but the Latin was neglected and when two years more in school had been worked out it was then too late to go back and bring up the Latin Methodist preachers in those days were too anxious to hurry young men into the conference before they were prepared for the work by thorough discipline of mind. I should have graduated I

have no doubt had I been wisely advised and my convictions are that had I done so, I might have done much more for the Church and for humanity Had I graduated I might have made teaching a success.(3)

Thus, in 1838, at the age of nearly thirty, Sampson finished his schooling. In the fall of that year he married, and at about the same time was ordained a Deacon, becoming an Elder two years later. He spent four years in the service of his church in Michigan and Indiana, part of the time as a teacher. Joining the Rock River Conference in 1842, he was a pastor successively in Milwaukee and at Southport (Kenosha); and, as we already know, he became the Presiding Elder of the Green Bay Mission district in 1844. After the Wisconsin Conference was established he was its Secretary for seven of its first ten years.

In his old age Sampson wrote an account of his life. While he gave a fourth of his pages to the part he had played in the founding of the University, his church still stood out above all else in his consciousness: "I belong to the church and especially to the Wisconsin Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church."(4) As he looked back, the mountain peaks in his journey had been revival meetings. Frequently mentioned, also, as matter for pardonable pride, were church edifices erected. We wish we knew more about what he thought. The autobiography begins with a revealing glimpse: "To be! What a world of thought for human beings in those two short words! To the ancestors of Darwin and those of his kith, the ape, these words would mean very little; but to ours there was a world of meaning."(5) Doubtless at that time, 1880, many an elderly Methodist minister would have been equally disrespectful to Darwin. An older contemporary of Sampson, the famous Mark Hopkins, President of Williams College and a Congregational minister, attacked Darwin and later Huxley year after year without ever reading their works.(6) Possibly Sampson, too, had never really studied Darwin.

Sampson was never wealthy but he was able to take advantage, on a small scale, of the rise in land values on the frontier. He lived in Fond du Lac from 1844 to January, 1849 and there acquired "thirty-one acres, a house and two lots in the city, and one hundred and twenty acres about one mile from the city limits." At Appleton, he bought 160 acres from the government at \$1.25 an acre in the spring of 1849. After owning this quarter-section for only a few months he sold the western 120 acres for \$800. The remainder he kept for some time; along the middle of it Sampson Street later appeared. He was one of four who bought

3. MS Autobiog., pp. 63, 64.

4. MS Autobiog., p. 1.

5. MS Autobiog., p. 50.

6. Rudolph, Mark Hopkins and the Log (Hopkins...Log), 1956, p. 28.

the unsold parts of Lawesburg (part of present Appleton east of Union Street) and divided it among themselves in July, 1851. Sampson's share at that time was about eighty lots. His modest success in these ventures is indicated in his account of what later befell him. In 1856 he endeavored to help a fellow Methodist minister in business. In the end he "was fooled out of all [his] property, some \$12,000 to \$15,000."(7)

Sampson was the greatest record keeper in Lawrence's early years and its first historian. The minutes of the Board of Trustees and the Executive Committee from the beginning until 1862 are in his handwriting and amount to more than two hundred pages. As Secretary of the Faculty he also wrote its minutes for many years (1855 to 1858). His first historical composition was a "History of Early Movements in Founding Lawrence University." This summary, of only seven pages, mentioned nothing of later date than 1852 and was probably written for deposit in the corner-stone of Main Hall.(8) Next came "Brief Sketches of the Early History of Lawrence University," which brought the record to 1865, the first year of President Steele. With the deletion of the harshest statements about Reeder Smith, this account was printed in the Alumni Record.(9) In his old age Sampson wrote his autobiography in sixty manuscript pages. Of great value to historians of Lawrence University, it also contributes to our understanding of the Methodism of his time.(10)

Though Sampson lived to an advanced age, he suffered frequently from impaired health. Amos A. Lawrence once inquired of President Cooke whether Sampson would be a suitable person to lead a party of migrants to Kansas. Cooke replied that Sampson "would hardly have the health and strength to endure the labors."(11)

As already stated, Sampson began about March 1, 1848 to give all his time to raising money for the Lawrence Institute. By April 19 he had secured pledges and cash amounting in all to \$8,400. The greater part of his work at that time consisted in selling perpetual scholarships at \$100 each. Most of these "sales" produced only notes providing for payment by installments with interest on the unpaid balance. Meanwhile, Reeder Smith set to work in the East; just when, it is impossible to say. He circulated there a special subscription paper for a

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7. MS Autobiog., pp. 85, 93; records in Off. Reg. Dds., Outagamie County.
 8. Trustee Min., June 29, 1853, p. 87.
 9. Alumni Record (1922), pp. 9-21.
 10. The MS Autobiog. fills pp. 50-109 of a blankbook marked "Records" on the backstrip: written in 1880, except pp. 106-109, which were added in 1882.
 11. Cooke to A.A.L., June 29, 1854, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 149.

Teachers' Professorship or Teachers' Department, and pledges on it added up to \$1,745.00.(12) He also secured, before the end of April, a pledge of \$1,000 from Elisha Harris, Governor of Rhode Island (on which only \$250 was later realized). He then came to Wisconsin about June 1 and gathered in several important subscriptions: Morgan L. Martin of Green Bay pledged \$1,000; Sereno Fisk of Kenosha, \$2,000; and Charles Durkee, also of Kenosha, \$2,300.

The Wisconsin Annual Conference of 1848 (July 12-18) thanked Reeder Smith and William H. Sampson "for their praiseworthy efforts in procuring and presenting to this Conference through the Trustees, the sum of Eleven Thousand Dollars." It also approved the continuance of Smith as Agent: "he is hereby fully recommended to the confidence of those generous benefactors in the east who take an interest in the religious and literary wants of the rapidly populating, but destitute northwest."(13) The Trustees in August made Reeder Smith General Agent for the coming year: practically a reappointment, for they had named him "agent" the year before. They also appointed Sampson "principal of the preparatory department," and directed him to make the raising and collection of money in Wisconsin his chief occupation for the coming year.(14)

On July 19, immediately after the Conference and before the annual meeting of the Trustees, Smith and Sampson reported to Lawrence that they now had "pledges and donations" to the amount of \$11,400. They then asked that the Boston Trustees turn over the \$10,000 in their hands to the Trustees of the Institute as they had an opportunity to invest it at seven per cent. The indenture, it will be recalled, had prescribed that the Trustees of the Institute should at this stage pay their \$10,000 to the Boston group. Lawrence in reply reminded Smith and Sampson of the terms of his indenture, on which, however, he said he would not absolutely insist; but he went on to ask about the condition of the pledges.(15)

Reeder Smith went to Boston to answer Lawrence's questions. Lawrence was very thorough. He had at least one subscriber (Fisk) for \$2,000 investigated by a "Merchantile Agency." Across the top of his record of the interview with Smith Lawrence wrote: "Total amount of subscriptions to the Institute . . . not \$10,000; would not sell for \$3,000."(16) And somewhat later he noted: "Mr. Smith came on to

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12. Subscription Book No. 1, reproduced in Alumni Record (1922), pp. 30, 31; Reports of the Pres., Aug., 1848, p. 6.
 13. Corresp., vol. I, p. 237; same in Trustee Min., pp. 7, 8.
 14. Trustee Min., Sept. 3, 1847, p. 2; Aug. 9, 1848, pp. 6, 7.
 15. Smith and Sampson to A.A.L., July 19, 1848; to same, Aug. 8, 1848; Corresp., vol. I, pp. 233, back of pp. 234, 235.

answer my questions Not satisfactory. Money not raised."(17) Thus Lawrence's first indenture lapsed on November 1, 1848; its conditions had not been complied with.

During this same year, 1848, several steps were taken in the physical beginnings of Appleton. Besides Smith and Sampson, one of the men active in these beginnings was Henry L. Blood, who later served the University with devotion as a steward and local agent. Manager of a hotel in Green Bay, and a Methodist, he was chosen a trustee in August. Toward the end of April, Lawrence authorized Reeder Smith to lay out a village at Grand Chute, and directed him to reserve fifty acres "in the more eligible situation for the College."(18) On August 4 and 5 Smith, Sampson, Blood and a surveyor laid out the original plat of Appleton, which was duly recorded in January, 1849; and a corrected version of the same followed in May. Each copy named Amos A. Lawrence as owner and Reeder Smith as Agent.(19)

This "Appleton plat" was but a small part of a larger Appleton community. It was limited to what Lawrence had bought from Meade and Whitney: it was bounded on the west by the line of the later Elm and North Division Streets and on the east approximately by Drew Street. Before the year 1849 was done, George W. Lawe had laid out a "Lawesburgh plat" east of Union Street. In the following year Morgan L. Martin of Green Bay and others similarly laid out the "Grand Chute plat" southwest of the present county building. No one of these plats was ever by itself a unit of government. The three were combined in the spring of 1853 to form the village of Appleton.(20)

As we have seen, Lawrence regarded what the Methodists had done in raising money in 1848 as inadequate and unsatisfactory. Yet twice in the latter part of the year he showed that he was still hopeful of the future of the Institute. On November 21 he gave Block 3 of the Appleton plat to the Trustees, giving bond to furnish a deed after the plat had been recorded.(21) Block 3 is bounded by College Avenue and Lawrence, Durkee and Morrison Streets. The Conservatory was located on a part of it from 1906 to 1959. And on December 19 Lawrence signed a second

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16. Oct. 3, 1848, Blankbook, p. 81.
 17. Oct. 19, 1848, Corresp., vol. I, back of p. 236.
 18. A.A.L. to Smith, Apr. 5 and Apr. 29, 1848, Corresp., vol. I, p. 210; Blankbook, p. 69.
 19. Off. Reg. Dds., I Plats, 2, 19.
 20. W. F. Raney, "Appleton," Wis. Mag. Hist., vol. 33, pp. 135 ff., esp. p. 142, with map.
 21. Bond, Nov. 21, 1848, Off. Reg. Dds., 1 Mort., p. 481; Sampson to A.A.L., Feb. 25, 1851, Corresp., vol. III, p. 38.

indenture resembling the one that had recently expired and in it repeated his promise to have \$10,000 paid to the Trustees of the Institute under certain conditions.

Meanwhile Reeder Smith concluded various arrangements for the erection of the first college building. On August 14 he made a contract with one William McGregor of Sheboygan that covered carpenter work, painting and glazing. A resident of Neenah undertook the excavation. Smith used Morgan L. Martin's pledge of \$1,000 to buy 160,000 feet of lumber.(22) This was to be sawed at the Oneida mill on Duck Creek, twenty miles northeast of Appleton. Henry L. Blood, with the help of four men and an ox team, began cutting a road through the forest to the mill. The word "shanty" was often used at that time for a wooden building not finished inside. John F. Johnston erected a shanty hotel to house workers on the college building and this hostelry was the center of community life for many months. Here, on October 8, Sampson preached the first sermon in Appleton to a congregation of fourteen persons.(23) On September 8 Sampson "commenced opening the road from the river to the location of the Preparatory building for the Institute and clear[ing] off the campus."(24)

Late in the year Sampson built a shanty on government land north of George W. Lawe's property, a part of which he had given to the Institute. Having thus established his pre-emption right Sampson, as mentioned above, bought this land in the spring of 1849. McGregor and others erected similar shelters. By the end of the year the college enterprise had brought into existence a little community, counting Johnston's hotel, of five shanties.(25)

In the spring of 1849 the Trustees secured a more ambitious title for the college enterprise. By amendment to the charter the name of the corporation was changed from the Lawrence Institute of Wisconsin to the Lawrence University of Wisconsin.(26) Amos A. Lawrence was not pleased with this change.

The first college building stood in the center of Block 3, or "the square," which Lawrence had given to the Institute. It measured thirty feet east and west by seventy north and south, and had its main entrance on the east. The first story was of stone; above were two stories and an attic of frame construction, topped by a cupola or steeple. The contract called for 33 rooms, 3 outside doors and 51 windows.

22. Martin to A.A.L., Jan. 26, 1850, Corresp., vol. II, p. 70.

23. Spencer, Pioneers of Outagamie County (Pioneers), 1895, p. 67.

24. MS Autobiog., p. 82.

25. Spencer, Pioneers, pp. 28-32, 65-68, 77, 256.

26. Wis. Stat., 1849, ch. 133, Mar. 21, 1849.

It was said to be "particularly unfortunate that it [the building] is so low in the ground, viz., from one to two feet below the grade." Exterior platforms and stairs giving access to the second story were considered but, at least at first, were omitted to save money. Heat was provided by many small wood-burning stoves. The height of the four chimneys (thirty feet) gives some idea of the height of the building. Only two stories received their inside finish the first year; the upper part of the building was plastered in the summer of 1850. The wooden part of the building received two coats of white paint, and the square was eventually fenced.(27)

The builders had for their guidance a "draft" prepared by Edward Clarke Cabot of Boston, who was then at the beginning of a long and distinguished career as an architect.(28) Cabot's plan provided for a roof without gables similar to that on the later Main Hall; but the Executive Committee decided on four gables and altered the contract accordingly.(29)

Henry Colman, who first saw the building in January, 1850 when he was a boy of fifteen, long afterwards described it from memory as follows:

The first story, of stone, was divided into chapel, dining-room, kitchen, bedroom and family room with two beds. The second was occupied, except one recitation room, by members of the faculty and lady students. The third, left in "native wood," unblemished by jack plane or varnish, was given to the boys The fourth story was at first given up to ventilation and bats.(30)

In the fall of 1850, after nearly a year's experience in conducting the school, Sampson wrote:

We need another building very much, or we need recitation rooms, laboratory room, etc. etc. which we have not got. Our present building, being arranged and dictated by one who has no practi-

27. Contract, Aug. 14, 1848, with additions of May 1, 1849, Scrapbook I, No. 47; Trustee Min., Apr. 11, 1849, p. 10; Reports of the Pres., Aug. 10, 1849, p. 3, and June 5, 1850, p. 41.

28. Dict. Amer. Biog., vol. III, p. 394.

29. Trustee Min., Apr. 11, 1849, p. 10; R. Smith to A.A.L., May 21, 1849, Blankbook, p. 107. A picture has been published more than once showing this first building without gables; it probably reproduces Cabot's draft. Wis. Mag. Hist., Dec., 1922; Law., vol. VI, p. 16; Nov. 15, 1909, p. 82; Marguerite Schumann, Creation of a Campus, Appleton, 1957, p. 5.

30. Alumni Record (1905), p. 14.

cal knowledge in teaching, is exceedingly awkward and inconvenient in its internal arrangement. He gave us no recitation rooms except the chapel, unless we use the students' rooms, which are too small for classes of many in number.(31)

Up to August, 1849 Smith was in charge of the building operations while Sampson gave all his time to getting money. In May, 1849, when the building was perhaps one-third done, Reeder Smith wrote: "I must meet my contracts to complete the building and I cannot leave to collect till it is finished, and should Mr. Sampson fail in his collections I must carry out the work with my own means."(32) In August, 1849, when Sampson had been soliciting for sixteen months, he reported that sixty-four scholarships had been sold, most of them by himself. He had actually received land worth \$400; cash on installments, \$1,015.09; and interest on scholarships, \$355.85.(33) Apparently, money came in only as a collector demanded payment of pledges.

Progress on the building was not rapid, even by the standards of a hundred years ago. By May 19 the stonework had risen to the top of the doors and windows of the first floor. The community raised the frame on July 3, "and on the Fourth the settlers held an old-fashioned picnic celebration in the building." The reading of the Declaration of Independence was followed by an "oration."(34) The building was sufficiently advanced by September 18 for the Executive Committee to set November 12 as the day for opening the school.(35)

One of the requirements imposed by the Board on Reeder Smith when they named him General Agent in August, 1848 was that he should "report his doings quarterly to this Board."(36) Smith's conduct of affairs during the year of his agency was not satisfactory to the Trustees. As indicated, the building did not progress very rapidly; and changes of plan and perhaps unskillful management made it more expensive than anticipated. Worst of all, he failed to make any financial reports. At their annual meeting, which began on August 8, 1849, the Trustees made a great effort to learn the truth about Smith's management. Mason C. Darling, President of the Board, wrote to Lawrence that a special auditing committee, made up of impartial trustees,

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31. Sampson to A.A.L., Oct. 8, 1850, Corresp., vol. II, p. 246.
 32. Smith to A.A.L., May 21, 1849, Blankbook, p. 107.
 33. Reports of the Pres., Aug. 8, 1849, p. 10.
 34. Spencer, Pioneers, pp. 32, 36.
 35. R. Smith to A.A.L., May 21, 1849, Blankbook, p. 107; Sampson to A.A.L., Oct. 20, 1849, Corresp., vol. II, p. 7; announcement of opening, newspaper clipping, Corresp., vol. I, back of p. 351.
 36. Trustee Min., August, 1848, p. 67.

laboured through the books and accounts of the Agent The disbursements and accounts have amounted to some thousands of dollars, the larger portion of which has been paid out without vouchers.

For various reasons, therefore, but chiefly because of the unsatisfactory state of his accounts, the Trustees discharged Smith as General Agent and put Sampson in his place. Smith left town, Darling continued,

almost immediately after the meeting of the Board . . . without giving the necessary information to the new agent relative to the contracts and agreements, a considerable portion of which are verbal or have been varied since written.(37)

The Trustees still had such confidence in Smith's ability as a money-raiser that they named him Traveling Agent, but under such conditions that he declined the appointment.

Wrangling about the unsettled accounts continued long after the annual meeting at which Smith was discharged. The whole Board having dispersed in August, the Executive Committee took over. At a quarterly meeting held on September 18 and 19, they

called Mr. Smith before them, but instead of meeting them with any apparent desire for effecting a settlement, his course . . . [was] calculated to throw every possible obstacle in the way of its accomplishment.

At another meeting, October 16 to 18,

he submitted a bill differing materially from his former account, many charges being altered and enlarged and new ones added while many credits were withheld.

Three days labor by the Committee produced a document showing receipts by Smith of \$3,089.80 and expenditures, including his own salary and expenses, of \$3,335.93 thus leaving a balance due to Smith of \$266.13. Other receipts were later discovered which more than equalled the apparent debt. Smith terminated negotiations in October by leaving Appleton while the Committee was in session. The Committee's final report, made in June, 1850 after nearly a year's effort, ran in part as follows:

"It has been recently ascertained . . . that many charges which he has made as money paid out by himself was [sic] paid out of materials belonging to the University and some other charges made to the University have been charged to other parties to

37. Darling to A.A.L., Aug. 15, 1849, Corresp., vol. I, pp. 313-318; Trustee Min., pp. 13-20, which include some records of the Executive Committee.

whom they more properly belonged, and also that some items in his bill of charges for travelling expenses had been charged to the Albion Wesleyan Seminary of Michigan and paid by them as was also his salary for a portion of the time for which he is allowed in the bill above alluded to." The committee stated to the whole board "their positive belief that it is the design of the said Smith to delay a settlement of his accounts as long as possible unless they are allowed as presented by him." They therefore recommended that the University take legal action against Smith.(38)

It thus appears that the Trustees made great efforts to close accounts with Reeder Smith in the period between August, 1849, when he was discharged, and the next annual meeting of the Board, which came in June, 1850. The attempts continued, but the narrative need be carried no further for the moment. William H. Sampson later wrote with reference to the inauguration of President Cooke in 1853:

Confidence in the financial management of the enterprise was measurably restored, though all efforts to settle with the first agent had entirely failed. There was more or less discussion in every session of the board on the subject of "Double Entry" and frequently luminous discoveries were made.(39)

Sampson assumed his new duties on August 20, 1849; he had no assistance from his predecessor. As Mason C. Darling had informed Lawrence, Smith had left matters connected with the college building in great confusion. In addition, Smith was so bitter for a time that he said he "would not rest till he saw the building shoved to the bank and down into the river."(40) By dint of great exertions Sampson had the school ready for its opening on November 12, 1849. That day was of course epochal; it marked, to use a phrase of Winston Churchill, "the end of the beginning."

The burden borne by Sampson continued to be very heavy. He had the titles, Principal of the Preparatory Department and General Agent, and was both educational and financial head of the institution. In his old age he wrote of that time: "The task of raising means and supervising the work prevented me from doing much in the schoolroom. The scholarship endowment must be increased, subscriptions obtained, and collections made on scholarship notes."(41) He reported in June, 1850, at the

38. Trustee Min., Sept. 18, 19, 1849, pp. 24, 29; Oct. 16-18, pp. 30, 31; Exec. Com., June, 1850; Reports of the Pres., pp. 24-27.

39. Sampson, "Brief Sketches"; Alumni Record (1922), p. 18, where words after "restored" are omitted.

40. Sampson, "Brief Sketches"; Alumni Record (1922), p. 14.

41. MS Autobiog., p. 84.

end of the first year of instruction , that he had collected \$3,070.86.(42)

In the same month of June, 1850 the Trustees introduced a new scholarship priced at \$50; it was to be paid in three annual installments, the first when ten thousand dollars worth had been sold; and the unpaid balance bore interest at seven per cent. Those who had taken the older scholarships at \$100 might exchange each of them for two of the new. The University sold in all, over the next six or seven years, about a thousand of these fifty-dollar scholarships. For several years they were the chief means of securing money in Wisconsin.

The year 1850-51 was no easier for Sampson than its predecessor, being marked by anxiety, toil and sleepless nights.

I applied myself to my task with the best of my skill and with my means trusting in providence and having faith that God would open the way to success. To meet all these demands I found it necessary to sell my property in Fond du Lac at a sacrifice and work every honest card to get through the year Such was the pressure of these responsibilities on me, that I saw before the year was closed that I must be released from these anxieties or go down under its crushing weight.(43)

He spent the next academic year until April as a pastor in Kenosha. In June, 1852 the University still owed \$471.62 to instructors that had been earned before June of 1851.(44)

The first building was not adequate to the needs of the school, and in June, 1850 an addition was authorized as soon as funds were available.(45) Nothing was done that year for lack of money and the plan of an addition was abandoned; but during the succeeding year a separate steward's house was erected. It stood west of the first building, cost \$774, and was finished by June, 1852. The contractor accepted in part payment a quarter section of land at a valuation of \$320.(46)

As to other matters the year of Sampson's absence, 1851-52, could be regarded with mixed feelings. On the one hand the Traveling Agent had sold 232 scholarships at \$50 each.(47) The Executive Commit-

42. Reports of the Pres., June 5, 1850, p. 41.

43. MS Autobiog., p. 85.

44. Reports of the Pres., p. 54.

45. Trustee Min., June 6, 1850, p. 41.

46. Trustee Min., Sept. 4, 1851, p. 64; Reports of the Pres., June 2, 1852, p. 53.

tee now valued the scholarship funds at \$14,600. How this was divided between cash and promises is not clear.(48) In June or early July, 1852, Amos A. Lawrence consented to the transfer to the Trustees of the stocks worth \$10,000 promised in his first offer and mentioned in his successive indentures.(49) On the other hand ready money was hard to come by. At the end of the school year (June, 1852) the Treasurer had to pay the teachers in part in promissory notes. A committee of Trustees was directed "to borrow \$100 or more for the present use of the Professors and Preceptress."(50) The total of outstanding indebtedness was \$2,668.82. The Executive Committee urged the Board to raise funds, "or in the opinion of your Committee the Institution must sink under its embarrassments."(51)

The Trustees seemed more optimistic in September. At a special meeting they: (1) chose Edward Cooke as first President, though he would not arrive in Appleton until the following May; (2) after Sampson's year in pastoral work, re-elected him Principal of the Preparatory Department; and (3) named John S. Prescott Agent "to procure funds for the erection of the Main College building and for the liquidation of the present debt on the Institution."(52) These decisions meant that Sampson's burden would not be as heavy in the coming year as in his previous period as Principal. Prescott now became the chief money-raiser for the institution and Henry L. Blood was Resident Agent and Steward. Doubtless some decisions on education policy could await the arrival of Dr. Cooke.

Sampson always regretted that he had never completed work for a B.A. degree. In 1856 Lawrence made him an honorary Master of Arts. He continued to teach until 1858 when he resigned to look after certain business matters in which he had become involved. In his last two years as a teacher he had the title of Adjunct Professor of Mathematics. He returned to pastoral work in 1861 and held a succession of charges in Wisconsin until 1882. With the exception of one year (1857-58) he was a Trustee from 1847 to 1884. He spent the last years of his life with a son in Tacoma, Washington, and died there in 1892.

47. Reports of the Pres., p. 51.

48. Reports of the Pres., p. 54.

49. Sampson in Exec. Com., July 7, 1852, Trustee Min., p. 77.

50. Trustee Min., June 4, 1852, p. 74.

51. Reports of the Pres., pp. 54, 55.

52. Trustee Min., Sept. 2, 1852, p. 80.

CHAPTER VI

REEDER SMITH SETTLES ACCOUNTS

Reeder Smith guided the Trustees to the decision that Grand Chute should be the site of Lawrence Institute. He persuaded Amos A. Lawrence to accept this location and led him into a real estate enterprise there. "The town of Appleton," Lawrence wrote later, "was a plan of Smith's." Lawrence's original purpose in developing the village was not to speculate in land but to secure a good neighborhood for the school. The idea of making a profit on the land, he said, came later.(1)

It has already been told how Smith, authorized by Lawrence, bought land and had a village plat surveyed and recorded. He moved his family to Appleton in January, 1849, and began selling real estate; by August of that year he had sold eighty lots. His financial relations with Amos A. Lawrence were soon complicated by additional investment in the local water power and in a plank road company. There can be no attempt here to write the history of Appleton for its own sake. But it seems pertinent to college history to sketch the joint operations of Smith and Lawrence until their interests were at last separated; and to tell how, as a sequel, the long-standing account of Smith with the University was finally closed.

Some buyers of Appleton real estate asserted that Smith had defrauded them. Since Smith was Lawrence's agent, a few condemned Lawrence also; but most people in Appleton believed in Lawrence's integrity and laid the blame entirely on Smith. Charged with dishonesty, Smith was brought to book, first in the local Methodist church and then higher up in that organization. A succession of trials extended over about two years. In the end Sampson reported to Amos A. Lawrence as follows:

1. A.A.L. to Packard, Feb. 11, 1853, Scrapbook I, No. 25;
A.A.L. to Darling, Oct. 1, 1849, Corresp., vol. I, p. 346.

He [Smith] is not a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at present,. . . He has been expelled for dishonesty (I think fraud and falsehood) in his deal with Mr. Miles Kellogg who bought of him as your agent a lot in Appleton, which Smith sold a part of the second time to another man.(2)

Both at the first trial and later, one of the charges against Smith was "fraud in the conveyance of the [Meade] lands." Smith's defense in this matter was that he had been directed to secure all land titles to Lawrence, as indeed he had been; and on this count the church courts did not find him guilty.(3)

Early in August, 1849 Smith contracted for the building of a wing dam. This was joined to the north bank of the river near the south end of Appleton Street. After extending into the river about 150 feet, it changed direction and continued upstream for about 1,000 feet, roughly paralleling the bank. In October Smith had a sawmill erected on the dam near its attachment to the bank.

In Boston in June and July, 1850 Smith persuaded Lawrence to increase his investment in water power. After his return to Appleton, Smith, authorized by Lawrence, contracted for the excavation of a canal, work on it beginning about October 1. It diverged from the north bank of the river, also near the south end of Appleton Street, and ran eastward about a quarter of a mile, or almost to the foot of Drew Street. Between the canal and the river was a strip of land intended to be the site of factories using the water power. The level of the canal was approximately that of the river at the west end of the wing dam. For a time Amos A. Lawrence prized this development very highly. "The water power and the lands adjoining I intend to keep for my descendents. All other lands I am willing to sell."(4)

Dam, mill, and canal all led to further expenditure, seemingly without end. In the fall of 1853 Lawrence estimated the original cost of the dam and mill at \$2,000 and repairs and maintenance during 1852 and 1853 at more than \$2,500. As for the canal, the original contract was for \$2,845; two years later total expenditures on it had come to \$5,681. During subsequent litigation Lawrence asserted: "[Smith] took charge of my lands at Grand Chute and expended large sums of money belonging to [me] . . . in works that have proved worthless and involved [me] in heavy subsequent expenses to no profit."(5) Apparently, as

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2. July 5, 1852, Corresp., vol. III, p. 143.
 3. Smith to A.A.L., Mar. 8, 1850; Howe to A.A.L., Mar. 18, 1850, Corresp., vol. III, pp. 104, 114; Packard to A.A.L., Sept. 23, 1852, Corresp., vol. III, p. 156.
 4. A.A.L. to Packard, May 2, 1851, Scrapbook I, No. 51.
 5. A.A.L. Ads. R. Smith, Amended bill, Scrapbook II, no. 35, pp. 5-7.

money came to Smith from the sale of lots, he spent it on improvements; for Lawrence never received any cash.

Both men realized that this business association must someday come to an end, and both thought in the beginning that the separation would be soon. When Smith was in Boston in late April and early May of 1850, Lawrence offered either to buy Smith's half of the Appleton investment or to sell his own share to him. Smith elected to buy and left for home while copies of the contract, dated May 4, were mailed to him. Doubtless with a sense of great relief, Lawrence requested Smith to return "the power you have to act for me and which is no longer of any force, my interest having ceased."(6) Then came the blow: Smith reneged and Lawrence was still involved where he had expected to be free. He wrote: "I do not like your manner of making contracts and then breaking them: it is a Wisconsin custom."(7)

Shortly after this disappointment, Lawrence sent a young lawyer to Appleton to look after his interests and, so Lawrence intended, to replace Smith. Frederick Packard, the new man, then twenty-three years of age, arrived in Appleton in July, 1850. The agency in Wisconsin, it turned out, could not be shifted from one man to another in any such swift and clean-cut fashion. Reeder Smith remained in the community and continued to give out the impression that there had been no change in his position; and, in fact, Lawrence did not revoke Smith's agency until April, 1851.(8) By withholding maps and papers Smith made it impossible for Packard to do what Lawrence had expected. And in the course of time Smith was able largely to bend the younger man to his will.

After Smith's failure to buy Lawrence's share of Appleton, he introduced a plank road enterprise to further complicate their relations. No railroads were then operating in Wisconsin and plank roads were having their brief heyday. Smith became convinced that this facility was essential to the prosperity of Appleton. In the fall of 1850 he organized the Winnebago and Fox River Plank Road Company, became its president, and begged Lawrence to invest in it. Lawrence refused to become deeply involved, though he subscribed to stock in the amount of \$1,500, not paid up at first.

There was another plank road company in existence which intended to connect Menasha with Kaukauna. Smith felt it necessary to merge his company with this one. He needed \$1,000 as a down payment and persuaded Packard to draw on Lawrence for that amount.(9)

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6. Contract, Corresp., vol. II, pp. 161-164; A.A.L. to Smith, May 14, 1850, Scrapbook I, No. 48.
 7. A.A.L. to Smith, June 6, 1850, Scrapbook I, No. 48.
 8. Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 21, 96.
 9. Packard to A.A.L., Dec. 21, 1850, Corresp., vol. II, p. 300.

Lawrence gave his opinion of what had been done in a letter to Smith.

From [letters received] it appears that you and Mr. Packard have entered into a contract without any consultation with me for building a plank road and a bridge, a step which you had no reason to believe I would assent to, so far as to aid you in any degree [I] am amazed at the impetuosity with which you have ventured to enter into such heavy obligations and have endeavored to draw me along with you.

The draft, Lawrence added, stated that the money was to pay for digging the canal; actually it was for the plank road.(10) Packard later stated that Smith's "use of the \$1,000 draft, which he converted to the use of the Plank Road," was done without his knowledge.(11)

During the summer of 1851 Lawrence refused to pay further installments on the plank road stock. The company, of which Reeder Smith was still president, sued to compel payment and eventually judgment was given against Lawrence to the amount of \$996. Lawrence commented: "Enclosed is the plank road execution . . . a villainous affair not surpassed by any of the arts which have been used to get my money to Wisconsin during the past seven years."(12)

On July 16, 1850, about two months after the bargain from which Smith withdrew, he and Lawrence went over accounts up to April 1; and there was another similar meeting on November 12. This was an important settlement; Lawrence later stated that he had then made to Smith "assignment of bonds, notes, etc. to value of \$5,000 which was the greater part in value of the bonds etc. then received in payment for lands before sold and in part payment of one-half the profits etc."(13) Smith remained in Boston for some days after the settlement of November 12, and on the twenty-third he and Lawrence mutually promised to make a final settlement by March 23, 1851. Lawrence apparently had to put considerable pressure on Smith to get his consent to this agreement. He wrote: "If . . . you should think proper to refuse to make a settlement by returning to Appleton, then our connection must cease entirely from the time of your leaving here."(14)

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10. A.A.L. to Smith, Jan. 18, 1851, Scrapbook I, No. 48.
 11. Packard to A.A.L., Feb. 8, 1851, Corresp., vol. III, p. 27.
 12. Packard to A.A.L., Jan. 2, 1852, Jan. 21, 1853, Corresp., vol. III, pp. 103, 191, 192; A.A.L. to Packard, Mar. 3, 1853, Scrapbook I, No. 25.
 13. A.A.L. Ads. Smith, Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 93-98; quotation p. 98.
 14. A.A.L. to Smith, Nov. 23, 1850, Corresp., vol. II, p. 282.

On March 23, 1851, the day set for concluding the whole matter, Smith was in Boston. He later asserted that at that time he presented complete accounts as required and asked for a deed to one-half of the land to be divided. Lawrence in reply denied that Smith had on this March 23 or at any other time furnished the required accounts. He did tell Smith, however, when he refused to give him a deed, that it was impossible to close up matters in Boston; he should present his accounts to Packard in Appleton.(15) On October 20 of the same year, Reeder Smith and Packard signed a supplementary agreement which provided for naming appraisers and dividing lots.(16) However, steps taken in accord with the agreement came to naught; and the deadlock continued without any new features well into the year 1852. In May Packard reported: "I do not think that Mr. Smith will do anything at present about a settlement with you. He is wholly absorbed in his plank road and has no thought of a settlement of accounts or of a division of property."(17)

At this point (middle of 1852) Lawrence made a move that might under more auspicious circumstances have been important in the history of the University. It will be remembered that in founding the institution Lawrence had set aside shares worth \$10,000 in a New England manufacturing company and had destined them for the University. Lawrence now proposed that the Trustees assign these shares to him and in exchange accept all his rights in the village of Appleton, some other lands of no great amount purchased for him by Reeder Smith, and his interest in the plank road and the water power -- the University to settle with Smith.(18)

Lawrence's offer was in the hands of the Trustees on June 3. Packard met with them on the following day and gave them information about Lawrence's proposition "and the amount and condition of his property in Appleton."(19) The Trustees decided not to accept Lawrence's offer. Sampson gave their reasons as follows:

The Trustees on examination found your matters so involved by Smith, and know from sad experience the difficulty of transacting any business with him without being cheated or having a quarrel that they declined having anything to do with the matter till you had settled with Smith.(20)

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15. Smith's statement, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 14; Lawrence's statement, same, p. 96.
 16. Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 14, 15.
 17. Packard to A.A.L., May 18, 1852, Corresp., vol. III, p. 133.
 18. Summary in Sampson to A.A.L., July 5, 1852, Corresp., vol. III, p. 143; list of lands, Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 7, 8.
 19. Trustee Min., June 3, 4, 1852, pp. 67-74 passim.

) Reeder Smith was so alarmed at the possibility of having Lawrence University as joint owner of Appleton with himself that he took legal steps to prevent such a development. On June 14, 1852 he began a chancery suit to compel Lawrence to carry out the agreement of November 23, 1850 and its supplement of the following October. Pending settlement, he asked for and secured an injunction restraining Lawrence from disposing of any of the real estate involved.(21)

The case of Smith vs. Lawrence lasted in one form or another for five years and was the most important of Lawrence's lawsuits in Wisconsin. (His litigation with Eastman was dealt with in an earlier chapter.) Over the years there was a steady grist of other cases; but except for one begun by George W. Lanphear they call for no attention here. Lanphear was the contractor who dug the canal, beginning in October, 1850. It had been one of Packard's early tasks to settle with him, but by early 1852 Lanphear had "lost all confidence in the many promises made by Packard in Lawrence's behalf."(22) Basing his action on a promissory note that Packard had given him, Lanphear secured a judgment in January, 1852; and on August 7 there was a sheriff's sale that placed a lien on perhaps three-fourths of what Lawrence owned in Appleton. The purchasers at the sale were Lanphear's own attorneys, Perry H. Smith and Anson Ballard. Smith and Ballard later purchased other liens and eventually came to hold claims against Lawrence's property in Appleton amounting in all to about \$2,500.(23) These liens against his property and the injunction secured by Reeder Smith made it impossible for Lawrence to sell his property in Appleton. To a would-be purchaser he wrote in 1855: "All the land owned by me in Appleton is encumbered by suits and, until they are decided, cannot be sold."(24)

In the spring of 1857, when Smith vs. Lawrence was near its conclusion, Lawrence made his only visit to Appleton and to the institution that bears his name. He was in Appleton from Thursday, May 14 to the following Monday. Of what happened on the last half-day, he wrote to his wife:

Yesterday I found my lawyer's office filled with lessees of my Water Power with all of whom I had suits owing to the folly and knavery of my agents. I settled with all of them in fifteen

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20. Sampson to A.A.L., July 5, 1852, Corresp., vol. III, p. 143, corrected from MS, vol. III, p. 75d.
21. Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 7-29; Lawrence's reply, same, pp. 93-98.
22. Smith and Ballard to A.A.L., Mar. 1, 1852, Corresp., vol. III, p. 123.
23. Cooke to A.A.L., Dec. 28, 1853, Dec. 21, 1854, Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 120, 172, 173.
24. A.A.L. to Noyes, May 31, 1855, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 232.

minutes and you never saw men so grateful and they overwhelmed me with thanks and blessings.(25)

Though Lawrence won some victories in the courts of Wisconsin, in the case of Smith vs. Lawrence he always lost. It would be profitless to follow the suit through all its five years and its lengthy record. It should be noted, however, that in presenting an amended bill Reeder Smith added the names of Perry H. Smith and Anson Ballard to that of Amos A. Lawrence as defendants from whom he sought relief. The final decision on all matters of principle was written by Judge S. R. Cotton under date of April 27, 1857.

The main points in Judge Cotton's decision were as follows:

- (1) The agreement of November 23, 1850 was binding. (Lawrence's request to reopen that settlement and go over accounts again from the beginning was denied.)
- (2) The court believed that Smith had offered to settle as required on March 23, 1851; by insisting at that time that Smith deal with Packard in Appleton, Lawrence had been "evasive" and at fault.
- (3) Lawrence had asserted that he had received no profits from the Appleton enterprise; the court believed on the contrary that "not only profits but immense ones have accrued." This statement was based on testimony, taken in January, 1857, evaluating the water power and the lots still unsold and to be divided between Smith and Lawrence.
- (4) Lawrence had alleged fraud on the part of Smith, but had failed to prove it.
- (5) In selling or giving away certain lots, Lawrence had injured Smith and on this count was directed to pay him \$1,326.92 with interest.
- (6) Perry H. Smith and Anson Ballard were ordered to release to Reeder Smith all the "right, title and interest" which they had acquired in the property involved.(26)

The plan of operation for winding up the case was essentially the one provided in the "supplementary" agreement of October, 1851, six years earlier. Three commissioners were to appraise the Appleton lots and other lands and list them in two schedules as nearly equal in value as possible. They were also to compute certain money payments due under the judgment. The first commissioners reported that "they were unable from the indefiniteness of former surveys and plottings and other irregularities in Smith's proceedings to find the lands in question," and asked to be discharged.(27) A second board of three men found themselves able to carry out the order of the court and filed their final report on September 10, 1857. According to this statement, Lawrence should convey to Smith one-half of the property in dispute, pay \$2,832.15 directly to him, and assume costs of \$1,557.30, most of which went to Smith's lawyers.(28)

25. May 19, 1857, Scrapbook I, No. 45.

26. Records, Circuit Court of Outagamie County, Case No. 1.

27. Myers to A.A.L., July 28, 1857; Cooke to A.A.L., July 28, 1857, Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 403, 398.

After the main items of the judgment were made public in July, 1857 President Cooke and several other persons who knew the case well advised Lawrence to appeal, being sure that he would ultimately win out.(29) Lawrence, however, put an end to his Wisconsin troubles in a different manner; he sold all his rights and interests in Appleton to Anson Ballard. This Ballard (1821-1873) was a native of New York state who practiced law in Appleton for some years in partnership with Perry H. Smith. In his later years he dealt largely in real estate. He was a Trustee of the University from 1856 to 1870: that is, at the time of these events. It is probable that Lawrence met Ballard during his short stay in Appleton in May. Sometime in the summer Ballard went East and the two men signed an agreement, September 23, 1857. Lawrence gave Ballard a quitclaim deed to all his Appleton property,(30) assigned to him certain mortgages and other claims, and provided him with a power of attorney.(31) Ballard, on his part, paid Lawrence \$2,500 in January, 1858 and gave his bond for the future payment of \$20,000.(32)

After arranging matters with Lawrence, Ballard turned to deal with Reeder Smith. He made what he called a "settlement of all difficulties" with him and secured and sent to Lawrence Smith's "receipt in full of all claims and demands of every kind against you." It was about February 1, 1858 when Lawrence made a memorandum on a letter from Ballard: "R. Smith has surrendered."(33) In March Ballard and Reeder Smith exchanged quitclaim deeds for their respective properties.(34) As to the encumbrances originating with the Lanphear and other liens, the court had ordered their termination in April, 1857. On October 15 following, Lanphear acknowledged the receipt of a payment of unstated amount and relinquished all claims under his contract.(35) There can be no doubt that Anson Ballard cleared up all loose ends in this connection.

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28. T. H. Ryan, editor, History of Outagamie County, Wisconsin (Hist. Out. Co.), Chicago, 1911, p. 162; Myers to A.A.L., Aug. 1, 1857, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 403.
 29. Cooke to A.A.L., July 23, 1857, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 398.
 30. Off. Reg. Dds., 8 Deeds 496, Oct. 28, 1857.
 31. No copy of the agreement is available; summary in Ballard to Degen, Oct. 30, 1857, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 404.
 32. Ballard to A.A.L., Jan. 14, Feb. 22, 1858, Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 407, 410.
 33. Ballard to A.A.L., Jan. 23, 1858, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 409.
 34. Both deeds recorded, Mar. 10, 1858, 9 Deeds 443; 19 Deeds 439.
 35. Endorsement on contract, Case No. 1, Circuit Court of Outagamie Co.

Lawrence was sufficiently wealthy so that the financial loss at Appleton, if unpleasant, was not crushing. During his visit to Wisconsin in 1857 he wrote: "If I had made three journeys here within the past ten years I should now have owned the lands . . . or had the proceeds invested Each journey would have been worth to me \$50,000. The lands are now worth \$200 m. They cost me about \$20,000 including interest and taxes. The original purchase money which I paid was \$7,000."(36) More than once he stated that his own peace of mind on the one hand, and the survival of Lawrence University on the other, were more important than any financial considerations. He wrote to his agent, Packard, in 1853:

The location of the school there [at Appleton] was made by him [Smith]. But being there, I shall see that it is successful. On its success depends somewhat the character of the town. As to the money value I do not care a straw: it is worse than useless to me.(37)

Four years later, on the second day of his sojourn at Appleton, he wrote to his wife:

It [the University] is a great and good work and I am glad to have had a hand in it and do not regret all the perplexity which has arisen from the land controversies, so that the college has succeeded.(38)

The peace concluded between Amos A. Lawrence and Reeder Smith was soon followed by the closing of Reeder Smith's account with the University, unsettled since the fruitless negotiations of 1849. Smith had made a proposal for settlement in 1856, but his terms were apparently not acceptable to the University. At any rate nothing came of that offer.(39) The movement that issued in a peaceful settlement began, so far as we know, with a letter of Smith to the Joint Board dated April 20, 1858. After referring to his proposal made two years earlier, he continued:

I now waive all further conditions and do hereby present to the Joint Board a full discharge from all liabilities to me for monies advanced or services rendered or for any matter or thing whatsoever, real or personal, up to this date.

36. A.A.L. to his wife, Fond du Lac, May 19, 1857, Scrapbook I, No. 45.

37. Feb. 11, 1853, Scrapbook I, No. 25.

38. May 16, 1857, Scrapbook I, No. 43.

39. Smith's proposal of 1856 mentioned in Smith to Trustees, Apr. 20, 1858; Reports of the Pres., p. 159.

He then proceeded to make gifts to the University which he tabulated as follows:

Balance of account	\$2,551.02
Interest on the above to date	1,488.08
Lots in Appleton (Deed)	600.00
Bond for endowment at 7 per cent interest	2,500.00
	<u>\$7,139.10</u>

"You will please accept the above amount," he went on, "in aid of the funds of the University for Endowment with my assurance of confidence in this enterprise, that it is of God, and will stand. Of this fact I was convinced before I engaged in the early effort of establishing and endowing the same The additional donation is now made as a further demonstration of continued interest and confidence in the future success of the University"

The letter ended with several more piously expressed good wishes for the future of the University.

As Smith calculated, the old debt and the interest on it amounted to \$4,039.10, or about 56 per cent of his entire "gift." The last two items in Smith's list, lots in Appleton and a bond, lead us back to Anson Ballard and Amos A. Lawrence. As part of their bargain in September, 1857 Lawrence asked Ballard to do two kindnesses to the University: (1) to give to it a promissory note or "bond" for \$2,500 secured by mortgage, and (2) to transfer to it his (Ballard's) share of the land between Drew Street and what George W. Lawe had given to the University. Smith did two acts for the University identical with those of Ballard: he gave a bond for \$2,500 and transferred his (Smith's) share of the strip east of Drew Street.

Anson Ballard's hand in these arrangements appears in another way. Reeder Smith's letter just quoted at length bore the date, April 20, 1858. On the following day Anson Ballard wrote to President Cooke. His communication was little more than a list of five enclosed documents, all drawn up for the benefit of the University. They were: (1) a "bond and mortgage" made by Smith, in amount of \$2,500; (2) a bond from Ballard, also for \$2,500; (3) Smith's deed for his part of the strip east of Drew Street; (4) Ballard's deed for his part of the same strip; and (5) Smith's receipt in favor of the University. It is reasonably certain that by "receipt" Anson Ballard meant Smith's letter written the day before.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The strip between Drew Street and the Lawe gift was 58 feet wide at North Street and 76.5 feet at the north side of College Avenue. It also included south of College Avenue Lots 1 and 2 of Block 1, Appleton Plat.⁽⁴¹⁾

40. Reports of the Pres., June 29, 1858: Ballard's letter, p. 159; Smith's letter, pp. 159-161.

Though written evidence is no longer available for every step, one surmises from the above that Amos A. Lawrence, using Ballard as an intermediary, requested or required of Smith these two acts in favor of the University. Lawrence's influence may also have been among the factors that caused Smith to settle with the University; but here we are in the realm of mere conjecture.

At the annual meeting following these events the Trustees passed a resolution thanking Reeder Smith for "his very liberal donation" made in the preceding April which, with other services and donations, "entitles him to be ranked among the University's best friends and liberal benefactors."⁽⁴²⁾ With this action of the board, Reeder Smith should have made a final exit; but he will appear once more.

41. The deeds conveying title to the University were: Smith, Mar. 28, 1858; Ballard, Apr. 19, 1858; Off. Reg. Dds., 9 Deeds 448, 447.

42. Trustee Min., June 30, 1858, pp. 164, 165.

CHAPTER VII

EDWARD COOKE, FIRST PRESIDENT

Edward Cooke, the first President of Lawrence University, was born in New Hampshire in 1812. He prepared for college at a Wesleyan seminary in Maine and in 1838 received the degree of B.A. from Wesleyan University. He spent the next nine years as teacher or principal in two Methodist schools in succession, one in New York, the other in New Jersey. Then, for six years, he was a pastor in the New England Conference. At the age of forty-one he became President of Lawrence. He must have been a person of standing in New England for in 1855, two years after he had moved to Wisconsin, Harvard University conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

No very definite formulation of Cooke's educational aims has come down to us. As first President, however, he assuredly took a leading part in drawing up the rules of the University and establishing the curriculum as published in his time. In them there is ample evidence of high standards and ideals. At the close of his first term as President he reported to Amos A. Lawrence that students from the institution were widely sought as teachers, and continued:

I feel really proud of the character both intellectual and moral of our young men, especially when I see in what esteem they are held by people and scattered as they are like missionaries through this religiously destitute portion of country not only cultivating the intellect, but exerting a moral and religious influence by getting up Sabbath Schools etc., an influence which eternity only will fully develop.(1)

It will be recalled that, in September, 1852, the Trustees chose Cooke as President and John S. Prescott as Financial Agent and Solicitor. Prescott was an important figure in the history of the University for some months before Cooke arrived in Appleton, and for approximately

1. Cooke to A.A.L., Dec. 13, 1853, Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 113, 114.

the first three years of his term as President. He was born in New York state about 1809. His parents hoped he would be a physician, but he took up law instead and practiced successfully in Ohio for some years. About 1846 he came to Wisconsin and had some experience as a lumberman. He joined the Methodist Church and prepared to preach. The Annual Conference of 1849 named him one of the Visitors to Lawrence University; and a few weeks later the Trustees made him one of their number. The Conference of 1850 raised him from the rank of Deacon to that of Elder. He was a leader in the movement begun in 1850 to expel Reeder Smith from the Methodist Church. During the years 1853 to 1856 he acted as an agent for Amos A. Lawrence in real estate and legal matters in Appleton. Nearly sixty letters survive from Prescott to Amos A. Lawrence in which he shows himself bold and decisive, though somewhat harsh with those who differed from him.

Appointed agent by the Trustees early in September, 1852, Prescott devoted the next eleven weeks to raising money in Wisconsin. His success in this short time was so encouraging that the Board held a special meeting on November 22 and took further steps toward the erection of Main Hall. They adopted a building plan and authorized the Resident Agent, Henry L. Blood, to "contract for the quarrying and drawing of the stone, burning of the lime and delivery of the square timber." (2) In June, 1853 Prescott submitted a list of what he had "secured" since his appointment nine months earlier. This list shows the difficulty of knowing the actual financial condition of the University. Prescott had:

Received cash	\$ 2,390.98
Sold Scholarships	1,600.00
Taken Subscriptions	13,211.00
Collected old claims	845.83
Sold to A. A. L. some of the stock received from him in 1852	<u>2,000.00</u>
	\$20,047.81

At the same time another agent had secured \$10,636.04, more than \$10,000 of it in notes. (3)

Actual excavation for Main Hall began in March or April, 1853. The contract for the mason work was signed with one Andrew Gill on April 25, and he must have begun work almost immediately. The University furnished all materials. Henry L. Blood, the Resident Agent, bought stone at the quarry and arranged for its transportation to the site. Items from the list of materials were: about 300,000 feet of lumber, clear stuff at \$8.75 per M; 350,000 bricks at \$4.25 per M. (4) Besides the

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2. Trustee Min., Nov. 20, 1852, pp. 82, 83.
 3. Exec. Com., June 29, 1853; Reports of the Pres., p. 66.
 4. Reports of the Pres., p. 67.

exterior walls of stone there were interior walls of brick built up through three of the five stories. The ceremony of laying the cornerstone took place on June 28, 1853, the Rev. Alfred Brunson of Prairie du Chien being the orator of the occasion.(5) Though not entirely finished inside, the building came into use in the fall of 1854.(6)

Main Hall cost something less than \$30,000.(7) No clear-cut contemporary statement has survived as to the source of this money. Prescott wrote, referring to scholarship money: "We used \$10,000 in the college building. About \$5,000 had been used before and \$1,000 since."(8) By February, 1854 the shares of stock delivered by Amos A. Lawrence in 1852 had all been sold. In addition the Trustees borrowed \$5,000 from Lawrence in 1853 and the same amount in the following year.(9) Perhaps some of the borrowed money was used to meet current expenses. There is no question that the erection of the building severely strained the resources of the corporation. Bills were still outstanding in connection with it in April, 1856.(10)

The vigor with which Prescott urged his ideas made him a leader among the Trustees. He seems to have been the chief proponent of further building and to have carried the Board with him for some time. Within the year beginning in July, 1854 they took several steps toward the erection of one or more dormitories for women. Stone was delivered to the site north of College Avenue.(11) President Cooke was of the opinion, however, that the University needed endowment more than further buildings and held it as a reproach against Prescott that "Not one dollar of scholarship money had been funded up to the time of his resignation."(12) Sometime between July and October, 1855 the tide turned against Prescott and in favor of a more cautious financial policy. Prescott was quoted a moment ago as saying that \$10,000 of scholarship money had been used in erecting Main Hall. Continuing, he

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5. Alumni Record (1922), pp. 37-41.
 6. Cooke to A.A.L., Oct. 9, 1854, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 156.
 7. "About \$28,000," MS Autobiog., p. 88; "less than \$30,000," Sampson, Alumni Record (1922), p. 20.
 8. Reports of the Pres., p. 106; Prescott to A.A.L., Oct. 30, 1855, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 292.
 9. Prescott to A.A.L., Feb. 15, 1854, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 122; Trustee Min., Feb. 28, 1853, May 29, 1854, pp. 85, 97.
 10. Cooke to A.A.L., Apr. 1, 1856, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 312.
 11. Trustee Min., July 21, 1854, pp. 105, 109, 110, 129; Reports of the Pres., July 17, 1855, p. 106.
 12. Cooke to A.A.L., Apr. 1, 1856, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 312.

stated his case as follows:

My Proposition was to use a like sum this year in putting up another building for the females and thus release the present Academical building and square, sell them for about \$12,000 or \$15,000 which they would bring for business purposes and make good the entire fund and be far better accomodated but I was overruled.

The situation elicited the following comment from him:

My connection with the University is about to cease; the ostensible cause, that there is no work for an Agent; the real one, there is not room enough in the sphere of Lawrence University for two such planets as Dr. Cooke and myself and I have chosen to seek another.(13)

On November 15, 1855 Prescott resigned as General Agent and his resignation was accepted.(14) He remained a Trustee and a member of the Executive Committee until September 20, 1856.

Prescott alienated President Cooke and a good many other friends of Lawrence by leading a movement for a Methodist school in the newly formed West Wisconsin Conference. It was called at first the Foster Institute after a man who did not produce the expected endowment; from 1857 on, the Brunson Institute, after the leading Methodist preacher of Western Wisconsin, the one who had spoken at the laying of the cornerstone of Main Hall. This Institute was located on the east bank of the Wisconsin River in the village of Point Bluff, Adams County, Wisconsin, and was half way between Lake Winnebago and the Mississippi River. A committee of four ministers, including Prescott, who seems to have been the leader, founded the school. They gathered subscriptions, mostly in land, and offered the whole to the West Wisconsin Conference at its first meeting in August, 1856. In its first year, 1856-57, the school had fifty students and in its second, seventy. It completed its main building in September, 1859 and remained in operation for more than ten years, or until this building was burned in 1868.(15) President Cooke regarded this Institute as a rival of Lawrence and in the spring of 1856 spent some time at Madison to prevent the Legislature from granting it a college charter.(16) Prescott, not long after, asserted that he had designed the Foster Institute as an auxiliary of Lawrence University, to be under the control of its Trustees. It would have fed students, he

13. Prescott to A.A.L., Oct. 30, 1855, Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 292, 290.

14. Trustee Min., Nov. 15 and 16, 1855, p. 124.

15. Minutes of the West Wisconsin Conference (Min. W. Wis. Conf.), annual from 1856; Lawrence Collegian (Coll.), Sept., 1869, p. 42.

16. Cooke to A.A.L., Apr. 1, 1856, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 311.

claimed, into the College classes at Lawrence and augmented its resources by at least \$10,000. Prescott was of course greatly disappointed when Dr. Cooke and the Executive Committee declined to take over the subsidiary school.(17)

During the summer of 1856 Prescott moved his family to Point Bluff;(18) but in the following year he transferred his interest to Dickinson County, Iowa, where he was a community leader for a number of years. There he attempted to establish "an institution of learning similar to that at Appleton." For a variety of reasons this plan for a daughter of Lawrence University came to naught.(19) Nothing is known of Prescott's life after this fiasco in Iowa.

Edward Cooke could make up his mind to have endowment rather than new buildings, but endowment did not come in his day. The University seemed to have exhausted for the time being the possibilities of raising money in Wisconsin by selling a thousand fifty-dollar scholarships. It was sometimes stated that the scholarships brought in \$50,000;(20) but such was certainly not the case. In 1855 principal and interest amounting to about \$16,000 or \$17,000 had been collected and spent; another \$33,000 was then in the form of "\$50 notes bearing 7 percent interest scattered through the state."(21) During the hard years of 1857 to 1859, it became increasingly difficult to collect money, let alone get new subscriptions. The presumption is very strong, indeed overwhelming, that a large number of the scholarships were never paid in full. Professor James C. Foye, Fiscal Agent, in June, 1887 made an enlightening report on these scholarships. He concluded that payment on many of them had never been completed, but college bookkeeping in the matter had been so careless that definite knowledge was impossible.(22) The receipt of \$30,000 from this source in the five years before the Civil War would have produced a different climate in college finance.

After Main Hall was ready for use in the fall of 1854, the building on the Academy Square became the house of the "Female Collegiate Institute." As the catalogue stated: "The young Ladies occupy a separate building, a little remote from the College."(23) On the even-

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17. Prescott to A.A.L., May, 1856, June, 9, 1856, Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 336, 340, 341.
 18. Myers to A.A.L., Aug. 6, 1856, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 357.
 19. R. A. Smith, History of Dickinson County, Iowa, 1902, passim (see index), esp. pp. 149, 158, 207.
 20. R. Z. Mason, writing in 1902, Alumni Record, (1922), p. 23.
 21. Prescott to A.A.L., Oct. 30, 1855, Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 291, 292.
 22. Reports of the Pres., pp. 713-715.

ing of Sunday, January 4, 1857 this building was completely destroyed by fire. It had been insured in its earlier years, but was not covered at this time; in 1856 no company could be found to assume the risk.(24) This fire was a financial disaster; not only were building and contents a total loss, but income from room rent ceased as well.

After the fire the Trustees decided to divide the Academy Square into lots and sell it.(25) Just how rapidly the University sold these lots is unknown; certainly it gave no signs of affluence. The deed by which John F. Meade had transferred this land to Amos A. Lawrence had included a provision that Lawrence Institute should be "permanently located upon said lands": otherwise the property should revert to the grantor. The decision to sell the square meant that the University was abandoning the Meade land. Meade's heir, basing his case upon the words in the deed of 1847, "permanently located," sought to recover the whole of what Meade had sold to Lawrence. This ran from near Drew Street on the east to Elm and North Division Streets on the west, thus including the business district of Appleton. As long as the suit was pending it clouded the title to all the lands involved. The United States Supreme Court in 1869 decided against the Meade claims.(26)

For years the Trustees planned to erect a new building to replace the one that had burned; but until Ormsby Hall was built in 1889 they never found the means. As a makeshift, however, they bought in September, 1858, a large frame house on the corner north of the present Colman Hall. The land included in the purchase had a frontage of 150 feet on Lawrence Street and ran north along Durkee Street to the alley. The Trustees immediately added "a school room below and lodging rooms above." It came to be called either the Ladies' Institute or the Ladies' Building. The General Agent reported: "We paid for this property . . . three thousand dollars; over two thousand was paid in notes and a horse and buggy belonging to the University."(27)

The connection of Lawrence University with the American Indians is of some interest and brought in a little special income. The Institute's first subscription book, circulated in 1847, stated that its advantages would be available to Indians of both sexes.(28) One Oneida

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23. Lawrence Catalogue (Cat.), Dec., 1856, p. 33.
 24. Statement by William H. Sampson, Appeal of Rev. Reeder Smith (Smith Appeal), Boston, 1859, p. 11.
 25. Trustee Min., Feb. 4, 1857, p. 145; Off. Reg. Dds., 1 Plats 6, recorded Apr. 4, 1857.
 26. Edward L. Meade against Anson Ballard et. al., 1869, 77 U.S. 290, 7 Wall, 290.
 27. Trustee Min., June, 1859, p. 186; Reports of the Pres., p. 192; Off. Reg. Dds., 10 Deeds 211, Sept. 1, 1858.

finished the College course in 1864, and by that time about twenty-five had been instructed in the Preparatory department.(29) Prescott visited the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington in December, 1853, informing him that there were eight Indian "scholars" at Lawrence. A few months later the Commissioner signified that the University would receive \$600 a year.(30) Dr. S. K. Lothrop, the Boston pastor who had introduced Eleazar Williams to Amos Lawrence in 1844, had a life-long interest in Indians. He seems to have been the leader in a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. During the year ending in June, 1859 this society sent \$400 to Lawrence University for the support of Indian students.(31) While it lasted, money paid to Lawrence University for the education of Indians was of considerable importance to the institution. Receipts on this account from the beginning to 1859 amounted to nearly \$3,000.(32) The total received over the years is unknown. Payments from both the federal government and the benevolent society in Boston were later diminished in amount, but were continued at least until 1878.(33)

To increase the supply of teachers for Wisconsin, the Legislature at this time took certain steps that brought money to Lawrence. By an act of Congress of 1850 all swamp and overflow land in Wisconsin then in federal hands was granted to the state. Much of this land turned out to be good farming or timber land. The Legislature of 1857 set apart one-fourth of the proceeds of the swamp lands for a normal school fund, and provided a board of normal school regents to distribute the income to colleges and academies offering normal school training. The Trustees of Lawrence, as early as February, 1857, authorized steps that would bring in normal school money. In March they were planning to erect a building with such funds. In October President Cooke reported that the application for a \$5,000 loan was approved by the School Commissioner, and he recommended the employment of an architect. What followed is not clear. No building was erected.(34) Money was received from the state as follows: July 7, 1858, \$2,400; April 14, 1859, \$1,630; sometime

28. Alumni Record (1922), p. 30.

29. Circular of Endowment Agent of Lawrence University (Circ. End. Agt.), 1864-65, p. 6.

30. Prescott to A.A.L., Dec. 13, 1853; Feb. 15, 1854; Corresp., vol. IV, pp. 116, 122.

31. Trustee Min., June 28, 1859, p. 181.

32. Reports of the Pres., 1859, p. 176.

33. 45th Cong., 3rd Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. No. 39, Serial No. 1828, esp. pp. 8, 9.

34. Trustee Min., pp. 144, 145, 147; Exec. Com., Reports of the Pres., p. 157. Cooke to A.A.L., May 25, 1857, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 381.

before June 30, 1860, \$740; and there may have been later payments. For two years, beginning in the fall of 1858, there was a Professor of Normal Instruction and English Literature on the Faculty; after that for three years the normal work was "distributed among the other members of the Faculty." Then came a series of three one-year appointments, the last in 1865-66, for a "Professor of Normal Instruction."

Edward Cooke's last years at Lawrence were darkened by his inability to solve the financial problems of the institution. He offered his resignation in July, 1858, but at that time the Trustees persuaded him to remain. In May, 1859, however, he repeated his resignation to take effect at the approaching commencement. The Trustees at that time elected no president, but in September they made Professor Russell Z. Mason Acting President. Apparently it was the intention of the Trustees to call Cooke back to Lawrence as soon as there was money to pay him. Cooke spent the year 1859-60 as a pastor in Milwaukee.

In the summer of 1858, soon after his first resignation, Cooke ushered in a most astonishing episode: he authorized Reeder Smith to go out again as a solicitor for the University. It seems that as the years passed Cooke had been somewhat drawn to Smith. Sampson later wrote that Smith "wormed himself into the confidence of Dr. Cooke." (35) In the late spring or early summer of 1858, Smith volunteered to go East to solicit for the University. Cooke did not lay the matter before the whole Board but after consulting with some of the Trustees accepted Smith's offer. A letter of August 12, 1858 from President Cooke introducing him to "friends in the East" may be taken as Smith's commission. (36) Smith began soliciting in the fall of 1858 and continued until dismissed in March, 1861. The goal was at first \$10,000 to replace the building burned in January, 1857, and \$20,000 to endow chairs. (37) Later, the amount aimed at was \$10,000 for the building and \$73,000 for the endowment of five chairs. The East was to give \$60,000; the West, that is, Wisconsin, \$23,000. (38)

To publicize his work Reeder Smith had three pamphlets printed in Boston. They contained much the same material. The first, of 24 pages, was entitled: Appeal of Rev. Reeder Smith in behalf of Lawrence University of Wisconsin founded in 1848 by Hon. A. A. Lawrence and

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35. MS Autobiog., p. 92.
36. Smith Appeal, p. 2, with date Jan., 1859; same letter "Importance and Claims of the Lawrence University of Wisconsin . . . being the Substance of a Lecture delivered at New Haven, Ct. and Other Places . . . By Rev. Reeder Smith, Endowment Agent" ("Importance and Claims"), p. 2, with date Jan., 1860.
37. Smith Appeal, 1859, title page.
38. "Importance and Claims," 1860, p. 7; same in Alumni Record (1922), p. 59.

Hon. Samuel Appleton of Boston 1859. The second and third, of 21 and 28 pages respectively, were probably printed from the same forms through the first 17 pages, and these two had the same title page: "Importance and Claims of the Lawrence University of Wisconsin . . . being the Substance of a Lecture delivered at New Haven, Ct. and Other Places . . . by Rev. Reeder Smith, Endowment Agent." Both of these were printed in 1860.(39) In each pamphlet was a map of Wisconsin and a lithograph showing Main Hall and some other buildings that never existed. The first version of Importance and Claims included a portrait photograph of Amos A. Lawrence.

Smith filled his pamphlets with the most varied material. He had many letters from prominent persons, mostly clergymen, approving the Lawrence enterprise; some had been secured in 1847 and 1848, others were newly written for this campaign. Smith, as a Methodist preacher, also did some "sermonizing," with quotations from scripture and attempts to stir the emotions. Some of his efforts read oddly a hundred years later:

Here is the battle-ground The hosts of Satan are marching upon us in three distinct divisions -- the Papal, the Rational, and the Sensual. Who will furnish the munitions of war for the conflict? The majestic West must be educated. If Christianity does not do it through her literary institutions, Infidelity will.(40)

In the successive versions of this pamphlet Smith professed to give some account of the origins of the University; and yet he omitted all reference to Eastman and Sampson. His narrative began with a letter of Amos A. Lawrence to himself. He also misrepresented his own settlement with the University made in April, 1857.(41) Another instance of his handling of history leads to a short digression postponed until this point when the reader is well acquainted with Smith.

Amos A. Lawrence never stated in surviving and available papers that the idea of a college in Wisconsin originated with anyone save himself. Reeder Smith, however, credits the first thought of the enterprise to Amos Lawrence (1786-1852). He wrote:

The late Amos Lawrence, of Boston, in 1846, at the age of threescore years, conceived the idea of planting this enterprise, upon the distant banks of a river, then lined with

39. Lawrence University has a copy of the second of the three, that is, the earlier of the 1860 imprints, and microfilms of the other two made at the Widener Library. Most of the Lawrence copy was reprinted in Alumni Record (1922), pp. 58-83.

40. "Importance and Claims," p. 13; Alumni Record (1922), p. 79.

41. "Importance and Claims," p. 18.

wigwams, and to be reached only by the savage trail or canoe; a land he never saw but through the vista of the future. As David conceived the establishing of the house of God, and only anticipated its future, as he committed to his son the task of completing it, so in anticipation of this, Mr. Amos Lawrence said: "I have proposed this enterprise to my son, and he will offer to give into the hands of your people, \$10,000, for a college in Wisconsin, to be paid when you raise \$10,000 more for the same object. My son Amos A. Lawrence will make the offer to you, to establish an Institution of Learning, where one will be much needed, and if you go there and meet his views, he will help you with the undertaking, liberally."(42)

In the absence of evidence we cannot know with any certainty whether Reeder Smith's statement is true or false. But there are several considerations that make us doubt it. Smith, as already remarked, was not a careful historian. His desire to make a telling effect leads him into many inaccuracies. The Fox River Valley was not "to be reached only by savage trail or canoe." Smith himself first arrived in Fond du Lac by horse and buggy in 1846 bringing his wife with him.(43) Except in winter, steamboats had plied Lake Winnebago since 1844.

It is noteworthy that Smith's claim for Amos Lawrence nowhere appears in any statement by a Lawrence. It is absent from all the letters of Amos A. Lawrence and from William Lawrence's biography of his father. May we not say that it was not in the family tradition? And while Amos Lawrence took a great interest in the college enterprise and wrote many notes about it to his son, he nowhere claimed it as his brain-child. In fact, he came close to denying such a claim in the words: ". . . my son's offer (for it is his affair and not mine)." (44) To sum up: Smith is not a reliable witness; and for his assertion there is no supporting evidence, especially where we might expect to find it. It must be regarded at least as unproven. Let us now return to President Cooke.

As stated above, Cooke had appointed Smith largely on his own responsibility; he later wrote that he had "permitted [him] to engage in the work for me."(45) When Smith had been working in the East for about a year, a special meeting of the whole Board dealt with the matter of his status. Two members introduced a resolution stating that Smith "is not elected by this Board . . . and that we decline recognizing him as

42. "Importance and Claims," p. 4; reprinted in Alumni Record (1922), p. 63.

43. Alumni Record (1905), p. 5.

44. A.A.L. to L. W. Dexter, Jan. 25, 1849, Corresp., vol. I, p. 257.

45. Reports of the Pres., p. 227.

our Agent." By eleven votes to six the resolution was laid on the table. A second motion, to recall him from his agency, met with a similar fate.(46) At that time, when the majority of the Board supported Smith, Sampson was a member of minority, and perhaps its leader.

Cooke resigned as President of Lawrence in May, 1859 and ended his work soon after commencement. As already stated, he spent the following year as the pastor of a church in Milwaukee. Twice during the year, in the autumn of 1859 and again in July, 1860, he went to New England to see what Smith, now in the second year of this undertaking, was doing. In October, his year in Milwaukee ended, Cooke went East again expecting to spend the winter there and complete the \$50,000 endowment. The approach of the Civil War, however, was already paralyzing business and, convinced that success was impossible, Cooke gave up the campaign. Subscriptions made up to November 15, 1860 added up to \$24,415.(47) Most of the subscriptions were conditioned on securing the whole amount; when the campaign was abandoned these pledges lapsed. The largest in the list were those of Lee Claflin for \$10,000 and Amos A. Lawrence for \$5,000. Within a few years these gifts were made to Lawrence University under different circumstances.

On or about January 1, 1861 Cooke made a financial settlement with Smith who turned over to him at that time one railroad bond worth about \$400 and twenty Webster's dictionaries valued at \$100. Satisfied that Smith could do nothing more for the University in the field, Cooke notified him on March 1, 1861, ". . . that his labors in soliciting of funds and collecting moneys for the Lawrence University must cease from that date."(48) Smith refused to accept his dismissal. A committee of the Trustees thereupon drew up a public notice to be inserted in Zion's Herald of Boston and two other leading Methodist publications. The closing words of the notice were:

. . . The said Smith having signified his intention not to regard the order of Dr. Cooke, this notice is published in self-defence and to guard the public against imposition and injury. Be it remembered, then, that the said Smith has had no sort of connection with this Institution for more than ten years last past, and that no one should pay him anything with the expectation that it will come into our hands.(49)

46. Trustee Min., Sept. 6, 1859, p. 184.

47. MS, bound with "Importance and Claims," Lawrence University Library.

48. Reports of the Pres., Mar. 5, 1861, pp. 227-230.

49. Reports of the Pres., Mar. 6, 1861, pp. 235, 236. No attempt has been made to find this notice in Zion's Herald and other church papers.

Smith was not content to let the record close on this note. In the spring of 1862 he presented a claim for \$2,700 as compensation for "two years or more" of service as endowment agent. He then made the following proposal: "I ask that my Amount of Credit for donations to the University be increased so that it shall be \$10,000 instead of \$7,300 as your records now show; and then all accounts and demands for services are hereby cancelled and discharged." The Trustees accepted Smith's proposal, though four members, including Edward Cooke and William H. Sampson, asked that their votes be recorded in the negative.(50)

Writing in 1880 William H. Sampson summed up the whole episode thus: "[Smith] went east and spent some two years to support his family which according to reports he did finely."(51)

The last known clash between Reeder Smith and Lawrence University grew out of Smith's work as a solicitor in New England. One Isaac Newhall of Lynn, Massachusetts subscribed \$375.00 to the University.(52) In settlement of his pledge, Newhall turned over to Smith a note signed by a certain W. A. Howard of Detroit. It was agreed that when Howard redeemed his note Lawrence University was to have one-half of the proceeds; the rest was to be Newhall's. Smith subsequently bought out Newhall's interest for \$150, secured from Howard pine lands in payment of the note, then sold the lands and kept the proceeds, some \$700 or \$800. Lawrence University began suit against Smith and eventually recovered, including costs, the amount of \$418.20.(53)

Within a few days of the discharge of Reeder Smith, in March, 1861, Cooke separated himself from the presidency of Lawrence, though he remained an active Trustee until 1865. In June, 1860 the Board had elected him President a second time and again named Mason Acting President. Cooke did not accept this second election to the presidency; neither did he decline it at once. He later stated that he had been re-elected "with the expectation that [he] would go East to make up the sum of \$50,000 as an endowment."(54) That enterprise having ended in failure, at a meeting of the Joint Board held March 5 and 6, 1861, he

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50. Trustee Min., June 26, 1862, pp. 219, 220; Reports of the Pres., pp. 266-268. No credit of exactly \$7,300 donated by Reeder Smith had ever been recorded so far as indicated by surviving papers.
51. MS Autobiog., p. 92.
52. Jan. 12, 1860, list bound with "Importance and Claims," Lawrence University copy.
53. The case was begun in Outagamie County, then moved elsewhere so that no papers remain in Appleton. See Circuit Court of Outagamie County, Case No. 1016, Index vol. III, p. 34. This information is based chiefly on Coll., Oct. 1876, p. 15.
54. Reports of the Pres., Mar. 5, 1861, p. 232.

definitely refused the re-election as President which had been hanging fire for seven months. He said: ". . . were I to receive any portion of the current receipts of the College, I should be simply taking so much from the other Professors."(55)

At this same meeting Cooke closed his accounts with the University in a very generous gesture. The University owed him some \$1,374.00, the chief items being unpaid salary and the expenses of his efforts in New England. Cooke accepted at a valuation of \$400 the railroad bond recently turned in by Reeder Smith; he also credited certain sums given to him for expenses in New England. Cooke cancelled the remainder, now \$784.00, and thus "donated" it to the University. By a standing vote the Trustees thanked him for the gift and passed appropriate resolutions of farewell.(56)

After his final retirement from Lawrence in March, 1861, Cooke preached for three years in Massachusetts. Then, for ten years, he was principal of the Methodist academy at Wilbraham, Massachusetts. Lee Claflin, manufacturer and banker, who had proved himself a friend of Lawrence University, became interested after the Civil War in the education of Negroes in the South. He helped found a school for them at Orangeburg, South Carolina, which soon became Claflin University. Under the same management for many years was the state Colored Agricultural College. Edward Cooke was President of the combined institutions from 1874 to 1884. In 1883 there were 424 students under him, two-thirds of whom were doing grammar school work; only seventeen were in college. Besides being President, Cooke was Professor of Ethics and Lecturer on Agricultural Topics. In 1884, while traveling on a train, Cooke was attacked and beaten by a Ku-Klux band. He was taken back to Massachusetts, supposedly dying, but rallied and lived until September, 1888. Toward the end of his life Cooke expressed regret that he had not written books as many of his classmates at Wesleyan had done. A considerate friend replied that "it was far better to make men than to make books."(57)

55. Reports of the Pres., Mar. 5, 1861, p. 232, 233.

56. Trustee Min., Mar. 6, 1861, pp. 201, 202.

57. Minutes of the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Min. N. E. Conf.), 1889, pp. 97-99; Alumni Record (1881), pp. 15, 16 (Cooke's own summary to that date); Simpson, Cyclopedia of Methodism, 1878, p. 254.

CHAPTER VIII

PRESIDENT MASON: THE CIVIL WAR

Russell Zelotes Mason had been Acting President of Lawrence University for nearly two years when the Civil War began. This great struggle called forth efforts and sacrifices previously undreamed of, and in countless ways altered or suspended the processes of normal living. About three months after the fighting began the Trustees named Mason President of the University. His term of office almost coincided with the duration of the war, ending some ten weeks after General Lee's surrender at Appomatox. In judging Mason as President one should always bear in mind not only the financial situation left to him by his predecessor, Cooke, but also the ceaseless impress of the war.

Mason was born in northwestern Massachusetts in 1819. He was trained at a succession of Methodist institutions, including Troy Conference Seminary at Poultney, Vermont and Wesleyan University, where he was graduated in 1844. He then returned to the seminary at Poultney as a teacher of the natural sciences. He took part in the California gold rush in 1849, going out around Cape Horn and returning by the Panama route. It is not known what success he had in finding gold; but he later described how he and his wife came to Appleton "with our babies and baggage and few thousands to be invested in what we thought was a judicious venture for some future day."⁽¹⁾

His excursion to California over, Mason went back to the classroom. He taught mathematics and astronomy for three years at McKendree College, a Methodist institution at Lebanon, Illinois, not far from St. Louis, Missouri. In 1854 he came to Lawrence. At first he taught mathematics and the sciences, then science only. He was named Acting President in 1859 and President two years later.⁽²⁾ In 1861-63 he taught both the sciences and "Ethics and Civil Polity," courses then

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1. Appleton Post, Women's Library edition, Apr. 14, 1900.
 2. Trustee Min., June 30, 1859, p. 182; July 26, 1861, p. 207.

usually given by the President. In his last two years at Lawrence, 1863-65, he taught only Ethics and Civil Polity. In 1866 the University of Wisconsin conferred on him the honorary degree of L.L.D.

Like the other presidents of Lawrence in the nineteenth century, Mason was a Methodist minister. He could and did help to bring students to the mourner's bench.(3) Yet apparently he was, or became, something of a misfit among Methodists. He later said of himself that he "was never exactly predestinated to the Methodist ministry."(4) Why he gave up the presidency is unclear. Without warning, so far as official records show, he presented his resignation on June 26, 1865. On the following day the Trustees accepted it, passed resolutions expressing gratitude and high esteem, and named Steele his successor.(5) Fifteen years later Mason wrote that he had resigned "on account of supposed religious heresies."(6) He must have been persona grata to the Trustees for he remained a member of the Board until 1880 and for three years after 1865 was its President.

As to the nature of Mason's heresy, no definite evidence has survived. It may be that for answers to some questions he looked to science while other Methodists relied entirely on divine revelation, that is, on the Bible. Henry W. Allen, a member of the Lawrence class of 1860 and a student under Mason, spoke at Mason's funeral. He praised him as a most inspiring teacher of science, one who made his students acquainted with Lyell, Silliman, Darwin, and the other great scientists of that time. Allen also remembered after half a century Mason's lectures on the rational necessity of the immortality of the soul, in which, Allen said, he used arguments drawn largely from scientific writings.(7)

After resigning the presidency of Lawrence, Mason remained in Appleton for fourteen years as a businessman. He engaged in a variety of enterprises, not all of them successful. He was President of a company to extract petroleum from the ground near Appleton. He had interests in a wagon factory, a bank, and a company formed to build a railroad spur to serve the factories in Appleton. The name, Mason Street, recalls a real estate development in which he was a partner. He was the Mayor of Appleton for a year and was much esteemed as a public speaker.(8) The panic of 1873 swept away much of what he had accumu-

3. Alumni Record (1905), p. 66.

4. Appleton Post, Apr. 14, 1900.

5. Trustee Min., June 27, 1865, pp. 262, 265, 266.

6. Alumni Record (1881), p. 17, from a MS written by Mason.

7. Appleton Daily Post, Nov. 6, 1907, copying Boulder (Col.) Herald.

8. Ryan, Hist. Out. Co., 1911, pp. 105, 106, 193-217 passim.

lated, and confessing "a total defeat in the business world," he later spoke bitterly of the "money trust resident in the City of New York" and its system of call loans. "I know it took property worth more than forty thousand dollars in my case to pay on demand an aggregate indebtedness of four thousand."(9)

In 1879, after twenty-five years in Appleton, Mason removed to Colorado and established himself as an assayer at Silver Cliff, about fifty miles west of Pueblo.(10) He spent his last years at Boulder, Colorado, and died there October 30, 1907, at the age of almost eighty-nine.(11)

Mason and his trustees were determined that the University should live within its scanty means. To this end they reduced faculty salaries to almost incredibly low levels, and that at a time when prices were rising. Full Professors had received \$800 a year in 1859-60; sometime before June, 1863, or at that time, their salaries were cut to \$500. At the same time Mason's own stipend was lowered from \$1,000 to \$700,(12) and the staff was diminished in numbers. In June, 1862 Mason reported: "We have now reached a point of economy in the reduction of the Faculty when it will be impossible to proceed further in the same direction without giving up the College organization."(13) It was decided to charge the Library Fund \$100 a year for services of a Librarian and \$100 for rent and fuel.(14) Twice the Trustees made plans to sell the land north of College Avenue, or most of it; but nothing came of these manoeuvres.(15)

The payment of teachers partly in promises had begun at least as early as 1852, and this practice became fairly regular. In 1860 the amount owed to the Faculty was \$3,314, and in March, 1861, \$4,044.89 was due to "professors and agents."(16) The Trustees voted in 1862 "that we

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9. Alumni Record (1922), p. 27, a letter written by Mason to Plantz before Mar. 8, 1902; part of the same printed in Appleton Crescent of that date, p. 2.
 10. Alumni Record (1881), p. 18.
 11. Appleton Crescent, Nov. 2, 1907; Law., Nov. 16, 1907, p. 3.
 12. Trustee Min., pp. 177; Reports of the Pres., 1863, p. 288. No lists are available for 1861-62 and 1862-63.
 13. Trustee Min., June 24, 1862, p. 212; Reports of the Pres., June, 1862, p. 239.
 14. Trustee Min., Mar. 1, 1861, p. 200.
 15. Trustee Min., Mar. 1, 1861, p. 200; Apr. 13, 1864, p. 245.
 16. Trustee Min., p. 188; Reports of the Pres., p. 237.

feel truly thankful to see the cheerful, self-sacrificing spirit manifested by the Board of Instruction of this institution and that they are justly entitled to our sympathy and co-operation."(17) Henry Pomeroy had come to Lawrence in 1858 as Professor of Mathematics and Civil Engineering. In 1864 the Trustees, with expressions of the highest regard for him, terminated his connection with the University because they could not pay him if he returned.(18)

Mason's great service to Lawrence University was not in these economies born of desperation, but in the fact that he freed the institution of debt. Not counting the "borrowings" from the scholarship fund, debts amounted in 1860 to about \$20,000.(19) In 1853 and 1854, as we know, Amos A. Lawrence had lent \$10,000 to the University, accepting two notes of \$5,000 each. The University paid interest on this debt for a short time;(20) but by 1863 unpaid interest amounted to about \$4,500. Amos A. Lawrence assigned these notes to trustees in Kansas, who intended to use the money for a building for their state university at Lawrence, Kansas.(21) In the Lawrence University records they were called, toward the end of their existence, "our Kansas debts," or notes "now due . . . to parties in Kansas."(22) These obligations, with interest, made up about three-quarters of the outstanding debt of the University. They originated, of course, in the erection of Main Hall partly with borrowed money.

President Mason went to Boston, probably not long before March 13, 1863, to appeal to friends of the University there. Lawrence agreed to pay the \$10,000 due in Kansas if the University raised \$5,000 in Wisconsin; and Lee Claflin promised \$10,000 for endowment if Amos A. Lawrence gave this \$10,000.(23) Writing in 1902, at the age of eighty-three, Mason stated that he made this trip to Boston before the outbreak of the Civil War. He was certainly in error on this point.(24) At a meeting of the Trustees on March 13, they accepted

17. Trustee Min., June 27, 1862, p. 223.

18. Trustee Min., June 29, 1864, p. 253.

19. Trustee Min., June 25, 1860, p. 188.

20. Prescott to A.A.L., Oct. 30, 1855, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 288.

21. Gov. C. Robinson to R. Z. Mason, Sept. 1, 1862, Scrapbook II. No. 36.

22. Reports of the Pres., June 22, 1863, p. 278; Trustee Min., Mar. 9, 1863, p. 230.

23. Trustee Min., Mar. 13, 1863, p. 230; Reports of the Pres., June, 1863, p. 277.

24. Alumni Record (1922), p. 24.

Mason's report as a challenge not only to raise what Amos A. Lawrence required but to wipe out the whole debt as well. A Trustee committee prepared a report that bordered on rhapsody:

Let it never be said that an enlightened follower of the Wesleys can be indifferent to the sacred and divine cause of education. Let it never be said to our shame and mortification as a denomination of religious people and claiming a divine mission in the world that we suffered a divine moment to pass.(25)

The President of the Board of Trustees from 1861 to 1865 was Bishop Matthew Simpson of Philadelphia (1811-1884). He is remembered as a friend of Abraham Lincoln; and Simpson College in Iowa was named after him. He seems to have been very important in this financial effort. He spoke at a public meeting in Appleton, and the fruit of it was a "subscription list and monies" which he turned over to the University. He also advised with the Joint Board in the evening of the same day.(26) As the next step in the campaign, President Mason set out to visit personally each charge (parish) in the Conference, while a substitute took over his classes.(27) By April, 1865, the outstanding debt had been reduced to \$1,500,(28) and presumably it had been entirely paid or subscribed when Mason resigned in June. Not only was the University for the moment free of debt; the gift of Lee Claflin was, apart from the special Library Fund, the first unit of a permanent endowment.

In early university finances Amos A. Lawrence was of course the most important figure. He placed stocks worth \$10,000 in the hands of trustees in Boston in 1847, and these stocks came to Lawrence University in 1852. In November, 1850 he stated that he had by that time given to the school "Twenty-one hundred dollars more or less."(29) While Main Hall was under construction he twice lent \$5,000; and the later cancellation of this debt made another gift of \$10,000. In making the settlement about real estate in Appleton in 1857 and 1858, he required of Reeder Smith and Anson Ballard that each give a bond to the University for \$2,500. Presumably he might have directed this money to himself. He also gave Academy Square and some other land in Appleton. A circular issued in 1864 stated that Lawrence "gave \$10,000 at the first and other sums amounting in all to about \$30,000."(30) Beyond the summary just given, the details of his giving this amount are not known. Between

25. Trustee Min., Mar. 13, 1863, p. 231.

26. Trustee Min., June 23, 24, 1863, pp. 236, 238.

27. Trustee Min., Oct. 12, 1863, p. 244.

28. Trustee Min., Apr. 11, 1865, p. 260.

29. Indenture, Nov. 25, 1850, Corresp., vol. II, p. 284.

30. Cir. End. Agt., 1864-65, p. 7; same in Cat., 1864-65, p. 26.

1865 and his death in 1886 he gave other sums; often \$500 a year.

Finally, attention should be centered for a moment on the debt of the University in its infancy to New England. Amos A. Lawrence, Samuel Appleton and Lee Claflin were all of Boston; together they gave more than \$50,000. There were also some smaller gifts from the area in this period. Perhaps half the support of the University in its first two decades came from New England. For a generation after the Civil War no large gifts were received from any source; and when a few such were made in the late 1880's, they came from men like C. L. Paine and D. G. Ormsby who had gathered their wealth in Wisconsin.

Lawrence and the Civil War

Lawrence was nearing the end of its twelfth year of instruction when the Civil War began. The conflict could not fail to have a great effect on the University. About 81,000 men from Wisconsin served in the armies of the Union at one time or another. To this number Lawrence made its contribution, both in those who left college and in those who, because of the war, never got there at all. Lawrence men were scattered through many units and fought in every important area. Most of them naturally entered Wisconsin regiments; but a few enlisted in other states; and at least one man served in the Navy and afterwards attended Lawrence. It would be of little advantage, by combing the military records, to follow a large number of these men through the war. A few examples may be given, some of individuals and some of groups, showing how Lawrence men, both faculty and students, participated in the national effort.(31)

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31. Older accounts of Lawrence's contribution to the Civil War by Lawrentians who participated are: Jerome A. Watrous, "The College in Patriotic Service," Lawrence University . . . Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Founding of the University (Semi-Centennial), 1897, pp. 36-39; J. S. Anderson, "Lawrence in the Civil War," Alumni Record (1905), pp. 42-51. Both accounts name many Lawrence men and their units but attribute to the University Appleton boys whose names cannot be found in any University catalogue. Anderson also wrote: "Lawrence in 1860-1870," Alumni Record (1915), pp. 63-67, which deals mostly with the psychology of the war period and its aftermath. Ryan, Hist. Out. Co., pp. 298-345, mentions many college men. The war record of an individual may be followed through by the use of two works published by the state: Wisconsin Volunteers, Madison, 1914, an alphabetical list of all men in Wisconsin units, giving each man's regiment and company; and Roster of Wisconsin Volunteers, 2 vols., Madison, 1886, which, except for

In Wisconsin, as throughout the North, the various localities vied with one another in forming military units. These were offered to the state, which maintained them for a time and then turned them over to the federal authorities. Two members of the Lawrence Faculty were early prominent in such activities in Appleton: Henry Pomeroy, Professor of Mathematics and Civil Engineering, and Ernest F. Pletschke, a German who was Instructor in Modern Languages. At a public meeting held in the Chapel in April, 1861, both men announced that they were entering military service and asked others to go with them. Their "impassioned utterances" raised the audience to a high pitch of emotion and were long remembered.(32) Pomeroy became a major in the First Wisconsin Cavalry, rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and left the army only in 1864 when his health had broken. Meanwhile Pletschke gathered a company which took the name of the Appleton Light Infantry. The men elected him Captain and he drilled them from late April to early July. The state did not accept this company at once because its quota was momentarily full. The unit disbanded and many of its members enlisted elsewhere. Disappointed, Pletschke went to Missouri where he had formerly lived, entered the army there, and died of malaria in October, 1861.(33)

Besides Pomeroy, another officer of the First Wisconsin Cavalry was Nathan Paine. As an undergraduate at Lawrence he had been a part-time teacher. Receiving his degree in 1860, he spent the following year studying law in Albany, New York. He helped raise a company at his home in Oshkosh; rose to the rank of major, and was killed in July, 1864 near Atlanta, Georgia. A member of the same Class, Alfred F. Lamb, was a "volunteer aide-de-camp and scout." Taken prisoner near Richmond, he was confined in Libby prison in that city. There all trace of him ended; undoubtedly he was a casualty of the war.(34)

In one instance the war cut short a professorial career just as it was beginning. An English-born boy named Samuel Fallows was a student at Lawrence from 1855 to 1857. In the first year he was in the Preparatory department; in the second he was listed as "Irregular," which in his case probably meant Freshman with conditions. He then transferred to the University of Wisconsin where he graduated in 1859. In the summer of 1862 he became Chaplain of the Thirty-second Wisconsin

regimental officers, lists men by companies and for each gives an address (often place of enlistment rather than home), date of entry into the unit, promotions, date and reason for leaving the army, or place, date and cause of death. A man's name appeared as often as he enlisted. These two works are of no help in cases where Lawrence men volunteered in other states or entered the regular army.

32. J. A. Watrous, p. 37.
33. Ryan, Hist. Out. Co., pp. 304-308.
34. Alumni Record (1922), pp. 35, 38.

Infantry (Sept., 1862-June, 1863). In the summer of 1863 he took on a double employment: for two successive years he was named pastor of the Methodist Church in Appleton;(35) at the same time he joined the Lawrence Faculty, appearing in two successive catalogues (14th, 15th) as Professor of Natural Sciences and General Physics.

Dr. Plantz later recounted:

He told me that . . . before he actually took up the work of teaching, or at least before he had taught much of any time, he became interested in the matter of raising a company of soldiers and went to the war When he returned he did not occupy the teaching position.(36)

Fallows was a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fortieth Infantry. Most of those in this regiment returned home in September, 1864; but Fallows became Colonel of the Forty-ninth. When the fighting was over, on October 24, 1865, he was brevetted Brigadier General of Volunteers. From 1865 to 1870 he was pastor of two Methodist churches in Milwaukee in succession. In 1875 he withdrew from the Methodist Church to enter the Reformed Episcopal Church, which may be loosely described as a low-church splinter of the Protestant Episcopal Church (formed in 1873). His varied and strenuous career continued until his death in 1922.(37) Lawrence bestowed on him in 1872 the honorary degree of D.D., and he showed a keen interest in the University as long as he lived.

Many a student enlisted in his home community and often was the only Lawrence man in his company; but there were at least two units containing many Lawrence men: Company E of the Sixth Wisconsin, and Company E of the Fortieth Wisconsin, both infantry regiments. The Sixth in time became a very famous regiment, a part of the renowned Iron Brigade. In late June or early July, 1861, twenty-nine persons with homes in Appleton or (in a few cases) college students, became members of Company E of the Sixth. Some of them had drilled in Pletschke's Appleton Light Infantry. The captain of this company during the middle period of the war was Joseph H. Marston, not connected with the University, but long a businessman in Appleton. Of the twenty-nine from Appleton, seven had been enrolled at Lawrence, most of them in the Preparatory department. Among the seven was Jerome A. Watrous, who in 1864 was promoted Adjutant of the Sixth. Watrous was State Commander of the G.A.R. in 1894. At Lawrence's semi-centennial in 1897 he reviewed Lawrence's part in the Civil War.

35. Minutes of the Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Min. Wis. Conf.), 1863, p. 7; 1864, p. 7.

36. Plantz to Alice K. Fallows, Dec. 23, 1923, No. 14,522.

37. Dict. Am. Biog. VI; New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, IV.

The largest concentration of Lawrence men in an army unit was in Company E of the Fortieth, a regiment of one-hundred-day men serving from May to September, 1864. As already noted, Samuel Fallows was a Lieutenant-Colonel in this regiment; and he probably had a hand in raising Company E. It included forty-four men of Appleton or Lawrence, and twenty-three of them were Lawrence students. Two of the officers, Captain John H. Hauser and Second-Lieutenant Mason D. Sampson, son of William H. Sampson, were Lawrence men who had already seen service. Both were mustered out in September, 1864, when their time had expired, and graduated in 1865. Also in this company were three sons of Matthew Himebaugh, a Methodist minister and a Trustee of the University. The second, who was due to graduate in 1865, had he returned from military service, died of malarial fever in Tennessee in August, 1864. Two members of the company, a Freshman and a Junior, in 1863-64, after the perils of war, returned to Lawrence and died of smallpox, probably in Main Hall, in the spring of 1865.

Besides material of this sort there are certain statistics showing the effects of the war upon the young University. The accompanying table shows the number of men and women in college from 1856 to 1872. In the academic year 1856-57 Lawrence had its largest college enrollment thus far: 76 men and 84 women. There would not be as many men in college again until 1871-72, nor as large a total of men and women together until 1900-01. The high point of 1857 was doubtless due to the prosperity of the years just preceding; and the subsequent decline came with the hard times of 1857 to 1859, the so-called panic of 1857. The decrease in the number of women in college just before the Civil War may have been in part a consequence of the burning in 1857 of the building that housed women students. Whatever the cause, there was a decline from the peak of that year in the numbers of both men and women. For men the decline continued, except for two insignificant increases, until it reached a low point of 28 in 1865-66. The number of women, on the other hand, after reaching a low of 37 in 1860-61, increased during the first three years of the war. For six years (1861-67) there were more women than men in college and for two years (1864-66), more than twice as many. The attendance of men during the war years was 57 per cent of what it had been during the preceding four years. Women in college were actually more numerous during the war than in the preceding quadrennium.

The number of students in the Preparatory department had been 254 in 1856-57. It fluctuated during the war years between 144 and 192. The men in the Senior class of this department, most of whom would be old enough for military service, varied in number during the war years between 18 (1861-62) and 27 (1864-65).

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY

Men and women in college 1856-1872, and Senior men
in the Preparatory department, 1860-1865

<u>In Academic Year Ending</u> <u>Late in June</u>	<u>Men in</u> <u>College</u>	<u>Women in</u> <u>College</u>	<u>Men in Senior</u> <u>Class Preparatory</u>
1857	76	84	
1858	71	61	
1859	66	46	
1860	70	59	18
1861	50	37	31
1862	43	48	18
1863	35	55	25
1864	39	69	20
1865	30	67	27
1866	28	59	
1867	33	62	
1868	49	32	
1869	66	29	
1870	67	34	
1871	75	46	
1872	89	32	

The numbers for College include the four College classes and a group of irregulars, also counted as College students, and listed as "University Students." Seniors and Juniors in the Preparatory department were not listed separately until 1860. All figures were taken from the University catalogues.

Unfortunately no contemporary counted the Lawrence men who served in the Civil War and it is impossible to compile a complete list of them now. J. A. Watrous asserted in 1897 that they numbered "three or four hundred."(38) This estimate seems much too high. For the alumni, definite figures are available. No member of the class of 1857 did military service, but every class from 1858 to 1870 inclusive contributed to the army. The class of 1870 brought the number of male graduates to 78; of these 29 (37 per cent) had a war record.(39)

During the winter of 1865-66 there were in the College and Preparatory departments together "from 45 to 48 young men who had been in the army."(40) There were ex-soldiers in the University down to 1870. One who graduated in that year later wrote:

Many a Saturday night when the week's work was done, a group of choice spirits would gather in one or another of the dormitory rooms [in Main Hall], exchange army experiences, and sing the war songs of that period till the walls of the old building trembled. Not many of these remained to graduate . . . and after a year or two of study and preparation they went out from the college and took up the lines of work they had determined to follow.(41)

Eventually the war generation passed from the scene; but for many years, in meetings of the literary societies and at commencements the individual experiences and the sacrifices of the war period were recited anew and the memory of them kept alive.(42)

38. Semi-Centennial, 1897, p. 37.

39. Anderson, Alumni Record (1905), p. 52.

40. Anderson, Alumni Record (1905), p. 48.

41. Anderson, Alumni Record (1905), p. 49.

42. A note may be appended here about a matter that, if it were more substantial, would be an interesting addition to the history of the presidencies of Cooke and Mason: the legend that Main Hall was a station on the Underground Railroad and that fugitive slaves reached it by way of a tunnel from the Fox River. This writer has found no contemporary evidence for the tale. Such an activity is not mentioned in the reminiscences of early Lawrentians or of early residents of the community. In fact the first known reference to the subject was in the Lawrentian in the time of President Wriston.

Compared, for example, with Oberlin College and community, the early days of Lawrence and Appleton are not well documented. Here, there is little from the first two presidencies except the correspondence with Amos A. Lawrence, the official records of the University, and the Appleton Crescent which began publication on February 10, 1853. This is not to say that the needed evidence

will never be uncovered; but until that occurs this apparently late-invented story must be regarded as an instance of ill-founded local piety.

CHAPTER IX
FOUR PRESIDENTS AND ONE PROFESSOR
(1865-1894)

It is not easy to recapture the mind of Lawrence University as it was in the generation after the Civil War. One approach is through the biographies of the four Presidents of the time: Steele, Huntley, Raymond and Gallagher. This chapter will sketch their careers, especially before they came to Lawrence; note the books they wrote, all published after they left Lawrence; and where possible give some of their ideas about education. One professor, Wesley C. Sawyer, will be similarly dealt with, partly because, as the first American on the staff with a European training, he introduced a new element into the intellectual community; partly because his experience at Lawrence throws light on the institution itself.

George McKendree Steele, third President of Lawrence, was born in Vermont in 1823. His father, an itinerant Methodist preacher, gave him the names of two bishops of his church, George and McKendree. From his ninth year until he came of age he worked on a farm, and his schooling "was limited to about twelve weeks in the winter of each year, one year at a seminary and some experience as a teacher of a district school."⁽¹⁾ After reaching his majority he spent two years at a preparatory school and four at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, where he was graduated in 1850. For the next three years he taught mathematics and Latin at the Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham, Mas-

1. Alumni Record (1881), p. 17.

sachusetts. Meanwhile he joined the New England Conference of the Methodist Church and he spent the next twelve years in a succession of pastoral charges in eastern Massachusetts. For a time during this period he was one of three, all graduates of Wesleyan, who "met weekly to read Greek and Hebrew together and discuss the various problems of knowledge." This "Triangle Club" was said to have had a great leavening influence on New England Methodism.(2)

Besides a few fragments, only eight of Steele's annual reports as President of Lawrence University have survived, but in these documents he revealed sufficiently many of his hopes and ideals for the University. Once when he had emphasized more endowment as the paramount need of the University, he added: "By this I do not mean that there is to be any neglect of those literary, scientific and scholarly objects which it is the sole aim of the institution to compass."(3) When criticized for the poor appearance of buildings and grounds, Steele countered: "I may plead in partial mitigation [that] . . . the most essential thing in a college is its scholarship."(4) Though he was a Methodist minister he never intermingled religious and intellectual data. In reporting to the Trustees he did not, for example, mention the revival meetings and conversions of the year as other early presidents usually did.

Steele had many plans for the broadening of the curriculum but his constructive imagination was always the prisoner of poverty. His reports were studded with such remarks as: "Other changes are in contemplation as soon as our pecuniary means will warrant,"(5) and "A good grade of scholarship is maintained but the range of studies is too narrow. To change requires money."(6) This urge to have more income led to unfortunate financial steps, as will be recounted in the following chapter.

Steele had little trouble with the behavior of students, doubtless largely because he reposed confidence in them. He once reported:

During the year [1873-74] some changes have been made in the government of the students Of [these] the principal has been removing some of the restrictions in the college classes in the intercourse of the sexes. The ladies and gentlemen in these

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2. Alumni Record (1881), pp. 17, 18; S. Plantz, "Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters Transactions," vol. 14, 1904, pp. 678-682.
 3. Reports of the Pres., June, 1879, p. 447.
 4. Reports of the Pres., 1877, p. 413.
 5. Reports of the Pres., 1874, p. 350.
 6. Reports of the Pres., 1878, p. 427.

classes are permitted without special excuse to associate subject only to the rules of study hours and such rules of propriety as are observed ordinarily in good society.(7)

To maintain proper conduct he relied on the influence of the older students and he looked forward to some form of student self-government.(8)

Steele must have been a very great teacher. Students in later life often express appreciation of their college teachers; but after Steele's death the chorus of praise for him was something without parallel. Many tributes were published in the Methodist periodical of Boston, Zion's Herald; and some of these, with others, appeared in the Lawrentian. One example must suffice. Olin A. Curtis, a Lawrence graduate of 1877, studied abroad and eventually became a distinguished Professor of Theology. He wrote:

In twelve years of student life, in four countries, I have had twenty-eight teachers. But I have not the least hesitation in saying that George M. Steele was the greatest teacher of them all He could create for a student a new world His classroom was a place of large horizons.(9)

That President Steele emphasized the centrality of the intellect in the college enterprise did not mean any dereliction of his duty as a Methodist minister. He often preached and every year arranged for revival meetings in the University. Lawrence began to observe the "Day of Prayer for Colleges" in his time. Until the end of his presidency he regularly conducted a prayer meeting on Wednesday evening and a Methodist class meeting on Saturday evening.(10)

Steele took seriously his duties as a citizen. He sought apparently to put into practice the theory he expounded in the classroom. In a public speech he once "demolished" the doctrine of free trade.(11) In the fall of 1877 he probably led in organizing an Appleton Greenback Association of which he was President. The Milwaukee manufacturer, Edward P. Allis, headed the party's state ticket and Steele was its candidate for the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction. About one-eighth of the voters favored this party.

7. Reports of the Pres., June, 1874, p. 350.

8. Reports of the Pres., 1874, pp. 367, 368.

9. Law., Feb., 1902, p. 102; same in Alumni Record (1905), p. 68.

10. F.M., Sept. 22, 1879.

11. Coll., Feb., 1871, p. 133.

In the beginning of his eighth year at Lawrence Steele made a trip to Europe. He was absent from Appleton for about four and one-half months; from July 12 to November 28, 1873. He reported that "had a long, grand and refreshing holiday."(12)

After he left Lawrence Steele was Principal of Wilbraham Academy for thirteen years, 1879 to 1892. During this period he wrote four text books, one each on economics, psychology, ethics and Bible study. The first was a little book of about 65,000 words. It was "affectionately dedicated" to "the Alumni of the Lawrence University of Wisconsin . . . who, with the author, pursued the study of the science, the rudiments of which are herein set forth." In the preface to his Rudimentary Psychology, Steele thanked Miss Louise M. Hodgkins, Professor of English Literature at Wellesley, for the examination of the manuscript. Miss Hodgkins had been on the staff at Lawrence under Steele for six years as a teacher of French and history.

Steele's last position was that of Assistant Principal and teacher at Lasell Seminary, a Methodist school for girls at Auburndale, Massachusetts. He held this post for three years, 1892 to 1895, and then at the age of seventy-two retired from active work. He died January 14, 1902.

Elias DeWitt Huntley was a product of the Methodism of western New York. Born at Elmira in 1840, he attended Genesee Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, New York, where William H. Sampson had studied a generation earlier, and Genesee College. He graduated in 1866, "having suffered much in the meantime from failing health and empty purse," and passed at once into the Methodist ministry. He held various pastorates in Wisconsin from 1868 to 1878, and in the latter year was appointed Presiding Elder of the Madison district. In June, 1879 he was chosen fourth President of Lawrence University.(13) He held this office until March, 1883.

Huntley was at his best as a pulpit orator and platform lecturer. Some years before he was President, the Phoenix Society secured him for a lecture. The Collegian reported that "for grace of diction, purity of thought and ease of manner this lecture has not been surpassed in Appleton." Near the end of his presidency the Green Bay Globe said of him: "There is no preacher in this country more free from affecta-

12. Reports of the Pres., June, 1874, p. 349.

13. Alumni Record (1881), p. 18.

tion, hypocrisy and cant There is no old or oily aroma around Dr. Huntley's humor and no reminiscence of the looking glass about his marvelous and dramatic delivery."(14)

Besides being a great preacher, Huntley was enthusiastic about congregational singing. He had the University buy a supply of hymnals for for use during chapel services and one term when he was in Appleton he conducted an "old-fashioned Methodist singing school." The student paper reported an improvement in chapel singing.(15)

It is probably fair to say that Huntley made no great contribution to Lawrence as a teacher. Because of absence "in the field," he did no teaching at all until the winter term of his second year. Then he had only one class, Evidences of Christianity. "We shall like him by and by when we get used to him," was the reported sentiment of his first class. Some of his students were "half terrified by the stentorian tones of their instructor."(16) He taught the same course and another in two succeeding winter terms; but during his eleven terms as President he taught in only three.

Huntley stood for solid work in the classroom. On one occasion two students who preached on Sundays gave so much time to their churches that their college work began to suffer. Huntley insisted that they put college before church work and in some quarters was criticized for what he had done, partly because the whole matter was inaccurately reported. Huntley stated his position as follows:

We are a Christian College We require attendance upon church and devotional exercises in the Chapel. We expect our students to avail themselves of our prayer meeting and class meeting privileges but we have no open account with goodness, and we do not intend to pass our scholars from class to class because of their attendance upon the means of grace.(17)

In Huntley's second and third years a controversy arose between students and the Administration that developed into a crisis unique in the history of the institution. After 1868 the old list of "Things Required" and "Things Prohibited" no longer appeared in the catalogue. Some laxity of enforcement may have crept in, but these ancient rules, first published in 1857, seem to have remained the law of the University. The reason for believing this is that, late in 1880, the Faculty, wanting to tighten up discipline, reissued the old rules with very

14. Coll., Dec., 1873, p. 48; Collegian and Neoterian (Coll. and Neot.), Jan., 1882, p. 56, quoting Green Bay Globe.

15. Coll. and Neot., Jan., 1881, p. 59.

16. Coll. and Neot., Jan., 1881, pp. 55, 59.

17. Reports of the Pres., June, 1882, p. 571.

slight alterations. There is no way of knowing to what extent these rules were novelty or old stuff to the students then in the University. They were published by being read aloud in the chapel service of December 21, 1880.(18)

The college paper reacted rather violently:

The edict, irrevocable, without question, has gone forth. Our fetters must be tightened . . . hereafter the laws of Lawrence are to be more rigorously interpreted and applied . . . We were . . . informed that if we did not like the new severity . . . we were at liberty to go elsewhere. Certainly we are, but does that prove anything as to the justice or merit of any rule whatever?(19)

The two most galling details were the requirement that students be in their rooms by ten p.m. and the prohibition of social visiting on Sunday. The ten o'clock rule applied both to men residing in the college building, and to others, men or women, who roomed in town. Definition of "social visiting" was difficult. In December when the rules were newly promulgated, "to enter the house with another person of another sex, after accompanying said other person from church," was "Social Visiting" on Sunday and hence prohibited. In March, 1881, in answer to a student petition, the Faculty voted that the "Sunday rule be interpreted to allow a gentleman to call upon a lady on Sunday for the purpose of accompanying her to church." At the same time Seniors were exempted from the "ten o'clock rule."(20)

Infractions of the rules seemed to be more frequent under Huntley than under his predecessor. So serious did the matter seem to Huntley that he undertook to be sleuth and policeman himself. Early in his second year, before the republication of the rules, he knocked at the door of a student's room in the college building, was twice refused admission, and then, finally admitted, found three students playing cards -- this during the evening study hours. That same winter, fraud was uncovered in examinations in French and in Christian Evidences. In February, 1881 one of those caught playing cards the previous October was found tampering with the mail. Before the Faculty he "confessed to having intercepted, read, communicated to other students and destroyed the letter sent by the Secretary [of the Faculty] to his parents at the end of the last term."(21)

18. F.M., Dec. 2, 1880, pp. 353-355, for text of rules.

19. Coll. and Neot., Jan., 1881, p. 54.

20. F.M., Dec. 21, 1880, p. 362; Mar. 3, 1881, p. 18.

21. F.M., Oct. 20, 21, Dec. 17, 1880; Feb. 14, 15, Mar. 7, 1881.

Huntley devoted much of his second annual report to discipline problems, and was especially concerned about the study hour rules.

To require all the students to be in their room or in their recitation rooms from 8 A.M. to 12, from 2 P.M. to 4:30 and from 7 P.M. till morning . . . seems to the older students, men and women grown, to be an unwarranted abridgement of their liberties . . . it is a regulation which is not and cannot be enforced Our students are scattered from one end of the city to the other and a system of espionage such as is necessary to enforce our study hours rule would require a force almost equal in numbers to the students themselves Unenforced and unenforcable regulations are not in place upon the Statute Book of a college, they foster a spirit of lawlessness and beget contempt for the legislators. Just what to recommend in this connection, I hardly know . . . it may appear wise to abandon the attempt to enforce study hours except as to those students in the preparatory and academic departments whose parents do not reside in Appleton.(22)

The Administration was increasingly harrassed, as it were, on two fronts. On the one hand a certain element among the students, chiefly in the Preparatory department, kept breaking the rules about drinking and absence from Appleton; on the other, mature students protested against rules suitable only for the immature. In February, 1882 there was a rash of offenses. Two students played pool in Neenah. Another bought a bottle of brandy and he and a fellow-student "drank same." Still another went to Neenah and got drunk there. Two men visited a saloon, lied about it, and furthermore, were out after 10 P.M. Out of a dozen offenders the Faculty immediately expelled those who had previously given trouble and the President talked with the others and put them on warning.(23) Four months later Huntley said to the Trustees: "That our students are entirely free from the violation of this regulation [visiting saloons] is not claimed, but it is certain that the bold and even defiant publicity of their transgression received a rebuke which those remaining do not care to challenge."(24)

In the same month of February, 1882, fifty-seven college students, out of a total of seventy-one, presented a petition against two of the rules: those regarding social visiting on the Sabbath and the ten o'clock "curfew." They asked that "ladies and gentlemen in college" be allowed "the same rights and privileges that prevail in the best society elsewhere." The present rules were "opposed to our sense of true manliness and the cultivation of self-respect and . . . [the] self-reliance of genuine character." Such rules, they argued, did not secure

22. Reports of the Pres., 1881, pp. 507-513.

23. F.M., Feb. 27, March 1, 1882.

24. Reports of the Pres., June, 1882, p. 562.

the desired results. The disaffection in college at present was "not without a reasonable foundation." The Faculty refused to change the rules. President Huntley talked to the students by themselves.

I endeavored to show them the necessity of retaining the regulations . . . and asked for their cheerful acquiescence. . . . This they seemed at the time willing to give. . . . I concluded that almost the entire body of college students . . . were determined to give the faculty their moral support.(25)

Besides its usual budget of news this April issue contained three articles, all hostile to the Administration. One was definitely directed against President Huntley. It reviewed his admonitions from the Chapel platform during the past two years.

"As time wore on the exhortations became more frequent, the subject matter was changed for the worse, the manner more severe, until exhortation had developed into command, command into threat, the whole culminating at times in withering denunciation This constant hectoring at last had little effect save lowering the author from the place of respect which he had once held in the hearts of the students." The re-introduction of the old rules in December, 1880, was "an abridgement of time-honored privileges from which little or no harm has ever come. . . . The latest scene in this tragedy-comedy . . . would seem to be a fitting climax. The students are informed that the president has organized himself into a secret detective force." Then came the accusation that while some students guilty of vicious offenses are ignominiously expelled, "those of wealth and influential parentage are allowed to remain, though ring-leaders of lawlessness." In conclusion: ". . . Young men of character know that they are neither Helots, Yahoos nor imbeciles. They are unaccustomed to feel the despot's lash, and will not submit to hear manacles of any kind of serfdom clanking to their limbs. They expect to be treated like men, and any man . . . will resent what he feels to be an unnecessary and unjust infringement of the rights of manhood" (26)

For a variety of reasons President Huntley and the Faculty took no immediate steps against the students responsible for these outpourings. President Huntley had it in mind to wait and consult with the Trustees at the time of the annual meeting in June. Also, early in May, the President went to Boston on financial business. Before he left, a statement expressing loyalty to the Administration was signed by all but six of the women students of the University. Huntley discouraged the

25. Reports of the Pres., June, 1882, p. 572.

26. Coll. and Neot., April, 1882, pp. 101, 102.

circulation of a similar petition among the men and advised students to calm down and bend all their efforts to classroom work.

The final offenses of those in charge of the paper were in connection with the forthcoming issue for May. They refused to accept for publication any articles or communications in favor of the Administration. They refused to print comments by former President Steele on the April number. The student group responsible for the paper was the Collegian and Neoterian Association composed of representatives of the four literary societies. As the May issue was preparing, one of the ladies' societies asked leave to withdraw from the Association; but the male members of the Association refused to allow the withdrawal. By this time Huntley had returned. As he saw the situation, the community was "in the midst of a conspiracy and . . . the College Paper was in the hands of a faction which without regard to fairness, truthfulness or honor was determined to have its way." He "immediately informed the Association that if one or both of the Ladies Societies saw fit to withdraw they should do so without any threat or insinuation."(27)

On May 24 the Faculty took action. Since the management of the paper had caused a state of excitement incompatible with attention to studies and there seemed no prospect of improvement so long as it was published, the Faculty suspended the paper, "and the Association is hereby forbidden to distribute as much of the present issue as is now printed." This decision was read aloud at the chapel meeting that afternoon.(28)

By this time the normal operation of the University was suffering. The Faculty voted, "in view of the unusual excitement of the last few days that all absences and tardinesses caused thereby be excused."(29) On May 26 they took up the matter of disciplining individuals, but apparently found it very hard to make up their collective mind. They held sessions both afternoon and evening, interrogated students at both of them, took action in the first session of which the details were not recorded, rescinded the action in the evening, passed a resolution of censure against three students, but later (May 29) laid the whole matter on the table. Evidently, before taking final action, they wished to consult with the Trustees at the approaching annual meeting.(30)

27. Reports of the Pres., June, 1882, pp. 573-576.

28. F.M., May 24, 1882, p. 119; same in Reports of the Pres., p. 576. If printed, no copy of the May number of the Coll. and Neot. has survived.

29. F.M., May 25, 1882, p. 120.

30. F.M., May 26, 29, 1882, pp. 120, 121.

Copies of the April number of the Collegian and Neoterian had been distributed among the Methodists of the state and there had been comment about it in the newspapers. Doubtless many were anxious about the reputation of the University. President Huntley's next move, made perhaps with an eye to denominational support throughout Wisconsin, was to prepare a new code in nine sections of "General Regulations for Government and Discipline." With some "verbal modifications," the Faculty adopted these rules on June 20.(31) Eight days later the Board acted on these new regulations, approving them almost entirely but showing themselves a little less lenient than the Faculty about the possible exceptions to be permitted by the Faculty.(32) The text of this code has not survived. In two days of deliberation the Board took a stand squarely behind President Huntley and the Faculty with reference both to the suspension of the paper and the number and character of the University rules.(33)

Commencement was held on Thursday, June 29, 1882. On the afternoon of that day, fortified doubtless by the backing they had received from the Trustees, the Faculty took up again the matter of disciplining those who had managed the paper and the Association during April and May. The situation had changed somewhat; apparently all students liable to censure or punishment were now asking for an honorable dismissal from college. Such a dismissal was denied to three men: the editor-in-chief and two others. The denial to these three seems to have completed the list of actual punishments. Four other students, however, requested and were granted honorable dismissal on that day, one of whom had been on the staff of the paper in April. Seven other students withdrew during the summer of 1882, of whom four belonged to college classes. These various dismissals and withdrawals were especially hard on the Junior class (class of 1883) which thereby lost four of its ten members as listed in the spring of 1882.(34)

Huntley could look back over a troubled three years. His two greatest problems had been the institutions's need of money, and his emphasis, of course well-meant, on rules and regulations, which had brought on a crisis in student relations. In addition, he was a party, with the Trustees, to the removal of Professor Sawyer, which will be dealt with presently. This action, even if inescapable for financial reasons, laid him open to criticism from Sawyer's friends and champions. In closing his third and, as it turned out, last annual report, he wrote:

31. F.M., June 19, 20, 1882, pp. 126, 127.

32. Trustee Min., June 28, 1882, pp. 19, 21.

33. Reports of the Pres., June, 1882, p. 602.

34. F.M., June 27, June 29, Sept. 11, 1882.

It has been a year of trials, embarrassments and difficulties such as I have never known before, and which I do not think it the duty of any one man to endeavor to fight his way through more than once, and strange as it may appear I am . . . convinced that nine-tenths of all our difficulty might have been avoided if only we had been possessed of money.(35)

Early in January, 1883 Huntley informed the Executive Committee that he wished to quit the presidency. He gave as his reason the "duty of a son": apparently his parents, or one of them, needed financial help. He had received an offer of a position "that would very materially relieve him from financial embarrassment." The Committee at that time refused to release Huntley and proposed to raise his salary. In February, however, Huntley presented his resignation and insisted that it be accepted. He spoke of his leaving as a "departure from a field of action in which I had hoped to spend the remainder of my public life." His resignation took effect March 27, at the close of the winter term.(36)

Aged only forty-three when he left Lawrence, Huntley preached for another twenty years. He was, first, pastor of the Metropolitan Church (Methodist) in Washington, D.C. In addition he was, from December, 1883 to March, 1886, Chaplain of the United States Senate. After that, he held pastorates in Baltimore and Annapolis, Maryland and again in Washington, D.C. He revisited Lawrence in the spring of 1893 and lectured on the subject: "The Girl to Love and How to Treat Her."(37) His health was not good in his later years. He took superannuated status in 1903, and died February 12, 1909.

For several months after Huntley's departure from Lawrence, James C. Foye, Professor of Chemistry and Physics, acted as President. In his only annual report, made in June, 1883, he proposed to the Trustees the introduction of the Modern Classical course. This would be in addition to the two courses, Classical and Scientific, set up when College work began. Trustees and Faculty both approved of the new departure.(38) Also during this brief interregnum, Professors' salaries were advanced from \$1,000 to \$1,100 a year.

35. Reports of the Pres., June, 1882, p. 587.

36. Exec. Com., Jan. 2, Feb. 21, 1883, pp. 30, 31.

37. Lawrence Columbian Souvenir (Souvenir), (forerunner of the Ariel), 1893, p. 28.

38. Reports of the Pres., June, 1883, p. 607; F.M., July, 1883.

Wesley Caleb Sawyer was outstanding among those who taught at Lawrence in the nineteenth century. He was born in Massachusetts in 1839 and graduated from Harvard in 1861. After studying theology for a time at Concord, New Hampshire, he served in the Civil War where he lost a leg and contracted other ailments that plagued him for the remainder of his life. Then for two years he was in charge of a Methodist church in Massachusetts. In 1866 he set out for Europe.

The Lawrence University Alumni Record (1881), published while Sawyer was in Appleton, stated that "Wesley C. Sawyer, A.M., Ph.D., studied four years in Europe, graduating at the end of that period from the University of Gottingen [sic]."(39) There is a puzzle in this connection that is presented without solution and without comment. In 1910 Daniel B. Shumway, long a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, as a study in cultural interchange published a list, covering nearly a century, of "The American Students of the University of Göttingen."(40) The list included both Americans who merely resided in Göttingen for a time and those who received the degree of Ph.D. Sawyer's name cannot be found in Shumway's compilation. In 1958 a new search for Sawyer's name in the records of Göttingen once more yielded nothing.(41) During this sojourn in Europe, Sawyer continued to be listed annually by the New England Conference with the standing of Deacon and Probationer. The addresses printed for him were: 1867 and 1868, Berlin, Prussia; 1869 and 1870, Paris, France.

For three years after his return from Europe Sawyer was a Methodist minister in Massachusetts and advanced from the status of Deacon to that of Elder. In 1874 he joined the Minnesota Conference and took a charge in East Minneapolis. In the fall of 1875, at the age of thirty-six, he came to Lawrence.(42)

Sawyer had at first the title of Professor of Philosophy and Rhetoric and later, of Philosophy and German. The Collegian, reporting on the new Professor, stated that in Europe his "specialties" had been philology, philosophy and belles-lettres.(43) At the close of Sawyer's first year, President Steele wrote that he was "a very clear, practical and successful instructor, and highly popular among the students."(44) A year later Sawyer married Minnie E. Birge, who had then -- in July, 1877 -- just finished her Junior year at Lawrence. She graduated with

39. Alumni Record (1881), pp. 25, 26.

40. German-American Annals, XII, v-vi (Sept.-Dec., 1910), pp. 172-254.

41. Letter of Hermann Bode to Prof. Herbert Spiegelberg, June 17, 1958.

42. Alumni Record (1881), p. 25; Min. N. E. Conf., annual 1865, 1875.

43. Coll., Nov., 1875, p. 2.

44. Reports of the Pres., 1876, p. 387.

the class of 1878.

Sawyer had come back to the United States a great admirer of Germany. He had a lecture entitled "The New Germany," in which he glorified the unity achieved under Bismarck. He wrote a little article for one of the student publications on "Post Graduate Study Abroad":

Whoever would do his "level" best adorning his profession and contributing something to its sciences will find it in his interest to study the German language in college, and after graduation, to go directly to that university in Germany which has the strongest faculty in the particular branch which he wishes to pursue But let him be on his guard against smattering -- our national besetting sin in education.(45)

As a Methodist minister and a Professor of Philosophy Sawyer was qualified to teach what was usually taught by the President of the University. Since Huntley taught very little, it fell to Sawyer, in 1879-80 and the following year, to teach at least once every one of the President's courses: Christian Evidences, Moral Science (ethics), Intellectual Philosophy (psychology), Logic, Political Economy and International Law. In the winter term of 1878, in his third year, he introduced a course in the History of Philosophy which he repeated every year as long as he remained at Lawrence. Like all those just mentioned, this course ran for one term only. In February, 1881 an article was devoted to it in the Collegian and Neoterian. The writer said: ". . . the one term allotted is totally inadequate for the attainment of a respectable familiarity with such a mass of knowledge We plead that an extension of time be granted to coming classes."(46) As a result of this plea, perhaps, the class that year was allowed to have a second term in the History of Philosophy instead of International Law.(47)

Except for his first year, Sawyer was also Librarian while at Lawrence. As will be shown more fully elsewhere, he introduced modern library methods. He also looked into the history of the Library and found that the University had used about \$4,000 of Library Funds in 1866 and 1867 to pay for a steam heating apparatus and other improvements in Main Hall. There was an interchange of letters on this subject at commencement, 1880, in which Sawyer was adversely critical of the Trustees, at least those of an earlier time; while the Library Committee of the Joint Board was quite brusque, as if in the act of "putting its foot down."(48)

45. Neoterian (Neot.), Mar., 1876, p. 1.

46. Coll. and Neot., Feb., 1881, p. 70.

47. F.M., Mar. 7, 1881, p. 18.

48. Reports of the Pres., 1880, p. 505.

At its last meeting in June, 1881 the Faculty assigned work to its members for the coming year. As to Sawyer, the minutes read: "Prof. Sawyer to hold a half professorship and continue Librarian."(49) This arrangement had been authorized by the Board of Trustees the day before. Throughout the following year, his last, Sawyer taught two classes each term -- half the normal teaching load. He had German through the year, and one term each of Political Economy, History of Philosophy, and International Law. As Librarian he began the work of making a modern card catalogue.

When Sawyer did not like an action of President Huntley, he was quite outspoken about it. In the fall of 1880, saying it had been ordered by the Trustees, Huntley required the purchase out of Library funds of hymnals to be used in the chapel services. The transaction cost the Library \$114.01, and Sawyer expressed his disapproval of it at the time and in his report as Librarian the following June.(50) It seems probable, though the surviving evidence is scanty, that by the spring of 1882 personal feelings between Huntley and Sawyer had come to be something less than cordial. As we shall soon see, however, Huntley was capable at the end of the year of very genuine praise of some of Sawyer's work.

One of the controversial articles in the Collegian and Neoterian for April, 1882 was devoted to Sawyer. It said in part:

The study of philosophy is at the present time receiving great attention in America. Lawrence University is not behind other colleges . . . owing to the untiring efforts and profound scholarship of [Sawyer]. At present, however, this scholarly thinker, on account of the belittling envy of his success, is suffering as a martyr to his enlightened principles [He] has been shamefully hindered and hampered both in the management of the studies of his chair and in his work of librarian The studies of his chair have been partly distributed among those of the faculty who have paid little attention to them heretofore. . . . Lawrence University . . . cannot afford to lose such a scholarly and able man, and it is to be hoped that he will soon be reinstated into the full powers of his chair. The students of Lawrence feel that a debt of gratitude is due him . . . for his masterly treatment of the philosophical thought of the age and for leading them into a higher sphere of thought and giving them a clearer insight into the philosophical and literary world.(51)

49. F.M., June 29, 1881, p. 51.

50. Faculty Library Committee (Fac. Lib. Com.), Oct. 18, 1880; annual report, June, 1881.

51. Coll. and Neot., April, 1882, p. 103.

In June Sawyer made his report as Librarian, just as he had done in the five preceding years. Apparently, he had no inkling of his impending dismissal. President Huntley in his annual report praised Sawyer's work as Librarian, and remarked, especially with reference to the recataloguing:

I am sure the amount of money voted for this purpose bears but the merest apology of a right proportion to the work performed. He deserves the hearty thanks of this board for his unceasing, intelligent and successful efforts in this direction.(52)

During commencement week many committees of the Board of Trustees and Visitors deliberated. The Committee on Finance showed that for the coming year expenses would be about \$11,200; receipts, about \$9,200. The Committee on Faculty, after praising the good work, punctuality and faithfulness of the professors, announced that:

In view of that fact that the income of the college for the coming year is likely to fall short of the amount of the expenses of running the same to the amount of \$2,000, more or less, it is hereby recommended . . . that salaries be the same as last year . . . And that Prof. Sawyer be relieved of his Professorship and that studies over which he had charge the past year be distributed between the other members of the faculty.(53)

This committee report was adopted by the whole Board on June 28.

Almost immediately a "petition or communication" was received from twenty-two students and resolutions were presented from the Alumni Association which was having its commencement gathering, both asking the Board to reverse its action on Sawyer. The Board thereupon voted to reconsider and Sawyer was summoned "for a hearing in relation to a report of the Committee on Faculty." By a vote of thirteen to three, the Board stood by its original decision.

Commencement was on Thursday, June 29. At three o'clock in the afternoon of that day a special Faculty meeting was held. The minutes of that meeting were brief and not illuminating: "A communication was received from Prof. W. C. Sawyer, late of this faculty, and the Secretary directed to transmit to him in reply a letter drawn up and adopted by the Faculty. (See Sawyer's note and answer, on file.)(54) That file has not been preserved.

52. Reports of the Pres., June, 1882, p. 581.

53. Com. Fac. Deg., June 28, 1882, pp. 597, 598.

54. F.M., June 29, 1882, p. 132.

It was usual in those days for the Faculty or Trustees, and sometimes both, to pass resolutions of appreciation by way of farewell to departing teachers. What the Faculty did in this case has just been copied out. We do not know what tone the Secretary took. The Trustees did nothing of the sort for Sawyer in 1882, but two years later they went on record as follows:

Whereas, . . . when Prof. W. C. Sawyer's connections with the faculty ceased in 1882, there was no action taken to spread upon our records any recognition of his eminent scholarship, ability as an educator, or past services to this University(55)

Resolved: That we recognize in Prof. W. C. Sawyer, the Christian Gentleman, the eminent Educator, the profound Scholar; and that into whatsoever field of usefulness he may enter, he will be followed by the hearty good wishes of this joint board.(56)

This concludes the tale of how Sawyer was dropped from the Lawrence Faculty. Nowhere in the surviving documents is any reason given for this action except the University's lack of money; and there is no adequate explanation of why the axe fell on Sawyer rather than on someone else.

As we have have seen, the student paper praised Sawyer very highly as a teacher of philosophy. It also reported that his class in Political Economy was very inspiring.(57) If one may judge by what he wrote, however, his chief interest was in linguistics. While at Lawrence he read various papers at learned societies on "orthoëpy" and the alphabet; and he was an enthusiast for spelling reform. During his last years at Lawrence he must have been working at a Practical German Grammar, for it was published in Chicago in 1882; it reached a second edition some years later. In 1904 he published a small book called Teutonic Legends; and in 1923, soon after his death, his widow edited and published a similar book which he had left in manuscript. Both were admittedly translated and adapted from contemporary German works, and were intended especially as background for Wagner's operas. Sawyer remarked in the first of these books that the time had come for Siegfried and Parsifal to take their places in a good general education beside Hercules and Aeneas.

After his departure from Lawrence, Sawyer taught for three years at the State Normal School at Oshkosh; meanwhile he was still a member of the Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Then followed two years of study and writing in Germany, some of it spent in Dresden where he worked in the Royal Library. From 1887 onward he lived

55. Trustee Min., June 24, 1884, p. 56.

56. Reports of the Pres., June, 1884, p. 651.

57. Coll. and Neot., Jan., 1881, p. 53.

in California. Except for one year, 1900-01, when he had charge of a church, he taught as long as he was able. His last position, from 1901-08, was that of "Professor of the German Language and Lecturer on Teutonic Mythology" in the University of the Pacific at San Jose; the chair seems to have been made to order for the occupant. He held this place from 1901 to 1908. After some years of invalidism, he died in 1921 at the age of eighty-two.(58)

As long as they lived both Professor and Mrs. Sawyer spoke of Appleton and Lawrence with affection. In 1925, and possibly later, Mrs. Sawyer was making financial contributions to the endowment funds of the College. There has apparently never been any tradition in the family that Lawrence was unjust in discharging, without any advance notice, a professor who had taught satisfactorily for seven years; on the contrary, they still regard Lawrence with esteem and cordiality.(59)

Bradford Paul Raymond, fifth President of Lawrence University, was born in 1846 at Stamford, Connecticut, and received his pre-college education in the public schools of that city. In September, 1864, being then eighteen years of age, he joined a New York regiment; and he remained in the army until the following September. He studied for three years at Hamline University in Minneapolis, then transferred to Lawrence where he was graduated B.A. in 1870. Then followed three years at the School of Theology of Boston University where he received the degree of B.D. in 1873. In 1880-81 he attended the Universities of Leipzig and Göttingen, and made a study of German education. Apart from this sojourn in Germany he spent the decade, 1873 to 1883, as pastor in a succession of Methodist churches in New England. From a pastorate in New Hampshire he was called at the age of thirty-seven to the presidency of Lawrence; and he held that office for six years, 1883 to 1889.(60)

For Raymond, as for his predecessors, life as President of Lawrence was strenuous. His normal teaching load was fourteen or fifteen hours a week. He represented the University throughout the state,

58. Alumni Record, editions of 1905, 1915, 1922, where the wanderings of the family can be followed under the name of Minnie E. (Birge) Sawyer, No. 202, class of 1878. She died in 1953 in her ninety-sixth year.

59. John B. Sawyer (younger son), May 12, 1958; Margaret H. Sawyer (widow of elder son), May 16, 1958, letters to W. F. Raney.

60. Alumni Records (1905), (1915), (1922), Alumnus No. 117.

especially in the Methodist Church; and he preached or lectured fifty or more times a year. He was counted a very able preacher; the Trustees insisted that his first baccalaureate sermon be printed. Much of his speaking was done in order to raise money for the University, and in addition he carried on other solicitation of funds. In his last years at Lawrence he came to feel that he had to give to financial matters "time and strength that [he] could use more efficiently in other lines of work."(61)

Lawrence University under Raymond failed every year except one to balance its expense account and so accumulated a considerable deficit; or, what in the long run amounted to the same thing, it used up part of its endowment to keep going. At the same time, however, it raised other endowment and erected Ormsby Hall. Raymond felt that the new building was a visible step forward after a long period when no one believed Lawrence could make progress. He presented a part of his final report as "five notes of victory."(62)

In closing that report Raymond bade a touching farewell to Lawrence, as follows:

I took up the work six years ago . . . with fear and trembling. I lay it down with most profound regret. . . . I have come to feel so much at home in the State of Wisconsin and so deeply interested in the success of this work and so strongly attached to you who have worked with me for its success, that it is with real sorrow that I leave it. My relationship with these students who have won a place in my affections next to my own children, and for the faculty all of whom are like brothers and sisters to me, . . . these relations and many considerations growing out of them make the severance of these relations [as] painful to me as they can be to some of you.(63)

The best window on Raymond's mind is perhaps the one book he wrote. It was published some years after he left Lawrence and was entitled, Christianity and the Christ: A Study of Christian Evidences (1894, 250 pp., about 45,000 words). Its announced purpose was "to show that the Christian faith is reasonable." Of some chapters he said that they "involve certain philosophical principles which could not be debated, but were essential to the argument and must be assumed. These assumptions may all be summed up in the doctrine that our religious ideals are rational."(64) The book contained almost no recondite philo-

61. Reports of the Pres., 1889, p. 34.

62. Reports of the Pres., 1889, pp. 29-31.

63. Reports of the Pres., June, 1889, p. 34.

64. Bradford Paul Raymond, Christianity and the Christ: A Study of Christian Evidences (Christianity . . . Evidences), 1894, p. ix.

sophy and made little use of the logician's skill. A learned background was most in evidence when the author supported an early date for the writing of the four Gospels, in opposition to certain German critics. As evidence Raymond made much use of man's experience in the realm of religion. Sometimes it was a very emotional experience. For example:

. . . we need to see the face of the old man rejoicing in the fact that he has lived in communion with Christ for sixty years while the tears of joy roll down his cheeks and the deep emotion trembles in the tender pathos of his voice.

In a final chapter, on the immortality of the soul, Raymond based his argument partly on poetry.

The poet like the prophet is a seer. On the wings of his swift vision he sweeps by the plodding reasoner, carries with him the essential content of the reasoner's premises and gives us the total result of his vision in one adequate picture.(66)

The chapter and the book both end with a lengthy quotation from Whittier's Snow-Bound, of which the last words were:

And when the sunset gates unbar,
Shall I not see thee waiting stand,
And, white against the evening star,
The welcome of thy beckoning hand?

Raymond went from Lawrence to the presidency of Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut. He held that office for nineteen years (1889-1908) and then, after a year of retirement, became a professor in the same institution. He died at Middletown, February 27, 1916. From 1907 to 1911 there was a student at Wesleyan named Henry Merritt Wriston; Raymond was the President of his Freshman year, the first of the species Wriston had the opportunity to observe.

Charles Wesley Gallagher was born in Boston, Massachusetts in 1846, but spent his childhood until the age of thirteen on a farm in New Hampshire. His parents then moved to Chelsea, a suburb of Boston, and he was able to prepare for college at Chelsea High School. For a short time he was a soldier in the Civil War. He entered Wesleyan University,

65. Raymond, Christianity . . . Evidences, p. 183.

66. Raymond, Christianity . . . Evidences, p. 249.

Middletown, Connecticut in 1865. Unable to continue for lack of money, he dropped out for a year and taught in Nevada. He received his degree of B.A. from Wesleyan in 1870, and in the same year became a Methodist minister. He was the pastor of a church in Providence, Rhode Island when he was called, at the age of forty-three, to be the sixth President of Lawrence University.

During his first term at Lawrence he made the following statement of his educational aims:

The educated man will ever be a humble and reverent man He will see behind nature and over him a divine ruler, to the knowledge of whom the knowledge of this world leads, and to know whom is the greatest of all kinds of knowledge. Education has never yet been successfully separated from God, . . . and the grandest developments of character and knowledge have been in connection with a humble faith in Him. For such education the world has need. Profound Christian life and character, in conjunction with the largest, boldest, most enterprising scholarship, will build up our civilization with the best material and in the grandest proportions.(67)

Gallagher did not preach and solicit funds as much as Raymond had done. As was usual for the President, he taught Christian Evidences and the other courses then called the mental and moral sciences. Once only, in his second year, he conducted a class in Hebrew. Twenty years later a student remembered him as "a very precise man of unbending formality, a polished Puritan with absolutely no tact in managing boys."(68) He was doubtless a lonely man; his first wife, after long illness, died toward the end of his first year at Lawrence (May 13, 1890), and he did not remarry until after he left Appleton. His final report as President, made June 20, 1893, has not been preserved. There was apparently a lack of cordiality between him and the Executive Committee(69) and on August 1 he resigned. In contrast with the circumstances attending the resignations of all three of his predecessors, there were, in his case, no gestures of appreciation or farewell.

Some six years after he left Lawrence, Gallagher published a small book entitled God Revealed or Nature's Best Word (1899, 192 pp., about 48,000 words). Its field was theism and its purpose the explanation of the phenomena of religion. Gallagher asserted that religious truth comes to man partly from nature and partly through the supernatural revelation "represented in the Christian Scriptures."(70) This

67. Law., Nov., 1889, p. 54.

68. Alumni Record (1915), p. 76.

69. Exec. Com., July 28, 1893, p. 116.

70. Charles Wesley Gallagher, God Revealed or Nature's Best Word, 1899,

book was devoted to what can be learned via the first of these channels; and "nature" here turns out to be almost entirely the nature of man. The chief emphasis was on man's reasoning power and what religious truth he can attain by its use. Perhaps half the book was taken up with arguments for the existence of God; some, among them the ontological proof, were very ancient. There were chapters upholding belief in miracles and the immortality of the soul. Gallagher thus retraced many well-trodden paths in philosophy and theology, supporting his own thoughts with quotations from larger and more famous books. Faithful to a philosophic method, he never founded an argument on the words of the Bible and rarely quoted it. One unfamiliar with the field may still offer his judgment that the book was carefully done and clearly written. It was reissued a few years later with the title, Theism or God Revealed.

After leaving Lawrence, Gallagher spent the remaining twenty-three years of his life in a succession of educational posts in Methodist institutions. For four years, 1897 to 1901, he was Assistant Principal at Lasell Seminary at Auburndale, Massachusetts where, two years intervening, he followed George M. Steele. In 1908 he became President of the Maryland College for Women located at Lutherville, a few miles north of Baltimore; and he held this position until his death in December, 1916. A fire at Lutherville destroyed the manuscript of a lengthy work which he had written on the Old Testament. Because of his mastery of Hebrew he should have had a special competence in this field.(71)

p. 178.

71. Min. N. E. Conf., 1917, pp. 307, 308; Souvenir, 1893, p. 36, with photograph; Alumni Record (1915), pp. 56 (photograph), 72, 73.

CHAPTER X
THE METHODIST ATMOSPHERE:
REGULATIONS AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES

Lawrence University was the child of the Methodist Church, and in the nineteenth century a denomination that fathered a college did everything possible to surround its offspring with an aura of religion and piety. The majority of the Joint Board at Lawrence and its most active members were Methodists; and, as was expected of them, they chose clergymen of their denomination as Presidents. For the first half century or more, most of the teachers were also Methodists. In harmony with Methodist ideals, the President and Faculty made rules and regulations that would help students to live, if not altogether godly lives, at least lives sheltered from many forms of worldliness and sin. And in this early period there were many religious activities, some inspired by the President and Faculty, others initiated and chiefly supported by the students with the approbation of the Faculty.

The first bulwark of Methodism at Lawrence was the quality and previous training of its Faculty. Before Plantz became President, more than ninety persons taught in the institution, not counting instructors in music, painting and commercial subjects. The great majority of these teachers had been prepared in Methodist schools. This was true from the very beginning. When the Preparatory department welcomed its first students on November 12, 1849, three men and two women were ready to instruct them. The following list shows much about them:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Office, Subjects</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Salary</u>
William H. Sampson	Principal; Mental and Moral Sciences, Belles-Lettres	41	\$500
Romulus O. Kellogg	Ancient Languages and German	22	400
James M. Phinney	Mathematics, Natural Sciences	27	400
Emeline M. Crooker	Preceptress; Music, Drawing Painting, Botany, Astronomy	32	250
L. Amelia Dayton	French, German	19	80*

*plus board and room

We are well acquainted with Sampson. Before he came to Wisconsin he had almost finished the requirements for a B.A. at the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary in Lima, New York. Kellogg and Phinney were from Wesleyan University, Connecticut, where Kellogg had graduated in 1849, and Phinney had reached the Junior year in 1842-43. Miss Crooker joined the Methodist Church at the age of nineteen and remained a Methodist throughout a long life. She attended Oberlin College from 1843 to 1847 and received there, not a B.A., but a "Diploma of the Literary Course" as many women students did at that time.(1) Oberlin in her early years was famed throughout the American West for religious zeal. Miss Dayton had attended in succession three Methodist schools or seminaries in upper New York state. Thus all except Miss Crooker had been educated in Methodist institutions. Sampson served as a Methodist minister before and after teaching at Lawrence; Kellogg later became one. One of Phinney's brothers was a Methodist minister until he lost his voice. And Miss Dayton eventually married a Methodist minister. They were undoubtedly as a group very much devoted to Methodism.(2)

Wesleyan University of Middletown, Connecticut was the first Methodist college in the United States and long had a special prestige in the denomination. Graduation there guaranteed the soundness of both scholarship and Methodism. As we have seen, four of Lawrence's first six Presidents were graduates of Wesleyan. Cooke, the first of these, had occasion to choose six professors, and every one was a Wesleyan graduate. Among them was Russell Z. Mason, who became the second President. Until Mason resigned in 1865, all the maturer men on the staff except Sampson were Wesleyan-educated; and there can be little doubt that they made Lawrence very much like their alma mater. Later appointments of Wesleyan graduates were fewer. Besides Presidents Steele and Gallagher, there was one who taught mathematics from 1867 to

1. Information from D. M. Love, Dean of Oberlin College, Mar. 24, 1960.

2. Alumni Record (1881), pp. 20, 21, 27.

1869; and the Reverend Henry Lummis, who taught Greek at Lawrence from 1886 to 1905. All but three of these Wesleyan men were clergymen. N. M. Wheeler, who came to teach Greek in 1879, was from Syracuse University. L. W. Underwood came in 1886 fresh from Albion College in Michigan. Both of these institutions were Methodist. Twenty-three men were appointed Professors or Adjunct Professors at Lawrence before 1880 and, of these, twelve were Methodist clergymen. Some of the others became ministers after they taught at Lawrence.

As soon as Lawrence had any graduates of her own, she began to employ some of them as teachers; their qualifications both as Methodists and as scholars would be well known. Two members of the first class, Henry Colman and Francena Kellogg, spent the year after graduation teaching at Lawrence. Before the end of the century about twenty alumni had served on the Faculty. The majority of them were young women who taught for short periods either immediately after graduation or after one or two years of teaching elsewhere, usually in secondary schools.

Male graduates on the Faculty were fewer, but still numerous. Henry Colman has been mentioned. Wilbur F. Yocum, '60, returned to Lawrence in 1869 and taught for seven years, first mathematics and then natural science. Samuel N. Griffith, '61, taught mathematics for three years, 1861 to 1864, and then went on to theological seminary and the Methodist ministry. John E. Davies, '62, taught at Lawrence for two years after the Civil War, then became a professor of physics at the University of Wisconsin. Dexter P. Nicholson, '81, though he never completed the requirements for the doctorate, had two years of graduate work at Johns Hopkins University (1888-90) and experience in college teaching elsewhere before he joined the Lawrence Faculty in 1892. Frank Cramer had almost completed the work required for graduation at Lawrence in the spring of 1885. He studied science at Yale in 1885-86, received a degree at Lawrence in 1886, and then taught science at his alma mater for some years.

The Faculty in the nineteenth century was surprisingly small and, so far as we can tell now, rather uniform in its religious practices. Teachers of commercial subjects and of music and painting were listed in the catalogue, but did not usually attend faculty meetings. Omitting them and their enterprises, we find that, between the Civil War and 1894, the burden of teaching the whole College program and much of the Preparatory work was borne at any one time by from seven to ten persons. This count includes the President, who always, except during part of Huntley's term, did important teaching. Few in number, the Faculty was a close-knit group. They were nearly all Methodists; for many years they opened faculty meetings with prayer; and they constantly cooperated in the religious activities of the University and the Appleton community. So far as possible, the University appointed to the Faculty only people who were willing to assume responsibilities in the religious area.

Having given some idea of the Lawrence Faculty in its early years, we turn now to the rules they made. What they intended to accomplish by such legislation will appear as we study the rules themselves. In the early years of the University, life was somewhat austere, as is shown by the following command in the fourth catalogue:

Students shall rise in the morning at the ringing of the first bell On being notified, by bell or otherwise, to attend prayers, recitations or other exercises, the students shall repair without delay to the place appointed Sobriety and silence MUST be observed throughout the Sabbath.(3)

Under the heading of "Discipline" the first catalogue (1850) had a very pleasing statement: "The government of the school will aim to secure the happiness of the students, and to induce such habits as become them as students, ladies and gentlemen, among which are application, regularity, morality, and politeness."(4) In the second year this sentence read: "In the government of the school, the Faculty, while strict, firm and watchful, will endeavor to secure not only the improvement of the students, but their happiness, and to induce in them such habits as become students, ladies and gentlemen -- among which habits are application, punctuality and politeness."(5) In 1855 the happiness of the student was no longer mentioned; the statement of that year began: "The government of the College is designed to be moral and paternal, and administered with firmness and impartiality."(6) From 1858 onward there was a caption, "Government," and the paragraph under it ran as follows:

The government is designed, as far as practicable, to be parental, but administered with firmness and impartiality. No student guilty of profanity, irreverent or improper language, disorder in study hours, disregard of the Sabbath, or disrespect for religious observances, can be permitted to remain a member of the University. Dismissal or expulsion will be resorted to when other means of correction have failed.

This paragraph remained unchanged for seventeen years.(7)

Ultimate authority in these matters rested with the Joint Board, but the Board delegated its powers to the President and Faculty. The Faculty acted as a discipline committee, occasionally made alterations

3. Cat., 1853-54, p. 23.

4. Cat., 1850, p. 15.

5. Cat., 1851, p. 21.

6. Cat., 1855, pp. 20, 21.

7. Cats., 1857-58, p. 33; 1873-74, p. 34.

in the rules, and carried almost the whole burden of surveillance and enforcement. The first Faculty Minutes that have survived were those of January 18, 1855. When the curtain thus rose on their activities they were meeting every Monday in the President's office; and regular meetings were held weekly until 1904. In the early days the male teachers took turns making the rounds of the students' rooms during the evening study hours. For this purpose, it is assumed, "Dr. Cooke drew up a regular system of police."⁽⁸⁾ It has already been told how President Huntley carried out such inspections in person. The Faculty as a unit usually dealt with culprits; though sometimes it commissioned the President to admonish privately or directed the Faculty Secretary to write to students or parents.

The statement in the catalogue under the caption, "Government," evolved gradually. Its growth may be shown by presenting it, not in its later and what was long an unchanged form, but with the successive parts arranged in the order in which they first appeared in the catalogue. Two pieces that originated in the time of President Steele were as follows:

(1870) While impertinent informers will not be encouraged, it is expected that when young persons are exposing themselves to permanent harm, high minded students will be governed by the dictates of conscience and common sense, rather than by any false sense of honor, in the disclosure of facts. In case of damage to person or property, the same principle will be observed respecting the requiring of testimony as prevails elsewhere in civil society.

(1875) (The words, "firmness and impartiality," had been in use since 1855.) The discipline of the institution is administered with firmness and impartiality. It aims to develop self-control, manliness and womanliness, and a generous public spirit -- to induce such a high moral sentiment as will be in itself a powerful governing force in the school community.

Persons guilty of profanity, irreverence, disorderly conduct or low vices of every kind, soon lose the respect of the great mass of students and are fain to leave. Dismission or expulsion is resorted to when other means of correction fail.

Two other bits first appeared in the time of President Raymond, the second a very useful one.

(1884) All association of ladies and gentlemen is regulated by the faculty.

(1888) Students whose conduct proves them to be at variance with the method and spirit of the University, or who do not

8. F.M., June 11, 1855.

attain a satisfactory standing in their class, may, for the obvious good of the school be dropped, even though no specific offense meriting expulsion or suspension be charged against them.

President Gallagher in 1890 removed the word "fain," probably felt to be archaic, and replaced it with "glad." The form of the statement reached in 1890, or save for this one word, in 1888, was still in use in 1900 and parts of it as late as 1925.(9)

The threat of expulsion was not an idle one. In the list of students in the second catalogue there were printer's daggers before the names of three gentlemen to indicate that they had been expelled. The practice of thus publicizing expulsions was soon abandoned but the penalty continued to be mentioned in the faculty minutes with fair regularity.

Until 1874 the government or discipline of the University was said to be paternal or parental. One example of this attitude was the statement in the catalogue about students' money. In 1855 to 1857 it ran:

Parents and Guardians are reminded that young men at College have really but little need of pocket money. A too abundant supply has proved the ruin of thousands. It would be much safer in most cases, for both parent and student, and altogether better for the Institution, if the funds were committed to some one connected with the college to act as fiscal guardian, to attend to their wants and discharge their bills.(10)

The same idea was presented in a shorter form for another seventeen years.(11)

The statement on government quoted above definitely forbade five forms of misbehavior: profanity, irreverent or improper (earlier, obscene) language, disorder in study hours, disregard of the Sabbath and disrespect for religious observance. Four of them clearly were offenses against standards especially upheld by the Church.

For eleven years, 1857 to 1868, the University printed a list of "Requirements and Prohibitions." Many of the requirements would be counted merely good administration today, such as payment of tuition in

9. For first appearance of new material, Cats., 1869-70, p. 29; 1874-75, p. 21; 1883-84, p. 47; 1887-88, p. 44; 1890, p. 50. The order of the material in the final version was, using the dates given above: 1875, 1888, 1870, 1884.

10. Cats., 1855, p. 20; 1857, p. 24.

11. Cats., 1857-58, p. 53; 1873-74, p. 37.

advance or that public exercises of students were to be by direction or consent of the Faculty. There were three, however, that were evidence of management of the University community by clergymen: strict observance of the Sabbath, attendance at church on Sabbath morning and evening, and daily attendance at morning and evening prayers in the Chapel.

The list of "Things Prohibited" included the following: unpermitted association of "Gentlemen and Ladies," games of chance, the use of intoxicating drinks, profane or obscene language, smoking or chewing tobacco, clamorous noises in or about the institution, frequenting barrooms or groceries, and the use of gunpowder in any form on the premises.(12)

The reference to gunpowder recalls an incident of about January, 1888. As students were descending the stairs in Main Hall after a Thursday evening prayer meeting, a revolver in the pocket of a Freshman was accidentally discharged. The bullet struck the banister of the stairs, glanced off, and entered the calf of a Senior by-stander. He carried it there for the remainder of his life.(13)

Because the Methodist Discipline did not look with favor on dancing and the theater, these amusements were long forbidden at Lawrence. Before the Civil War the Faculty, acting as a discipline committee, frequently reprimanded students for attending dances. Students were not permitted to engage in social dancing at all before the time of Plantz, nor to do so in college buildings during the whole of his presidency. Authorities, likewise, enforced the ban against the theater. In June, 1878 the Appleton Crescent expressed its disapproval of the University for not permitting the students to attend "a good theatrical play" given in town.(14) Early in 1868 the Phoenix Literary Society arranged, with the help of certain "ladies," to give a "Drama." They had taken steps to build or acquire scenery when the Faculty ruled that the play might be given, but without scenery. The Society thereupon abandoned its enterprise. The real crux of the matter, or at least the only reason to be found in the records of the Society, was the alleged inappropriateness of having stage scenery in the Chapel.(15)

Lawrence students in the nineteenth century attended many religious services: some as requirements, others voluntarily. On Sundays they were required to attend twice the Appleton church chosen by them-

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12. Editor's footnote: One meaning of "grocery" a century ago was bar-room.
 13. Russell B. Colman to Pres. Knight, Jan. 17, 1958.
 14. Repeated in Appleton Post Crescent, June 21, 1957.
 15. F.M., Feb. 24, 1868, p. 56; Phoenix Society Minutes (Phoenix Soc. Min.), Feb. 22-29, 1868, pp. 22-25.

selves or their parents. Beginning in 1895, they were given the alternative of one preaching service and Sabbath School. On weekdays, for the first quarter of a century, they climbed to the Chapel for prayers six mornings and five afternoons a week. Then for eighteen years (1874 to 1892), there was one chapel service a day, five days a week, held in the late afternoon. Beginning in April, 1892 chapel exercises lasting twenty minutes were scheduled for nine o'clock in the morning. There were five chapel services a week in the morning, though not always at nine o'clock, for the next third of a century. The ending of the five o'clock service in 1892 was a great boon to athletics.

The required religious meetings were supplemented by those of voluntary organizations. The catalogue began to mention a student Missionary Society in 1860, and this continued until in the 1880's it became the Missionary department of the Young Women's Christian Association. In 1880 the Missionary Society adopted a Japanese school girl, christened her Una Lawrence, and contributed to her support for some years.(16)

For more than half a century the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. were very important in the religious life of Lawrence students. Robert Weidensall, first Field Secretary of the national Y.M.C.A., organized associations at Lawrence and at the University of Wisconsin in 1870. There had been earlier associations in a few universities; but these were "the first college associations ever formed by an accredited agent of Y.M.C.A.'s."(17) In spite of the fact that it was mentioned in the catalogue every year after 1870, the Lawrence group may not have had a continuous existence; different later catalogues name 1877 and 1881 as the year of beginning.(18) For many years the catalogue stated: "A Missionary Society and a Christian Association connected with the University are sustained by the students."(19) In its first years, as was usual in colleges throughout the United States, the Lawrence Y.M.C.A. included both men and women. Luther D. Wishard, first National Student Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., was at Lawrence in May, 1884, and at that time a separate organization for women, the Y.W.C.A., was established.

Year after year the catalogue recorded the religious fervor of Lawrence students. After mentioning required attendance at church and chapel services, a statement from the time of President Huntley continued: "For students who wish for further religious advantages, there are the Wednesday evening prayer meetings and the Saturday evening

16. Cats., 1883-84, p. 45; through 1889-90, p. 49.

17. Coll., Nov., 1870, p. 116; Mark Hopkins, History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America (Hist. Y.M.C.A.), 1951, p. 274.

18. Cats., 1901, p. 63; 1909, p. 9, annually through 1925, p. 11.

19. Cats., 1871-72, p. 26; through 1879-80, p. 34.

class-meetings conducted by some one of the teachers; the noon prayer meetings and the two Sunday evening prayer meetings (one for the gentlemen and one for the ladies) wholly under the control of the students."(20) Details varied, of course: the noon prayer meetings initiated in 1880 continued to be held for only five or six years.(21) A Bible class was begun in 1883-84, and the paragraph on voluntary religious worship that year ended with a sentence repeated for twenty years thereafter: "These facilities afford ample opportunity for christian work and christian growth."(22)

The annual "Day of Prayer for Colleges" was a feature of Lawrence life from about the middle of Steele's presidency. Its actual beginnings were not well recorded. There was a "fast day" in 1872 and a "day of fasting and prayer for schools and colleges" two years later. The manner of observing the day was first described in some detail in 1875. Classes were not held. In the morning President Steele preached and others "exhorted"; in the afternoon there was a general prayer meeting. It was apparently intended, among other things, to be a day of decision for the unconverted.(23) The observance of the day followed this pattern for many years.(24) From 1880 until well into the following century, the "Day of Prayer for Colleges" was included in the calendar printed in the catalogue. It was almost always set for the last Thursday in January. The observance of the day passed from the colleges to the church as a whole. In 1880 the Wisconsin Conference resolved that "the day of prayer for colleges be appropriately observed in all our charges."(25)

In its many religious activities, Lawrence was but keeping step with other colleges throughout the nation. John Wesley had established the class meeting, not particularly for colleges but for all his followers; and this one institution was peculiar to Methodists. But compulsory morning and evening prayers were standard practice in American colleges in the eighteenth century and much of the nineteenth. Williams College is credited with originating the annual "Day of Prayer for Colleges" in 1812 and noon prayer meetings in 1832.(26)

20. Cat., 1879-80, p. 28.

21. Cat., 1884-85, p. 37.

22. Cat., 1883-84, p. 45.

23. Coll., Feb., 1872, p. 77; Feb., 1874, p. 72; Feb., 1875, p. 55.

24. Coll. and Neot., Feb., 1881, p. 75.

25. Min. Wis. Conf., 1880, p. 55.

26. Rudolph, Hopkins...Log, 1956, p. 97.

The Faculty found that they must combat "infidelity" among the students. Soon after the keeping of faculty minutes began, a student read a speech at the Saturday exercises "which was bitter against Christianity." He was required to repeat his speech before the Faculty and was then informed that "his continuance in the Lawrence University will depend upon his entirely desisting from disseminating infidel sentiments either in public or in private."(27) This requirement was at once made a general rule and several students were dismissed for refusing to comply with it.(28)

Some weeks later legislation dealing with this matter was entered in the faculty minutes in the following form:

Whereas the Lawrence University is an Institution founded by Christian benevolence, and whereas it is known that fears exist in different parts of the state in reference to sending children to this institution lest their minds should be corrupted by infidel sentiments, therefore

Resolved that while we require no religious tests as conditions of membership in this University, and while we do not wish to interfere with the right of private individual belief and sentiments, yet no student of the Lawrence University can be allowed either publicly to declaim or read or in any manner to disseminate or inculcate publicly or privately infidel views or sentiments or any doctrines [(word omitted?) disrespectful] of the Bible or hurtful to the morals of young people.(29)

But in spite of legislation, the trouble continued. About a year later the Secretary of the Faculty was instructed to inform two male students "that they are prohibited from visiting the Ladies Department till they give assurances that they will no more introduce infidel sentiments in their conversation with the ladies." For this communication the Faculty later substituted "private admonitions" from President Cooke.(30)

The Methodists of Wisconsin judged the University on two counts: how many of the students were converted or "saved"; and how many of them entered the Christian ministry. Nearly every year successful revival services at Lawrence were reported to the Wisconsin Conference and the West Wisconsin Conference. During the nineteenth century forty-four classes were graduated from Lawrence. They included 510 persons, 315 men and 195 women. Of the men, 90, or 28.6 per cent, became clergymen,

27. F.M., Jan. 22, 29, 1855.

28. F.M., Feb. 2, 1855.

29. F.M., Mar. 12, 1855.

30. F.M., Mar. 10, 12, 1856.

nearly all serving the Methodist Church. There were six classes in succession, those of 1862 to 1867, that contained no future clergymen. Largely because of this failure to produce, the percentage for the first half of the period (1857 to 1878) was less than in the succeeding period of equal length.

Wealthy Methodists established Boston University in 1869, and Lawrence University at once entered into a very friendly relationship with it. From the beginning the younger institution included a School of Theology, and this school came to have a prominence in the education of Methodist clergymen almost equal to that of Princeton among Presbyterians. Two Lawrence alumni of 1869, one of 1870, and two of 1871 enrolled in the new School of Theology. In 1875 the President of Boston University wrote:

Lawrence University has reason to be proud of the Alumni she has sent to Boston. If she can keep up the succession worthily she will very soon acquire in these parts a most enviable reputation for man-making discipline. No college has sent us better specimens of strong, cultured, practical men.(31)

One of the men so praised was Bradford Paul Raymond, who returned to Lawrence in 1883 as President. Samuel Plantz received two degrees from Boston University, those of B.D. and Ph.D. While he was President of Lawrence, he appointed a considerable number of persons trained there to places on the Lawrence staff.

As we have seen in ample detail, the Presidents and Faculty of Lawrence in the nineteenth century counted regulations and religious meetings necessary to reach the goals of the institution. If students had obeyed rules and attended meetings with a zeal equal to that of the Faculty, Lawrence would have been a remarkable exemplar of holy living. But the reality was otherwise. Future Methodist ministers, the student group closest to the Faculty in these matters, were only about one-fourth of the male graduates; they were a much smaller part of the student body as a whole. Discipline cases arising from breaches of the rules and other misbehavior never ceased. The following statement seems to be calm and reliable for the year it was made and would probably be true for many other years:

The twenty-fifth of January [1877] was observed as a day of prayer for institutions of learning. Many of the students found it a pleasant day for rest; some for idleness, some for pleasure; a few attended the morning and afternoon services in the chapel.(32)

31. Coll., Nov., 1875, p. 11.

32. Coll., Feb., 1877, p. 82.

Human beings differ markedly from each other. Any one who has taught a large class of college students knows how, at the end of the course, they fall into groups according to their accomplishment. The group that has done best receives the grade of "A," and so on down through the other groups. The pattern is a very stable one. There seems to have been a similar variation among Lawrence students in the nineteenth century in their ability to apprehend religious truth and to make it the guide of their life. Those most highly endowed in a certain direction found an inner satisfaction in prayer meetings and sermons. Not all were so endowed.

CHAPTER XI
INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE,
ACADEMIC PROGRAMS and PROCEDURES
(1847-1894)

The installation of Samuel Plantz as President in 1894 closed one era in the life of Lawrence and opened another. Nothing spectacular happened immediately upon his arrival, but in time he was to transform the institution. All that went before him may conveniently be called the "early college," an enterprise carried on for nearly half a century with relatively little change in ideals and methods. Acquainted with its successive Presidents and with the Methodist atmosphere that prevailed, we now proceed to a study, extending through several chapters, of its organizational forms, its finances, student life and curriculum.

Law and custom all over the United States made the "corporation" the most important part of the college; legally, it was the college. The charter named thirteen Trustees. It listed first three Methodist ministers well known to this narrative: Reeder Smith, Henry R. Colman and William H. Sampson. Then followed five men prominent in government and politics, Henry Dodge, Territorial Governor, being the first named. Among the remaining five was Prof. De Witt C. Vosbury, then a teacher in Sheboygan, Wisconsin. He had received the degree of B.A. at Wesleyan University in 1839 and, so far as we know, was the only charter Trustee of Lawrence with a college degree. Not all of these men were enthusiastic about the young institution. Three of them, including Governor Dodge, never appeared at a Board meeting; and three others, among them Prof. Vosbury, attended but one. Morgan L. Martin resigned after one meeting because he was angry at Reeder Smith. Some time later, however,

he served on the Board for six years.

At first seven Trustees were required for a quorum, and attendance varied from seven to nine, not counting the Visitors. The Board regularly met once a year at an "annual meeting," and after teaching began this meeting coincided with the close of the academic year. There was one special meeting in 1850 and two, concerned with plans for Main Hall, in 1852. In 1855 an amendment to the charter raised the number of Trustees to twenty-five in addition to the President, who was then made a Trustee ex officio. The statute of 1855 fixed the quorum at nine.(1)

The original Charter also authorized the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Wisconsin to elect a Visiting Committee of nine whose duties should be to inspect and report on the condition of the University. Two such Visitors attended the annual meeting in August, 1848. Visitors were later described by statute as "ex officio trustees with all the rights and duties of other trustees."(2) After 1856 the Wisconsin Conference chose only six Visitors; the West Wisconsin Conference formed in that year at first chose three. Later, each conference elected six. From the beginning of the University until the end of the century about five-sixths of the Visitors were Methodist ministers. The Trustees were all men until 1874 when two women were elected. No woman was ever a Visitor. Since the Trustees and Visitors sat together, the governing body of the institution was for decades referred to often, and perhaps usually, as "the Joint Board."

The officers of the Board of Trustees from the beginning were a President, First and Second Vice-Presidents, Secretary and Treasurer. The first President of the Board was Dr. Mason C. Darling (1801-1866) who, except for one year, held that office from 1847 to 1859. Before he came to Wisconsin he had practiced medicine in Massachusetts and had been a member of the Legislature there. He once owned what is now the business district of Fond du Lac, was the first President of the village there and later, first Mayor of the city. He also owned from ten to twelve thousand acres of farm land.(3) As mentioned earlier, William H. Sampson was his nephew. Russell Z. Mason was President of the Board for three years after he resigned as President of the University. After Mason ceased to be President of the Board, George M. Steele accepted this office in addition to the presidency of the University, and held the two simultaneously from 1868 to 1879.

For many years the officers of the Board constituted the Executive Committee. An amendment to the Charter, secured in 1882, provided that the Board should elect its officers as before, but should appoint separately an Executive Committee of from five to nine members.(4)

1. Wis. Statutes, 1855, Ch. 176.

2. Wis. Statutes, 1855, Ch. 176, Section 1.

3. Darling to A.A.L., Dec. 30, 1849, Corresp., vol. II, p. 42.

After that the Board usually put three or four of its officers on this committee. In the early 1890's they met from 16 to 20 times a year, somewhat irregularly; then in Plantz's first year they decided to convene on the first Tuesday of each month.

The Lawrence Charter conferred on the Trustees the right "to have and use a common seal, to alter and renew the same at pleasure." The Trustees directed Sampson, in June, 1850, to secure a "corporation seal and press"; and by November he had the seal. It showed in the center an open Bible from which streamed rays of light in all directions. Above the rays was a cloud; above the cloud, the words, "Light! More Light!" Below the book and the emanations was the motto, "Veritas est Lux." Two concentric circles bounded the seal and between them were the words, "Lawrence University of Wis." Sampson wrote to Amos A. Lawrence:

We have got our seal and I will try to send an impression on this paper. "Light! More Light!" were the last words of Goethe to which "veritas est lux" is a response; the book is placed in a cloud representing the darkness of the human mind from which the light emanates and disperses the darkness.(5)

One of Goethe's biographers says of the origin of the reputed last words:

It became hard for him to speak and his words grew indistinct. Death might come at any moment. It cannot be established with certainty what were his last words, To the servant he called out: "Open also the second shutter in the room so that more light may come in." From this command the words, "More light," have been chosen as symbolical and are often quoted as Goethe's last utterance.(6)

The modern scholar devotes himself to the search for truth not fearing where the quest may lead. This is a noble ideal but it seems not to be the one that Sampson had in mind when he put the words, "Veritas est lux," on the Lawrence seal. He was not emphasizing truth to be gained by man's efforts; he was insisting on the importance to mankind of God's revelation through the Bible. Theodore Parker, a contemporary of Sampson, wrote in a hymn: "We look to Thee; Thy truth is still the Light."

4. Wis. Statutes., 1882, Chap. 16.

5. Nov. 23, 1850, Corresp., vol. IV, p. 107.

6. Albert Bielschowsky, The Life of Goethe, trans. Wm. A. Cooper, 1908, vol. III, p. 364.

In June, 1851 the Board adopted the seal "with instructions to get the date of the foundation of the Institution impressed on it if possible."⁽⁷⁾ The date, 1847, was accordingly placed on the seal above the book where there was really little room for it. In this form the seal was used and reproduced on University publications until the change of name from University to College in 1913.

Less than a month after teaching began Principal Sampson was working on Lawrence's first catalogue.⁽⁸⁾ It appeared in two forms: one of fifteen small pages without a list of students and the other increased by both a list of students and a set of By-laws. These "By-laws" dealt almost entirely with the behavior of students. The fourth catalogue, dated December, 1853, was the first in which President Cooke had a hand. Details about the Preparatory department were greatly condensed but its whole program was characterized as follows: "The Course of Study is designed to embrace all that is requisite for a thorough preparation for entering College, and also those branches usually taught in the popular Male and Female Seminaries of the day."⁽⁹⁾ This catalogue then presented the four-year College course much as it was to be at Lawrence for the next forty years. It also outlined three years work in a Female Collegiate department but this feature did not prove permanent at Lawrence; instead, many women enrolled in the standard College program.

Under President Cooke the catalogue reached a size not to be exceeded thereafter for several decades. The fourth catalogue, Cooke's first, had 24 pages. With one exception each of his catalogues exceeded its predecessor; until his last, the Ninth Catalogue of 1859, contained 52 printed pages. With the eighth catalogue (1857-58) the practice began of giving the list of the alumni.⁽¹⁰⁾ Disregarding this list, the catalogue did not exceed 52 pages until 1890 and often contained considerably fewer than that. For a few years under President Steele it was reduced to 32 pages.⁽¹¹⁾

When the Trustees chose November 12, 1849 as Lawrence's opening day, they also set up an academic calendar. "The year shall be divided into two terms of twenty-two weeks each and four quarters of eleven weeks each." Commencement was assigned to a Thursday that could fall between June 2 and June 8. There would be a vacation of two weeks between terms that would include Christmas and New Year's Day, and one of six weeks after Commencement.⁽¹²⁾ In agreement with this plan, the

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7. Trustee Min., June 7, 1850, p. 47; June 6, 1851, p. 58.
 8. Sampson to A.A.L., Dec. 8, 1849, Corresp., vol. II, p. 27.
 9. Cat., 1853, p. 18.
 10. Cat., 1857-58: Men, p. 7; Women, p. 37.
 11. Cats., 1868-1871.

second school year began on July 19, 1850 and the third, on July 18, 1851.

After the University had a teaching Faculty the Trustees no longer concerned themselves with the calendar. Beginning with 1852-53 the academic year was divided into three terms, and so remained for half a century. There were still 44 weeks in the academic year until 1854 when the number was reduced to 40. Two years later it became 39; and in 1861, 38, the present number.

In the 1850's there was a wide fluctuation in the dates of beginning and ending the year. In 1861 commencement was set on the last Wednesday in June. This was the rule for six years; then for four (1867-70) it came between June 16 and June 19. In 1870 the year-end ceremonies, which had long begun on Saturday evening, were lengthened by moving commencement to Thursday; and there it remained until 1916. Its place on the calendar varied as follows:

1871-1884, between June 26 and July 2.

1885-1894, between June 21 and June 26.

Preparatory, Academic and Commercial Departments

Lawrence University in the nineteenth century maintained Preparatory, Academic and Commercial departments as well as the College proper. The College was more important than these enterprises, both in the nature of its work and because it was the parent of the present institution. Yet in numbers the College was the smallest part of the University until the turn of the century. College students exceeded one hundred in only ten scattered years, all before 1875; and until 1898 -- virtually a quarter-century -- never reached that figure again. Meanwhile these non-collegiate groups, taken together, usually exceeded one hundred and fifty and sometimes two hundred. Thus, two-thirds of the student body was not in the College at all; and most of them were, to use a modern term, of high-school age. This situation was undoubtedly the reason for the paternal quality of University regulations. It meant, too, that College teachers spent much of their time in sub-collegiate teaching.

The Preparatory department prepared students for College work. It was thus linked to the central purpose of the University, while the Academic and Commercial departments were, as President Steele once wrote, merely "collateral."⁽¹³⁾ While it accomplished much else, its

12. Trustee Min., Sept. 18, 1849, p. 27.

chief function was to make certain that those entering College were well grounded in Latin and Greek. Until 1865 these students were divided into two groups, Junior and Senior Preparatory. Many remained more than one year in the lower division. Beginning in 1865 those intending to take the Classical course in College must spend three years in the Preparatory department; and after 1892 three years were required of all. As for subjects other than Latin and Greek, all students began with arithmetic, geography, grammar and spelling, and later studied algebra, physiology and elementary rhetoric. A little more about pre-college work will be included in a later chapter on the College curriculum. President Raymond remarked as early as 1884 that as high schools became general in the cities of Wisconsin, patronage of the Preparatory department was bound to diminish and it would come to serve chiefly young people from rural areas.(14)

The Academic course was for those who wanted a short and (as they perhaps thought) practical education, with no Latin and Greek. It was first mentioned in 1859-60. After stating that Lawrence granted the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science, the catalogue continued: "An academic degree is conferred on such candidates as shall complete the course of instruction or its equivalent, as far as the beginning of the Sophomore year. This is designed as a certificate of character and attainment for such pupils as cannot take the full course."(15) Those taking this course in 1866-67, the first year for which we have a figure, numbered 145.

In 1867-68 the catalogue contained, for the first time, a program of studies for this Academic course covering three years. Most of it was what today would be considered high school work. It began with arithmetic, grammar, and United States history, and included algebra, geometry, and several short courses in science. Two, and later three, terms of French were required. In the last year one took either German or a three-term sequence of Intellectual Philosophy, Logic, and a second term of Geometry. Evidences of Christianity was required.(16)

In 1874 the course was lengthened to four years. Some of the added time was used for more drill in arithmetic, spelling, and grammar in the first year of the course. As the years passed the content of the course steadily improved, and eventually the "Academical" people took the most thought-provoking courses of the Junior and Senior College programs. After 1885 the student was given the choice of French or German in the third year and had no other language work. All these students came to take Astronomy or Political Economy in the third year, and

13. Reports of the Pres., 1875, p. 365.

14. Reports of the Pres., 1884, p. 626.

15. Cat., 1859-60, p. 24.

16. Cat., 1871-72, pp. 24, 25.

Logic, Evidences, Psychology, Chemistry and Geology in the fourth year.(17)

The Academic course was last described in the old way in 1891.(18) In the following year the catalogue had the following in its place: "Special Students. Students who are not candidates for a degree may take an elective course, selecting any study which in the judgment of the Faculty, they are qualified to pursue." In the same catalogue the list of Academic Students appeared for the last time.(19) In 1893 there was a list of Special Students; and this category was continued for more than a decade, the numbers in it varying between twenty and more than fifty.

In the spring of 1898 the Preparatory department was renamed "The Academy," and so continued until it went out of existence in 1911.

The first mention of commercial training at Lawrence that has survived is the inclusion in the Faculty list of 1856-57 of a teacher in the Commercial department named Nathan Paine. In the following catalogue Paine was again listed in one place in the same way, and in another as a teacher of bookkeeping and penmanship.(20) This Nathan Paine graduated from Lawrence in 1860, married his classmate, Olive Copeland, and met his death in battle near the end of the Civil War.

A decade later, in 1867-68, Lawrence outlined a two-year Commercial course. Two-thirds of its content was identical with the earlier part of the Academic course, and doubtless in many subjects the two groups were taught together. This work was equivalent to what is done today in the eighth grade and early high school. It included arithmetic, English, algebra, United States history, natural philosophy, physiology, and geography. In the two years of the Commercial course, however, there were six one-term courses that were more clearly vocational: Penmanship, Bookkeeping (two terms), Business Forms, Commercial Arithmetic, and Commercial Law. This course of study remained little changed for decades. In 1884 the amount of Bookkeeping was raised to six terms or two full years. Stenography and Typewriting were first offered in 1888-89. Beginning at that time one of the special fees was, "use of type-writer, three months, one hour per day, \$10.00."

With the exception of a few years, a teacher of "commercial branches" was included in the Faculty from 1868 onward. The man who gave the longest service in this capacity was Oliver P. DeLand (1872-76 and 1884-1901). Sometimes, but not often, the catalogue gave a list of

17. Cats., 1882, p. 33; 1889, p. 31.

18. Cat., 1891, pp. 31, 45.

19. Cat., 1892, pp. 14, 28.

20. Cats., 1856-57, p. 5; 1857-58, pp. 5, 35.

undergraduates who were "Assistants in the Preparatory, Commercial, and Academical Departments."

The relation of these last two "departments" was so close that in the statistics of enrollment the two were brought together in one figure about half the time between 1867 and 1892. Apparently Academic students usually outnumbered the Commercial until 1887-88 when the Commercial took the lead. Following are the figures for some specimen years chosen because they show separately the Academic and Commercial. They also show how much the Sub-Collegiate students outnumbered the College students.

	1867-68	1874-75	1884-85	1888-89
Sum of four College classes	62	80	63	72
Irregular College	19			
Total College	81	80	63	72
Preparatory	66	97	39	67
Academical	82	76	35	39
Commercial	36	62	34	83
Total Sub-Collegiate	184	235	108	189
College and Sub-Collegiate	265	315	171	261

These figures do not include students in music and painting and drawing.

Degrees and Degree Requirements

During a good part of its nineteenth century existence, Lawrence offered two courses: the Classical, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and the Scientific, ending with the Bachelor of Science degree. Preparation for entering on these courses could be done either in Lawrence's Preparatory department or elsewhere. After 1865 those planning the Classical course must offer three years of Latin and two of Greek for admission to College; that is, they needed three years in the Preparatory department or equivalent work elsewhere. Those intending to become Bachelors of Science must offer two years of Latin and no Greek;

consequently they need spend only two years in the Preparatory department. These were the entrance requirements in language from 1865 to 1883.

From 1868 to 1883 the Classical student was required to take four terms of Latin in College, through the Freshman and in the third term of the Sophomore year. As Scientific students took Latin through their Freshman year, there was not much difference in the amount of time devoted to Latin; but the Scientific people read the more elementary Latin which the Classical people had done in their last year of pre-college work.

Classical students continued to study Greek through their first two years in College. What was given to the Scientific student in place of this Greek was rather miscellaneous and details were frequently changed. Two or more terms of elementary science were always included. Both groups had the same mathematics in the Freshman year, but in the Sophomore year the Scientific people usually had additional mathematics. Following are sample lists of what Scientific people, but not Classical, took in their first two years. Except as indicated, each item is a one-term course.

Term	1865-66	Term	1882-83
		<u>Freshman</u>	
	1. Elementary Rhetoric		1. Comparative Zoology
	2,3. Natural Philosophy (Physics, 2 terms)		2. Civil Government
			3. Botany
		<u>Sophomore</u>	
	1. Industrial Mechanics (Physics)		1. Ancient History
	2. Natural History (Biology)		2. Calculus
	3. Natural Theology and Evidences of Christianity		3. Surveying

If the Bachelor of Science knew more science when he graduated than his Classical contemporary, he had gained his superiority in his first two years of College. Usually identical requirements in science were imposed on both groups in their last two years. In 1883, for example, Classical students graduated with seven terms of science (including astronomy) and Scientific students, with nine. The difference came in what the Scientific students had done as Freshmen.

Almost the only difference in the last two years came in language. In some terms the Classical student could choose between Greek or Latin and French and in other terms, between Greek or Latin and German. The Scientific student had no choice in the matter: he took

the French and the German. If the Classical candidate elected the modern languages he made his Junior-Senior program almost identical with that of the Bachelor of Science.

In 1883 a third course was set up in addition to those leading to the B.A. and B.S. degrees. It was called the Modern Classical course and ended for some years with the degree of Bachelor of Literature. Those who sought the new degree must, like the Scientific people, have two years of Latin for entrance and take Latin through their Freshman year. What particularly characterized them was that they must take two years of French and two of German and finish all this by the end of their Junior year. They studied Latin and French as Freshmen, French and German as Sophomores and German in their Junior year. These language courses had five meetings a week and if a student had two of them, they made up almost two-thirds of his program. What distinguished Modern Classical from Classical students, therefore, was: (1) less was required of them for admission to College; (2) they did less advanced Latin than the Classical; and (3) for Greek they substituted French and German.(21)

Several changes were made in 1892. The phrase, "college of liberal arts," first appeared in a Lawrence catalogue in the following sentence: "The College of Liberal Arts has been organized in three courses, the Ancient Classical, Philosophical and Scientific, leading respectively to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Philosophy and Bachelor of Science."(22) This legislation seemed to abolish the Modern Classical course and the degree of Bachelor of Literature. The community, however, soon transferred the old label, Modern Classical, to the course or program leading to the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy.

From 1892 onward, as already stated, candidates for all degrees must have had three years of Preparatory work before entering College. In fields other than language, entrance requirements were the same for all students. The language requirements were: for those intending to enter the Classical course, three years of Latin and two of Greek; for the Philosophical course, three years of Latin and two of German; and for the Scientific course, two years of German and one of French. It now became possible for Scientific candidates to enter College and graduate from it with no work in Greek or Latin.

At first the three programs did not differ much from those of preceding years. In 1892-93, for example, the Freshman year, besides the exercises in English composition and elocution, consisted of three five hour courses for each program, as follows:

21. See, for example, Cat., 1889, pp. 24-27.

22. Cat., 1892, p. 28.

<u>Classical</u>	<u>Philosophical</u>	<u>Scientific</u>
Latin	Latin	German
Greek	French or German	French

For all three groups, geometry was required for two terms and trigonometry for one term.

As this list shows, according to the regulations for 1892-93, one aiming at the degree of Bachelor of Science studied no science in his Freshman year. But this rule was changed at once. A year later a Freshman with the same goal took only one language, French; and the omission of German gave him time for two terms of Biology and one of Botany. For three years, 1892-95, all students had two terms of Physics and one of Chemistry in their Sophomore year. Under these rules the Scientific student after 1893 had sampled four fields of science by the end of his Sophomore year.

The Modern Classical or Philosophical course had nothing peculiar to itself and might be called eclectic. The required Latin, taken in the Freshman year, was the same as the minimum for Classical students. This group thus had no time to take Zoology and Botany in the Freshman year as did the Scientific group. On the other hand, the Modern Classical was like the Scientific course in having for a time six terms of college level mathematics, and later five.

Many American colleges in the nineteenth century granted a second degree to their graduates of three years' standing. The Lawrence practice was thus regularly described: "The Master's degree is conferred, after a period of three years, upon those who shall have engaged in professional, literary or scientific studies."⁽²³⁾ Under this provision many Lawrence graduates came to have A.M. or M.S. after their names in the lists of alumni. The degree really meant little more than a certain seniority. It was announced in 1889 that the Master's degree would last be conferred on the old terms in 1891.⁽²⁴⁾ After that date, for some years, the candidate for the second degree might (1) do his work at Lawrence; or (2) work at some other college and ask Lawrence to grant the degree; or (3) work by himself and undergo examination at Lawrence; in any case presenting a thesis.⁽²⁵⁾ In 1891 eleven persons paid the fee of six dollars and took a Master's degree at Lawrence. The demand for the degree diminished when it required a year's work. During the decade 1892-1901, the Master's degree was conferred on thirteen persons. In two cases they were stated to be honorary and they may have been so in some of the others. In four of the years no Master's degree was conferred at all.

23. Cats., 1867-68, p. 30; 1890, pp. 48, 49.

24. Cat., 1889, p. 42.

25. Cat., 1890, p. 48; with slight changes, annually to 1899, p. 59.

Lawrence University granted honorary degrees for the first time in 1858, and the granting of such degrees became usual, though there were ten commencements between 1858 and 1894 when none was conferred. The degree most frequently given was that of Doctor of Divinity. Twice in the early days, in 1868 and again in 1877, the University granted an honorary degree of Ph.D. In 1882 there came to the Faculty a memorial from a Joint Committee of the American Philological Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Science asking that the Ph.D. be made "purely a scholastic degree, conferred only on examination or at the completion of a course." The Faculty thereupon adopted a resolution in this sense and referred the matter to the Trustees who apparently concurred.(26)

At the commencement of June, 1894 Lawrence conferred the degree of Ph.D. on one James Ross Kaye. The circumstances connected with this action are not clear.(27) In the catalogue of the same summer was a statement about earning this degree. "The degree of Doctor of Philosophy will be conferred upon candidates . . . who have pursued at least a two years' course of advanced study, approved by the faculty, and presented a satisfactory thesis" In the following year it was added: "One year at least must be spent in residence." After three appearances this matter was omitted from the catalogue.(28) Lawrence did not grant this degree again until 1933 when she conferred it upon the first four graduates of the Institute of Paper Chemistry.

Education for Women

Oberlin College was the first institution in the United States to offer "joint education" to men and women. For a time it had a Collegiate department and a Female department side by side. When College classes began there in the autumn of 1834 "members of the Female Department participated in them and thus for the first time college students shared their class rooms and class instruction with women." In 1837 four women were admitted to the Collegiate course and in 1841 three of them received the A.B. degree. In the next third of a century Oberlin's example in this particular was followed at a number of "small religious colleges in the West which looked to Oberlin for inspiration and leader-

26. F.M., June 26, 1882, p. 129; Trustee Min., June 27, 1882, p. 17, line 6; June 28, p. 21, line 1.

27. Trustee Min., June, 1894, p. 199; F.M., p. 125; Alumni Record (1922), p. 234, lists this conferment as an honorary degree.

28. Cats., 1894, pp. 24, 55; 1895, p. 48; 1896, p. 56.

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ship." Among them were Olivet, Hillsdale and Adrian in Michigan; Iowa College (later Grinnell), Drury, Tabor and Cornell in Iowa; Knox and Wheaton in Illinois; Beloit, Lawrence and Ripon in Wisconsin; and Northfield College (later Carleton) in Minnesota.(29)

A separate organization for women students existed at Lawrence until 1865. It was called in succession: Female Collegiate Department, Female Collegiate Institute, Female Branch, and finally (1861-65) Ladies' Department. From 1853 to 1867 the catalogue outlined a course especially designed for women. For two years it was described as a three years' course and after that, as one of four years. When first mentioned it was accompanied by the statement: "When satisfactorily completed, the student will be entitled to receive the degree of L.B.A. -- Lady Baccalaureate of Arts."(30) Any lady, however, might elect the full four years. In general, and especially from 1858-59 onward, the course for women was much like the Scientific course. It was annually stated: "Ladies completing . . . this Course receive the same Degree as Gentlemen completing the Scientific Course." The Classical course was always open to women.(31) Since the Ladies' course resembled the Scientific course already discussed, its content need not be presented in detail.

For a decade (1855-65) one found the men of the Faculty listed in the catalogue in one place, and women teachers in another as the Faculty of the Female or Ladies' department. After the first class was graduated the lists of alumni and alumnae were separate until 1865-66. Men and women undergraduates were kept in separate lists until 1867; and even after that the list for each class ran through the alphabet twice, naming first the men and then the women. One alphabet for men and women was first employed in 1871.

After the course for women disappeared from the catalogue (1867), men and women students seem to have been offered identical fare, and there is little to say that is especially about women except the statistics of their number. The forty-four classes that graduated between 1857 and 1900 contained 510 persons, of whom 195 or 38.2 per cent were women. In two classes, those of 1862 and 1870, there were no women. In three classes the number of men and women was the same; and in six, the women outnumbered the men. The most remarkable class in this respect was that of 1900, which consisted of three men and twelve women.

It was recognized from the beginning that women might desire in some particulars a different education from men. Later something will be said of offerings in music, and in painting and drawing, fields that

29. Fletcher, History of Oberlin College, 1943, pp. 376, 904.

30. Cat., 1853-54, pp. 16, 17.

31. Cats., 1858-59, p. 53; to 1864-65, p. 34.

had a special attraction for women students.

Normal Department, 1858-1866

A hundred years ago any young man or woman with a college degree was an acceptable teacher; and many taught with much less training. The first catalogue of Lawrence, issued when it had only a Preparatory department, promised: "A Teachers' Class will be formed at the beginning of the term, for the purpose of thoroughly preparing teachers for giving instruction in common schools."⁽³²⁾ In the second catalogue this was made to read: "at the beginning of the first term."⁽³³⁾

In 1858 Lawrence set up a Normal department which offered a four-year course of study prescribed by the Board of Regents of the Normal Schools of Wisconsin. As recounted earlier in connection with finances under President Cooke, this enterprise brought a certain amount of money to Lawrence. The University appointed a Professor of Normal Instruction and English Literature. There was little in his program not already taught in the Preparatory department or the College. As the catalogue stated: "The Disciplinary Instruction of Normal Scholars does not differ essentially from that given to other students of the Institution."⁽³⁴⁾ No foreign languages were required but Greek and Latin were optional in the last two years. There was a strong emphasis on training in the English language.⁽³⁵⁾

The normal work at first interested almost the whole College; and then it receded. Its high point came in 1859-60 when fifty-eight men and thirty-six women were enrolled. The names of most of them also appeared in the lists of the various College classes. For at least one year there was a Model School for practice teaching.⁽³⁶⁾ For three years (1860-63), however, there was no Professor of Normal Instruction, and the "duties of this Department [were] distributed among the other members of the Faculty."⁽³⁷⁾ After that, the chair was filled by a

32. Cat., 1850, p. 15.

33. Cat., 1851, p. 17.

34. Cat., 1859-60, p. 20.

35. E.g., Cat., 1857-58, pp. 51, 52.

36. Cat., 1859-60, p. 36.

37. Cats., 1860-61, p. 5; 1862-63, p. 5.

series of three one-year appointments. Meanwhile the enrollment declined as follows:

1859-60	94	1862-63	15
1860-61	37	1863-63	16
1861-62	33	1864-65	8

After 1865 the catalogue listed no students, and after 1866, named no Professor of Normal Instruction.

Introduction of the Elective System

A prescribed program was at one time usual in colleges throughout the United States and this system was only gradually modified during the last third of the nineteenth century. President Eliot of Harvard was not the first to advocate free election, of course, but the example of Harvard under his leadership was perhaps the greatest single influence (aside, perhaps, from student pressure) working in that direction.

At Lawrence the first step in breaching the old system was announced and justified in the catalogue of May, 1884, the first issued after Bradford P. Raymond became President. Included in the announcement was some interesting educational theory.

A new departure is to be made . . . in the matter of electives. Hitherto as in many of our Colleges, the amount of required work has been so extensive that there has been no opportunity for elective studies. We are but following the lead of the great German Universities, and of the broadest English and American Universities in this provision, which, while it does not forget the necessity for the thorough discipline of the whole man, nor forget that discipline is the chief end of a Curriculum of study, takes account also of the different tastes and aptitudes of different minds, and responds to the legitimate demand for practical results It is our purpose ultimately to enable students to carry on any specialty in Ancient or Modern Languages, in History, Literature, Philosophy, Mathematics or Science, to the end of the course by means of this system of electives.(38)

This last sentence, which was not repeated in 1885, is especially interesting as pointing toward a major, something that was not to be realized at Lawrence for a long time to come.

In the following year much of the statement made in 1884 was repeated, but a note of caution was expressed:

In order that the student may receive most advantage from electives, the line of studies should be clearly determined at the beginning of the elective course and rigidly followed to the end. Electives in many and widely different departments are not profitable.(39)

There were still no elective courses for Freshmen and practically none for Sophomores. But beginning in 1884 the catalogue listed some twenty-odd courses that were available to Juniors and Seniors as electives. It came to be the rule that classes would be formed in any course if desired by five or more students. "If there is a less number the organization of the class will be at the discretion of the faculty."(40) Before this time each student, besides the exercises in composition and elocution, had taken three classes a term, each meeting five times a week. Most of the required courses were still either four or five hours a week; but nearly all the new electives were two-hour courses. Consequently a great many Junior and Senior programs now consisted of two required courses, the two adding up to eight, nine, or ten hours a week, and as many two-hour electives as the student had time for. Fifteen or sixteen hours a week made up the normal load. For a time (1885-89) the catalogue named the elective courses in which classes were actually organized; they varied in number from eight to twelve each year. Those most in demand were English Literature, Metaphysics, and science work beyond the required courses. German was required of Modern Classical students, but was regularly elected by others.

Most of the prescribed courses were still required of all students, whatever the degree they sought. All must take one term each of chemistry, physics, astronomy and geology. Likewise, in the area of philosophy and civil polity, all students took the following seven: Political Economy, Logic, Evidences of Christianity, Ethics, Philosophy of Religion, Aesthetics, and Psychology. In addition, there were some requirements that varied according to the degree sought: Scientific students had slightly more required science, and candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Literature, more work in modern languages. On the whole, the heart of the old system of prescribed courses was still preserved down to 1892.

39. Cat., 1885, p. 35.

40. Cats., 1885, pp. 35, 36; 1886, p. 39.

About the time when Plantz became President, the College was finding it hard to make up its collective mind in the matter of prescribed work versus free electives. There were frequent changes in regulations, many of them very short-lived. A student's load then amounted to from 45 to 48 term-hours a year. The rules for 1892-93 gave Juniors and Seniors unprecedented freedom: only fifteen hours were required in the total of ninety or more in the student's last two years.(41) Such freedom of choice could not continue. In 1895-96 thirty hours were required in the Junior and Senior years together. Approximately this amount of prescribed work continued to the end of the century, but courses were put on and off the required list in a somewhat bewildering fashion.

Scholastic Records

A college owes it to students and the public to keep permanent academic records; Lawrence has performed this duty well. An early catalogue stated: "Each Teacher will keep a register of the merit of Students in their recitations, marking each from one to ten, according to its character."(42) The books kept by individual teachers have vanished, but consolidated records are available from the opening of the institution. A list of names was made out each term; after each name came the number of courses reported, most frequently three; then followed an average of the course grades made out, like the grades furnished by the teachers, on the scale of ten. The results were often fractional; e.g., some grades taken at random: 5 $\frac{1}{3}$, 9 $\frac{1}{3}$, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$, 7.(43) Beginning in January, 1855 these averages were set down in a decimal form: e.g., 7.86, 9.08, 9.80.(44)

If there were a third figure after a student's name, it indicated the number of demerits he had accumulated during the term. One demerit resulted from each unexcused absence from recitation, prayers, or public worship on Sabbath, or from one's room in study hours. Demerits could be a serious matter. The catalogue stated (not in very careful writing):

41. Cat., 1892, p. 45.

42. Cat., 1853-54, p. 19.

43. Cat., 1854, p. 61.

44. Cat., 1854, p. 74.

A student receiving 15 demerit marks during one term will be privately reproved -- 25 publicly reproved, after which such other discipline as may be thought for the good of the school. At the close of each term, a public report of merit and demerit of each student will be made and placed upon record.(45)

A certain Julius F. Kellogg taught at Lawrence for four years having in his last year (1866-67) the title, Professor of Pure and Mixed Mathematics. He then took a leave of absence for a year, but never returned to Lawrence. He prepared a book entitled A College Register which marked an improvement in the methods of record-keeping. In this book Lawrence recorded grades for five years, beginning in the fall of 1867. The book had an unusual form: its pages measured about 17 1/2 by 22 inches, and when it lay open there was a huge double-page spread. Below certain headings were twelve horizontal bands, 1 1/4 inches high and nearly 44 inches long. Each of these spaces, much subdivided by red lines, was designed to contain the record of one student for four years. Three grades were entered here for each course each term: first, a "term standing"; second, an "examination standing." Counting the first as two-thirds and the second as one-third, the bookkeeper reached an "average," which was the third grade posted. This last seems the only essential one. No demerits were recorded in this book.

Beginning in 1872 the University used a new book for these records, having the same material, but differently arranged. The pages measured about 10 by 15 1/2 inches and one was allotted to each student in the College. There was space for certain information at the top and bottom of the page; apart from this, the record of each year was given a quarter of a page. As in the previous book, three grades were entered for each course each term, except for public speaking and rhetorical exercises for which only one was recorded. It became customary to omit the decimal point and set down the grades as 980, 875 and the like. Another book followed which was used from 1884 to 1898. It was much like its predecessor except that in the record for the Junior and Senior years it had separate spaces for required and elective courses.

The keeping of these academic records was the responsibility of the Secretary of the Faculty, after 1882 listed as "Registrar and Secretary of the Faculty." This appointment for some time added one hundred dollars to a professor's annual salary. When it was time to decide about ranks and honors in the Junior or Senior class, the Secretary of the Faculty made reports beginning in this fashion:

Hattie Lummis, 950 27/53, first honor
William B. Millar, 922 25/52, second honor(46)

45. Cat., 1853-54, p. 20.

46. F.M., May 28, 1889, p. 404.

Such calculations had to be made every year for each member of the two classes. In 1892 the Secretary began to use a decimal point again, reporting averages in the form, "89.51."(47)

One more practice, early abandoned, may be mentioned. For two decades (1854 to 1873) the Faculty chose an examining committee from outside its ranks, varying in number from twelve to eighteen. The majority were clergymen; a few were physicians or lawyers from Appleton or vicinity; and, toward the end, four or five women, some of them alumnae of Lawrence, were included. Appointed for a year, they conducted oral examinations at the close of each term. They gave no grades, but simply certified, course by course, that persons named had "passed a satisfactory examination."(48) A graduate of 1871 later recalled that these examiners "all joined to help us realize in the present some of Dante's conceptions for the future 'unprepared.'"(49) Some classes were so large, however, "as to preclude the possibility of all being heard."(50) During 1873-74 written final examinations were administered to the students and the results were made available to the outside examiners. After that, the Lawrence Faculty dispensed with such assistance.(51)

Organization of Alumni

Four men and three women, receiving their degrees in 1857, became the first alumni of Lawrence. By 1894 thirty-eight classes had graduated, 402 baccalaureate degrees had been conferred, and there were about 375 living alumni. An alumni meeting early became a feature of commencement week, and an "Alumni Banquet" was new in 1885.(52)

Whether the alumni were organized before 1866 is unknown; but in that year, when graduates numbered about eighty, an Alumni Association was in existence. It was beginning to build up an endowment fund

47. F.M., May 3, 1892, p. 79.

48. Some of their reports (1857-60) were entered in the record book of 1849-67.

49. Coll. and Neot., Mar., 1881, p. 83.

50. Collegian (Coll.), Dec., 1873, p. 45.

51. Last listed, Cat., 1873-74, p. 33.

52. Law., June, 1885, p. 29.

intended to support a professorship held by a graduate of the University. The Joint Board promised the Association in 1867 that money given to this Fund would be "sacredly held . . . in trust for [this] purpose." The President of the Association at this time was Thomas Coles Wilson, '59.(53) Between 1866 and 1871 the alumni contributed about \$4,500 to this fund; and by 1894 it had grown, partly by the addition of interest, to something over \$9,000.(54)

Three teachers in succession held the chair supported in whole or in part by this foundation; and all had the title, Alumni Professor of Natural History and Geology, natural history meaning biology. The three were:

Wilbur F. Yocum, '60, this chair, 1874 to 1876
 Frank Cramer, '86, 1886 to December, 1891
 Dexter P. Nicholson, '81, 1892 to 1903

By 1903 the growth of the University had made a division of work necessary. A new man, not a graduate of Lawrence, came to teach biology while Nicholson continued to teach geology, on half-time and half-salary, until his death in April, 1907. The title of Alumni Professor was not used after 1903, although the "Alumni Chair Fund" continued to appear in the annual reports of the Treasurer for many years.

In 1881 the alumni published the first Alumni Record. It contained a brief history of the University and short biographies of Presidents and most Faculty members from the beginning to that date. About two-thirds of its ninety pages were given over to notices about graduates. It was fortunate that this information was gathered when it was still available. Much of it was copied into later Alumni Records.

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53. Alumni Record (1881), letter preceding title page; Agreement . . . concerning the Endowment Fund of the Alumni Professorship, Nov. 1, 1867.
54. Treasurer's Reports (Treas. Reports), 1894.

CHAPTER XII
FINANCES: THE ENDOWMENT,
THE CAMPUS, AND ITS BUILDINGS
(1865-1894)

In a private college such as Lawrence a student does not pay more than a small part of the cost of his education. A college therefore lives as an eleemosynary and charitable foundation: it asks gifts of the public in order to benefit students, both now and in the future. It appeals first for help in meeting the inexorable items of current expense, teachers' salaries, janitor service, fuel and the other indispensables. Also, a college asks for an "adequate" endowment; toward this goal most colleges are constantly striving, though often from a great distance. And finally, new buildings are always, and often desperately, needed.

New England made its last large gifts to Lawrence University during the years of the Civil War. After that, the institution subsisted almost entirely on resources available to it in the West: pretty largely, on what Methodists of Wisconsin could or would contribute. Between the close of the Civil War and the installation of Plantz as President, the students of Lawrence paid perhaps one-fourth of the University's current expenses. Endowment being small, especially in the early part of the period, it fell to the Trustees and the successive Presidents to find the money needed every year. They were also faced with the problems of building the endowment as they were able and of financing any new buildings and equipment needed.

When George M. Steele became President, Mason, his predecessor, had just freed the University from debt. The endowment principal at that time, apart from the Library Fund, was about \$7,000. In Steele's first eight years he led the University in three efforts to add to this amount, two of them concurrent. In 1865 the Methodist Church began a campaign to mark the one-hundredth anniversary of its existence in America. The outcome for Lawrence was a Centenary Fund consisting of pledges amounting to about \$18,000.(1) Simultaneously, the alumni, who by 1866 numbered 82, began to build an Alumni Fund. Within five years they paid into it about \$4,500.(2) Thirdly, in June, 1871 Steele and the Trustees initiated a campaign to add \$100,000 to the endowment. In two years their solicitor, the Rev. John P. Roe, gathered pledges amounting in all to some \$35,000.(3) These subscriptions made up the "New Endowment," a separate item in the reports of the Treasurer for many years.

A substantial part of the product from each of these efforts was promissory notes on which the signer meant at first to pay interest and not principal. Because of the hard times that began in 1873 and perhaps for other reasons, there was a great shrinkage in all these funds.(4) The three figures given above added up to \$57,500. In 1879 the same funds taken together gave a total of only \$36,619. In Steele's fourteen years, endowment rose from about \$7,000 to \$51,400.(5)

Steele apparently found the financial side of his work very distasteful. He gave much of his time during his first year as President to raising money for the Centenary Fund. He later wrote of this work: "Still no man can know what I suffered. I look back upon it now as upon some horror of great darkness."(6) In June, 1867 the Board insisted that he take over the duties of both General Agent and Fiscal Agent. As such, he was chief solicitor of funds and handled expenditure and investments. Nine years later, he recalled:

It is very well known by the older members of the board that these responsibilities were not assumed by me willingly, but were rather forced upon me at a time when I was almost totally inexperienced in such matters and when I had never suspected

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1. Reports of the Pres., 1879, pp. 453, 455. In this, his final report, Steele reviewed the financial history of his whole administration.
 2. Alumni Record (1881), notice before title page.
 3. Reports of the Pres., 1879, p. 456.
 4. Reports of the Pres., 1874, p. 354; 1876, p. 390.
 5. Treas. Reports, June, 1879, p. 1.
 6. Reports of the Pres., 1879, p. 455.

myself or been suspected of any financial capability.(7)

By constantly soliciting funds and abstaining from expansion, Steele managed with negligible exceptions to balance expense accounts during his first seven years. Then a combination of circumstances brought disaster. Believing it essential to the future of the University, he began the establishment of an Engineering department. He also added features which he thought would earn money for the University: a Commercial department in 1872-73 and a Juvenile department two years later. The annual current expense account, which had been running at less than \$8,000 a year before June, 1872, rose at once to more than \$10,000, and soon to \$12,000. When Steele made most of his innovations he had a plan to meet the added expense, especially at first: he would sell an unused part of the campus and, funding the proceeds, finance his new enterprises with the interest. As will be shown presently, no such income was available for many years and not at all while Steele was President.

Meanwhile, the depression of 1873 descended on the state and on the institution. The number of students in the College and Preparatory departments together, 226 in 1873-74, fell to fewer than 150 in Steele's last three years. Revenue from students, over \$3,000 annually for the years 1872-75, fell by 1879 to about half that amount. All the new ventures became financial liabilities and had to be terminated. The result of all these factors was calamitous. "Current Expenses" borrowed a few hundred dollars from endowment in 1872-73, and more the following year. After that the amounts increased greatly. When Steele resigned in 1879, more than \$14,000 of endowment money had been "borrowed."(8)

In Steele's time there were several changes in the campus: some rather minor, one very important. As told earlier, the University bought the corner north of the present Colman Hall in 1858 and used the house there as a dormitory for men and a boarding place for students of both sexes.(9) In 1871 it sold this property for \$3,600. In accordance with the terms of the sale, the house was divided; the University removed the larger part and relocated it beside the Methodist Church on the northeast corner of College Avenue and Drew Street. The Trustees fitted up the lower floor for instruction in music and painting and put the ladies' literary societies upstairs.(10) This property was sold to Welcome Hyde in 1874, but he allowed the University to use the old building for some years.(11) It was finally razed, probably in

7. Reports of the Pres., 1876, p. 395.

8. \$14,072.49, Treas. Reports, June 20, 1879, p. 3.

9. Coll., Oct., 1868, p. 70.

10. Coll., Oct., 1871, pp. 12, 13.

11. 36 Deeds 336, Aug. 5, 1874.

1884.(12)

Another building was temporarily a part of the University. Very early in Appleton history a certain Thomas Hanna erected a hotel on the northeast corner of College Avenue and Lawe Street.(13) The Trustees of Lawrence considered buying this property in 1868, but did not do so.(14) For a short time, ending in 1874, the former hotel housed a private school of high quality called the Appleton Collegiate Institute.(15) For several years Lawrence University rented this building. At first it used it for a Juvenile department (1874-77) and perhaps for other non-collegiate work; also, in part, as quarters for the women's literary societies.(16)

Much more significant than the history of these frame buildings was the sale in 1874 of the campus north of College Avenue. The reason for the sale was the desire, long cherished and long frustrated by poverty, to increase curricular offerings and thus improve the quality of the University. It will be remembered that in 1848 George W. Lawe gave to Lawrence Institute land extending from the Fox River on the south to a line running east and west about one hundred feet beyond the present North Street. The eastern boundary of this property was Union Street, and after 1858 the campus reached to Drew Street on the west. In 1873 and 1874 the University sold what was beyond North Street for \$1,100.

The Trustees, led by Steele, decided, in June, 1874, to sell the rectangle bounded by College Avenue and Drew, North and Union Streets -- in all about twenty acres. They shortly had an opportunity to dispose of the whole tract as a unit. The purchaser was Captain Welcome Hyde, a resident of Appleton and a lumber operator and dealer in pine lands.(17) Hyde's offer was \$40,000; he gave one note for \$4,000 payable within ninety days and another for \$36,000. He promised to extinguish this debt within ten years paying interest at ten per cent on the note or any unpaid balance. This was the bargain of August, 1874.(18)

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12. Treas. Reports, 1884, p. 2, Investments.
 13. The College purchased this site in 1961, made the house on it into offices for the President and others, and renamed it Wilson House.
 14. Trustee Min., June 16, 1868, p. 296.
 15. L. P. Kellogg, "David Starr Jordan in Wisconsin," Wisc. Mag. of History, vol. 17, pp. 266-276, (Mar., 1934).
 16. Reports of the Pres., 1874, p. 352; Souvenir, 1893, p. 114; Coll., June, 1877, p. 137; Nov., 1877, p. 34.
 17. Spencer, Pioneers, 1895, pp. 226-235.
 18. Off. Reg. Dds., 36 Deeds 336, Aug. 5, 1874.

In George W. Lawe's deed of 1848 he had stipulated that if the Institute were not located on this land, it would revert to him or his heirs. Once before, in 1871, on learning that the Trustees were considering the sale of part of his gift, Lawe had approached the University with an offer touching the property which lay north of College Avenue: he would quitclaim a part of it to the University upon the conveyance of the remainder to himself.(19) Late in 1874, in view of the recent sale to Hyde, Lawe brought suit to recover all the land he had conveyed in 1848 on the ground that the University had violated the condition laid down in 1848. The suit eventually reached the Supreme Court of Wisconsin which decided that no conditions contained in the deed of 1848 had been violated.(20) This decision did not alter Lawe's stand.

Lawe's claim to a reversionary right wrecked the bargain of 1874 and caused it to be replaced by another. Hyde never made the first payment of \$4,000 promised in 1874. Even after the decision by the state Supreme Court, he felt that title to the land in question was not perfect. He tried to get out of his involvement altogether by proffering to the University a quitclaim deed to the property, but the University refused to accept it.(21) After long negotiation Hyde and the University, in November, 1877, came to a new agreement. The mortgage and notes drawn in 1874, on which Hyde had paid nothing, were returned to him, the interest that had accrued being forgiven. He now gave a note for \$25,000 secured by mortgage and bearing interest at seven per cent. For the other \$15,000 he persuaded the University to accept pine lands in Wood County.(22)

The bargain of 1877 was eventually carried out. Steele ceased to be President in June, 1879, and up to that point the University had not received anything from the sale of the campus. It seems likely, however, that by that time someone had thought up the measures that would remove the incubus of Lawe's claim, though these measures were not applied in practice until 1880.

In November, 1877, or soon thereafter, the University commissioned Hyde to get a release from Lawe covering the whole of his gift, both north and south of College Avenue, if it could be accomplished for \$5,000. First Hyde and then the Trustees negotiated with Lawe, but both failed. What followed is not fully documented. Someone apparently suggested, perhaps Hyde himself, that the University give him a credit of \$5,000, he to deal with Lawe as best he could. At any rate, a debt of

19. Trustee Min., June 27, 1871, pp. 332, 323.

20. Wisconsin Supreme Court Reports, Jan. term 1876, vol. 39, pp. 345-360.

21. Reports of the Pres., June, 1876, p. 392.

22. Trustee Min., Nov. 8, 1877, pp. 382-384; Off. Reg. Dds., 32 M 373, same date. (Wisconsin Rapids is the county seat.)

\$20,000 began to be mentioned, rather than one of \$25,000.(23)

As a sequel to all this, Hyde proceeded to handle the difficulty piecemeal. He secured from Lawe a series of quitclaim deeds each releasing a few lots. Six such deeds have been found, executed between 1880 and 1883. Together they covered most of the area in question between College Avenue and Franklin Street. Two of the instruments did not specify the price paid, if any; but three times Hyde paid Lawe \$500, and once, \$300.(24)

Hyde arranged with the University that, as he sold parts of the tract, he might take a mortgage from the purchaser, assign the mortgage to the University and receive credit for it, each time reducing his own indebtedness to the University. The record shows seven such credits, distributed in time from July 8, 1880 to November 8, 1883. The last of these credits completed the redemption of the mortgage Hyde had given six years before. In three years and four months he paid the University, largely or entirely in mortgages, a little less than \$26,000. Part of this amount was for interest.(25)

On June 30, 1880, as Hyde was beginning to find a way out of all this involvement, he paid the University \$1,000 in interest. This payment was, so far as we know, the first proceeds from the sale of the campus.(26)

Hyde sold the northern half of his purchase to the City of Appleton; it is called City Park today. The council voted to buy it on July 19, 1882, the price agreed upon being \$13,000. The city paid \$1,000 to Hyde at once. For the rest, Hyde deeded the land back to the University, and the city gave a mortgage and entered into a contract to pay \$12,000 to the University. "City Bonds" at a valuation of \$12,000 were twice listed as "productive property" by the Treasurer of the University.(27) The city completed payment on March 8, 1887.

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23. Cf. Steele's phrase, "the twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars for which we have Captain Hyde's obligation," Reports of the Pres., June, 1878, p. 431; Trustee Min., June 30, 1880, p. 417; summary of same, Treas. Reports, 1884, p. 3; see also Treas. Reports, 1880, p. 5, under Notes and Mortgages: "Hyde, face of note, \$25,000; principal unpaid, \$20,000."
 24. Off. Reg. Dds., 50 D 41, 349; 56 D 194, 206, 220, 234.
 25. Original mortgage, Nov. 8, 1877, 32 M 573; final release, 42 M 83; total of credits, \$25,935.15.
 26. Note by Huntley appended to Treas. Reports, 1880.
 27. Treas. Reports, 1884, 1885.

One would be glad to know that the pine lands in Wood County accepted in 1877 as worth \$15,000 appreciated in value and were ultimately sold for more than this amount. Unfortunately this was not the case. In March, 1883 the University sold all these lands for \$3,800.(28) There were certain expenses connected with the sale and perhaps some taxes to pay; the net receipts from the sale were \$3,217.78.(29)

The history of the sale of the campus north of College Avenue thus extended over the last five years of Steele's presidency, the whole of Huntley's, and part of Raymond's. In 1916 the College bought the site of the Chapel, a first installment in repossessing what had been sold forty years before. When this purchase was about to be made, President Plantz wrote:

If our predecessors had had vision we would have had one of the best campuses in the country, including a fine athletic ground . . . This, however, has not been done and I do not know as it could be avoided. After I talked with President Steele and he told me of the fearful financial struggles of the college . . . when the property north of College Avenue was sold, I felt less like criticizing the men who had gone before me.(30)

Steele's last five years were, on the financial side, one long agony. Every year there was a large deficit, and every year he offered or at least discussed his own resignation. Thus, in 1876, after dismissing the idea of reducing faculty salaries, he wrote:

I can see but one other possible way to make our expenditures approximate the amount of our income. That is my own resignation or leave of absence for a year in which case the Faculty might manage matters through the year and so save the salary of the President.(31)

By 1876 Steele was convinced of his own inability to solve the financial problem. Yet he had hopes that it could be solved by someone else. In his last annual report, he looked into the future in these words:

The reasons for my resignation are implied in the present [financial] situation of the college. I feel that the time has

28. Off. Reg. Dds., Wood County, 3 Deeds 309.

29. Treas. Reports, 1883, 1884, both years under heading, "Non-productive."

30. Plantz to Rosebush, Dec. 11, 1915, No. 344.

31. Reports of the Pres., June, 1876, p. 391.

come for a movement which I do not feel I have the ability and energy to conduct with any assurance of success. I am confident that someone else can.(32)

Steele probably wrote this knowing that Huntley had been chosen as his successor.

Huntley was still busy during the summer of 1879 winding up his duties as Presiding Elder, and only about October 1 was he able to enter fully upon his duties as President of the University. Between that time and the following June, he occupied himself almost entirely with finances; and much of the time he was absent from Appleton. Including the operating deficit for 1879-80, there was a debt of about \$12,000.(33) Huntley took subscriptions at the annual meetings of the two Conferences; in visits to thirty-three churches he raised more than \$2,400; he offered himself as a lecturer, mostly or entirely in Methodist churches, and earned \$678 in that way. He asked the pastors throughout the state to take up collections. In his circular to them he said: "It would seem that if the Methodists of Illinois can support six colleges and the Methodists of Iowa five, we ought surely to support one." He also added: "The religious interest among the students is very great, the college having been blessed with two glorious revivals . . . during the year. It seems wicked to close the school under such circumstances."(34)

The greatest single gift that year came from Joseph Rork of Appleton who, in May, 1880, offered the University six thousand dollars to be used in payment of the existing indebtedness, provided the University would pay him six hundred dollars a year as long as he lived. A year later, Rork offered an additional two thousand, asking an annuity of seven per cent. He thus received supposedly \$740 a year from 1881 or 1882 until his death in 1894. Near the end of his life, however, he gave the University an additional sum of \$5,881.05.(35)

32. Reports of the Pres., June, 1879, p. 458.

33. Reports of the Pres., 1880, p. 479. At about the same time, a Trustee resolution stated that the University owed \$14,072.49 to its endowment fund. Trustee Min., 1880, p. 417.

34. Reports of the Pres., 1880, pp. 478, 479.

35. Treas. Reports, Apr. 30, 1894, p. 1. Such an odd figure hints at the cancellation of an interest-bearing obligation.

At commencement time in June, 1880 Huntley was able to announce that only \$1,754.95 was then needed to extinguish the debt. Almost half of this accomplishment was due to Rork's first gift of \$6,000. The Trustees promptly subscribed over a thousand dollars; another thousand was received from Welcome Hyde that week in interest; and thus it was possible before commencement was over to declare the University out of debt. Yet Huntley said, perhaps for the ears of the Trustees alone:

"Even if the entire amount subscribed should be collected, which of course it will not be, yet the money obtained . . . is so small in proportion to the cost of getting it that if the question of continuing to keep the President in the field . . . was to be settled by his success in obtaining ready money during the year past, I for one would vote against such continuance." Unless the Methodists of Wisconsin can do better the University "must so curtail itself as to die of very littleness."(36)

Huntley had thus at the end of his first year made provision for the eventual, if not immediate, payment of the outstanding indebtedness. His experiences of that year had convinced him that a campaign to raise an adequate endowment had at that time no prospect of success. As a matter of fact, throughout his presidency he had to struggle in the area of finance with the same intensity as during his first year. In May, 1882, near the end of his third year, the situation was still almost desperate. "We had not at this time enough money subscribed to make it certain that we should be able to retain our full complement of teachers during the year to come and I was determined to let nothing interfere with my efforts to obtain the needed sum."(37)

The most permanent monument to President Huntley was the building long known as the President's House. After it was announced that Lawrence University was out of debt, a new growth could begin. At that commencement of 1880 the Trustees authorized and directed the Executive Committee "to build a President's House using endowment money for the purpose." The building was not to cost more than \$3,000, and the President should pay a rent which would "net the endowment seven per cent over and above insurance and probable repairs." Excavation began in October. In that same month the Trustees increased the authorized cost to \$4,000; and President Huntley agreed to pay an annual rental of \$300. In April, 1881 the University gave a promissory note to President Huntley for \$1,600, without interest and payable October 1, 1882, "it being the amount furnished by said Huntley in building the President's House."(38)

36. Reports of the Pres., 1880, pp. 488, 489.

37. Reports of the Pres., 1882, p. 574.

38. Trustee Min., July 1, 1880, p. 418; Oct. 14, 1880, p. 423; Apr. 5, 1881, p. 428.

In the Treasurer's reports for the two years ending June 20, 1881 and 1882, under the heading of "Investments," there was an item: "President's House, \$2,400." Then for nine years, 1883 to 1891 inclusive, the entry, still under "Investments," was "President's House, \$4,000." Only in 1892 was this building given a place, along with the "University Building," in the list of Non-Productive Property. It was the residence of the Presidents of the University until 1956 when it was christened Sampson House and most of its space was given over to offices.

Bradford P. Raymond, like his predecessors, struggled continuously in the financial area. In his time endowment grew a little and Ormsby Hall was erected, though not entirely paid for. It will be remembered that the Methodist Church in the United States was founded at the so-called Christmas Conference at Baltimore that began December 24, 1784. The approach of the one-hundredth anniversary of this gathering was the occasion for another "centenary" campaign for the benefit of many church enterprises. As a part of this movement the Rev. J. E. Irish secured pledges to the endowment of Lawrence amounting to \$25,000 (June, 1883 to May, 1884). John H. Van Dyke, a Trustee, also initiated a separate effort; he gave \$5,000 on condition that \$50,000 be added to the endowment. He later ruled that his condition had been met by the subscription of \$30,000 plus \$20,000 toward Ormsby Hall.

In the summer of 1885 the Wisconsin Conference pledged \$10,000 for the Lawrence endowment and the West Wisconsin Conference, \$5,000. Both Conferences intended to pay six per cent interest on the pledge or unpaid balance and to reduce the principal every year. Nine years later, when Plantz became President, the Wisconsin Conference had paid off about one-fourth of the principal, or less than \$300 a year; the other Conference had just about paid the interest.(39)

Unfortunately the endowment figures shrank under Raymond much as they had done under Steele. In Raymond's last report as President, he summarized financial developments in his time. Endowment capital had been a little above \$50,000 in May, 1883. The additions mentioned above should have given a total far above the \$81,283 reported for May 1, 1889. Raymond explained as follows:

The discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that notes to the amount of several thousand dollars carried as good six years ago

39. Min. Wis. Conf., 1885, p. 57; Min. W. Wis. Conf., 1885, p. 83; annual Treas. Reports, 1885.

have been dropped out and by the fact that the \$15,000 pledged by the two Wisconsin Conferences is not reported in the treasurer's report for the reason that the treasurer has nothing to show for it.(40)

Giving his best efforts to securing money for endowment and for Ormsby Hall, Raymond failed almost every year to find enough money to meet current expenses. In six years he fell behind on this score about \$12,700. He wrote in his final report: "This deficit is the black beast that has haunted my sleep like a nightmare."(41)

Upon the completion of Main Hall, the building that had preceded it became a dormitory for women. After it burned in 1857 the University's greatest need was a new "Ladies Hall"; each President in turn urged it as a necessity. The Lawrentian once quoted:

"For her my tears shall fall,
For her my prayers ascend;
For her my cares and toils be given,
Till toils and cares shall end,"

and added:

"The sentiment expressed by the above lines of sacred poetry fitly illustrates the President's position in regard to the ladies' hall."(42)

In February, 1885 Mr. David Green Ormsby, a manufacturer in Milwaukee, signified his intention of giving at least \$15,000 toward a Ladies' Hall.(43) Ormsby became a Trustee in June, 1885 and served on the Board until his death in August, 1894. Within a year he transferred stocks to the University which were later sold for about \$12,000.(44) The effort to raise more money for the dormitory went slowly; but in January, 1888 the Board resolved to proceed with the erection of Ormsby Hall.(45)

40. Reports of the Pres., 1889, p. 30.

41. Reports of the Pres., 1889, p. 27.

42. Law., Apr., 1888, p. 135. Third stanza of hymn by Timothy Dwight beginning, "I love thy kingdom, Lord, The house of thine abode." The hymn was an adaptation of Psalm 137.

43. Exec. Com., Feb., 1885, p. 67.

44. Reports of the Pres., June, 1889, p. 30.

45. Trustee Min., Jan. 10, 1888, p. 126.

The architect of the new building was Mr. Warren H. Hayes of Minneapolis. His services did not include supervision, and to oversee the work the University employed a retired carpenter at \$1.50 a day. The builders were Henry Hoffman and John Hackworthy of Appleton. Construction began about June, 1888 and continued for a little more than a year.(46) The building then extended west of the main entrance only to the jog beyond the first double window, the remainder being added in 1906.(47) The first description of the Hall by the Lawrentian concluded with these words: "The building is full of little nooks and crooks, is well lighted and well ventilated and has all of the latest improvements such as electric and gas lighting, steam heating, etc."(48) The "etc." was probably meant to include the first "modern plumbing" in the history of the University. A sewer was built from the river to the Hall "with a branch to be extended when required to the College building."(49) The total costs, as calculated in June, 1889, were just under \$28,000. There were later expenses for furnishings, grading and sidewalks, and the improvement of the water supply. Thus, in 1891, there was a bill "for boring well and pump at Ormsby Hall, \$150.00."(50)

The building housed sixty young ladies, the Preceptress, and the first assistant lady teacher. In the east wing of the first floor was a music room, also used as a prayer-meeting room for the ladies. Nearby there was a music practice room. On the third floor were quarters for the women's literary societies and a gymnasium.(51) A room was granted to the Y.W.C.A. early in 1890.

The financial history of the University under Charles W. Gallagher (1889-93) must begin with two matters which he did not initiate: the Paine bequest and the building of the observatory. Charles N. Paine belonged to the family that built up the Paine Lumber Company of Oshkosh. He was a brother of Nathan Paine, graduate of

46. Report of Building Committee (Bldg. Com.), Reports of Pres., 1889, pp. 37-40.

47. Picture, frontispiece of Cat., July, 1890.

48. Law., Oct., 1889, p. 41.

49. Bldg. Com., Reports of the Pres., 1889, p. 37.

50. Exec. Com., Dec. 7, 1891, p. 76.

51. Cat., 1890, pp. 24, 52; Law., Oct., 1889, p. 41.

Lawrence of 1860, who died in the Civil War. Charles N. Paine was a Trustee of the University from 1880 until his death in 1885. He bequeathed to the University the sum of \$50,000. After his death it was arranged that the family or the company should pay interest from May 1, 1890; and in May of 1891 the University received its first interest. The company gradually transferred the principal to the University, apparently between 1891 and 1904.(52)

The observatory was a monument to the energy of L. Wesley Underwood, whose name it bore until it was razed to make way for the Casper Youngchild Hall of Science in 1962. Underwood came to Lawrence as Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in 1886 and probably began soon after to urge the necessity of such a building. In the fall of 1889, after the completion of Ormsby Hall, Underwood proposed that he solicit money for the observatory himself. The Trustees gave permission and Underwood carried out his canvass with success. By June, 1890 he had raised \$5,000, chiefly in Appleton; and a year later the amount had passed \$6,000. He also secured from Senator Philetus Sawyer of Oshkosh a promise of nearly all the equipment, including the most expensive item, the telescope.

The observatory was under construction from May or June to October, 1891. Its outside dimensions were 28 by 32 feet. It was described when new as having one recitation room, this on the first floor, while upstairs were the transit room, computing room and Library. "The piers on which the telescope and transit circle rest are entirely independent of the building, except that they have been erected in it."(53) Evidence on the subject is conflicting, but the building and equipment together probably cost not far from \$14,500.(54)

The telescope was naturally called the "Sawyer telescope." Other friends gave lesser equipment. A list of items with names of donors appeared in the catalogue for many years.(55) For four years the following sentence was added: "The instruments are in electric communi-

52. Treas. Reports, annual, are not clear and lead me to doubt that the University received interest on the whole of the bequest from 1890 onward.

53. Messenger, Nov., 1891, p. 2.

54. Underwood's own statement: building \$6,300, instruments "over \$8,000." Commemorative Biographical Record of Fox River Valley, 1895, p. 614. Treas. Reports, 1891 and 1892, show expenditures of \$13,701 for the observatory, but money for some of the equipment may not have passed through his hands. When the building was in the planning stage, cost was estimated at \$18,000. Messenger, Nov., 1890, p. 8. For nine years (1893-1901), the Treasurer listed observatory and contents as worth \$18,400.

55. E.g., Cat., 1896, p. 13.

cation and the mean-time clock is also connected with the jewelry stores of the city, to which it sends its time every five minutes."(56) While the new building was rising, Underwood received the added title of Director of the Observatory, and this was borne by the head of the Mathematics department until 1933.(57)

This whole episode is an example of how ideas and procedures migrate from one college to another. When Underwood was doing his first work at Albion College, the Professor of Mathematics there carried on a campaign for funds to build and equip an observatory. The results of the two efforts were practically identical: the buildings at the two colleges were similar and the telescopes were constructed by the same firm.(58)

We now return to the efforts of President Gallagher in the realm of finance. Gallagher did less canvassing of the churches than his predecessors. Basing his hopes on a different form of advertising, he began the publication of the Lawrence University Messenger. This was a well-written and well-printed periodical, each number containing 15 or 16 pages. It appeared four times between November, 1890 and April, 1892, and was sent to about 900 persons. Gallagher also arranged for regular correspondence to appear in one Chicago and two Milwaukee newspapers in addition to the organs of the Methodist Church.

Gallagher believed that the University would do better to ask large sums of the wealthy few rather than small sums from the many who individually could give but little. He put the matter as follows in his second annual report:

I am more than ever convinced of the wisdom of asking large sums of the friends of the institution. We cannot afford to go to the public for petty sums. It will take too long to accomplish our purpose and we shall be put at a disadvantage by the publicity which shall be given to our lack of funds.(59)

A year earlier Gallagher had elaborated upon the same idea with special reference to men who might wish to use their capital in business during their lifetime. Such men might pay a nominal interest while they lived, but secure the amount of their gift to Lawrence upon their death.(60)

56. Cat., 1892, p. 27, to 1895, p. 11.

57. Cat., July, 1891, p. 6.

58. R. Gildart, Albion College . . . A History, 1961, pp. 134, 135, 169.

59. Reports of the Pres., 1891, p. 65.

60. Reports of the Pres., 1890, p. 55.

At the annual meeting held about ten months after he became President, Gallagher, guided by these ideas, induced the Trustees to proclaim a campaign to raise \$300,000. Of this amount, \$225,000 would be for the endowment of nine professorships at \$25,000 each and the remainder for a science building and a new Library. The plan had a deceptively auspicious beginning.

Two alumni of Lawrence of the class of 1880, Alexander W. Stowe and Francis Asbury Watkins, both lawyers residing in West Superior, Wisconsin, agreed to give \$25,000 each to endow professorships that would bear their names.(61) These promises were public knowledge by September, 1890,(62) and the two men actually gave their notes in October, interest to begin January 1, 1891.(63) The catalogue of July, 1891 and its successor a year later carried the names of these generous givers as the endowers of chairs. But alas! One man paid only a little interest, the other nothing at all. In the Treasurer's report of June, 1893 was the comment: ". . . two special professorships are maintained with absolutely no income to support the one and with but one-third sufficient to support the other."(64) For three years the two notes were listed as assets valued at \$50,000, then never again.(65)

The false dawn of the Watkins-Stowe fiasco led to the employment for two years of two teachers slightly more expensive than would have been the case without it; but this was a small detail in the whole financial picture. Every year under Gallagher ordinary expenses exceeded income by from \$2,000 to \$2,500 a year, so that in his time the University ran behind on this account perhaps as much as \$9,000. A variety of causes contributed to this result. The cost of instruction averaged about \$2,300 a year more under Gallagher than under Raymond. The heating of two new buildings added perhaps \$700 a year to expenses. Chiefly because it was only partly filled for some years, Ormsby Hall long operated at a loss.(66)

Gallagher had inherited from Raymond a considerable "debt." On May 1, 1889 "Current Expense" owed just under \$12,000 to the endowment funds.(67) In building Ormsby Hall, the University had begun the erec-

61. Alumni Record (1922), Alumni Nos. 237, 238; Messenger, Nov., 1890, p. 9.

62. Min. Wis. Conf., 1890, pp. 53, 54.

63. Reports of the Pres., 1891, p. 63.

64. Treas. Reports, June, 1893, p. 4.

65. Treas. Reports, 1891-93.

66. Treas. Reports, 1893, p. 4.

67. Treas. Reports, 1889, p. 3.

tion of a building that cost more than \$28,000 when it had only \$20,000 in hand. Gallagher reported at the end of his first year that the debt on Ormsby Hall was all subscribed, but not all paid in.(68) Until subscriptions should be paid the University borrowed from a local bank. Eventually the following appeared in the endowment account under "Disbursements": "Paid Ladies' Hall Notes at Commercial National Bank, \$9,947.89."(69) It seems impossible to know just how much of this amount was later matched by the payment of the subscriptions mentioned by Gallagher.

In May, 1892 John Bottensek, a forthright man, made his first report as Treasurer. In it he wrote:

From the Treasurer's report for the year ending May 1, 1891, it appears that current expense account was then in debt to the Endowment Funds to the amount of \$22,317.97. This item is represented by notes of the University payable to itself. I see no reason for giving as assets what we have not, and which never can be of value.(70)

In fairness to Gallagher, it should again be emphasized that he had inherited a considerable part of this "debt" from his predecessor. But however the matter was set down in the Treasurer's books, the University continued under him to use up its endowment in a way certainly never intended when the endowment was given.

Thus, four Presidents in succession exerted themselves in financial administration, often with considerable anguish of mind. A few matters touching building, campus and finance will be followed through the whole period.

At that time our Main Hall was called the College Building, University Building, or, later, University Hall. Until early in Plantz's time, there were no porches or white columns marking the entrances.(71) The University spent regularly to keep it in good repair, renewing the shingle roof about once in a decade. Sometimes,

68. Reports of the Pres., 1890, p. 52.

69. Treas. Reports, 1891, p. 3.

70. Treas. Reports, 1892, p. 4.

71. Picture, frontispiece, Cat., July, 1892.

between renovations, the interior of the building became quite shabby; and there was never money for embellishments. President Steele wrote: "Wooden steps and cheap furniture are less afflicting than a heavy debt and an unpaid faculty."(72)

The building was heated at first by many wood-burning stoves; but in 1868 the University introduced steam heat, paying for the installation with \$4,000 from the accumulations of the Library Fund. By 1893 the heating apparatus was "antiquated and decrepit."(73) In early times a good many men roomed in the building, but the number gradually diminished until by 1893 the only ones remaining were two boys who did janitor work. The Treasurer duly noted the loss of revenue from room-rent.(74)

Candles lighted the building at the beginning, but in due time kerosene lamps replaced them. In the early 1880's "oil and chimneys" appeared regularly in the University accounts. The use of electric lights began in May, 1886. The University paid seven dollars a month, summer and winter alike, and was allowed twenty-five lights which illuminated recitation rooms, halls and Chapel, but not student rooms nor the halls of the literary societies.(75) In December, 1891 the four literary societies contributed \$25.00 each to purchase and install an "electric program clock" which signalled the beginning and end of recitations. This change ended the regular use of the bell in the dome, rung by a boy who pulled on a rope extending to the first-floor hall.(76)

The University offices could be nowhere except in Main Hall. The Trustees ordered the purchase of a fire-proof safe in 1880.(77) In 1885 three dormitory rooms in the south-east quarter of the second floor were remodelled to make an office and study and a recitation room for President Raymond. The President's office remained in this location until well into the time of President Plantz.

The campus of these decades was not as level as it is today, and perhaps not as well kept. Sidewalks before the time of Plantz were always of wooden boards or planks and had regularly to be repaired or renewed.(78) The lines of trees that parallel College Avenue, Union

72. Reports of the Pres., 1875, p. 377.

73. Treas. Reports, 1893, p. 4.

74. Treas. Reports, 1893, p. 4.

75. Exec. Com., May 1, 1886, p. 88; Law., Apr. 1886, p. 138.

76. Law., Jan., 1892, pp. 92, 96.

77. Trustee Min., 1880, p. 416.

Street and some of the sidewalks leading to Main Hall are probably those set out in 1877 and 1878. At the time the slope below the edge of the bluff, "previously in an exceedingly chaotic condition," was greatly improved.(79) A little later the University had to build a small break-water to protect the riverbank at the lower edge of the campus.(80)

The students contributed surprisingly little to the University treasury. They were usually asked to pay tuition and an incidental fee. While Steele was President the two together almost always came to \$37.50 a year. From 1881 to 1887 students paid fees amounting to \$16.50, but no tuition. Then, from 1887 until beyond the end of the century, they again paid tuition and an incidental fee, but the two together still amounted to less than forty dollars a year.

Huntley persuaded the Trustees to abolish tuition in order to attract students, aiming particularly to meet the competition of the State University. Also, so many students were using the old perpetual scholarships which exempted them from tuition that this charge had come to produce less than \$300 a year.(81) Over the years the University conducted repeated campaigns to persuade holders of such scholarships to surrender them entirely or to accept in their stead others limited to a definite period of years.(82) In 1887, when the University was about to reimpose tuition, Professor Foye estimated that there were 320 scholarships liable to be used if tuition were charged.(83) What these scholarships subtracted from the University income is unknown for most years; but in 1889-90, 81 were presented. If the students holding them were in attendance through the whole academic year, as most of them doubtless were, they escaped paying tuition to the amount of \$1,944.(84)

Around 1870 tuition and incidental fees produced about \$2,000 a year.(85) In Steele's best years, 1873 to 1875, the comparable figure, as stated above, exceeded \$3,000. In some years when there was no tuition charge students paid in less than \$1,200;(86) but in Gallagher's

78. E.g., Trustee Min., 1882, pp. 13, 14.

79. Reports of the Pres., 1878, p. 432.

80. Reports of the Pres., 1882, p. 605.

81. Reports of the Pres., 1880, p. 492.

82. E.g., Trustee Min., July, 1879, p. 404.

83. Reports of the Pres., 1887, pp. 713, 714.

84. Reports of the Pres., 1890, pp. 60, 61.

85. Treas. Reports, 1869, \$1,868; 1870, \$2,141.

86. Treas. Reports, 1883, \$1,105; 1884, \$1,167.

time, they were again contributing more than \$3,000 annually.

Before the Civil War the salary of the best-paid men on the Faculty was \$800 a year, three receiving this amount in 1859-60. During the war, perhaps in 1863-64 for the first time, this figure was reduced to \$500.(87) In 1867-68 a professor's salary was restored to \$800.(88) For the remainder of the century the annual salaries of senior teachers, always men, were as follows:

1867-1872	\$ 800
1872-1883	1000
1883-1903	1100

In 1892-93 six men received \$1,100 each; in the following year there were only four, two having been replaced by men receiving smaller salaries. Professor Foye received an additional \$200 a year while he was Fiscal Agent. The office of Registrar was always assigned to a Faculty member and in the latter part of the period carried with it an additional salary of \$100 a year. The teachers of art, music and commercial subjects never received a definite salary from the University; they took the fees paid by their students and no University records showed their income.(89)

During these three decades the cost of instruction, always the largest item in the normal budget, approximately doubled. In 1867-68 faculty salaries added up to \$4,558.97; they remained under \$5,000 until the year 1871-72. The cost of instruction averaged \$7,142 a year under Raymond and \$9,436 under his successor. The highest figure thusfar in the history of the University, \$10,680, was reached in Gallagher's last year. The figure was considerably less in 1893-94, partly because there was no President to pay.

The administration frequently paid part of the Faculty salaries in promissory notes. Sometimes these notes were for 60 or 90 days only;(90) in other instances they ran for years. When Steele left Lawrence, the University owed the Faculty \$2,739.19, an amount almost equal to one-half the total cost of instruction in the year then concluded. Just before Plantz took over, notes outstanding on teachers' salaries came to \$569.12.(91) Consequently, the current expense account of one year often included interest on debts in previous years.

87. Reports of the Pres., 1863, p. 269.

88. Trustee Min., 1868, pp. 290, 294.

89. See Committee on Faculty and Degrees (Com. Fac. Deg.), separate book, June 19, 1894, p. 21.

90. Exec. Com., Mar. 23, 1894, p. 132, 60 days.

91. Treas. Reports, June 20, 1879, p. 3; Apr. 30, 1894, p. 3.

CHAPTER XIII
THE LIBRARY, THE CABINET
AND THE FINE ARTS
(1853-1894)

Among the fruits of a liberal education are a lifelong devotion to books and some appreciation of the fine arts. Lawrence had scarcely opened its doors when it began to assemble a library. It also made newspapers and periodicals available to the community. Its "cabinet" served many purposes; among other things, it included a natural history museum. For those desiring it, the University also offered instruction in music and drawing and painting. Thus Lawrence introduced perceptive students to means of enjoyment and appreciation beyond the classroom.

The Library

The most fortunate event in the history of the Library was its early endowment by Samuel Appleton, a merchant and capitalist of Boston.(1) He was a first cousin of the father of Mrs. Amos A. Lawrence and in the Lawrence family was sometimes called "Uncle Sam."(2) Appleton was interested in the institution before teaching began,(3) and upon his death in 1853 he left \$10,000 to support the Library. Some money

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1. Dict. Am. Biog., vol. I, p. 332.
 2. A.A.L. to his wife, May 16, 1857, Scrapbook I, No. 43.
 3. A.A.L. to M. C. Darling, Oct. 1, 1849, Blankbook, p. 132.

came from this bequest as interest in 1855, and the University received the principal the following year, mostly in the form of stock in New England textile mills. The Library, however, did not bear Mr. Appleton's name for some time. It was called the Library of Lawrence University in the earlier printed catalogues; and only in 1869 was it made to read, "Catalogue of the Appleton Library of Lawrence University."

The Library had some history before Samuel Appleton endowed it. The earliest University By-laws (1849) provided for a body of three Curators, at least one of them to be a Trustee, whose duties were to supervise the Library and cabinet and solicit gifts for them. After a few years, no more Curators were appointed,(4) and in 1863 the Board set up a standing committee "on Library and Library Fund."(5) The second University catalogue, issued in 1851, stated that 250 volumes had already been secured for the library.(6) Originally housed in the University's first building, the Library was probably removed to Main Hall in 1854; and it remained there until the summer of 1906. At first it had only a part of the northwest quarter of the second floor, then the whole of that quarter; and eventually it took over a part of the southwest quarter as well.

Only a part of the income from Samuel Appleton's bequest was spent for books. About the time of the Civil War, the Trustees gave a good deal of thought to the erection at some future day of a building entirely for the Library. In 1862, when the number of books was about 5,000,(7) they stated that "the Library is already adequate to the wants of the Institution," and adopted a plan by which \$100 a year should go to buying and repairing books and \$200 to the University for rent and the services of a librarian. But about one-half of the available income should be invested, to be used eventually for a new building.(8) The University Treasurer was authorized to invest some Library money as early as March, 1857; and by 1865 investments belonging to the Library amounted to \$2,600.(9)

President Steele disapproved of the plan for a separate Library building. In 1866 he proposed instead to use the accumulated money "to prepare commodious apartments" for the Library in Main Hall, "enough to

4. Named in Cat. for last time, Dec. 1853, p. 4.

5. Trustee Min., 1863, pp. 233, 238.

6. Cat., 1851, p. 20.

7. Cat., 1862-63, p. 23.

8. June 29, 1862, Sawyer, Extracts (Extracts), p. 29; title explained in the text within a few pages.

9. June 29, 1862, Extracts, pp. 7, 45.

answer its purposes for twenty years to come." He also proposed to put a heating apparatus in that building. "The latter will be a fair compensation for the room occupied by the Library."⁽¹⁰⁾ The Trustees followed these recommendations and in the course of the next two years spent about \$4,000 of accumulated Library funds on Main Hall. The heating plant and steam pipes cost about \$2,850; the finishing of several rooms, about \$1,150.⁽¹¹⁾ The Librarian noted in 1868 that the "Library . . . now occupies twice as much space as formerly."⁽¹²⁾

For almost twenty years the Library was open only a short time each week for drawing out books: sometimes half an hour a week, at other times an hour.⁽¹³⁾ In April, 1871 it was made available to Juniors and Seniors for two hours a day five days a week. By 1875 it was open to the three upper classes six hours a day for five days a week. Freshmen were admitted in 1879 and about the same time it became the practice to have the Library open on Saturdays also.⁽¹⁴⁾

In 1891, upon the initiative of Thomas E. Will, Professor of History and Political Science, the Library was thrown open for eleven hours a day five days a week, and three hours on Saturday. Such generous hours were soon abandoned.⁽¹⁵⁾

Finding a book before the introduction of the card catalogue might have been rather a tedious process. There was a succession of printed catalogues, each supplemented until the next printing by a manuscript list in a blankbook. In this book certain pages were set aside for each letter of the alphabet but, under each letter, arrangement of items was in the order of their acquisition. In 1880, for example, one who wished to know whether the Library had a certain book might be obliged to consult two printed lists and one in manuscript.⁽¹⁶⁾

In the early decades of Lawrence University one of the professors was also listed as Librarian. The last in this series was Wesley C. Sawyer, who held the office from 1876 to 1882. In his final year at Lawrence he gave half his time to this assignment. His successor was Miss Ellen F. Hunt, an instructor in English who, like Sawyer, gave half

10. June, 1866, part of Reports of the Pres., in Extracts, p. 48.

11. Librarian's Annual Report (Lib. Rept.), 1880, Extracts, p. 105.

12. Lib. Rept., 1880, Extracts, p. 53.

13. Coll., Nov., 1870, p. 115; Feb., 1871, p. 132.

14. Coll., 1879, p. 6; Cat., May 1880, p. 29.

15. Cat., 1892, p. 51; Law., Oct., 1891, p. 41. Some small changes in hours between 1880 and 1891 have been omitted.

16. Lib. Rept., 1881, Extracts, p. 114.

her time to the Library in her last year at Lawrence (1882-83). About this time, new methods in library administration were spreading throughout the United States. The leader in this advance was Melvil Dewey. Because he was at Amherst College when he began his work, the new methods were for a time known as the Amherst system. It was Sawyer who introduced these novelties at Lawrence. Under him the Library subscribed to the Library Journal and bought the American Catalogue. He introduced the annual inventory and the accession catalogue, and he began work on a card catalogue, which his successor, Miss Hunt, was able to complete. (This was an "author and title" catalogue. Subject entries or a "dictionary catalogue" came later.) In Sawyer's time, too, each member of the regular Faculty began to control the spending of \$25.00 of Library funds each year for the benefit of his department.(17)

Sawyer was very much interested in the history of the Library. He searched the University records, sought oral information, and recovered some papers in private hands. Much of this material he copied into a blankbook, filling 122 pages and spanning the years 1854 to 1881. He gave to his compilation a long title beginning: Extracts concerning Library. Sawyer had access to some papers not now preserved except in his excerpts: for example, the first two annual reports of President Steele. The story has already been told of how he questioned the Trustees about the use of Library funds in the years 1866 to 1868.

Year after year the catalogue recited the slowly growing number of volumes in the Library and added: "It is one of the best working Libraries in the west."(18) A contributor to the Collegian in 1877 painted a less flattering picture:

We are all proud of our library, but . . . it has its failings. It is quite well supplied with reference books but many are of a by-gone age. Some even . . . were printed before many of us were born. If it is intended to keep a collection of old, rare and antiquated books we must confess we have a good beginning. The only atlas or large geography is Colton's Atlas which was printed in 1857 The Webster's dictionary was printed in 1865. . . . The shelves are filled with duplicate books, (some 500 in all) very few of them worth a cent except for paper rags Let us have some new books now and at once, and satisfy the wants and needs of the school.(19)

After Miss Hunt, the next Librarian was Zelia Anne Smith. Born and reared in Waupaca, Wisconsin, she was graduated B.S. from Lawrence in 1882. Her undergraduate years coincided with Sawyer's last four, when he was modernizing the Library. The year after graduation she

17. Nov. 6, 1876, Extracts, p. 76.

18. Cats., 1877, p. 28; 1894, p. 55.

19. Coll., Nov., 1877, pp. 28, 29.

remained in Appleton and did some work in the Library. In the fall of 1883 she was appointed Librarian, and she held that post until her death in May, 1924. Her salary for the year 1883-84 was \$150.(20) Thereafter, her annual stipend was \$250 until 1896, when it was raised to \$325.

Miss Smith was Librarian for eleven years before Plantz became President. During this period, the income from the Appleton Fund averaged about \$680 annually. A trifling sum from fines and the sales of books brought the Library resources to about \$700 a year. The amount spent for books and periodicals was quite irregular from year to year, but averaged about \$300. The available income of \$700 also paid Miss Smith's salary of \$250 a year, the cost of binding and repairing books, fire insurance, and sometimes other items.

The amount of money spent on books was not an accurate measure of the increase in the value of the collection. Many books came as donations: among them, federal and state documents; and there were many other gifts. Someone in 1859-60 presented a set of the Annals of Congress, 1789-1824, in 42 volumes.(21) The University often received the private libraries of retired or deceased Methodist ministers; books from this source probably account for the Library's large number of works on theology and for many duplications.

A count made by Miss Hunt in 1883 gives some idea of the contents of the Library at that time. Miss Hunt did not include government documents in her figures, and this omission must go far to explain the difference between her total of 6,507 and the accession number then reached, which was 9,719. The books fell into classes as follows (percentages added):(22)

20. Reports of the Pres., 1884, p. 647.

21. Extracts, 1860, p. 21.

22. Reports of the Pres., 1883, p. 615.

Class	No.	Per cent
General, including encyclopedias and general periodicals	471	7.2
Theology	1,366	21.0
History	1,330	20.4
Literature	1,057	16.2
Natural Science	805	12.4
Sociology	649	10.0
Useful Arts	333	5.1
Philology	277	4.3
Philosophy	174	2.7
Fine Arts	45	.7
	6,507	100.0

No attempt can be made to assess the quality of the book collection in the Samuel Appleton Library in this period, but a few comments may be permitted. The first printed catalogue, that of 1855, listed about 1200 titles. A considerable number of them were popular or juvenile in character, but there were many substantial works as well: for example, a set of "British Poets" in 130 volumes. It was told earlier how President Huntley asked for the purchase of hymnals out of Library funds. The Library also for a time (1865-1880) supplied certain College classes with textbooks, but Sawyer ended this practice.(23)

In this period some Methodist ministers disapproved of the theory of evolution. There is no indication that those who guided Lawrence University feared to buy books setting forth new ideas in this field. The Library added Darwin's Origin of Species (1859) sometime between 1861 and 1869. It bought six volumes by Herbert Spencer in 1880, at the same time, however, adding The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer (1874), by Professor Borden P. Bowne. Bowne (1847-1910) was then just at the beginning of his career as the leading formulator and expounder of philosophy and theology in the Methodist Church in the United States. The Lawrence University Library also bought in 1881 five volumes by Thomas H. Huxley, one of them entitled, On the Origin of Species (1863).

With the exception of one remarkable order, books in foreign languages were not very numerous. President Raymond was much interested in German philosophy, and at his request the Library in 1884 bought the complete works or substantial sets of Kant, Jacobi, Fichte (J. G.), Hegel, Schelling and Herbart. These came to 66 volumes and cost \$106.15. Two years later the University bought small sets of Lessing, Goethe and Schiller amounting in all to 12 volumes. The Library acquired few books in French. Five masterpieces of fiction printed in Paris were bought in 1888; somewhat more numerous were school editions of French books published in the United States. In spite of the impor-

tance of Greek and Latin in the curriculum, the Library apparently bought relatively little in those languages.

It was natural in a Methodist college, to assemble materials on Methodism. One Librarian reported with satisfaction in 1873 the purchase of 39 volumes of the Methodist Quarterly. Six years later Librarian Sawyer stated that he had bought "at considerable expense" further volumes of the same periodical. The Library now had "a complete set of this representative magazine of the M. E. Church from its first number in 1818 to the current year."⁽²⁴⁾ President Plantz, a generation later, showed a similar interest in gathering into the Library materials about the Methodist Church.

By the summer of 1894 the Library contained "almost fourteen thousand volumes." Accession numbers had reached 13,748.⁽²⁵⁾ Miss Smith had been Librarian for eleven years and in that time the Library had added about 4,000 volumes, or an average of about 360 a year. The Treasurer reported the value of the Library as \$26,466.31; this sum may have included furniture.⁽²⁶⁾ Such was the Library when Plantz became President.

The Reading Room

Early Lawrentians did not expect the Library to provide them with all their newspapers and current periodicals; instead, until about 1894, they maintained a reading room as a separate institution. The fourth catalogue, of December, 1853, mentioned such a room as containing "many of the valuable and popular periodicals of the day."⁽²⁷⁾ By 1858 the students conducted the reading room and access was permitted to all on payment of a small fee. In the 1870's, patrons paid 25 cents a term or 75 cents a year.⁽²⁸⁾ At one time the reading room received nearly one hundred periodicals.⁽²⁹⁾ Several Wisconsin newspapers and some

24. Extracts, 1879, pp. 65, 89.

25. Cat., 1894, p. 55.

26. Treas. Reports, Apr. 30, 1894, p. 2.

27. Cat., Dec., 1853, p. 21.

28. Cat., 1858, p. 32.; Coll., Oct., 1870, p. 110; Neot., Jan., 1877, p. 91.

29. Coll., Dec., 1867, p. 7; Mar., 1868, p. 31.

church organs were gifts; but the fees paid for a good number of the best American periodicals as well as four from the British Isles.(30)

For many years the reading room was in the basement of Main Hall. In 1881 it was given space in the southwest quarter of the second floor, across the hall from the Library. To make room for it, the museum was moved up to the third floor.(31) At first women were allowed to use the reading room two afternoons a week, during which no man might enter; but as the result of a student petition in 1871, men and women students thereafter used the room together.(32)

Student enthusiasm for the reading room enterprise varied from time to time. The Collegian reported in 1876:

The Reading Room . . . has undergone change It seems as if the dust of the eternal ages had gathered there The Reading Room, at one time, was a place of common resort; . . . When the Library was opened to all above . . . Freshmen, the tide turned from Reading Room to Library; those who had before talked aloud in the former, now took it out in whispering in the latter.(33)

At other times enthusiasm ran high. Just when the reading room migrated to the second floor, the students in a chapel meeting contributed \$85.00 to fit up the new quarters and otherwise support the enterprise.(34)

In the end, by steps that are no longer clear, the Library absorbed the reading room. In 1891 the Lawrentian mentioned the reading room as "in the library."(35) Late in 1893 the Faculty Library Committee was ordering periodicals for both Library and reading room; but a year later the "Reading Room fund" was "merged with the Library."(36) Until 1902 the following formula was repeated in the catalogue: "A well furnished Reading Room is supported by students and faculty."(37)

30. Lists in Coll., Dec., 1867, p. 7; Reports of the Pres., June, 1883, p. 606.

31. Coll. and Neot., Jan., 1882, p. 54.

32. Coll., Sept., 1869, p. 44; Jan., 1872, p. 57.

33. Coll., Nov., 1876, p. 20.

34. Coll. and Neot., Jan., 1882, p. 54.

35. Law., Apr., 1891, p. 128; Nov., 1891, p. 74.

36. Fac. Lib. Com., Dec. 5, 1893; Nov. 5, 1894.

37. Cats., annually, 1887, p. 40, through 1902, p. 15.

Apparatus and Cabinet

The Board of Curators set up by the Trustees in August, 1849, besides caring for the Library, had also "general supervision of the . . . cabinet of natural history."(38) Successive catalogues contained a heading, "Apparatus and Cabinet," under which were described partly the necessary equipment for teaching mathematics and the sciences, partly museum material. The catalogue of 1851 stated that a cabinet had been begun and mentioned an herbarium. In the fourth catalogue (1853-54) it was announced: "A valuable set of Philosophical and Astronomical Instruments has recently, at a large expenditure, been added to the Institution."(39) "A choice collection of Minerals, Fossils, etc.," had also been acquired. In the following year "a complete set of Wightman's Instruments in Mechanics and Hydrostatics" was mentioned.(40)

In 1855-56 the material under the heading, "Apparatus, Cabinet, etc.," ran as follows:

A valuable Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus has been procured at a cost of between two and three thousand dollars, embracing the range of Chemistry, Astronomy, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Optics, Electricity, Magnetism, etc., etc. Among the articles deserving special mention are a superior Telescope; two plate Electrical Machines . . . ; a compound Microscope; compound Blow-Pipe; Batteries; Air Pumps; a set of Mechanical Powers, etc., etc.

A valuable collection of Mineralogical and Geological Specimens, shells, curiosities, specimens of Natural History, and Herbarium of one thousand Plants, etc., etc., are also the property of the College.(41)

The description appeared annually for the next three decades with occasional additions. A polariscope and prism were new in 1861. By 1867 the herbarium counted "1,500 specimens from the Eastern, Western and Southern States, and had been arranged with great care in accordance with Gray's Manual of Botany, which it serves to illustrate."(42) In the following year, 1868, a theodolite, quadrant, and chronometer were added. A new sentence appeared in 1871-72: "A fine collection of

38. By-laws, Trustee Min., Aug., 1849, p. 474.

39. Cat., 1853-54, p. 21.

40. Cat., 1854-55, p. 18.

41. Cat., 1855-56, p. 26.

42. Cat., 1866-67, p. 34.

corals and shells, and a large and valuable collection of fossils and rocks illustrating the Geology of Wisconsin have recently been added." For nine years the catalogue acknowledged the loan of the private collection of the Reverend C. R. Pattee of objects illustrating mineralogy, conchology, and palaeontology.(43)

For three years the cabinet contained "a perfect crocodile from Hindostan."(44) This may have been the gift of the Reverend Isaiah L. Hauser, an alumnus of 1860 and long a missionary in India. In 1869 he sent to Lawrence the skeleton of an elephant. Two years later the University traded it to a medical college in Chicago, taking in exchange a human skeleton, some fossils and other natural history specimens, and some books.(45)

During the 1880's the cabinet received no significant additions. From 1880 to 1891 inclusive, the Treasurer reported that the value of the cabinet was \$5,800; of the apparatus, \$2,800. The oft-repeated catalogue material on "Apparatus and Cabinet" last appeared in 1886, and for a time there was nothing of this nature. Then, in 1891, there was a list of the equipment soon to go into the observatory. In the same issue the catalogue also stated: "Hon. John Hicks, United States Minister to Peru, has just made a large contribution to the cabinet . . . of a choice collection of Peruvian antiquities. These specimens represent the pre-historic civilization of the Incas, and were taken from the ancient tombs near Lima, Peru."(46) In 1891 the University spent \$3,000 to acquire the conchological collection of Dr. J. J. Brown of Sheboygan.(47)

One memento famous in its time throughout the nation came to rest in the museum or cabinet of Lawrence University. In 1860 there was a stormy debate in the House of Representatives at Washington on the subject of abolition. At its close Roger A. Pryor of Virginia challenged John F. Potter of Wisconsin to a duel. As the recipient of the challenge, Potter had the right to choose the weapons and indicated his preference for bowie knives. As Potter had anticipated, Pryor declined to use such weapons, calling them barbarous; and the duel never took place. The nation, or at least the North, was greatly amused. Potter's admirers presented him with a bowie knife about seven feet long. Some years later this knife came to the Lawrence museum where it reposed for

43. Cats., 1875-76, p. 37; 1883-84, p. 46.

44. Cats., 1863, p. 24; 1865, p. 28.

45. Trustee Min., June, 1869, p. 308; June, 1871, pp. 321, 322; Extracts, p. 55.

46. Cat., 1891, p. 29.

47. Trustee Min., June, 1891, p. 171; Exec. Com., Oct. 6, 1891, p. 71; Cats., 1892, p. 27; 1893, p. 28; 1894, p. 27.

many years.

Until 1891 Main Hall, sometimes as we know called by other names, housed all the material just mentioned. For some years before 1881, it could be stated that ". . . the whole Southwest quarter of the 2nd floor is occupied as a cabinet for the various specimens and collections."(48) In the summer of that year, however, the "museum" was moved to the east half of the third floor.(49) Mathematical and astronomical equipment was transferred to the new observatory in 1891, and material related to the sciences, to Science Hall in 1899.

Music

The first catalogue of Lawrence University stated that the Preceptress, Miss Emeline Crooker, was, among other things, a teacher of music. The institution had at least one piano at the very beginning,(50) and never was it without an instructor in music. In 1853-54 music lessons with the use of a piano cost \$40.00 a year.(51) For three-fourths of the time down to 1885 the instructors were women, one person teaching both vocal and instrumental music. These teachers seldom remained more than one year and occasionally they gave some of their time to other departments. The first to remain more than two years was Albert Schindelmeisser, Professor of Music and Instructor in Modern Languages from 1867 to 1870. Of him the catalogue said: "Mr. S. received his musical education under his father, a celebrated German composer, and Director of the Opera to the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt.(52)

President Steele was for several years eager to enlarge the work in music, and both Faculty and Trustees approved of his plans. He secured the services of one T. Martin Towne and gave him the title, Director of the Conservatory of Music. Towne remained for two years, 1874 to 1876. He mapped out a course of study in four "grades" and placed it in the catalogue. His students numbered 21 in his first year and 33 in the second; but it is significant that only three students

48. Alumni Record (1881), p. 5.

49. Coll. and Neot., Jan., 1882, p. 54.

50. Daybook, Dec. 13, 1849, p. 22, entry, "Freight on piano, \$4.50."

51. Cat., 1853-54, p. 20.

52. Cats., 1867, p. 35; 1868 and 1869, p. 31.

worked with him in both years. After Towne's departure work in music reverted to a succession of women teachers each with the title of Instructor.(53) The label, Conservatory of Music, was not used again until 1895.(54)

During Towne's second year at Lawrence he directed the production of one of his own works. It was a "dramatic cantata in three acts" entitled "Lost and Saved": the words by Eben E. Rexford, the music by Towne. It was presented on two evenings, February 1 and 2, 1876, in a hall on College Avenue.(55)

Eben E. Rexford, who collaborated with Towne, was in his time rather widely known as a poet. He attended Lawrence for three scattered terms, beginning in January, 1872 and ending in November, 1873. Throughout a fairly long life he wrote poems, songs and prose pieces which he sold to newspapers and magazines. He is remembered today, if at all, as the author of one song, "Silver Threads among the Gold," which was published in 1875. In 1910 the Lawrentian stated that he had written the words of this song in Main Hall during his Freshman year at Lawrence. Rexford set the record straight in the following words:

"Silver Threads," as a poem, was originally published in a New York magazine in my first year at Lawrence. Mr. H. P. Danks, who wrote the music for the song, asked me for the song-words and the poem was made the basis of the song by changing it somewhat, omitting a verse or two and adding a refrain. You will see from this, that, strictly speaking, "Silver Threads" was not entirely a Lawrence or a freshman production.(56)

Rexford lived near Appleton to the end of his life, kept in touch with the University, and occasionally contributed verse to the Lawrentian.

President Raymond was deeply interested in the work in music. During his first two years, the teacher of music was one Alex. M. Zenier. Raymond noted, in June, 1884, that the Professor of Music had only one room "altogether too small" and "one wretched piano." A year later Raymond proposed that the institution move "toward the foundation of a Conservatory of Music."(57)

53. Reports of the Pres., 1876, pp. 335, 365; Towne's course, Cat., 1874, pp. 34-36.

54. Cat., May, 1895, p. 41.

55. Coll., Mar., 1876, pp. 75, 76.

56. Law., Jan. 10, 1911, p. 20.

57. Reports of the Pres., 1884, pp. 620, 648; 1885, p. 658. In the late summer of 1883, between two catalogues, there was issued a Lawrence University Circular for 1883-84, which outlined four

In September, 1885, at the beginning of Raymond's third year, John Silvester became Professor of Vocal and Instrumental Music, and for the next nine years was the University's only teacher in this field. Born in England, he had received his training there and in Germany.(58) In 1887 Raymond laid before the Trustees some rather ambitious plans for the development of music at Lawrence. The Trustees warned against additional expenditure,(59) but the next catalogue detailed a "Musical and Literary Course" leading to the degree of Bachelor of Music. Five years' work was outlined in either piano or organ. The literary work required was selected from the program of the Modern Classical course, with emphasis on English and modern languages. One who completed the musical work without the literary would receive a certificate. With only trifling alterations, these outlines and proposals continued to appear in the catalogues for a decade.(60)

In 1889 two students received certificates marking the completion of three years' work in piano;(61) and in 1892 Lawrence conferred its first degree of Bachelor of Music on Francis Boyd Wells, who received that of Bachelor of Literature at the same time. He went on to a distinguished career in music.(62)

Under President Gallagher (1889-93), the Music department carried on much as before. Ormsby Hall was completed in 1889 and music work had its headquarters there for the next ten years. In the fall of 1890 the University, with \$300 of borrowed money, bought a new piano for the department.(63) Perhaps this replaced the "one wretched piano" mentioned above. Enrollment in the five years, 1889 to 1894, varied between 43 and 70 and averaged 52, Silvester being the only teacher. In September, 1894, just as Samuel Plantz became President, two men were added to the music staff, perhaps on a part-time basis. These and subsequent developments belong to the history of Plantz's time. With one short interruption Silvester taught at Lawrence until 1910.

years' work in both piano and voice. This scheme, it is believed, never came into effect.

58. Souvenir, 1893, pp. 46, 47.

59. Reports of the Pres., 1887, pp. 707, 719.

60. Cats., 1887, pp. 30, 41; 1894, pp. 28, 29, 52, 53; 1897, pp. 13, 14, 47, 48.

61. Reports of the Pres., 1889, p. 32.

62. Cat., 1892, pp. 24, 25; Alumni Record (1922), p. 320.

63. Exec. Com., Nov. 11, 1890, pp. 44, 47.

After Silvester joined the Faculty, there was a development of extracurricular musical activity among the students, details of which were reported only now and then in the Lawrentian. The Phoenix Glee Club was singing at commencement in 1885; the College Glee Club was doing the same in the following year.(64) Another Phoenix Glee Club was organized in 1891 and, beginning in that year, made several annual concert tours in Wisconsin. In some years, five of the singers also appeared as a string quintet, playing a banjo, two guitars and two mandolins.(65) The director of the Phoenix Club for two or three years was a special student who appeared on the printed program as Professor J. J. Jerome. Meanwhile, in 1893, Silvester directed a choral class and in the following year, a Philalathean Chorus. In the spring of 1895 the Philalathean Musical Club made a tour of ten places in Wisconsin.(66) There was also in 1893 a University Banjo Club. The Lawrence University Cornet Band appeared in 1889. Its organization and continuance were due to the enthusiasm of a student named Herbert C. Sanford, who led it until he graduated in 1893.(67)

Drawing and Painting

Lawrence University offered instruction in art and music in the beginning to meet the special needs of women students. When the early catalogues described a three-year course for ladies, they added the statement: "Ladies wishing a more ornamental course may substitute Drawing and Painting for Latin in each quarter or Music for Mathematics."(68) The theory of having work especially for women was thus set forth:

The design of the [Female Collegiate Institute is] to afford young ladies a thorough and systematic course of study; giving due attention to the practical and useful, and at the same time not neglecting those minor graces that so highly adorn the lady.(69)

64. Law., June, 1885, p. 29; June 1886, p. 25.

65. Souvenir, 1893, pp. 104, 105; Law., Apr., 1894, frontispiece and p. 176.

66. Souvenir, 1893, p. 130; Law., Apr., 1894, p. 176; Apr., 1895, p. 203.

67. Souvenir, 1893, pp. 68, 128-130.

68. Cats., 1850, p. 12; 1851, p. 15; 1853-54, p. 17.

For a decade the catalogue announced: "Facilities are also afforded for those who wish to pursue Music and the Ornamental Branches." What accomplishments these last words denoted are shown in the list of prices per term published in 1857-58:(70)

Oil Painting	\$6.00	Drawing	\$2.00
Polychromatic	5.00	Wax Flowers	3.00
Monochromatic	4.00	Wax Fruits	2.00
Water Colors	3.00	Pellis Work	3.00
Grecian	3.00	Ornamental Hair Work	3.00

In the following year the list was shortened to five items and the prices were somewhat reduced. In 1866 the heading, "Ornamental Branches," was replaced by the words, "Extra Studies"; and with some price changes the list continued to appear.(71)

Except for one year, one woman at a time gave all the instruction in drawing and painting at Lawrence until well into the twentieth century.(72) Often the teacher had her studio outside the University, and had a good many "town" students and few from the University. Women students in College, however, continued occasionally to substitute painting for some required course. Thus the Faculty in 1878 "voted to allow Miss I. Ballard to substitute painting for astronomy."(73)

Miss Selina A. Clark (several spellings of first name) was the Instructor in Drawing and Painting from 1870 to 1886. Toward the end she had few pupils and most of them were not University students.(74) She was succeeded by one of her own students, variously listed as Ella M. Bottensek and Elsie Buck Bottensek, who taught from 1886 to 1913. Her husband, John Bottensek, was a lawyer, an alumnus, a Trustee and for a time the Treasurer of the University. The Bottensek home was across College Avenue north of the Carnegie Library. During the last four years before Plantz became President, Mrs. Bottensek's pupils varied in number from 30 to 51.(75)

69. Cat., 1854-55, p. 29.

70. Cat., 1857-58, p. 50.

71. E.g., Cat., 1877, p. 31.

72. Cat., 1887, p. 7, where two women were named.

73. F.M., Sept. 16, 1878, p. 244.

74. Lists of students in catalogues; Reports of the Pres., June, 1887, p. 706; also earlier, Neot., Dec., 1877, p. 20.

75. Souvenir, 1893, pp. 48, 49, with a cut of Mrs. Bottensek.

CHAPTER XIV
STUDENT ACTIVITIES
(1849-1894)

Registration in the Preparatory department began on November 12, 1849, and from then on students were always the most numerous element in the University community. They soon undertook activities outside the classroom and in so doing made important contributions to the atmosphere of the University. Some of their enterprises disappeared after a decade or two. Others, like the literary societies, endured beyond the turn of the century and then died away. But a number of activities and customs, initiated before Plantz became President, are part of Lawrence life today. Of these, organized athletics are the most important.

Literary Societies

Of the enterprises originated and carried on by students in Lawrence's early days, the literary societies deserve first mention. Begun soon after the opening of the Preparatory department, they continued until about the time of the First World War. In their meetings there might be prepared papers, orations, declamations or music; but their most important activity was debate. The subject was usually announced at the previous meeting and those who led the debate made some preparation; but there was much impromptu speaking in which students learned "to think on their feet." Whenever alumni of the nineteenth century wrote or spoke of their college days, it was to these societies that they referred with the greatest satisfaction. Some enthusiasts called them the "glory of Lawrence." Members took great pride in the society rooms, sometimes spending relatively large sums for carpets, pianos and other furniture. On the walls were pictures of famous statesmen and orators, and of past members of the societies.

The second academic year at Lawrence began July 19, 1850; from that summer one number of a hand-written periodical has survived. Dated August 30, 1850, it called itself the Students' Miscellany and was issued semi-monthly by the Students' Literary Association. The connection of this organization with others now to be mentioned is unknown.

As was later recalled by one who was on the scene, the first literary society was organized under the name, Young Men's Debating Club of the Preparatory Department of Lawrence University.(1) It soon changed its name to Amphictyon Association. This was before there were any students doing College work, and behavior in the meetings was sometimes very juvenile.(2) The first recorded subject for debate, as announced for October 23, 1851, was: "Resolved that from the signs of the times we have reason to expect a dissolution of the union." In 1853 or 1854 part of the first society seceded and became a separate organization. Its original name as stated in the constitution was The Lawrence Club, but it was remembered decades later as The Young Men's Literary Society or The Young Men's Debating Society.(3)

For a time in these early years each literary society, and a group of women students as well, prepared manuscript newspapers. These were read aloud by the editor, sometimes to the society concerned, sometimes at Saturday morning exercises involving the whole student body. This practice seems not to have extended beyond 1855. The paper of the Amphictyons was The Pine Knot. That of the Young Men's Debating Society was The Scion (also spelled Cion). The ladies' society called their paper at first The Euphrosyne (Mirth or Joy, one of the three Graces) and later The Coral Wreath.(4) The only specimen of such papers now extant is the Students' Miscellany mentioned above.

Several other men's societies were founded or projected in 1854 and 1855. At least one met in a private home in Appleton, and another had a mixed membership of students and townspeople.(5) Apparently the Faculty felt that the urge to form societies was getting out of hand; they therefore legislated as follows:

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1. Henry Colman, Alumni Record (1905), p. 15.
 2. Amphictyon Association's Secretaries' Book, Nov. 28, 1851.
 3. Souvenir, 1893, p. 106; Law., Jan., 1901, p. 146.
 4. Alumni Record (1905), p. 15; Souvenir, 1893, p. 107; Coll., Jan., 1872, p. 51.
 5. Following are the names of short-lived men's societies of the period 1853-55: Excelsior, U. or B. of R., Philomathean, Arcadian, Rho Iota Phi. First four names in F.M., Jan. 25 and Feb. 2, 1855.

Resolved that it is inexpedient to have more than two Literary Societies . . . and that their constitutions be so amended as not to restrict the number of members.

Resolved that other literary societies made up in part or in whole of students meeting in private houses be required to disband.(6)

For reasons no longer clear, the leading men's societies already mentioned disbanded, chose new names and wrote new constitutions. From the ashes of the Amphictyon rose the Phoenix, its members calling themselves Phoenicians. The successor to the other society, with the help of the Professor of Greek, chose the name Philalathean Society, "lovers of truth."(7) A writer in the Collegian some twenty years later stated that the Philalathean Society was made up almost entirely of religious students and was known as the "Methodistic Society," while the Phoenix had but few religious students and tolerated great freedom of thought.(8) In May, 1855 the Faculty approved the constitutions of the societies and thereby chartered them, adding in each case: "Provided that in the discussions or exercises of said society nothing shall be allowed in opposition to the principles of revealed religion or hurtful to the morals and habits of young people."(9) Also in 1855, a room in the northeast corner of the fourth floor of Main Hall was assigned to the Phoenix Society; and the Philalatheans were given the southeast corner of the same floor. The Phoenix Society chose a white ribbon as its badge; blue was the color of the Philalatheans.

The group of women students that published a newspaper about 1854 did not develop into a permanent organization. When Miss Mary Hastings came to Lawrence as a preceptress and teacher of French in 1858 there was no literary society for women. That fall, under her leadership, twelve girls founded a society, choosing for it the name of Athena, Greek goddess of wisdom. Its first president was Mary Tallmadge, later the wife of Hiram A. Jones, Professor of Latin. After the first building burned in 1857 the University bought a large residence and fitted it up as a rooming and boarding house for women students; in this building, which came to be called the Ladies' Institute, Athena had its first quarters.(10)

6. F.M., Feb. 12, 1855.

7. Stowe, Souvenir, 1893, p. 107.

8. Coll., Mar., 1879, p. 79.

9. F.M., May 14 and May 28, 1855.

10. Souvenir, 1893, p. 111; 1900 Ariel, spring 1899, p. 98. For twelve years it was the only literary society for women.

In the late 1860's Athena was apparently not very vigorous. The Collegian stated: "The Athena has heretofore lived out a feeble existence and has not enjoyed that healthy competition which has become notorious in the gentlemen's societies."(11) In January, 1870 sixteen young ladies, most of them former Athenians, founded the Lawrean Society. According to the Collegian, the withdrawals and the consequent competition revitalized Athena.(12) As time passed, the Lawrean frequently cooperated with the Phoenix Society, and Athena with the Philalatheans, in social, dramatic and other enterprises.(13)

Early Methodism looked upon the theater as dangerous to morals, if not sinful. It will be remembered that the Lawrence Faculty in 1868 refused to allow the Phoenix Society to have stage scenery in the Chapel.(14) Gradually this austerity was relaxed, and in the change the literary societies led the way. In February, 1884 the Phoenix and Lawrean Societies jointly produced a "Hiawatha Pantomime" in the Chapel. "The platform was enlarged and arranged to represent two wigwams in a forest. Selections were read from Longfellow's Hiawatha and the scenes were acted out by members of the societies in Indian costume. The scenes embraced Hiawatha's courtship and the famine."(15) In 1889 the same two societies produced an original play entitled "Novus Studens"; in the following year Athena and Philalathean presented "She Stoops to Conquer"; by this time dramatic endeavor had become a regular part of University life.(16)

The history of fraternities at Lawrence belongs almost entirely to the twentieth century and will be dealt with in due time. One fraternity existed just before the Civil War, but kept largely out of sight. The first chapter of Phi Delta Theta in the state was founded at the State University in 1857. In December of that year the Alpha chapter authorized one of its members to initiate a friend from Lawrence University and instruct him in establishing a chapter there. The friend so prepared was John Augustus Owen of the class of 1860. The group which he gathered together applied for a charter, and on February 3, 1859 the Madison Chapter granted the request. The names of twelve initiates are known. This Beta of Phi Delta Theta "had a brief sub rosa

11. Coll., Jan., 1870, p. 77.

12. Coll., Feb., 1870, p. 84.

13. Souvenir, 1893, pp. 98-120, has histories of the four societies with pictures. Coll., "History of the Phoenix Society," Mar., Apr., May, 1876. Most of the records of these societies are now in the University Archives.

14. F.M., Feb. 24, 1868, p. 56.

15. Phoenix Society Historian's Book, p. 149.

16. Programs, Dec. 13, 1889; Mar. 29, 1890.

existence which did not extend beyond the graduation of the class of '60."(17) It is doubtless true that the authorities of Lawrence University, then and long afterward, disapproved of secret societies; but there is no reference to this fraternity or to fraternities in general in the minutes of the Trustees or Faculty during these years.

Apart from the manuscript newspapers of the 1850's already mentioned, undergraduate journalism began in December, 1867 with the first number of the Lawrence Collegian. The three literary societies then in existence sponsored the undertaking together, each naming three members to the committee that issued the paper. The head of the committee was Alexander J. Reid. A Freshman at the time, he remained in the College only two years, after which he purchased the Appleton Post, and owned and edited it for many years. Other members of the student committee were Alice Foote Conkey, whom Reid subsequently married; and a Sophomore named John Hicks who, like Reid, did not graduate from college. He later built up a great newspaper, the Oshkosh Northwestern, and served for a time as United States minister to Peru.

As the years passed, some ill feeling developed among the societies controlling the Collegian, which after 1870 were four in number. The Philalathean Society came to believe that the Phoenicians had more than their share of the offices and honors connected with the periodical.(18) The two women's societies took opposite sides. In March, 1876, when the Collegian was in its ninth year, the Philalathean and Athena started the Neoterian, leaving the Collegian in the hands of the other two societies. It was difficult to support two publications each costing about eighty dollars a month to produce. Through sixteen issues, or until December, 1877, the two existed side by side; then a reconciliation was effected. The two enterprises were merged and, as the Collegian and Neoterian, appeared from January, 1878 to April, 1882 when, in the time of President Huntley, the Faculty forbade further publication. Two years later, in May, 1884, the students founded the Lawrentian. It was a monthly like its predecessors, and so remained until 1905.

The Collegian, Neoterian, and Lawrentian were on the whole very much alike in format and content. Part of the time, at least, students set the type and did the printing in Main Hall. The following statement appeared at the masthead of the Lawrentian until June, 1897: "Published monthly . . . by the Lawrentian Paper Association, which is composed of representatives from the four literary societies." There were three terms in the academic year, and the Lawrentian might have one, two or three editors in the course of a year -- most frequently two. A woman, Elizabeth Wilson, was Editor for the first time in the spring term of 1890. After that, a woman editor was not infrequent.

17. Palladium, Spring 1901, p. 143; M. Schumann, Appleton Post Crescent, Feb. 3, 1959, p. B. 14.

18. Coll., Feb., 1876, p. 64.

Our constant citation of these student periodicals has shown much about their content and quality. A few other features may be noted. Many issues began with verse, much of it written by students and some by alumni or former students. Frequently printed at all periods were speeches made by students at college exercises and oratorical contests. In the final number each year, commencement events had much space; the treatment included summaries of sermons and other speeches. Reminiscences of older days at Lawrence, of great use to the historian, came all too seldom. There was little fiction, and that was of poor quality.

Sometimes there were articles favoring a school like Lawrence. Teaching was considered better at small colleges than at large.(19) A thorough education demanded a knowledge both of the principles of government and of the principles of religion. Since a state school was debarred from teaching in the second field, it could offer only an inferior education.(20)

Students often questioned the value of the regulations and required courses that formed the framework of their life at Lawrence. Early in its existence the Collegian said:

It is suggested that a copy of the "Rules" of Lawrence University be placed in the college cabinet [Museum] for safe keeping. In a hundred years they will be regarded as very valuable curiosities.(21)

Save for what occurred in the time of President Huntley students expressed their points of view thoughtfully and with good manners. The following was written in 1871:

[It] has become recognized in most quarters that the student is a man (or a woman) and has rights that instructors are bound to respect Our courses might be improved, our code of laws might be modified to good advantage, The marking system needs discussion, the question of compulsory attendance at church needs inquiry and examination ladies need and deserve to be "admitted to the same privileges as gentlemen" in our colleges.(22)

Twenty years later another writer stated that certain departments were below standard and then developed the idea of a student-centered institution.

19. Coll., Mar., 1875, p. 72.

20. Coll. and Neot., Mar., 1881, p. 85.

21. Coll., May, 1869, p. 28.

22. Coll., Mar., 1871, p. 145.

Yet students have rights. They feel that the college was established primarily to enable the young people of Wisconsin to obtain a higher degree of Christian culture and education When a student sincerely feels that he cannot get enough good out of a certain department to make it an object to take the studies of that department, something is wrong and something ought to be done.(23)

It is difficult to prove a cause and effect relation between any expression of student opinion and curricular changes. In 1892, about a year after the publication of the bit last cited, the right of electing courses was somewhat extended. To modern eyes, the change was very slight.

The issuance of a well illustrated annual, the Ariel, has been a Lawrence custom since 1897. It had an isolated predecessor: in 1893 the Senior class produced what they hoped would be "the forerunner of a series of Annuals." Since this was the quadricentennial of the discovery of America, they called their book the Lawrence Columbian Souvenir. It contained 144 pages besides the advertisements and was priced at one dollar. The frontispiece was a steel engraving of Amos A. Lawrence secured from his son, Bishop William Lawrence. The Souvenir gave more space to the city of Appleton and to the previous history of the University than most Ariels have done. Both the Faculty and the Senior class were then so few in number that the editors could give larger pictures and fuller notices of individuals in both groups than can be done in the Ariel today. The little book gives a good idea of the University community as it was then.

After 1870 the various gatherings and ceremonies marking the end of the academic year lasted from Saturday to Thursday. Trustees and alumni held meetings and an outside speaker, usually a preacher, addressed the literary or religious societies; but the students had a greater share in what went on than they do today. On Saturday evening the Preparatory department held its "exhibition" which ended with the presentation of diplomas. Commencement proper came on Thursday morning. Besides musical numbers, the program consisted of orations by graduating Seniors, sometimes as many as a dozen. The first was the Salutatory, or greetings to the audience. Until 1884 this speech was always delivered in Latin. (A Latin oration is still a feature of commencement at Harvard.) The student newspaper once praised the delivery of the speech and then added: ". . . but of the matter we cannot judge, for we are not of Roman stock."(24) Samuel Plantz gave the Latin oration in 1880. The last speech before the conferring of degrees was the Valedictory, made by the highest-ranking Senior. These exercises were long held in the Methodist Church, now greatly altered, known as The Castle. At about one o'clock came a commencement dinner. In 1886 Silvester, then

23. Law., Feb., 1891, p. 93.

24. Coll. and Neot., June, 1879, p. 121.

at the close of his first year as Professor of Music, began the custom of a commencement concert given by his students.

For many years Senior men occasionally appeared with silk hats and canes; as the Collegian once reported: "the Seniors have put themselves under handsome tiles."(25) In November, 1892, in an unprecedented move, all Seniors garbed themselves in "Oxford" caps and gowns; and this class was the first to be so attired at commencement.(26) The wearing of caps and gowns did not become customary at this time; silk hats were worn again in 1895.(27)

When Samuel Plantz was President of Lawrence (1894-1924), Class Day exercises were a regular feature of commencement week; and such exercises have continued down to the present, though not always as a part of commencement. In Plantz's time they always included a class poem and a class prophecy; and sometimes there was added a class history, oration or will. The Seniors also presented a wooden spoon to a man, and a spade to a woman in the succeeding class. The first was often spoken of as the Junior Spoon and was about thirty-one inches long.

The custom of handing on the wooden spoon apparently began in 1875. No contemporary record of the first presentation has survived except that on the utensil itself there is incised: "'75 to '76 to '77." Half a century later the Lawrentian stated: "The first to have this honor accorded him was Evan [should be Eben] Page Briggs, who held the spoon in 1876 when the custom was started."(28) Briggs was a member of the class of 1876 and presumably had the spoon in his possession during the school year 1875-76.

The record of early celebrations of Class Day, including statements about the spoon and the spade, is fragmentary. The earliest statement on the subject in the University periodical is not clear. "The class of '80 departed from the usual custom by having Class Day during commencement week." Various Seniors read a poem, a history and a prophecy; another made "Gift Speeches."(29) It seems probable, especially in view of what was printed the following year, that the gifts made in 1880 included the spade and the spoon.

25. Coll., May, 1871, p. 180.

26. Law., Nov., 1892, p. 77; June, 1893, p. 39; Souvenir, 1893, pp. 59, 77.

27. Law., Feb., 1895, p. 161.

28. Law., June 13, 1927, p. 6; possible source, one of the class of 1877 attending commencement at this time.

29. Coll. and Neot., June, 1880, p. 7.

In May, 1881 the Collegian and Neoterian had this to say:

There is much to be urged in favor of the moderate observance of Class Day. It calls up many happy remembrances of the years passed together Moreover, it is fraught with interest to the junior. He is pining for the nectar to be obtained by means of the fateful spoon, he longs for the spade to dig the grave of all his troubles and in the ivy he finds fit emblem for his growing and clinging proclivities.(30)

Apparently at the time both spoon and spade went to men. The exercises in 1881 were held in the Chapel. After speeches and presentation of "Memorial gifts to the different classes," the audience descended to the campus and witnessed the planting of the ivy.(31)

After a lapse of many years, Class Day exercises were held again in 1888. On this occasion was mentioned in print for the first time what may have been true from the beginning: the wooden spoon was entrusted to the homliest man in the Junior class.(32) Still the exercises came only intermittently. In 1892 none occurred but one of the graduates of that year sent the spoon to a member of the following class, "appointing" him the homliest man of his year. The wooden spoon may be seen in a picture of the class of 1893.(33)

There was no spade in the picture of the class of 1893. The succeeding class used a spade to plant ivy as a part of their Class Day exercises in June, 1894; presumably they bought a new one, as it was stated a few years later that they had "started this memento on its career."(34)

30. Coll. and Neot., May, 1881, p. 117.

31. Coll. and Neot., June, 1881, p. 135.

32. Law., June, 1888, p. 25.

33. Law., Jan., 1893, p. 99; same letter, Souvenir, 1893, pp. 139, 140; picture, same, p. 59.

34. Law., Oct., 1894, p. 83; June, 1898, p. 22.

Early Student Customs

A few customs came into being at Lawrence, existed for a time and then faded out. For more than twenty years the students amused themselves with "mock schemes." These were counterfeit printed programs, usually of actual assemblies connected with the University, such as class exhibitions or commencement exercises. On some occasions, at least, mock schemes were dropped onto the main floor of the Chapel from the galleries above. Their "mock" character was at once apparent. Early commencement announcements were partly in Latin. The authors of mock schemes followed suit, but usually "butchered" the Latin. Thus, in 1862, the word "Videlicet" that introduced the list of graduates was changed to "Fido-lick-it"; and the students' names were Latinized in equally grotesque fashion. Once, the commencement program was issued in the Dutch language and the Governor of Wisconsin was addressed: "Aan den allerdoorluchtigsten Alex. W. Randall."(35)

Mock schemes were sometimes in bad taste. The Collegian in 1875 called them "poison" and "vile trash," and believed they were "just trembling on the brink of a long merited grave."(36) The worst specimen that has survived purported to be an annotated program of the Junior Exhibition held in the spring of 1877. Naming a performer, it stated that he would "now flaunt before the assembly his disabled carcass." Of another participant it was printed: "This old pod gutted wheezer will now appear on the stage."(37) There were other objectionable examples a year later, and at that time three young men connected with them were suspended from the University.(38) The student periodical commented:

The mock-schemists came to grief this time Never before in the history of mock-schemes in this University have they been gotten up so utterly regardless of decency as . . . last term; and never have they been so utterly devoid of wit.(39)

With this episode, the custom of issuing mock schemes expired.

Lawrence men maintained for a few years after the Civil War an institution variously called the High Circus Court of Lawrence University, Mock Courts or, most frequently, Clam Courts. Sessions were held in the Chapel until this was forbidden because of "strewing the floor

35. Specimens reproduced, Alumni Record (1922), pp. 49, 52, 53, 55-57; scrapbook of S. N. Griffith, esp. p. 43; scrapbook of programs.

36. Coll., Feb., 1875, p. 60.

37. Program scrapbook, loose items.

38. F.M., April 3, 1878, p. 236.

39. Coll. and Neot., April, 1878, p. 62.

with peanut shucks."(40) Suggested for trial at different times were a student who annoyed his neighbors by scraping a fiddle at unsuitable hours and boys who milked trespassing cows.(41) These courts left no records of their own. They were mentioned in the Collegian occasionally between 1867 and 1877, and what appeared there is not entirely clear today. One who attended Lawrence from 1865 to 1871 reminisced ten years after he graduated:

"Mock Courts" rose with us, and the unwritten history of Lawrence could tell how three sophomores of '71 barred their door one night and slept on their arms, resolved to die, but never surrender to a trial.(42)

A statement about these courts written in 1875 doubtless meant more to contemporaries than it can mean to us. It ran in part as follows:

Clam courts took a year to sleep and it was thought that old "Peanuts" would never be called up again to assist in the serio-comic fabrications of "whosoever loveth and maketh a lie." But this guardian deity of midnight sport has again been summoned. Shall we give him place and thus provide for his honorable reception? Or shall we consign the outlaw again to the dust?(43)

This use of the word "clam" is not to be found in any dictionary.

Another Lawrence practice of long ago was the celebration of Tree Day. Two members of the first graduating class remembered more than half a century later that such a day had been established in 1857 and maintained for some time.(44) Surviving contemporary evidence about it begins in 1876 when it appears as a well-established custom. Each year, upon petition from the Freshmen, the Faculty appointed a day for tree planting and made it a holiday. As the student paper remarked, ivy and trees planted on these days had little chance to survive. They were imperiled by winds, football games and cows. Until the city council made ordinances against cows, "the only use of planting trees on tree days is to keep the custom from being abolished."(45)

40. Coll., Mar., 1875, p. 78.

41. Coll., Apr., 1875, p. 94; Nov., 1877, p. 35.

42. Coll. and Neot., Mar., 1881, p. 82.

43. Coll., Feb., 1875, p. 60.

44. Henry Colman, 1910 Ariel, spring, 1909, p. 203; Francena M. Kellogg Buck, Alumni Record (1915), p. 174.

45. Coll., May, 1876, p. 98; first notice in F.M., Apr. 23, 1877.

It was in the field of public speaking that Lawrentians first measured themselves against the students of other colleges. In 1875 Lawrence, Beloit, Milton and the State University formed the Wisconsin Intercollegiate Oratorical Association; and for five years these four competed in oratorical contests. The winner in the State Contest represented Wisconsin in an Interstate Contest. A Lawrence Senior, Olin Alfred Curtis, took first place in the state contest in April, 1877 with an oration entitled "Satan and Mephistopheles"; and in May he won the Interstate Contest.(51) The states represented in the Interstate Contest, besides Wisconsin, were Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Iowa. Upon his return to Appleton after his second victory, Curtis received a great ovation from the residents of the city and the University community.(52) Two years later a student at the State University, Robert M. LaFollette, likewise won both the state and the interstate contests.

After these activities, Lawrence did not engage in intercollegiate oratory for many years. LaFollette having triumphed, the State University withdrew from the State Association. This defection so reduced the organization that Lawrence also withdrew.(53) When the stimulus of a State Contest was lacking, Local Contests were also abandoned for some years. A new Wisconsin Oratorical Association was formed in the early 1890's, and Lawrence joined it in 1894.(54)

It is not certain when the "blue and the white" were chosen as the Lawrence colors, but it was probably in 1876. In April of that year the Collegian reported: "It is proposed that we have a college color. It should be decided upon before the Oratorical Contest on the 19th prox."(55) The reference was to the state contest held on May 19. The Collegian did not mention the matter again and there is no further information until 1893 when the Souvenir stated that blue and white were the Lawrence colors.(56)

50. Law., Apr., 1885, p. 137; May, 1885, p. 11; Apr., 1893, p. 159.

51. Text of his oration, Coll., May, 1877, pp. 121-123.

52. Neot., May, 1877, p. 35.

53. Coll. and Neot., June, 1879, p. 114; May, 1881, p. 118.

54. Law., Apr., 1892, p. 146; Ariel, 1897, p. 106.

55. Coll., Apr., 1876, p. 95.

56. Souvenir, 1893, p. 56.

Exercise and Athletics

The students at Lawrence University may have played games and exercised in other ways from the opening of the school in 1849, but we are practically without evidence of such activities until the appearance of a student newspaper. The first number of the Lawrence Collegian, which appeared in December, 1867, referred to the "BaseBall Mania" then current. In the fall of 1869 it indulged in a retrospect that extended back almost to the close of the Civil War. This statement, which gives the earliest information about athletics at Lawrence, ran in part as follows:

It will be remembered by many of the old students that three or four years ago there stood to the southeast of the main building quite a respectable gymnasium building. At that time it was the general resort of every college man after the study hours of the day were over. Interest in the gymnasium gradually declined however as the baseball fever arose, and patronage was withdrawn from the institution.(57)

When this was written, the gymnasium had been razed and the lumber sold.

Baseball was then a comparatively new game having acquired its modern form and name in the twenty years before the Civil War. The first professional club was the Cincinnati Red Stockings organized in 1868. About the same time the colleges took up the game. In the quarter century ending in 1894, baseball was without question the leading sport at Lawrence. Frequent newspaper notices prove its enduring popularity. Thus, in the spring of 1880, the University nine defeated the City nine by a score of 22 to 18. In the fall of the same year, as the University was breaking ground for a residence for the President, now Sampson House, the student paper commented: "Our loss but your gain, Dr. It is the right field of the base-ball grounds."(58) Outdoor sports other than baseball were occasionally mentioned, but none had any permanence until track and field work began in 1884. There were a few early references to some sort of football. In 1876 one of them ran: "Football and dislocations are 'the rage' among certain of the students."(59)

Before the days of organized athletics Lawrentians gave some attention to the river, both renting and owning boats. In 1870 several students purchased boats, and the student paper approved, saying: "There will be less college trickery and vandalism and dyspepsia."(60)

57. Coll., Sept., 1869, p. 44.

58. Coll. and Neot., Oct., 1880, p. 9.

59. Neot., June, 1876, p. 9.

One excursion on the river had a tragic ending. On Saturday, June 10, 1871, nineteen days before commencement, six members of the Senior class had a boating party on the upper river and Little Lake Butte des Morts. Eventually they separated, four of them returning to Appleton. The other two, Thomas R. Knisely and Clara J. McCloud, started upstream toward Menasha. This was the last seen of them alive. The next morning their upturned boat was found: both had drowned.(61)

It was unfortunate that the frame gymnasium erected in the 1860's was torn down. Many times in the years that followed the student paper expressed the desire for such a building. It was reported that the Beloit students had built their own gymnasium, and Lawrence students should do the same.(62) For one short period Lawrence students had the desired gymnastic work, though where it was carried on is unknown. The Collegian reported in April, 1873:

Gymnastic exercise four times a week is the order now, twice for the ladies and twice for the gentlemen. We have a practical gymnast for a teacher and the exercises thus far seem eminently calculated to meet what we have long felt was needed.(63)

In the following month, however, the Collegian added a tart comment:

The boys are getting about tired of being experimented on by every traveling elocutionist, gymnast, lightning calculator, etc., that happens along.(64)

Sometimes there was a turning-pole outdoors on the campus.(65) The Appleton City Y.M.C.A. acquired a frame building in 1891, the former Congregational Church, that stood where the City Library is today (1960), and fitted it up as a gymnasium. The male students of Lawrence used this establishment with great zeal until it was destroyed by fire in March, 1893. The problem of a gymnasium was still unsolved when Plantz became President.

Organized and intercollegiate athletics began in something like a modern form in the decade, 1884 to 1894; and in the history of athletics these years have more in common with Plantz's time than with the foregoing period. In 1884 the male students organized an Athletic Asso-

60. Coll., Apr., 1870, p. 92.

61. Coll., July, 1871, pp. 197, 198.

62. Coll., Feb., 1877, p. 78.

63. Coll., April, 1873, p. 109.

64. Coll., May, 1873, p. 129.

65. Coll., May, 1875, p. 109.

ciation and on June 13 of that year held a "Field Day," that is, a track and field meet. Only Lawrence men were involved. Five years later, on June 7, 1889, Lawrence began its intercollegiate athletics by meeting Ripon in a Field Day and a baseball game. Lawrence won the Field Day and lost the ball game. This double contest was repeated annually for some time. Football made its real debut at Lawrence in the fall of 1893. Before that time a "few sporadic games [had] been played, but never according to any organized or authoritative system of rules."⁽⁶⁶⁾ In the fall of 1893, however, the Lawrence boys had a coach for a week to initiate them in the mysteries of football. This first mentor was David Henry Walker, an alumnus of 1890, who had played the game for two seasons while enrolled in the Law School of the University of Wisconsin.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Lawrence's first team played three games, only one of them intercollegiate: Ripon defeated Lawrence, 24 to 6.

The events of the first Field Day took place, some on the campus, some at the old Driving Park, the present Telulah Park. At that time the area bounded by North, Pacific, Union and Bateman Streets was without houses. The owner, Augustus Ledyard Smith, a Trustee of the University, allowed the male students to use this space from 1888 onward, first for baseball and then for football. This arrangement continued until 1899.

The beginnings of tennis were not very clearly reported in the Lawrentian, almost our only source of information on the subject. A club was projected and probably organized in the spring of 1891. It was then suggested that "courts could be laid out on the campus." Apparently at that time none had yet been constructed. A ladies' club was organized in 1892.⁽⁶⁸⁾ In the spring of 1893 there were three tennis clubs for men and one, called the Ormsby Tennis Club, for women.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Exercise and athletics for women did not receive much attention until about 1890. The Trustees had recognized a responsibility for the physical training of women when they included a gymnasium in Ormsby Hall. Calisthenics for women at that time was called Delsarte, for the Frenchman of that name. In the fall of 1891 two Trustees, Messrs. Robert McMillan and Philetus Sawyer, undertook to pay the cost of lessons in Delsarte for Lawrence girls, and an Ormsby Delsarte Club was organized which existed for several years. As already mentioned, the girls also organized a tennis club in 1892.⁽⁷⁰⁾

66. Law., Jan., 1893, p. 96.

67. Law., Nov., 1893, pp. 77, 78; Alumni Record (1922), p. 313.

68. Law., Apr., 1891, p. 127; May, 1892, p. 5.

69. Souvenir, 1893, p. 134.

70. Law., Nov., 1891, p. 67; May, 1892, p. 5; Souvenir, 1893, p. 134.

In the spring term of 1893 the Trustees placed Miss Edith Garton, a recent graduate of the Cumnock School of Oratory at Evanston, Illinois, in charge of the work in elocution and physical culture for women. Miss Garton was also, for the term, Director of the Ormsby Del-sarte Club. She did not return to Lawrence in the fall of 1893, as had been anticipated, so during 1893-94 there was no such specialist on the Faculty. In the fall of 1894, however, as Plantz was beginning his presidency, the University employed the first of a series of women, each with the title, Instructor in Elocution and Physical Culture.

Thus, by the summer of 1894, some features were emerging of what was to be the pattern of the future in athletics and physical culture. The men were organized in an Athletic Association. Local track and field work was ten years old; this and baseball had been intercollegiate sports for five years. Football of the modern sort had but one season behind it. A considerable number of men and a smaller number of women were playing tennis; but this sport was not yet intercollegiate. The University had no playing field of its own and it badly needed a gymnasium for men.

CHAPTER XV

THE EARLY CURRICULUM

(1849 to about 1894)

The classroom has always been the most important influence touching and shaping students in college. In their contacts with lessons and teachers, countless Lawrentians have discovered new horizons and found lasting illumination. Unfortunately we cannot in any real way recapture the teaching process as it operated long ago. Questions posed and phrases used in the distant past are forever lost to history. So too, for the most part, are the personalities of early teachers. It is still possible, however, to summarize the curricular offerings of the early days, noting changes as they were made. Out of such a survey emerges the picture of an enterprise similar to what other colleges in the United States were doing at that time, but very different from the Lawrence of today.

Mental and Moral Science: Philosophy and Religion

The Reverend Edward Cooke, besides being the first President of Lawrence (1853-59), was also, until his last year, Professor of Moral and Intellectual Science; in that last year he called himself Professor of Ethics and Civil Polity, a title used by his successors until 1891. These titles covered work later known as religion, philosophy, psychology and the social sciences. The Methodists who founded and supported the University set great store by this group of studies. Most of them were required of all students and they were usually taught by the President of the University. The "Civil Polity" courses will be discussed as social sciences along with history; the courses in "Moral and Intellectual Science" are dealt with in this section.

The five courses in this whole area with the longest history were: Evidences of Christianity, Intellectual Philosophy, later called Psychology, Logic, Moral Philosophy, later called Ethics, and Political

Economy. Under Presidents Cooke (1853-59) and Mason (1859-65) the basis of the first course was the famous work of the English divine, William Paley (1743-1805), View of the Evidences of Christianity (1794). Throughout this opening period (1853-65), Evidences of Christianity was a Sophomore subject. Juniors devoted one term to two books written by an Englishman, Richard Whately, one on logic and the other on rhetoric. They also had a term in Mental Philosophy. Seniors had three one-term courses, one in Ethics or Moral Philosophy, and two that fell under the heading of Civil Polity, Political Economy and Constitutions of the United States and of Wisconsin. In Ethics one of the textbooks for nine years (1858-67) was the Analogy of Revealed Religion, by Joseph Butler (1692-1752).

The work in Ethics and Civil Polity went on under Presidents Steele (1865-79) and Huntley (1879-83) very much as before. There were changes in textbooks, but almost none in courses given. Atwater's text in logic replaced Whately's and was used for fifteen years (1868-83). Paley's Evidences gave way to Evidences of Christianity by Mark Hopkins, a Congregational minister long President of Williams College. This book was used at Lawrence for fifteen years (1867-83).

Another book by William Paley entitled Natural Theology (1802) was also used at Lawrence, being for many years (1858-66) required reading for Scientific Sophomores. It was a famous statement of the argument from design, an argument much older than Paley. The heart of it is this: created nature is so excellent in its planning and execution that it proves the existence of "an intelligent designing mind," of a deity that wishes well for its creatures. In proving the existence of a benevolent and beneficent God Paley once wrote; "I take my stand in human anatomy." The publication of Darwin's Origin of Species in 1859 led on to a different explanation of the past of human anatomy and of much else, and unleashed a long and bitter controversy. Clergymen in denominational colleges usually assumed an anti-Darwinian position. One of the leaders on this side was Paul Ansel Chadbourne, for a short time President of the University of Wisconsin and, for a longer time, of Williams College. In 1867 he published an anti-evolutionary work entitled Lectures on Natural Theology which was a textbook at Lawrence for twelve years (1868-79).

The course in Moral Philosophy continued to be required. Sometimes it was called Theoretical and Practical Ethics, sometimes Moral Science; but from the beginning to 1883 the textbook used was always Wayland's Elements of Moral Science. The course that was at first called Mental Philosophy was renamed Intellectual Philosophy in 1867 but, from the beginning to 1881, the textbook was always Wayland's Elements of Intellectual Philosophy. In 1881-82 President Huntley, or perhaps Professor Sawyer, changed to John Bascom's Science of the Mind. This Bascom was President of the University of Wisconsin from 1876 to 1887. For 1882-83 the entry in the catalogue ran: "Philosophy -- Schuyler's Psychology." Soon the catalogue was to say, year after year, "The work in Philosophy begins with Psychology in the second term of the Junior year."(1)

The courses in Ethics and Civil Polity in Lawrence's first half century were usually taught by the President of the University. In 1875, however, the Reverend Wesley C. Sawyer became a member of the Faculty. The place he came to occupy in the University community has already been indicated. He taught, at least once, all of the courses just enumerated. Also, he inaugurated the one new course in the area in this period, History of Philosophy. It first appeared in 1877-78 as a one-term course required of Classical Seniors, and it replaced a course in Rhetoric. It may have been for fewer than the usual five meetings a week. No textbook was named and it was described as a lecture course. We have no summary of the lecture material from Sawyer's time but a catalogue issued when President Raymond taught the course yields the following: "The lectures on this subject during the Fall term of '84 will cover the period of German philosophy from Kant to Hegel."(2) History of Philosophy was destined to be permanent in the curriculum.

Bradford P. Raymond graduated from Lawrence in 1870. Thirteen years later he returned, the first alumnus to become President. When he was a Senior at Lawrence there had been four required courses in this area, with all of which we are familiar. In 1883 the four were still required though two had different titles. Evidences of Christianity and Logic still went by their old names. Intellectual Philosophy was called Science of the Mind in 1882-83, and Psychology thereafter. Moral Science was now listed as Ethics. The History of Philosophy, introduced by Sawyer in 1877, made a fifth required course. The history of these five until the end of the century can be briefly told. Psychology was changed from one to two terms in 1893 and was required of all students until after 1900. Logic was always taught and, except for 1892-93, required until 1898 when it became elective. Evidences of Christianity and Ethics were required, with some change of label at the end, until the death of President Plantz in 1924. The History of Philosophy, required until 1885, continued after that as an elective.

The textbook used by Raymond in Evidences of Christianity is not named for us, but his successors, Gallagher and Plantz, both used Fisher's Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief. Throughout Raymond's time the textbook was supplemented by lectures "delivered during the Fall and Winter terms in the chapel before all the students and open to the public." The subjects of these lectures were: "Revelation and Inspiration," or "Philosophy of Revelation," or "Present Attitude of German Theological Thought." For a textbook in Ethics he used Noah Porter's Elements of Moral Science, which was "supplemented by lectures on materialistic theories."(3)

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1. Cats., 1883, p. 25; 1884, p. 38; 1885, p. 35.
 2. Cat., 1884, p. 38.
 3. Cats., 1884, p. 38; 1885, p. 34; 1886, p. 38; 1889, p. 40.

Besides continuing old courses, Raymond added four new ones, all of which appeared for the first time in 1885. Philosophy of Religion was described until 1895 -- that is, under Raymond and Gallagher -- as presenting "The Grounds of Theism." In that year President Plantz instituted a course called Theism and gave a different content to Philosophy of Religion. Except for 1892-93, it was, whatever its content, a required course until 1902. Aesthetics was required until 1892 after which it was elective. Metaphysics, always a two-term elective, was the third of Raymond's innovations to last into the twentieth century. The fourth, an elective course in the Philosophy of History, lasted only seven years, 1885 to 1892.

As already indicated, the President of Lawrence was also Professor of Ethics and Civil Polity from 1858 to 1891. The catalogue of July, 1891, listed for the first time a Professor of History and Political Science. With "Civil Polity" thus cared for, President Gallagher took the title of Professor of Ethics and Christian Evidences. This label was used by him and by President Plantz after him until the latter's death in 1924.

Latin, Greek, and Hebrew

The founders of Lawrence, like most others who planned or managed colleges at that time, set a high value on Latin, Greek and Hebrew. In this they followed a tradition that went back to the Renaissance in Europe in the fifteenth century. This tradition was reinforced by the desire on the part of many Christians to read the Bible in the original Greek and Hebrew.

Four men, two young and two middle-aged, and all graduates of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, taught the ancient languages in the first fifteen years of Lawrence's existence. Romulus O. Kellogg, aged twenty-two, began teaching Greek and Latin in 1849, when Lawrence had only a Preparatory department. He was followed in 1854 by Hiram A. Jones, then aged twenty-three, who was destined to teach Latin, and sometimes Greek, for forty-four years. The Reverend Nelson E. Cobleigh taught Greek and sometimes Hebrew from 1854 to 1858; the Reverend Loren L. Knox, Greek, and sometimes Latin, from 1858 to 1864. Cobleigh came at the age of forty and Knox, at forty-seven. These four men set the pattern for Classical studies at Lawrence for a long time to come. Since they were all graduates of Wesleyan, they doubtless to a large extent transferred the Wesleyan pattern to Lawrence.

The work in Latin and Greek required of candidates for the B.A. degree was completed partly before admission to the College, partly in the College. From the beginning until 1865 two years of Latin and

one of Greek were required for entrance. For some time Latin was required in the first two years of College, the authors represented being Ovid, Livy, Horace, Juvenal, and Cicero, (De Officiis). In 1858 the requirement was reduced to a year and a half; but the student might then, as a Junior, choose between two terms of Latin and two of French. At first one term of Latin was required of Classical Seniors, but from 1858 onward this was optional. In this final term of elective work the student for many years read some Tacitus and Seneca's Hercules Furens.

In this early period the candidate for the B.A., besides the year of pre-college Greek already mentioned, continued this study for two years in College. With almost no change from one year to another, he read works of Xenophon, Herodotus, Homer, and one or two Greek tragedies. For a short time (1856-58) Juniors studied a Harmony of the Gospels in Greek, meeting once a week through the year for the purpose. Then, for some years, Juniors had no Greek at all. One term of Greek was required of Seniors in 1856-57 and two thereafter for a time. Eventually Seniors were required to take one term and might elect another. In the required term they read Demosthenes' De Corona.

To sum up the work in Latin and Greek for B.A. candidates down to 1865: A year of Greek and at least two of Latin were required for admission to the Freshman class. In College the minimum requirement in the two languages together was just under four years. If all electives were added, the total was a little more than five years. A candidate for the B.A. degree, therefore, devoted about one-third of his whole college effort to these two languages.

Those who made out the list of requirements found it difficult to decide about Latin for those taking the Bachelor of Science degree. At first there was no requirement in ancient languages, but only of competence in two modern ones.(4) After several short-lived plans, the Scientific candidate was finally asked to pursue one year of Latin before entering the College and one in College.(5) This became the regular program for Scientific students and was adhered to for many years.

The Reverend Nelson E. Cobleigh, Professor from 1854 to 1858, taught Hebrew to Seniors for one or two years. For a short time it was thought worthwhile to mention in the catalogue various reference works useful in the study of Hebrew.(6) After Cobleigh's departure no Hebrew was taught at Lawrence until 1890.(7)

4. Cat., 1854-55, p. 18.

5. Cat., 1858-59, pp. 25, 34.

6. Cats., 1853-54, p. 15; 1856-57, p. 16.

7. Cat., 1890, pp. 32, 39.

In 1865 requirements in Greek and Latin for admission to College were increased, and set as they remained until 1892. For those preparing for the B.A. or Classical course, they were now three years of Latin and two of Greek. Scientific candidates were never asked to study any Greek; but they must take two years of Latin. Then, in their first year in College they did the same Latin as the Classical students had done in their third year of the Preparatory department.

Until 1898 Hiram A. Jones continued to be the chief teacher of Latin at Lawrence. There was no Professor of Greek between 1864 and 1879 and Jones taught both Latin and Greek. During this time he had some help from a series of five women each of whom was Preceptress and in addition taught Latin and some other subject.

We know the actual Latin authors whose works were read each year through 1882-84; but after that, only the amount of time spent. Until that time there was surprisingly little change in the fare offered, and probably the same books were read as long as Jones lived. Candidates for the B.A. degree continued to read from Ovid and Livy as Freshmen. Sophomores at first had a term and a half, after 1868 only a term, devoted to Horace and Latin prosody. Beyond this required work the Classical student chose between three terms of elective Latin and work in modern languages. If he chose Latin, he always read Cicero's De Officiis and De Oratore, some Tacitus, and Seneca's Hercules Furens. These electives, at first partly Junior and partly Senior, were in 1873 assigned to two terms in the Sophomore year and the first term of the Junior year. After this one year of elective work no more Latin was available, even to the Classical student. Beginning with 1884-85 required Latin was completed by the end of the Freshman year. Thus Professor Jones could say at any time between 1885 and 1898: "Latin. -- The required work of this department, Collegiate and Preparatory, covers a period of four years, with an additional year elective."(8)

To complete the story of requirements in Latin, it is necessary to mention some changes late in the nineteenth century, chiefly in 1883 and 1892. For a long time Lawrence gave but two degrees, those of B.A. and B.S. In 1883 a third course, called the Modern Classical and leading to the degree of Bachelor of Literature, was instituted. From 1883 to 1892 those aiming at this degree, like the Scientific candidates, spent two years in the Preparatory department during which they studied Latin (or learned that much Latin elsewhere), and took another year of Latin as Freshmen in College.

In 1892 several changes were made. Those taking the Modern Classical course now received the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy, which was first conferred in 1894. From 1892 onward candidates for all degrees spent three years in the Preparatory department. Those aiming at the Ph.B. degree were asked, like the B.A. candidates, to study Latin for three years before entering the College and through the Freshman

8. Cats., 1885, p. 29; 1897, p. 25 quoted.

year. The Bachelor of Philosophy had the same training as the B.A., except that he had no Greek. Up to 1892 Scientific candidates, as we know, took two years of Latin before entering college and continued it through the Freshman year. After that, except for one odd year (1894-95), Scientific candidates were required no Latin anywhere in their course.

In view of the important position held by the ancient languages in the curriculum at that time and Professor Jones' long service one would like to recapture the spirit of his teaching. This can be done only very inadequately. When he was a young man the catalogue contained this statement:

Students in this department are required in their daily recitations carefully to construe and analyze Greek and Latin sentences, to point out the various relations and dependencies of words, and to apply the corresponding rules of Syntax. Thorough drilling in these particulars is deemed more important, both as regards the student's mental discipline, and his acquaintance with the languages read, than the reading of any prescribed number of pages.(9)

In the last years of his life Jones described his work in part as follows:

In the earlier part of the work, special attention is given to the study of forms, idioms, and the general structure of the language In the latter part of the course, it is expected that the student will acquire a more complete and exact knowledge of [ancient geography, mythology and antiquities], a wider acquaintance with the grammar of the language, and such a knowledge of the relation of the Latin to the English as will aid him to a better understanding of his own vernacular. The study of Roman authors and literature, based upon texts and manuals . . . , are [sic] pursued.(10)

Hiram A. Jones almost rounded out forty-four years of teaching and died in the classroom, April 11, 1898. To finish out the year's work Dr. Plantz summoned an alumna of the class of 1859, the wife of Dr. Emory Stansbury, an Appleton physician and one of the Trustees. As Mary A. A. Phinney she had learned her Latin from Professor Jones forty years before. Here, perhaps, is as good a testimonial as any to the quality of his teaching. His successor, Ellsworth D. Wright, had had a different training and inaugurated a new era.

9. Cats., 1859-60, p. 13; 1864-65, pp. 13, 14.

10. Cat., 1897, p. 25.

Nathanial M. Wheeler taught Greek at Lawrence from 1879 to 1885. He graduated from Syracuse University in 1875, taught in various secondary schools, and in 1878-79 was Principal of the Wesleyan Seminary at Eau Claire, Wisconsin, whence he came to Lawrence. In 1884 he was credited for the first time with the degree of Ph.D. He and his wife were unusually active in the Methodist Church and Sunday School and in the University he led a student Bible study group.⁽¹¹⁾ In July, 1885, stricken with tuberculosis, Wheeler went to California in search of improved health. There, in December, 1886, not yet thirty-three years of age, he died.

Wheeler was succeeded in the chair of Greek by Henry Lummis, who had received his B.A. from Wesleyan University in 1855 when he was thirty years old. Between 1855 and 1870 he had held various teaching positions in New England, and from 1870 until 1886 he had been a Methodist pastor. He came to Lawrence early in 1886 at the age of sixty or sixty-one and taught for nineteen years. Wesleyan bestowed on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1887. He died at his study table in his home in the spring of 1905 while preparing lessons for the following day. Miss Kate A. Everest was Instructor in Greek and English for nearly five years beginning in January, 1885. She was also Preceptress during her last three years at Lawrence.

At the beginning, as already mentioned, Classical students completed one year of Greek for admission to the College. From 1865 onward they were asked to complete two; and both before and after this date they took two years in College down to the end of the century. In addition there was required work in the Senior year, first two terms and then one term, until 1879, after which anything beyond the Sophomore year was elective. Plato's Gorgias began to be read as a Junior elective in 1875, the first Plato listed since 1855; and the Apology and Crito were added in the following year. After 1879, for some years, there was no room for Greek or Latin in the Senior program. Even those who took the Ancient Classical course had to give their entire Senior year to science and the courses in Ethics and Civil Polity.

During most of the 1890's Professor Lummis' statement in the catalogue began: "The department of Greek extends through four years." He meant two in the Preparatory department and two in College. Beginning in 1892 he also included this sentence: "The courses will be varied so that students desiring a fifth year may elect it."⁽¹²⁾

If it had not been for "Good-bye, Mr. Chips," the present generation might not know that about 1890 there was a change in the classroom pronunciation of Latin. For many years there was a page in the catalogues with the heading, "Requisites for Admission"; and from 1880 to 1894 the statement about Latin ended with the words, "Roman pronounci-

11. Cat., 1884, p. 45.

12. Cats., 1892, p. 34; to 1898, p. 27.

ation preferred." And for a long time it was stated in the description of Latin courses in College that: "The Roman pronunciation is used."⁽¹³⁾ Professor Wright, Jones' successor, omitted this statement. By 1898 the battle of the pronunciations belonged to the past.

As stated above, when Professor Cobleigh left Lawrence in 1858 the teaching of Hebrew ceased. Efforts were made during the next few years to secure an endowment for a Chair of Hebrew Language and Biblical Literature, but they were not successful. Hebrew was resumed in 1890 as a one-year course to be given every other year by President Gallagher.⁽¹⁴⁾

Mathematics, Astronomy, and Civil Engineering

The first chapter in the history of mathematics at Lawrence runs from the opening of the Preparatory department in November, 1849 to the coming of Henry Pomeroy in the fall of 1858. In that short time offerings assumed a pattern that was not to change much for a long time to come. It showed a sequence of courses, from arithmetic to calculus, that was probably common to schools and colleges throughout the United States a century ago.

During this period there were several teachers of mathematics. William H. Sampson taught this subject every year except one from 1849 to 1858. The first President, the Reverend Edward Cooke, in the year 1853-54, when all College students were Freshmen, filled three chairs, one of them that of Mathematics and Astronomy. From 1854 to 1857 the Reverend Russell Z. Mason, destined to be the second President of Lawrence University, was Professor of Mathematics and Experimental Philosophy, or Mathematics and General Physics. Miss Francena M. Kellogg, a member of the first graduating class, remained at Lawrence to teach mathematics in 1857-58.

Mathematics in the Preparatory department then consisted of arithmetic and two terms of elementary algebra. After College work began in 1853, Freshmen in College studied more algebra and plane geometry; and the Sophomores had a term each of (1) Solid Geometry; (2) Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Mensuration, Navigation, etc.; and (3) Analytical Geometry. One year the second term's work was described as Navigation, Surveying and Spherical Astronomy. Calculus and Astronomy, each one term, were included in the Junior or Senior year.⁽¹⁵⁾

13. Cats., 1890, p. 31; to 1898, p. 27.

14. Cat., 1890, pp. 32, 33.

This added up to two and two-thirds years of required mathematics; but the Freshman year included matter that was later studied in high school.

In the fall of 1858 Henry Pomeroy, A.M., joined the Faculty as Professor of Mathematics and Civil Engineering. He was a graduate of the Polytechnic Institute of Troy, New York and of Union College, and had had practical experience as a civil engineer, especially in canal building. He was the first full Professor at Lawrence not trained at Connecticut Wesleyan. In the catalogue of 1858-59 there were three and one-third pages under the heading: "Department of Industrial Science: School of Engineering." Here Pomeroy described first an elementary course which would not only prepare the student for advanced work, but would also be "of the greatest practical value in various industrial arts and trades -- to such young men, for example, as mean to be Carpenters, Joiners, Cabinetmakers, Stone Cutters, Machinists, Locomotive Engineers or Engineers on Steamers." What was included in this elementary course was partly ordinary school-work in arithmetic and geometry, partly training of a more practical sort such as industrial drawing, an "Elementary Outline of Industrial Mechanics," and bookkeeping. After the elementary, Pomeroy outlined two years of advanced work. This included all the mathematics offered in the College and Natural Philosophy, now called physics. Peculiar to the School of Engineering was the emphasis on "draughting" of various sorts and on the "Practical Industrial Mechanics." This outline appeared in two successive years.(16)

In the following year the catalogue contained an eight-page screed under the caption, "Department of Mathematics, Abstract and Applied." It strikes one as a last tremendous effort by Pomeroy to "sell" his work to the University community. It began: "Geometry treats of position, direction and extension in space, and of the sizes and shapes of definite portions of space. Arithmetic, in its extended sense, is the calculus of values. Analysis treats of the mathematical relations of abstract quantities, considered solely as quantity, and is substantially the calculus of forms. Phoronomy is the mathematical science of motion, considered wholly independently of its causes. Abstract (or rational) Mechanics, is the science of the mathematical relations of forces to each other, and of forces to their effects."

Pomeroy remarked that in the newer states of the Union, "the district schools are as yet imperfect: and the academies are few in number. This condition of things has forced almost every western college to have a preparatory school, which gives instruction in the branches belonging to the primary and secondary periods To this practice, our institution at present conforms." After this preamble, he described Introductory, Secondary, and Superior (that is, College) work offered at Lawrence, defining, one is tempted to say, every word he used.(17) In this year candidates for the Bachelor's degree, Classical

15. Cats., 1856-57, pp. 15, 17, 18; 1857-58, pp. 22, 26, 27.

16. Cats., 1858-59, pp. 29-32; 1859-60, pp. 17-19.

or Scientific, were offered the same fare in science and mathematics as before Pomeroy came, with the addition of one elective three-term course in the Senior year called Engineering Studies.

Never very vigorous, the enterprise of founding an Engineering School was perhaps a casualty of the Civil War. Engineering students were listed separately three times, as follows: 1858-59, 4; 1859-60, 5; and 1860-61, 3. Since some names appeared in two successive years, only eight men were involved. Engineering students paid more tuition than other College students: in the three years just named, \$34.50 instead of \$28.50. In 1862 Pomeroy left Lawrence to serve in the Union army. His successors used the title, Professor of Mathematics and Civil Engineering for some years; then, Professor of Pure and Mixed Mathematics (from 1867). One course, called Engineering or Civil Engineering, was listed every year through 1868-69 and was then abandoned. Here ended the first attempt to plant engineering at Lawrence. The second began four years later.(18)

In Plantz's later years the catalogues asserted that a School of Civil Engineering was opened with state aid in 1858.(19) This statement seems in error: Lawrence did receive state aid for teacher training at this time, but never, it is believed, for engineering.

From the departure of Pomeroy for military service in 1861 to the accession of Plantz in 1894, seven men in succession were the chief teachers of mathematics at Lawrence. Two were alumni who had studied under Pomeroy. One of these, Willbur F. Yocum, taught mathematics from 1869 to 1874, and then for three years was the first holder of the Alumni Professorship of Natural History. Yocum spent much of his subsequent life in educational administration, most of it in Florida. In 1874 Lawrence decided to offer Civil Engineering again, and for this work secured DeForest M. Hyde. He was followed by Herbert B. Perkins, a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who, save for a year's absence for study in Germany, taught at Lawrence from 1878 to 1886.

The list of courses given above for the 1850's long remained practically unchanged. There was a tendency, however, to shift the whole list to an earlier period in the student's career. In the 1860's all students took two years of mathematics in College, the Sophomore program consisting of a term each of Trigonometry, Analytical Geometry and Calculus.(20) There was no mathematics beyond this except some elective "Engineering Studies" and a required term of Astronomy.

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17. Cat., 1860-61, pp. 17-25.
 18. Cat., 1873-74, pp. 5, 39.
 19. E.g., Cat., Jan., 1922, p. 11.
 20. Cat., 1865-66, pp. 13-16.

In 1874 the "higher Algebra" of the Freshman year was moved down into the pre-college period and required for admission.(21) The first two terms in College were then given to Geometry, plane and solid, and the third to Trigonometry. In the Sophomore year, from that time on, Classical students took one term of Analytical Geometry; Scientific students, the same and a term of Calculus.(22) In the middle 1870's another attempt was made to develop a course in Civil Engineering, of which details in a moment.

In the last years of Herbert B. Perkins there was still no real change in offerings and little in requirements. Those taking the Modern Classical course, set up in 1884, had the same mathematics in the Freshman year as other students, but nothing beyond that except the Astronomy required of all. In the Junior year Scientific candidates might elect a one-term course in Surveying. When the elective system was introduced in a small way in 1884, Professor Perkins stated: "Optional courses in Determinants and Analytical Mechanics will be offered."(23)

As we have seen, Lawrence had offered work in Civil Engineering just before and during the Civil War. In the 1870's this vocational urge appeared again. In 1872, after the list of work that made up the Scientific course, it was stated: "Civil Engineering may be substituted for German in the Junior year, if there be a sufficient number of students to form a class."(24) It was next announced that a course in Civil Engineering was being inaugurated under a special instructor.(25) In the fall of 1874 DeForest M. Hyde, who had just received his degree of C.E. at Northwestern University, became the Professor of Mathematics and Civil Engineering; and for four years the catalogue detailed work in Civil Engineering as a variant of the Scientific course. While Scientific students at that time took a year each of Latin, French, and German, the Civil Engineering candidates were required to take only one year of French or German. By cutting down on language, reducing Rhetoric from two terms to one, and omitting Intellectual Philosophy, Logic, and Political Economy, room was made for the following: two years in drawing or drafting, an additional term of Calculus, Surveying, and four terms of quite technical work: i.e., Bridge Building, and Strength of Materials, etc. It is not known how many students enrolled for Civil Engineering, but apparently few. The number of College students (91 at the highest) and the size of the Senior class (14, highest) remained almost stationary in these years. Mr. Hyde abandoned teaching for paper manufacturing; his successor, Herbert B. Perkins, was called

21. Cat., 1873-74, p. 32, note.

22. Cat., 1874-75, pp. 16-18.

23. Cats., 1884, p. 35; 1885, p. 32; 1886, not offered.

24. Cat., 1872-73, p. 26.

25. Cats., 1873-74, p. 39; 1874-75, p. 15.

Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy; and all mention of Civil Engineering was omitted from the catalogue of 1878-79.

The Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy from 1886 to 1894 was L. Wesley Underwood. He attended high school at Battle Creek, Michigan, taught in country schools for five years, and then entered Albion, a Methodist college in Michigan. After two years there he spent a few years as principal of a high school and then returned to Albion. During his last two undergraduate years he was an assistant in mathematics. He was graduated Bachelor of Science in 1886 and, then thirty-three years of age, immediately became a Professor at Lawrence. He received the degree of M.S. in 1889.

The offerings in mathematics as just summarized for 1883-86 remained substantially unchanged until 1892. After 1886-87 B.A. Sophomores no longer took any mathematics, leaving the Scientific students as the only group required to go beyond the Freshman work. Beginning in 1892, however, for two years, all mathematics was omitted from the Sophomore year. A year's work was offered as a Junior or Senior elective consisting of: first term, College Algebra and General or Analytical Geometry; second term, Calculus; third term, Surveying. "This course is elective and will occur in the odd years. The course is arranged with reference to advanced work in civil and mining engineering."(26) Then, for 1894-95, a similar sequence was arranged consisting of one term each in College Algebra, General Geometry and Calculus. This was to be given every year: Scientific Sophomores were required to take it, while candidates for the Ph.B degree either took this or Greek. For them it was, in this narrow sense, an "elective."(27)

Underwood's chief interest lay in astronomy, of which one term had long been required at Lawrence. During most of his years the work was elective and consisted of one term of General Astronomy and one or two of Mathematical Astronomy. In his earliest catalogue statements Underwood wrote: "The course in Astronomy has been extended so as to embrace a thorough treatment of descriptive Astronomy and also the most difficult features of the mathematical. Students completing the entire course will be able to predict accurately both Lunar and Solar eclipses, and to carry forward other Astronomical investigations of equal interest."(28) For two years it was stated: "All students taking the Mathematical Astronomy will be expected to predict two eclipses, one of the moon and one of the sun."(29)

26. Cats., 1892, p. 41; 1893, p. 43.

27. Cat., 1894, pp. 44, 48, 49.

28. Cats., 1887, p. 35; 1889, p. 38.

29. Cats., 1890, p. 35; 1891, p. 39.

Underwood made himself known to a community larger than the University campus. He had a speech entitled "The Story of the Stars," popular in lecture series in Wisconsin cities; and he had some fame as a temperance lecturer. It has been told elsewhere how he raised funds to build and equip the observatory; and how, between the departure of President Gallagher and the arrival of Plantz as his successor, he was Acting President of Lawrence. He resigned in June, 1894.

Sciences

All teachers of science at Lawrence down to 1865 were Methodist ministers. One of the three chairs filled by President Cooke in 1853-54 was that of Natural Science and Experimental Philosophy. In that first year of College work there was no science in the Freshman program, and Cooke may have taught science in the Preparatory department. Russell Z. Mason joined the Faculty in 1854, and what he taught, besides mathematics, was variously labeled Experimental Philosophy, Natural Science, and General Physics. He continued to teach in this field half way through his term as President. For two years, 1863 to 1865, the Reverend Samuel Fallows was listed as Professor of Natural Science and General Physics, but because of activities connected with the Civil War he did little or no teaching.

By 1858-59 the work in science had settled into a program that was to be little changed for many years. Classical students had no science in their first two years; Scientific students had a one-term course in Physical Geography as Freshmen. All students did the same work in the last two years, and all of it was required. In the Junior year they had two terms of what we would call physics but which that generation called Mechanical Philosophy. One term included Optics; the other, Sound, Electricity and Magnetism. Juniors also had two terms of chemistry. All Seniors had three one-term courses: Astronomy, previously mentioned under mathematics; Physiology and Zoology, using a text by Agassiz; and Geology and Mineralogy. When they graduated the Classical students had had seven terms of science and the Scientific, eight.(30)

After the Civil War other men were secured to teach science at Lawrence. With one exception they were no longer Methodist ministers, and they came nearer to being specialists in science.

John Eugene Davies was born in Wales in 1839 and came to the United States with his parents when he was two years old. He entered Lawrence with advanced standing and after three years graduated in 1862.

While still an undergraduate he was a "Licensed Repeater" or private tutor. He served in the Union Army and returned to Lawrence to be Professor of Chemistry and Physics for two years (1865-67). Later he was, for many years, Professor of Physics at the University of Wisconsin.

James C. Foye was born in New Hampshire in 1841 and was graduated from Williams College in 1863. He came to Lawrence to succeed John E. Davies and remained for twenty-six years (1867-93). Always Professor of Chemistry and Physics, for ten years, 1876 to 1886, he also taught Natural History (biology) and Geology as well.

The nomenclature of science courses then differed in many ways from that of today. Thus in 1865-66 the work in science required of Juniors was presented as follows:

First Term

Mechanical Philosophy -- Optics
Physical Science -- Chemistry begun

Second Term

Mathematics -- Mechanics
Physical Science -- Chemistry finished

Third Term

Mechanical Philosophy -- Sound, Electricity and Magnetism

Two years later Juniors were taking one term of mechanics and two of physics. One of the latter covered hydrodynamics and acoustics; the other, light, heat and electricity. Other words used about that time for some of the work in physics were: hydrostatics, meteorology, and pneumatics.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the words "natural history" denoted what we call botany and zoology today. In 1874 Wilbur F. Yocum abandoned mathematics to become the Alumni Professor of Natural History and Geology. He was partly supported by income from the Alumni Fund and was the University's first Alumni Professor. To prepare for the change of fields he spent a summer at Penikese Island, Massachusetts, where Agassiz had recently founded a school for the study of natural history. Yocum held his new post for three years; then became the President of a Methodist college at Fort Wayne, Indiana. After Yocum's departure Foye gave all the courses in science until the appointment of Cramer in 1886.

Two terms, one in Zoology and one in Botany, were usual throughout this period. Sometimes they were given in the Freshman, sometimes in the Sophomore year. The Natural History of the earlier days eventually gave way to Zoology, (31) often listed as Comparative

Zoology. It was noted above in connection with moral science that for twelve years (1867-79) first Natural History and then Zoology were given concurrently with work in Natural Theology that had a strong anti-Darwinian tone.

Professor Foye's program in 1882-83, late in the period when he was the only science teacher at Lawrence, was as follows:

	Fall	Winter	Spring
Preparatory Department		Physical Geography	Physiology
Freshman	Comparative Zoology		Botany
Junior	Physics	Physics	Physics
Senior	Chemistry	Chemistry	Geology

Each class in this list had five meetings a week. The Freshman work was required only of Scientific students; the work in the last two years was required of all. Astronomy, taught by the Professor of Mathematics, was also required of all Seniors. Counting in Astronomy, and disregarding the Preparatory department, the Classical or B.A. students took seven terms of required science; Scientific students completed nine.

The University adopted in 1884 a policy of offering some elective courses. Foye reduced the required physics to two terms and arranged to get these and two terms of required chemistry finished by the end of the Junior year. He made the third term of physics elective and offered this and two terms of elective chemistry in the Senior year. These elective courses usually met two or three, not five, times a week.

Writing by Lawrence Professors was very unusual in the nineteenth century and Foye was conspicuous as the author of various textbooks or teaching aids. His Chemical Problems, 1879, reached a fourth edition in 1892. His Table for the Determination and Classification of Minerals, which first appeared in 1879, was rewritten and enlarged in 1882. In the catalogue it was for several years called simply Mineral Tables. A Handbook of Minerology came in 1886, and soon reached a fourth edition.⁽³²⁾ In 1882 Foye was granted a Ph.D degree by DePauw University, then called Asbury University.

Beginning in 1879 Foye was Fiscal Agent; if the heating plant needed overhauling he secured and supervised the necessary labor. In his last eleven years he had the title of Vice-President of the University. In the spring of 1893 he accepted a teaching position at the

31. Cats., 1873-74, p. 27; 1874-75, p. 18.

32. Cats., 1885, p. 31; 1888, p. 37; Souvenir, 1893, p. 37; Alumni Record (1905), pp. 83-85.

Armour Institute of Chicago. At commencement that year Lawrence conferred on him the degree of L.L.D.(33) He was then fifty-two years of age and had spent half his life at Lawrence. He died in Chicago, July 3, 1896. He left a daughter, Charlotte Henderson Foye. Upon her death in 1955 she bequeathed nearly \$70,000 to Lawrence College to be used for scholarships in chemistry.

During Foye's last seven years he was able to share the science teaching with others. Frank Cramer, one of his students, had practically completed the required work for graduation in the spring of 1885. He spent the year 1885-86 at Yale, and was graduated from Lawrence with the class of 1886. He immediately became Alumni Professor of Natural History and Geology. At first he gave part of his time to teaching German. The science work in his charge was slowly but steadily increased. In 1887-88 a separate course in mineralogy was introduced; in the following year, an elective course in geology beyond the required work; and in 1889-90 an elective course in biology that ran through three terms. Cramer left Lawrence for reasons of health in December, 1891. He took a year of graduate work in zoology at Leland Stanford, Jr. University, and afterwards was for many years principal of a boys' school in California. His permanent successor at Lawrence was an alumnus of 1881 and another former student of Foye, Dexter P. Nicholson, whose first year on the Lawrence Faculty coincided with Foye's last.

French and German, 1849 to 1900

French and German were both taught in 1849-50, the first year of instruction in the Preparatory department. Yet during the half-century that followed the modern languages were always far less important than Greek and Latin. From 1858 onward there were two terms of French in the Junior year and three of German in the Senior year. At the end of two terms those who took French were reading Mme. de Staël's Corinne or Fénelon's Telemaque. German students at the end of their year read Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea. A third term of French was added in 1869-70. Soon after this French was moved into the Sophomore year and German into the Junior. This remained the program until 1884. Most of the time French -- at first two terms and then three -- was required of Scientific students and optional for Classical. German was optional for either group.

While Greek and Latin usually occupied two professors, the teaching of French and German was necessarily a part-time enterprise. The first Ph.D. on the Faculty, a certain M. Mayer, was Instructor in

Modern Languages and Literature; but he stayed only one year (1856-57). Ernst F. Pletschke held the same post from 1858 until he entered the Union Army in 1861. During his tenure he found time to teach Industrial Drawing in addition to languages. He died in military service in October, 1861. French and German were usually assigned to women on the staff: often one taught French and another German. The person most frequently called on was the Preceptress, the Dean of Women of those days. Of the seven who held that office between 1865 and 1883, six taught French or German or (in one case) both. For three years (1867-70) Albert Schindelmeisser, a native of Bavaria, was Professor of Music and Instructor in Modern Languages. He was one of the founders of the Appleton Volksfreund, a German-language weekly newspaper published in Appleton from 1870 to 1922. Wesley C. Sawyer also taught German during his last two years at Lawrence.

For five years James H. Worman was listed in the catalogue as "Non-Resident Professor of Modern History and Languages." It was stated during each of his first two years that he was in residence in the spring term.(34) After that he seems to have been completely non-resident.

When the degree of Bachelor of Literature was established in 1883 the new course included two years of each modern language, French and German, in College. For years the catalogue made the following statement: "The diligent student in the Modern Classical Course may easily acquire a fair reading and speaking knowledge of these languages. Six terms, amounting to seventy-four weeks in all, with five recitations per week, are given to this work".(35)

The year 1892 was one of many changes, some of them touching the work in modern languages. The degree of Bachelor of Literature, instituted in 1883, was now replaced by that of Bachelor of Philosophy, though its program was still called the Modern Classical course. Up to this time B.A. candidates had spent three years in the Preparatory department or had done equivalent work elsewhere. Those students planning other courses had needed only two years before admission to the College. Now three years of Preparatory work were required of all. Students planning the B.A. degree were still required to take three years of Latin and two of Greek before entering the College. For others, details varied at first, but by 1895 Scientific students were required to complete two years of five recitations a week in both French and German for admission to College; those planning the Ph.B. degree were asked to present two years in one modern language. These new rules transferred most of the beginning work in French and German to the Preparatory department or the high schools.

34. Cats., 1872-72, p. 5; 1873-74, p. 5.

35. Cats., 1885, p. 30; to 1889, p. 36; nearly the same, 1884, p. 34.

After 1895 neither French nor German was any longer required in any College program. At the same time, as electives, advanced work was offered in each language; sometimes one year, sometimes two, beyond the beginning work. It seems probable, though the catalogue is not specific on the point, that College students could elect elementary work and join the classes in the Preparatory department. Such was the situation during the last five years of the nineteenth century.

Most of the teachers of French and German continued to be women with the rank of Instructor. From 1882, when Wesley C. Sawyer left Lawrence, until 1895 the work in modern languages was done by a succession of five women, all of whom also held the office of Preceptress. Two of them were Lawrence alumnae. Jessie F. Nivison of the class of 1885 taught French and English, and Jennie E. Woodhead, graduate of 1888, was an instructor in German and history.

English

English was not one of the stronger departments at Lawrence during the nineteenth century, either in faculty or in offerings. If a man of professorial rank taught English he never gave it his full time. The Reverend Franklin O. Blair, for two years Adjunct Professor of Moral and Intellectual Science (1856-58), was also Principal of the Female Collegiate department and teacher of English literature. After him came Orville W. Powers, Professor of Normal Instruction and English Literature (1858-60). Wesley C. Sawyer spent his first five years at Lawrence (1875-80) as Professor of Philosophy and Rhetoric.

There was a great deal of teaching at a rather elementary level. The pre-collegiate students, Preparatory, Academic and Commercial, usually outnumbered College students at least two to one. These great numbers had to be instructed in the "English branches," that is, English grammar and correct writing. College students, even Freshmen sometimes, helped in this great task. Frequently a recent graduate remained at Lawrence for a year or more to teach English. This was done by Hester E. Frost of the class of 1858, Mary A. A. Phinney, 1859, and Emily M. Tallmadge, 1860. Miss Tallmadge taught for two years; in the course of the first, she married Hiram A. Jones, Professor of Latin. Between 1864 and 1875 six women taught English. Three of them were Preceptresses; two, wives of faculty men; and four taught also either French or Latin.

The teaching of English was staffed in much the same way down to the end of the century. In 1882-84, to be sure, two young women in succession were full-time Instructors in English. Henry Lummis, D.D. was from 1886 to 1890 Professor of the Greek Language and Literature and of English Literature. After that came three young women in succession who

divided their time between English and other subjects. Finally, in 1899, there was a Faculty member who gave all her time to the teaching of English.

Until 1868 there was no course in English literature in the now usual sense of belles-lettres in English. Instead, the words were used to cover a surprising range of other work. In the catalogue of 1859-60, for example, the following items were listed in the prescribed Scientific course, each one preceded by the words, English Literature. Each entry represents a one-term course.(36)

Freshman.	Higher English Grammar.
Sophomore.	Elementary Rhetoric. Quackenbos. History. Wil[1]son. [European History.] History of Civilization. Guizot.
Junior.	Logic and Rhetoric. Whately.

European History, with Willson's textbook, and Logic first appeared without the label of English Literature in 1867.(37)

From the beginning of College work in 1853 to 1879, there was a one-term course in composition required of Scientific Freshmen only, and taking one-third of the student's time. Various textbooks entitled Elementary Rhetoric were used in succession. Classical students, undergoing the discipline of Greek and Latin, were excused from this course. Beginning in 1880 a course in English Composition meeting one hour a week for one term was required of all Freshmen. This was in addition to the three regular courses, and in this form it was continued beyond the end of the century. Also introduced in 1880 was a one-term course in Rhetoric, required at first of all Sophomores; later, of Scientific Sophomores only. The catalogue stated; "The last term of the Sophomore year is devoted to the formal study of Rhetoric, using A. S. Hill's Principles of Rhetoric, and Abbott's How to Write Clearly."(38) While candidates for the Scientific degree continued to have this course in the third term of the Sophomore year, the Classical and Modern Classical took it at the same time in the Junior year: they may have been taught together. So the course went on from 1886 to 1892. In that year Rhetoric became a year course meeting twice a week, and required of all Sophomores. Two terms were devoted to Genung's Practical Rhetoric; the third to Comparative Philology. This remained the program through 1899-1900.

36. Cat., 1859-60, pp. 14, 15.

37. Cat., 1867-68, pp. 16, 17.

38. Cat., 1885, p. 33.

Beyond those already mentioned there were sometimes courses in rhetoric of a more advanced or philosophical nature. From 1856 to 1866 Whately's Logic and the same author's Rhetoric were made the basis of a Junior course. From 1871 to 1876 a book entitled Elements of Criticism (1762) by Henry Home Lord Kames, a Scottish philosopher, was studied at Lawrence. This book, however, belonged rather in the realm of aesthetics than of rhetoric. In 1872-73, a term of work for all Juniors was listed simply as Literature, using a book by Schlegel. After two years of this, there was a course called "Modern History and Literature," also requiring students to read Schlegel.(39) Altogether Schlegel was read at Lawrence for five years (1872-77).(40) The books by Kames and Schlegel were adopted, in each case, some years before Wesley C. Sawyer became Professor of Rhetoric. Kames' book was mentioned as a text for Seniors in 1854 to 1858, part of the time before there was a Senior class.(41)

Besides the courses in writing already mentioned, students had throughout the entire half century certain other exercises in writing and delivery. A description of them out of the 1850's is as follows:
 Freshman. Rhetorical Exercises on Saturday the whole year
 Sophomore. Russell's Vocal Culture, Declamation and Composition will constitute an exercise for Saturday forenoons during the year
 Junior. Compositions and Declamations on Saturdays
 Senior. Declamations of Original Essays each Term.(42)

With small changes, work of this type was part of the Lawrence training until 1907. A varying nomenclature brought in such words at times as orthoepy, elocution, and themes. Seniors came to present their orations in chapel services before an audience of students and faculty. For three years (1879-82) the University employed an Instructor in Elocution; and the exercises became, except for Seniors, three essays a term and elocution one hour a week. In 1881-82 this was made the rule for Freshmen and Sophomores only, while Juniors joined the Seniors in giving a public oration each term. After 1882 there was no separate Instructor in Elocution and teachers of other subjects assumed the work. One hour a week in elocution, however, remained a permanent part of the Lawrence program for Freshmen and Sophomores for more than two decades.(43)

39. At least one book by A. W. von Schlegel and three by F. von Schlegel were available in English translation by this time. It seems impossible to know which one was required here.

40. Cats., 1872-73, pp. 25, 26; 1876-77, pp. 14, 16.

41. Cats., 1854-55, p. 15; 1855-56, p. 23; 1857-58, pp. 23, 27.

42. Cat., 1856-57, pp. 15, 16.

43. Cats., 1901, pp. 49, 50; 1902, p. 41.

It is unnecessary to trace the small changes in these long-lasting exercises. In the last catalogue prepared before Plantz became President, the requirement was stated as follows:

Every student below the Senior class in College is required to write two essays a term, except in terms devoted to English Composition and Rhetoric. These essays are carefully criticized by the instructor in charge, and faults in expression and style are indicated. The Seniors are required to write two orations each term, which are critically examined and corrected. One of these orations will be delivered in the Chapel.(44)

With no substantial change these rules remained in force for many years.(45)

A college department of English has three good things to communicate to students: the art of writing, the history of the language, and some knowledge of the greatest literature produced by the English-speaking part of mankind. Lawrence was very slow to address herself to the third of these tasks.

Attention has already been called to the variety of material brought in early years under the caption of English literature. The teaching of the history of literature in the usual sense began in 1867-68 with a course labeled simply English Literature, and having five meetings a week for one term -- the usual amount for a course at that time. It was required of Scientific Sophomores and Classical Juniors. After four years of this arrangement, it was required of all Juniors for one year (1871-72); and then for seven years (1872-79) there was nothing of the kind. In a certain sense, perhaps, the history of literature was replaced for five of these years by the approach to literature through Schlegel. In 1879-80 the course that had existed from 1867 to 1872 was re-established, with Shaw's Manual and Study of Authors, and so continued for five years (1879-84).

For 1884-85 a number of changes were made. English literature became a year course meeting twice a week. For three years the first term was required of Classical Juniors; otherwise, all three terms were elective for all Juniors from 1884 to 1892. Toward the end of the period the work was thus described: "Arnold's English Literature furnishes the outline of authors and their works from the English side; Richardson's the same from the American side." Then followed the names of twenty-two English authors from Chaucer to Carlyle and Charles Reade and nine American authors from Bryant to Edward Eggleston. In this manner, in 1890, American literature was first mentioned in a Lawrence University catalogue, though earlier manuals may have included American material.(46) Beginning with 1892-93 there were two year-long elective

44. Cat., 1894, p. 46.

45. Cats., 1899, p. 41; 1900, p. 42.

courses given in alternate years: one covered the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries and the other the Eighteenth and Nineteenth.(47) In Plantz's second year the work of the department would be reorganized and further enlarged.(48)

History and the Social Sciences

History was long one of the less important branches of learning at Lawrence, small in amount, and taught by a rapidly changing succession of persons whose main tasks lay elsewhere. The work in social sciences, as distinguished from history, was not extensive either; but it had at least the dignity of being taught, under the label of "Civil Polity," by the President of the University, to Juniors and Seniors. In 1891 a Professor of History and Political Science was appointed, the President ceased to teach "Civil Polity," and in several other respects a new era began.

In the annual list of the Faculty no one was named as a teacher of history until 1866-67 when James M. Phinney appeared for one year as "Instructor in Philosophy and History." This Phinney was an Appleton merchant who had studied for three years at Wesleyan University but not graduated, and had taught in the Preparatory department at Lawrence in its earliest years. All teachers of history in the nineteenth century gave history only a part of their time. Four of them were Preceptresses who also taught language. For five years (1872-77), as mentioned above, James H. Worman was "Non-Resident Professor of Modern History and Languages." It is not clear just what teaching he did.

Under the first two Presidents (1853-65) candidates for the B.A. degree had no separate course in history. Scientific students had either two or three terms in the Sophomore year. In Cooke's last year, for example, there were three: Ancient History, Modern History, and History of Civilization, the last using Guizot's book of that title. Under Mason the Scientific Sophomores usually had only two courses.(49)

46. Cats., 1890, p. 36; 1891, p. 40.

47. Cats., 1892, p. 42; 1894, pp. 45, 46.

48. Cat., 1895, p. 34.

49. Cats., 1857-58, pp. 25, 26; 1859-60, p. 15.

Under Presidents Steele and Huntley (1865-83), the history program remained scanty and changes were few and minor. United States history was taught only to pre-college groups, Preparatory, Academic and Commercial. Classical Freshmen and Sophomores for a time gave one hour a week to Greek and Roman history. There were still the two one-term courses for Scientific Sophomores: Ancient History, and what was called either Outlines of History or Modern History. For the latter a textbook by Willson was used from 1858 to 1872 and after 1876, one by John Lord. Between 1872 and 1876 all the information the catalogue affords is that the students heard lectures and read, in some years, Thalheimer' (a manual translated from German) and Schlegel. For a short time (1872-75) these courses were given to Juniors, but after that to Sophomores again. From 1875 to 1884 there were no history courses available for Juniors and Seniors.

Beginning in 1884 a few elective courses were permitted to upperclassmen. A course would be given if five or more students desired it. In 1884-85, five elective courses in history were given: The Beginnings of Modern History, The French Revolution, The English Constitution, American History Before 1879, and United States Constitutional History.(50) These elective courses met but twice a week for one term; but, even so, five courses represent a wonderful outburst of interest in history. This enthusiasm was not maintained; Professor Wheeler left Lawrence, and in the years that followed there was either one elective in history or none at all.

The two terms in Ancient and Modern History were still required of Scientific Sophomores through 1886-87. After that the same requirement was placed on all Sophomores. In 1889-90 Medieval History replaced Ancient, and in this form the requirement of two terms of European history was maintained through 1891-92.

Until 1890 the President of Lawrence taught courses in Civil Polity, the only social science then available. In 1883-84, the last year of an almost completely prescribed curriculum, there were three such courses, all long-established at Lawrence. During most of the history of the University thus far, the first of these was known as Constitutions of the United States and of Wisconsin, though in 1883-84 it was listed as Analysis of Civil Government. The other two "Civil Polity" courses were Political Economy and International Law.

The first of these courses made its initial appearance in 1854-55 under the simple title, Constitution of the United States, with textbook by Story. This was probably a condensation of a very famous work by Joseph Story, Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, first edition, 1833, three volumes.(51) In 1858 the course title was changed to Constitutions of the United States and of

50. Cat., 1885, p. 32.

51. Cat., 1854-55, p. 15.

Wisconsin.(52) It was required of Seniors through 1871. After that it was moved first to the Sophomore, then to the Freshman, and then back to the Sophomore year where it was in 1883-84. Story's textbook was replaced with one by Townsend. For many years the course was limited to Scientific students.(53)

The study of Political Economy was continuous virtually from the beginning of Lawrence. In 1853-54 only a Freshman class was engaged in actual College work, but a program was printed for all four years. The list for Seniors included Political Economy.(54) An early and isolated use of the words, "Social Science," occurred when these words were set opposite one course, that in Political Economy, in the catalogue of 1865.(55) The textbook used from 1854 to 1871 was one written (1837) by Francis Wayland, President of Brown University. For a time no textbook was indicated and the course was said to be conducted by means of lectures. Then for four years (1879-83) the text was Chapin's Wayland. President Steele made at least one attempt to apply Political Economy in practice; he was one of the candidates of the Greenback Party in Wisconsin, which reached its greatest strength in 1878. The basic course in Political Economy was a required one until 1892. Elective work beyond the required was offered from 1884 to 1892.

The third course in Civil Polity was International Law. For two early years only, 1857 and 1858, Seniors studied this subject in their last term. They used as a text Vattel's Law of Nations, a work originally published in French in 1757. The course began again in 1879-80, this time with a textbook by Theodore Dwight Woolsey, President of Yale. It was a required subject from 1879-1884 and an elective offered in most of the remaining years of the century.

Until 1892 the required Political Economy was a one-term course meeting five times a week. The Constitution of the United States, International Law, and Political Economy beyond the basic course, as elective courses, were all, from 1884 to 1892, one-term enterprises meeting twice a week. Except for the added course in Political Economy, the offerings in "Civil Polity" up to 1892 differed little from what they had been before 1884.

In the spring of 1891 it was announced that an alumnus of the class of 1880 had promised the University \$25,000 to endow a chair called, after the donor, the Francis A. Watkins Professorship of History and Political Science. President Gallagher thereupon gave up the courses in Civil Polity that had been connected with the President's

52. Cat., 1858-59, pp. 24, 27.

53. Cats., 1870-71, p. 21; 1871-72, p. 21.

54. Cat., 1853-54, p. 15.

55. Cat., 1865, pp. 15, 17.

office since the beginning of the University and became simply Professor of Ethics and Christian Evidences. The first and, as it turned out, the only holder of the new chair was Thomas Elmer Will. He had the degrees of B.A. and M.A. from Harvard, and he remained at Lawrence from 1891 to 1893.

In the catalogue of July, 1892 Will was able to set forth his plans in detail. There were to be two courses in English history, two in the History of Continental Europe, and one in American History. In the following year a second course in American History was added. These were no longer one-term two-hour courses like the electives of the recent past; each met three times a week for an entire year. With only one person to teach all history and political science, it was planned to take three years to give all the courses listed in the two fields.

New methods were also advertised: "The subjects are treated mainly by lectures. Books bearing on the courses in hand are placed on special shelves or tables in the library. References to books and chapters are posted at short intervals Students are taught to handle books intelligently by finding, with the help of indexes and tables of contents, the subjects that they desire to investigate Examinations, written or oral, are held at short intervals. Essays may be required in history courses."(56) Will persuaded the authorities to extend from five to eleven the hours when the Library would be open daily to students.(57)

The courses in "Political Economy and Social Science" were listed as follows:

1. Economic Theory
2. Social Philosophy
3. The Industrial Problem
4. History of Political Economy

In connection with Course 2, "the books of the masters in Sociology will be critically read and discussed." In Course 3, "The various solutions, Trades-unionism, Arbitration, Co-operation, Profit-sharing, Socialism, Nationalism [nationalization?], Communism, Anarchism, Laissez-faire and the single tax will be examined" These courses were not all to be given every year.(58)

Will was not entirely satisfactory to some elements in the Lawrence community. At the end of his first year he was called before a trustee committee to answer charges of heresy, but he was not discharged. There was also some complaint against him on the score of

56. Cats., 1892, pp. 36-38; 1893, 38-41.

57. Law., Oct., 1891, p. 41.

58. Cats., 1892, pp. 37, 38, 45; 1893, pp. 39, 40, 48.

economic radicalism, for he was, among other things, a strong advocate of the single tax. At the end of his second year he had prepared a letter of resignation but was given no opportunity to present it. A simple statement, not based on any hostile criticism of Will, ended his employment at Lawrence: "The Francis A. Watkins professorship of History and Political Science, filled by Thomas E. Will, had to be suspended for want of available funds." His letter of resignation was published in the Lawrentian.(59)

Will had a rather varied career after leaving Lawrence. He spent the year 1893-94 at Harvard where he received his degree of Ph.D. He became widely known as an advocate of reform. Appointed a professor in the Kansas State Agricultural College, he was soon a prominent leader in the Populist Party. The Populists won the state elections in Kansas in 1896 and made Will president of the Agricultural College; but when the Republicans returned to power in 1898 he was ousted.

Will's successor as Professor of History and Political Science was Jerome H. Raymond, B.A. and M.A. of Northwestern University. Before coming to Lawrence he had been private secretary, first to Frances E. Willard and then to a Methodist Bishop with whom he had traveled around the world. He remained at Lawrence only one year, 1893-94. Later in life he lectured widely and was President of the Universities of West Virginia and Toledo.(60)

This summary account of teachers and what they taught in all departments has now reached the time when Samuel Plantz became President. It has given some idea of the education available at Lawrence during its first years. Anyone who approaches the old list of studies with some knowledge of present offerings will be astonished at its scantiness. Several fields in which one may choose a major today were then represented by a single course limited to one, two or three terms. Lawrence was not peculiar in this respect. In the middle third or more of the nineteenth century, most colleges in the United States had similar curricula, and Lawrence could not be expected to have any other program of studies at that time. The shift from the old prescribed curriculum to one such as we have today was very gradual. A few preliminary steps had been taken by 1894 but most of the transformation remained to be accomplished under Plantz.

59. Law., June, 1893, pp. 30, 31, 40.

60. Who Was Who?

CHAPTER XVI

SAMUEL PLANTZ: THE MAN AND HIS IDEALS

Samuel Plantz, the seventh President of Lawrence, held the office for thirty years and some months, or almost through the middle third of the life of the University thusfar. His presidency was memorable, however, for reasons other than length. He gathered in endowment, extended the campus and multiplied buildings. No doubt the institution came to have more students and a more generous financial support because the area it served was increasing in population and wealth in his time. But there were developments within the institution itself, notable both because they were interesting in themselves and because they attracted patronage. There were changes in the mores or manner of student life and in the intellectual climate, the latter partly revealed and recorded in the expansion of the curriculum. Though some of these changes were not visible to the physical eye nor amenable to statistical treatment, they were all nonetheless important. They signified that the "early university" was coming to be more nearly attuned to modern American life and, therefore, acceptable to a larger constituency. For the transformation and growth in his time, Plantz himself was largely responsible. His biography and the history of the university became, for a time, interchangeable terms. As his successor, Henry M. Wriston, remarked: "It is more true of Lawrence than of any other college I know that it represents the achievements and personality of one man."⁽¹⁾

In 1894-95, Plantz's first year, there were 77 students in the College proper and 66 in the Preparatory department: total, 143. Besides the President, the Faculty consisted of seven Professors, six full-time and one part-time, all men; and three instructors, all women. President Plantz himself was the only Ph.D. in the group. From these numbers students and teachers in music, painting and drawing, and the commercial subjects are excluded.

1. Reports of the Pres., Nov., 1925, p. 13.

In 1923-24, the last academic year which Plantz lived to complete, there were 813 students in the four College classes. Postgraduate and other special students brought the number to 844. The Preparatory department had disappeared in 1911. Plantz, the Dean and the Dean of Women all did some teaching. Besides these three, 48 persons taught in the College, 16 with the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The Library and Conservatory staffs are not here included. The comparable figures for the following year, during which Plantz died, are not significantly different. Looking at the College alone, the number of students was multiplied by eleven in Plantz's time; but in view of the part long played by the Preparatory department at Lawrence, it is probably better to include it and to say that the student body grew from 143 to 844; that is, it was multiplied by about six. In the same three decades, the teaching staff was multiplied by almost five.

In 1926-27 President Wriston introduced a new category in the statistical summary of students, called "Conservatory Students registered in the College."⁽²⁾ During the next five years this group varied in size from 74 to 114 and averaged about 101. Plantz listed such persons as College students. If, in accord with subsequent practice, he had excluded them, the reported number of College students in his later years would have been smaller, perhaps by nearly 100 annually.

This chapter introduces Plantz as an individual. There is a brief account of his life, especially before he became President of Lawrence; also, something about Myra Goodwin Plantz, his wife of nearly thirty years, who aided Lawrence in some remarkable ways. Then follow statements, largely in his own words, of some of his most cherished ideas and ideals. These relate particularly to religion, for he was always a Methodist minister, and to the educational aims that guided him as he built the College.

Samuel Plantz was born June 13, 1859, the second child and only son of James Plantz and his wife, Elsie N. Stollar. His birthplace was variously given as Johnstown and Gloversville, New York, adjacent communities about forty miles northwest of Albany.⁽³⁾ He once stated that his father's farm was near Tribes Hill, a village south of Johnstown. His ancestry well illustrates the mingling of European stocks so characteristic of life in the United States. The first American Plantz came from Baden Baden, Germany about 1741. Subsequently Plantz men married

2. Cat., Dec., 1926, p. 121.

3. Alumni Records (1881) and (1905).

women with English family names, among them, Higby and Day.(4)

Plantz's maternal grandmother was Maria Quilhot. In attempting to learn more about this family he once wrote:

I am especially interested [in obtaining copies of certain family records] because [my] mother stated that there was some connection of the Quilhot family with General Lafayette. She remembers her grandfather and says that she recalls his dressing in the costume of the French with knee buckles and three cornered hat, and that he had slaves on his estate near Albany which he liberated; she thinks between the 30's and 40's. I remember when I was a little boy of eight going to Johnstown and some of these old slaves came out and greeted my mother who had returned from the west for a visit. Mother's memory is that her grandfather came from France, that he was rather a close relation of Lafayette, and that he left France on account of the troubles arising with the French Revolution.(5)

When Samuel Plantz was less than a year old his parents removed to Emerald Green, a farming community seven miles east of Janesville in Rock County, Wisconsin. There he spent his boyhood. At the age of fifteen he enrolled in a college maintained by the Seventh Day Baptists at Milton, Wisconsin. Here he finished the work of the Preparatory department and completed three years in the College. One who knew him in his first years at Milton later described him as a "little curly-headed fellow the boys called Sammy." He was smaller and younger than most of his class, but by dint of much hard work and the sacrifice of some of the time others gave to sleep, he became an outstanding student.(6)

Forty years later the Trustees of Lawrence College were considering an increase in College fees. Plantz contributed some reminiscences which seemed to him to bear on the question under discussion and which revealed to us the financial background of his boyhood. He said:

I have always dreaded raising fees to a point which will drive the poor boy and girl from the opportunities of a higher education. I cannot forget that, if I had had to pay the cost of my education, . . . I would never have been able to go beyond the common country school. With my father in debt some \$3,800 on a \$5,000 farm and paying interest at 8 per cent, we worked out the problem of my sister's and my education together. For five years my mother cooked our victuals and once in two weeks on Sunday my father drove fifteen miles and back to bring us our supplies which we ate out of the cupboard. During six years and

4. Information from Truman Plantz, U.S. Air Force.

5. Plantz to Harold J. Quilhot, Jan. 18, 1915.

6. Perry Millar, 1902 Ariel, spring 1901, p. 108.

a half in preparatory school and college I never had money enough to board but one term of twelve weeks, and I have gone a school term on fifty cents for spending money. During these years not a cent was paid on the debt of the farm.(7)

Thus, with the help of devoted parents, Samuel and his sister, who was older than he, continued their work at Milton College. In the fall of 1879 both transferred to Lawrence where they entered the Senior class together. By the end of the year Samuel stood second in a class of thirteen, and so was appointed, at the commencement of 1880, to deliver the Salutatory address in Latin. Also, sometime during his Senior year he stood up in a Sunday evening prayer meeting and made "a confession of his hope in Jesus Christ." Later in the same years he did his first preaching; and in the fall he enrolled in the Theological School of Boston University.(8)

A number of wealthy men united to found and endow Boston University in 1869. One of them was Lee Claflin, a shoe manufacturer of Boston and an early benefactor of Lawrence. The Methodists of New England had established a theological school in Vermont in 1841. This institution continued in various places and under various names until it became the School of Theology of Boston University. As noted earlier, Bradford Paul Raymond studied there from 1870 to 1873 and in the years that followed it attracted many graduates of Lawrence intent upon the Methodist ministry.

After the usual three years of work, during which he supported himself by preaching, Plantz received the degree of S.T.B. (Bachelor of Sacred Theology) from Boston, in 1883. He continued at the same institution to qualify for the degree of Ph.D., which he received in 1886. The most eminent member of the Faculty there at that time was Borden Parker Bowne, head of the Philosophy department and Dean of the Graduate School from 1876 to 1910. A quarter of a century later Plantz referred to him as "my very dear friend and former teacher."(9) Bowne visited Plantz in Appleton in 1909.

Plantz apparently completed the residence and course requirements for the doctorate some time before the degree was conferred; for early in 1885 he was ordained and became the pastor of the Methodist church at Plymouth, Michigan, just west of Detroit. Except for one year in Germany (1890-91) he served a succession of churches in the Detroit area until he became President of Lawrence.

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7. Reports of the Pres., Nov., 1919, p. 16.
 8. Perry Millar, 1902 Ariel, spring 1901, p. 109.
 9. Plantz to H. S. Pritchett, Apr. 20, 1910.

Plantz passed the year in Germany mostly in Berlin where he heard lectures by Adolf Harnack and doubtless by other great scholars.(10) He must have had a good command of German for he occasionally preached in that language. After his death the College acquired a considerable part of his private library. It included a number of books in German, no fewer than eight having the word Religionsphilosophie in the title; also, one entitled Die Philosophie des Selbstbewusstseins. He apparently found it difficult to continue reading of this sort after he came to Lawrence. The latest of these German books was published in 1896. In 1915, when former admirers of Germany were searching their souls, he wrote:

I am much indebted to Germany and German Universities, having been a student at Berlin and having been an extensive reader of German literature and philosophy. I am especially indebted to Eucken with whose philosophical conclusions I largely agree. Indeed my whole sympathies naturally would be with Germany as my name, education and scholastic interest might indicate.(11)

He then went on to make clear, however, that in the growing disagreement between Germany and the United States, he found Germany at fault.

Plantz was about five feet six inches tall. In his early years as President he weighed about 135 pounds, but later he was much heavier, sometimes reaching 195 pounds.(12) The curls of his childhood disappeared and he became quite bald. In his office, and sometimes elsewhere, he wore a black skullcap; this was mentioned in the Ariel as early as 1898(13) and was his badge in cartoons by the students in 1902.(14) For many years the men of the Faculty played volleyball every weekday from five to six in the afternoon in what was then the first Alexander Gymnasium. Plantz played vigorously with the others even after he was sixty years of age. The mere physical burden of the work he set himself to do was immense and the mental strain inherent in his undertakings would have broken a weaker man. He occasionally admitted that he was weary and he had a few short illnesses; but on the whole his powers of endurance were remarkable.

Beginning about 1897, Plantz and his family spent some time nearly every years at the Epworth Assembly Resort, a Methodist summer community just north of Ludington, Michigan. During the summer of 1910 he traveled in Europe. Before he set out he wrote: "[This] will be the

10. Duvall to Plantz, Jan. 24, 1923, No. 14,921.

11. Plantz to German University League, Jan. 7, 1915.

12. Plantz to M. McN. Sweeny, Sept., 5, 1922, No. 12,830.

13. 1898 Ariel, spring 1897, p. 62.

14. '02 Ariel-Law., 1902, pp. 90, 104.

first vacation I have taken in sixteen years without taking my correspondence and considerable other work with me."(15)

Plantz followed a crowded schedule to the very end. He said in a letter of June, 1923:

I probably could do the job [of president] for a number of years yet, but I could not at the pace I have gone for I have put in about twelve hours a day or more ever since I have been on the job. I have just passed 64 and in two or three years I will need to let up some.(16)

It is thus clear that Plantz expected in 1923 to continue as President for some time. Even then, however, he was giving some thought to his retirement. In August of that year, he bought from the College the house now numbered 218 South Oak Street. "[This house] would be a quiet place for a man to grow old in." Once retired, he meant to put his lectures in book form and do some other writing.(17) Sometimes he had vagrant thoughts about an ideal retirement that was financially beyond his reach: thoughts, however, that help us to know him better. A few weeks before he died, to an alumnus of Lawrence who was about to enter upon graduate work at Columbia, he wrote in part as follows:

I never tire of New York. If I were a man of means when I retire from Lawrence I would put six months of the year in that city. The rush of Fifth Avenue and Broadway always fascinates me, and I am like a woman as far as looking at the shop windows is concerned. Then the library advantages, etc., are a great education.(18)

Plantz also named among the attractions of New York City several of the preachers to be heard there.

On September 16, 1885, at the age of twenty-six, Samuel Plantz married Myra Goodwin. Her father, the Rev. Thomas Goodwin, was one of the leaders of Methodism in Indiana, at one time a college president and at another the editor of the Methodist periodical in the state, the Indiana Christian Advocate. His daughter, Myra, was born July 22, 1856, at Brookville, Indiana. In her girlhood she had rather poor health, once being bedridden for more than three years, "during which time she developed an earnest religiousness which undoubtedly affected all her later work."(19) She was educated in the public schools of Indianapolis

15. Reports of the Pres., June, 1910, p. 5.

16. Plantz to Wood, June 16, 1923, Wood papers.

17. Plantz to Wood, June 16, 1923, Wood papers.

18. Plantz to W. S. Ford, Oct. 8, 1924, No. 14,945.

and at Mount Vernon Seminary, a Methodist institution in Washington, D.C. She taught at a girls' seminary in Indianapolis and later at DePauw University. At the urgent request of Frances E. Willard she gave up teaching and engaged in evangelistic work for the Women's Christian Temperance Union. It was this work that brought her to Plymouth, Michigan where she met Samuel Plantz.

Myra Goodwin Plantz began in girlhood to publish poems in the Indianapolis papers, and she wrote poems and stories all her life. She had work published in the Century, St. Nicholas, Youth's Companion, Observer, Outlook, Sunday School Times, and many church papers of various denominations.(20) Her husband summarized thus:

She published three books, ten serial stories, about four hundred individual stories and something over two hundred poems She was especially anxious to exert a religious influence upon [young people]. Her work therefore is largely . . . stories and poems with a religious message.(21)

After her death her husband arranged for the publication of a selection of her verse in book form, using the title, Songs for Quiet Hours (153 pp., Cincinnati, Methodist Book Concern, 1915).

Long after her marriage, Mrs. Plantz continued to be a favorite speaker at missionary conventions, W.C.T.U. meetings and gatherings of young people. She was always a wise counselor and friend to the women students at Lawrence; and occasionally she lectured to them. In 1900-01 she gave a brief course entitled, "Woman in her Various Relations."(22) She is remembered as cheerful, bright and witty in conversation. The importance of her financial work for the College will appear in the following chapter. She underwent a serious operation in January, 1911, and after that was a semi-invalid. She died July 25, 1914.(23)

Plantz was married a second time on July 6, 1916, to Miss Belle Person of Port Gibson, Mississippi. For their wedding trip, the couple toured the West and visited Yellowstone Park. The second Mrs. Plantz served the College community well as the organizer and leader of many of its social activities.

19. Plantz to Methodist Book Concern (Meth. Book Concern), Dec. 17, 1914.

20. Bulletin, Sept., 1914, pp. 8, 9.

21. Plantz to Meth. Book Concern, Dec. 17, 1914.

22. Com. Fac. Deg., p. 41.

23. Who Was Who?, vol. 1.

On November 13, 1924 Plantz apparently spent a normal day in his office: dictated letters bearing that date have survived. He planned to start the following day for New York, taking a train out of Chicago at 10:00 p.m. In the afternoon of the 13th, however, he went to Sturgeon Bay, seventy miles northeast of Appleton, where, in the evening, he addressed the Men's Forum of the Methodist Church. Asking to be called at 5:45 so that he could get the train back to Appleton, he retired to a hotel room. There he died alone during the night, of a heart attack. A physician who was summoned judged that death had occurred about five o'clock.(24) An impressive memorial service was held in the College Chapel on Friday, November 16.(25)

24. Appleton Post-Crescent, Nov. 14, 1924.

25. Editor's footnote: Because the tenure of Samuel Plantz as President of Lawrence was three times as long as that of any other President, to date, and because he was the only President to die while in office, it seems fitting to add this editorial note with special reference to his funeral and memorial service. Sources used for this record include three copies of the Appleton Post Crescent: Friday, November 14, 1924, p. 1, ff., Saturday, November 15, 1924, p. 1, ff. and Monday, November 17, 1924, p. 1, ff.; and the Chicago Daily Tribune, Saturday, November 15, 1924, p. 1. These newspapers were loaned to the editor by Arthur P. Remley, son of Elsie Plantz Remley and thus a grandson of Samuel Plantz.

The Lawrence College community, citizens of Appleton and many persons in academic and professional circles throughout the state and nation were shocked when word was released on Friday, November 14, 1924 of the death of Samuel Plantz who had served as President of Lawrence for 30 years (1894-1924). Messages of sympathy to the family and the College poured in from numerous sources with eulogies to the genius of this man whose vision, industry and self-sacrifice had built a modern, highly respected liberal arts college from the struggling institution he inherited in 1894.

On the Sunday following his death two services were held: a private funeral service at the President's house conducted by J. A. Holmes, D.D., pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church; and a memorial service at 11 o'clock in the College Chapel conducted by Dean Wilson S. Naylor, D.D., who officiated when word was received that Bishop Joseph Barry of Philadelphia, a close friend of Dr. Plantz, would be unable to attend. A brief summary of the order of the memorial service follows:

"Andante Cantabile"
The Fullinwider Quartet

Tschaikowsky

"Sanctus" ("St. Cecelia Mass")
The Schola Cantorum

Gounod

. . . while [Christianity] realizes that one's circumstances very much affect his moral ideals and his disposition, it nevertheless puts the ground of evil in the will, in the fact that the self of appetite, impulse, desire, asserts a predominance over reason [Socialism says] Develop an environment in which all will be prosperous, and you will have a condition in which all will be good. Christianity has an entirely different theory. It believes that the individual must be awakened, new forces must touch him, a new spirit must be put into him, and not by a process of self-culture merely, but by the renewing power of the Spirit of God Evil resides in the heart. The old Adam is alive within us. Reform can come only by purification. A power above our own must touch us. The heart is the seat of our difficulty. It must be cleansed and renewed Socialism . . . proposes a new theory of redemption, and, in doing so denies the central and most fundamental doctrine of Christianity.(26)

In many matters Plantz came to hold what must, in his youth at least, have been advanced positions. In response to a questionnaire sent out by the President of Wheaton College in Illinois, he stated that so far as he knew all teachers at Lawrence, including, of course, himself, believed in evolution. The Professor of Biology, he reported, "interprets it in a theistic way." To the question "Does your college hold that the Bible is the inspired word of God?" he answered:

I think the position of those of us who are teaching in the department of religion . . . is that the Bible is not verbally inspired nor do we probably hold to the old dynamic theory of course there is some difference of opinion in the different members of the faculty. . . . Personally I believe that the whole question of inspiration needs careful definition, and that the Bible contains inspired elements but it is not an inspired book from cover to cover.(27)

Plantz's long training in theology and philosophy took him far beyond the confines of an earlier and simpler Methodism. To one who inquired about his conception of God, he replied:

God is a self-existing being, the independent ground of the finite; personal because rational, as can be seen by the fact that the laws and functions of nature can be understood by reason and interpreted in terms of reason; moral because the nature of things works for the triumph of the good; infinite in attributes in the sense that they are beyond human comprehension.(28)

26. Samuel Plantz, The Church and the Social Problem, 1906, pp. 147-149.

27. Plantz to Blanchard, Apr. 25, 1919, No. 7,442.

This definition is characteristic of the teaching of Borden Parker Bowne, mentioned above. Bowne did much to formulate a philosophy and a theology for modern American Methodists.

In 1889 while Plantz was still a pastor in Detroit, he and others founded the Epworth League, the young people's society within the Methodist Church. Twenty-five years later he wrote an anniversary message to the League, and in it emphasized certain mystical qualities in Christianity as he apprehended it. He wrote in part:

The young people of the church are entering an age in which there is being waged an inevitable conflict between traditionalism and culture, and their great safety is in coming to see that religion is not something without but within, a birth of the soul into vital and rich experience. Men used to believe things were true because they were in the Bible, they now see they are in the Bible because they are true. There is a great difference in the two standpoints: the one is of no moral value because formal, the other is of the greatest significance because vital -- the meaning of the truth has touched the soul. Only those truths are valuable which echo themselves in the heart. It is not this belief or that which renews the conscience, but the direct communion of the soul with God. It is the worth of Jesus' words, not the fact that he spoke them, which make them spirit and make them life. The test of truth is not in the church, nor its dogma, nor its "General Rule," but in its significance for life, in the contribution it makes to piety and inner freedom. Only as this religion is of the Spirit, only as it illumines the mind, energizes the conscience, quickens the feelings, directs the will and lives within the man as a controlling and sanctifying force is it a true religion and infinitely worth while. May the Epworth League reach a stage of development where Christ will be not only its theme but its vitalizing experience.

Thus committed to Christianity himself, Plantz felt that a definite responsibility rested on Lawrence College to lead students into the Christian life. He sought this end by various means. Following a practice as old as the College, he arranged each year for a series of special preaching services. Sermons, however, needed to be reinforced by personal work; and in this the Faculty cooperated zealously for many years. Thus, a Committee on Religious Work in 1904 pledged themselves and the whole Faculty to more earnest endeavor in personal work.(29) Generally speaking, during and after World War I these special campaigns did not have the desired effect. In October and November, 1917 several Appleton churches united in revival meetings held in a specially erected tabernacle. James Rayburn, the imported revivalist, spoke a number of

28. Plantz to Denig, Dec. 20, 1923, No. 15,157.

29. F.M., June 3, 1904, p. 375.

times in the old College Chapel in Main Hall. He "refuted" higher criticism and condemned card playing, dancing and the theater. Dean Naylor wrote some years later:

The reaction from those meetings was the most unwholesome thing . . . religiously during my twenty-one years at college . . . the students were swept off their feet by Rayburn's appeal against dancing and marched around in front of the chapel pledging the evangelist by taking his hand that they would quit it. Most of them were in tears as they made this pledge. The next day . . . they were laughing at themselves.(30)

Some time after this (in 1922) Plantz wrote to a graduate of the class of 1901: "The day of these revivals seems to be gone. I think we have saner methods of influencing young people."(31)

Plantz continued to ask for the assistance of the Faculty in carrying on the Christian mission of the College. He wrote in 1917:

None of us have [sic] been brought to Lawrence simply to teach the particular subjects assigned to us. The money that has been given the college has been given with the emphasis on the word "Christian" rather than on the word "College.". . . Half the students who come here are sent to this college . . . by parents who expect that the teachers will have great influence on the religious lives of their children Let us . . . consider carefully . . . whether we are not becoming so absorbed in the intellectual side of our work that we forget the . . . great opportunity which we have for shaping character and directing life.(32)

At a special meeting held on Sunday afternoon, April 11, 1919, the Faculty approved a statement in some 300 words entitled, "The Larger purpose of Lawrence College." They recognized that the "supreme mission" of Lawrence was "to make the largest possible contribution toward the building of the world according to the principles of Jesus Christ." This purpose required cooperation by the Faculty in community and College programs for moral and religious quickening, personal conferences with students, and classroom teaching that emphasized moral and religious values. It was agreed that Faculty members blind to these ideals should be released. At the opening of College the following September Plantz sent a copy of these resolutions to all members of the Faculty and further spelled out their application in practice.(33)

30. Naylor to Locke, Mar. 4, 1925, No. 15,709.

31. Plantz, Jan. 5, 1922, No. 12,119.

32. Plantz to Faculty, Feb., 1917, No. 5,161.

In one instance Plantz dismissed a competent teacher and gave as his reasons, first: "He is not a church goer and he is extremely liberal for a Christian college. I saw a letter which he had written to the pastor of the Methodist church . . . in which he stated that he did not understand how men could believe in a personal God in these days." The other reason for his dismissal was his socialistic ideas.(34)

In the case of many Methodist colleges in the nineteenth century an annual conference, or a group of conferences, chose the President, owned the real estate or exercised control in other ways. The origin of Lawrence College had placed it in a somewhat unusual relationship to the Methodist Church of Wisconsin. Plantz once explained the bond as follows:

The property [of Lawrence College] is not owned by any church and the trustees are not elected by conferences. However, the college has always been known as the Methodist college of Wisconsin, is so regarded by both conferences, and considers itself a Methodist institution. The relation, however, is sympathetic and conditional rather than organic.(35)

Though Lawrence stood in a different relation to the supporting conferences from most Methodist colleges, Plantz administered the institution with a fine loyalty to the church. A seasoned pastor before he was a College President, he continued to preach throughout the state. No list of his appointments has survived but we find him writing in May, 1915: "I have been preaching every Sunday for several months and am engaged up to and including June 20th." He usually attended the annual meetings of the West Wisconsin Conference and the Wisconsin Conference of which he was a member. Six times he represented the Wisconsin Conference at the quadrennial General Conference. Lawrence continued, though apparently at a declining rate, to guide men into the Methodist ministry; and a few Lawrence men became ministers in other denominations. Plantz once counted that fifty-one members or 30 per cent of the Wisconsin Conference had studied at Lawrence. In the West Wisconsin Conference he could claim eighteen men or 11 per cent.(36) The two Conferences united, year after year, in conducting a short summer school for their younger members. For this purpose they were permitted to use Ormsby Hall and Main Hall free of charge.

33. Plantz Papers Nos. 10,489 and 10,723.

34. Plantz to Faunce, Mar. 25, 1919, No. 9,623.

35. Plantz to Mary J. Corbett, Nov. 26, 1915, No. 909.

36. Plantz to Allabelle Lammel, Mar. 3, 1923, No. 14,024.

In all these ways Plantz sought to keep church and college together. Yet in spite of his efforts some friction developed between the College and the Conferences. To what extent an anti-college sentiment had grown up among the ministers, and why, is well shown in a statement that Plantz sent to the Faculty in 1920:

We were brought under very severe criticism at the last session of the Wisconsin Conference, some of our alumni being leaders of the criticism, because of late the college has not been sending men into the Christian ministry and not very much into other lines of Christian work We have not sent a single man into the Wisconsin Conference in two years, and I do not think that we have sent any into the West Wisconsin Conference. It was reported that some professors had . . . advised young men not to go into the Christian ministry. It was also stated on the floor of the conference that some professors . . . teach doctrines contrary to the beliefs of evangelical churches. I have no doubt that these charges are not true, but it shows the sensitiveness of the situation.(37)

As Plantz was a College President, something ought to be said, in characterizing him, of the ends and aims of education as he saw them. His inaugural address was a call for progress. While seeing much of value in the older curriculum, that of his own college days, he asked now for new methods; and these methods called for adequate laboratories and ampler library resources. The Faculty should be large enough to offer a good choice of electives. "We have no right, the great Methodist Church has no right, to offer to the eager youth who come to us any instruction short of the best." In view of the place that religion had in his thinking, he inevitably counted it essential in education.

[Leaving aside] the thought of the development of moral and religious character and considering only the highest, broadest and deepest culture, religion must be taught, for the deep unity that underlies all knowledge is found in God, as the first and final cause of all created things. The unity of man's intellectual life rests on a theistic conception of the universe and the highest wisdom of man is the revelation of God Since man is essentially spiritual, the best education will not fear to deal with the spiritual nature, the very center and stronghold of human personality.(38)

Plantz's religion, however, did not make him narrow: he recognized and valued a broad spectrum of human interests and capabilities. As we shall see, this breadth of mind inspired him in the administration of the College. The following statement of aims, written about a year before he died, well shows this comprehensiveness:

37. Plantz to Faculty, Sept. 20, 1920, No. 10,723.

38. Law., Sept., 1894, pp. 64-71, esp. p. 65.

While it is doubtless one function of [Lawrence College] . . . to prepare inefficient youth for the practical obligations of life, this is not its highest mission nor its best. It is not simply a professional or a technical school. It has the noble task of preparing its students to participate in the spiritual life of their generation, that heritage of culture which the past has developed. This means that our students are to attain to such knowledge and secure such development of the creative faculty that they shall know the true, appreciate the beautiful, and serve the good. The college is to put the student in an atmosphere of ideas and ideals which will stimulate thought and awaken moral feeling. It is to liberate his soul from ignorance and prejudice and set him free to walk on the highways of lofty inspirations and expanding life. It is to seek to make the cultural achievements of the past reborn in the student's soul, to arouse him to take out citizen's papers in the Kingdom of Light. It is to give sky, horizon, the large vision and the far reach It is to do for each boy and girl what Socrates did for Plato and what Plato did for the world-famous Stagirite. It is to make those whom it trains appreciate the Messiah or the Elijah more than It's a Long Way to Tipperary, and the art galleries more than the movies. This is the ideal of the college, an ideal like all others in life, never more than partly realized, and yet ever to be held uppermost in thought.(39)

Such was the man who presided over Lawrence for so long; such were some of the ideals that led him on. Few men served the College longer or gave it more complete devotion; none contributed more to its growth. So varied and valuable were his accomplishments as President that he might be called the second founder of the College -- if a gradual upbuilding spread over three decades could be called a founding. We move on now to the details of his administration.

39. Bulletin, Sept. 15, 1923, pp. 8, 9.

CHAPTER XVII

PLANTZ AND FINANCE: BUILDING AN ENDOWMENT

Much of Plantz's work as President had to do with money. In his time, as in most times, the cost of educating young people was more than they and their parents could pay. To have demanded of them what their instruction cost would have sent most of them to schools where fees were lower; and some it would have excluded from college altogether. Adequate income from endowment was likewise lacking. It was therefore as much a part of the College enterprise to find money as to provide good teaching and a wholesome atmosphere.

The President and Trustees of Lawrence sought money chiefly for three objects: current expenses, increase of endowment, and land and buildings for the physical plant and campus. Efforts to raise funds for current expenses were constant; those on behalf of endowment and new buildings came intermittently, but with some regularity. In smaller amounts money was also needed for loans and gifts to impecunious students; and some could be used for prizes and scholarships. This chapter will concern itself mostly with the increase in endowment. The growth of the campus and the addition of new buildings will be the subject of the following chapter.

The responsibility for supporting Lawrence rested first of all upon the Methodists, organized in the Wisconsin and West Wisconsin Conferences, who numbered about 42,000 in 1894 and not quite 65,000 in 1924. The Church's support of the University in the decade before Plantz came had been feeble, and shortly before he became President at least one of the conferences had seriously discussed closing the University and selling its property.(1) In Plantz's early years, both confer-

ences annually reiterated their good intentions toward Lawrence, but as organizations they produced relatively little money. The "Discipline" directed that every preacher should speak on education once a year and take up a collection. In Wisconsin this collection went to Lawrence. Plantz noted during his second year that ". . . not one pastor in twenty follows the injunction about preaching the sermon and not one half take the collection." He wrote a little later that the Wisconsin Conference was then contributing annually about four cents a member; the West Wisconsin Conference, about one cent.(2)

In spite of making a poor showing in their collections in Plantz's earliest years, the Methodists were later to be of great help to him in the financial upbuilding of the College. The preachers regularly admitted Plantz or some other representative of Lawrence to the pulpit and made helpful suggestions about canvassing the community for money.

As to the problem of meeting current expenses, it is enough to say that until the First World War Plantz somehow found the money to pay the bills, a small deficit in one year being equalled by a small profit in another. The war period produced an accumulated deficit of a size that alarmed Plantz, but its payment was made a part of his last great money-raising campaign. Plantz could report in November, 1922: "It is gratifying to notice that the indebtedness of \$47,000 incurred during the war has been entirely wiped out."(3)

One naturally asks how much endowment Lawrence had when Plantz became President. No very satisfactory answer to this question is available. Plantz himself once wrote:

In 1894 the treasurer reported an endowment of \$149,089.70. Of this there were over \$20,000 worth of outlawed notes that were not included in the subsequent reports, reducing the real endowment to something less than \$128,000.(4)

The Treasurer's reports nowhere showed the figure adduced in this quotation and the whole matter is inexplicable. The annual income from endowment at that time indicated a much smaller interest-bearing principal. In the year ending April 30, 1894, interest received was \$6,741; in the following year it was \$5,248. At the interest rates then usual, these sums were the income from a principal of perhaps \$75,000. Plantz's figure of \$128,000 must have included promises not then bearing interest. Another possibility is that some endowment money was

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1. Bulletin, Sept. 15, 1916, p. 8.
 2. Messenger, Mar., 1896, pp. 3, 4; Apr., 1897, p. 3.
 3. Reports of the Pres., Nov. 1922, p. 2.
 4. Reports of the Pres., 1904, first page of what survives.

"invested" in buildings on the campus and yielded no interest.

Thirty years later, when Plantz died, Lawrence College had an endowment actually invested of a little over \$1,530,000.(5) These invested funds, however, included the principal of annuity contracts amounting to about \$200,000, and the College was bound to pay an income to the several annuitants as long as they lived. More will be said of these contracts later. Besides the \$1,530,000 there were "potential assets" in the form of unpaid pledges amounting to something over \$200,000.(6) The small amount of endowment funds invested in buildings used for College purposes, about \$80,000, is not here included.(7) The income from endowment in the year ending July 31, 1924 was \$98,970 and in the following year, \$108,142.

In Plantz's later years the annual catalogue contained a "Chronology" which listed a number of important events for each year. Included were his campaigns to increase endowment. From first to last there were nine entires like the following:

1896 -- Endowment effort for \$100,000. . . .
1922 -- Campaign for \$600,000 endowment. . . .

The nine drives thus listed by no means accounted for the entire increase in endowment in Plantz's time. Certain chairs were established and bequests were received, some of which went into endowment. There were also, especially in the second half of Plantz's time, an increasing number of annuity contracts which signified endowment for the future, if not for the present.

By the end of his first decade as President, Plantz had worked out a procedure for these campaigns which he followed without much variation as long as he lived. He was continually compiling a list of well-to-do people throughout the state, securing names where he could: from Methodist preachers, from bankers, or from such publications as the financial Red Book of America. To these people he wrote personal letters or sent a printed bulletin every two or three weeks for some time. Then he sought a personal interview. "Everybody I went to knew what was on and a great many had become interested in advance."(8)

To a fellow college president who had inquired about his methods he wrote in 1915, emphasizing, as he did in other letters also, the importance of the personal interview.

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5. Treas. Reports, July 31, 1924, \$1,531,707.95; July 31, 1925, \$1,605,489.97.
 6. Treas. Reports, 1924, p. 24; 1925, p. 24.
 7. Treas. Reports, 1924, p. 19; 1925, p. 19.
 8. Plantz to F. Homan, May 12, 1910.

We have not had any windfalls in the way of large gifts We have simply kept eternally at the matter of interviewing people and raising money in such sums as we have been able We have kept agents in the field most of the time but they have not raised very much money With us it has been a hand to hand job. We have never tried to stage a big movement and get the state into a condition of excitement about Lawrence nor have we tried to do much through the preachers. We have simply gathered it by personal interviews.(9)

In these campaigns Plantz showed astuteness and good generalship in handling potential donors. In the spring of 1907 he was engaged in raising \$150,000 to meet the requirements of a conditional gift of \$50,000. At a certain point in the enterprise he told a newspaper reporter that he and his agents had secured \$33,000, but continued:

I could raise the amount to \$60,000 this week if I wished to, but there is a reason why it is not at this amount now. There are many men who have offered \$1,000 and even as high as \$5,000 where they are able to give much more. I cannot take these gifts as these men must give more.(10)

Plantz did indeed make some attempts to find "windfalls in the way of large gifts." The largest donation in his time was \$100,000 from Mrs. Russell Sage for a girls' dormitory. No gift ever came ample enough to make Lawrence a wealthy institution. He asked Isaac Stephenson for \$500,000 to establish at Lawrence a School of Politics, Economics and Public Service, but Stephenson declined.(11) Plantz also wrote to George A. Whiting asking for a million dollars:

Of course, if you should do so large a thing as this we should want your name identified with the institution in some prominent way so that it would be an abiding memorial to your benevolence and business success. This could be done . . . by changing the name to Lawrence-Whiting College, such double names being somewhat common as Baldwin-Wallace, Randolph-Macon, . . . William and Mary, . . . etc. colleges.(12)

Whitings's reply has not been found, but obviously he did not make a gift of this size. George F. Baker (1840-1931) was a banker and philanthropist of New York City whose most famous benefaction was the gift of \$6,000,000 for the Harvard School of Business Administration (1908). In October, 1924 Plantz asked Baker for an interview during his own

9. Plantz to J. R. Harker, Feb. 8, 1915.

10. Appleton Post, Apr. 23, 1907.

11. Stephenson to Plantz, May 11, 1916, No. 2,084.

12. Plantz to Whiting, Apr. 21, 1921, No. 16,662.

approaching visit to New York. Plantz died without making that trip. How many such efforts Plantz made is unknown.

The first of Plantz's drives for endowment, carried out in 1896, was noteworthy chiefly for the part played in it by two women, Mrs. Plantz and Mrs. Davis. Edith L. Smith (Mrs. Davis) secured part of her education at Milton College; then, as Samuel Plantz and his sister were soon to do also, she migrated to Lawrence and graduated there in 1879. She married a Lawrence alumnus, John Scott Davis, '77, who was pastor of the Methodist Church in Appleton for three years, and then, for five (1898-1903), was General Agent for Lawrence University. Mrs. Davis sometimes filled her husband's pulpit. Like Mrs. Plantz, she wrote short stories and books of a religious nature and was active in the W.C.T.U. In 1907 Lawrence conferred on her the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature.

This first campaign was designed as an appeal to the women of Wisconsin, and especially Methodist women, for \$25,000 to endow a Chair of English Literature. In accordance with this plan "parlor conferences" were organized in which Mrs. Plantz and Mrs. Davis presented the claims of the College. The first such conference, held in Appleton, produced more than \$1,000. A subsequent one in Milwaukee led to important subscriptions to the Chair of English Literature by two sisters, Mrs. John Edwards and Mrs. Lewis M. Alexander. The campaign now expanded beyond the bounds originally intended. Mrs. D. G. Ormsby offered \$25,000 to endow a Chair in History and Political Science. Next, Philetus Sawyer of Oshkosh pledged \$25,000 on condition that subscriptions in the campaign reached \$100,000 by January 1, 1897. The stipulated amount was secured within the allotted time.

The ability of these women to raise money was an important discovery. For some time they worked together in this way, probably until 1903 when the Davises left Appleton for Wausau. Mrs. Plantz solicited important prospects as long as she had the health and strength to do so. About two years after her death, her husband wrote:

No one can know the work Mrs. Plantz gladly did for the college and what it cost her. Naturally frail and timid, she did not hesitate to go into the offices of business men and plead for the institution, and [she] raised money where all the rest of us failed. I do not think she raised less than from \$175,000 to \$200,000 during the twenty years she was connected with Lawrence and, of course, she received no compensation whatever.(13)

While Plantz was President he always sought to profit by the recurrent money raising campaigns within the Methodist Church. For a few years beginning in 1899 he had great expectations from the Twentieth Century Thank Offering. Originating with the Board of Bishops, it was designed as "an expression of gratitude for the signal blessings which

13. Plantz to G. W. Jones, July 28, 1916, No. 2,047.

had attended the progress of the church and the development of the society during the century now hastening to its close." The intention was to raise in the whole church \$20,000,000, half of it for education. Plantz believed for a time that Lawrence would have \$150,000 from this source.(14)

Though the Thank Offering was successful in some quarters, for Lawrence it produced little. Plantz attributed the failure to "the lack of interest on the part of pastors," many of whom never presented the matter to their charges.(15) In 1904 "something over \$2,000" from the Thank Offering was mentioned as part of the endowment of the Chair of English Bible; and this is all that is definitely known to have come from this movement.(16)

While collections in Methodist churches continued small during Plantz's first twenty years or thereabouts, many of the individuals who helped the College in its successive money-raising campaigns in this same period were Methodists. In Plantz's later years the local churches sent their educational collections to a national center, and Lawrence received a share of the church's benevolences handled nationally.

Approximately in the period of World War I the Methodist Episcopal Church engaged simultaneously in two great money-raising campaigns. Each movement, in its publicity material, called attention to the fact that 1917 was the four hundredth anniversary of Martin Luther's inauguration of Protestantism. In the first of these efforts, called the Centenary movement, the Methodist Church raised \$105,000,000, foreign missions receiving the largest share. The "Centenary," however, guaranteed to the Board of Education \$750,000 a year for five years; and eighty per cent of this money was at once distributed to the colleges.(17) How much Lawrence received from this source is unknown. Apparently the Centenary money and that derived from the regular collections were sent together and amounted to about \$10,000 a year for five years (1919-24).(18) In June and July of 1919 seventeen Lawrence students, most of them women, attended a Methodist Centenary celebration at Columbus, Ohio.(19)

14. Min. Wis. Conf., 1899, p. 80; Trustee Min., June 20, 1900, p. 271; Messenger, Apr., 1899, p. 1.

15. Bulletin, Jan., 1901, p. 11.

16. E. M. Beach to G. W. Jones, July 26, 1904.

17. Secretary, Board of Education, to Plantz, Jan. 19, 1920, No. 8,735.

18. Plantz to A. W. Harris, Oct. 21, 1920, No. 11,401.

19. Law., May 29, 1919, p. 1.

The second of these movements was the Educational Jubilee, authorized by the General Conference of 1912 and re-endorsed in 1916. It was designed "for the better endowment and equipment of Methodist colleges and seminaries." In the whole nation the Methodist Church raised about \$35,000,000 in this campaign. As a part of this church-wide movement, the Methodist leaders in Wisconsin, with some help from church headquarters in New York City, organized the "Wisconsin Educational Jubilee." As finally set up, it was to be carried through for the benefit of Lawrence College and the Wesley Foundation at Madison.

The Methodist Church had long been concerned about the religious welfare of students of Methodist background at the State University, by 1916 said to number 1100.(20) For many years the Church's chief agent in tilling this field was Edward William Blakeman, a graduate of Lawrence of the class of 1907. After a year in the School of Theology of Boston University, he became, in 1908, the Methodist student pastor at Madison. In 1912 he organized a Methodist University Church there which by 1915 had about 350 members: more Methodists than there were then in the Faculty and student body of Lawrence. In the fall of that year both the Wisconsin and the West Wisconsin Conferences voted to establish what, before the year was out, was incorporated as the Wesley Foundation. This body was originally intended to provide the building and endowment for a church at Madison to serve Methodist students, and endowment for a Chair of Religion at the University. A Bible School was also contemplated.(21)

The Wisconsin Educational Jubilee had as its goal the raising of \$750,000, two-thirds for Lawrence and one-third for the Wesley Foundation. The Jubilee was a union of two endeavors already in progress. The Wesley Foundation had begun to raise money in October, 1915. Within a few months it had pledges worth \$50,000, and by 1917 they amounted to \$75,000. Meanwhile Lawrence at first was taking subscriptions for a women's dormitory. After Mrs. Russell Sage made her gift in 1916, some of the money previously pledged to the dormitory was, with the consent of the donors, assigned to other projects. Plantz later said that, of its share of \$500,000, Lawrence "had secured some \$275,000 . . . during the past two years for the building of Russell Sage Hall, for the erection of the chapel and for endowment."(22) By the time the combined effort was brought to the public, the two corporations, working separately, had already raised \$350,000 leaving about \$400,000 to go.

Originally planned for 1917, the final effort was moved into the spring of 1918, probably on account of the war. Plantz's hand was evident in the preparatory work. In October, 1917 workers were getting

20. Min. Wis. Conf., 1916, p. 90.

21. Min. W. Wis. Conf., 1915, p. 75; Min. Wis. Conf., 1915, pp. 116-117; C. F. Karnopp to Plantz, Sept. 16, Oct. 12, 1915, No. 1,113.

22. Reports of the Pres., June 1918, p. 12.

lists of possible subscribers and sending out bulletins twice a month to six thousand people. "Two men are in the field all the time working for larger sums and to get the Jubilee before the minds of the people."(23) The intensive campaign ran from Sunday, February 3 to Wednesday, March 18, or about six and one-half weeks. A professional campaign manager from New York City came to take charge. "There are thirty workers from outside the state and three hundred ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church working on various committees.(24)

After the drive was over Plantz summarized:

Our Jubilee Campaign was a hard pull We came out about \$70,000 short with the understanding of course that it is to be raised later campaign expenses are close to \$25,000. If we get a clear \$200,000 out of it for Lawrence, I shall be satisfied.(25)

After the Jubilee campaign, Lawrence's next large-scale financial effort was its participation in the "Wisconsin Colleges Associated." Inspired by American accomplishments in money-raising during the First World War, President Melvin A. Brannon of Beloit fathered the idea of a great united drive for the benefit of all the private colleges in Wisconsin. Plantz, believing that the public was weary of demands for money, would have preferred to delay this effort. He felt, however, that it would make a bad impression on the public and on the sister colleges if Lawrence refused to cooperate; so he went along with the others.(26)

The Executive Committee of Lawrence committed itself to this enterprise on May 6, 1919. The eight institutions participating were: Beloit, Campion, Carroll, Lawrence, Marquette, Milton, Northland and Ripon. Milwaukee-Downer, having just completed a campaign for \$500,000, was momentarily not asking her friends for more money. She was sometimes mentioned as an associate, sometimes not. The cooperation of colleges of such diverse backgrounds elicited widespread comment and approval. The goal set was \$5,000,000. The organization secured as manager a man who in many campaigns elsewhere had supervised the raising of more than \$700,000,000. The Presidents of the eight Colleges traveled together up and down Wisconsin pleading their common cause. Newspaper publicity was extensive, local meetings and banquets numerous, and details of the coming solicitation apparently well worked out. The actual signing of pledges went on from November 12 to 19. Results were disappointing: instead of \$5,000,000, subscriptions came to a little

23. Reports of the Pres., Oct., 1917, pp. 7, 8.

24. Law., Mar. 7, 1918, p. 1.

25. Plantz to Naylor, Apr. 26, 1918, No. 7,421.

26. Reports of the Pres., June, 1919, p. 8.

less than \$900,000. From this amount must be subtracted the expenses of the operation, which continued for many years, and a large shrinkage due mostly to people's refusal to honor their signatures. The remainder was divided among the colleges in proportion to enrollment in 1917-18. In the end Lawrence received something over \$135,000.(27) In one sense the effort had been worthwhile but, because hopes had originally been so high, the enterprise left a memory of disappointment and failure.(28)

It will be remembered that early in the history of Lawrence College, the institution received several gifts of considerable size from Boston, either from the founder or from other wealthy Bostonians. Amos A. Lawrence continued to give modest amounts as long as he lived; but there were no more large gifts from the East until the twentieth century. Then the College shared in the bounty of both Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller.

In 1901 Andrew Carnegie sold the Carnegie Steel Company to the organizers of United States Steel and retired from business, devoting himself thereafter to giving away his fortune. Altogether he divested himself of about \$350,000,000, with \$45,000,000 going to pay for the well-known library buildings scattered over the English-speaking world. Lawrence received one of them early in 1905.(29)

To accomplish his benefactions Andrew Carnegie established several corporations, each endowed with many millions. Among them were the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1905) and the Carnegie Corporation (1911). Samuel Plantz was named a member of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation in 1906 and served on it until his death. In 1907 Carnegie made a gift of \$25,000 to Lawrence on condition that \$300,000 be raised for endowment within three years. This came at about the same time as the first gift of Rockefeller money to be mentioned in a moment.(30)

One of the Carnegie Foundation's most ambitious enterprises was to provide pensions for retired college professors and their widows. There was great need for such provision. Plantz wrote to Henry S. Pritchett, head of the Foundation, about Henry Lummis, who taught at Lawrence for nineteen years and died in 1905. "He was eighty-one, I believe, when he died, and left no property or life insurance for his widow."(31) Lawrence, like most colleges at that time, had no money for

27. Wisconsin Colleges Association (Wis. Coll. Assoc.), Report of Jan. 22, 1925.

28. Papers relating to Lawrence College and the Wis. Coll. Assoc. are filed together without control numbers at the end of the Plantz correspondence.

29. Exec. Com., July 3, 1903; Reports of the Pres., June 1, 1905.

30. Reports of the Pres., June, 1908, p. 12.

pensions and consequently no retirement system. The Foundation's first idea was simply to pay pensions out of its own resources to teachers or teachers' widows at institutions which it had put on its approved list.

For admission to this first pension plan, the Carnegie Foundation required, among other things, that an institution be under secular and not church control. Lawrence's original Charter had given all power except that of electing the President to an undenominational, self-perpetuating Board of Trustees. At the insistence of Amos A. Lawrence the charter was amended in 1849: the power to choose the President was taken from the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and given to the Trustees. Thus, thanks to its founder, Lawrence had long had the form of government required for participation in the original Carnegie pension plan.

The first person connected with Lawrence to have a Carnegie pension was the widow of Professor Henry Lummis, just mentioned, who survived her husband for some seven years. Before Plantz's death three retired teachers also received pensions: Rabbi Emanuel Gerechter; Charles W. Treat, one-time Dean and Professor of Physics, who was incapacitated by illness in 1918; and Miss Mabel Eddy, teacher of French. Ellsworth D. Wright, Professor of Latin, died in 1918; Treat in 1923. Upon the death of each, the widow began to receive a pension. After Plantz's death, Mrs. Plantz also came into a pension from the same source. Thus, in 1925 the Carnegie Foundation was helping support five persons in one way or another connected with Lawrence. The pensions would not be considered large today: the five together amounted to \$319.73 a month.(32)

The first Carnegie pension plan proved inadequate. It gradually became apparent that even the resources of a Carnegie could not provide disability, retirement and widows' pensions for the college teachers of a nation. It was therefore decided in 1915 that no new institutions could be admitted to the fold, and eventually that no more individuals could be placed on the list. The Carnegie Foundation, in a different attack on the same problem, led the way in the establishment of the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association (T.I.A.A.). This was a nonprofit, legal reserve life insurance company. It came into existence with an initial endowment from the Carnegie Foundation and later received gifts amounting to many millions of dollars from both the Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation.

In November, 1919,(33) Plantz presented to his Board of Trustees the draft of a resolution, which they later adopted, providing for Lawrence's participation in the new pension scheme offered by T.I.A.A.

31. Apr. 27, 1906, Wood papers.

32. Wood papers, 1925.

33. Trustee Min., Nov., 1919, p. 411.

The College would match what the teacher paid in up to five per cent of the teacher's salary. Participation by individuals was at first recommended but not required. It was understood that this arrangement did not apply to professors who were in line for a pension under the first Carnegie plan.(34) Perhaps most of the Lawrence Faculty members interested in a pension came under the old plan; at any rate the first contracts with T.I.A.A. were not made until November, 1922. Thus Lawrence acquired an important feature of a properly-conducted modern college.

In 1902 John D. Rockefeller and his son established the General Education Board, then and later making grants to it which totalled about \$130,000,000. The purpose of the Board was to aid education; and it proceeded to do this in a great variety of ways. From this source Lawrence College received three major gifts, each one the impetus of a campaign for the increase of endowment. Details were as follows:

Year of grant	Amount from Gen. Ed. Board	Total raised in campaign
1906	\$ 50,000	\$200,000
1912	40,000	200,000
1920	200,000	600,000

Thus by gifts of \$290,000, this Board assisted in an increase in Lawrence's endowment of no less than \$1,000,000: a sum amounting to about two-thirds of all endowment at the time of Plantz's death. The Board also gave Lawrence College \$10,000 a year for three years (1920-22) to help with running expenses until the new endowment should begin to be productive.

The third conditional gift of the General Educational Board, offered in June, 1920, required the raising of \$400,000 besides the liquidation of a debt of \$47,000. In meeting the conditions the College was able to count about \$100,000 of the money raised by the Wisconsin Colleges Associated (all that was paid in after a certain date), \$30,000 received from the Methodist Board of Education, and \$75,000 from the Carnegie Corporation. This left about \$100,000 and the debt to raise.(35)

During the winter of 1920-21 business and industry were in a slump in Wisconsin and the campaign started off slowly, pledges between November 1 and April 1 amounting only to about \$10,000.(36) That summer (1921) the College used as solicitors five of its professors, and two Methodist ministers who worked from June to October. The professors

34. Plantz to Pritchett, Nov. 28, 1919, No. 9,348.

35. Plantz to L. M. Alexander, June 22, 1920, No. 11,956.

36. Plantz to Angell, Apr. 2, 1921, No. 10,906.

raised together about \$10,000, the ministers somewhat more.(37) In September Plantz launched one campaign within another: the Lawrence Loyalty League, a group of alumni, asked the alumni body for a gift of \$75,000 to mark Lawrence's seventy-fifth anniversary. Early in 1922 the College sent out a letter signed by six prominent Trustees, saying: "We are asking a large number of Wisconsin business men to make a birthday gift of \$10 (or more if they see fit) to Lawrence to help it secure the \$650,000."(38) Checks for \$10.00 came back in considerable numbers. In May, 1922 Samuel Cookson, who by this time was the College's chief solicitor, was "bringing in nearly \$1,000 a week."(39)

By September the battle had been won. Plantz continued the canvassing for some weeks longer to cover expenses and the inevitable shrinkage. In early December he wrote: "We have raised a little over \$410,000 also \$47,000 of indebtedness."(40) This was the last financial campaign that Plantz completed; the next one, to raise money for a new gymnasium, was unfinished when he died.

As the permanent endowment grew, the names of several generous givers, or of persons designated by them, were attached to professorial chairs. Some of these labels were older than Plantz's presidency. He was himself the Paine Memorial Professor of Ethics and Christian Evidences. There also survived from before Plantz a Lee Claflin Chair of Latin and (named for the group) an Alumni Professorship of Natural History and Geology. At the end of his presidency Plantz was still the Paine Memorial Professor, but Lee Claflin's name and the Alumni Professorship had both disappeared from the catalogue.(41) There were by that time, however, thirteen chairs commemorating definite persons; and nine of the same names, still attached to chairs, appeared in the catalogue of January, 1959.

These names had not been affixed in the same manner. David G. Ormsby and Salem David Mann owed the honor to their widows. A chair commemorating President George M. Steele was endowed by his son, George Frank Steele, '78, who in the latter part of his life was a business executive in the International Paper Company. The endowment of the Hiram A. Jones Chair of Latin was undertaken some time before he died in 1898, the University having \$10,000 in hand for this purpose in 1896.(42) Jones' brother and son gave most of the money for this endow-

37. Reports of the Pres., Nov., 1921, p. 8.

38. From L. M. Alexander and others, Jan. 15, 1922.

39. Plantz to Wood, May 18, 1922.

40. Plantz to E. A. Buttrick, Dec. 9, 1922, No. 12,360.

41. An Alumni Chair fund of nearly \$15,000 still appeared as an item in Treas. Reports, 1925, p. 21.

ment. Mr. and Mrs. Judson Rosebush established chairs in American History and in Economics.

Only rarely did those who endowed chairs attach any conditions to their gifts. When Mrs. John Edwards and Mrs. Lewis M. Alexander endowed a Professorship in English Literature, they stipulated that the holder must always be a woman and a full professor. The first incumbent, Miss Emma Kate Corkhill, who taught at Lawrence from 1902 to 1913, fulfilled these conditions.(43) When the Rosebushes founded the Chair in American History, they expressed a wish that the holder give some attention to Canadian history.

More significant than details about separate chairs is their importance, as a group, in the financial structure of the institution. At the end of the Plantz period, the Treasurer showed a certain sum of money linked to each of thirteen chairs, not including the old Paine Foundation. These sums added up to about one-fourth of the College endowment at that time.(44) Such an amount would seem to merit commemoration in successive issues of the College catalogue.

In building endowment the College made some use of annuity contracts. There had been a few such bargains before Plantz. In 1880 the Trustees agreed with one of their own number to accept \$6,000 from him and in return pay him \$600 a year as long as he lived. This transaction was not for endowment, but secured money to pay debts. In Plantz's time the Treasurer listed annuities in the annual reports beginning with 1897 when there was only one. Plantz strongly recommended the annuity plan of securing money to the Trustees in 1900.(45) In 1904 there were four such contracts in force having a combined principal of \$17,500.

Over the years Plantz employed a succession of men, sometimes more than one at a time, to solicit funds for the College. Longest in such service, and in many ways most outstanding, was John Gaines Vaughan, who taught part-time and raised money for the College from January, 1910 until his death in May, 1921. Before coming to Lawrence he had long been active as a Methodist minister. Fundamentalist in outlook, he was especially qualified to plead the cause of the College with conservative Methodists.(46) Vaughan made a specialty of annuity contracts. Plantz admitted: "I believe Vaughan is a good deal better on annuities than I am as I have never worked in that field."(47)

42. Exec. Com., Nov. 4, 1896, p. 225.

43. Naylor to Reeve, June 23, 1925, No. 16,242.

44. Treas. Reports, 1925, p. 21. The list included "alumni Chair Fund, \$14,953," but no one held such a chair at the time.

45. Trustee Min., June 20, 1900, p. 271.

46. A. D. Willett to Plantz, Aug. 21, 1917, No. 4,337.

Vaughan transferred \$30,000 of his own money to the College in exchange for an annuity contract.

What the College paid on annuities naturally depended on the age of the annuitant at the time of making the contract. Rates were set by the Executive Committee in 1905(48) and only slightly revised later. They varied from 5 per cent for those between 50 and 60 to 8 per cent for those over 80. These contracts made for complicated bookkeeping. In 1912, when contracts in force had a combined principal of \$63,000, Plantz commented:

Each year we are paying out considerably more in annuities than we receive in income from the investment of these funds. There . . . should be a corresponding deduction from the annuity principal each year [of the difference between income and outgo for annuities.](49)

The real value of such contracts was hard to determine without tables based on actuarial experience; and there is no evidence that the College ever had them scientifically appraised.

With Vaughan pushing annuities in his solicitations and Plantz cooperating as he was able, they rose in face value from \$42,500 in 1909 (last report before Vaughan joined the staff) to \$198,333 in 1921. In 1925 they amounted to \$206,985. These figures are simply for contracts in force when each report was made and do not include contracts previously "matured" by the death of the annuitant.

When Plantz became President there was a long-established tradition at Lawrence, as at other church-related mid-western colleges, that the institution existed to furnish, and did furnish, education to the children of the poor as well as to self-supporting young people. This tradition long kept fees at a surprisingly low level. On the initiative of President Huntley Lawrence University abolished tuition in 1880 and for six years asked of students only certain "incidental fees" amounting to \$16.50 a year. For the moment this was thought to be necessary in order to compete with the State University. Lawrence restored tuition in 1886. Exception having been made of these years, it is true to say that from 1866 to 1895 tuition and incidental fees together always amounted to more than \$35.00 and less than \$40.00 a year per student.

Plantz inherited from Gallagher a rate of \$24.00 for tuition and \$15.00 for incidental fees: total, \$39.00. Holders of perpetual scholarships still presented these ancient documents to escape the payment of tuition. Plantz handled this situation rather cleverly: he set the

47. Plantz to Plannette, Mar. 7, 1913.

48. Exec. Com., Jan. 3, 1905.

49. Reports of the Pres., Oct., 1912, p. 11.

tuition at \$6.00 a year and kept it at that figure until 1920. At the same time, in 1895, he made the incidental fee \$24.00. Thus for a few years he collected a little less per student than Gallagher had done. He soon raised fees a little, but long kept them low. The steps by which he raised tuition and fees are shown in the following table:

Year beginning	Tuition	Fees together	Both
1895	\$ 6.	\$24.00	\$ 30.00
1897	6.	30.00	36.00
1909	6.	40.00	46.00
1912	6.	54.00	60.00
1918	6.	64.00	70.00
1920	30.	65.00	95.00
1921	30.	90.00	120.00

These higher fees united with the growth in the number of students to bring increasing amounts into the treasury. A few specimen figures follow. They are found in the Treasurer's reports opposite the words, "Tuition and incidental fees," and do not include gymnasium and laboratory fees.

(Fiscal year ending July 31)

1915	\$23,940	1921	\$57,972
1918	27,424	1922	84,491
1920	38,131	1924	90,719

Near the close of Plantz's presidency, he included the following sentence in an annual report:

One of our older professors recently made the charge to me that Lawrence during the past twenty years had been built up in part at least by the sacrifices of its teachers and taking out of their pockets what rightly belonged to them in increase of salaries.(50)

In considering this matter we need scrutinize only the salaries of male full professors. Women seldom held that rank; and, moreover, regularly received less than men for the same amount of teaching. Instructors, usually young and in Plantz's earlier years mostly women,

50. Reports of the Pres., June, 1921.

were always paid much less than professors. Teachers of painting and drawing and commercial subjects had no stated salary: they received the fees paid by their students and the total was not recorded. The same was true of music in the earlier years. The development of the Conservatory about the middle of the Plantz period brought with it new arrangements for teachers of music which will be described elsewhere.

Each June a Trustee Committee on Faculty and Degrees set the salaries for the coming year, their decisions being later validated by the whole Board. Plantz was a member of the Committee and of the Board and doubtless had great influence in both. There is probably little violation of the truth in saying, for convenience's sake, in the next few paragraphs, that as to salaries Plantz did thus and so.

The University had set the salaries of professors at \$1,100 in 1883, and after Plantz became President he kept them at that figure for nine years. He then raised them to \$1,200 where they remained for five years (1903-08). In Plantz's fourteenth year, therefore, professors had only \$100 more a year than their predecessors of 1883-84.

The years 1908 to 1920 form a second period in this matter of salaries during which changes were more frequent and increments larger. Here is the record:

1908-13 \$1,500	1914-17 \$1,800
1913-14 1,650	1917-20 2,000

But the Trustees added a bonus in the last two of these years. In 1919-20 this amounted to \$200 for full professors who thus, in that year, had \$2,200. So Plantz by this time had doubled salaries compared with what they had been when he became President.

Rising in each of Plantz's last five years, the salaries of the best-paid professors reached \$3,400 in 1924-25 and those of other teachers increased in proportion. At the same time the instructional staff, not counting the President and two Deans who did some teaching, grew from 35 in 1919-20 to 48 in 1924-25 (Conservatory not included). These changes had great impact upon the budget. Instruction cost \$54,888 in 1918-19; in 1924-25, the last year for which Plantz helped make decisions, the amount was \$126,995. This was an increase in six years of about 130 per cent. The figures by years were:(51)

Fiscal year	Instruction cost	Increase over previous year
1918-19	\$54,888	
1919-20	66,069	\$11,181
1920-21	76,655	10,586
1921-22	86,238	9,583
1922-23	103,080	16,842
1923-24	113,936	10,856
1924-25	126,999	13,053

It should be added that in 1925, under Acting President Naylor, the Trustees advanced maximum salaries to \$3,800 where they remained for several years, or until the depression forced the College to make reductions. That the College could raise salaries to this level was due in large part to Plantz's accomplishments in building endowment.

Through most of Plantz's presidency all full professors were treated alike. When a man was added to the staff as a professor he quickly advanced to the maximum salary then paid. John C. Lymer began to teach at Lawrence in 1904 and reached the maximum, then \$1,200, in his third year. Louis C. Baker, beginning in 1914, reached the highest going salary in his fourth year. In 1920-21 no fewer than twenty-one persons, some in their first year at Lawrence, received the highest salary, then \$2,500. In the following year a distinction was introduced: those longer in service, thirteen in number, received \$250 more than their juniors; and from that time on there was a difference of \$250 or \$200 between the two groups. One in the junior group was promoted to top salary as he began his eleventh year at Lawrence.

Plantz himself received a very modest salary almost until the end of his life. His predecessor, Gallagher, had had \$2,000 a year and the use of the President's house. During his first seven years Plantz had \$1,500 and the house. His salary in his later years, always with the house, was as follows:

1914-16	\$3,300	1921-24	\$5,000
1916-20	3,600	1924-25	6,000
1920-21	4,000		(part)

Did Plantz build up the College by "the sacrifice of its teachers?" No clear-cut answer is possible. It is of course a poor defense of low salaries to say that they were usual for college teachers throughout the nation. For Plantz, setting the salaries for a given year was but a part of a larger total situation. Thus, he said to the Trustees in October, 1912:

There will be pressure brought to bear on the trustees at our next meeting to increase the salaries of teachers, as the idea seems to be current among them that the fund recently raised will make this possible. Desirable as this is, our first business is to pay our debt and keep from incurring a deficit The salaries we pay are small, but they are

rather larger than the averages of our class and size, as a reference to a bulletin issued by the Carnegie Foundation . . . will show.(52)

Plantz seemed sometimes, especially when struggling to comply with the terms of a conditional gift, to give endowment precedence over current Faculty needs; but he also often spoke of a larger endowment as needed to give the Faculty "decent" salaries.(53) A letter of May, 1922 shows how paying the Faculty appeared to him as but one element in a larger picture. The operation of the College in the year then nearing its close would, he estimated, show a profit of between \$20,000 and \$25,000. This outcome was in part due to contributions to current expenses from the General Education Board (Rockefeller) and from the Board of Education of the Methodist Church, contributions not to be repeated in one case and to be continued on a smaller scale in the other. It was with all this in mind that Plantz wrote to Treasurer Wood as follows:

I am anxious that no report of this [profit] be made at the meeting of the trustees or so that the professors will get hold of it. I have been trying to shape things so that our \$25,000 deficit will be paid up as we must get it out of the way by January 1st to meet the conditions of the General Education Board If the professors hear that we have so large a profit there will be no holding them from large increases. I am proposing an increase of \$250 on professors salaries . . . which seems to me . . . better than to make larger increases which it might trouble us to maintain later I think it best for us to say we will show some profit to apply on the debt but we cannot tell how much until the end of the fiscal year.(54)

This is not the only time when Plantz expressed a desire to conceal profits or surpluses from the Faculty.(55)

The question of what was a fair or adequate salary in Plantz's time has many facets. The subsequent decline in the value of money makes it difficult to think clearly today about salaries -- or any other financial matter -- in an era when the dollar was so different from our own. Teachers under Plantz had a simpler manner of life than prevailed in 1960. When he died few of them had automobiles, and the few had not had them for long; car expenses were only beginning to appear in family budgets. (No data are available about which of the teachers, if any,

52. Reports of the Pres., Oct., 1912, pp. 15, 16, by mistake dated Oct., 1913, and place after report of June, 1913, in bound volume.

53. E.g., Reports of the Pres., June, 1919, p. 9.

54. Plantz to Wood, May 30, 1922.

55. Cf. Plantz to Wood, Mar. 21, 1921.

kept a horse and buggy.) Few teachers bought tobacco in Plantz's time and fewer still, anything alcoholic. Household furnishings lacked many items counted essential today: record-players, radio, television, for example. The argument here is that in the Plantz period the Faculty, with a lower standard of living than their successors demand, could live on salaries with less purchasing power than is needed today.

But when all this is said, there is much evidence, especially from the second half of Plantz's presidency, that the Faculty were finding it difficult to live within their means. They chose committees to present their case to Plantz and the Trustees, marshaling statistics about rising prices. They were especially emphatic after the United States entered World War I. The Trustees seemed to admit the justice of their claims: they added a bonus to the salaries for two years (1918-20). Then came the increase of \$500 for 1920-21; or \$300 beyond the previous salary and bonus together. As to imputing any guilt to Plantz for not raising salaries earlier or more generously, it seems best simply to believe that, taking a long view, he tried, with the resources he could command, to do what he thought was best for the Lawrence community, the Faculty included.

Near the end of his life, in writing to one of his Trustees, Plantz emphasized the importance of money in the College enterprise in the following words:

In relation to this . . . business of running a college, the whole matter is a financial one. If the trustees will give me a few millions of dollars, I will show them a college that will make their eyes bulge out. Anybody can have ideas, but the great thing is this: to realize those ideas through the cash that is necessary to put them into actuality. I have more ideas and plans about Lawrence than you can put in any cold storage plant in Chicago, but I need a Rockefeller in order to make them real. The main thing is to have sense enough to get along and do the best you can do with what you have to do with Run your institution within your means and pray for a brighter day.(56)

As to money, the last years of Plantz's life may well have seemed to him the dawn of a brighter day. The increase in student fees, effective in 1920-21, added about \$20,000 to the annual income and did not depress enrollment. Income from endowment about doubled in his last five years. As we have seen, he was able to raise Faculty salaries every year. The struggle to find the wherewithal to run the College would never cease; but, thanks to what Plantz had done, the problem had changed from one of survival to one of betterment and expansion.

56. Plantz to Dickerson, Oct. 20, 1921, No. 11,668.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GROWTH OF THE CAMPUS

Samuel Plantz neither began nor ended the development of the campus, but in his time there was a great increment in both land and buildings. When he became President the University grounds were bounded on the east by Union Street and the line of that street extended to the river; and on the north by College Avenue. On the west Drew Street was the boundary from College Avenue to the Lawrence Street bridge. Beyond that, the campus was bordered on the west by the homestead of one William Johnson. The line dividing his property from that of the University ran north and south approximately where the west edge of Ormsby Hall is today and continued to the river. On this campus in 1894 were four buildings: Main Hall, the President's house, Underwood Observatory, and Ormsby Hall. This last was about two-thirds its present size.

Changes in the campus under Plantz began in his third year not with an increase but with important repairs and embellishments. Certain Appleton businessmen, Trustees of the University, raised \$7,400 and with the money the following improvements, among others, were made: earth was hauled in to level the campus and in places the ground was tilled to secure better drainage. Gravel walks were replaced by "elegant" cement sidewalks six feet wide with paths on either side for cyclists. Main Hall was almost completely replastered and repainted; a cement floor was laid in the basement and hardwood floors elsewhere, and the cupola was partially rebuilt. The change that catches the eye even today was the construction of "Grecian" porches on the north, east and west. This addition was in accord with plans drawn in 1853, but not followed out at that time for lack of money. The pillars forming part of the north porch are 28 feet high. The University made a special effort to have the changes in Main Hall completed by January 20, 1897, the date set for a semicentennial celebration.(1)

1. Law., Nov., 1896, p. 78, Dec., 1896, p. 91, Apr. 1897, p. 168; Ariel, 1897, p. 23; Subscription book, beginning with July 20, 1896.

The first building that Plantz added was Science Hall. He told the Trustees in June, 1895 that such a building was an absolute necessity. "I do not see how we can keep up the pretense of being a high grade college without it Adequate instruction in science is now simply impossible." It took him three years to raise the money needed. The largest single contributor was Isaac Stephenson, a wealthy lumberman of Marinette, who gave \$16,000; consequently, the building was named after him. Mrs. Plantz and Mrs. J. S. Davis journeyed to Boston and secured \$2,300 from the children of Amos A. Lawrence. In June 1898, as excavation began, Plantz stated that the University had about \$32,000 in hand and that \$10,000 more would be needed to complete and furnish the building.

The architect of Science Hall was J. Van Ryn of Milwaukee. The building, measuring 110 by 80 feet, was placed 92 feet south of Main Hall and 52 feet from Ormsby. By October it was so far along that the University insured it against fire. Only a few days later, on October 27, through the carelessness of a tinsmith, fire destroyed the roof and third story of the building. "As the wind was high and the building was lathed ready for plaster, in an incredibly short time it was wrapped in flames, and it was only by a hard fight that anything was saved."⁽²⁾ For a time onlookers feared for the safety of both Ormsby and Main Hall. The insurance companies paid something over \$5,000. At the dedication ceremonies held June 20, 1899 the eminent geologist, Thomas Chrowder Chamberlin spoke on "The Ethical Value of Scientific Study."

The gradual rise of athletics at Lawrence and the introduction of physical culture brought with them the demand for playing fields and gymnasium space. For a long time male students used the campus for exercise and athletics. The President's residence, now Sampson House, was built in 1880 on the left field of the baseball diamond. Some practice in track and field work was done on the campus, and parts of some competitions were held there. In 1897 Plantz personally provided "a new take-off for jumping and pole vault."⁽³⁾ This installation was just north of the observatory. Occasionally, early athletic contests were held at the Driving Park, now Telulah Park.

When Plantz became President of Lawrence, there was a vacant block bounded by North, Pacific, Bateman and Union Streets. During his first six years, the University rented this area for athletics, paying the nominal sum of \$100 a year. The Lawrentian usually called this ground the Baseball Park, but it was used also for track work and football. The University would gladly have bought this "park," but the price, \$20,000, was prohibitive. Instead, in July, 1900 it acquired land off to the northeast bounded by Commercial, Winnebago, Meade and Rankin Streets. This field was about twice as far from Main Hall as the one previously used, but cost only \$3,000. A fence, a running track,

2. Messenger, Dec., 1898, p. 1.

3. Law., Apr., 1897, p. 70.

and, some years later, bleachers and a grandstand were provided; thus equipped the land served the institution until 1925 when it was sold for \$12,000.(4)

The first Alexander Gymnasium, later called the Campus Gymnasium, had predecessors of a sort. When Ormsby Hall was built in 1889 it included a small gymnasium for the use of the girls. It was eventually divided into four dormitory rooms. In the early 1890's male students used the gymnasium of the Appleton Y.M.C.A., but this was destroyed by fire in 1893. On the site of the present Masonic Temple there used to be two buildings facing College Avenue. The western one of the two was a barnlike frame structure known as the Armory. (After the brick armory was built on the south side of the Avenue, this wooden building became the "old armory.") It was the headquarters for the military drill carried on at Lawrence from 1894 to 1900, and for most of this time it served also as a gymnasium. In 1895 the Lawrentian commented: "The armory which has been rented to the college and which Mr. [A. L.] Smith [the owner,] is having repaired and a gymnasium apparatus put in is nearly finished."(5) During this period Plantz, writing in the catalogue, called the Armory "a Gymnasium and Drill Room with every accomodation"; but in 1898 he wrote elsewhere: "Lawrence ought to have a new gymnasium. We now rent a building for the purpose but a well-equipped gymnasium on the campus costing \$10,000 to \$20,000 is much needed."(6)

For reasons now unknown the University was unable to rent, or did not rent, the old armory after 1899, though some college contests were held there during the next two years. The Lawrentian lamented: "We feel our need of a gymnasium especially since we can have no basketball this winter."(7) The statement about the rented gymnasium disappeared from the catalogue. In the fall of 1900 dressing rooms were "rigged up in the basement of the main building where the men change and rub down."(8)

In the fall of 1889 the Trustees decided to erect a "first-class gymnasium"; but the means came slowly. On the Sunday before Thanksgiving of 1900, \$2,000 was collected or pledged in the Methodist Church in Appleton. Soon after this, Lewis M. Alexander promised \$5,000; but as late as April, 1901 only \$10,000 had been raised. By commencement in June, 1901 excavation had been completed, and the building was dedicated

4. Contract, 1925; deed, 1926.

5. Law., Apr., 1895, p. 196.

6. Cat., annually, 1895, p. 56; to 1899, p. 68; Messenger, Oct., 1898, p. 5.

7. Law., Jan., 1900, p. 147.

8. Law., Nov., 1900, p. 103.

on November 19. About that time five Trustees, among them Mr. Alexander, gave \$500 each. Many other persons gave smaller amounts, and thus the building was cleared of debt.

Apart from the athletic field, the first additions to the campus under Plantz came in 1902 when almost simultaneously he extended it to the east and to the west. On the southwest quarter of the block where the Library is today, there were two frame houses. The University bought this property in July, 1902 and at once converted the houses into women's dormitories. In the following year the University bought the northwest quarter of the same block; and thus it owned the site of the Library for two or three years before that building was erected.

In June, 1902 Lawrence was able to buy the Johnson property west of Ormsby Hall which included a good frame house. The price was \$7,500, Mrs. Ormsby helping out with a gift of \$3,500. The house was soon named the Ormsby Annex and was long used as a small dormitory for women. After Plantz's time it became the College Infirmary.

Almost from the beginning it was anticipated that the Samuel Appleton Library would someday have a building of its own. In the meantime, for half a century, it was housed in the northwest quarter of the second floor of Main Hall; and by 1900 the books were beginning to spill over into the southwest quarter. The Library was terribly cramped here; and, besides, the space was needed for classrooms. In July, 1903 the Executive Committee appointed four Trustees and an alumnus to ask Andrew Carnegie for a Library building. About a year and a half later Carnegie included in his New Year's gifts the sum of \$50,000 for the purpose desired.

It was hard to decide where to put the new building. Though the University already owned the site eventually chosen, Plantz judged it best to reserve that land for some later building and wished to put the new Library on the campus northeast of Main Hall. A number of persons, led by George F. Peabody, subscribed about \$4,000 to "preserve the campus." A committee of trustees then bought vacant lots and moved to them the houses on the chosen site, thus assuring that the University would not lose income from them.(9) After the matter was settled Plantz commented:

I regard the present location as a decided mistake, not but what I think it is a beautiful location, but because it takes the last available site for buildings which the college owns, and I do not know of any contiguous property that can be purchased.(10)

9. Trustee Min., June 14, 1905, p. 328.

10. Reports of the Pres., June, 1905, p. 11.

The architects of the Carnegie Library were Van Ryn and De Gel-
leke of Milwaukee who had earlier drawn the plans for Science Hall.
Construction began in September, 1905 and, with some interruption during
the winter, continued for about a year. The cost of the building,
including connection with the heating plant, was about \$54,000; and Car-
negie generously added \$4,000 to his original gift.(11) The building
measured about 75 by 100 feet and had a basement and two stories. In
the second story, apart from the stack room, there were "six seminar
rooms and a small auditorium."(12) The University offices were esta-
blished in this building in the summer of 1909. At that time they could
all be contained in the northwest quarter of the second floor.
Gradually, as the institution grew, more and more of the building was
appropriated to classrooms until, in the early 1920's, art, Bible, and
German were taught on the second floor and politics and accounting, in
the basement. The division of the old Main Hall Chapel into classrooms
in 1923 made it possible to move several teachers from the Library
building to Main Hall.

There was a perpetual struggle to meet the demand for student
rooms. The Trustees considered an addition to Ormsby Hall in 1901, but
found it beyond their means. Five years later they returned to the pro-
ject. Needing \$14,000, Plantz secured pledges for \$12,000, including a
gift of \$5,000 from Mrs. Ormsby, and proceeded to build. West of the
entrance to Ormsby today, just beyond the first double window, there is
a jog which marks the west line of the original building. The addition
of 1906 ran 50 feet west of the old wall and measured 55 feet north and
south; and it accomodated about fifty girls. The women's literary
societies were given rooms in the new Carnegie Library and their former
quarters in Ormsby were converted to dormitory space. The addition
together with the other changes almost doubled the capacity of the
hall.(13)

When Science Hall was completed in 1899, the Music department
was given space on the third floor. It remained there for seven years;
and toward the end of that time there were pianos on the second and
third floors, in the basement and in the gymnasium nearby. The science
teachers were loud in their complaints; and many times Plantz spoke to
the Trustees of the pressing necessity of a separate home for the Con-
servatory.

An Appleton merchant, Charles G. Adkins, lived for many years at
the northeast corner of Lawrence and Morrison Streets. He died in
December, 1903. In May, 1906 the University bought his house for \$8,000
and remodelled it to serve as a home for the Conservatory, then for a
short time called the School of Music. This purchase was the first step

11. Law., Dec. 15, 1906, p. 123.

12. 1906 Ariel, spring 1905, p. 13.

13. Reports of the Pres., June, 1906, pp. 7, 8.

in the extension of the campus west of Drew Street. We shall return to this westward movement in a moment.

The next advance in the housing of the Conservatory was the erection of a building named Peabody Hall after its donor, George F. Peabody. This benefactor of Lawrence was first an employee and then a partner and son-in-law of C. J. Pettibone, a merchant of Fond du Lac. In 1872 Peabody came to Appleton to manage a branch of the Pettibone-Peabody Company; under him it became the largest dry goods store in the community. He was a Trustee of the University in his later years and long a member of the Executive Committee. He had one child, a daughter named Emma.

At the dedication of the Hall, Plantz spoke as follows about what Peabody had in mind when he gave the building:

About a year ago I was on Mr. Peabody's yacht cruising along the coast of Florida. Several times we spoke of the musical department of Lawrence. I said that its development would work good to the college and the city, for it would help refinement and culture and lift ideals and refine taste. Mr. Peabody responded enthusiastically. "Yes, that's it," he said, "it will help Appleton."(14)

There is some evidence that at the end of his life Peabody was planning to give \$15,000 to provide a building for the Conservatory. On September 6, 1909, however, he sent to the University for this purpose promissory notes totalling only \$12,000; and six days later he died. Plantz summarized in the following June: "A few weeks before he died [Mr. Peabody] gave \$12,000 to build a recital hall for the Conservatory of Music which was later increased by his daughter to \$18,000."(15) What the daughter gave in 1910 was not money but six interest-bearing notes of \$1,000 each. This debt will receive our attention later.

It was not necessary to buy more land for Peabody Hall. At a cost of about \$3,300, the Trustees had the Adkins house moved to the north and put into good condition for continued use as a part of the Conservatory. The new building was placed south of it, approximately where the Adkins house had been.

The architect of Peabody Hall was H. H. Waterman of Chicago. The building measured 60 by 90 feet, and its principal feature was a recital hall seating about 400 people. Begun in the fall of 1909, it was ready for dedication April 12, 1910. Not counting its equipment, nor money spent on the Adkins house, it cost about \$15,000.

14. Appleton Evening Crescent, Apr. 13, 1910.

15. Exec. Com., Sept. 7, 1909; Neller to Plantz, Sept. 6, 1909; Reports of the Pres., June, 1910, pp. 1, 10, 11.

The campus as it was when Plantz became President could conceivably grow in any direction except to the south. The University expanded eastward when it acquired the site of the Library in 1902 and 1903; but for the ensuing decade growth was in the opposite direction. The purchase of the Adkins property for the Conservatory began a westward movement which soon became a settled policy. Plantz said to the Trustees in June, 1908:

I would recommend that the trustees instruct the executive committee to purchase any land which may be for sale between Morrison Street and the campus on either side of Lawrence Street It is very desirable that the campus be continuous. If we can secure building sites on the two blocks west of the campus on Lawrence Street, it would ultimately be a great advantage. I feel confident that it would in time mean the purchasing of the entire blocks and at less expense than to purchase in any other direction The time has come when we must . . . look forward to the future interests of the institution and act accordingly.(16)

The Trustees approved this program; and besides making inquiries about several houses that were too expensive to buy at that time, they immediately acquired two properties in the area indicated. One was the home of Dr. Walter L. Conkey, a dentist of Appleton, which stood on the south end of the site of Brokaw Hall. For the next two years this residence was called Lawrence House and was used as a women's dormitory. The other purchase was a lot extending through the block from Oak to Durkee Streets a little south of Lawrence Street. On the Durkee Street end of the lot was a house of no great value. There the University provided meals for from thirty to forty men and rooms for a few, usually eight. This establishment, called the Blue and White Club, was maintained for two years.

Before Brokaw Hall was built, the University was not really doing much with the problem of finding room, and especially board, for male students. This is how Plantz presented the matter in the spring of 1908:

. . . it is getting practically impossible to secure proper boarding accommodations for men. We can usually obtain rooms at a moderate price but it is exceedingly difficult to secure board at anywhere near what the students can pay. We have over forty men at present who are living on two meals a day because they cannot afford restaurant prices for three meals. We also need exceedingly a club room where they can come together in a social way.(17)

16. Reports of the Pres., June, 1908, at end, recommendation No. 11.

17. Mar. 28, 1908, Wood papers.

The University had solicited funds for a boys' dormitory as early as 1904, then had put the project aside to concentrate on an endowment campaign. The movement that eventuated in Brokaw Hall began in earnest in June, 1909, when Mrs. Ormsby offered \$5,000 to start the ball rolling. After Mrs. Ormsby's gift the campaign for funds was pressed with vigor. Rober S. Ingraham, a Methodist minister and a man of wealth, subscribed \$10,000 and, given the right to do so, named the proposed building Wesley Hall. A few days later Mrs. Brokaw, not knowing of the arrangement with Ingraham, also subscribed \$10,000 on condition that the building bear the name of her deceased husband, Norman H. Brokaw. Ingraham "waived" his right to name the dormitory.(18) Mr. Brokaw had been a prominent Methodist layman and a Trustee of the University before his death in 1901. The village of Brokaw in Marathon County, Wisconsin, where he built a papermill, is named for him. The Brokaw home in Appleton stood on the west half of the site of the Memorial Union. Besides the subscriptions already mentioned there were three others of \$5,000 each and five of \$1,000 each. Thus eleven persons gave \$45,000 or about two-thirds of the money needed for the building. At the time when the money was being raised the proposed building was often called a Young Men's Christian Association and Dormitory Building.

Once the money for the hall was assured the Trustees decided on its location and finished buying the land. The University already owned the Conkey house. At the north end of the site was the home of Edward P. Humphrey, manager of the Appleton Post. Reluctant to sell, Humphrey asked a good price and in addition required the University to raze the building used for the Blue and White Club, move his house to that site, and lease it to him for two years. The University of necessity complied: they moved both houses from the Brokaw site to the Durkee-Oak Street lot bought two years before. Today (1959) the former Humphrey house may be identified as the middle one of the three across the street west of Colman Hall; the once Conkey house is just west of it, facing Oak Street.

In 1911 the University bought from a Mr. Clark the house west of Brokaw Hall. For some years the Conkey, Humphrey and Clark houses, were women's dormitories; and sometimes other houses in this western area were rented for the same purpose.

The architect of Peabody Hall, H. H. Waterman of Chicago, also drew the plans for Brokaw. The building was under construction for about a year, from September, 1910 to the following September when it was ready for occupancy. It measured 145 by 60 feet and, including basement and attic, had five stories. There was a lobby 60 by 36 feet at the south end of the main floor and, immediately above, a Y.M.C.A. room or assembly hall that seated 300. When the building was new it provided rooms for about 124 men. Alterations in the attic and elsewhere eventually increased this number.

18. Ingraham to Plantz, Mar. 8, 1910.

The cost of Brokaw Hall was larger than anticipated. The architect was given charge of letting contracts and was told to keep them within \$50,000. When the University settled with him he stated that the cost would not exceed \$52,000 and he received his 5 per cent commission on that amount. "But," Plantz wrote, "bills came in for contracts we supposed to be included in the general contracts and extras were presented which brought the cost of the building to about \$62,000."(19) Besides the building itself, Plantz counted the investment in land after the houses were removed as \$6,000; and furnishings came to nearly \$8,000. This brought the total cost to about \$76,000, an amount that exceeded subscriptions, as of June, 1912, by about \$12,000.

An interesting though impermanent feature of the campus was a so-called amphitheater. For some years the University included a School of Expression, and its director, John S. Garns, "discovered" the possibility of developing an outdoor theater on the slope below the observatory. The Senior classes of 1911 and 1912 each contributed \$100. There was a sod stage on the bank of the Fox, and the slope above was terraced. Someone wrote in 1915: "A few paces down the slope from the crest at the Observatory and we come to the upper tiers of the natural amphitheater."(20) For a number of years the students in dramatics gave plays here; and at least once, in 1916, it was the scene of the crowning of the May Queen. By the spring of 1917 "the natural process of erosion [had] begun to obliterate the steps."(21) When the engineers placed the steam pipes leading to the new Russell Sage Hall above ground on concrete piers across the top of the slope, they pretty well ruined the amphitheater.(22)

From the purchase of the Adkins house in May, 1906 until the completion of Brokaw Hall in September, 1911, the campus had grown to the west. Then, in 1913 and 1914, by acquiring the former homes of Augustus Ledyard Smith and George F. Peabody, the College turned eastward again. A. L. Smith's home was long pre-eminent in Appleton as the seat of culture and gracious living. Its owner was a distinguished public figure and had the finest private library in the city. His house stood approximately on the east half of the site of the present Memorial Union. It was a two-story frame structure built along the edge of the bluff to give a view of the river from as many rooms as possible. At its northeast corner was a tower such as ornamented many pretentious houses in the later nineteenth century. A. L. Smith died in 1902, and a son sold the property to the College in the fall of 1913. It included the half-block extending from Alton Street to the river. The price was

19. Reports of the Pres., June, 1912, first of two copies, back of p. 8; p.11.

20. Lawrence Alumnus (Alumnus), 1915, p. 12.

21. Law., May 14, 1912, p. 1; May 24, 1916, p. 1; May 17, 1917, p. 1.

22. Plantz to Gochnauer, Oct. 10, 1917, No. 4,532.

\$18,500. Plantz was able, with the consent of the donor, to apply to this purchase \$10,000 pledged for a women's dormitory.

Lawrence College acquired complete ownership of the Peabody property in 1914, including all of the east half of the block that contains the Library. George F. Peabody had bequeathed his home to Lawrence, subject to "life use and income" to his daughter. The daughter, after becoming Mrs. William Harper, subscribed \$6,000 to help pay for the Conservatory's new building. She signed six notes of \$1,000 each, promising to redeem one each year and to pay interest on all of them. Mrs. Harper never made any payments of either principal or interest. After the commencement of 1913, Mr. Harper resigned from the Conservatory; and about that time Mrs. Harper proposed to surrender her life interest in the homestead in exchange for the cancellation of her debt to the College, by this time, with interest, something over \$7,000. Fearing that Mrs. Harper might later regret her offer, the Trustees delayed; but as she continued to insist they decided on the exchange. She and her husband executed a quitclaim deed to the College dated April 15, 1914. The College had made a better bargain than they could know at the time: Mrs. Harper lived until 1954.

Brokaw Hall came into use in the fall of 1911, and for a few years there were adequate accommodations for men. The pressing problem of the institution was now to provide quarters for women students. The acquisition of the Peabody and Smith houses helped toward a partial and temporary solution. In the summer of 1914 the College spent \$4,000 on these two properties. Mr. Peabody's barn or garage was transformed into a wing of the house and the attic was subdivided: forty-five girls could now live there. Smith House, after remodeling, held about twenty-five roomers and seventy ate in its dining room. The Executive Committee seems to have been very reluctant to spend much on these houses. Plantz commented: "I . . . realized . . . that it is a question whether money should be spent on what will eventually prove to be a temporary arrangement. Doubtless it would be better to put up a new building than to use these properties, but personally I do not know where the new building is to come from."(23)

At least as early as October, 1914 the Trustees were looking at an architect's plans for a new women's dormitory. At that time they had in mind a building to cost between \$60,000 and \$75,000. This new dormitory was to bear the name of Myra Goodwin Plantz, who had died in July, 1914. The necessary money came very slowly. As just now mentioned, a gift of \$10,000, originally meant for this dormitory, was used to meet part of the cost of the A. L. Smith property. By October, 1915, \$32,000 was available or promised.

In November, 1915 a young woman calling herself Alice Miller appeared in Appleton and gave out that she had recently received a bequest of \$275,000 to \$300,000. After making inquiries about the Col-

23. Reports of the Pres., June, 1914, p. 9.

lege and its needs, she subscribed \$10,000 to the new girls' dormitory. Early in February, 1916 the newspapers showed her up as an impostor who had been "forging checks and doing other things of an eccentric nature."(24) The catalogue of January, 1916 had announced the erection in the coming spring of a new dormitory for women to accommodate one hundred girls.(25) But after the funds to be counted on had been diminished by \$10,000, the letting of contracts was postponed. Subscriptions continued to come slowly: by June, 1916, the amount in hand and pledged was still only \$35,000.

The situation was suddenly changed by a gift from Mrs. Russell Sage. Her husband (1816-1906) had built up a fortune largely by the development and sale of railroads and operations in the New York stock market. He left his widow perhaps eighty million dollars and after his death she distributed money to many educational institutions. Plantz credited alumnus William Bell Millar with securing her contribution almost single-handedly. Three Millar brothers had graduated from Lawrence, the first two being Methodist ministers. One of them had married Plantz's only sister. William Bell, third of these brothers, graduated in 1889. He lived from 1890 onward in or near New York City, engaged mostly in various forms of Y.M.C.A. work. In 1916 he was General Secretary of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, an organization financing the foreign mission work of both the Y.M.C.A. and Protestant denominations. On June 10, 1916 Mrs. Sage's secretary wrote to Millar: "On September 2, 1913, you wrote me a letter in regard to Lawrence College of Appleton, Wisconsin. Will you please write me another." Brought up to date about Lawrence, Mrs. Sage wavered momentarily between dormitory and chapel; but on June 29 Millar was able to telegraph Plantz: "Mrs. Sage will give one hundred thousand for girls' dormitory as memorial to husband."(26)

Only after Mrs. Sage's gift did the Trustees agree on the present location. One of the houses on the site was the former residence of Henry Daniel Smith, for many years President of the First National Bank of Appleton and organizer of the local Electric Light and Power Company. The Trustees intended to have this house moved to a site some distance away; but it turned out to be too high to move through the streets. All the Trustees could do, therefore, was to shift it some fifty feet east until it stood on the very edge of the new College property. At first they rented it out for family use; then, in 1921, transformed it into a dormitory for women, calling it Russell Sage Cottage.

24. Plantz to Andrus, Feb. 9, 1916, No. 23.

25. Cat., Jan., 1916, p. 16.

26. Corresp. between Millar and Plantz, June-Sept., 1916, No. 1,752.

The architect of Russell Sage Hall was William Jones Smith of the Chicago firm of Childs and Smith. It was Smith who had made the sketches for the projected dormitory in the fall of 1914. The gift from Mrs. Sage now made it possible to plan a larger building, but its exterior was almost identical with that of the earlier Myra Goodwin Plantz Dormitory.(27) The main building contract went to C. R. Meyer and Sons of Oshkosh. The structure measured 80 by 150 feet, had four stories and a basement, and was equipped with an elevator. Dr. Vaughan, who solicited funds for the College at that time, secured ninety-five \$100 subscriptions and some smaller amounts to furnish the rooms.(28) The total cost of site, building and furnishings was about \$125,000. Women students moved into the new dormitory in September, 1917, and a formal opening was held on October 20.

President Plantz sent Mrs. Russell Sage copies of the plans and specifications of the new dormitory as soon as they were ready.(29) Thirteen months later, when the building was practically completed, he sent her a photograph of it and wrote in part as follows:

It is built of light buff sandstone with Bedford stone trimmings, . . . has room for one hundred and fifty girls . . . and has beautiful parlors, dining room, infirmary and other accommodations for students I cannot express the appreciation which the trustees, faculty and students have of your great generosity in assisting us in putting up . . . so fine an addition to our college plant, and which was so seriously needed.(30)

By the first decade of the twentieth century the old Chapel in Main Hall was clearly outgrown. Helen Fairfield Naylor came to the Lawrence community in 1904 with her husband, Wilson S. Naylor, Professor of Biblical Literature. She died in 1907, and in the ensuing year he initiated a movement to erect a new chapel as a memorial to her, promising to match subscriptions by others, dollar for dollar. In April, 1908 the students subscribed more than \$5,400 in a single day. By the end of that month the subscriptions, counting in Naylor's half, amounted to \$12,000. The work continued. The catalogues of 1909 and 1910 stated that the fund for a new chapel "now amounts to \$19,000."(31) After that there was little progress: campaigns for endowment and for other buildings were allowed to take precedence over the chapel enterprise.

27. Compare pictures, Law., Mar. 2, 1915, p. 27; Mar. 1, 1917, p. 5.

28. Plantz to Wood, Aug. 4, 1917, No. 4,341.

29. Plantz to Mrs. Sage, Sept. 21, 1916.

30. Plantz to Mrs. Sage, Oct. 22, 1917, No. 6,275.

31. Cats., 1909, p. 30; 1910, p. 32.

Mrs. Plantz died in the summer of 1914, and the women's dormitory worked for during the next two years was intended as a memorial to her. After Mrs. Russell Sage placed her husband's name on this dormitory, some of those who had subscribed to it as the Myra Goodwin Plantz Dormitory consented to the transfer of pledges amounting to about \$20,000 to the Chapel fund with the understanding that it would be a memorial to Mrs. Plantz as well as to Mrs. Naylor.

Over the years the Trustees considered a number of locations for the Chapel. A fortunate combination of circumstances enabled them to buy the present site in 1916. Having enlarged the campus to both east and west they now crossed College Avenue and began an expansion northward. In the 1880's Azel W. Patten had bought the west half of the block where the Chapel is today. His home was a large frame house at the northwest corner of the block; east of the house was a barn. The south end of this property was vacant, serving at times as a pasture for the owner's cow. At Patten's death his estate passed to his widow and, upon her death, to her five brothers and sisters.

The administrator of Mrs. Patten's estate was Judson G. Rosebush, a Trustee of the College. The Patton site appealed to him. "I am sure," he wrote to Plantz, "that if we could locate a monumental chapel squarely in the middle of this block on the Avenue, it would be a tremendous asset to the College and quite capture the imagination of the town."⁽³²⁾ It is reasonable to suppose that Rosebush had a large part in arranging what followed. The five heirs sold the half-block to the College on condition that the Chapel, in whole or in part, be erected on it, and that it contain a memorial window in honor of their sister, the late Elizabeth Patten.⁽³³⁾ The price recorded in the deed was \$20,000; but the heirs accepted \$13,000, it being understood that they had made a contribution of \$7,000 to the Chapel enterprise. This they could easily do: the estate that was divided among them was worth more than \$900,000.

A year later, about the time when the construction of the Chapel began, the College bought the lot on College Avenue just east of its previous purchase, thus increasing its frontage there to two-thirds of the block.⁽³⁴⁾ Three years later the College bought the remainder of the south end of the block. It never acquired the northeast part; and thus it was not possible to put the Chapel in the middle as Rosebush had hoped when the site was first considered.

Dormitory space for women continued in short supply until Russell Sage Hall was ready in the fall of 1917. For one year, therefore, the College used the Patten home to house them. Two years later,

32. Rosebush to Plantz, May 21, 1916, No. 2,319.

33. 156 D 537, June 1, 1916.

34. 165 D 592, June 4, 1917.

to improve the surroundings of the new Chapel, they had it removed.(35) The barn, on the other hand, was made into a house and allowed to remain. Plantz drew the plan for the interior himself, dividing it so that it could be used either as two good-sized apartments or as a student dormitory. Under the name of Mursell Education Center it is still in service.

Plantz had had it in mind for some time to ask Appleton to help pay for a new chapel. In January, 1917 Mr. and Mrs. Judson G. Rosebush offered the College \$62,500 for endowment if the citizens of Appleton would give an equal sum toward a chapel. A "whirlwind campaign" followed lasting about three weeks. Plantz promised a building that, at a small fee to cover certain expenses, would serve the city as an auditorium and concert hall. The amount initially asked for was raised, and an additional sum of \$10,000 for an organ. The gifts of the College Faculty were very generous. Fourteen classroom teachers, each earning \$2,000, together subscribed \$3,750, or about one-seventh of their annual income. Two of them gave \$500 each. The administrative officers, Plantz, Naylor, Wood and Vaughan made much larger subscriptions.

Childs and Smith of Chicago, the architects of Russell Sage Hall, also drew the plans for the Chapel. The original design did not include a tower or steeple. On June 16, 1917 the Executive Committee voted to add "a tower not to cost more than \$12,000 above the original contract." Two days later Plantz wrote: ". . . we shall now have to have about \$15,000 more for the new chapel since our friend Judson got his tower Saturday which materially increases the cost."(36)

C. R. Meyer and Sons of Oshkosh, who had just built Russell Sage Hall, received the contract for the Memorial Chapel. They broke ground early in June, 1917. By the middle of September the steel framework was in place and the walls were beginning to rise; and by December the building was enclosed so that work on the interior continued during the winter. The main floor and balcony together had seats for 1549 people, while the stage could hold 400 more in case of need. The only room of considerable size apart from the auditorium was one under the stage which accommodated at most about 150. This was called, in the beginning, either the prayer meeting room or the Y.W.C.A. room. The outside dimensions of the building were about 70 feet 6 inches by 142 feet. Counting in the site, the building proper, windows, organ, chairs and stage curtains, the whole enterprise cost about \$125,000.

All the glass work in the Chapel was entrusted to the Ford Brothers Company of Minneapolis, "designers and manufacturers of art, stained and ecclesiastical glass." Plantz wrote to several persons ask-

35. Law., May 22, 1919, p. 10.

36. Plantz to L. M. Alexander, June 18, 1917, No. 5,969. The Rosebushes gave \$3,500 more as their special contribution to the tower.

ing them whether they would care to contribute special windows as memorials. Mrs. Robert J. Burdette gave one depicting a sorrowing "Athena at the Tomb" in memory of her first husband, Nathanael M. Wheeler, who had taught Greek at Lawrence long before (1879-85). One window was an adaptation of Holman Hunt's painting, "The Light of the World." Other subjects were Queen Esther, King David, and the Good Samaritan. Trustee George A. Whiting contributed a window modelled on a painting done by his first wife in 1870. The Ford Brothers' artist in charge of this work was Thomas J. Gaytee, and Otho P. Fairfield, Professor of Art, constantly advised. Some donors asked him to choose the subjects of the windows they gave.(37)

The organ in the Chapel was the work of the J. W. Steere Company of Springfield, Massachusetts. The number of pipes installed at the beginning was 1660; the number in the complete instrument would be 3133.(38) The organ cost about \$10,000, besides about \$3,000 for its installation. Ten years after Plantz's death this organ was rebuilt and enlarged as a memorial to him, at the cost of an additional \$10,000.(39)

The Chapel was intended as the center of the religious life of the College, and it was also built as a civic enterprise to furnish a much needed place for large public meetings. Plantz felt, for a time at least, that the first purpose was not adequately served. As the frame was rising he wrote:

In relation to the chapel . . . it is primarily and largely for the devotional work of the college, its chapel services and other gatherings of the kind There should be prayer meeting rooms and features which are absent, and instead of such a big auditorium it ought to have been a construction whereby we could have shut off part of the building. I am very much disappointed with the whole thing.(40)

With time Plantz came to have a kindlier feeling toward the building. Some five years after its completion he wrote of the architects: "We are so well satisfied with the two buildings they have erected that they will probably be asked to be the architects for any future buildings which we may construct."(41)

37. Corresp. between Plantz and Ford Bros. or Gaytee, No. 4,658.

38. Bulletin, June 1, 1920; Corresp. with Steere Co., 1918, 1919, No. 6,143.

39. Cat., Jan. 1935, p. 28.

40. Plantz to Frederick Vance Evans, Sept. 12, 1917, No. 4,053.

41. Plantz, Feb. 7, 1924, No. 16,456.

There are three bronze plaques at the entrance of the Chapel. On the outer wall, to mark the intent that preceded the building, is one with the words: "In Memory of Myra Goodwin Plantz 1856-1914 and Helen Fairfield Naylor 1867-1907." In the summer of 1920 there was placed on the inner wall of the lobby a list of the names of eleven Lawrence men who died in military service in World War I. This memento was offered by the parents of the fallen men. The Rev. J. H. Tippet, one of the parents, made the arrangements for this memorial. The third plaque states that the "organ in this chapel is dedicated to the memory of Samuel Plantz." It was placed there when the organ was rebuilt in 1934.

The Memorial Chapel was the last large building erected in Plantz's time. Thereafter he did little for the physical plant except normal maintenance and some alterations. As already mentioned, the house east of Russell Sage Hall became a dormitory for women. In the summer of 1923 the College finally divided up the old Chapel in Main Hall, and thus secured seven much-needed classrooms. Plantz had written a few years before: ". . . the [old] chapel is historic and one of the landmarks we do not like to destroy."⁽⁴²⁾ Like many others, he knew the importance of this room in the early history of the College and regretted its disappearance.

The Conservatory, like the rest of the College, was greatly overcrowded in Plantz's last years. The Trustees bought the house east of Peabody Hall and in 1921 turned it over to the Conservatory for practice rooms, connecting the two buildings by means of a covered bridge. Two local organizations in succession offered to buy the whole Conservatory property. Plantz secured plans and estimates on a new building; but he and the Trustees decided that a new home for the Conservatory would be far too expensive: the existing quarters must suffice. This decision stood for more than a third of a century.

Every time the College added a new building it had to take on the task of heating it. When Plantz became President each building had its own source of heat. A central system came in 1898 when boilers were installed in Ormsby Hall to heat that building, Main Hall and Science Hall. The Gymnasium, built in 1901, at first had its own furnace. In 1903 the College erected a heating plant in a separate building. Counting in a boiler added in the following year, it cost, with its contents, about \$8,500. Brokaw Hall was at once connected with the central plant, but was inadequately heated until 1914 when the College spent \$10,000 more on its heating equipment.

Russell Sage Hall and the Memorial Chapel were built within a two-year period and made necessary a great increase in the supply of heat. The College built a new boiler house, 18 feet high, 46 feet wide and 50 feet long; and a new smokestack; and installed four new boilers. Most of the work was done between July and September, 1917. The old heating plant became a coal bin. The whole improvement, including the

42. Reports of the Pres., June, 1919, p. 12.

pipes to the new buildings, cost about \$25,000. In 1921 thermostatic controls were installed throughout the College.

Plantz's last building enterprise was one he did not live to complete. At the meeting of the Trustees in November, 1922 he announced the successful conclusion of his latest campaign for endowment. He then proposed as the next objective a new gymnasium for men, often advertized during the next two years as "a new social center and gymnasium." The Trustees voted to raise \$150,000 for such a building and \$50,000 for its endowment.(43) In March, 1923 a building committee was named; and in the same month the students subscribed more than \$50,000 to the project.(44) During the year that followed Plantz had several men soliciting for this cause, but they were not remarkably successful. Also, what the students subscribed as well as what was pledged to representatives out in the state was largely in the form of promises for the future, not money immediately available. Evidence about amounts is somewhat unclear. The Lawrentian stated in May, 1924: "To date less than \$40,000 in actual cash have been received toward the new gym."(45) The first Treasurer's report made after Plantz's death, that of August 1, 1925, showed a gymnasium fund consisting of about \$9,700 in money and \$63,000 in pledges as yet unpaid.

At the time of Plantz's death the location of the new gymnasium had not been determined by the Trustees, though Plantz himself had decided to recommend putting it on the A. L. Smith property; that is, on the east half of the block where the Art Center and the Memorial Union are today. It seems probable, therefore, that if Plantz had lived a few years longer and the necessary money had come in, the new gymnasium would have been erected on that spot.

The athletic field bought in 1900 seemed twenty years later to have many disadvantages: it was too small, too distant, and the owners of adjoining property often complained about it. During the academic year, 1920-21, a good deal of thought was given to a project of building a new field stretching along the riverbank from below the observatory to Lawe Street. The plan was to build a wall some 400 feet long, 30 or 35 feet from the existing bank of the river and 10 feet above the river level, and fill in behind it. When it was found that the field and bleachers on the hillside would cost approximately \$120,000, the plan was abandoned.(46)

43. Reports of the Pres., Nov., 1922, p. 7; June, 1923, p. 8; Nov., 1923, p. 9.

44. Law., Mar. 22, Apr. 12, 1923.

45. Law., May 8, 1924, p. 4.

46. Law., Nov. 18, 1920, p. 12; June 2, 1921, p. 17.

After exploring several possibilities the Trustees, in May and June, 1924, bought the present athletic field which is located on East South River Street. The necessary work on the football field and the making of the track and the curb were carried out in the summer of 1925. In that year, too, George A. Whiting of Neenah came forward to assume the cost of the field, its improvement, and a field house constructed at a cost of \$12,250.

During the last fourteen months of Plantz's life the College bought or secured an option on all the property abutting on College Avenue in the block east of the Chapel. The house on the east corner had long been the home of A. W. Hawes, a capitalist who developed the Water Works of Appleton as a private enterprise and then sold it to the city. In October, 1923 the Sigma Phi Epsilon Householding Corporation bought the Hawes property. This group at once sold the west half of the land, which had no house on it, to the College. They also gave the College an option to buy the remainder of the property, which included the house, for \$15,000 on six months notice. The option in its first form ran for eight years and then was renewed. The College became the owner of the property when Sigma Phi Epsilon moved into the new fraternity quadrangle in 1941. The house on the southwest corner of the block had been the home of John Bottensek, an alumnus of Lawrence and for a time a Trustee. His wife had once taught painting and drawing in the College. The College bought this residence in July, 1924, some four months before Plantz died.

With the acquisition of the Hawes and Bottensek properties, for a fraternity or for the College itself, Plantz's work as a builder of the campus came to an end. He had wrought well and a later generation of Lawrentians is grateful to him. In the resolutions passed at the time of his death, the Faculty very appropriately quoted the epitaph of Sir Christopher Wren: Si monumentum requieris, circumspice.(47)

47. English translation: "If you want to see his monument, look around you."

CHAPTER XIX
ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION
IN PLANTZ'S TIME

Over the years many persons have contributed their best efforts to help Lawrence do its appointed work. At the center there has always been an administrative group performing the daily tasks inherent in college existence. Someone must always act as a purchasing agent, do the financial bookkeeping, keep the academic records, preserve the buildings from decay, invest the endowment: the list could easily be lengthened. In this account of administration in the time of Plantz a few persons not elsewhere commemorated are mentioned by name and briefly characterized; but the main emphasis is institutional. How were certain parts of the work carried on? Did the College develop new organs in the area of administration during this time?

The basic law or Charter of Lawrence Institute, passed by the Territorial Legislature of Wisconsin, was discussed earlier in this book (Chapter III). During the ensuing half century it was six times amended by the Legislature of the state. In the fall of 1900, in Plantz's seventh year, the Trustees took the first steps for a re-enactment of the Charter; and this was secured in the following March and April.⁽¹⁾ The new law consisted of all that was still valid in the first Charter and the amendments, rearranged as a unified whole. It fused into one the two statements of purpose contained in the original Charter and introduced the phrase, "the liberal arts," which the men of 1847 had avoided, but which had been used in Lawrence catalogues since 1892. It raised the number of Trustees from 25 to 30 and provided that three of them should be elected on nomination of the alumni.

1. Trustee Min., Oct. 5, 1900, p. 275; Wis. Statutes, 1901, Ch. 116, Mar. 30, 1901, in effect, Apr. 3, 1901.

The powers of the Trustees enumerated in the act of 1901 were for the most part those usually bestowed on college boards throughout the nation. The Lawrence Trustees were, however, empowered by this act "to hold free of taxation any lands or other property . . . held expressly for educational purposes and for the endowment of the institution." On the strength of the last six of these words the University regularly received exemption from the taxes normally due on certain houses in Appleton, owned as an endowment investment and rented. Owners of other property in Appleton protested. The matter was discussed in the newspapers and bills about it were introduced in the Legislature. The matter was finally laid to rest in 1912 when the Wisconsin Supreme Court, noting that according to the state constitution "the rule of taxation shall be uniform," decided against Lawrence. She could enjoy such an exemption as the one granted to her in 1901 only under a general law assuring the same privilege to all colleges.(2)

Until 1913 the institution's official title was Lawrence University of Wisconsin. It was moved in a Trustee meeting in 1897 that "this school be styled Lawrence College," but no action was then taken.(3) In the fall of 1908 Plantz wrote to the Trustees advocating this change of name; alumni, meeting in Milwaukee in November and piloted by Henry Colman, favored it; and on December 2, the Trustees accepted the new label.(4) On account of the dispute about the taxation of real estate in Appleton, Plantz did not wish at that time to draw the attention of the Legislature to the Charter. After that matter was settled Lawrence asked for and received a new official name: by a brief amendment to the Charter, effective May 20, 1913, it became Lawrence College of Wisconsin.(5)

The highest authority in the institution, subordinate only to the State Legislature, has always been the Board of Trustees. In Plantz's early years they numbered twenty-five. He inherited twenty from the previous regime and five were new in 1894. Two pre-Plantz Trustees, Henry Colman and Lyman J. Nash, served through the whole Plantz period and beyond as did John Scott Davis and Lewis M. Alexander, who came onto the Board in 1894. As just indicated, the Charter of 1901 raised the number of Trustees to 30. Besides the five who were new in 1894, sixty-four persons entered "the corporation" while Plantz was President; thus, in all he worked with 89 trustees. For the first twenty years there were no women on Plantz's Board. Two were elected in 1914 and ten altogether in his last decade. There were four women on

2. 150 Wis. Statutes 244, pp. 244-253, June, 1912.

3. Trustee Min., Jan., 1897, p. 230.

4. Plantz to Trustees, Oct. 23, 1908; Law., Nov. 20, 1908, p. 118; Trustee Min., Dec. 2, 1908, p. 348.

5. Plantz to L. J. Nash, Apr. 2, 1913; Wis. Statutes, 1913, Chapter 228.

the Board when he died.

In the early decades of the institution the majority of the Trustees, though never all of them, were Methodists. How Plantz sought and gained a wider support is shown in what he wrote about his Board in 1915:

We do not pay much attention to denominational elections [connections?] in the electing of our trustees. Out of thirty at the present time there are eleven Methodists. We have one Catholic, one Unitarian, several Presbyterians, one Baptist, and several that belong to no particular denomination.(6)

During the last years of his life Plantz more than once remarked that he must have men of wealth for Trustees. "You can't build up colleges by having preachers on the board of trustees. You have got to have paper mill manufacturers and men with big ranches and that sort of material."(7) Of the sixty-four persons who became Trustees while Plantz was President only four were clergymen; and of the four but two were Methodist. One of these two, Robert Seney Ingraham, was a millionaire.

Throughout the Plantz period there continued to be a Joint Board made up of Trustees and Visitors, the Wisconsin and the West Wisconsin Conferences choosing the Visitors. In 1895 their number was increased from 9 to 12. They were repeatedly declared to be "ex officio members of the board."(8) By custom Visitors were never elected President or Vice-President of the Board, nor could they be counted as part of a required quorum; but they were assigned to committees and served in many ways exactly as did the Trustees. Like Trustees, Visitors in Plantz's time had three-year terms; but while Trustees were almost always re-elected, Visitors usually left the Board after three or six years. Plantz apparently found them unsatisfactory. In 1909 he recommended to the Board:

That the constitution of the board of trustees be changed so as to read 36 trustees, and the provision for a board of visitors be stricken out. This board of visitors . . . seems to serve no purpose. Those who constitute it are somewhat limited in privileges They often do [not] consider themselves full trustees and hence are less faithful in attendance.(9)

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6. Plantz to J. O. Dobson, Aug. 31, 1915, No. 1,148.
 7. Plantz to J. Rosebush, June 3, 1924, No. 16,253.
 8. Lawrence Charter (Charter), 1901, Section 5.
 9. Reports of the Pres., June, 1909, p. 34.

At that time the Board did not see fit to go along with Plantz in this matter. In 1920 a committee of Trustees was appointed to consider the relation of the "Conference Visitors" to the Board and to petition the Legislature for a change in the Charter in this connection; but nothing came of this move.(10) Under President Wriston, changes were made very similar to those desired by Plantz in 1909.

By-laws prescribed the organization of the Board of Trustees and Visitors and ordered many of its activities. The By-laws originated with the Board itself and were revised from time to time. With them were usually printed the charter or, after 1901, the two Charters and acts amendatory passed by the State Legislature. The whole made a pamphlet of about thirty pages. The Board had the same permanent committees through the whole of Plantz's presidency, except for the addition of one on welfare of women students, new in 1916.(11)

The annual meeting of the Joint Board was held in June, usually on Monday and Tuesday of commencement week. It followed an order of business carefully set forth in the By-laws. The President's report came early on the agenda. Action consisted chiefly in the acceptance and approval of the work of the several permanent committees.

As early as 1896 Plantz wished to have the Board meet twice a year; and in fact he then announced that this would be done;(12) but such did not become the practice for many years. There was a special meeting in January, 1897 when the Semi-Centennial celebration was held; and one on December 2, 1908, marked by many important decisions. Regular semi-annual meetings began in October, 1912.(13) Held either in October or November, they have continued to the present.

From the beginning of the University, the Executive Committee has had great authority. The By-laws required it "during the recesses between the meetings of the board," that is, during all but three or four days in the year, to "exercise general supervision and management of all the affairs of the college not committed to the exclusive care of other agencies."(14)

10. Trustee Min., June 14, 1920, p. 413.

11. Six versions of By-laws, 1888-1924, bound in one volume, University Library.

12. Messenger, July 15, 1896, p. 5.

13. No record in minute book of meeting in October, 1912; but see Reports of the Pres., June, 1913, p. 8.

14. By-laws, 1896, Section 16; 1906, Section 17; and, quoted here, 1924, Revised, Section 17.

In Plantz's time the Executive Committee usually consisted of Plantz himself and eight others. There were three Visitors on the Committee during Plantz's first two years; then two for nine years (to 1905); then usually one, but sometimes none. The last Visitor disappeared from this body in June, 1911. As a practical matter service on the Executive Committee was limited to men living in or near Appleton; the By-laws required the election of five living in Appleton.⁽¹⁵⁾ This circumstance in part explains the long terms of the members of the Committee. When Plantz died George W. Jones had served 25 years; James S. Reeve, 24; James A. Wood, 18; and two others, 13 and 12 years respectively.

When Plantz had been President for about two months, the Executive Committee decided to meet regularly on the first Tuesday of each month;⁽¹⁶⁾ and it adhered to this program with remarkable fidelity. At each meeting it usually dealt with from 10 to 15 matters, occasionally with as many as 20. In 30 years it made perhaps five thousand decisions. Sometimes, of course, the Committee dealt with trifles; occasionally it studied a project only to reject it; but it handled many weighty matters in a responsible way. Its minutes are a most revealing and important historical source. The following notes from them will give a good idea of the month-by-month operation of the College on its business side.

The Executive Committee from time to time authorized the purchase of equipment: a mimeograph (Nov. 6, 1894); a secondhand safe for the use of the Treasurer at \$150.00 (July 6, 1909); a baling press for wastepaper (Dec. 5, 1911). A committee of three bought oil lamps for Ormsby Hall and a tank for oil (Dec. 4, 1894). Water pressure being inadequate, a plan to have a private water plant powered by a windmill was twice considered and twice rejected (Aug. 8, 1895 and Dec. 1, 1908). Bids were opened for connecting the observatory and the President's house with the heating plant (July 6, 1909). Up to this time each of these buildings had had a separate furnace. Two members were made responsible for the erection of a new smokestack for the heating plant (June 26, 1916). During part of the period of the First World War Mr. Mike Steinhauer conducted military drill at a wage of \$1.25 an hour (Mar. 5, 1918). A janitor for Main Hall and the new Chapel was hired at \$70.00 a month (July 29, 1919).

The great variety of things considered by the Committee may be further illustrated by a few verbatim excerpts from the minutes:

Moved and carried that S. Plantz be authorized to purchase a stuffed bear for the museum if it can be obtained at a reasonable price (Jan. 5, 1909).

15. By-laws, 1896, Section 16; 1906, Section 17; 1924, Revised, Section 17.

16. Exec. Com., Aug. 27, 1894.

Rev. J. G. Vaughan, employed as Field Secretary by the board [of trustees] at its last meeting was present [and] was requested to give his primary attention to securing funds for a boys' dormitory [soon named Brokaw Hall] (Jan. 4, 1910).

It was voted that so much of Miss Carter's [Dean of Women] bill to the convention at Ann Arbor be allowed as covers her railroad expenses (Dec. 3, 1912). [Convention Nov. 12-15, 1912; Lawrence was there granted a chapter of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae.]

It was voted in accordance with a request made by the Appleton Fire Department that hereafter no bonfires made by students be allowed upon the college campus (Nov. 6, 1923).

It was moved and carried that the present salary of Dr. Plantz be paid to his widow, Mrs. Plantz, during the present school year (Nov. 18, 1924).

During the first half of his presidency Plantz's office was in Main Hall. At first it was on the second floor, southeast quarter and later, on the first floor northeast of the center of the building. In the summer of 1909 Plantz moved to the second floor of the Carnegie Library building, then three years old. Nothing significant is known about the office staff of his early years. His correspondence before 1908 has not been preserved. For his first nine years only two small fragments of his annual reports to the Trustees have survived; that for June, 1907 is also missing.

The Executive Committee authorized Plantz to secure a stenographer for the year 1908-09.(17) From October, 1911 until his death, Miss Georgia Bentley was his secretary. During this time her monthly salary rose from \$55.00, "for nine hours work a day," to \$110.00.(18) With remarkable accuracy she typed from Plantz's dictaphone recordings. Especially in publicity and money-raising campaigns, Plantz used much student help in the office. The special services of Olin Mead will be described in a moment.

Two officers, the Treasurer and the Fiscal Agent, were concerned especially with the care and expenditure of money. The Treasurer was, above all, a custodian of funds: money from all sources was entrusted to him. His office had charge of the College bookkeeping and prepared the Treasurer's Annual Report. In Plantz's early years several men in succession held this office, each for a short time. Of these, the last was George W. Jones (1903-06), a wholesale lumber dealer, already named because of his long service on the Executive Committee. He built the home on North Park Avenue that is now the residence of the President of

17. Exec. Com., Aug. 18, 1908, p. 152.

18. Exec. Com., Oct. 3, 1911; Jan. 3, 1922.

Lawrence. After Jones, the Treasurer for a quarter of a century (1906-31) was James A. Wood.

Wood came to Lawrence from Eau Claire, Wisconsin in 1891 and enrolled in the Preparatory department; he received his degree of B.S. in 1896, being then nearly 27 years of age. As he was even then somewhat bald, the Lawrentian could report good-naturedly in his Junior year that after the football season all the men of the team had a haircut except Wood.(19) Soon after graduation he married Miss Effie May Gerry, B.S. Lawrence, 1895. He bought into a business in Appleton, eventually called the Potts-Wood Dairy Company. He described it in the Alumni Record as "a line of creameries." He was also a member of the Appleton City Council, a Director and Vice-President of the Commercial National Bank of Appleton, and a Director of the Appleton City Y.M.C.A. for many years.

The Potts-Wood Dairy Company erected the building on Pacific Street now (1960) occupied by its successor, the Quaker Dairy. There, for many years, Miss Marie Bartsch did bookkeeping for both the Dairy Company and Lawrence. There was much routine work to do for the University. Wood was the custodian of all the pledges signed during its many financial drives, whether for buildings or for endowment. These pledges often called for partial payments spread over several years. As the time for each payment approached Wood sent out a reminder; then, in due time, he acknowledged receipt of payment. He received all income from invested endowment; those who lived in University property sent their rent to Wood. Wood's salary as Treasurer was \$500 in 1908; \$1,400 in 1916; \$1,600 in 1919.(20)

As the University grew it modified its accounting procedures from time to time. In December, 1908 the Trustees authorized the employment of the John E. Reilly Company, accountants of Milwaukee. This group, with several changes in its personnel and its firm name, supervised the bookkeeping and helped prepare the Treasurer's Annual Reports from 1909 until after Plantz's death.

Those entrusted with the task of distributing money from the Carnegie and Rockefeller fortunes both found that college accounting in the early twentieth century left much to be desired. In 1912 the Carnegie Foundation published a pamphlet, A System of College Accounting. The Lawrence Trustees accepted advice from this quarter and had their Milwaukee accountants follow it.(21) A little later the General Education Board (Rockefeller) set up a Division of College and University Finance which made studies in this field and published a book about the

19. Law., Dec., 1894, p. 22.

20. Trustee Min., June, 1908, p. 345; Exec. Com., Nov. 7, 1916; Plantz, May 31, 1917, No. 8,840.

21. Reports of the Pres., Oct., 1912, p. 15.

best practices. The Secretary of the Division visited Appleton and made a ten-page report on Lawrence's resources and accounts. He commented: "The accounts of Lawrence College are kept in good order and the Treasurer [James A. Wood] and Bookkeeper [Miss Marie Bartsch] are fully informed as to all fiscal matters." The most important change recommended was the complete separation of endowment funds from current expense funds.(22) This separation came only in the time of Plantz's successor.

As endowment funds grew during Plantz's presidency, the task of investing them became more important and more exacting. When Plantz assumed office the By-laws stated, as they had done for decades: "No loans are made except upon real estate security, the estimated value whereof, as estimated by the Investment Committee, is not less than twice the amount of the loan."(23) The 1906 version of the By-laws repeated this sentence, then added: "Provided, however, that investments may be made in other securities than loans on real estate with the unanimous consent of the committee and the approval of the Executive Committee."(24)

The words, "other securities," as used here, meant bonds, commercial or governmental. The University did not invest in stocks, either common or preferred, in the Plantz period. Part of the Library Fund had always been in stocks. Apart from this, the Treasurer's Annual Reports, beginning in 1906, regularly showed the University owning some stocks: at Plantz's death, these were worth about \$40,000. It is believed that all these stocks had been acquired by gift.

In June, 1896 the Joint Board made it a rule not to make a loan of University funds to preachers, church Trustees or University Trustees.(25) It had been found that putting pressure on a church society for the repayment of a loan elicited sharp criticism in the church at large.

Until 1915 the Investment Committee consisted of three Trustees. For some years before that date the three were James A. Wood, the Treasurer, George W. Jones and Monroe A. Wertheimer of Kaukauna, President of the Thilmany Paper Company. Plantz was not always content with the work of the Committee. In the spring of 1915 he wrote to the President of the Board:

22. Thorkelson, Memorandum Regarding Lawrence College, 10 pages, June 27, 1923, Wood Papers.

23. By-laws, same wording, 1888, p. 22; 1897, p. 19.

24. By-laws, 1906, p. 17.

25. Trustee Min., June, 1896, p. 231.

We have three different investments of timber bonds which have gone into the hands of a receiver I have never favored the purchase of timber bonds nor other commercial securities except where we know the concerns ourselves. I think the tendency of the [investment] committee, because bonds are easier than mortgages, is to go pretty heavily into bonds. The trustees' provision is that they are to invest in real estate mortgages, but that by the consent of the executive committee they can purchase bonds. As a matter of fact they purchase the bonds and then come to the executive committee for sanction after the purchase.(26)

This letter, or the thought behind it, probably led to the strengthening of the Committee. To those already members were added in 1915 Judson G. Rosebush and Plantz himself. These five constituted the Committee as long as Plantz lived.

James A. Wood had become a member of the Investment Committee in June, 1907, a year after he was made Treasurer. In Plantz's later years Wood handled all correspondence about investments and made many decisions in this field. Plantz kept a watchful eye on his activities. In 1919 he wrote to a member of a trust company in Chicago:

I have been considerably worried about the method of investment by our college Investment Committee. It is practically left with the treasurer, a business man of Appleton The college being limited in its endowment, there has been a tendency to invest where there is a high rate of interest, and I think too much confidence has been reposed in some of the bond men who interview the treasurer. I am quite anxious to get things on a sounder basis.(27)

As the result of this correspondence Plantz secured an expert evaluation of all bonds owned by Lawrence: it mingled praise with some adverse criticism.(28)

When Plantz died the value of College investments was approaching one and one-half million dollars.(29) The list of bonds, valued at over one million dollars, included about 130 items; that of mortgages and land contracts, valued at about \$350,000, some 100 items. James A. Wood had done more than anyone else to build up and manage this port-

26. Plantz to L. M. Alexander, Mar. 7, 1915.

27. Plantz to B. C. Lingle, May 10, 1919, No. 8,587.

28. Lingle to Plantz, May 8, 1919, No. 15,124, about municipal bonds. A promised letter dealing with industrials has not been found.

29. Treas. Reports, Aug. 1, 1924, \$1,429,391.01; Aug. 1, 1925, \$1,493,647.28.

folio. After Plantz's death the Executive Committee elected Wood Business Manager, pro tem., (30) and he served as such until the arrival of Ralph J. Watts in July, 1926. He continued as Treasurer until 1931, completing twenty-five years in that office, and died March 3, 1938. His total contribution to Lawrence was immense.

The Fiscal Agent acted as the Business Manager. He received all money for current expenses such as tuition, board, room rent and incidentals; deposited this money in the bank and reported the amount of it to the Treasurer. He purchased fuel and other supplies, looked after insurance and hired "all help such as janitors and other employees." Upon order of the Executive Committee he paid bills by drawing upon the Treasurer. (31)

The work of the Fiscal Agent was long only a part-time assignment. Before Plantz, it was sometimes performed by the President; at other times by one of the Professors. Underwood, in his last year at Lawrence, was Fiscal Agent as well as Professor and Acting President.

In Plantz's first two years, two men in succession held the office of Fiscal Agent, though there is some evidence that Plantz even then performed some of the duties of the office. From September, 1896 he was Fiscal Agent as well as President. (32)

As the years passed the burdens of the Fiscal Agent increased. Plantz shared the task of buying food with the matrons of the dormitories. A farmer brought a sample of potatoes to the President's office: later, Plantz wrote to him ordering 700 bushels. (33) He also looked after College property. To a resident of Ormsby Hall he wrote:

I understand that you and your roommate have driven tacks in the wall of your room contrary to the rules and regulations I am notifying you that you are being charged fifty cents for each of these tacks. (34)

No wonder he had to work twelve hours a day!

30. Exec. Com., Dec. 2, 1924.

31. All versions of By-laws, index; in 1924 and ff., called business manager; Plantz to Flint, May 31, 1919, No. 8,840.

32. Exec. Com., Sept. 2, 1896, p. 218; Trustee Min., June 23, 1897, p. 240; letter of Plantz to Hatton, Oct. 19, 1923.

33. Plantz to Chester Sawall, Oct. 15, 1924, No. 14,484.

34. Plantz to F. Knuth, Oct. 10, 1922, No. 12,050.

As the First World War ran its course in Europe, Plantz, as purchasing agent, was greatly concerned over the accompanying rise in prices in the United States. He wrote to those in charge of feeding the students:

I have been thinking what we are going to do because of the very serious rise in prices . . . there are certain things which we must have, but there are other things which . . . we could use more than we do, and the price of which is not materially greater than [in] former years. [He gives a list of ten foods that have not advanced in price.] Soups are always filling, satisfying and inexpensive. Fill them up with soups! Water is cheap, the river still runs . . . Also the old-fashioned oatmeal is still cheap. Corn bread is wholesome. A good many people like it, and cornmeal has not risen seriously.(35)

In the fall of 1923 the Trustees renamed the Fiscal Agent the Business Manager. Plantz explained the arrangement in effect during the last year of his life as follows:

It is contemplated that soon a Business Manager will be appointed . . . As I have been handling these matters for the past twenty-nine years, I am perfectly willing to handle them in connection with the presidency, and have therefore been made Business Manager without salary . . . Of course I have Mr. Mead doing a great deal of the work of the Business Manager.(36)

The Mr. Mead here mentioned was Olin Andrew Mead, one of the most devoted servants of Lawrence in the Plantz era. Born in 1868, the son of a Methodist minister, he entered the Lawrence Preparatory department in 1883. He chose the Ancient Classical course and was graduated A.B. in 1890. After that he spent two years at the University of Wisconsin where he earned a degree in Civil Engineering; then for some time he did civil engineering for the Chicago and North Western Railway.

Mead's early work for Lawrence University was somewhat intermittent. He was a tutor in mathematics in 1897-98, taught for a year in a boys' school in Illinois, and returned to work at Lawrence through 1899-1900. The minutes of the Executive Committee stated on November 7, 1899: "Olin A. Mead was employed as Registrar and assistant teacher of mathematics for the rest of the year at . . . \$300." As he was a graduate student at the same time, this may have been a part-time appointment. He was listed as a graduate student for two years, 1899 to 1901, and received the degree of M.A. from Lawrence in 1903. Meanwhile, from 1900 to 1904, he was not employed by the University; and in the latter part of this period he resided in Chicago. Olin's father, Andrew

35. Plantz to Jessie King and others, Nov. 23, 1916, No. 2,753.

36. Plantz to Hatton, Oct. 19, 1923, No. 15,194.

J. Mead, was Treasurer of the University for three years beginning in June, 1899; and, at least during the early part of this period, son Olin helped his father with the bookkeeping.(37)

In the fall of 1904 Olin A. Mead became Registrar, which remained his official title until he retired in June, 1934. While Plantz, as noted above, continued to bear the title first of Fiscal Agent and then of Business Manager, Mead gradually came to do much of the financial work in the College office. Far into the Plantz period the Executive Committee at each meeting scrutinized bills one by one before ordering them paid. Later, it became customary to order that the bills "audited by Mr. Wood and Mr. Mead be allowed"; or "It was voted that the bills be allowed and paid as audited by Mr. Mead."(38)

When the students mentioned Mead in the Lawrentian or the Ariel, he was not so much the recorder of their grades as the man who took their money. There are signs that at times there should have been a larger staff for this financial work. The accountants who annually audited the College books wrote in 1925 as follows:

The Registrar, Mr. Mead, had \$469.65 in excess of the amount reported as received when count was made of the cash in his office. Of this \$177.55 was accounted for leaving \$292.10 which was credited to unidentified income. In our opinion the solution of the trouble . . . is in a daily balancing of cash at the Registrar's office. Mr. Mead informed us that daily balancing is very difficult particularly during registration but that he would attempt it this year.(39)

Plantz's office was in the extreme northwest corner of the second floor of the Carnegie Library building. There was a long counter along the west side of the building between the President's office and the wall enclosing the stairs; and behind this counter Mead did his work and dealt genially with all comers. In addition to his other tasks he was much given to compiling statistics and other information: probably no one except Plantz knew more about the College. Having reached the age-limit, he retired in 1934. He died in June, 1945.

Several parts of the Administration, well developed a generation later, were in Plantz's time still in a rather rudimentary stage. Among them were publicity work, the recruiting and selection of students, and the care of student health.

37. Information from Mrs. Olin A. Mead.

38. Authorized, Exec. Com., Oct. 2, 1916; examples quoted, same, Dec. 28, 1920; Aug. 2, 1921.

39. Benton to James A. Wood, Sept. 12, 1925; similar statement, Benton to Plantz, Sept. 30, 1924, No. 16,663.

As might be expected, Plantz continued throughout his term of office to furnish news about Lawrence to various periodicals published by the Methodist Church. The beginning of other newspaper publicity is obscure and early evidence about it is not continuous. Plantz reported in June, 1906 that during the year then ending he had spent \$1,900 on advertising: he had paid some of this money to a newspaper correspondent living in Appleton. This practice continued for several years, and in 1906-07 cost \$300.(40) About the same time Plantz also arranged with a news service in Milwaukee to distribute College news and advertisements throughout the state.(41) In 1914-15, and perhaps for a longer time, Professor M. L. Spencer of the English department received \$500 a year "to do newspaper publicity work."(42) In 1923-24 Dan Hardt, then a Junior and editor of the Lawrentian, did "publicity bureau writing" for Lawrence which he sent to newspapers in Milwaukee, Minneapolis and Chicago.(43)

The College's own publications were probably more significant than what it sent to the newspapers. In January, 1896 Plantz revived the Messenger, an enterprise that his predecessor, Gallagher, had begun and then discontinued. Plantz's Messenger was aimed at both potential givers, especially loyal Methodists, and prospective students. Three to four thousand copies went regularly into the high schools of Wisconsin.(44) After four years the Messenger was replaced by the Lawrence College Bulletin.(45) This publication developed from a quarterly to a monthly, and it was sometimes issued oftener than once a month. It came to include the catalogues of the College and the Conservatory, the Alumnus, and a great variety of other promotional literature. The catalogues were much used as advertising: the annual printing for several years after 1910 was 6,000 copies. Plantz wrote the Messenger himself and much of the material that appeared in the Bulletin. The College also sent the Lawrentian and the Ariel into high schools in Wisconsin.

Lawrence had no permanent recruiting agents or special admission staff in Plantz's time. Nonetheless, by methods different from those of today, he worked assiduously to attract students to Lawrence. He and the College Solicitor or Field Secretary spent Sundays preaching and promoting the College. These trips, immediately or later through the Methodist ministers, often produced the names of young people interested

40. Exec. Com., Aug. 8, 1906; Nov. 2, 1909.

41. Exec. Com., Mar. 12, 1907; Reports of the Pres., June, 1908, p. 1.

42. Exec. Com., Aug. 31, 1915.

43. Law., Sept. 27, 1923, p. 5.

44. Reports of the Pres., June, 1896, p. 1.

45. Exec. Com., Nov. 6, 1900, p. 139.

in college. Plantz would follow up with personal letters and printed matter. Thus the whole Methodist Church in a way recruited for Lawrence.

Beginning so far as we know with two young men in 1902, Plantz regularly sent out Lawrence undergraduates during the summer months to recruit students. In 1903 they were paid \$50.00 a month.(46) In Plantz's later years he sometimes had four students engaged in this work. He also occasionally had Faculty members recruiting: Clure in 1903; Dupler and Custer in 1917.

For a time, beginning in 1895, Lawrence held out a special inducement to superior students. The catalogue offered "free tuition and free incidental expenses for one year to the student of the Senior Class in each high school in the state who has received the best average standing in scholarship and deportment during the year." This notice last appeared in April, 1903.(47)

The College organized various contests designed to acquaint high school students with Lawrence and make a good impression on them. One, which came to be called the Northeastern Wisconsin Interscholastic Track and Field Meet, began in 1901. Sometimes as many as twenty schools participated. Beginning in 1905 the College also conducted a high school basketball tournament. There were usually about eight competing teams in the finals held at Lawrence. Much of the management of these events was in the hands of Lawrence undergraduates. World War I brought both of them to an end. Somewhat similar meets were resumed in 1924 (Chapter XXV).

Competitions were held also to test intellectual prowess. Beginning in 1906 Lawrence University conducted a Wisconsin State Inter-Academic Literary Contest, called the Inter-Academic for short. Once a year in May, contestants from schools and academies in Wisconsin came to Lawrence to be examined in Greek, Latin, German, English, mathematics and science. No candidate could compete in more than two subjects. In each of the six, there was a first prize of \$30 and a second of \$20; and there were two honorable mentions. William H. Hatton, a Trustee, contributed the prize money. In 1906 contestants appeared from twenty-six high schools, including Wayland Academy. The large Milwaukee high schools entered so many contestants and carried off so many of the prizes that the smaller high schools were soon discouraged. For this reason the contests were discontinued after four years.(48)

46. Exec. Com., May 5, 1902; May 5, 1903.

47. Cats., 1895, p. 55, annually to 1903, p. 27; cf. Exec. Com., May 8, 1895, p. 175.

48. Exec. Com., Sept. 3, 1905, p. 86; Cats., annually, 1906, pp. 36-38 to 1909, pp. 53-55; Law., June 27, 1906, p. 368; Bulletin, Mar., 1908, p. 11; Dec., 1907, p. 1.

Beginning in May, 1918 Lawrence held an annual contest for high school students in oratory and extemporaneous speaking. The first prize in each division was a scholarship at Lawrence tenable for two years; second prize, one year; third prize, one semester. Nearly twenty schools sometimes participated. These contests continued beyond the end of the Plantz period.(49)

There was no Office of Admission in Plantz's time, but some details appropriate to such an office appeared in the operations of the Freshman Council established in 1923. The head of it was R. C. Mullenix, Professor of Zoology who had the added title of Dean of Freshmen. Its chief purpose was to advise and encourage Freshmen, and reduce the number among them doing unsatisfactory work. It was hoped also that the Council's activity would lead to a better retention of students. Some of its preliminary work resembled that now (1960) done by the Office of Admission. When the Council had been in existence for a few months Plantz described its procedures in part as follows:

I appointed a Dean of Freshmen [giving him] a committee of seven faculty members He began with the freshmen during the [summer] vacation submitting questionnaires to principals, parents, requiring the student himself to fill out a detailed application, requiring two references, and sending questionnaires to these references. All this material was carefully collated under the person's name, and if we found his record desirable we admitted him; if not, we notified him that he could not be received in this institution At the end of twelve weeks [after the opening of school] those who were not meeting expectations were quietly dropped.(50)

The College's care for student health developed slowly. For some time matrons looked after sick students.(51) The employment of the first resident nurse was made possible in 1912 by the generosity of Mrs. Ormsby and Mrs. Brokaw. There was probably always a nurse from that time on. Beginning in the fall of 1919 the College collected \$3.00 a semester for nursing services from women students living in dormitories. This was still the rate when Plantz died.

Plantz's chief adviser in medical matters was Dr. James S. Reeve, a Lawrence alumnus. After seven years in the Preparatory and College departments, he was graduated A.B. in 1885. He began the practice of medicine in Appleton in January, 1891. In 1899 he became a Trustee and a member of the Executive Committee. About two months before his death, Plantz described the Lawrence system of health care as follows:

49. Law., Apr. 11, 1918; May 22, 1919; 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, p. 98.

50. Plantz to Kinrade, Jan. 9, 1924, No. 14,289.

51. Law., Feb. 14, 1918, about Mrs. Rexford, who became matron in 1900.

. . . We do not have a Health Officer other than a nurse for women in this institution. The college employs a professional nurse. It has an infirmary in each of its two [women's] dormitories We do not have a physician, although most of the students employ a physician [Reeve] who is a graduate of the college and on our Board of Trustees. They meet the expense themselves.(52)

To sum up: with respect to publicity and the recruitment of students, and in the care of student health, Lawrence College in Plantz's later years fell far short of its later efforts and expenditures; but in these matters Plantz was neither inattentive nor inactive.

Plantz might have rid himself of some of his multifarious tasks by transferring them to a dean with adequate powers; but he chose not to do so. There was at first a vice-president who was in a small way the forerunner of a dean. Until 1909 the By-laws prescribed: "The Board designates some member of the Faculty as Vice-President of the University, who, in the absence of the President, performs the duties of that officer."(53) In their time Professors Foye and Underwood were so designated in succession; in Plantz's early years first Hiram A. Jones and then Charles W. Treat were Vice-Presidents.

In June, 1909 the sentence from the By-laws quoted above was replaced by the following:

The Board of Trustees designates some member of the Faculty as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, who shall, in the absence of the President, preside at the meetings of the Faculty, grant permission to students under rules laid down by the President and the Faculty and perform such other duties . . . as the President shall appoint.(54)

Plantz wrote informing Treat that his title had been altered from Vice-President to Dean, and added: "The duties of the dean shall be to perform such services in the absence of the president as he shall request."(55) With this small assignment of work the deanship existed for nine years. In 1918 Treat was incapacitated by an illness from which he did not recover. He was still listed as Dean in January, 1919, but the catalogue of the following January named no Dean of the College.

52. Plantz to Hickman, Sept. 8, 1924, No. 15,323.

53. By-laws, 1888, p. 27; 1906, p. 22.

54. Com. Fac. Deg., June, 1909, p. 86.

55. Plantz to Treat, Sept. 7, 1909.

In the middle of August, 1920 Plantz was of the opinion that he would do without a dean for the next two or three years.(56) On the 31st of that month, however, the Executive Committee made Wilson S. Naylor "Dean of the College of Liberal Arts." Naylor's functions in that office were not extensive. In 1923 Plantz wrote in reply to an inquiry from another college:

. . . our dean does not make any report to the trustees. In fact he has very little to do in connection with the college, his office being simply keeping the record of absences from classes and looking after speeches for our chapel.(57)

Naylor did, indeed, have some other functions. The Executive Committee charged him with the "supervision of the janitor";(58) and he administered certain scholarship funds. And when the Freshman Council was set up under Mullenix in 1923, a similar body to advise upperclassmen was established with Naylor as chairman.(59)

A word may be added about the position of Dean of Women. From the founding of the institution onward, there had always been a preceptress to look after the girls, a task assumed by one woman teacher after another. In 1904 Miss Caroline E. DeGreene, who had been Preceptress for two years, was made Dean of Women.(60) She was the first person at Lawrence to have the title of "Dean."

The cost of administration and maintenance at Lawrence in Plantz's later years was less than in many other colleges. A committee acting for the Association of American Colleges secured financial statistics from 52 member colleges and also made a special tabulation of such figures from the 16 strongest and best endowed among the 52. For the 16 the average cost of administration was 14.3 per cent of income; for maintenance, 47.5 per cent. At Lawrence the comparable figures were about 7 per cent for administration and about 30 per cent for maintenance.(61)

56. Plantz to Naylor, Aug. 16, 1920, No. 10,804.

57. Plantz to E. H. King, Jan. 6, 1923, No. 15,531.

58. Exec. Com., June 18, 1921.

59. Cat., Feb., 1924, pp. 26, 41.

60. Com. Fac. Deg., 1904, p. 55.

61. The committee report, Association of American Colleges, The Efficient College, 1916; comment in School and Society, vol. 5, Mar. 10, 1917, pp. 281-284; figures for Lawrence, Reports of the Pres., Nov. 25, 1919, p. 6.

Wallace Buttrick was first the Secretary and then the President of the Rockefeller-endowed General Education Board. Plantz once told his Trustees of making a call on Buttrick.

[His office] has the most complete and accurate . . . statistics on colleges in the world. Dr. Buttrick was complaining to me of the cost of administration and maintenance as compared with the cost of instruction. . . . He then took up his tabulation to show me where we stood at Lawrence and found that our cost of administration was one of the lowest in the whole list of colleges. The same was true of the cost of maintenance. . . . He congratulated me several times on the fine showing which Lawrence made in economy of administration and maintenance and in the proportionate amount which we were paying for instruction.(62)

It is significant that not long after this conversation the General Education Board made a conditional gift of \$200,000 to Lawrence College.

Lawrence's first Charter named certain men to be a Board of Trustees "in perpetual succession." It is a peculiarity of most college administrative offices that they precede and outlast the individuals who happen to hold them for a time. This fact distinguishes institutional history from a sequence of biographies. Presidents come and go but the presidency remains. The Faculty as an entity outlives any of its members. Most administrative duties are continuous, though assigned to different individuals in succession; even in some instances to officers with different titles. Certainly in Plantz's time innovations were few and small in comparison with the machinery he received from his predecessors and handed on to his successors.

CHAPTER XX
 THE FACULTY OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM
 THE EDUCATIONAL FRAMEWORK

The President and teachers of a college, taken together, constitute the Faculty. The word itself has had a long and interesting history, first in Latin and then in several modern European languages. It is built upon fac-, the root of facere, "to do." The adjective, facul, is a variant of facilis, "easy"; and facultas or faculty is first of all the power or capacity to do something easily. In most uses of the word the idea of "ease in doing" has dropped away but seems to reappear in such a sentence as: "He has a faculty for persuading others." In Latin the word also developed the meaning of resources, wealth or goods. When St. Jerome wanted to turn into Latin the Greek rendered in English "all my goods," he wrote: omnes facultates meas.⁽¹⁾ As higher education developed in Europe, from about the twelfth century onward, each major division of a university, as Medicine, Theology or the Arts, was called a faculty. Sometimes, even then, the word was used to denote the Dean and those who taught in such a division; this was essentially the same as the modern meaning in the United States.

In Plantz's first year the Faculty at Lawrence included the President; seven Professors, all men, one of them teaching only part-time; and three Instructors, all women. Not counting one other Instructor who taught only in the Preparatory department, the total was thus eleven. In the fall of 1924 before Plantz died, the President, the Dean and the Dean of Women all did teaching of significant amount. Besides these 3, there were listed 25 Professors, 1 Associate Professor, 4 Assistant Professors, 12 Instructors, and the Director of Athletics: this made a teaching staff in the College of forty-six. The Library staff of two and the Conservatory Faculty are not here included.

1. 1 Corinthians, xiii, 3.

An earlier chapter gave some account of Faculty salaries in Plantz's time. It will be recalled that the best-paid Professors received \$1,100 annually during their first years, which was increased to \$3,200 in 1923-24 and \$3,400 for the year in which Plantz died. Some other matters must be discussed to complete the picture of the financial rewards of teaching at Lawrence: provision for sabbatical leave and research, support after retirement, and free tuition for children of Faculty members.

Plantz probably always approved of granting sabbatical leave to members of his Faculty; but this matter, necessarily subordinated to college finance as a whole, had rather a checkered career in his time. He wrote in 1909:

We shall be glad to introduce some system [of sabbatical leave] as quick as we see our way financially to do so as I am of the opinion that it would help to vitalize teaching of our professors if they could once in seven years take some special research work I do not know as it is as necessary for the older professors as for those who are in the first part of their academic career but I believe it would be exceedingly valuable for all.(2)

In June, 1914 the Trustees provided, for the first time, "that once in seven years any professor who will offer one or two extra courses the semester he is in residence may take the other semester for graduate study on three-fourths pay, but that no more than two professors could be given such leave of absence in the same year."(3) Even before the United States entered World War I, that conflict occasioned a rise in prices that seriously affected Lawrence College. The financial year that ended July 31, 1917 terminated with a deficit of more than \$10,000. The Trustees accordingly voted "that during the period of the war the sabbatical privilege be dispensed with." Presumably the former rule came into force again when the war ended, though no statement to that effect has been found. In November, 1919, approximately a year after the end of the war, the Trustees raised salaries, but also enacted:

That because of the rise of salaries the sabbatical year will be withdrawn at the end of the present school year until such future date as the resources of the college make its reinstatement advisable.(4)

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2. Plantz to Bowman, June 26, 1909.
 3. Com. Fac. Deg., June 16, 1914, p. 150; Trustee Min., same day, p. 389.
 4. Trustee Min., Oct. 30, 1917, p. 402; Nov. 25, 1919, p. 409.

Plantz stated that this action was taken "by agreement with the professors," with the understanding that it would be subsequently re-established.(5)

The Trustees granted leave to some professors in Plantz's later years. Farley spent academic 1918-19 in England, receiving \$1,000, or half-pay, from the College. Two others had leave on half-pay on account of health: Lester B. Rogers in 1919-20 and Frederick W. Orr in 1923-24. But when Professor Bagg requested leave on these terms for 1924-25 he was told that leave with pay had been suspended; the Trustees had chosen rather to raise the salaries of all professors.(6)

According to the letter quoted above concerning the desirability of sabbatical leave, almost its entire value, indeed the only value really emphasized, lay in the improvement of teaching. Plantz must have been aware of the importance of research in the growth of knowledge and the progress of mankind. No evidence has come to hand, however, that he really sought to encourage research on the part of the Lawrence Faculty. He did insist on advanced degrees because they improved the rating of the College. He once expressed himself about research by the Faculty as follows:

While we have some men who are engaged in research work, there is no particular expectation that they shall do more than the work of teaching. What they do would have to be in connection with [that is, in addition to] their teaching work or during vacation or in the . . . semester which is given every seven years to each professor.(7)

Plantz seemed to have little idea of Lawrence teachers devoting their summers to unremunerative scholarly work. Near the end of his presidency he was discussing with Treasurer Wood an increase in professors' salaries from \$2,500 to \$2,750, with smaller raises for those of other ranks. He wrote: "Most of the men have good summer jobs so that they will earn from \$3500 to \$4000 during the year."(8) This estimate of earning power seems very high for most of the Faculty.

Until the inauguration of the Carnegie pensions there was no provision for retired Lawrence teachers. Professor Lummis taught beyond the age of eighty in part because he had no financial resources except his salary and there was no pension for him from any source. The Carnegie Endowment made a great difference. In 1911 the Trustee Committee on Faculty and Degrees voted:

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5. Plantz to Prof. H. G. Campbell, Apr. 22, 1921, No. 11,840.
 6. Exec. Com., Mar. 4, 1924.
 7. Plantz to Cattell, Nov. 25, 1914.
 8. Plantz to Wood, May 30, 1922, Wood papers.

- (1) that we recommend that professors and assistant professors be retired at the age of seventy with the honorary title of emeritus, and
- (2) that the College seek to have Professor Gerechter placed on the list of pensioners of the Carnegie Corporation.(9)

Some years later, as mentioned in the chapter on finance, Lawrence agreed to cooperate with the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association and in November, 1922 began to make payments on retirement contracts with that corporation.

During Plantz's first twenty years children of Faculty paid no tuition. In 1914 there was a general rise in salaries, the best-paid professors going from \$1,650 to \$1,800. At Plantz's suggestion the Trustees voted to "discontinue the free tuition plan to Professors' children and establish instead a free scholarship for such classes."(10) No information is available about the "scholarship" mentioned here.

The Lawrence Charters of 1849 and 1901 contained very little about the Faculty: the Trustees shall appoint them and "no religious tenets or opinions shall be required of them."(11) The By-laws, on the other hand, laid many duties and responsibilities upon the teachers. The Faculty was "empowered and required" to:

- (1) prescribe rules for calling and holding its meetings including the election or appointment of its special or standing committees;
- (2) prescribe the conditions for the admission of students;
- (3) determine the courses of study;
- (4) recommend candidates for degrees, both honorary and in course;
- (5) administer the discipline of the student body; and
- (6) conduct the educational work of the college.(12)

9. Com. Fac. Deg., June 13, 1911, p. 114.

10. Trustee Min., Oct. 27, 1914, p. 391.

11. Charters, 1901, Section 3; not quite the same statement, 1849, Section 2.

12. By-laws, 1924 (early in the year), Section 50, p. 27; 1924

Except for (6) the tasks enumerated here were outside the teaching function. To anyone not familiar with college practice, the amount of faculty service above and beyond classroom work, and the importance of that extra work, will come as a revelation.

The By-laws required the President to preside at Faculty meetings; in his absence the Vice-President or, later, the Dean was to do so. The Faculty controlled the time and frequency of its meetings and elected its own Secretary. Regular meetings had been held weekly on Mondays for decades before Plantz's time and so continued during his first eight years. In September, 1902, still weekly, they were transferred to Friday.

In January, 1904 the Faculty reduced the number of its regular meetings to two a month and set them on the second and fourth Fridays. In December, 1908 they became monthly affairs, occurring on the first Friday. There were many additional or special meetings. It was very easy to confer, often on one matter only, after the daily chapel service. Thus, in the calendar year 1908, the Faculty "met" forty-nine times.

The Faculty minutes of Plantz's time amount to a few more than a thousand pages. They show the Faculty doing an enormous number of small tasks, many of them simply recurrent chores. Even when regular meetings had been reduced in number to one a month, as just noted, they were still occupied in large part with matters having no long-term importance. To be sure, the Faculty also, from time to time, made major decisions touching the College.

The Faculty acted on many petitions. Up to 1904 a fixed list of studies occupied most of a student's time and there were frequent requests for permission to make a substitution in the list. For example, one person asked permission to take German in place of English Composition (June 9, 1902); another wished to do third-year German instead of Freshman College Latin (Sept. 11, 1901). The granting of such petitions somewhat mitigated the narrowness of the old system. Many petitioners sought to take more than a normal amount of work. Others asked for leave to carry on home study during the summer and be examined on it in the fall. Some of these efforts were designed to remove "Conditional standing." The Faculty often dealt with more than twenty petitions in one session and, occasionally, with more than thirty.⁽¹³⁾ For a time power to dispose of these requests was transferred to class officers. Their decisions were read aloud in Faculty meetings and became part of the Faculty minutes.⁽¹⁴⁾ Since class officers were Faculty members, the

(revised), Section 49, p. 26; much the same, 1952, Article VIII, p. 16.

13. F.M., June 12, 1899, p. 22; Sept. 13, 1907, p. 23; Feb. 1, 1911, p. 34.

burden still rested on Faculty personnel.

A few examples will show the great variety of other matters dealt with by the Faculty; often, of course, they were not of great importance. "It was moved and carried that the subject of buying a dictionary be dropped."(15) "The Freshman Class was required to settle for two barrels of asphalt burned by them on the evening of the Freshman-Sophomore scrap."(16) The Faculty adopted simplified spelling as recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board and, in some details, by the National Education Association. Shorter forms such as program, catalog, thru, tho and others were required in College publications; and students were permitted to use any spellings given space in the larger well-known dictionaries; but they must be consistent in such use.(17) "Seniors were denied a request to receive their diplomas in English."(18) "The petition of Eastern Stars and De Molays for recognition as college organizations was denied."(19) Only groups so recognized might at that time organize dancing parties.

Most colleges in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century had an academic year of three terms. About 1900 a great many of them abandoned terms for semesters. Just why they did so is not very clear; perhaps they were imitating the German universities. At Lawrence the Faculty, empowered by the Executive Committee, decided in favor of semesters in January, 1904; and the new arrangement went into effect in September.(20)

With one exception occasioned by World War I, the institution adhered to this decision until 1923. In the fall of 1918 Lawrence was host to a Students' Army Training Corps (S.A.T.C.). The War Department conducted this enterprise on the basis of the quarter system. Because the war ended, the S.A.T.C. at Lawrence lasted only three months, but the College kept to the quarter system through the whole academic year.

In 1923 the College changed from a year of two semesters to one of three quarters. The change was connected with a plan to have a summer school which had been under consideration for a number of years. In

14. E.g., F.M., Jan. 22, 26, Feb. 2, 8, 1909, p. 132, ff.; Sept. 17, 1913, p. 152.

15. F.M., September 16, 1903, p. 358.

16. F.M., October 2, 1907, p. 69.

17. F.M., Dec. 11, 1914, p. 202; Law., Jan. 12, 1915, p. 1.

18. F.M., March 9, 1917, p. 20.

19. F.M., December 8, 1923, p. 77.

20. Exec. Com., Jan. 5, 1904, p. 45; F.M., Jan. 22, 1904, p. 367.

November, 1922 Plantz brought the matter before the Trustees in these words:

I have hesitated to recommend the opening of [a summer] school in the past because for the first two or three years it is apt to be a losing proposition; but I think now we can make the venture.

He therefore recommended "that the faculty be requested to divide the school into four quarters of twelve weeks each." Until the summer school was well established it would last for only six weeks.(21) The Faculty did as requested.(22) The Bulletin announced: "It is believed that quarters will make possible a greater concentration and therefore increased efficiency in the work."(23)

Certain circumstances connected with Plantz's last great campaign to raise endowment prevented the opening of the summer school in 1924. He told the Trustees in November, 1923:

It was my expectation that we could have from \$10,000 to \$15,000 available to carry on [the summer school] enterprise until it could be made to pay. However it was found necessary to use the surplus we had on hand in order to make up the indebtedness to the endowment fund and satisfy the [Rockefeller] General Education Board.(24)

The decision not to have a summer session in 1924 was confirmed in April of that year: a poll taken during chapel services indicated that if it were undertaken only thirty Lawrentians would enroll in it.(25)

After Plantz died the Trustees abandoned the project of a summer school. The Faculty could then compare the relative advantages of semesters and quarters apart from that matter. The decision was not easy, but after three years' experience with the quarter system the majority favored semesters; and to that system Lawrence returned in September, 1926.(26)

21. Reports of the Pres., Nov., 1922, pp. 7, 8.

22. F.M., Nov. 24, 1922, p. 47; Dec. 21, 1922, p. 54.

23. Bulletin, Mar. 1, 1923, p. 12.

24. Reports of the Pres., Nov. 1923, pp. 7, 8.

25. Law., Apr. 4, 1924, p. 1.

26. Briefs for each system, Plantz file, No. 15,150; F.M., Mar. 20, 1925, p. 117; Cat., Jan. 15, 1926, p. 1.

Some routine matters connected with the calendar were not always mentioned in the Faculty minutes of Plantz's time, though in a later generation they called for Faculty approval. Commencement day had been on Thursday since 1870, and except for one year (1911) it remained on that day through 1914. During the years 1915 to 1924, or as long as Plantz lived, it was made to come on Wednesday. In 1925 it was set on Monday, and so remained for many years.

In Plantz's first decade commencement fell between June 18 and June 25. For the ensuing twenty years (1905-24) it came a week earlier, moving between June 11 and 18. To this statement there were two exceptions. In 1917-18 the academic year was shortened on account of World War I and commencement was on June 5. In 1922 it was desired to have all students attend the commencement celebration of Lawrence's seventy-fifth anniversary. So the Senior class was graduated on June 7 without final examinations while other students took examinations after commencement. The Faculty began to wear caps and gowns at commencement in 1903.(27)

In Plantz's earlier years when the Faculty was small it did as a unit much that was later assigned to committees. As an undivided body it handled discipline cases, altered the curriculum and legislated on the most diverse matters. There is one exception to this general statement: at least since 1884 when surviving records begin there was a Faculty Committee on Library. The only names of members ever to appear in the minutes after 1894 were those of Plantz himself and Miss Zelia Smith, the Librarian, who acted as Secretary (Chapter XXVI). With this exception there were no permanent Faculty committees in Plantz's early years. About 1901 a system of committees began to emerge which soon developed with surprising rapidity. At first such groups appeared one by one as the need for them arose. Thus, on September 11, 1901 it was moved and carried to have Committees on Conflicts (in course schedules) and on High School Credits. In November one committee drew up a set of rules for behavior in the new gymnasium and another was appointed on Literary Societies. In January, 1902 one was appointed called "on Revision of Courses of Study"; two months later it was renamed "Committee on Program of Studies for the Catalogue."

During the academic year, 1902-03, the Faculty minutes recorded the creation or existence of several other committees. Among them were these: on Athletics; to keep the roll of chapel attendance (both in September); on Intercollegiate Debate; on the educational exhibit of the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition at St. Louis (both in November); on Advertising to prepare articles on the College for the religious papers (January, 1903). In September, 1903, at the beginning of a new academic year, the Faculty approved seven committees.(28) There was still a Committee on Athletics; also a Faculty member appointed to the Board of

27. F.M., May 1, 13, 1903, pp. 352, 353.

28. F.M., Sept. 16, 1903, p. 358.

Athletic Control. One of the seven was a Committee on the Course of Study; the full list need not be given here. In November appeared a Committee on Society and Fraternity Affairs. In March, 1904, for the first time, a list of standing committees of the Faculty (nineteen in all) was printed in the catalogue. The appearance of this list perhaps helped to crystallize a system that remained essentially intact as long as Plantz lived. Parts of it have continued at Lawrence down to the present.

One committee made its first appearance in the catalogue of January, 1905 with the title of Students' Aid and Teachers' Bureau.(29) In the course of time it grew into a small institution. Lester B. Rogers, Professor of Education, was made a member of the committee in 1911 and, becoming quite active on it in his second year, eventually developed it into an efficient placement bureau. In 1915-16 he located 70 Lawrentians in teaching positions. The number included 37 members of the class of 1916, a good number of alumni, and a few former students and undergraduates. All paid a registration fee of \$1.00; in addition, Seniors paid \$5.00 when they secured positions, and alumni, a small percentage of one year's salary. The total income of the Bureau was something over \$700 for that year.(30) Rogers managed this office until June, 1919 when he was on leave from Lawrence. As it turned out, he never returned. With some ups and downs the Bureau continued to operate on about the same scale as long as Plantz lived. Beginning with 1920-21, its income and outgo were included in the College Treasurer's Report. Income was \$753.66 in 1922-23; in the two following years, much less. This Bureau, later widened to include placement in industry, has remained a part of the Lawrence administration down to the present.

The Faculty Committees of Plantz's time ran the gamut of duties from simple clerical toil to policy-making at the highest level. The present writer joined the Faculty in 1920. Placed on the Committee on Chapel Seating, he and another newcomer spent one or two afternoons each semester putting names on a chapel seating plan and writing information on slips of paper to be given to the students. On another committee he prepared the index of the forthcoming catalogue, using the index of the previous issue as a model. By thus employing the Faculty Plantz kept administrative costs remarkably low. No one seemed to feel "put upon": one came to Lawrence and fitted himself into the system.

The catalogue of January 1, 1925, which described the College as it was when Plantz died, listed twenty-four Faculty committees. Henry M. Wriston, Plantz's successor, transferred much work previously done by such groups to the administrative staff. The following committees listed in 1925 had disappeared by 1930: Alumni, one called Chapel Seating and Attendance in 1924 and Chapel Attendance in 1925, Library, Petitions, Registration, Schedule, School Visitation, Social Life (of stu-

29. Cat., Jan., 1905, p. 12.

30. Rogers to Plantz, July 24, Dec. 5, 1916, Nos. 1,994, and 6,889.

dents), and Student Publications. The former Catalogue Committee had also disappeared; instead, Arthur H. Weston was named as Secretary of the Faculty and Editor of the College Catalogue (1928-47). The Council for Freshmen of eight members and that for Upperclassmen of six, had also been terminated; and in two instances two committees had been merged into one. The Faculty of course still had much work to do on the committees that remained; and the Administration at certain times, as during registration, still called on the Faculty for help. Wriston, however, relieved it of much clerical and mechanical toil.

One function of the Faculty was to distribute honors to students, primarily for excellence in scholarship. When Plantz himself was a student at Lawrence the three best students in each graduating class received "Honorary Appointments": they were asked to deliver the Valedictory and Salutatory addresses and the Philosophical Oration, respectively. Plantz himself was Salutatorian in 1880. By the time he became President the old titles were gone, but the Faculty still designated three students to receive the First, Second and Third Honors.(31) The class of 1902, for example, had twenty-nine members. Honors were assigned as follows:

First Honor, Andrew P. Anderson of Shawano
 Second Honor, Alpheus D. Faville of Lake Mills
 Third Honor, Elsie Wunderlich of Appleton

So the process continued through the commencement of 1909, when three students were honored in a class of forty-eight. Lawrence's two Rhodes Scholars of that period were thus singled out: Athol Rollins had the Second Honor in 1904; Earnest A. Hooten, the Third Honor in 1907.

In 1909 a new method of honoring high scholarship was announced(32) which was first put into effect at the commencement of 1910. Three small groups of students were set apart under the labels, Summa cum laude, Magna cum laude, and Cum laude. In the first five classes to come under these rules (1910-14) there were 306 graduates. Fifty-three students, or about seventeen per cent of those graduating, were given these honors. One of those to receive Summa cum laude in 1910 was the President's elder daughter, Elsie Plantz.

Early in 1907 the Faculty established a new special departmental honor. To receive this a student had to take eight hours in his major beyond the twenty hours required, earn a grade of 90 per cent in the twenty-eight hours, and a grade of 85 per cent in all the studies of his Junior and Senior years.(33) Ten years later it was stipulated that the eight hours must be in addition to the 120 hours required for gradua-

31. Cat., 1894, p. 24.

32. Cat., 1909, p. 72.

33. F.M., Jan. 9, 1907, p. 47; Cat., 1909, pp. 72, 73.

tion. With unimportant changes the offer remained in this form for fourteen years.(34) Such departmental honors were first given to three members of the class of 1908. Up to and including 1925, these awards were made in nine out of eighteen years and, altogether, to thirty-five persons.

Plantz, with the help of certain Faculty personnel, carried on a lengthy campaign to secure a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, the honorary scholastic fraternity, at Lawrence. He first filed an application with the National Secretary in January, 1910. What had to be done to secure acceptance may be judged from this sentence taken from a letter of Plantz to the chapter at Allegheny College: "We have the endorsement of Cornell University, Boston University, Wesleyan University at Middletown, and DePauw University, but would like to get other institutions to endorse our application."(35) In January, 1913 Dean Edward A. Birge of the University of Wisconsin inspected Lawrence for the National Society and reported favorably. Next the National Senate approved; and on September 10, 1913 the Triennial Convention or Council voted almost unanimously to authorize a chapter at Lawrence. Three members of the Lawrence Faculty were delegates to that convention. With the institution each represented they were: E. D. Wright, Cornell University; Charles W. Treat, DePauw; and Dean May Esther Carter, Ohio Wesleyan.

The three just named were called the charter members of the Lawrence chapter. They, with Plantz, chose six others (seven with Plantz) to be founding members; they had all taught at Lawrence for many years. The ten then selected about ninety alumni and invited them to become members. Not all the early classes were represented, but alumni who had attained distinction were generally included. This group of ten also elected four members of the class of 1914.(36) The installation of the chapter took place February 20, 1914, Dean Birge of the University of Wisconsin acting as the installing officer and principal speaker.(37)

Miss May Esther Carter, the Dean of Women, who helped secure the chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, had much to do with bringing another distinction to Lawrence. In November, 1912 she attended the annual meeting of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (A.C.A.), held at Ann Arbor, Michigan. This was an important body, then thirty years old. At that annual meeting the Association authorized the founding of five new chapters in the nation, one of them at Lawrence. Miss Carter had to reply on the floor of the convention to some who spoke against admitting Lawrence. The Appleton chapter was organized at a meeting held in Main

34. Cats., 1917, pp. 78, 79; through Dec., 1929, p. 28.

35. Plantz to Phi Beta Kappa Chapter, Allegheny College, May 19, 1910.

36. Plantz to Weston, Oct. 24, 1922, No. 14,297 1/2.

37. 1915 Ariel, spring 1914, p. 162; Bulletin, May, 1914, pp. 9-16; Law., Feb. 24, 1914.

Hall in the following spring.(38) A few years later the A.C.A. united with a similar organization and the merger took the name of the American Association of University Women (A.A.U.W.).

The authorization of new courses in Plantz's time was, generally speaking, a function of the Faculty; but individual members kept proposing or introducing new courses and had to be restrained. The Faculty voted in 1904 "that no courses be offered in any department until faculty consent be obtained."(39) In his annual reports Plantz repeatedly expressed himself in this fashion: "There has been a very marked tendency on the part of some of the professors to increase the number of subjects taught . . . often in advance of the real needs."(40) The By-laws had long stated that the Faculty "determines the course of study." This rule was altered in 1912, and for a time there was a Joint Committee on Courses of Study consisting of the President, two Trustees and two members of the Faculty. It is not known when this committee of five was terminated; it was last mentioned in 1916.(41)

This matter of adding courses was, with few exceptions, controlled by financial considerations. In this area Plantz counted the Faculty an impractical lot. "They [the Faculty] are good in making suggestions but it would take . . . a treasury of unlimited resources to meet their ideas."(42) About three years before his death Plantz said to the Trustees:

I recommend that the faculty be requested by the trustees to not add additional courses . . . until the executive committee has first been consulted to see whether the finances of the institution are such as to make the additional financial obligations advisable.(43)

The following letter shows how he restrained the English department:

38. Law., Nov. 19, 1912, p. 1; May 20, 1913, p. 4.

39. F.M., Jan. 8, 1904, p. 365.

40. Reports of the Pres., June, 1912, p. 6; cf. also, same, June, 1908, p. 5; Nov., 1921, p. 12.

41. Com. Fac. Deg., June 11, 1912, pp. 129, 130; F.M., Mar. 5, 1915, p. 212; Plantz to Duggan, Mar. 29, 1916, No. 1,054.

42. Plantz to Osborne, Oct. 19, 1921, No. 12,203.

43. Reports of the Pres., Nov. 22, 1921, p. 12.

Dear Dr. McPheeters:

I am in receipt of your letter and in reply would say that everybody is pushing for additional help. The only way to keep the college on its footing is to keep the expenses down to the income. I shall not increase the teaching force beyond the income of the college. Professors must cut down their courses. I see no reason why the Survey [of English Literature] and American Literature [a sequence] should take any more teaching than it has done before. If you have added additional hours to these courses, you have done it without my understanding it; and therefore I ask you to cut them down to where they were before. There will be no more students next year than there have been the last two years, because we will not admit them. I do not intend to add more than one teacher and a student assistant of six hours to the department of English, unless at the end of the year our finances seem to be such that it will warrant it. We are offering more than such schools as Williams and Bowdoin and Amherst are offering, and it is not necessary to extend courses and hours beyond the ability of the institution to provide teachers for the work.(44)

Something must be said of certain contacts between Faculty and Trustees. It was a long-established custom at Lawrence for each teacher to appear before the Board in June and read a report on the year's work. Counting the Librarian, the number to make such reports had grown by 1906 to nineteen. In the following year the Trustees voted "that the reports of the Professors, without being read be referred to the Committee on Faculty and Degrees."(45) The By-laws required that these reports be preserved; but not all of them from Plantz's time are extant today.(46)

In October, 1916 the College entered upon an interesting constitutional experiment which continued for more than six years. By vote of the Trustees, a committee was established made up of five Trustees, five Professors and five alumni. It had several names during its existence, being called most often the Advisory Council. Plantz described it as designed "to make the whole administration a little more democratic than when the trustees depended on the president alone for suggestions and plans."(47) This council laid recommendations before the Board each June. Thus it noted in 1918 that Faculty salaries had not risen as rapidly as the cost of living. It asked the Trustees to assume part of the cost of the Alumnus. In 1920 it recommended the establishment of a

44. Plantz to McPheeters, Mar. 31, 1923.

45. Trustee Min., June 11, 1907, p. 337.

46. By-laws, 1924, Section 54; 1924, revised, Section 53; Faculty Reports, cover marked "c. 1854-1924," contents 1892-1924.

47. Plantz to Campbell, Dec. 26, 1916, No. 3,152.

summer school at Lawrence to begin in 1921.(48) This is an early mention of this project, discussed in connection with the introduction of the quarter system in 1923.

For reasons now unknown, the Trustees had decided by November, 1922 to abolish the Advisory Council; and in this decision the Faculty concurred.(49) As a partial substitute for the committee of fifteen, there was set up a committee of five Professors who had held that rank for five years or more. Their duty was to consult with the President on matters which the Faculty desired to have considered, or on which the President desired their advice. This plan was written into the By-laws in 1924, and lasted until 1933.(50)

From the time of the Civil War until the twentieth century Lawrence teachers (omitting undergraduate assistants) were always either professors or instructors. Early in the new century assistant professors and associate professors were introduced. J. H. Farley (philosophy) became Lawrence's first Assistant Professor in 1901. He held that rank for three years, then was Associate Professor for two, and after that, in 1906, became Professor. Judson G. Rosebush (economics) was Assistant Professor for one year (1903-04) before he became Professor. When he went to Europe in the fall of 1908, the young man who took over his work held the rank of Assistant Professor. Except for this one case no man had the rank of Assistant or Associate Professor at Lawrence for twelve years (1906-18). In the same period two men, Orr (public speaking) and Ruff (German), were promoted directly from Instructor to Professor.

Though the persons involved were few, the story is different for women. In 1904 Miss Caroline DeGreene, up to that time an instructor, was made Dean of Women (then a new office) and Associate Professor. This combination was maintained for ten years, Miss DeGreene being followed by Miss May Esther Carter. Meantime, in 1911 Miss Eddy was promoted from Instructor to Assistant Professor. For the next seven years (to June, 1918) there were always two women on the Faculty, but only two, who were either Assistant or Associate Professors.

In June, 1908 the Trustees set up a scale of ranks and salaries as follows:(51)

48. Trustee Min., June 3, 1918, p. 404; June 14, 1920, p. 415.

49. Trustee Min., Nov. 28, 1922, p. 422; F.M., May 4, 1923, p. 76.

50. By-laws, 1924, first, Section 50 (3), p. 28; 1924, revised, Section 49 (3), p. 26; Trustee Min., June 9, 1933.

Professors whose chairs are endowed	income of endowment
Other Professors	\$1500
Associate Professors	1300
Assistant Professors	1100
Instructors	900

It is thus evident that between 1906 and 1918 the rank of full Professor was given to men, and one of the lower professorial ranks to women. This practice fitted in very conveniently with the undoubted fact that Lawrence still, as in its early days, paid women less than men.

In the fall of 1918 the College engaged a number of men, none of them permanent additions to the staff, to teach the Students' Army Training Corps. Two of them were ranked as Assistant Professors. In September, 1919 two men were added to the regular staff as Assistant Professors. From that time on men and women alike have usually been found in both these "intermediate" ranks.

It should not be possible for the Trustees or President of a college to discharge a competent teacher capriciously or without cause: a professor should have his "tenure." The first legislation in this field at Lawrence was passed in June, 1916. There was to be a committee of five Faculty members, each one having served at least five years. No teacher "who has been more than one year in his position" could be asked to resign save with the approval of the majority of this Faculty Committee.(52)

Tenure continued to be a subject for discussion and suggestion on the part of both Trustees and Faculty for many years. The Faculty members of the Advisory Council made a report on the "Classification, Election, Tenure and Salaries" of the Faculty in 1917.(53) Plantz himself occasionally made suggestions in his annual reports. In 1921 he said:

I recommend that elections of faculty members for the first three years be yearly, that then the election be for five years, and subsequently it be permanent subject to removal for incompetency, or conduct unbecoming a teacher in a Christian institution of higher learning.(54)

51. Com. Fac. Deg., June, 1908, pp. 83, 84; adopted by Board, Trustee Min., June 10, 1908, p. 344.

52. Com. Fac. Deg., June 12, 1916, p. 167; Trustee Min., June 13, 1916, p. 397.

53. F.M., before June 1, 1917; another copy, Com. Fac. Deg., June 11, 1917, p. 119.

54. Reports of the Pres., June, 1921, p. 16; cf. also, June, 1919,

There seemed to be no pressure for immediate action; and apparently the matter of tenure remained fluid as long as Plantz lived. There was nothing on the subject in the By-laws of 1924. Indeed, the Trustees laid down no fairly permanent rule about tenure until near the end of Wriston's presidency.(55) A chapter of the American Association of University Professors, that great battler for tenure rights, was established at Lawrence during the interregnum between Plantz and Wriston.

The present chapter thusfar has described the life and activity of the Lawrence Faculty largely apart from their teaching. The succeeding one will be devoted to individual teachers and the courses they offered. Before we turn to this other aspect of Faculty performance, however, we must give some attention to certain rules laid down by them, an educational framework within which both Faculty and students operated. The institution must always have requirements for admission, a guarantee that those admitted are able to do college work. Certain things must be accomplished before graduation or a degree is without meaning. The Faculty built or rebuilt this framework piecemeal, introducing the greatest changes between about 1900 and 1910. Much that was wrought in this area under Plantz affects Lawrence students and their programs even today. A summary of the evolution of this framework is a fitting conclusion to this chapter and a useful introduction to the next.

Admission

For decades one gained admission to the Freshman class at Lawrence either by graduating from the Preparatory department or by examination on the same work done elsewhere. In the catalogue was a statement headed "Requisites for Admission" or, later, "Conditions of Admission," which indicated the coverage of the entrance examinations.(56) These examinations were held on the day before the

p. 17.

55. Trustee Min., June, 1936, cited in Lawrence College Faculty Manual, edition of March, 1944, p. 1.

opening of each term. This system of admission was at first modified and then superseded by the acceptance of work done in the high schools.

The first free tax-supported high school in Wisconsin opened in Racine in 1853. Such schools were few, however, until after 1875 when the state began to give financial help to the supporting districts. By 1880 there were about one hundred high schools in Wisconsin; and eventually they came almost to monopolize pre-college education throughout the Mid-West. Their rise could not fail to affect college-admission policy.

In the early 1880's entrance requirements were sometimes met in part by a "transfer of credit" at Preparatory level made by special Faculty vote.(57) A blankbook has survived with the label, "Certificates of high school records allowed by Lawrence University"; this was in use from 1884 to 1893. Those whose records were entered in it were usually not admitted as College Freshmen, but were placed in one of the three classes that made up the Preparatory department. In 1898 the Preparatory department was renamed the Academy, and the catalogue stated year after year: "The courses of the academy are fully equal to those of the best high schools in the state."(58) The high schools had by this time become the norm.

The possibility of admission to Lawrence on the basis of high school work was first mentioned in the catalogue in 1890, and then in a rather guarded fashion: "Certificates of preparatory studies passed in the High School may, at the discretion of the Faculty be taken in place of examination in those studies."(59) The words, "at the discretion of the Faculty," were soon omitted; and over the next decade the rules were frequently restated. By 1901 Lawrence had come to depend on the State University for the evaluation of high schools. "Graduates of high schools accredited by the State University of Wisconsin in Classical, Modern Classical and Scientific courses" would be admitted to Lawrence without examination. Graduates of accredited schools in other courses, such as the English course or the Commerce course, would also be admitted without examination, but would be conditioned in subjects in which they did not meet Lawrence's entrance requirements.(60)

The years 1903 to 1905 showed in several ways the triumph of the new policy. In 1903 the catalogue included for the first time a list of accredited schools. The practice of printing such a list was continued for twenty-three years, through January, 1926. The heading, "Subjects

56. E.g., Cats., 1885, p. 19; 1894, p. 30.

57. F.M., Oct. 3, 1881, p. 62; Sept. 18, 1882, p. 137.

58. Cats., 1898, p. 13; 1902, p. 29.

59. Cat., 1890, p. 28.

60. Cat., 1901, p. 17.

of Examination," appeared for the last time in 1904. The catalogue of 1905, while it still announced that one might enter Lawrence by examination, on another page stated: "Students are admitted to the college of Liberal Arts on the basis of units offered." A unit was defined as the work of a class meeting five times a week for a year.⁽⁶¹⁾ Fourteen units were required for admission. A minimum number of courses in English, history, mathematics, and science was required of all, and totaled six units. For the other eight units, various combinations of elective work were offered. Two of these combinations required four units of Latin; another, four of German or French; and only one had a minimum of two years of German or French. Much of the material previously given under "Subjects of Examination" in 1904 reappeared a year later under a new heading, "Subject Outline of Requirements." This seems to have been a useful norm for the measurement of high school accomplishment. Perhaps, with similar statements by other colleges, it had some influence on high school programs.

Prescribed Courses versus Electives

It was mentioned earlier that a student entering Lawrence before 1883 chose between two programs: the Ancient Classical and the Scientific. For about two decades after that he had three options. An initial choice once made, however, his work was almost completely prescribed until 1884 and largely so until 1892. Between these two dates Juniors and Seniors were permitted to elect about one-third of their work; Freshmen and Sophomores practically none. That is, the student had a free choice of about one-sixth of his College work.

In 1892 stated requirements for Juniors and Seniors (program for 1892-93) were reduced to three one-term courses. This was apparently too much freedom for that generation; a year later many requirements were reimposed, though not as many as before 1892. In the years 1893 to 1901, courses were placed on the required list or removed quite inexplicably; but, to sum up, in this period Juniors and Seniors spent about thirty per cent of their time doing required work.

The old list of work required for each year, different in some details for each degree, appeared for the last time in 1901. Instead, in 1902, a list to be completed before graduation was supplied for each degree. At that time students usually had seventeen recitations or class exercises a week, and so earned seventeen "term hours" each term, or fifty-one in a year. The catalogue, meaning by "course" here the whole requirement for a degree, summed up the new arrangement in these

61. Cat., 1905, p. 48.

words: "Two hundred and four hours complete the courses and entitle the student to graduation, providing his work includes the studies prescribed as required in the several courses." The requirements of the Classical course, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, were stated in this form:(62)

	<u>Term hours</u>		<u>Term hours</u>
Latin	20	History	9
Greek	20	Psychology	6
English	10	Religion (Bible	
Mathematics	8	Evidences)	10
Sciences	8	Physical Culture	6
		Elocution	6
			<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 103

In a similar way requirements were set up amounting to 103 term hours for the Modern Classical course leading to the Ph.B. degree, and to 130 hours for the Scientific course. This meant that candidates for the first two degrees could choose 101 hours of elective work, and those aiming at the Bachelor of Science degree could elect 74 hours of work. Requirements for graduation were stated in this form for three years (1902-04). It was at this time and in connection with this elective work that majors and minors were first mentioned at Lawrence. This subject will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

The catalogue of March, 1904 announced the coming change from three terms to two semesters. As a graduation requirement 136 semester hours replaced 204 term hours. The list of prescribed courses appeared, as it turned out, for the last time with stated hours translated into the new units. In 1905 all this machinery was made obsolete by the adoption of the "group system." At the same time, in 1905, it was announced that henceforth only one bachelor's degree would be conferred; and at commencement that year all graduates received the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Group Requirements

Under the "group system" just mentioned, offerings in the College of Liberal Arts were divided into six groups and a minimum was set up in each group as a requirement for graduation. The groups with their

62. Cat., 1902, pp. 40, 41.

minima were as follows:(63)

- I. Languages, 16 hours (majors in science, 8 hours)
- II. English including Rhetoric and Public Speaking, 12 hours (to include Rhetoric 6 hours and Public Speaking, 4 hours)
- III. History, Political Science, Economics, 12 hours (of which 6 must be history)
- IV. Mathematics, 6 hours (majors in language and literature, 3 hours)
- V. Sciences, 14 hours (majors in language, 8 hours)
- VI. Philosophy and Religion including Biblical Literature and Education, 12 hours (of which 6 must be in Biblical Literature)

At this time all students, unless excused, were required to take work in physical education for two years. In 1907 a Group VII, Physical Education, 4 hours, was added to the list above, but the addition meant no real change in requirements.

When this list of group requirements was first drawn up, 136 semester hours were required for graduation. The standard amount of work needed to complete the group requirements was 72 hours: science majors needed 64; language majors, 63; and English majors, 69 hours. Thus, group requirements took about half the time in the College course. There was considerable freedom of choice within the groups as, for example, among the languages; but everyone had to take a year's work in rhetoric, public speaking, history, and biblical literature.

For some years (1909-16) the rationale of this system was thus set forth in the catalogue:

The courses of study are arranged in what is known as the group system, which, in recent years, in very many institutions, has supplanted fixed courses The group system aims to retain the advantages of both the fixed course system and the free elective system, while avoiding the defects of each, to maintain a proper balance between educational control on the one side and individual freedom of choice and self-direction on the other. The various groups are so arranged that certain studies are required which are regarded as essential to a broad and liberal culture. At the same time a system of election makes it possible to secure advanced study in a subject in which the student may desire special training.(64)

63. Cat., 1905, pp. 59-61.

The system instituted in 1905 changed in details as the decades passed. The number of groups varied and the assignment to groups was in part unstable. Sometimes the word "groups" was not used. The principle of insisting on a brief experience in several fields, to give breadth of mind and to secure prerequisites that may later be needed, has been retained down to the present (1960). In 1909, for the first time, a special list of requirements for Freshmen, a part of the group requirements, was provided. They were required to take physical training, rhetoric and a foreign language; and if they expected to do considerable work in a science they must elect six hours in mathematics. This list was later enlarged. When groups ceased to be mentioned by name, a statement of requirements to be completed as far as possible in the first two years accomplished the same end and it still does.

Suggested Groups, 1903-1916

Quite clearly the winds of change were blowing strongly in the first years of the twentieth century. As we have seen, the requirements for degrees were restated in 1902, and majors and minors made their appearance. In the following year, for the first time, the Faculty gave advice in the catalogue about choosing courses in a way that seemed good to them, for they continued it for fourteen years. Under the heading, "Suggestive Outline of Groups," they set forth nine combinations of courses, with some indication of what each would lead to. Professor Youtz was the author of this idea.(65) The Greek-Latin group was "especially designed for those expecting to specialize in these languages and for those . . . looking forward to the ministry.(66) One sample of the group suggestions may be given (dated after the change to semesters). The Historical-Political Group recommended for future lawyers:(67)

64. Cats., 1909, p. 98; 1916, p. 109.

65. F.M., Feb. 13, 17, 1903, pp. 342, 343.

66. Cat., 1903, p. 59.

67. Cat., 1904, p. 64.

Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Senior
History, 6 or Political Science, 6 Language, 8 Rhetoric, 6 Mathematics, 6 Physical Training, 2 Elocution, 2 Elective, 4	History, 6 Political Science, 7 Language, 8 Science, 8 Physical Training, 2 Elocution, 2 Elective, 1	History, 6 Political Science, 6 Philosophy, 6 Biblical Literature, 6 Science, 8 Elective, 2	Religion, 6 English, 4 Elocution, 2 Elective, 22

Another group was pre-medical; and all centered on preparation for graduate work. These suggestions were so arranged that at first each contained two majors and, after 1908, a major and a minor. Their number increased gradually until there were fourteen, plus a half list for men who planned to transfer to an engineering school after two years at Lawrence. There was no compulsion connected with these groups; they were offered merely as helpful suggestion and they disappeared after 1916 leaving no progeny in Lawrence institutions.

Majors and Minors

In 1902, as shown above, the work of the student was divided into roughly equal parts, the prescribed and the elective. In connection with the elective part came the first mention of majors and minors at Lawrence. "In electing studies one group must be chosen as a major line of work to be pursued through at least 30 per cent of the hours to be elected, and a minor line of work to be pursued through at least 20 per cent of the hours to be elected."(68) In 1905, when the group system was inaugurated, it still left about half the work required and half elective and the former rules about majors and minors were still applicable. In 1906 the statement quoted above was altered to begin: "In choosing electives one department must be chosen as a major line of work" (69) In 1907 the specifications were made clearer and definite hours replaced percentages. "Each student must choose a major and a minor subject not later than the beginning of his junior year.

68. Cat., 1902, p. 42.

69. Cat., 1906, p. 68.

The major must consist of not less [sic] than twenty hours of his elective subjects, and must be chosen in some one department. The minor must consist of not less [sic] than twelve [hours] of his elective subjects, chosen in some one department other than his major. Courses in Latin and Greek described as elementary and Courses 1-4 inclusive in German and in French may not be counted as major or minor work."(70) The major and minor of 1907 were graduation specifications beyond the group requirements. In the following year the major became twenty-four hours and the minor fourteen, group requirements now included; though language majors could not count elementary language work. There was little change for nearly a decade. According to the rules of 1917 and 1918 no course was accepted for a major in which the grade was below B (85-92). In 1919 the required grade was made 80 or above and in the same year the minor was abolished. For a few years (1922-26) students might, if they so desired, take two majors. The catalogue of 1926-27 kept the major at twenty-four hours; but now, throughout all departments, no elementary courses could be counted and eight hours might be chosen in departments other than the major, though related to it. The minimum grade was still 80.(71)

Graduation Requirements of Hours and Points

As noted above, when semesters replaced terms in 1904, the student took seventeen hours a semester and so accumulated 136 hours for graduation. In 1909 these figures were reduced to 16 hours for a semester, and 128 hours for graduation. In the following year a measure of quality was added: "The candidate . . . must have attained at least a grade of B in not less than sixty per-cent of the required hours."(72) Three years later the B was required in only forty per cent of the hours.(73) Beginning in 1914 the requirement was reduced to a grade of 80 in forty per cent of a student's hours, and this remained the rule for three years.

In 1917 the requirement for graduation was reduced to 120 semester hours and, something new at that time, 120 points. "A grade of A in each semester hours [sic] grants three 'points' toward graduation; B, two; C, one, and D, none."(74) The candidate must also have an average

70. Cat., 1907, p. 71.

71. Cats., Jan., 1926, p. 70; Dec., 1926, pp. 23, 24.

72. Cat., 1910, p. 70.

73. Cat., 1913, p. 79.

of B in his major. Forty years later this system of points, often spoken of as "grade points," was still in operation, not only at Lawrence but at a great number of colleges and universities in the United States.

Two years' work in physical education was required of all students in 1917, but it was outside the 120 hours. In the following year it was included, and the graduation requirement was stated as 124 hours and 124 points -- no real change.

In 1919 requirements were raised to 128 hours and 128 points, and so remained for ten years. (For three years, 1923-26, Lawrence used a year of three quarters when 128 semester hours automatically became 192 quarter hours.) Also, to graduate one must have fulfilled the requirements for a major.

Degree of Bachelor of Philosophy after 1905

To train teachers for its public schools the State of Wisconsin established nine normal schools, the last in 1916. At first they gave no degrees, but only certificates. Authorized by the Legislature in 1911 several of them began to offer two years of college work. Eventually, in 1925, they became four-year colleges empowered to confer the degree of Bachelor of Education.

As already stated, in 1905 Lawrence announced that its College of Liberal Arts granted but one degree, that of Bachelor of Arts; and that degree included work in foreign language. In 1909 Lawrence made a qualification of its statement about one degree which was repeated for many years: "Exception is made in the case of graduates of Wisconsin State normal schools who have not pursued foreign languages. For these a special course is outlined leading to the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy."⁽⁷⁵⁾ This invitation attracted very few students: in the years 1909 to 1921 inclusive, five persons qualified for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy. The whole matter would be quite unimportant save that it was preliminary to a Ph.B. degree for others.

The background for this Bachelor of Philosophy degree for others was the changing situation with reference to the study of foreign languages. Thusfar, no one was normally admitted to Lawrence without previous work in languages. There was a minimum of two units, or two years of work in high school, for entrance; many had had four years of

74. Cat., 1917, p. 79.

75. Cats., 1909, p. 74; 1910, p. 70, here quoted; 1918, p. 82.

work in language, or even more. In the College, from 1905 to 1913, the group requirement was sixteen semester hours in language, except that majors in science needed but eight. In 1914 it was enacted that those who presented four units for admission must study sixteen hours of language; those who brought only two or three units must complete twenty-four hours. Apparently, as Lawrence stiffened its requirements in the College it was losing the battle on the admission front; for in 1917, to the previous (1914) statement was added: Those who brought one unit or none in language for admission must take thirty-two semester hours in College. Then, in 1918, we read: "Thirty-two hours in two or more foreign languages are required for graduation." One unit of high school work would be accepted in lieu of four semester hours of College work, but in any case one year's work in Foreign language must be taken in College. This remained the rule from 1918 through 1924. In 1925 the amount remained the same, but it might all be taken in one language. Students majoring in certain subjects might subtract eight hours from these requirements.

This increase in language requirements for the B.A. at Lawrence came at a time when trends in the opposite direction were running in the Mid-West. Not only was Latin studied less in the high schools, but World War I dealt a terrific blow to the study of German in the schools of Wisconsin and neighboring states. In 1919 Lawrence yielded to realities. While retaining her high language requirements for the B.A., she provided a way of escape. Two units of foreign language for entrance were still advised, but no longer required. "While it is the purpose of the college to admit any well-trained high school graduate, whatever studies he may have pursued, the following studies are advised,"(76) among them, as just stated, two units of foreign language. At the same time Lawrence opened the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy to all students who wished it. Those who chose this degree could omit languages entirely, or take them in a small amount (14 hours), while compensating increases were made in the prescribed courses in history, science, mathematics, and philosophy. Possibly the small amount of language was seldom elected. At any rate the regular statement, repeated over many years, came to be: "The College of Liberal Arts confers the degree of Bachelor of Arts upon those who graduate with foreign language; and the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy upon those who graduate without foreign language."(77) The new degree was not chosen by large numbers in the first decade. In 1926, for example, at President Wriston's first commencement, eighty-nine received the degree of Bachelor of Arts and nine, that of Bachelor of Philosophy. Much later there would be a Bachelor of Science degree without any language requirement either for admission or for graduation. In some years after World War II the recipients of this degree outnumbered those earning the B.A.

76. Cat., 1919, p. 87.

77. Cats., 1921, p. 84, details, pp. 94, 95; 1926, p. 62.

CHAPTER XXI
A GROWING FACULTY AND
A NEW CURRICULUM

In a residential college such as Lawrence the classroom is only one of the influences that shape the undergraduate. Dormitory life, fraternities and sororities, athletics, music and the visual arts, religious activities, and literary and publishing efforts all reveal new sources of satisfaction to the student and develop his powers. Yet the classroom cannot be too highly prized. There, teachers put forth their best efforts to stimulate the students who, if at all responsive, move nearer to intellectual maturity. This is the only area in which non-activity on the part of the student results in his separation from the community. The centrality of teaching in the college enterprise cannot be questioned.

One would certainly think, therefore, that a college history should include some account of what went on in the classroom; but to write such an account is a formidable task, seldom attempted. Neither counting teachers in the Conservatory nor undergraduate assistants, there were, from first to last, two hundred people on the Faculty under Plantz. Notices and descriptions of courses in his time filled 1,400 catalogue pages. No readable summary can include the teaching activities of two hundred people, so abundantly documented. One can only choose certain teachers and certain courses, outstanding in the opinion of the writer, and offer them as examples of personnel, the material taught and procedures.

Philosophy, Psychology, Education

The Lawrence University catalogues of the early 1890's placed courses in philosophy and related subjects under the heading either of Mental and Moral Science or Mental and Moral Philosophy. This label was dropped in 1895 and two divisions appeared: Philosophy and Religion.

Under Philosophy were seven courses of which four were required: Psychology, Logic, Ethics, and Aesthetics; and three were elective: Metaphysics, History of Philosophy, and Theism. In the division of Religion were four courses which will be discussed later. The academic year then consisted of three terms and most of these courses ran for one term. At Lawrence, as in most nineteenth century colleges, the President usually taught these subjects; though there were always ministers in the Faculty who could replace the President in case of need.

As Plantz used the title, Professor of Ethics and Christian Evidences, no one was listed as Professor of Philosophy until John Herbert Farley was named Assistant Professor in that subject in 1901. Farley had come to Lawrence as a student in 1891 and was graduated Bachelor of Philosophy (Modern Classical course) in 1896. During the ensuing five years he did high school teaching in two separate years, earned his degree of M.A. at Lawrence and was for two years a graduate student at Harvard.

The addition of Farley to the staff had no immediate effect on the offerings in either philosophy or psychology. In 1904 two semesters replaced three terms in the University calendar. The work in philosophy before and after this change is shown in the following lists:

Philosophy Courses

1903-04

Psychology, two terms
 Introduction to Metaphysics
 and Theory of Knowledge
 Metaphysics
 History of Philosophy
 Logic
 Theism
 Ethics
 Aesthetics

1904-05

General Psychology
 Analytical Psychology
 Introduction to Philosophy
 Metaphysics
 History of Philosophy, Ancient
 and Medieval
 History of Philosophy, British
 History of Philosophy, Modern,
 especially German
 Logic
 Theism, two hours
 Ethics

For 1903-04 all courses ran for one term except Psychology, which had two. In 1904-05 Psychology appeared as two courses with different labels; consequently, all courses were one semester in length and all carried three hours credit except Theism, which was a two-hour course. Aesthetics was dropped at this time and was not restored as a separate course in Plantz's time. Both Rosebush in Sociology and Fairfield in connection with the History of Art, a few years later, made much of Aesthetics.

In the fall of 1911 a full-time Professor of Education was added to the staff; after that Farley confined himself to Philosophy and Psychology. He worked both fields until 1923, after 1921 with the help of an instructor. In 1923 a separate department of Psychology was

created and from then on Farley gave almost his whole time to Philosophy.

During the period 1911 to 1923 the first course in Psychology was a prerequisite for about half the work in Philosophy. In the fall of 1911 Farley added a course in Evolution which lasted for a decade. In 1913 two new courses appeared: one was Present-Day Philosophy; the other was "an interpretation of philosophical and psychological thought as found in the writings of Tennyson, Browning, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Emerson and Carlyle." Entitled Philosophical Thought in Nineteenth Century Literature, it lasted for five years. In 1921 came a new course, A Study in the Conflict of Ideals, which existed under this label through 1935. In 1923 Farley took over from Plantz the teaching of Ethics. He taught until 1940 and occasionally changed the titles of courses; but for the most part he adhered in his later years to the pattern developed in Plantz's time.

In the early 1890's Psychology was a four-hour course of one term required in the Junior year and a prerequisite to the philosophy courses required of Seniors. In 1893 it became a three-hour course lasting two terms. In 1904, when Lawrence adopted semesters, there were two courses, as seen in the previous list, General Psychology and Analytic Psychology. The first of these was by this time the only course in philosophy required for graduation, and was a prerequisite for most of the courses in philosophy, including Logic, Ethics and Pedagogy. At various times between 1907 and 1923 Farley added to his offerings, sometimes for a few years only, courses in Experimental Psychology, Abnormal Psychology, Social Psychology and Mental Development, a course that later became the Psychology of Youth and Adolescence. Educational Psychology, introduced in 1910, was given almost every year until 1955, taught sometimes in the Psychology department, sometimes by the Professor of Education. In the fall of 1923 Joseph Harry Griffiths, B.A. of Lawrence, 1918, and Ph.D. of Cornell University, became Professor of Psychology. He introduced Abnormal Psychology, but otherwise used much the same course titles as Farley had used in the recent past. Griffiths taught at Lawrence until 1955.(1)

Work in education began within the department of Philosophy. In 1898 a course appeared there entitled Philosophy of Education; in the following year it was renamed Pedagogy. In his first year (1901-02) Farley took over the course in Pedagogy and added one in the History of Education. Beginning in 1905 courses in education were separated from philosophy and grouped by themselves in the catalogue. In 1909 Farley changed the name of Pedagogy to Principles of Education and added Educational Administration and Supervision. Down to June, 1911 he taught all the courses in education -- there were only three besides Psychology.

1. Teachers whose work lay chiefly after the Plantz period are dealt with very briefly here and again later in this chapter.

In 1911 Lester Burton Rogers joined the staff as Professor of Education, a position he held until June, 1920, though he was on leave during 1919-20. In that year his place was taken by Lee Cassuis Rasey, B.A. Lawrence, 1913. Rasey was followed for three years by Herbert C. Cooley; then came James L. Mursell, 1923-35. In the first decade of the century several departments at Lawrence, beginning with the Latin department, introduced courses to train teachers in their several fields.

The catalogue of 1904 contained the earliest notice about licenses to teach in Wisconsin schools issued by the office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. At that time the only requirements for one with a bachelor's degree were a semester each of psychology and pedagogy. Pressure for more required courses came partly from the State Legislature, partly through the recommendation of the various educational associations. By 1911 the requirement was eleven hours in psychology and educational courses together.

One gets a fair idea of how the work in education grew by viewing the list of the courses demanded or strongly recommended by the State Department in 1924, and adding the date when each one was introduced at Lawrence.

- (1) Principles of Education or Philosophy of Education (1898). This course had its title changed to Pedagogy (1899) and then to Principles of Teaching (1909). After 1917 it was required for a certificate.
- (2) History of Education (1901).
- (3) Departmental teachers' courses (various dates beginning in 1901 or 1902).
- (4) Educational Psychology (1910).
- (5) Education Practice or Practice Teaching (1912).
- (6) Technique of Instruction (first introduced by Mursell in 1924).

Both Cooley and Mursell also offered courses in school administration and supervision, and in the relation of the schools to social problems; but these were not emphasized by the State Department.

Religion, Bible, Missions, Religious Education

As already stated, the catalogue of 1895, the first to come from Plantz's hand, discarded the old caption, Mental and Moral Science, and

presented two groups: Philosophy comprising seven courses and Religion, four. The first course under Religion was Evidences of Christianity, which Plantz received from his predecessor and taught until his own death. In its latter days it had the label, Fundamentals of Christianity; but the description of it in the catalogue remained substantially unchanged: "The various arguments in proof of the claims of Christianity are considered, its principal doctrines discussed and the principal systems of doubt analyzed."⁽²⁾ Two other courses listed in 1895 were: one in comparative religion, called Science of Religion, and one labeled Philosophy of Religion.

The fourth and final course in the list of 1895 was one in the English Bible, required of all Juniors. Wilson S. Naylor joined the staff in 1904 and, except for overseas service during the First World War, taught all Biblical Literature for three decades. Naylor gave introductory courses based now on the Old Testament, now on the New. His more advanced courses leaned toward sociology, having such titles as the Social Teachings of Jesus, Hebrew Sociology, or Social Institutions of the Bible. Until 1931 no one could be graduated without a course under him.

After Naylor took charge of Biblical Literature, Plantz enlarged his other work. In 1905-08 he taught six courses amounting to eight hours each semester; and he never gave up teaching. Besides the courses already mentioned he taught one called the History and Psychology of Religion; and in some years he gave as many as three courses in ethics, perhaps his favorite field.

Two men in succession were especially identified with teaching Missions at Lawrence. The first, John Gaines Vaughan, received his education at Syracuse University and the Drew Theological Seminary (1884). For twenty-one years he was a Methodist pastor, part of the time at Dayton, Ohio. He spent four years (1905-09) as Secretary of the "Special Funds" of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He traveled in the Levant in 1900 and in the Far East in 1906-07. Lawrence employed Vaughan to teach two days a week and give the remainder of his time to money-raising. He began his financial work in January, 1909 and his teaching in February of the following year. In 1914 he became the first occupant of an endowed chair, the Eusebius B. Garton Professorship of Comparative Religion and Missions. In his later years he gave two courses in Missions. Vaughan died unexpectedly in May, 1921. As a temporary expedient Plantz took over the course in Comparative Religion and Naylor, the work in Missions.

The real successor of Vaughan as a teacher was John Russell Denyes, who came in 1923 and taught Missions and Religious Education for eleven years. A Methodist minister, he had been a missionary in the Dutch East Indies for twenty years. In his first two years he listed no fewer than ten courses in Missions. The academic year then consisted of

2. Cats., 1890, p. 30; 1895, p. 21; 1924, p. 149.

three quarters and these were all one-quarter courses. There were studies of Christian missions by areas: (1) China, Japan and Korea, (2) India and Malaysia, (3) Africa and the Near East, and (4) Mexico, Central and South America. There were also three courses entitled (1) Paganism, (2) Mohammedanism, and (3) Hinduism and Buddhism. Other courses were more general in nature; some of them, sociological. Especially in his earlier years, Denyes gave some of these courses in alternate years.

Plantz and doubtless many of the Trustees were convinced of the value of training leaders in Sunday School work and other religious education. For three years (1913-16) Professor L. B. Rogers of the department of Education offered two courses focusing on Sunday School work: Child Study and Principles and Methods of Religious Education. Neither course could be counted toward a state teacher's certificate. Then for four years (1917-20) only the second of these courses was described in the catalogue.

For three years, beginning in the fall of 1920, Lawrence employed Earle E. Emme to teach in this area. Among his offerings, with slight changes of title as the years passed, were: Fundamental Principles of Religious Education, Materials and Methods, Organization and Administration, Religious Education of Childhood, and Religious Education of Adolescents. Emme gave part of his time to the Sunday School work of several Protestant churches in Appleton and received part of his salary from this source.

Denyes was a successor to Emme as well as to Vaughan, though he seemed to prefer the field of Missions. For three years he carried on five of Emme's courses; then for a time (1926-31), gave one course in religious education each semester; after that, still fewer. When Denyes retired in 1934 courses in religious education came to an end.

Plantz, Naylor, Vaughan and Denyes were all born before the Civil War ended. They were all Methodist clergymen of their time, grown men by 1885. To them Lawrence University was a child of their church and an instrument to serve its ends. So they multiplied courses in religion and related fields. Requirements and offerings in this area were shrinking a little before Plantz died. The retirement of Naylor and Denyes in 1934, each at the age of seventy, marked the end of an era. Many of their courses were discontinued and for some years one man replaced them both.

Latin, Greek, Hebrew

The Professor of Latin through most of the 1890's continued to be Hiram A. Jones, A.M. Something was said of his qualities earlier in

this book. After forty-four years of service at Lawrence he died in the classroom, April 11, 1898. After his death the room where he had taught was fitted as a Latin library and the shelves filled with books. Above the fireplace is an enlarged photograph of him showing a kindly face with a slightly quizzical expression. He left behind the memory of a stern yet sympathetic man.(3)

Jones' successor, Ellesworth David Wright, had a remarkable preparation for his work. Born in 1861, he received his Ph.D. degree at Cornell University in 1894. Then followed two years in Europe spent at Leipzig and Berlin Universities and in Greece. He was an instructor in Greek at Cornell University when he was called to Lawrence, where he taught Latin for twenty years. Wright made a fine statement of intent in the catalogue:

To acquire the ability to read the masterpieces of Roman literature with care, accuracy and appreciative enjoyment is the purpose kept steadily in view The chief emphasis is given to a sympathetic literary interpretation of the authors read.(4)

For many decades students in the Preparatory department (named the Academy in 1898) were given three years of Latin. In 1906 what was apparently much the same material was crowded into two years. Then, beginning with 1909-10, First- and Second-year Latin were offered also in College and earned College credits. Just at the end of Wright's time, in 1917-18, the former pre-College Latin was again arranged as three years' work: one who took all of it could gain, thereby, thirty hours of College credit. In three years the student took Elementary Latin and read four books of the Galic War, six orations of Cicero and the first six books of the Aeneid. Many in that generation did all this in high school.

In the number and variety of offerings Latin reached its greatest expansion about the middle of Wright's time. In his later years he had a smaller list, and one that was maintained for some time after the death of Plantz. Beyond the former Academy work, now done in College, Wright had two courses, for a time called "Freshman Latin," that alternated; two "Sophomore" courses that alternated; and, also in alternate years, Latin Composition "for prospective teachers" and a Teachers' Training course. In each of the so-called Freshman and Sophomore courses Wright tried in one year to give the student a taste of widely different writers. One course might include Pliny, Martial, Tacitus, and Catullus. His literature courses were usually accompanied by an extra hour a week, separately elected, for rapid reading in Nepos or Ovid, Phaedrus or the New Testament in Latin. For many years, also, he had a course in Sight Translation. "For this purpose simple Latin is read, as, for example, Sallust's Catiline [or] Caesar's Civil War."(5)

3. A. A. Trever, Alumni Record (1905), pp. 78-80.

4. Cats., 1899, p. 27; through 1913, p. 175.

Wright did much to create enthusiasm for his subject. Like many teachers at Lawrence at that time he had a departmental students' club; in his case, the Latin Club. This group at one time numbered 99.(6) Beginning in 1907 he and the Latin Club produced an annual periodical called The Lawrence Latinist.(7) From 1912 onward the Latinist appeared in the Bulletin, each time amounting to 16 pages.(8) Every number included some material in Latin. In the issue of February, 1915 there was a version of "O'er the Fox the pale moon shimmered," by Elsie Koppin, '15. The first stanza and chorus were as follows:

Super vulpem luna luxit,
Venustas tholum tinxit;
Et ulmi in campo susurrabant,
"Laurentia domus est."

Chorus

Laurentia domus est,
Est domus nostra cara.
Et ulmi in campo susurrabant,
Laurentia domus est.(9)

Wright led in the founding of the Latin League of Wisconsin Colleges, starting his efforts in 1908. Beloit, Carroll, Lawrence, Milton, Milwaukee-Downer and Ripon were all members. For ten years the organization conducted an annual contest among selected students from these colleges to determine who was most proficient in Latin. The group raised a capital sum of \$5,000 and, using only the income, gave a first prize of \$250, certain medals, and to the best school a silver cup. In the first ten years (1913-22) Ripon won first place three times; Lawrence and Milwaukee-Downer, each twice; and the other three colleges, once each. In 1922, largely for financial reasons, the contests were made biennial and there were other changes of plan.(10)

5. Cat., 1906, p. 77.

6. 1910 Ariel, spring 1909, p. 149.

7. Wright, annual report to President, 1908.

8. Bulletins, XII, No. 4, Apr., 1912; through XXI, No. 8, Apr., 1931; none found for 1926.

9. Bulletin, XV, No. 2, Feb., 1915, p. 5.

10. Latinist in Bulletin, XIII, No. 5, May, 1913, pp. 10, 11; XXIII, No. 9, May 1, 1923, p. 12.

After his first year Wright always had some assistance. Sometimes his helper was an undergraduate who was called a tutor. The only one with a degree was Miss Myrtle Hart, who graduated in 1906 and then was a tutor for two years. She was noteworthy in another way: upon her death in 1953 she bequeathed \$10,000 to Lawrence College. Sometimes an instructor divided his time between Latin and some other subject, French or German or Physical Education. But after 1912 there was always an instructor giving full time to Latin. The one of longest tenure was Daisy Ingold, instructor from 1915 to 1922 and thus a co-worker with Wright through half this period. She later became Mrs. William E. McPheeters.

Long the victim of ill-health, Wright traveled in the eastern United States in December, 1918 to consult specialists. He underwent an operation in New York state and died there in January, 1919. He had given to Lawrence twenty years of the most excellent teaching.

Wright's successor as the Hiram A. Jones Professor of Latin Language and Literature was Arthur H. Weston. In his later years he was called simply the Professor of Latin and Greek. He had received the degrees of B.A. and Ph.D. from Yale University and studied in Rome and Göttingen. To judge from entries in the catalogue, his course offerings at first were not greatly different from Wright's. Weston held this position until February 1, 1946; then for three semesters was the Librarian of Lawrence College. In June, 1947 he accepted a teaching position in the University of Southern California.

The Rev. Henry Lummis, as told earlier in this book, came to Lawrence in the spring of 1886 to be Professor of the Greek Language and Literature. On the evening of April 13, 1905 he died at his home in Appleton while preparing a lesson for the next day. He was then almost eighty-one years old. For many years Lummis offered four years of Greek, two in the Preparatory department (later the Academy) and two in the College. Late in his time at Lawrence he varied the books read in the fourth year so that students could elect it again and so have a fifth year.⁽¹¹⁾ For Lummis's last year (1904-05) and thereafter, Elementary Greek was made a College subject. In the Academy this work had always occupied five meetings a week for two years. It was now cut down to four hours a week, and Academy and College beginners were taught together.

Albert Augustus Trever, the successor of Lummis in the Chair of Greek, was to prove one of the greatest scholars and teachers in the history of Lawrence. Born in Calumet County, Wisconsin, of English stock, he came to Lawrence and was graduated in 1896. He attended the Boston University School of Theology and received there the degrees of A.B. and S.T.B. His work at Boston included two years of Greek and three of Hebrew. Then followed two years as a teacher of Hebrew and Biblical Literature at DePauw University. In 1902-03 he studied at the

11. Cat., 1899, p. 29, for the first time.

Universities of Halle and Berlin. He was a Methodist pastor in Wisconsin when he was called to teach Greek at Lawrence. By using several summers and a year's leave of absence from Lawrence, he earned the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1913.

For several years Trever inserted in the catalogue an eloquent profession of faith in Greek studies:

Turn to what phase of life we will, to civics, art, oratory, philosophy, poetry in its several branches, we find the evident marks of Greek influence The students of English literature especially cannot afford to neglect Greek poetry; for many of our best English poets literally lived and breathed in its atmosphere. It is here they learned their poetic music, their lyric flights, their sublime imagination, and their boldness to grapple with life's profoundest problems.(12)

In spite of Trever's enthusiasm enrollment in Greek was small and continued to decline. After 1909 the class in Beginning Greek was always seven or fewer except once (1914-15) when it was nine. Other classes varied in number from one to five and the total studying Greek came to be no more than twenty. The abolition of the old B.A. degree in 1904 was a severe blow to Greek.

Trever continued to read in his classes the same books by the great Greek authors that Lummis had chosen: Elementary Greek and Anabasis, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, the great Greek dramatists. Sometimes he offered Demosthenes and Lysias. He made two innovations. Using Harper's Introductory New Testament Greek Method, he taught the Greek Testament to students who had never before studied the language. He also introduced a course, Selected Epistles of Paul: the prerequisite for which was at first two years of Greek and later, three semesters.

In 1908, three years after joining the Lawrence staff, Trever began giving courses about Greek civilization entirely in English. The subjects of such courses, introduced one by one, were Greek drama, Greek oratory, Greek sculpture and architecture and classical mythology. He also gave a course in Greek History, and later one in Roman History.

By work of this sort Trever was preparing for his migration to the History department. In 1914-15 he taught Medieval History for the first time. In 1916 his name was one of two at the head of the history section in the catalogue. A year later he was Professor of Ancient and Medieval History and no longer Professor of Greek. For two years (1917-19) he had small classes (two each time) in New Testament Greek. Then for two more years he had equally miniscule classes in the usual elementary work. He listed New Testament Greek in the catalogue through 1922, but there were no takers after 1918-19. Weston, the new Professor of

12. Cat., 1913, p. 168.

Latin, taught some Greek beginning in 1919, all that was given from 1921 onward for many years.

Hebrew was taught at Lawrence for a year or more at the very beginning, but not after 1858. It was introduced again in the fall of 1890 when President Charles W. Gallagher scheduled a one-year course to be given in alternate years. From 1892 to 1919 Dr. Emanuel Gerechter served as Rabbi of the Zion Congregation in Appleton. He had received a classical education in a German gymnasium and followed it with theological training at Breslau. In the fall of 1894 he joined the staff of Lawrence University. In his first year he taught only Hebrew; after that, Hebrew and German; but there were many years when no Hebrew was taught. He was given emeritus standing in 1913, but decided to teach one more year.(13) In that last year he taught no German but only one small class in Hebrew, four students the first semester and two the second. Dr. Gerechter lived for some years after he ceased to teach and is buried in the Jewish cemetery in Appleton.

French, German, Spanish

For several decades the teaching of Latin and Greek at Lawrence occupied two men who had the rank of Professor and spent many years on the staff. French and German, in contrast, were cared for by a succession of women instructors each of whom usually remained but a few years. Thus for three years, 1893-96, Miss Harriett Hammond (who married Professor Dexter P. Nicholson in 1896) taught all the French and German, offering two years in each language.

As stated above, Rabbi Emanuel Gerechter joined the staff in 1894 to teach a class in Hebrew; in the following year he began to teach German as well. Miss Mabel Eddy was Preceptress and Instructor in Modern Languages from 1896 to 1902. She was a graduate of Mount Vernon Seminary, a Methodist school in Washington, D.C., one which Myra Goodwin (later the first Mrs. Plantz) also attended. Miss Eddy never had a bachelor's degree. For six years she taught all the French and divided the German with Rabbi Gerechter. Together they offered two years in French and three in German during 1896-99; in the three years after that, three in French and four in German. In German the emphasis in the third and fourth years was on the history of German literature. For many years Gerechter used a little manual, Bernhardt's Hauptfacta der deutschen Literatur. His classes often read works by Lessing, Goethe and Schiller.

13. Com. Fac. Deg., June 10, 1913, p. 142.

In the late nineteenth century the development of the science of phonetics was bringing new methods and new skills into the teaching of modern languages. One useful tool was an International Phonetic Alphabet adopted in 1888. The great leaders in this work at that time were Paul Passy in Paris, and in Germany, Wilhelm Viëtor, Professor in the University of Marburg.

Miss Eddy's successor in 1902 was Miss Caroline Elizabeth DeGreene. After graduating from Earlham College she spent two years in Germany, including some time at Marburg. She then received her master's degree from the University of Michigan. She was at Lawrence from 1902 to 1906, in her last years being Associate Professor of German and French. She and Dr. Gerechter had part-time assistance in German from teachers of other subjects. The French offerings in Miss DeGreene's time consisted of first and second year work given every year, and two more years of work given alternately.

Frederick George Ruff taught German at Lawrence for five years (1909-14), three as an Instructor and two as a Professor. He was also pastor of the German Methodist Church in Appleton. After receiving the degrees of M.A. at Northwestern University and S.T.B. from Garrett Biblical Institute, he spent three years as a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin. In Ruff's last two years at Lawrence he greatly lengthened the list of offerings in German; he even announced courses in Gothic and Old High German, Middle High German, and the History of the German Language. However, there is no record of classes in these subjects. In 1920, mistaken for a burglar, Ruff was shot and killed in his own apartment building in Chicago.(14)

Miss Mabel Eddy returned to Lawrence in 1909 for a second term, this time of twelve years. In her last two years she was Associate Professor of French. From 1909 to 1918 she offered four years' work in French and part of the time she taught Spanish as well. She had begun to teach modern languages in 1886, if not earlier. She did not use the more modern methods, especially the tools provided by the phoneticians. In 1921, having reached the age of sixty-five, she was retired against her will. For many years she continued to live alternately in Appleton and abroad, much of the time in Majorca.

Louis Charles Baker followed Ruff as Professor of German in 1914. He was born at Seymour, north of Appleton, in 1884. His ancestry was German on both sides and he learned German as a child at home. He was graduated from Lawrence in 1906 with "first senior honors," then took his M.A. degree at Northwestern and his Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania. He was first of all a Germanist, learning Gothic, Old and Middle High German, Old Norse and Old English. He came to know something, and often a great deal, of many languages, including, for example, Old Irish and Sanskrit. The catalogue, after mentioning his doctorate at Pennsylvania, stated that he had studied at the Universities

14. Law., Oct. 28, 1920, pp. 1, 14.

of "Paris, Grenoble, Montpellier, Berlin, Leipzig, the Sorbonne."

Baker continued many of the courses taught by Ruff, but added one on the German Novel and another on German Poetry, which he later called German Lyrics. He also listed Middle High German but there is no evidence that he taught this subject at Lawrence. The First World War made the study of German unpopular. With many students taking two courses, there were 304 enrollments in September, 1916; 158 a year later; and only 7 in the fall of 1918. In that year, 1918-19, Baker gave almost his whole time to French and apparently decided at that time to transfer to French. For 1919-20 G. C. Cast, a Ph.D. of Wisconsin and an experienced teacher of German, was added to the staff. There were only two classes in German that year, and Cast taught them along with classes in English. German gradually recovered from the blow dealt it by the First World War. Soon there was enough work to occupy all of Cast's time; and in 1922-23 it was necessary to secure another person to teach German part-time.

Baker went to Europe in the summer of 1920 and remained there, mostly in France, until March, 1922.(15) While Baker was absent William F. Raney took his place with the title of Professor of French, though he always taught some history during these two years. After his sojourn abroad Baker resumed the teaching of French, which he continued until his retirement in 1949. Miss Eddy's successor was a native of France, Mlle. Marguerite Mainssonnat, who taught at Lawrence for four years (1921-1925). In April, 1923 she directed the production, in French, of Molière's Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme. By Plantz's last year French had come to occupy the full time of three persons.

Instruction in Spanish was first offered in the catalogue of January, 1909.(16) Miss Eddy, who had just joined the Lawrence Faculty for the second time, started off with small classes of beginners: in September of that year, Beginning Spanish four times and Second-year, twice. Then in 1915-16 both courses were taught. During these seven years Miss Eddy was the only Spanish teacher. In 1916-17 a young instructor came to give part of her time to Spanish after which two years of work were always available. Miss Charlotte Lorenz came to teach Spanish in 1919 and it then became possible to add a third year.

In the early 1890's there had been two Professors teaching Latin and Greek and one Instructor for French and German. In 1925 a Professor and an Instructor taught the ancient languages while six persons were needed for the modern. One final remark will show how far into the future Plantz's appointments affected the institution: Baker taught French from 1922 to 1949; Cast, German from 1919 to 1947; and Miss Lorenz, Spanish from 1919 to 1940.

15. Law., Apr. 13, 1922, p. 1.

16. Cat., Jan., 1909, p. 122.

English

In the first years of Plantz's regime there was not enough work in English to occupy the full time of one teacher. The one who did that work was Miss Elizabeth Wilson (1867-1957), an alumna of the class of 1890. She taught at Lawrence from 1894 to 1900 except for 1898-99 when she studied abroad, chiefly at Oxford. In her first year she was Instructor in English and Elocution; then for four years, Instructor in English and Latin. Only in her last year, after her return from England, did she give all her time to English.

Miss Wilson ended her teaching at Lawrence in June, 1900. After that she spent many years in Y.W.C.A. work, some of it in India. Later she became the first woman member of the Methodist ministry in Wisconsin. In 1938 she published a little volume, Methodism in Eastern Wisconsin, 1832-1850, which helps greatly in understanding the background of Lawrence. In the centennial year, 1947, the College conferred on her the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.(17)

In 1961 the College bought the residence across the corner northeast of the Carnegie Library block, and shortly established in it the offices of the President of the College, the Alumni Secretary, and others. Elizabeth Wilson was known to a large number of Lawrentians as an able and colorful person who was very active in organizing and maintaining Lawrence alumni clubs. In her honor the newly acquired property was christened Wilson House.

The institution as a whole worked continuously to develop the student's skill in the use of English. The following statement, taken from the catalogue of May, 1895, describes a system already old at that time:

Entrance to the college presupposes a knowledge of Elementary Rhetoric which is taught in the spring term of the Junior Preparatory year . . . and of English Grammar and Composition. All Freshmen are required to take work in the principles of English Composition, once a week during the Fall Term. Rhetoric will be given through the Fall and Winter terms of the Sophomore year, two hours a week[Order of sentences changed.]

Every student below the Senior class in College is required to write two essays a term, except in terms devoted to Rhetoric and English Composition. These essays are corrected and then presented in essay divisions for marking and criticism The Seniors are required to write two orations a term, which are critically examined and corrected. One of these orations will be delivered in the chapel.(18)

17. Alumni Record (1922), p. 313.

This system was characteristic of the earlier institution, and was finally abandoned only in 1907. Many Faculty members besides English teachers helped in the enterprise. Statistics suggest the amount of supervision required: in 1906-07, the last year of the essays, "divisions," and required orations, the enrollment in the various classes was as follows: Freshmen, 118; Sophomores, 57; Juniors, 37; Seniors, 38; total, 250. Beginning in 1907 all Freshmen were required to take a course in Rhetoric, three hours each semester.(19)

Miss Emma Kate Corkhill was the first Edwards-Alexander Professor of English Literature. She received her A.B. degree at Iowa Wesleyan in 1889, and her Ph.D. at Boston University four years later. She taught at Simpson College for a time; then, except for a year at Edinburgh (1905-06), she taught at Lawrence from 1902 until June, 1913. While taking a semester's leave to restore her health, she died in the following December. For many years a picture of her hung in the English Literature room in Main Hall. The generation that knew her revered her as a very great teacher.

Miss May Esther Carter was at Lawrence as Dean of Women and Associate Professor of Literature from 1905 to 1914. She took Miss Corkhill's place, at least in part, during the latter's year of absence, and remained to share her work. Otho Pearre Fairfield was Professor of Rhetoric for three years (1908-11) before he began to teach art. Matthew Lyle Spencer became Professor of the English Language in 1911, and after Miss Corkhill's death succeeded her as Professor of English.

For 1910-11, to take a sample year, Miss Corkhill and Miss Carter together listed twenty courses in literature adding up to forty-five hours. All were one-semester enterprises: five carried three hours credit; fifteen were two-hour courses. Not all were given every year. There was an introduction called Principles of Literature. Courses were offered on Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries; one on the Romantic Movement and one on American Literature. Eight authors were the subject of separate study: Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, Browning, Wordsworth, Carlyle, Emerson, and James Russell Lowell (2 courses). There were also courses on the Essay and on the Novel.(20) In the following year two courses were added: Essay, and Modern Drama.(21) Miss Corkhill thus described her methods: "No textbooks are used but the works chosen; these are read outside the class, and the recitation-period is given up to a discussion of their content, what it involves, and what principles of its particular type the whole work exemplifies."(22)

18. Cat., May, 1895, pp. 34, 35.

19. Cat., 1907, p. 90.

20. Cat., Jan., 1910, pp. 123-125.

21. Cat., Jan., 1911, pp. 125-128.

Matthew Lyle Spencer was a colleague of Miss Corkhill for a little more than two years, then succeeded her as Professor of English. Originally from Kentucky Wesleyan College, where he received his A.B. degree, he took his A.M. at Northwestern in 1905 and his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago in 1910. He taught at Lawrence for six years (1911-17) and until the summer of 1919 expected to return.(23)

For three years after the death of Miss Corkhill the offerings in literature were little changed; then, in 1916, they were greatly reduced in number and perhaps considerably reorganized. In the catalogue of January, 1916 (plans for 1916-17) Lawrence offered in literature twenty-four courses amounting to sixty-six credit hours. A year later, in January, 1917, the comparable figures were ten and forty-two. There were: Surveys of English Literature and American Literature; two one-semester courses called Elizabethan Literature and the Puritan Age; three year-courses called the Classical Age, the Romantic Movement, and the Victorian Age; a year course in Shakespeare; and one-semester courses on the Novel and the Short Story. In the following year a course was added, or restored, called Literary Criticism; and thus the list stood when Spencer departed in 1917.

English in its earlier forms and the history of the language did not flourish greatly at Lawrence in the Plantz period. Work of this type, including Old English, was mentioned in the catalogues of 1900 and 1901, but achieved no permanent lodgment.(24) Miss Corkhill and Miss Carter had other interests. In the years of Spencer's leadership courses were listed in the catalogue as Old English, Beowulf and Middle English, but very often with the notation, "Not given" in such-and-such a year. Surviving class lists fail to show that any of these courses was ever taught in Spencer's time, though a class in Chaucer was given at least once. In 1918 the Chaucer was described as: "An introductory course for students who have had no training in Old or Middle English."(25)

It will be recalled that in 1907 Freshmen were asked to take a course in Rhetoric. With certain changes in labeling, work in English Composition was required for nearly forty years. Sometimes the requirement was met entirely in the Freshman year; at other times partly then and partly in the Sophomore year. For a time this note was added:

On the completion of this course, only a provisional passing grade is given. If at any time later in his college course a student is reported careless or deficient in his English compo-

22. Cats., 1903, p. 70; 1913, p. 154.

23. Reports of the Pres., June, 1919, p. 10.

24. Cats., 1900, p. 41; 1901, p. 46.

25. Cat., 1918, p. 127.

sition, he may be required to take additional work in the subject.(26)

Such a requirement remained in effect until 1946 when Freshman Studies took its place. Beginning in the fall of 1916, a preliminary examination in English composition was given to incoming Freshmen; this continued for many years and eventually, after Plantz's time, became a part of the exercises of Freshman Week.

There were a number of courses in writing in Spencer's time beyond those just mentioned as required. Expository Writing and Narrative Writing, both first offered in 1913, gave way to Advanced Composition (1917). A course named Business Writing, or sometimes Commercial Correspondence, had a long existence (1913-33); it helped in Lawrence's so-called School of Commerce. Lawrence also flirted briefly with the idea of a School of Journalism. Spencer was a practical newspaper man. He introduced a course in Newswriting (1914) and probably had a hand in setting up one called Editorial Writing that was first listed in 1919. Both these courses were continued into the early 1930's. In 1922-23 a Professor of Composition and Journalism appeared, and in three years two men in succession bore this title. The second of these, Frank W. Clippinger, who came in 1924, was after his first year simply Professor of English.

Spencer took a leave of absence in 1917 and spent a year in the editorial department of the Milwaukee Journal. His return to Lawrence was prevented by a summons to Washington, D.C., where he served as a Captain in the Intelligence Service. As already mentioned, he was expecting, in June, 1919, to return to Lawrence in the fall; but during the summer he was appointed Professor and head of the department of Journalism in the University of Washington (in the state of that name).

William Emmett McPheeters, a Ph.D. of Boston University, was Professor of English at Lawrence for eleven years (1919-30). For the first five of these years he was joined by Miss Frances A. Foster, who occupied the Edwards-Alexander Chair as Associate Professor. She had earned her Ph.D. at Bryn Mawr under Carleton Brown. So far as the catalogue reveals, the courses in literature remained under McPheeters much as they had been in the last years of Spencer.

26. Cat., 1914, p. 142; repeated through 1917.

History

The modernization of history teaching at Lawrence began under Professors Thomas E. Will (1891-93) and Jerome H. Raymond (1893-94), just before Plantz became President. These men were characterized earlier in this book (Chapter XV). Charles Oliver Merica was Professor of History and Political Science at Lawrence from 1894 to 1897. After one year in the Law School at DePauw he had transferred to other work there and earned the degrees of Ph.B. and A.M. In the Lawrence catalogue he set forth his aims and methods as follows:

. . . it is held that the study of History had a place in the construction of strong and powerful manhood. Hence the old method of mere slavish textbook study has been largely abandoned. The need of power to investigate independently, to collect data from the world's past and generalize for the world's future, to the end of securing the best modes of social, industrial and political life has demanded a new method in its place. Hence the growth of the so-called seminary methods.

But he felt that in some cases the pendulum had swung too far.

Facts have not yet lost their usefulness The textbook therefore is not entirely abandoned.(27)

After three years at Lawrence, Merica was for six years the Superintendent of the Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys (the Reform School) at Waukesha. When he returned to Lawrence in 1903 he came as Professor of Sociology.

Freeman Alfred Havighorst, Merica's successor, received the degrees of A.B. and A.M. from Iowa Wesleyan University, became S.T.B. at Boston University, and studied history and economics at the University of Berlin for two years. From 1897 to 1903 (listed, but on leave, 1903-04) and again from 1907 to 1909, he taught history and social sciences at Lawrence. Besides his work in the Preparatory department, he taught English History in the College as a year course; Medieval European History for two terms; and Modern Europe, usually as a one-term course every other year. In addition there was an Historical Seminar about which Havighorst stated in the catalogue:

The aim is to adapt the Seminar of the German Universities to the needs and abilities of the higher classes of undergraduate students . . . , to give students a training in the use of historical sources. The purpose is further to cultivate a calm and judicial mind in the use of such original material.(28)

27. Cats., 1895, pp. 25, 26; repeated 1896, 1897.

28. Cat., 1898, p. 31.

It is rather astonishing to find that from 1897 to 1902 no work was offered in American History unless, perhaps, the Seminar included that field.

We now come into a period (1902-17) when a succession of men taught history, each for a comparatively short time. Men of distinction, they spent most of their working years at other institutions. Including Havighorst's second term at Lawrence, the list of these men is as follows:

1902-06	Norman Dwight Harris
1906-07	Carl Christophelsmeier (later, Christol)
1907-09	Freeman Alfred Havighorst
1909-10	James Martin Wright
1910-13	David Richard Moore
1913-17 and Sept., 1919- Jan., 1920	John Sherman Custer

In connection with the change from three terms to two semesters there was only one new departure in the history offerings. For some time Medieval History had filled two terms, and in 1903-04 Modern Europe could be studied only in a series of term courses on short periods. Now Harris offered Medieval History the first semester and Modern Europe the second. This sequence was declared a prerequisite to all other courses in history and was maintained until 1917. A year of American History in College was made available in 1902. This course, a year of English History, and one-semester courses in both Greek and Roman History were offered for many years. Under the new system of groups set up in 1905, six hours of history were required of all students; and some history was always required until 1926.

The last name on the list just given was that of John Sherman Custer. After taking a B.A. degree at William Jewell College in Missouri, he was appointed a Rhodes Scholar. At Oxford from 1904 to 1907, he spent about half his time studying English history. While at Lawrence Custer completed the requirements for a Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin. After four years at Lawrence he went overseas to do Y.M.C.A. work in the American army. He then taught at Lawrence again during the first semester of 1919-20. Custer usually taught three year-courses, the Medieval-Modern sequence, American History, and English History; and some one-semester courses covering short periods of English or Modern European history.

We are already familiar with the name of Albert Augustus Trever. In the spring of 1909 he began to teach a course in Greek History and a year later one in the History of Rome. From 1917-18 onward they made a pair given every year. Out of these courses grew Trever's great textbook, History of Ancient Civilization (2 vols., 1936, 1939). Published after he was sixty years of age, this work was the summing up of a lifetime of scholarship. Meanwhile, as already mentioned, he began to teach Medieval History; and either for Freshmen or upperclassmen he taught it almost every year from 1914 to 1940. Also in 1917-18 he began a course

called Medieval Civilization. This grew in time to be a History of European Culture (1920).

When Custer departed in 1917 to do war work, his place was filled by John Brainerd MacHarg who, though he came on a temporary appointment, was to remain at Lawrence for twenty years. He was born at Rome, New York of a family that manufactured fishing tackle. He was educated first as an engineer and spent some time in the family business. Later he secured the degrees of B.A. and M.A. at Hamilton College and for a time taught Greek in a boys' school. He studied at the University of Leipzig and eventually secured his degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia.

From 1902 to 1919 the offering in American History was usually only a one-year course. A few other courses were occasionally added, but all proved impermanent. Custer gave only the one-year course and for two years MacHarg did the same. Then in 1919 MacHarg was made Professor of American History, the first to have that title at Lawrence. He proceeded to offer a number of new courses: History of Latin America, Canadian History, and one called Sources, "A seminary and laboratory course in American history giving opportunity for supervised research work with source materials."(29)

With the coming of William Francis Raney in the fall of 1920, the group was completed that was to constitute the History department at Lawrence until 1937. Raney studied for three years (1907-10) at Hastings College, a Presbyterian institution at Hastings, Nebraska. That school was then very much like the Lawrence of a slightly earlier time. Raney, like Custer before him, then went to Oxford on a Rhodes Scholarship and studied history. Later he did graduate work at the University of Wisconsin, primarily in European history but paying considerable attention to Romance languages. He received his Ph.D. degree in June, 1919. At the same commencement the University of Wisconsin conferred an honorary degree upon Samuel Plantz, who had then completed twenty-five years as President of Lawrence.

Raney spent his first two years at Lawrence as Professor of French, having only one course in history. At that time Lawrence was developing a Commerce course; and for six years Commerce students, varying in number from 41 to 73, were given a special course in the Industrial History of England. Raney taught this course as long as it lasted. In 1922 he took over the "regular" English History from MacHarg and the course in Modern European History from Trever. With almost no exceptions he gave these two courses every year from 1922 to 1955. They constituted perhaps two-thirds of his work at Lawrence.

29. Cat., 1921, p. 121.

Economics, Politics, Sociology, Commerce

Until January, 1890 the President was also Professor of Ethics and Civil Polity. Besides teaching philosophy and religion, he gave two courses in Political Economy, one required (5 hours) and one elective (2 hours). He also offered another elective, International Law. Listed as history courses were: Constitution of the United States and English Constitution.(30) Modernization of offerings began under Professor Thomas E. Will, already mentioned in connection with history, who introduced two courses in sociology. In one of them, called Social Philosophy, his students read "the books of some of the masters in Sociology." The other dealt with industrial unrest.(31) Thus the long-established program was changing just before the arrival of Plantz.

Between 1894 and 1906, as already indicated, Merica, Havighorst and Harris all taught history in turn, the two last-named serving together in 1902-03. Also, each one taught courses in the social sciences. Merica favored sociology; Havighorst, political economy; and Harris, government. Merica introduced a course called Social Problems (Dependents, Defectives, Delinquents). In 1901 Havighorst changed the label of his non-history work from Political Science to "Economics, Political Science, Sociology." He listed many courses, but could give some of them only once in two or even three years. Among textbooks used by Harris were A. B. Hart's Actual Government and Woodrow Wilson's The State.

The first teacher at Lawrence to give his entire time to the social sciences was Judson George Rosebush (1903-10). Rosebush received his first degree from Alfred University, a Seventh Day Baptist institution at Alfred, New York. For a year he was a Scholar in Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania. Then followed two years of graduate work in economics, one at Cornell University and one at the University of Wisconsin. At Lawrence he taught economics, politics and sociology. In economics, besides other courses, he had one called The Corporation, "dealing with the recent history of railways, industrial corporations, and labor unions, with reference to organization, financing, powers, evils, and methods of regulation."(32) Besides Theory of Sociology, he had a course called Social Aesthetics, described as "Studies in the causes and the character of the changes now taking place in American art, industrial and civic surroundings, with reference to their probable effect upon American character."(33) For most of his years as a teacher, Rosebush also gave a course in debate.

30. Cat., 1890, pp. 30, 39, 40.

31. Cats., 1892, p. 37; 1893, p. 40.

32. Cat., 1907, p. 96.

33. Cat., 1908, p. 96.

John P. McNaughton was long an active Trustee and one for whom Plantz felt an unusual affection.⁽³⁴⁾ He engaged in a variety of enterprises, among them banking, lumbering and paper manufacturing, and built up a considerable fortune. About 1892 he erected the chateau-style brick house that once stood where the Music-Drama Center is today. In June, 1908 Judson Rosebush married Barbara Jane, McNaughton's only child. The two spent the fall of 1908 abroad and Rosebush studied at the University of Berlin. In April, 1910 McNaughton died and, from that time on, Rosebush was compelled to give all his time to the management of the McNaughton estate. Hoping to return to teaching at least part-time, he kept his name on the Faculty list for two more years; but he never taught again. In June, 1910 he replaced McNaughton on the Board of Trustees.

After Rosebush left the Faculty in 1910 Professors teaching the social sciences (excluding Commerce) in Plantz's time, with the primary field of each, were:

1910-13	Charles Joseph Bushnell, sociology
1912-16	Charles Raymond Atkinson, government
1913-20	Thomas W. B. Crafer, sociology
1916-26	Oscar Delos Kinsman, economics
1920-35	William L. Crow, government
1920-22	Frederick A. Conrad, sociology
1922-38	Louis A. Boettiger, sociology

Of these men Kinsman spent the longest period under Plantz. He had received his first higher education at the State Normal School at Platteville and later earned the Ph.D. degree at the University of Wisconsin. Before coming to Lawrence he taught for fifteen years in the Normal School at Whitewater. He was unusually active in the community outside the College, being an unsuccessful candidate for the office of Mayor of Appleton in 1922.

For two years Bushnell had to work in all three fields just as Rosebush had done. From 1912 to 1920 the social sciences occupied two men. For three of these years, 1913 to 1916, Atkinson and Crafer worked together. Roughly speaking, Atkinson taught all the politics; Crafer, all the sociology; and they divided the economics between them. Kinsman came in 1916, gave his time entirely to economics and taught all the courses in that field. Crafer, meanwhile, handled the other areas. In 1919-20, for example, he taught twenty semester-hours of politics and fifteen of sociology.

In the winter of 1915-16, and perhaps earlier, some of the Trustees interested themselves in the possibility of establishing at Lawrence what they called a "School of Commerce." In April, 1916 L. M. Alexander, President of the Board, wrote to Plantz:

34. Reports of the Pres., June, 1910, p. 2.

What I had in mind when I discussed the question [of a school of commerce] was . . . that we should have a chair that would teach modern business methods such as is now being exploited [sic] under the title of Alexander Hamilton Institute of New York City(35)

In the catalogue of January, 1916, setting forth the offerings for the academic year 1916-17, certain courses previously listed as Economics were placed under the heading of Commerce, but nothing new was offered.(36)

In 1916 or early 1917 the Rosebushes gave \$35,000 to endow a chair in this field. The name eventually bestowed on it, the John McNaughton Chair of Commerce, was not used until 1918. Meanwhile the first Professor of Commerce (1916-18) offered in his first year: Elementary Accounting (with the promise of more advanced work in a second year), Insurance, Advertising, Economics of Price, Advanced Economic Geography, and Statistics. In the following year he added Factory Management. The second Professor of Commerce (1918-20) added Store and Office Management and other new courses dealing mostly with foreign trade.

The third Professor of Commerce was Francis Miriam Ingler, who held the position for seven years. After his first year there was a second teacher in this field. New courses continued to appear. It was now possible to have a major in commerce and, beginning in 1923-24, one might major in either accounting or business administration. Other departments helped carry on the enterprise. The Professor of Politics taught Business Law. The History department gave a special Freshman course for Commerce students. There was a variant of first-year college algebra, called Mathematics of Finance, and a course in Commercial Correspondence in Spanish at third-year level. The English department, beginning in 1914, offered a course which it called either Business English or Commercial Correspondence.

In 1927 economics and the courses in commerce were brought together in the catalogue and after that the commercial offerings were gradually diminished. From 1928 to 1932 one man taught Accounting and the strictly commercial subjects; and when he departed most of them were discontinued.

35. Then followed a list of courses offered at the Alexander Hamilton Institute. Alexander to Plantz, Apr. 29, 1916, No. 1,428.

36. Cat., 1916, p. 183.

Natural Science

During Plantz's first years Dexter P. Nicholson taught geology and biology while Charles W. Treat was in charge of chemistry and physics. All science work was done in Main Hall until Science Hall came into use in September of 1899. Nicholson was an alumnus of Lawrence of 1881. He spent two years as a graduate student at Johns Hopkins University and taught at two small colleges in succession before returning to Lawrence in 1892. In 1895-96 he was on leave to study geology at the University of Chicago.

By 1896-97 Nicholson had developed a settled program of offerings in biology. Elementary Botany, "with a large amount of field and herbarium work," given earlier as a College course, now fell in the last year of the Preparatory department. For Freshmen there were two terms of Zoology followed by one of Advanced Botany; for Sophomores, a year course in General Biology. These courses were required of Scientific and Modern Classical students. Advanced Physiology and Hygiene was also required of Freshmen in the Scientific course.

From 1892 to 1898 Nicholson offered three courses in geology: General Geology, Mineralogy, and the Geology of Wisconsin, all electives for Juniors and Seniors. In 1899 Physiography was added and in 1902, Economic Geology. For a number of years the description in the catalogue of the Geology of Wisconsin ran in part as follows: "This [course] will close with an excursion lasting about two weeks to some remote part of the State which has special interest to the Geologist. One year [spring of 1895] the class traveled from Wausau to Portage on the Wisconsin River."⁽³⁷⁾ With some changes in their titles, Nicholson gave approximately the same courses as long as he lived. In 1903 Brinckley took over the work in biology but Nicholson, being in poor health, did not expand the offerings in geology.

Charles W. Treat received the degrees of Ph.B. and A.M. from DePauw University. He had done some graduate work and had experience as a college teacher before he came to Lawrence. He was chosen Vice-President in 1898 and later became the first Dean of the College. Most of the time until 1902 he offered two years of physics and two of chemistry in the College and two terms of physics in the Preparatory department. Beginning in 1897 there was always an undergraduate assistant in the chemistry laboratory.

The course that Treat gave in the Preparatory department was called "Elementary Physics, extended course." The first year of chemistry, given in the College, consisted of two terms of Inorganic Chemistry and a third term in "systematic qualitative analysis." The second year of chemistry was described as "advanced qualitative and elementary quantitative work and a study of a few of the simpler homologous series of

37. Cats., annually, 1896, p. 36; to 1900, p. 37.

the carbon compounds."(38) Treat somewhat altered the work in chemistry in his eighth year (1901-02); but Louis Addison Youtz came in 1902 and assumed all responsibility in this department.

Apart from certain administrative duties, probably not very burdensome, Treat gave all his time to physics after 1902. For some years (1903-09) he gave one course for those who had had no laboratory training in high school. For others his basic course at first took three semesters and later, two years. Eventually he offered two year-courses: one with a prerequisite of mathematics, the other without. For many years he taught Applied Electricity, later called Electricity and Magnetism. Eventually (1915) he compressed this into one semester and followed it with a semester's work called Dynamos and Motors. In his later years he also taught Advanced Heat, Advanced Light and Physical Optics. For reasons of health, Treat gave up teaching in 1918.

After Treat's retirement physics was taught by a long succession of men who remained at Lawrence for comparatively short periods. Earle H. Warner, in charge from 1920 to 1923, offered, in addition, Radiocommunication, and Radioactivity. The latter was described as "A study of the experiments of Rutherford and Soddy concerning the nature of radioactive substances and of the radiations emitted by them. An introduction to the subject of Atomic Structure is included."(39)

Lewis Addison Youtz, to whom Treat turned over the teaching of chemistry in 1902, took his degrees of Ph.B. and Ph.M. at Simpson College, a Methodist institution at Indianola, Iowa. He received his degree of Ph.D. from Columbia in 1902, whence he came to Lawrence. Upon his arrival he set up a list of courses that was to remain little changed for decades. As announced for 1904-05, the first year divided into semesters, they were:

General Inorganic, 8 hours
Qualitative Analysis, 8 hours
Quantitative Analysis, 8 hours
Organic Chemistry, 10 hours

Beginning with 1906 Quantitative Analysis might be taken for either one or two years: that is, for eight or sixteen hours credit. In 1914 the two halves of this work were given separate labels as Quantitative and Advanced Quantitative. In addition there were at times one-semester courses in Physical Chemistry and Industrial Chemistry. In 1909-11 Scheffel, the geology teacher, gave some assistance in chemistry. Between 1911 and 1925 no fewer than seven persons held the second position in the chemistry department.

38. Cat., 1897, pp. 32, 33.

39. Cat., 1922, p. 135.

William Joshua Brinckley was Professor of Biology from 1903 to 1911, the first to have that title. He had received the degrees of B.S. and A.M. from DePauw University, and an honorary Ph.D from Austin College at Effingham, Illinois, where he taught for twelve years. Brinckley's list of courses did not change much from year to year. In teaching Human Physiology he used a textbook of which he was the author, Physiology by the Laboratory Method, 1902, 504 pp. He began a one-semester course in General Bacteriology in 1904, later extended to a year. Of him Plantz once wrote: "His scholarship is beyond question but he lacks the teaching instinct."⁽⁴⁰⁾

In 1911 Brinckley was followed as Professor of Biology by Rollin Clarke Mullenix. He received his A.B. degree from Wheaton College (Illinois) in 1895 and immediately began ten years of teaching there. From 1905 to 1908 he was a graduate student at Harvard where he earned his Ph.D. In 1911 he began twenty-four years of service at Lawrence. Until 1920 Mullenix gave a course in General Biology, devoted chiefly to animal forms. After 1920 there were two introductory courses: one in Animal Biology given by Mullenix and one in Plant Biology given by the botanist, Walter E. Rogers. Mullenix had a course for his second-year students called Vertebrate Anatomy or Vertebrate Zoology. Other courses at various times were: Histology, Embryology, Human Physiology, Neurology and Evolutionary Biology, later replaced by Evolution and Genetics. Mullenix, also, beginning in 1917, offered individual work for qualified students. In the fall of 1923 he was made head of the newly created Freshman Council and from that time on there was always a second person in zoology.

After the departure of Brinckley in 1911 work in botany was diminished. For a time teachers of other subjects, one of them Mullenix, made possible one course in botany each year. Then a series of botanists held brief appointments. Walter E. Rogers was Professor of Botany from 1919 to 1951. He received his B.A. degree from James Millikan University, his M.S. from the University of Iowa, and did further graduate study at Michigan and Chicago. For Freshmen, Rogers gave what he called Principles of Botany. He had a first-semester course called at first Dendrology and later Trees and Shrubs followed, in the second semester, by Local Flora. He also taught Plant Morphology and Plant Ecology.

After Nicholson the next teacher of geology was an instructor, Earl Read Scheffel (1908-11). He had received two degrees, B.S. and M.S., from Denison University, Granville, Ohio. He gave a substantial array of offerings in geology. His central course was called at first General Geology, then Dynamic and Structural Geology, followed by Historical Geology. He also assisted in the Chemistry department.⁽⁴¹⁾

40. Plantz to Pritchett, Feb. 25, 1910.

41. Cats., 1910, p. 140; 1911, p. 146.

Rufus Mather Bagg, successor to Scheffel, was Professor of Geology at Lawrence for twenty-three years. He took his B.A. degree at Amherst and his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins (1895). He gave an introductory course called Meteorology and Physiography. This course was much sought by those whose chief interest in science was the fulfillment of a graduation requirement. His core course, aimed at producing geologists, was usually called: first semester, General and Structural Geology; second semester, Historical Geology and Stratigraphy. He offered a number of other courses which varied little from year to year. One was called Principles of Engineering Geology. A student club was organized in 1921 and took the name, Geological Engineers Club.(42)

When Plantz died in 1924 the natural sciences occupied the time of five Professors and three Instructors.

Mathematics, Astronomy, Engineering

The career of L. Wesley Underwood, teacher of mathematics in the last years before Plantz, has already been narrated. More than anyone else he brought about the erection of the observatory that bore his name. He resigned in 1894, and during the next decade three men in succession taught mathematics. The third was Perry W. Jenkins (1900-04), who was much liked by the students, partly perhaps because he helped coach the football team.(43) Because of poor health Jenkins had to give up teaching; eventually he became a farmer in Wyoming.

John Charles Lymer came to Lawrence expecting to remain only until Jenkins regained his health; instead, he taught for thirty-seven years (1904-41). He was a very conscientious man, sometimes spoken of in the College community as "Honest John." He received his first degree from Amity College, located in the village of College Springs in southwestern Iowa. In 1901 he received the degree of S.T.B. from the Garrett Biblical Institute. He preached for a year, then returned to Northwestern University which granted him the M.A. degree in 1903.

Until 1908-09 Lymer had only part-time help in mathematics. John Herbert Farley, introduced earlier as a teacher of philosophy, taught mathematics, chiefly to Academy students, from 1901 to 1908. Several other staff members similarly gave part-time help. In 1908 a second full-time teacher of mathematics was employed and during the next twelve years a succession of eight young men filled this position. They

42. 1924 Ariel, spring 1923, p. 186.

43. Law., Oct., 1900, pp. 62, 63.

taught the courses in engineering and usually filled out their programs with Freshman mathematics. Some of them had degrees in engineering; among them was Adam Remley, a member of the department from 1912 to 1914. He married Elsie, the elder daughter of President Plantz. He soon gave up teaching to become the City Engineer of Appleton and later spent many years in the paper industry. In 1920 Frederick W. Trezise came to fill this second place in mathematics. He had the degrees of B.S. in Civil Engineering from Michigan State College and M.S. from the University of Wisconsin. He remained at Lawrence until 1942, thus outstaying Lymer by one year.

The program of work in mathematics altered slowly. In 1895 (Plantz's second year) the offerings amounted to three years' work, as follows:

- (1) Algebra, given in the Senior year of the Preparatory department. Some, of course, did this work in high school.
- (2) One term each of Geometry, Trigonometry and Advanced Algebra.
- (3) (In alternate years) One term each of Analytics, Differential Calculus, and Integral Calculus; or one term each of Analytics, Descriptive Geometry, and Surveying.⁽⁴⁴⁾

In the 1890's Advanced Algebra meant the work that followed the algebra done in high school or in the Preparatory department. In College schedules it soon came to be called simply Algebra. In 1896 two, and in 1898 three, terms of Geometry were placed in the Preparatory department or required for entrance. College Freshmen could then give all their time to Algebra and Trigonometry. The catalogue offered this information about Descriptive Geometry: "The work of the classroom is supplemented by a large number of problems solved graphically on uniform paper with a view to affording the student some training in draughting."⁽⁴⁵⁾ Surveying was long a one-term course given every other year. Jenkins changed it into a two-term enterprise; and from 1904-05 it occupied two semesters, but was given in alternate years only. Two new items appeared in 1904-05, Lymer's first year: a separate course in Mechanical Drawing and a Mathematical Seminar "principally for those who intend to teach mathematics."

In Lymer's time Freshman mathematics consisted at first of Algebra followed by Trigonometry and then, for many years, of the same subjects in the reverse order. In Lymer's last decade the course was labeled simply Freshman Mathematics and was described as algebra, trigonometry, introductory analytic geometry, and a brief introduction to the calculus. In 1918-19 a special Freshman course was set up for Commerce students. It included "Problems in annuities, bonds, sinking funds and depreciation, building and loan associations, life

44. Cat., 1895, p. 33.

45. Cat., 1903, p. 70,

insurance." A part of this work continued, under the label of Mathematics of Finance, as long as Trezise was on the staff (through 1941-42).

When Calculus was lengthened from one term to two, in 1895, one was called Differential and the other Integral Calculus. The amount of calculus taught, sometimes combined in various ways with Analytic Geometry, tended to increase, there being four semesters of the two together in Lymer's later years. In 1911-12 a course in Projective Geometry was introduced. It was described as "Geometry of position with extensive use of analytic methods." The prerequisite was at first the year course in Analytic Geometry and later the first semester of Calculus.

For many years after the building of the observatory (1891) the catalogue expressed Lawrence's pride in its ten-inch telescope and other equipment. "For the purpose of studying astronomy few institutions of college rank have so complete an outfit open to students."(46) Just before the academic year was changed from three terms to two semesters (1904), there were two courses called respectively General Astronomy and Practical Astronomy, each extending through two terms. Of the first it was stated that "only the simplest mathematical operations are necessary." The prerequisites for Practical Astronomy were General Astronomy, Trigonometry and Plane Analytical Geometry. In this second course, the "topics discussed included the determination of time, latitude and longitude, spectroscopy, micrometer measurements of double stars and planets, and comet seeking." The student was also "taught briefly the making and reducing of observations."(47) With the change to semesters General and Practical Astronomy each became a one-semester course.

Practical Astronomy soon failed to attract students. It was listed in the catalogue until 1915 but at that time had not been given for many years. General Astronomy continued alone as a three-hour one-semester course given every two or three years, Lymer teaching it until 1927. In that year John S. Millis joined the staff as Instructor in Mathematics and Physics. He took over the astronomy which was placed in a group labeled Physics and Astronomy. Lymer made his final use of the title, "Director of the Underwood Observatory," in the catalogue of December, 1932. Millis taught the Descriptive Astronomy for the last time in the fall semester of 1938-39. In 1941 he left Lawrence to become President of the University of Vermont; and after him no one taught astronomy. Thus, not quite half a century after the building of the observatory, Lawrence abandoned the purpose for which it was erected.(48)

46. E.g., Cat., 1920, p. 39.

47. Cat., 1903, p. 70.

48. In 1943-45, the program of the Navy V-12 included a course, Navigation and Nautical Astronomy. This did not involve the use of the telescope in the observatory.

According to the catalogue of Jenkins' time one of the purposes of work in mathematics was to lay the foundation for such professions as surveying, engineering and architecture. Soon after the "Suggestive Groups" appeared, it was arranged that students who completed the Mathematical-Physical group at Lawrence (four years) could enter the engineering department of the University of Wisconsin and complete a course in two years.(49) In 1908 the words, "Required of engineers," were added to the description of certain courses in mathematics. In the following year the catalogue contained a suggested list of studies to fill four years at Lawrence and another list for those intending to leave Lawrence after two years. Both programs dovetailed with future work in engineering at the University of Wisconsin. The statement about an arrangement with Wisconsin for the benefit of pre-engineering students was repeated with but slight changes through 1938.(50)

The catalogue of 1909, listing offerings for 1909-10, was the first to place a little group of studies together under the heading of Engineering. By 1911 the list had settled down to four courses: three already given at Lawrence for some years, Surveying, Descriptive Geometry, and Mechanical Drawing; and one, Mechanics, new in 1909. The heading and the list of four courses continued to appear without alteration until 1935. After that the label, Engineering, disappeared and the courses were scattered about among many others under the caption of Physical Sciences and Mathematics. Mechanics, later called Engineering Mechanics, was last taught in the spring of 1938. The other three courses continued, either given or omitted by normal alternation, until 1940-41. For twenty years Trezise usually taught all four of these courses. In his last year at Lawrence none of them was given.

Other Departments

Art

From the opening of Lawrence in 1849 instruction was available in painting and drawing; and for a short time the catalogue described a School of Art.(51) This enterprise will be described briefly elsewhere. Something may be said here, however, about the history and philosophy of art in the classroom.

49. Cat., 1905, p. 41.

50. Cats., 1909, pp. 107-109; 1917, p. 147; Mar., 1938, p. 77.

51. Cats., 1912, pp. 225-229; 1913, pp. 246-250.

In the fall of 1907 Miss Kate Corkhill of the English department inaugurated a course, of two hours for one semester, "[dealing] chiefly with the development of painting and sculpture."⁽⁵²⁾ As already noted, Otho Pearre Fairfield joined the English department in 1908. He had previously taught Latin and English at Alfred University and had also lectured on art in the New York School of Ceramics at Alfred. In 1911-12, taking over from Miss Corkhill, he gave two courses in art: a History of Painting and a History of Architecture and Sculpture. This gave him a program of four hours each semester in art history. Then, beginning in the following year, he gave all his time to this field. For a short time only, he gave a course entitled Social Aesthetics, but for a decade he used the caption, Art History and Social Aesthetics, in the catalogue. He long called his introductory course Studies in Appreciation. A course in Civic Art was later called Municipal Art, and then City Planning. For the rest, the titles of his courses sound like the chapter-headings in a great history of the art of Europe and America: Greek Art, Roman and Medieval, Italian Renaissance, Northern Renaissance, French, English, American Art. Fairfield continued with this work until he reached the age of seventy in 1934. In 1928 he published a book entitled, The Italian Renaissance in Art: A Study in Appreciation, 1928, xiv + 487 pp.

Elocution

Elocution and other forms of public speaking were very important in early Lawrence. Usually, however, there was not a special teacher for this work; instead, nearly all members of the Faculty had a part in it. In the spring of 1893, a young woman was employed to teach elocution and physical culture for women; but there was no such person on the Faculty in 1893-94. Then for nine years, beginning just as Plantz became President, a succession of young women taught the same combination. After that, for eleven years (1903-14) Lawrence maintained a School of Expression, a sister to the School of Music. This enterprise will be discussed elsewhere. While this "School" existed there was other work in public speaking in the College proper. Actually, persons on the staff of the School of Expression gave the College courses.

Work in the College had more modest aims than that carried on in the School. "No attempt is made [in the College] to make public readers, and selections are studied only for the purpose of developing the powers of interpretation and appreciation of literature."⁽⁵³⁾ It

52. Cats., 1907, p. 90; 1908, p. 88.

53. Cats., 1904, p. 96; 1905, p. 77.

was earlier told how, until June, 1907, each Senior prepared an oration and delivered it at a meeting in the Chapel. The Professor of English supervised the writing; the Professor of Oratory, the delivery.(54)

Frederick Wesley Orr graduated from Drury College, Springfield, Missouri, studied at the Curry School of Expression in Boston, and then taught at the University of the Pacific (later College of the Pacific) at Stockton, California. He joined the staff of Lawrence University and its School of Expression in 1910, and remained after the "School" was discontinued in 1914. During the next eight years he was either alone in the department or had only part-time help from someone in another line of work. Then in 1922 two graduates of Lawrence were added to the staff. One was a young woman who had received the degree of Bachelor of Oratory from the School of Expression in 1914; the other was Albert L. Franzke, B.A., 1916, who had been a very successful undergraduate debater. Orr was on leave of absence in 1923-24 and after one more year left Lawrence for good. Franzke succeeded him as head of the department in 1925.

In the years when Orr was carrying on alone his courses were usually Fundamentals of Public Speaking, Extempore Speaking, two courses in Oratory, two in Dramatic Action, and two in Debate. He also gave special help to those engaged in Intercollegiate Debate and Intercollegiate Oratory. Later on, when both College and department were larger, Extempore Speaking came to have very large enrollments. In 1924-25, Orr's last year, when the College was on the quarter system, there were four sections of Extempore Speaking in the first and third quarters and two in the second. The course in Advanced Dramatic Action was re-labeled Play Production in 1920.

Physical Education

With one small exception the Faculty included no teacher of physical education before Plantz. When Ormsby Hall came into use in 1889, one of its rooms was a gymnasium; but who, if anyone, had charge of the work done there is unknown. As just stated, the Trustees employed a young woman for the spring term of 1893 to have charge of work in elocution and physical education for women but there is no record of such a person on the staff in 1893-94. Then, in the fall of 1894, a young woman was appointed Instructor in Elocution and Physical Culture. From that time on there was always a teacher of physical education for women. In nine years a succession of six women held the same position. Two were graduates of the Cumnock School of Oratory at Northwestern Univer-

54. Cat., 1906, p. 85.

sity, and doubtless the others had similar training. From 1903 to 1909 a series of three more women combined the office of Director of Physical Education for Women with teaching in some other department, but not in Elocution. The second of these nine teachers was Miss Sara H. Parkes (1895-98), who married Charles W. Treat, Professor of Chemistry and Physics. In 1909 Mrs. Treat resumed her former position and held it for eight years. She was the first to have no teaching duties besides her work in physical culture. Perhaps her position should be regarded as a part-time one. Her annual salary during her last five years was \$300. The position had five more holders in the eight years 1917 to 1925. Counting Mrs. Treat only once, this makes fourteen persons in thirty-one years. Without Mrs. Treat and the eleven years of her two terms, there were thirteen persons in twenty years.

Though the women had at least a part-time Director or Instructor in Physical Culture from 1894 onward, the first opposite number for men did not appear until 1901, just as the new gymnasium came into use. He was Francis Henry Brigham and he had the title, Physical Director of Alexander Gymnasium. He held this position for one year only. A man of nearly twenty-eight, he was also a member of the Junior class. He graduated in 1904 and later became a very active Methodist minister and a specialist in Sunday School work.

Brigham was the first in a line of thirteen men who, with various titles, had charge of the physical training of men in the twenty-two years, 1901 to 1923. Seven of them held their position for one year only and none for more than three years. Two, early in the list, gave part of their time to teaching Latin or German. The preparation of these men is not known in every case, but three had come from the Y.M.C.A. Training School in Springfield, Massachusetts. Anyone coming from that school would be strongly evangelical in outlook as well as devoted to physical culture. The succession of brief tenures ended in 1923. In that year Plantz named Arthur C. Denney to the staff with the title, Director of Athletics. Later, he would be Professor of Physical Education. He outlasted all other teachers appointed by Plantz, remaining in active service until the spring of 1960.

From 1895 to 1899 the University leased the Armory that stood on the west half of the site of the present Masonic Temple. There the men had military drill and perhaps some gymnastics; and women students had classes twice a week. After the University's own gymnasium became available in 1901, two years' work in physical education was normally required for both men and women. The following paragraph, introduced into the catalogue in 1904, appeared for many years:

Gymnasium work for men is mainly the same as that in use by the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America. It consists of marching, free hand and calisthenic exercises, and hygienic gymnastics. Some work is given in Education Gymnastics for those who wish it. Recreative work is fostered Especial attention is given to outdoor work, mainly in the form of Football, Baseball and Track Athletics"(55)

The heart of the physical education program always continued to be the two years of required work. Successive teachers introduced other courses, but they proved as impermanent as the teachers themselves. On the men's side these courses pointed toward playground supervision or coaching. On the women's side, Aesthetic and Folk Dancing and Corrective Gymnastics were introduced in 1923, lasted for three years, and disappeared. In 1923 it became the rule that "Not more than six hours of [quarter-system] credit in Physical Education may be counted toward graduation."(56)

Military Department

In the fall of 1894 a Military department was established at Lawrence that lasted for six years. Two officers of the regular Army in succession directed the enterprise until the second was called away by the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. During the last two years undergraduates drilled the corps under the supervision of Professor Treat. The United States Army deposited with the University equipment valued at \$3,650.(57)

At first all male students physically able to drill were required to take this course. A few students objected to this requirement and one, alleging religious scruples, transferred to the Oshkosh Normal School as a protest.(58) During the fifth year (1898-99) drill was made elective for Juniors and Seniors; and in the last year, elective for all.

The catalogue stated for several years:

The leased gymnasium adjoining the University grounds affords excellent facilities for the use of the corps thus enabling drills to proceed in inclement weather and permitting the "awkward squad" to be drilled in private.(59)

55. Cats., 1904, p. 98, quoted; slightly reduced, 1912, p. 167.

56. Cat., Jan., 1924, p. 139.

57. Exec. Com., Dec. 24, 1894.

58. F.M., Dec. 13, 1897, p. 215; Law., Nov., 1897, p. 31.

59. Cat., 1898, p. 41.

Toward the end of the first year the Cadets began wearing a "neat gray uniform similar to the undress uniform of West Point."(60) The work included drills, rifle practice and practice marches. The Faculty voted in February, 1900 to terminate the work in the following June. Their last action in connection with the Cadets was to permit them to march with the G.A.R. in the Memorial Day parade of 1900.(61)

Other Enterprises

Two more enterprises remain to be mentioned. Campus Fundamentals was a course required of Freshmen, given during the first semester or, later, during the first quarter.(62) Appearing first in the fall of 1921, it was twice given without credit and then, for three years, carried one hour's credit (quarter system). The books used in the course show its nature. They were: How to Study and Teaching How to Study, by F. W. McMurry and How to Use Your Mind, a Psychology of Study, by Harry Dexter Kitson. Both authors were Professors at Teachers College, Columbia University. Plantz and Naylor taught the course in 1923 and Plantz and Griffiths, in the following year until Plantz's death.

In 1918 Lawrence instituted a course in Library Science. It was intended to give a needed skill to those going out to teach in high schools -- most of all, to teachers of English.(63)

Concluding Remarks

After the foregoing review of development in the several fields of learning a little may be added about the Faculty and curriculum as a whole. In Plantz's first year, as stated earlier, the Faculty was made up of the President, 6 full-time Professors, Rabbi Gerechter who gave one course in Hebrew, and 3 Instructors: a total of 11. If we include

60. Cat., 1895, p. 36; Law., Apr. 1895, p. 198.

61. F.M., Feb. 26, May 11, 1900, pp. 261, 267.

62. Cats., Jan., 1921, p. 91; annually to Jan., 1925, p. 78.

63. Cat., Jan., 1922, p. 126; Lib. Repts., 1918-25; see Chapter XXVI.

the Librarian, the number is 12. Not counted were the army officer in charge of military drill and those who taught in collateral enterprises such as the Conservatory. Thirty years later, in the fall of 1924 before Plantz died, the Faculty consisted of the President, 2 Deans, both of whom did some teaching, and 43 other persons: in all, 46. Besides these, there were 2 on the Library staff, one of whom gave the course in Library Science. In 1894-95 most of the 11 teachers taught in both the Preparatory department and the College, so that the growth from 11 to 46 persons by no means represents the expansion of College work under Plantz.

Most of those whom Plantz named to the Faculty had their bachelor's degrees from church-related colleges, more often than not of the Methodist connection. Weston was almost unique in that he earned his first degree in the undergraduate department of Yale University. Many long-time teachers were alumni of Lawrence: Plantz himself, Nicholson, Farley, Trever, Baker, Griffiths, Franzke and Edna Wiegand (Latin and Greek); and a number of other alumni were on the staff for short periods, usually as Instructors.

By the opening of the twentieth century the possession of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was coming to be regarded as a necessary qualification for college teaching, at least in the higher positions. During Plantz's first two years he was the only Ph.D. on the Faculty. In 1896 he appointed a Ph.D. of Cornell Professor of Mathematics. Two years later E. D. Wright, also a Cornell Ph.D., came to teach Latin; and slowly the number increased. In Plantz's last years about one-third of the Faculty was so qualified. Counting Plantz each time, there were 17 in 1923-24 and 16 in 1924-25. They had been trained in many universities. When Plantz died the list included three from Wisconsin; two each from Harvard, Columbia, Minnesota and Boston University, one of these being Plantz himself; and one each from Chicago, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania and Yale. Several men who taught at Lawrence for many years had studied for two or three years in one or more good graduate schools, but did not complete requirements for the final degree. Among them were Nicholson, Farley, Rosebush and Walter E. Rogers.

Some Trustees served Lawrence through the whole Plantz period, but no member of the Faculty did so. The last College teacher who taught under Plantz's predecessor passed from the scene when Nicholson died in 1907. Silvester, who had come to teach music in 1885, retired in 1910. Four men and two women, more than half the Faculty, began to teach in 1894, just as Plantz became President. This group included Charles W. Treat, who, teaching from 1894 to 1918, had more years under Plantz than anyone else. Farley joined the Faculty in 1901 and worked under Plantz for 23 years and a few months. Youtz came a year after Farley and had a year less under Plantz.

One peculiarity in Plantz's choosing of teachers was the number he appointed who had been trained as preachers. It was to be expected that men from theological seminaries should give the courses in religion, Bible, missions, and religious education. Such teachers were Plantz himself, Naylor, Vaughan, Denyes and Emme. But several who

worked in other fields had this background also. Men having the degree of S.T.B., with the subjects they taught, were: Trever, Greek and later history; Ruff, German; Conrad, sociology; and McPheeters, English. Cooley, a Ph.D. of Clark University, who taught education from 1920 to 1923, was a Methodist minister. Robert H. Hannum, Assistant Professor of English from 1923 to 1926, had taught for three years in a Presbyterian mission school in India.(64) There were others who had preached, some to support themselves during their undergraduate years.

The Faculty roster in the annual catalogues regularly showed what each teacher taught. In Plantz's first two years there were only three fields (as we think of them today) entitled to the full time of a Professor: Greek, Latin, and mathematics. In addition, Latin had part of the time of the teacher of English. Eight subjects, each occupying half the time of one teacher, were: natural history or biology, geology, chemistry, physics, history, the social sciences (counted as one field), French, and German. English and elocution gave part-time employment to two other teachers. There was one course in Hebrew. Plantz himself taught philosophy, which included psychology and religion. Counting psychology separately, all this adds up to sixteen subjects. This was the curriculum.(65)

A field of learning reached an important milestone when it came to require the whole time of one person. Sometimes this was accomplished neatly. Treat taught physics and chemistry; Youtz appeared to take over and enlarge the work in chemistry; Treat then gave all his time to physics. A sort of binary fission had occurred, except that the resulting organisms were not identical. Often the process of growth was more confused. Farley was appointed Assistant Professor of Philosophy in 1901; actually, he taught a medley of subjects for many years, including geometry in the Preparatory department. It was not until 1923 that he narrowed his work practically to philosophy. Details of the founding or enlargement of departments have already appeared in considerable numbers.

This chapter may conclude with some statistics that picture what went on in the classroom at the end of the Plantz administration. Shown are the number of teachers and the number of students enrolled for each subject or department and the share, calculated on the basis of credit hours, which each department had in the whole College effort. The percentages arrived at are not entirely satisfactory as a measure of teaching effort. If the hours per week are the same, a class of twenty students counts twice as much as one of ten; large classes weigh too heavily. With this caution, let us look at some of the findings.

64. Law., Nov. 8, 1923, p. 2.

65. Cats., July, 1894, pp. 6, 7; May, 1895, pp. 6, 7.

Hebrew was no longer taught by 1924. It looked as though Greek would soon meet the same fate; it then had but one class of four students. But Greek did not die out; it is still (1961) studied at Lawrence. Latin, with 76 students, had in 1924 only about half as many enrolled as German or Spanish.

Subjects not on the list when Plantz came, but taught in 1924, were: Art History and Appreciation, Commerce, Education, Engineering, Missions, Spanish, and the smaller items of Campus Fundamentals and Library Science. Some of these had begun as ramifications of earlier departments. Thus, work in education had sprung from philosophy and work in commerce, from economics. Some fields had, since 1894, undergone changes so great as almost to amount to new establishments. History, for example, had grown from half of one man's work to employment for three Professors, each cultivating a different field. Work in the three fields had a certain community of method and purpose; but perhaps only the word "history," common to them all, had kept them from separating as the social sciences had done.

The largest departments were now the Modern Languages taken as a group, and English. Faculty members in each of these departments now taught more than one-sixth of the work of the College. The natural sciences as a group accounted for one-eighth and the social sciences, about the same. History could be credited with one-tenth. Anyone interested will find the figures for all departments on the following page and by means of them may make comparisons and draw conclusions as he wishes. The whole tabulation offers an excellent conspectus of the curriculum at the end of the Plantz period.(66)

66. Source: class lists handed in by teachers. Some reports or parts of reports for the quarter are missing and, in these cases, estimates, marked "est.," were made. These were based on lists of other years and seemed better than no figures at all. Introducing estimates, of course, affects the percentages all along the line; but any error can, at most, be only a small fraction of one per cent.

DIVISION OF WORK AMONG DEPARTMENTS: FALL, 1924

	No. of teachers: 'p' for part-time	No. of students enrolled	% of credit hours
Art	1	40 est.	1.3
Bible, Religion, Missions	1, 2p	133	2.8
Education	1	85	2.8
English	6, 2p	605	17.6
Foreign Languages (modern)			
French	3	255	8.3
German	1, 1p	142	4.7
Spanish	1, 1p	147	4.9
(total)	<u>6</u>	<u>544</u>	<u>17.9</u>
Greek and Latin	2	80	2.9
History	3	313	10.4
Mathematics, Engineering	2	135	4.2
Natural Sciences			
Geology	2	80	2.7
Chemistry	2	119	4.7
Physics	1	35	1.3
Botany	1	66	2.2
Zoology	1, 1p	69 est.	2.3
(total)	<u>7, 1p</u>	<u>369</u>	<u>13.2</u>
Philosophy	1	191	3.8
Psychology	1	150	5.5
Public Speaking	2	94	2.3
Social Sciences			
Sociology	1	58	1.7
Government	1	57	1.9
Economics	2	154	4.8
Commerce	2	131	4.5
(total)	<u>6</u>	<u>400</u>	<u>12.9</u>
Campus Fundamentals	2p	250 est.	2.1
Library Science	1p	17	.3

CHAPTER XXII
THE CONSERVATORY AND OTHER
SPECIAL SCHOOLS

When Plantz assumed office in 1894 the catalogue described Lawrence University as having five departments: the College of Liberal Arts or the College department,(1) and Preparatory, Commercial, Musical and Art departments. During Plantz's regime the Preparatory department was terminated; the Commercial department was first reorganized as a School of Commerce and then, after some years, brought to an end; the Musical department grew into the Conservatory; and the Art department was for a short time enlarged and called a School of Art. A School of Expression existed for eleven years and then expired. Of all these collateral or peripheral efforts, only the Conservatory outlasted Plantz and has continued to the present. Yet all of them have a place in the history of the institution as a whole.

Of the units just named the Preparatory department was long of great importance in Lawrence's central educational effort. In the beginning, students for the most part, had to be prepared for College on the spot. It will be remembered that the Preparatory department operated for some years before College classes could be organized. Until high schools became generally available it was the principal feeder of the College. Many students of early Lawrence took a course lasting seven years, three in the Preparatory department and four in the College. Others found that their high school work was inadequate; they must spend a year in the Preparatory department before entering the Freshman class. As late as the 1890's perhaps half of those who graduated had begun their work at Lawrence in the Preparatory department.(2)

1. Cat., 1894, pp. 9, 28.

2. Class of 1890, 14 out of 19; 1896, 8 out of 21; 1899, 11 out of 27.

Plantz retained the Preparatory department for fifteen years before advising the Trustees to discontinue it. In his first year there were 77 students in the College and 66 in the Preparatory department. For the next three (1895-98), Preparatory students actually outnumbered the College proper. In 1898 the Preparatory department was renamed the Academy. Then came eleven years (1898-1909) during which the Academy always had fewer than 100 students and averaged 77 -- a fairly stable existence. Meanwhile the number in the College doubled and doubled again. It exceeded 100 students for the first time under Plantz in 1898-99; in 1909-10 it passed 400, never to fall below that number. The Academy students were now occupying classrooms and taking the time of teachers that could be better utilized for College work. High schools were accessible for preparatory work. Plantz therefore recommended the termination of the Academy.⁽³⁾ The necessary tapering off is shown in the number of students: 1908-09, 75; 1909-10, 47; 1910-11, 21. Thus, in June, 1911, came the end of Lawrence's earliest department.

Lawrence offered some commercial training before the Civil War and in 1868 instituted a two-year "sub-collegiate" Commercial course (Chapter XI). The enterprise had therefore existed for more than a quarter of a century when Plantz assumed office. It could be described as a business college paralleling in some details the first two years of high school. It reviewed some common school subjects; gave courses in algebra and history; and in addition taught bookkeeping, commercial law and, in its later years, shorthand and typewriting. The head of this work in 1894 was Oliver P. DeLand, who continued until 1901. From 1890 to 1893 attendance had varied from 81 to 199; then in the next eight years, averaged fewer than fifty.

In 1901 a new School of Commerce was inaugurated at Lawrence with considerable fanfare. There was a complete change in teaching personnel, the new head being William Watkins Williams, B.A., Lawrence, 1895. He had some very ambitious plans. They included a Commerce course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Commercial Science (B.C.S.), a four-year College course giving special attention to commercial subjects and modern languages. The detailed description of courses filled nearly two pages in the catalogue,⁽⁴⁾ but appeared only once. It seems that the idea of such a course was abandoned within a year. Seven years later, when the enterprise was nearing its end, Plantz said to the Trustees: "We have not been able to carry out the thought with which it

3. Reports of the Pres., Dec., 1908, pp. 7, 8.

4. Cat., Mar., 1902, pp. 66, 67.

was established, that is, to provide a college course in Commerce and support the teachers needed by an income from the shorter course."(5)

Meanwhile the ordinary Business College took on new life under Williams. It filled the east half of the third floor of Main Hall, all of that floor not taken up by the Chapel. The College agreed to spend \$400, but was to be at no further expense. Williams was to divide equally with the Board "all money received over and above paying the expenses of the school which shall include a salary of \$1200 for himself."(6) The list of subjects taught was about the same as under Williams' predecessor, but perhaps the new head made the work more interesting.

The theory of Bookkeeping is expanded into an elaborate system of actual business The offices represent . . . a freight office, wholesale house, commission office, insurance office and bank.(7)

Enrollment was 92 in Williams' first year, 124 in his second, and 94 in his third; that is about double what it had been before he came. He also opened a branch school in Appleton called the University Business College and some of the staff taught both at Lawrence and downtown.

Plantz noted that after three years of Williams' management the school was composed almost entirely of one-year students; its work was about the same as that of an ordinary business college. Students of the College proper disliked having a commercial school in their midst.(8) In Williams' last year (1904-05) there was a marked decline in enrollment. Under another head, Robert W. Nickerson, the School continued for four more years, to June, 1909, but mustered only about fifty students each year. Fees in the School (1901-09) were \$55.00 a year at first, then \$50.00. In the last year the charges were \$10.00 a month. At any time these amounts were considerably more than the fees paid in the College proper. Plantz's final judgment on the whole matter was as follows:

I recommend that the department of Commerce be discontinued after the conclusion of Mr. Nickerson's contract [in June, 1909] I do not believe that the College has any business to run a short business course as we need the room for other purposes and it does not comport with the dignity of our work.(9)

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5. Reports of the Pres., June, 1908, p. 10.
 6. Com. Fac. Deg., June 18, 1901, pp. 46, 47.
 7. Cat., 1903, p. 101.
 8. Reports of the Pres., June 1904, p. 8; Law., Mar., 1903, pp. 158-160.

It was told in a previous chapter how a department of Commerce was instituted in 1916. When this was under consideration it was sometimes referred to as a School of Commerce. It was, however, simply a new department in the College of Liberal Arts, not an organization paralleling or resembling the special schools.

The Conservatory

The history of musical education at Lawrence down to about 1894 was summarized in Chapter XIII. In the early 1890's the Musical department consisted of one man, John Silvester, Professor of Voice and Instrumental Music. Born in England about 1847, he received his musical education at Oxford and London and in Berlin, Germany. For some time he was a teacher of music and a church organist at various places in England and Scotland. After coming to the United States he was similarly occupied for three years in Milwaukee. He joined the Lawrence staff in 1885 and, except for two years, taught there until 1910.(10)

Beginning in 1887, Silvester outlined two five-year courses in the catalogue, one in piano and the other in organ. If the musical training were combined with "literary" work in the College, the student would receive the Bachelor of Music degree. In those days few qualified for the degree and most were content to come under this rule: "Any student completing the musical work without the literary will receive a certificate for the same."(11) Students in 1890 numbered fifty; in 1893-94, seventy.

In 1894-95, the first year of Plantz's presidency, two instructors were added, one in violin and one in mandolin and banjo, and the work in music was considerably expanded. In the spring of that year the name, Conservatory of Music, used briefly in the 1870's, was adopted again, and Silvester was made Director. The name, Conservatory, has been official ever since, except for four years, 1905-09, when the label was School of Music. In 1895-96 there were five teachers in all but after that, for twelve years (to 1908), there were always either three or four persons on the staff including the Director. The distinction between degree and diploma continued. The numbers receiving each were as follows:

9. Reports of the Pres., June, 1908, pp. 10, 11.

10. Alumni Record (1905), p. 94.

11. Cat., 1890, p. 27.

	Bachelor of Music	Diploma in Music
1900	1	3
1901	-	3
1904	1	5
1905	-	7
1906	1	6

For twenty years (1890-1910) Silvester gave part of his time to teaching music in some of the public schools of Appleton. This connection doubtless led to one of the most useful undertakings of the Conservatory. In 1897 the following sentence appeared in the catalogue for the first time:

A teachers' training class in Public School Music, the aim of which is to prepare students to teach singing in the public schools, will be formed for those wishing to fit themselves for that work; under the charge of the director.(12)

With the omission of the words, "under the charge of the director," this notice was continued for five years more. Then in 1903 it was expanded as follows:

NORMAL COURSE

This course is designed especially for teachers of music in public schools, and for those wishing to prepare for such work. The requirements to enter this course are a knowledge of the elementary principles of music and some proficiency in reading at sight. The course requires one year for completion. Voice culture, one private lesson a week. Harmony. Sight reading. History of Music. Class in methods of teaching. On completing the course students are granted a certificate.(13)

Begun by Silvester in 1897, training for public school music has been available ever since, except possibly in the one year, 1907-08. In 1912 it became a two-year program.(14)

The problem of physical quarters for the work in music was dealt with earlier (Chapter XVIII). The following list of successive locations will sufficiently review this matter in the present context:

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12. Cat., 1897, p. 52.
 13. Cat., Apr., 1903, p. 97.
 14. Cat., Mar., 1912, p. 16.

to 1889	Main Hall
1889-1899	Ormsby Hall
1899-1906	Science Hall
1906-1910	Adkins House
1910 and after	Peabody Hall and annexes

As the Conservatory moved into new quarters in the Adkins house, in September, 1906, it started out also with a new Director. He was T. Dillwyn Thomas, who had just joined the staff as a teacher of voice. In both positions he remained only one year. Plantz later said: "It was very evident that the Music School could not be carried on under his directorship, as he had made himself offensive to the students as well as to his fellow teachers, and had become unpopular in the city."(15)

The next Director, Dudley L. Smith, was also destined to a short tenure. He taught organ at Lawrence for two years (1907-09) but as Director he lasted only one; and the terms relating to that office were revamped after about three months. When he was appointed Director he was "to hire his faculty, provide his own musical instruments and pay all the expenses of the department."(16) Smith proceeded to buy seven new pianos, paying \$400 down and promising the rest in installments. There seem to have been other commitments also. He soon admitted that he could not meet the obligations he had assumed. In December his original contract as Director was annulled and for the remainder of the year he was paid a salary of \$100 a month for his services apart from teaching.(17) Plantz summarized as follows:

Mr. Smith, although a competent musician, proved to be utterly incompetent as a financial manager. He incurred expenses without consulting the Board of Trustees which soon threw him into bankruptcy and made it necessary for the Executive Committee to take the Conservatory into its own hands if the reputation of the school was to be maintained.

The loss for the year was about \$2,000 besides \$2,200 still due on the piano contracts.(18)

The annual lists of students enrolled in the Conservatory always included a good many children; and separate figures for those of college age engaged in professional training are not available. Yet such lists as there are give some idea of how activity and, to a certain extent, income varied from time to time. From 1895 to 1901 the number of stu-

15. Reports of the Pres., June, 1908, p. 9.

16. Exec. Com., Sept. 3, 1907.

17. Exec. Com., Oct. 30, Dec. 9, 1907.

18. Reports of the Pres., June, 1908, p. 9.

dents, including children, was about one hundred. From 1901 to 1906 only totals for students in music and art together are available; but the number taking music probably varied between eighty and one hundred and forty. In 1905-06, the last year when Silvester was Director, there were 113 students, still in the two subjects combined. After that, figures are for music alone. There was a serious decline in the years of T. Dillwyn Thomas (62 students) and Dudley L. Smith (51 students). Several things doubtless helped to produce this fall in numbers: Silvester was teaching in Appleton but was temporarily not connected with Lawrence; Thomas was not popular in the community and he had raised fees by about fifty per cent.

The year of Dudley Smith's management was the nadir from which his successor, Harper, must lead upward if the Conservatory were to survive. Plantz said in June 1908:

My recommendation is that if the School of Music does not in the present year so develop that we can be reasonably sure of securing our interest on the investment for the year to come, it be closed and the building be devoted to Dormitory purposes or sold. I do not believe that we have any right to consume endowment funds in the development of work which is not germane to the college.(19)

The Trustees at that time were also of the opinion that the Conservatory should be ended unless it soon proved self-supporting.(20)

In the summer of 1907 Plantz heard William E. Harper sing at a Chautauqua near Ludington, Michigan. Greatly impressed, he offered Harper a position as a teacher of voice in Lawrence Conservatory. Harper accepted,(21) and in the next six years made a great contribution to the Conservatory though he was not very active in his last year.

Forty years old in 1907, Harper had by that time attained real eminence as a professional musician. He was born in England, but was brought to the United States in early childhood. His musical education included two years of study in Italy, one in Germany and one in France. For a time just before he came to Lawrence he maintained a studio in New York City and a home at East Orange, New Jersey. He excelled both in oratorios and in recital programs. He made a specialty of the title role in Mendelssohn's "Elijah," once singing it before nine thousand people at Ocean Grove, New Jersey (1905). At a musical festival at Louisville, Kentucky he sang the same part to the accompaniment of the New York Symphony Orchestra led by Walter Damrosch (1907). His frequent recitals took him to all parts of the United States east of the Missis-

19. Reports of the Pres., June, 1908, p. 10.

20. Com. Fac. Deg., June 9, 1908, p. 81.

21. Appleton Post, Aug. 7, 1907.

issippi River.(22)

Harper began to teach in the Conservatory in the fall of 1907 just as Dudley L. Smith assumed the office of Director. When Smith's unwise financial moves led to the surrender of his contract, Harper offered to direct the Conservatory. He reached an agreement with the Executive Committee as to terms on March 2, 1908.(23) The Ariel issued in May or June gave him the title of Director,(24) but more official University publications usually stated that he was Dean of the Conservatory from the fall of 1908.(25)

Harper was a great believer in advertising. He regularly reported his own activities in at least three professional periodicals: "Musical America"; and "Western Musical Herald" and "Musical Leader and Concert Goer", both of Chicago. After Harper came to Appleton, mention of him in these magazines naturally included mention of the Lawrence Conservatory. He trained both a Men's Glee Club and a Girls' Glee Club; and he lengthened the tour of the men's Club to nearly three weeks. Harper himself stated that "musical clubs en tour are a much better attraction and advertisement for a college than athletics."(26)

Harper inaugurated and, for some years, managed the Artist Series, an annual sequence of recitals or other musical programs.(27) He instituted a Musical Festival in Appleton that included performances by the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra. The first of these occurred January 31-February 1, 1912; the second, May 12-13, 1913; and the series continued as an annual event for many years. The second Festival entailed a financial loss of about \$1,000. Harper apparently anticipated such an outcome for, shortly before the appointed days, he wrote to Plantz:

Arrangements are completed for the Festival Just what the financial result will be cannot be foretold; these Festivals however are nothing more than a huge advertising event. I know of no way the same amount of money can be as effectively spent and no matter what the result it should be charged to the

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22. Age from Marriage Records, Outagamie Co., vol. 7, p. 239; a later date of birth is indicated in obituary in Alumnus, July, 1947 p. 33; Harper's scrapbook of newspaper clippings, Nov., 1904 through April, 1909, at Conservatory.
23. Exec. Com., Feb. 4, Mar. 2, 1908, pp. 137, 140.
24. 1909 Ariel, spring 1908, p. 97.
25. Conservatory Catalogue (Con. Cat.), Bulletin, Mar., 1912, p. 6.
26. "Musical America," Apr. 18, 1908, Harper scrapbook.
27. Bulletin, Sept., 1908, p. 4; Law., Nov. 5, 1908, p. 89.

advertising account.(28)

In subsequent years Plantz secured guarantors among Appleton businessmen to meet the deficits resulting from these Festivals.(29)

Under Harper's management the Conservatory grew rapidly. In his first year at Lawrence, before he was Director, the staff numbered four. In 1908-09 there were nine teachers. It was an act of great faith or great temerity to increase the staff from four to nine teachers so suddenly. In Harper's last year he had, including himself, ten teachers. Enrollment of students grew rapidly at first, then declined. In Harper's first year in Appleton, the recorded enrollment was 51. In the following year, his first as Director, there were 86 students. Two years later, in 1910-11, the first full year in Peabody Hall, the number had reached 233; but in Harper's last two years, 1911-13, there were only 169 and 174, respectively. It will be recalled that these statistics are quite indefinite because the lists included children.(30)

In Silvester's time the catalogue had contained rather detailed summaries of work done in each field of music. T. Dillwyn Thomas omitted all this material.(31) In Harper's time the College catalogue always contained from 15 to 20 pages devoted to the Conservatory. In addition, the Conservatory had its own catalogues.(32) In March, 1912 and again in March, 1913 the Conservatory catalogues appeared as numbers of the Lawrence College Bulletin. Each was lavishly illustrated and ran to more than 60 pages. These ample brochures were part of Harper's advertising campaign.

In these catalogues Harper returned to Silvester's practice of presenting programs for the several fields of music: piano, voice, public school music, etc. Harper and his colleagues divided the work in each field into what they called departments: Preparatory, Intermediate, Junior, Senior (Diploma), and Senior (Degree course). Junior and Senior programs included theoretical work. Under this heading were named: Harmony, Analysis and Counterpoint, Canon, Fugue, Composition, Orchestration, and History of Music.(33)

28. Harper to Plantz, May 9, 1913.

29. Reports of the Pres., June, 1917, p. 6.

30. Lists in annual cats.; figures also usually in Reports of the Pres., annually in June.

31. Cat., Feb., 1907, p. 136.

32. Cat., 1909, p. 192.

33. Cat., 1911, pp. 200-202; Con. Cat., Bulletin, Mar., 1913 pp. 7-19.

At the end of Harper's time the degree of Bachelor of Music still required five years of work and very few qualified for it. It was built around the course in Pianoforte and included two years of Harmony, other theoretical work, and one year in the History of Music as well as "a public performance of virtuoso literature including a meritorious original composition." In addition the candidate must complete in the College one-fourth of the work required there for the B.A. degree.(34)

In the Harper era Plantz occasionally found it necessary to make clear his own authority over the Conservatory. He wrote to Harper in 1910:

I notice in the circular which you send out that you mention the Conservatory as affiliated with Lawrence College. That statement is not a correct one. The Conservatory belongs to the college and is not affiliated. I call attention to it simply because I think it gives a rather wrong impression. It should be written, "a department of Lawrence College."

I would also call attention to the fact that in our contract all instructors for the Conservatory of Music must first be submitted to me before approval. I note that you have had one or two men recently whom I have never heard anything about until they have been engaged. The only thing I care for in the matter of passing on these people is the question of their character and religious interests. I realize that you are a better judge of their musical attainments than I am, but I am especially particular about the teachers who are connected with the college from the standpoint mentioned above.(35)

And in the spring of 1913, Plantz wrote to Carl J. Waterman:(36)

It has come to me that there is a plan on foot for the Glee Club to have a dance either as a Glee Club or as a bunch of fellows, and I wish to have you notify them at once that this is against the rules of the college and will not be permitted.(37)

The whole matter of dancing at Lawrence in this period is discussed in a section devoted to the fraternities in another chapter.

Peabody Hall was dedicated in April, 1910, toward the end of Harper's third year at Lawrence. To provide a site for it, the Adkins House was moved to the north where, mostly given over to practice rooms,

34. Con. Cat., Bulletin, Mar., 1913, p. 22.

35. Plantz to Harper, Feb. 17, 1910.

36. Editors note: See his biographical sketch later in this chapter.

37. Plantz to Waterman, Apr. 18, 1913.

it served as an annex to Peabody Hall until 1959 when both buildings were razed.

Before the completion of Russell Sage Hall in 1917, the College had difficulty in providing rooms for its women students. As enrollment in the Conservatory grew, Harper faced the same problem. For 1910-11 he rented and equipped three rooming houses for women.(38) The number soon became five. In one of them, the building just west of Brokaw Hall, meals were served to about fifty Conservatory students.(39)

Because most of the full-time Conservatory students worked and lived apart from the College, two communities were developing. The preceptresses of Harper's houses were not amenable to the College authorities nor under the direction of its Dean of Women. They granted to the women in their houses privileges denied to the women of the College, and the latter consequently felt aggrieved. Conservatory students, on their part, showed a lack of interest in, and even of harmony with, the College. As Plantz put it, "the spirit of the Conservatory seemed to be increasingly antagonistic to the College."(40)

The Trustees had turned the Conservatory over to Harper in 1908 on the following terms: he was to hire all teachers and pay all bills. If the gross income were less than \$6,000, Harper was to keep it all; if over \$6,000, he was to pay the Trustees 12 per cent; if in excess of \$8,000, 20 per cent was asked. Harper remained in charge under this and similar contracts until July 1, 1912.(41)

Each year the Treasurer of the College prepared a summary balance sheet for the Conservatory. The amount of money handled grew steadily. Receipts were recorded as follows:

Year ending May 1, 1909	\$ 5200.47
Year ending May 1, 1910	6666.95
Year ending May 1, 1911	14708.55
Fifteen months ending Aug. 1, 1912	31679.74

Disbursement figures showed a deficit of nearly \$2,000 in the first of these years; for this Harper's predecessor, Dudley L. Smith, was in part responsible. For each of the other three periods the Conservatory profit was less than its "proportion of maintenance, repairs and insurance

38. Appleton Crescent, Apr. 6, 1910.

39. Con. Cats., Bulletins, Mar., 1912, Mar., 1913, pictures of five houses; Reports of the Pres., June, 1913, pp. 6, 7.

40. Reports of the Pres., June 1912, p. 7; June, 1913, p. 10.

41. Exec. Com., Mar. 2, 1908; Reports of the Pres., June, 1908, p. 10; June, 1909, pp. 27, 28.

on buildings and grounds." That is, if these charges were included in the reckoning, the Conservatory always operated in the red.

Effective July 1, 1912, the Trustees undertook the financial management of the Conservatory, including that of the five dormitories. When negotiations for the change were in progress Harper told Plantz that the Conservatory was earning over \$5,000 a year above its expenses; and Plantz said to the Trustees in June, 1912, with reference to the proposed arrangements: "We believe that we shall probably receive between three and four thousand dollars as our share of the income from the music department the next year."(42) It was thus hoped both to realize some income from the investment in the Conservatory and to end the disharmony among the students.

According to the plan thus imposed on Harper, the Trustees, or Plantz in their name, would hire all teachers, collect all monies and pay all bills. They retained Harper as Dean and gave him "general business management," but he could not make financial commitments without the prior approval of the Executive Committee. Harper was to receive \$2,500 and a share in the profits, if any. (There were none.)(43)

To end the division among the students, the Trustees took over the entire task of boarding and rooming students. They bought from Harper all the furniture and equipment that he owned, both in Peabody Hall and in the five dormitories, paying him \$4,300. The College maintained at least some separate dormitories or dormitory space for Conservatory women until 1921, but from 1912 onward sought to treat all women students alike.(44)

It was told earlier (Chapter XVIII) that William Harper married Emma, the only child of George F. Peabody. Peabody had not approved of this marriage, and it did not take place until September 18, 1909, six days after his death. During the winter of 1911-12 the Harpers spent about six weeks in the South "in the interest of Mrs. Harper's health."(45) In the spring of 1913 Harper asked for a leave of absence and he and Mrs. Harper lived in various places near New York City, still seeking to improve her health. Under the will of George F. Peabody his daughter received \$6,000 a year. This was rather a good income before the First World War; most Professors at Lawrence College received \$1,500 a year from 1908 to 1913. Harper was thus not obliged to work to support himself and his wife.

42. Reports of the Pres., June, 1912, p. 9.

43. Exec. Com., Dec., 1911; Reports of the Pres., June, 1912, pp. 8, 9; copy of a contract, later changed in details, Wood papers, 1912.

44. Cf., Cats., 1921, p. 163; 1922, p. 160.

45. Bulletin, Nov., 1911, p. 15; Law., Nov. 28, 1911, p. 3; Jan. 9, 1912, p. 2.

Harper's performance at the Conservatory in academic 1912-13 showed a great falling off. Several factors may have contributed to this result: concern over Mrs. Harper's health, an assured income that made it unnecessary for him to hold his position, perhaps resentment at the terms of his latest contract. At any rate, Plantz reported in June:

His [Harper's] work this year seems to me to have been of little value to the college. He has done very little teaching, has turned the business management pretty largely over to his secretary, has done scarcely anything to advertise or push the Conservatory and has by our consent, owing to the sickness of his wife, been absent since the middle of March with the exception of about ten days when he came back to help with the May festival.(46)

Though the College Treasurer did not close the books for the year until August 1, Plantz knew as he talked with the Trustees in June that the Conservatory was about to show another deficit. This was but the last installment of a depressing record. The Trustees had taken about \$10,000 from endowment in 1906 to buy and remodel the Adkins property. Mr. Peabody gave \$12,000 to build Peabody Hall; the Trustees spent \$18,000, taking another \$6,000 from endowment. To these initial sums Plantz added the repeated deficits and the interest lost each year. By 1913 he could say: "We have an investment of between \$25,000 and \$30,000 which has been borrowed from the endowment fund." Not his final sentence on the subject, but the most revealing was this: "I am very much perplexed over the whole Conservatory situation and would be very thankful if we had no such department."(47)

Harper resigned his position at the Conservatory in June, 1913, a few days after commencement.(48) He and Mrs. Harper soon removed to California and there spent the remainder of their long lives: he died in 1947 at the age of 80 and she in 1954 at 77.(49) When George F. Peabody died in 1909 a trust was established which, as mentioned previously, was to pay \$6,000 a year to his daughter as long as she lived. For the rest, the will directed the Trustees to administer and conserve the estate until the daughter's death, at which time it was to be used to pay a number of bequests. Two sums were to go to Lawrence: \$25,000 to establish and endow an infirmary for women students and \$5,000 to beautify the University grounds. By 1954 the estate had grown to something over a million dollars. The accumulated money was, so far as it could be done, divided pro rata among the causes or persons enumerated in Peabody's will. Between 1955 and 1958 Lawrence received \$12,155.17

46. Reports of the Pres., June 10, 1913, p. 10.

47. Reports of the Pres., June 10, 1913, pp. 9, 10.

48. Exec. Com., June 24, 1913.

49. Alumnus, July, 1947, p. 33; same, Fall 1954, p. 29.

for the infirmary project and \$22,431.03 for landscaping. This made a total of \$134,586.20.(50)

Frederick Vance Evans succeeded Harper as Dean of the Conservatory in 1913. He was born in Des Moines, Iowa in 1883 and, before coming to Appleton, was Director of Vocal Studies in a conservatory in that city. Counting the year 1918-19 when he was involved in war work, Evans was on the staff at Lawrence for seven years. The musical fare offered to students in his time did not differ greatly from that under Harper. He and Carl J. Waterman continued with two glee clubs. Evans also carried on the May Festival, in cooperation with the Minneapolis Symphony, and the annual Artist Series. During the war the Festival was omitted and the tours of the glee clubs were greatly curtailed.

The United States entered World War I in April, 1917. Dean Evans, said Plantz, "was so absorbed in war matters" in the spring of 1918 "that he did almost no advertising, not even getting out the annual catalogue." Soon after commencement he left Appleton to become a song leader for the Y.M.C.A. at an army camp near San Antonio, Texas. Later he did similar work in Italy for almost a year. Plantz reported in October, 1918: "I have taken charge of the Conservatory in the Dean's absence and spend an hour each day there, which seems sufficient to direct its affairs."(51) Evans was back at his post in the Conservatory during 1919-20 but, for reasons of health, was given leave for the following year. In the spring of 1921 he resigned.(52) For some years after leaving Appleton he lived in California. There he carried on a real estate business and directed choral work as an avocation.(53)

50. Copy of will in Lawrence University business offices.

51. Reports of the Pres., Oct., 1918, p. 5; Law., Apr. 22, 1920, p. 2.

52. Exec. Com., Mar. 1, 1921.

53. Law., Apr. 23, 1926, p. 2.

Carl John Waterman was born in 1884 near Kilbourn, Wisconsin, now Wisconsin Dells. Coming to Lawrence in 1902, he spent his first year in the College proper; but even then he distinguished himself as a member of the Glee Club and as a reader.(54) In his second and third years he was enrolled in the Conservatory; and in his third, in the School of Expression as well. In June, 1905 he received two diplomas, one in vocal music and the other from the School of Expression, in oratory.

Waterman spent the next five years as an instructor in singing in the Industrial School for Boys at Waukesha. At the end of the period he wrote as follows about how he had continued his professional training:

From 1905-07 I studied voice with F. W. Carberry at Milwaukee and the past three years [1907-10] have devoted three days a week to teaching here and the remainder of the time to study in Chicago at the American Conservatory with Karleton Hackett. I have also taken work in Public School Methods in vocal music with O. E. Robinson of the Chicago Public Schools.(55)

With such a training Waterman returned to the Lawrence Conservatory in 1910. At first he taught Voice, Public School Music and Music History. First under Harper and then under Evans he gradually became known as a leader in College and other community singing. He directed the choir at the First Congregational Church and for some years was in charge of music in the Appleton High School.

In the summer of 1915 Waterman was one of a quartet, using the name Lawrence Lyrics, which made a three-months' trip by automobile from Appleton to San Francisco and back. They appeared for about ten days at the Panama-Pacific Exposition and, in addition, gave from 60 to 70 concerts at points en route. Besides Waterman, the men in the group were Carl S. McKee, Raymond Green, David Anderson and George Reynolds, manager. In 1922 McKee began several years of service on the Conservatory Faculty.

When Evans was given a leave of absence for 1920-21 Waterman was made temporary head of the Conservatory; and upon Evans' resignation he received a permanent appointment. He reached the age of sixty-five in 1949 and became Professor emeritus; but for four more years he served as "Dean and Professor of Singing." He thus had 43 years on the Faculty of the Conservatory and was its head for 33 years. He died June 4, 1959.(56) Waterman's great abilities were developed and matured in Plantz's time though, counted in years, most of his career fell under

54. Law., May 1, 1903, p. 230.

55. Waterman to Plantz, Mar. 5, 1910.

56. Alumnus, Summer 1953, p. 2; same, Summer 1959, p. 11.

Plantz's successors.

Earl L. Baker joined the staff of the Conservatory in 1922. He had just spent eight years as a music supervisor in the Minneapolis schools, and he now took over the work in public school music. Lawrence had required two years for a diploma in this field since 1912. The number was now raised to three; and the addition was followed, not by a decrease, but by an increase in enrollment. The state requirement became three years in 1925. In the catalogue of January, 1925 Baker outlined for the first time a four year course in public school music ending with the degree of Bachelor of Music.(57)

For the most part those who taught in the Conservatory in the second half of the Plantz period remained only a few years and then sought other employment: many built notable careers elsewhere. There were three, however, appointed in this period, who gave most of their working life to Lawrence and lived on in Appleton after retiring. Percy Fullinwider taught from 1911 to 1944, most of the time as Professor of Violin. He trained and directed the Lawrence Symphony Orchestra and other orchestral groups. Nettie Steninger (Mrs. Percy) Fullinwider taught piano at the Conservatory through most of these years.(58) Miss Gladys Ives Brainard was Professor of Piano (or, in some years, of "Pianoforte") for 34 years, from 1919 to 1952. A great teacher and a superb concert artist, she added much to the renown of the Conservatory.(59)

In Evans' time and in the early part of Waterman's service as Dean it usually took five years to earn the Bachelor of Music degree. Most were content with a certificate or a diploma; and some of the diplomas required four years of work. At the seven commencements when Evans was Dean (1914-20) there were bestowed 54 certificates in public school music and 41 diplomas representing four years of work; but in all only six Bachelor of Music degrees were granted. At the first five commencements when Waterman was Dean (1921-25) nine persons received the Bachelor of Music degree, three being the highest number in any one year. One of those so distinguished in 1925 was LaVahn K. Maesch, who joined the staff of the Conservatory in 1926, and later became its Director.

In 1923 this note was inserted in the Conservatory catalogue for the first time and was repeated for several years:

The time for graduation in the conservatory cannot always be determined in advance as much depends on the student's previous training, talent and diligence Those having the

57. Cat., 1925, pp. 164, 165.

58. Alumnus, July, 1944, p. 8.

59. Cat., Dec., 1951, p. 15, footnote; Alumnus, Summer 1952, p. 10.

equivalent of 4 year's study should be able to complete the certificate course in 2 years, the Diploma course in 3 years and the Bachelor of Music course in 4 years.(60)

In 1927 nine people took the Bachelor of Music degree and from 1931 onward more than twenty a year did so.

In Plantz's last decade the Conservatory was no longer a financial headache. In Evans' first year it still showed a deficit, though a small one. After that, from 1914-15 through 1928-29, it always showed a profit. Responsible for this happy issue were a new form of contract with teachers and an increased enrollment.

In Harper's last year, 1912-13, teachers received a fixed salary. In the following year Plantz experimented with a commission system and, in 1914-15 and subsequently, applied it to the whole Conservatory. Teachers received sixty per cent of the fees from the lessons they gave while the College kept the remainder. There were certain guarantees and other exceptions: salaries would be paid for part of a person's time -- for example, to the Dean for administrative responsibilities and choral training, to the Orchestra and Band Conductor and to those who gave the courses in theory, music history and music education.

The financial growth of the Conservatory may be seen from the following figures (nearest dollar):(61)

Year ending	Receipts	Disbursements	Excess of Receipts
July 31, 1915	\$22,873	\$21,589	\$1,334
July 31, 1919	27,851	24,349	3,502
July 31, 1924	69,790	62,148	7,642
July 31, 1925	75,198	63,796	11,402

From 1916 onward enrollment was always above 200. In Evans' seven years the highest figure was 323 (1917-18) and the average, 246. After the war there was a large and sustained increase. In 1920-24, Plantz's last years and Waterman's first four as Dean, the lowest figure in any year was 434 and the average, 447. Thus, in this quadrennium, enrollment was about twice Harper's highest score. Counting the Instructor of Public School Drawing, the Conservatory Faculty of these last years varied from 17 to 20 and stood at 17 when Plantz died.

60. Con. Cats., 1923, p. 48; 1925, p. 55.

61. Treas. Reports, annual.

School of Expression

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries education in public speaking in one of its forms had an appeal peculiar to that era and now largely outmoded. Many people were then convinced that one could build a career on the speaking voice employed in the oral interpretation of literature. This work, so its many enthusiasts believed, was a parallel and an equal to singing. Schools of Oratory and Schools of Expression abounded, most of them connected with universities. The directors of some of them were nationally known especially, perhaps, in the college world. Two of the most famous were Samuel Silas Curry (1847-1921), head of the Boston School of Expression, and Robert McLean Cumnock (1840-1928), whose School of Oratory was a part of Northwestern University. Their graduates were eager to found and operate similar schools; from them colleges like Lawrence drew their teachers of elocution and oratory.

From its inception Lawrence trained its students in public speaking, but except for one year (1879-80) there was no special teacher of elocution or public speaking. Instead, as noted in earlier chapters, most Faculty members had a part in directing and supervising such work. For one term, in the spring of 1893, a young woman had charge of elocution and physical training for women. In the following year there was no one of this sort on the Faculty; but beginning in Plantz's first year Lawrence returned to this arrangement. For nine years, 1894 to 1903, six young women in succession handled this combination of duties. The one of longest service (1895-98) was Sara H. Parkes; the last (1901-03) was Laura Lee. Both were graduates of the Cumnock School of Oratory. Then for eleven years Lawrence University included a School of Expression. A little was said in the previous chapter of how the staff of this School was charged also with the work in public speaking in the College proper.

Wilford O. Clure, first head of the Lawrence School of Expression, had a long and varied preparation for his work. He studied for two years in the Drake School of Oratory, a part of Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. Also in Iowa, he attended a law school for one year, was admitted to the bar, and practiced briefly. He next studied with S. S. Curry in Boston. For two years just before coming to Lawrence he was Professor of Oratory in the Kansas State Agricultural College. Apparently the fees of the students at Lawrence did not support him adequately. After two and one-half years (September, 1903 to February, 1906) he gave up the School of Expression and opened a tea room and "ice-cream fountain" on College Avenue. He advertised this business in the Lawrentian for a short time.(62)

62. Bulletin, Nov., 1903, pp. 5, 6; Reports of the Pres., June, 1906, pp. 5, 9; Law., Feb. 15, 1907, p. 163.

John Seaman Garns came to Lawrence to replace Clure in February, 1906. Like Clure he had graduated from both the Drake University School of Oratory at Des Moines and Curry's Boston School of Expression. He was Director, or later Dean, of the Lawrence School of Expression for eight and one-half years, or until it went out of existence in June, 1914. In 1908 Garns added his wife, Josephine Retz-Garns, to the staff as Instructor in Expression, Harmonic Gymnastics, and Voice Culture. Two years later Frederick Wesley Orr came as Instructor in Dramatic Art and Forensics. He, too, was a graduate of the Boston (or Curry) School of Expression. After the Lawrence School ended, Orr taught public speaking and dramatics at Lawrence until 1925.

From 1904 to 1910 the School of Expression used from eight to thirteen pages in the annual catalogues, setting forth its purposes and methods.(63) In June, 1911 it filled one number of the Bulletin with its own catalogue, a profusely illustrated brochure of 48 pages. In this Garns stated the purposes of his School at greater length than he had done in the College catalogue. He promised much to those who would enroll with him. Some of his phrases call to mind the advertising of Dale Carnegie.

[The] primary aim [of the Lawrence School of Expression] is to fit men and women for the public platform as Lecturers, Entertainers, Interpreters of Literature, Actors or Public Readers; or for the school room as Teachers of English or Literature in high schools and colleges.

The first interest of the School . . . is the personal development and general culture of the student . . . it develops the positive qualities of the man and makes of him a "positive" not a "negative" force in the world. . . . it would give him the free use of his instruments of expression, -- his Mind, his Voice and his Body. . . . it develops . . . a winning personal address, a pleasing voice, the ability to speak with ease in public and that command of all powers which we call "self-possession."(64)

After setting forth his purposes, Garns turned to methods. One short quotation from a very lengthy exposition will suffice:

The methods of the "School of Expression" are founded upon a definite science -- psychology. The mind and its activities are recognized as the cause of all expression and all the work of the "School" deals with causes (mental states and activities) and not primarily with effects. This method makes it imperative that the student have a knowledge of this "science of the soul"

63. E.g., Cat., 1905, p. 123.

64. Cat., Lawrence School of Expression (Law. Sch. Expr.), Bulletin, June, 1911, pp. 9, 10.

sufficient at least to enable him by introspection to study the workings of his own mind and emotional nature.(65)

In the same way, at inordinate length, Garns explained and justified his whole program. First year students in the School of Expression must, therefore, take a course from Garns in the Psychology of Reading. In their second year they would take the first course in psychology given by Farley to College students. In the same way, at inordinate length, Garns explained and justified his whole program.

Garns' work in dramatics, in which he was assisted by F. W. Orr from 1910 onward, seems to have been very successful. In 1910-11 the Dramatic Club of the School of Expression gave an English play called Our Boys, by Henry J. Byron, performing it in "a large number of towns in north central Wisconsin."(66) In the following year it presented an adaptation of Dickens' Cricket on the Hearth. "The Club carried twelve people and special scenery and stage accessories, and its tour aggregated more than 650 miles of travel," the itinerary including many of the largest cities of the state.(67) In Garns' later years a feature of commencement week was an open-air play performed on the campus. It was at this time that Garns led in developing the "amphitheatre" on the slope below the observatory (especially 1913). In 1909 the play given was Tennyson's The Princess. Three times the offerings were Shakespearean:

1910	A Midsummer Night's Dream
1911	Twelfth Night
1913	As You Like It

The first two of these plays were given outdoors on the campus and the last, in the amphitheatre. In 1914, at Garns' last commencement, the Ben Greet Players presented Shakespeare's The Tempest, also in the amphitheatre; and a few days later four of Garns' students did a program of dramatic readings in the First Methodist Church.(68)

At first a distinction was made between a three years' course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Oratory and a four years' one that ended with the degree, Bachelor of Arts in Oratory.(69) But soon the degree, Bachelor of Oratory (B.O.), was limited to those who spent four years, earning 64 (later 72) hours credit in the College of Liberal Arts, and 56 in the School of Expression. Two years in the School of

65. Cat., Law. Sch. Expr., Bulletin, June, 1911, p. 32.

66. Bulletin, June, 1911, pp. 19, 20, 29, 30 (pictures).

67. Cat., 1913, p. 242.

68. Commencement programs.

69. Cat., 1905, p. 43.

Expression earned a "General Culture Diploma." The work required for this diploma included "all the most valuable technical training that the School offers, and fits the student to do public reading and entertaining." Courses were outlined combining work in the College and the School of Expression, ending after three years with a Platform Artists diploma.(70)

The number of degrees and diplomas granted in eleven years was not impressive. One man who was a Junior in College in 1903 seems to have transferred to the School of Expression: he received the degree of Bachelor of Oratory in 1904. No one qualified in the next four years. Then, from 1909 to 1915, seventeen people became B.O.'s. In the whole period seven people received the General Culture diploma; thirteen, the Platform Artists diploma; and fifteen others, various diplomas or certificates. This adds up to fifty-two degrees or diplomas, but not to that many people, because most of those who received the degree had been recipients of diplomas a year or two earlier. As for the total enrollment in the School of Expression, the regular students numbered 15 or fewer during the first six years and rose from 26 to 46 in the period 1909 to 1913. Besides, the staff gave private lessons to a number varying between 20 and 55 a year.

The School of Expression had no permanent home of its own as the Conservatory did after 1906. It operated at first in Science Hall and later in a former literary society room on the fourth floor of Main Hall.(71) Just as the Conservatory for a time rented five houses and used them as dormitories for women, so the School of Expression rented two.(72) In 1912 the Trustees assumed the function of providing board and room for students in all departments, including the School of Expression.

Until June, 1910 Garns received \$500 a year as Instructor in Public Speaking in the College. Besides this, he received "the income from the pupils" of the School of Expression. For 1910-11 he had a salary of \$1,100 and the same fees; but in 1911-12 he had apparently only the income of the School. Garns was always buoyed up by his ideals and his hopes for the future; but his letters about his finances make sad reading. He wrote to Plantz in 1909:

I have worked hard for the last three years to build up the department of expression. I have put a considerable proportion of my income back into the business with the hope of building up the school. This summer alone I have put almost \$300 into advertising, and this seems to demand more to follow it

70. Cats., 1911, p. 183; 1913, p. 233.

71. Law., Oct. 15, 1909, p. 28; 1911 Ariel, spring 1910, p. 88, pictures; Bldg. Com., June 14, 1911, p. 51.

72. Bulletin, June, 1911, p. 37.

up I perceive that we are not on the proper basis.(73)

Though Garns paid the salaries of several of his staff, he did not pay that of Frederick W. Orr. Judson G. Rosebush, who had had charge of debating for some years, gave up teaching in 1910, as told previously, and Orr was brought in partly to continue this work. The Trustees paid him a salary of \$1,300 as an instructor in his second year and \$1,500 as Professor of Public Speaking in his fourth.(74) He worked a great deal in the School of Expression, especially in play production.

In February, 1912 Garns was \$600 in debt "which money he and his wife had borrowed to put into the forwarding of the school." He was then spending from \$400 to \$600 a year in advertising. He was able to continue only because, as he wrote:

Mrs. Garns has surrendered her home life from the very first and has worked beside me day and night without salary. This, as you will appreciate, implies sacrifices which are too intimate even to permit to mention . . . , sacrifices which mean the surrender of the very heart and soul of home happiness.(75)

Plantz repeatedly laid the financial condition of the School before the Trustees. He reported in the fall of 1912 that in academic 1911-12 Garns had an income of \$3,155, and out of that he had paid for a stenographer, three teachers (doubtless one was his unsalaried wife) and the advertising. The enterprise, Plantz then said, had "no future."(76) The Trustees very much wanted the School to survive. They furnished room, heat and light without charge but felt they ought to do little beyond this. They "took over" the School of Expression as they had taken over the Conservatory in July, 1912. Garns accepted a fixed salary of \$1,500 a year, reduced the number of teachers, and was "still very confident that tuition of pupils would pay for the expense of the department." Plantz added: "I am not so sure."(77) It is not clear whether the new arrangement went into effect sometime during academic 1912-13 or in the fall of 1913.

The Faculty voted in May, 1913 to discontinue the degree of B.O., except for students already enrolled, and recommended instead a major (maximum, 24 hours) in the department of Public Speaking and the School of Expression taken together.(78) Garns resigned in February,

73. Garns to Plantz, Aug. 2, 1909.

74. Amounts unknown for first and third years; Com. Fac. Deg., pp. 111, 135.

75. Garns to Plantz, Feb. 16, 1912, Wood papers.

76. Reports of the Pres., Oct., 1912, p. 18.

77. Reports of the Pres., June, 1913, p. 12.

1914, effective in June, and the Executive Committee recommended that the School be discontinued and "that we have simply a Department of Public Speaking."(79) Garns secured a position for the following year as head of the Expression department of the Northwestern Conservatory in Minneapolis.(80)

A School of Art

When Plantz became President there was one instructor in drawing and painting, a woman whose name appeared either as Ella M. Bottensek or Elsie Buck Bottensek. Her husband, John Bottensek, was an alumnus of Lawrence of the class of 1872 who long practiced law in Appleton. He was a Trustee of Lawrence and for a short time its Treasurer. The Bottenseks built the house known to many Lawrentians as the Hamar Union (1927-49); and there they lived for many years.

Mrs. Bottensek taught at Lawrence from 1886 to 1913; and until 1908 she was alone in her field. For some years about the time Plantz became President her offerings were thus described: "Drawing, Crayon, Charcoal, Pastel, Oil and Water Colors, Pen and Ink Drawing; China Painting, including Royal Worcester." The price was fifty cents per lesson in classes of ten and one dollar per single lesson.(81) In the fall of 1908 she divided her work with one of her former pupils, Miss Aimée Baker, who was given the title, Instructor in Drawing.

Meanwhile, work in the history of art had begun. In the fall of 1907 Miss Kate Corkhill of the English department inaugurated a course, two hours for one semester, "which dealt chiefly with the development of painting and sculpture."(82) She gave this course four times before all work in art history passed into the hands of Professor Otho P. Fairfield. Fairfield's principal work in his first years at Lawrence was in English though he taught some Latin. In 1911 he undertook two courses in art: a History of Painting and a History of Architecture, each a year course. The catalogue of January, 1912 announced a great increase in art work for the coming year. Within the College of Liberal

78. F.M., May 13, 1913, p. 140.

79. Exec. Com., Feb. 3, 1914; Law., Feb. 10, 1914, pp. 1, 6.

80. Law., Jan. 19, 1915, p. 7; Oct. 5, 1916, p. 6.

81. Cats., 1893, p. 51; 1894, p. 53; 1895, p. 46.

82. Cats., 1907, p. 90; 1908, p. 88.

Arts Fairfield offered eight hours of art history each semester and two other courses, one called Social Aesthetics and the other, Studies in Appreciation. Some account of Fairfield's work in the College appeared in the preceding chapter.

The catalogue of 1912 also announced the institution of a School of Art, paralleling the Conservatory and the School of Expression. Fairfield was called Dean of the School of Art and Professor of Art History and Social Aesthetics. Mrs. Bottensek was called Instructor in Oil Painting and China Decoration; Miss Baker, Instructor in Drawing and Applied Design, and in the following year, Instructor in Drawing and Normal Art; Mrs. Elizabeth Catlin, wife of the football coach, Instructor in Water Color and Figure Drawing; and Mrs. Fairfield, Instructor in Pottery and Applied Design. This ambitious "School of Art" made only two appearances in the catalogue.(83)

In 1914-15 the School of Art was succeeded by the department of Art and in the following year all studio work was placed in the Conservatory. Mrs. Bottensek, as already noted, retired in 1913, Mrs. Catlin ceased teaching in the College in 1914, and two years later Mrs. Fairfield did the same. This left Aimée Baker the only teacher of "studio" art, a post which she held twelve years longer. "The work of drawing, expression, clay modelling and designing is an integral part of the Conservatory There is also the opportunity to combine the drawing and expression instruction in the related course of Public School Music This will appeal especially to those intending to become public school music supervisors." So the catalogues stated from 1915 through 1925.(84) Miss Baker ended her teaching in June, 1928.

Plantz explained why he brought the School of Art to an end as follows:

I am in receipt of your letter and in reply would say that the art department has not seemed to me for some time to be an efficient department of the college doing such a grade of work as I would want to do if we advertised that we had an art department, and were giving diplomas Moreover, we have not the equipment to do good art work and no money to get it. I have felt that we are cheating the pupils to advertise an art department and keep them from such schools as the Art Institute of Chicago and places where they might go and really receive adequate training when we have so little in the way of facilities. A great many young people do not know to judge themselves, and knowing the standing of a college they take it for granted that they can do as well here as they could elsewhere, and so come to us expecting adequate art training. As you know very well we have no gallery, we have no equipment, and such art work as we

83. Cats., 1912, pp. 225-229; 1913, pp. 246-250.

84. Cats., 1915, p. 191; 1925, p. 166.

have done is no substitute for a thorough course in high grade art school. Believing that we should be honest in our representations and work, I have decided to recommend to the board of trustees for the next year that we abandon the art department and simply have a course in Public School Drawing with the fact that we will give them courses in art which students can take understanding that it does not lead to any degree, certificate, or diploma. . . .(85)

Plantz once revealed some of the philosophy that motivated his long support of the Conservatory and the School of Expression, and his brief experiment with a School of Art. He said to the Trustees in 1910:

What we ought to have at Lawrence is a department of fine arts which would include work in music, expression, drawing, painting, ceramics, and other similar studies. I believe there is a place for such a school. At the present time there is a very great tendency toward the practical in education. The high schools are introducing more and more vocational studies, and our state universities are getting to be exceedingly utilitarian. I cannot, however, but believe that the aesthetic . . . is so large a factor in life and so deeply rooted in human nature that it is an essential and permanent element in the development of civilization A college which could provide a strong school of fine arts would do much for human society in counteracting the somewhat sordid tendencies of our modern life and bringing people back to a proper appreciation of the significance of the beautiful in our experience.(86)

There is one more example of the propensity of Lawrence at a certain period to found "Schools." In the Bulletin of September, 1907 appeared a heading: School of Physical Culture, and beneath it these sentences:

It has been customary in institutions of higher learning to have a physical Director to give certain courses for the physical benefit of the pupils and also to train them for athletic sports. This has been true of Lawrence for some years past. However, the present year we have undertaken extensive courses in physical education. Work will be begun which will take two year's time to complete. These courses will prepare men to take charge of Gymnasiums and direct athletics in Y.M.C.A.s and institutions of learning. The courses will be under the supervision of Professor E. V. Graves who . . . has diplomas from the best schools of physical culture in the country.(87)

85. Plantz to Aimée Baker, Apr. 3, 1915.

86. Reports of the Pres., June, 1910, p. 13.

The catalogue contained a similar notice, but it appeared in one issue only.(88) Graves was Director of Physical Education for Men from 1906 to 1909, and this undertaking was abandoned when he left Lawrence. Class records have not survived to show how much of this program Graves actually taught nor what the enrollment was.

87. Bulletin, Sept., 1907, pp. 5, 7.

88. Cat., Jan., 1908, p. 117.

CHAPTER XXIII
TRADITIONS: STUDENT HELP IN
MATTERS OF DISCIPLINE

Each student generation instructs its successor in the traditions of the institution. Community habits, and activities such as publishing, athletic effort and forensics, once established, change on the whole very slowly. Students accept these bequests from the past without much thought as to their origins. A few strands in the present pattern of Lawrence life are older than Plantz's administration; but a large part of what has been tradition and practice since he was President originated in his time. Students and Faculty members furnished some of the new ideas; but in other areas, and particularly in securing student help in maintaining good behavior, Plantz himself was the initiator. We begin with certain Lawrence "traditions."

As shown earlier, Class Day exercises were an established feature of commencement before Plantz became President (Chapter XIV). The spade and the wooden spoon were not mentioned every year in the Lawrentian nor in the printed Class Day programs, but the custom of handing them on never died out. The class of 1894 bought a new spade which was used in 1898 to break ground for Science Hall.(1) The Lawrentian noted in 1920 that for many years the spoon was entrusted to the homeliest man in his class; but since some men had been embarrassed to be thus characterized, "Today he is the best fusser who receives the spoon."(2)

The Class Day exercises of 1895 were held about a granite boulder weighing 4,700 pounds which had just been placed on the campus. The orator of the day called it "a fit emblem of the enduring qualities and beauty of the Class of '95." It was presented to the Faculty and

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1. Law., June, 1898, p. 22.
 2. Law., May 13, 1920, p. 5

Trustees as "a slight token of the esteem in which they hold you, . . . a pledge of the fidelity and support of the Class of '95."(3) In the latter part of the Plantz period, painting the rock with class colors, or painting out colors already laid on by another class, furnished occupation for Freshmen and Sophomores and entertained the whole community.(4) In Plantz's time the boulder stood west of the middle walk leading from College Avenue to Main Hall, not far from the Avenue. Later, students were to move it from place to place on the campus, making of it indeed a rolling stone.

Through the whole period of Plantz's presidency there were five chapel services a week, from Monday through Friday. In 1892, just before Plantz came, chapel services were moved from 5:00 p.m. to the noon hour. In 1911 they were at 9:00 a.m. and subsequently, at other morning hours. Some, apparently, derived no satisfaction from these services and found them quite tedious and perfunctory. The Lawrentian reported:

Take the average chapel for instance. The student body gathers and announcements and a scripture reading and a song are indulged in and then dismissal.(5)

Others rejoiced in "a religious service every school day in the year Is it not fitting that we should give a small part of our college time to our religion?"(6)

For many years the chapel program on Friday was, at least occasionally, in the hands of the students.(7) The new Chapel was finished in the fall of 1918 and dedicated on December 17.(8) The daily services were not transferred to the new building until the fall of 1919. The authorities felt that "pep" meetings and College yells were out of place there. Consequently, "student chapels" continued to be held in the old room in Main Hall.(9) In the summer of 1923 this old room was divided into classrooms; and after that the Friday meetings, however noisy, were of necessity held in the new building. Mass meetings connected with Homecoming were first permitted in the new building in 1925, being held before that time in the gymnasium.

3. Law., July, 1895, pp. 18, 19.

4. One such episode, Law., Oct. 12, 1922, p. 2.

5. Law., Mar. 16, 1915, p. 4.

6. Law., Feb. 16, 1916, p. 4.

7. Law., Sept. 26, 1911, p. 4.

8. Law., Oct. 17, 1918, p. 5; Dec. 12, 1918, p. 1.

9. Law., Oct. 10, 1918, p. 3; Oct. 2 and Oct. 9, 1919, p. 4.

In the fall of 1892 the Senior class appeared at chapel services in "Oxford" caps and gowns. It is not certain that every succeeding class followed this example. The Seniors were in caps and gowns in April, 1901, when they broke ground for the first gymnasium.(10) Eventually it became the practice for Seniors to attend chapel exercises on Fridays attired in this garb.(11) As they entered the room the other three classes rose and waited until the Seniors were seated. In academic 1915-16 this custom was seldom observed; and after 1916-17 the wearing of the cap and gown was largely omitted. In 1919 the Seniors made their first appearance so attired on May 9. Soon the wearing of this costume was limited to the exercises of commencement week.(12)

The Student Senate, whose origins and duties will be presented later, occasionally showed a desire to initiate new traditions. Its Secretary wrote in January, 1910: "[We] wish to recommend that the interference of the Freshman or Sophomore sleigh rides by either of the under classes [sic] be made a tradition subject to rules which shall be posted by the Student Senate."(13) This gambit led, apparently, to no tradition. A little later, in September, 1911, it was announced at the chapel exercises that henceforth Lawrence Freshmen must wear green caps or arm bands for a part of each year. Lawrence was here following the practice of many larger colleges and of the University of Wisconsin. Locally, the new practice was introduced by vote of the Student Senate which enforced obedience to its mandate.(14)

The festival centering about the crowning of the May Queen was one of Lawrence's favorite traditions. It was first authorized by the Faculty to enable the Christian Associations to raise money.(15) The first such ceremony was held on May 18, 1906, the Queen being Martha Leone Irish, later Mrs. Charles F. Karnopp. She had won first place in the State Oratorical Contest and third in the Interstate. She was also President of the student Y.W.C.A.; and for many years the May Queen was always a leading worker in that organization.(16) When the fete was four years old Plantz thus described it:

10. Law., Apr, 101, p. 229.

11. Appleton Crescent, Nov. 5, 1907.

12. Law., Jan. 12, 1916, p. 1; Dec. 14, 1916, p. 12; Apr. 26, 1917, p. 5; May 15, 1919, p. 4.

13. Report included, F.M., Mar. 4, 1910, p. 182.

14. Law., Sept. 19, 1911, p. 7; Mar. 24, 1921, pp. 1, 6.

15. F.M., May 4, 1906, p. 25.

16. Law., Apr. 17, 1924, p. 4.

We have an annual May Day. It begins with a procession of the girl students dressed in white headed by two small children in white, one of them carrying the queen's crown, who are followed by six boys in white carrying the May Queen on a canopied hand chariot; behind these is a procession of all the girls in college. They march through the campus in various convolutions to the place where the May Queen is to be crowned. Here she is placed upon her temporary throne. The immediate exercises begin with the singing of college songs. This is followed by the winding of the May pole which is quite a scenic affair. After this the crowning ceremony takes place accompanied with music. Following this exercise we have had some work by the physical culture department in which certain chosen girls go through various graceful physical movements The whole affair winds up by a caricature by the boys who generally rush on the scene to crown the May King, carrying a wheelbarrow or some similar conveyance, and taking off the girls by winding a fish pole with old rags or something of that kind. They usually get the same applause the clown does in a circus. The day is very popular here and is always attended by a large number of people. It is followed by a sort of picnic on the campus. The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. erect quite a number of booths in which various eatables are sold. Tables are placed under the trees and the friends and students generally take their supper in this way. The proceeds are used to pay expenses of delegates to the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. summer conferences.(17)

Details varied from year to year but enthusiasm never flagged. In 1912 the Queen was conveyed to her throne in a beautifully decorated chariot drawn by a white Shetland pony.(18) The coronation and other exercises usually took place on the lawn across the street west of the Library. In Plantz's last years a temporary fence enclosed this area and tickets were sold well in advance. In the early 1920's there was a parade in which the police and the city fire department took part, and there were prizes for the best floats. At 6:30 in the evening there was an all-college sing.(19) In Plantz's time, May Day was always on a Friday or Saturday. In most of these later years the crowning of the May King was not mentioned in reports of the day; but one was apparently crowned in 1922.(20)

Homecoming as an annual event in connection with one of the football games was instituted and became firmly established during Plantz's last five years. The first one was held on November 14 and 15,

17. Plantz to J. R. Joy, June 10, 1910.

18. Law., May 21, 1912, p. 6.

19. Law., May 24, 31, 1923; May 23, 1924.

20. 1924 Ariel, spring 1923, p. 94; Law., May 24, 1923, p. 1.

1919, when Lawrence played Ripon. The Lawrentian called it a "Big League Idea," saying that it would be "the biggest student-alumni affair" ever staged at Lawrence. It was estimated that about one hundred "old timers" watched the game. In the evening there was a banquet at the Armory attended by some 500 persons.(21)

For a few years it seemed there could be a Homecoming only when Ripon played at Appleton. There was none in 1920. One was held in 1921, and it included a parade at 10:30 Saturday morning "to meet the Ripon special train." In 1922, when Hamline was the opponent, there was a celebration "to take the place of a homecoming." The only parade that year left the campus at 1:00 p.m., went first along College Avenue and then to the playing field (at Meade and Winnebago Streets).

There was a notable Homecoming in 1923 with a game against Ripon. It included a parade along College Avenue in mid-morning. There was also a bonfire, apparently so large as to be alarming. A day or two later the Executive Committee voted "in accordance with a request made by the Appleton Fire Department that hereafter no bonfires made by students be allowed upon the college campus."(22) Thus the Homecoming bonfire was banished to a raft. One feature of Homecoming was a "mass meeting" on Friday evening. Held at first in the Alexander Gymnasium, this was transferred to the Memorial Chapel in 1925.(23) The Homecoming of 1923 was also memorable for the first alumni dance in Lawrence history.(24)

Elaborate plans were worked out for a Homecoming on November 14 and 15, 1924, when Lawrence was again to play Hamline. Committees were appointed to judge the floats and the house decorations of fraternities and other groups. Apparently, some of these features were developed on this occasion for the first time. Friday morning the news came that President Plantz had died during the night. The football game was called off and Homecoming was abandoned in mid-course. In the following year equally elaborate and very similar plans were carried out. The Homecoming celebration had now become a fixture and the elements that composed it were fairly stable.(25) Beginning in the fall of 1926 there were classes on Saturday morning. At that time the catalogue began to make the statement that "A Saturday, of indeterminate date, is reserved as a college holiday known as Home-Coming."(26)

21. Law., Oct. 30, 1919, p. 4; Nov. 20, 1919, pp. 1, 6.

22. Exec. Com., Nov. 6, 1923.

23. Appleton Post-Crescent, Nov. 3, 1923, p. 1; Oct. 23, 1925, p. 17.

24. Law., Nov. 8, pp. 1, 8.

25. Law., Nov. 12, 17, 1921; Nov. 9, 16, 1922; Nov. 13, 15, 1924; Oct. 15, 22, 1925.

No one doubts that students at Lawrence always sang together, but what they sang in the early days of the University is largely unknown. The Lawrentian of November, 1897 printed the words of about twenty "College Songs." (27) None was especially connected with Lawrence; most had nothing to do with any college. They were simply folksongs such as "Polly-Wolly-Doodle," "My Darling Clementine," and the like. The Handbook issued by the Christian Associations in 1902 included the words of a solitary song, captioned "Lawrence Song." Sung in high schools and colleges under the title, "Litoria," it had here two stanzas altered to fit Lawrence needs. One of them ran:

In Junior year we take our ease,
We smoke our pipes and sing our glees;
When college life begins to swoon,
We drink new life from the wooden spoon.(28)

By 1907-08 the Handbook included four songs. One of these appearing that year for the first time, began: "O'er the Fox the pale moon shimmered." This Lawrence song was a parody on one entitled, "When I saw Sweet Nellie Home." Frances Kyle wrote the words of the original and J. Fletcher composed the music about 1856.(29) How much the Lawrence song was indebted to its model may be seen from the following lines in the original:

In the sky the bright stars glittered,
On the bank the pale moon shone,

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On my arm a soft hand rested,
Rested light as ocean foam;
And 'twas from Aunt Dinah's quilting party
I was seeing Nellie home.

In the fall of 1908 William Harper of the Conservatory published a Lawrence College Song Book, issued in a paper cover at twenty-five cents. It ran to 20 pages (9 x 11 1/4 inches) and contained 16 songs. Included were such perennials as "Drink to me only with thine eyes" and "Auld Lang Syne" as well as the "Litoria" and "O'er the Fox." The most important song in the book for Lawrentians was the "Alma Mater," here making its first appearance. Beneath the title were the words: "Presented to Lawrence University by William Harper." The author of the words was Mrs. Rush Winslow (1857-1945) who as Minna Isabel Rogers had

26. Cat., Dec., 1926, p. 5.

27. Law., Nov., 1897, pp. 25-28.

28. Lawrence University Student Handbook \(\u{Handbook}\), 1902-03, p. 39.

29. F. Luther, Americans and their Songs, 1942, pp. 260, 307.

graduated from Lawrence in 1878. She was the wife of an Appleton physician. Harper employed Louis R. Dressler of Chicago to compose the music; apparently, he had no other connection with Lawrence.

There was another outburst of song later in Plantz's presidency. In 1920 Olga Achtenhagen and Myra MacInnis, both of the Senior class, compiled and edited The Lawrence College Songbook (100 pp., printed by George Banta Publishing Co., 1920). The book contained several new songs, two of them still sung a generation later. One was Ruth Saecker's "A Cheer for Lawrence," beginning:

Lawrence! Lawrence! We will ever cheer thy name!
Ever will we wave the colors,
To proclaim to all thy fame.

The other was "Three Cheers for Lawrence," by Myra MacInnis. It began:

We'll cheer for Lawrence College, Fight for her fame,
We're with the team boys, We will win the game.
(Shouted) Rah! Rah! Rah!

In two instances in Plantz's early years, Lawrence students conducted financial operations touching, or trying to touch, the whole student body. First, they ran a cooperative society which had begun just before Plantz came. Professor Jerome H. Raymond, who was on the Faculty for one year (1893-94), suggested that the class in political economy organize the Student's Cooperative Association of Lawrence University. There was a membership fee of one dollar, and it handled books, stationery and athletic goods for its members. It set its prices at cost plus ten per cent.(30) For the academic year 1896-97 the Ariel reported:

The business done during the present year represents a money value of about \$1,800, of which \$100 belongs to the mailing trade, the whole indicating a saving to the students of from \$150 to \$200 It is virtually free from debt and has a paid-up stock capital of \$225.(31)

In September, 1899 the Administration set up its own system of providing students with textbooks, giving them the option of renting or buying. This action was a death blow to the cooperative: a few months later, having lasted some six years, it went out of existence.(32) After renting textbooks to students for a little more than three years, the University abandoned that part of its plan.(33) It remained in the

30. Law., Feb., 1894, p. 136; Apr., 1894, p. 170.

31. 1897 Ariel, spring 1897, p. 111.

32. Exec. Com., Aug. 11, Sept. 6, 1899, pp. 90, 93; Law., Jan., 1900, pp. 147, 165.

retail book business, however, until 1956 when Conkey's Book Store became the chief purveyor of books to the students.

The other early financial enterprise of the students was their University Club. This, too, embodied a suggestion from a Faculty member. For some time prior to 1904 there had been three student organizations all having a difficult time financially: the Athletic Association, the Oratorical and Debating League, and the Lawrentian Publishing Association, also called for a time the Lawrentian Paper Association (1894-96) or simply the Lawrentian Association. Each one showed a deficit nearly every year which students and other interested persons had to meet. In the fall of 1904 the three were merged for financial purposes in the University Club. The prime mover in the consolidation was Professor Wilford O. Clure of the School of Expression. By the spring of 1905 the new organization had almost 200 members and all the activities within the Club were free of debt.(34)

This arrangement continued in force until 1912. The price of the Club ticket was changed several times, varying between \$3.50 and \$5.00. It admitted the holder to all athletic and forensic events; included a subscription to the Lawrentian; and, for one year, at least, included a lecture course at the Methodist church. Student support eventually declined. In 1909-10, when University enrollment was about twice what it had been in 1904-05, membership in the Club was only about 120.(35) There was also some internal friction. Those interested in oratory and debate asserted that the Athletic Association had too large a share of the receipts. It was once reported that the Athletic Association was planning to withdraw from the Club.(36)

Students soon began to argue that the Club dues should be replaced by a University fee collected from all students.(37) After twice rejecting student petitions to bring this about, the Trustees voted in June, 1911 to make such a fee part of the University charges.(38) The University first collected this activities fee for the year 1911-12, making it \$4.00 at that time. It was subsequently increased several times and reached \$7.50 in 1923-24, Plantz's last year.

33. Exec. Com., Sept. 2, 1902, p. 7.

34. Law., Oct. 1, 1906, p. 4; 1906 Ariel, spring 1905, p. 133.

35. Law., Sept. 20, 1910, p. 2; a long discussion, Law., Nov. 15, 1909, pp. 88-94.

36. Law., May 28, 1906, p. 338; Sept. 20, 1910, p. 2.

37. Trustee Min., June 19, 1900, p. 269; Law., Apr. 17, 1907, p. 227

38. Bulletin, Aug., 1911, pp. 7, 8.

When Lawrence University became Lawrence College, the proper adjustment was made in the names of student organizations: the University Club became the College Club in 1909 and the All-College Club in 1912.(39) From 1912 onward every student was perforce a member; and thus the Club had an assured income, increased from time to time. The catalogue gave the list of the officers of the University or All-College Club for seven years (1905-11). After that, the officers of the Student Senate presided over and managed the All-College Club.(40) The student Handbook thus described the functioning of the Club in 1919:

This club governs and regulates the activities of the school, that is, all college stunts, and during the third week in May elects the officers of the club and the various athletic, forensic and literary boards of the college.(41)

In Plantz's last years and for a decade after his death, the catalogue contained this sentence: "The All-College Club, organized in 1904, has for its object the promotion and support of the major student extra-curricular activities." Then followed information about the activities fee and what it paid for. In February, 1936 the words "All-College Club" were removed to be replaced by these: "The Student Body of Lawrence College."(42)

Student Help in Matters of Discipline

In the first decade of the twentieth century the Lawrence student body was not only increasing in numbers; it was also changing in character: it had a smaller proportion of students from strict Methodist homes. Problems of conduct and discipline were coming to be numerous, complicated and obstinate. What some of them were will appear as we consider the remedies proposed. In the fall of 1908 Plantz laid before the Faculty, and later before the students, a number of projects designed to enlist the help of the students in dealing with these problems. Proposed were: All-College Day, intended to replace "class scraps"; an honor system for the conduct of examinations; and, somewhat apart from these other plans, a system of self-government for Ormsby Hall. At the center of the new system was a Student Senate which, as

39. Cats., 1909, p. 55; 1912, pp. 56, 255; 1913, pp. 62, 276.

40. Cf. Cats., 1911, p. 241; 1912, p. 255; through 1923, p. 209.

41. Handbook, 1919, p. 25.

42. Cats., 1935, p. 31; 1936, p. 32.

time passed, received or assumed powers and duties not foreseen in the beginning.

There had been class scraps in the 1870's in connection with Tree Day; and on one pretext or another, or perhaps on no pretext at all, they continued to occur. Outside critics of the University used the word "hazing" for these manifestations. In the spring of 1894, just before Plantz became President, the Lawrentian mentioned "cracked heads and torn clothes, . . . mute witnesses of a class strife that was not altogether gentle."⁽⁴³⁾ City Park is about three blocks north of Main Hall. In the center of it, through the whole Plantz period, was a shallow pool about 25 feet in diameter fed by a trickle of city water from a pipe in the center. There Freshmen or Sophomores often ducked members of the opposing class.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Now and then they staged a scrap in Main Hall with some damage to the building.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Plantz considered these class scraps a very serious matter. He wrote in 1904:

If students knew the disrepute which the reports of these "class scraps" have brought upon the college they would voluntarily renounce them The college was becoming an object of distrust to the people, and many parents refused to send their children to Lawrence. Benevolent men also refused to contribute to the institution, and in two instances wills were changed which involved a loss to the finances of the institution of at least \$100,000.⁽⁴⁶⁾

During the next three or four years the Administration used a succession of devices to prevent these scraps which, on the whole, were without much success. In the spring of 1908 a Faculty committee suggested a contest in pushball as a substitute for the scrap.⁽⁴⁷⁾ During the summer Plantz worked many suggestions and ideas into a plan for an All-College Day and early in September had it adopted by the Faculty.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Half a century ago the favorite outing of Lawrence students was a steamboat trip to Clifton, then a village with a post office at the northeastern corner of Lake Winnebago. Nowadays one usually calls the

43. Law., Mar., 1894, p. 149.

44. E.g., Law., Sept. 20, 1896, p. 4.

45. Law., Feb., 1903, p. 145.

46. Law., Feb. 15, 1904, pp. 95-96.

47. F.M., Apr. 24, 1908, p. 95.

48. F.M., Sept. 9, 1908, p. 110.

area High Cliff. Students boarded the steamer in Appleton at the Government Dock which was on the government canal just west of what is now called South Oneida Street. After traveling through Little Lake Butte des Morts the steamer passed into Lake Winnebago at Menasha and so to Clifton.

All-College Day, as carried out in 1908, included practically all the features that were to mark it for many years to come. A holiday was declared soon after the opening of school and given over to the occasion, which for some years was held at Clifton. Plantz counted the first All-College Day a great success and hoped that it would become a part of the traditions of the University, as indeed it did.(49) Under the management of upperclassmen, Freshmen and Sophomores engaged in a series of contests; usually included were pushball and a tug of war. In some years there was a football game between the two classes played in Appleton before the trip to Clifton.(50) Another feature of the day was a baseball game between the Faculty and the Senior class in which Plantz always played, sometimes spectacularly.(51) After being held for more than a decade at Clifton, All-College Day exercises were moved to Potato Point; and after the purchase of Whiting Field, to that location.

A few weeks after the first All-College Day the Lawrentian made bold to praise the class scraps of former years and Plantz replied. After correcting inaccuracies in the Editor's history of the matter he concluded:

As far as Lawrence is concerned it [the class scrap] is dead; and its resurrection will be accompanied by all needed suspensions and expulsions to put the last nail in its coffin. It simply will no longer be tolerated, and students who do not approve should next year register elsewhere.(52)

There seems no doubt that the inauguration of All-College Day largely achieved its purpose, though some scrapping and hazing continued into the 1920's.(53) One episode had rather wide and unfortunate publicity. In September, 1914 Norwald Lidell, a Freshman, was thrown into the pool in City Park. Later, a boil on his arm led to "Septic poisoning" from which he died about November 1. It was reported in some newspapers at the time that he had died of pneumonia caused by his ducking in September. Plantz was at considerable pains to show that his death was not the result of hazing.(54)

49. Reports of the Pres., June, 1909, p. 10.

50. Law., Sept. 17, 1912, p. 12; Sept. 22, 1913, p. 1.

51. Law., Sept. 26, 1911, p. 7.

52. Law., Nov. 20, 1908, pp. 104-6; 1908, p. 143.

53. Law., Sept. 23, 1920, p. 12.

In September, 1908 the Executive Committee at Plantz's request authorized him to introduce a plan of self-government in Ormsby Hall. Apparently this matter was not submitted to the Faculty for approval. Those living in Ormsby made their own regulations under Faculty guidance and elected a council of nine to enforce them. The new regime was not cordially accepted by some students in the beginning but, by the end of the first year, according to Plantz, no one desired to return to the system that had existed previously.(55) In 1911, as soon as Brokaw Hall was completed and occupied, the students there established a Self-Government Association similar to the one in Ormsby.

Not long after Plantz outlined plans for All-College Day, the Faculty minutes recorded that he "presented certain propositions for changing the government of the College." Among the things proposed the most important were an Honor System and a Student Council.(56) The honor system governed the conduct of all quizzes, examinations and written exercises. Teachers handed examination questions to the students and then left the room. At the end of his paper the student signed this declaration: "I hereby assert on my honor that I have neither given nor received aid of any kind, or from any source, in writing this examination." Every student was to report to the Student Council any irregularity or evidence of dishonesty observed during the period of the examination. "The committee carefully weighs the evidence submitted and makes such additional investigation as it deems necessary. When it finds a student guilty of dishonesty it reports the fact to the Faculty with a recommendation of punishment."(57) For a few years (1913-17) the system was extended to reports on collateral reading and to required attendance at chapel and church services.

Almost from the beginning opinion about the honor system was divided, as was evidenced by continued discussion in Faculty meetings, in the Lawrentian and at All-College convocations. Its greatest weakness was that students apparently, for the most part, refused to cooperate by informing on fellow students. A Faculty member said in 1916, in what was obviously an attempt to gain such cooperation:

Is it true that students who are caught cheating and punished for it receive sympathy from their classmates rather than contempt and scorn? . . . There must be so strong a sentiment against dishonesty that . . . the reporting of such violation

54. Law., Nov. 3, 1914, p. 4; Plantz to Editor, Oct. 23, in Chippewa Herald, Oct. 28, 1914.

55. Exec. Com., Sept. 1, 1908; Law., Oct. 20, 1908, p. 39; Reports of the Pres., June 17, 1909, p. 11; Law., May 2, 1911, p. 8.

56. F.M., Oct. 2, 1908, p. 116; Oct. 7, 1908, p. 117.

57. Cats., annually with only slight variations, 1909, p. 69; through 1921, p. 80.

will be recognized as the performance of a real service to the college community.(58)

In the latter part of the existence of the honor system the students voted every fall about continuing it. Each year there were heated arguments. Just before the last vote on the question the Lawrentian gave its opinion in these words:

The honor system should not be maintained because it is not honorable; it is a nuisance and it is detrimental to character. Every violation is a double evil, for the student cheats and then with a written statement declares that he did not.(59)

Lawrence had an S.A.T.C. unit from October to December, 1918, and its regulations did not permit unproctored examinations.(60) Except for this brief period the honor system was in effect from 1908 until October, 1921. The students then voted to abolish it and the Faculty could do nothing but follow suit.(61)

The hub of the system that Plantz envisaged in 1908 when he "presented certain propositions for changing the government of the College" was the Student Senate. At that moment he called it the "student council"; and he and others occasionally used this appellation, even after many years. The catalogues called it the "student council" from 1909 to 1913;(62) after that, it was always the Student Senate. In making a report in 1910, the group called itself the Student Senate; and the Lawrentian and the Ariel used this label consistently from the beginning.(63)

During the last twelve years of Plantz's life the Student Senate varied in size from 13 to 16 persons. After the earliest years it had four officers: President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer; one representative from each of the College classes; and one each from a number of organizations that could speak for various interests (athletics, forensics, the two Christian Associations, the Lawrentian, and a few others). There was a fringe of movement in and out of the Senate. Thus, a representative of the Women's Athletic Association appeared for the first time in 1920. The Conservatory was sometimes represented, but not often.(64)

58. John S. Custer in Law., Mar. 1, 1916, p. 3.

59. Law., Sept. 29, 1921, p. 5.

60. Law., Nov. 14, 1918, p. 3.

61. Law., Oct. 6, 1921; F.M., Oct. 6, 1921, p. 25.

62. Cats., Jan., 1909, p. 39; through Jan., 1913, p. 47.

63. Law., Nov. 15, 1909, p. 91; 1911 Ariel, spring 1910, p. 147.

The Student Senate served first of all as a court of justice. The cases that it tried were chiefly of two kinds: dishonesty in examinations as long as there was an honor system, and matters of hazing. It reported its decision to the Faculty Discipline Committee which sent them on with its recommendations to the whole Faculty. The Faculty, Plantz wrote in 1918, "approved or rejected so that we [President and Faculty?] still have a hand on the government."(65)

As previously stated, the All-College Club had officers of its own through 1911; after that, the officers of the Student Senate functioned for the Club also. Thus the Student Senate early came to have charge of All-College Day, and of all college-wide celebrations, "pep" meetings or other mass meetings, and excursions. It appointed committees of students to take charge of all such events. It managed the elections in which its own officers, and the officers of the several College classes, were chosen. It periodically oversaw the revision of the constitution of the All-College Club, revisions that touched but did not much change the make-up and duties of the Student Senate itself.(66) Reference was made earlier to the part played by the Student Senate in originating and maintaining certain traditions. It sometimes penalized the whole Freshman class for rebelling against the "wearing of the green"; it issued its fiat about coats of paint on the boulder of '95.

Year after year there was a short notice about the Student Senate in the catalogue which spoke of it, besides its many other functions, as offering a two-way channel of communication between Faculty and students. A letter written to the newly elected President of the Student Senate in April, 1915 shows how Plantz used the channel. It also shows the constant battle that he waged against hazing. He wrote:

I am anxious to have the Student Senate take up the matter of the freshmen and sophomore "scraps" at the beginning of this school year The All College Day plan is vitiated by this preliminary hazing I wish the Student Senate would take this matter up now, put stringent prohibitions upon it, and send them to the freshman class so that when they become sophomores they will not lead in irregularities of this kind. We have committed this whole business to the Student Senate and we shall have to expect that they will see that hazing is cut out.(67)

64. 1922 Ariel, spring 1921, p. 201.

65. Plantz to E. S. Dowell, Carroll College, Apr. 4, 1918.

66. Law., Sept. 19, 1911, pp. 1, 5; Oct. 14, 1913, pp. 1, 5; May 10, 1917, pp. 1, 5; June 2, 1921, p. 19.

67. Plantz to A. Franzke, Apr. 13, 1915.

A number of times, in reply to inquiry from other colleges, Plantz described the machinery of student self-government at Lawrence. The working of the system was, on the whole, satisfactory to him. "[It] has certainly been a great improvement so far as conflicts between Freshmen and Sophomores [are] concerned." To a different correspondent he wrote: "We prefer the system as we now have it to any changes."(68)

Many times over the years, in both Ariel and Lawrentian, students also spoke with pride and satisfaction of the system of self-government under which they lived. Only rarely someone took an adverse stand. The Editor of the Lawrentian once wrote: ". . . we all know that student self-government resolves itself into a faculty committee of six invested with final power in all vital cases."(69) But such implied disapproval was certainly exceptional.

68. Plantz to E. S. Dowell, Apr. 4, 1918; to A. O. Bowden, Oct. 23, 1922, No. 12,150.

69. Law., Apr. 17, 1924, p. 4.

CHAPTER XXIV
MAJOR STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS
IN PLANTZ'S TIME

The outstanding student organizations in the Plantz era were the literary societies, the fraternities and sororities, and the Christian associations. The literary societies were still vigorous in Plantz's first years, but while he was President all but one of them ceased to exist, and that one did not long outlast him. There were no fraternities or sororities at Lawrence when he assumed office but under him they became an important part of the community. Of those existing today (1960), all but one were organized in his time, though some of them did not secure membership in national societies until later, and hence their present names. Their coming brought problems of adjustment and regulation of some magnitude. The two Christian associations, originating before Plantz, were active during the whole of his presidency. At that time these organizations were to be found in most Protestant church-related colleges and at state universities throughout the United States. For a considerable time they were the vehicles of evangelical piety in American institutions of higher learning. At Lawrence they fitted in very well with one strand in the tradition coming down from the early University. These major student organizations to some extent competed with each other. Taken together, they did much to shape and color the community in Plantz's time.

The Literary Societies

When Plantz became President, the four ancient literary societies were still vigorous. They met every Friday evening, the men's societies (Phoenix and Philalathean) on the fourth floor of Main Hall and the women's societies (Athena and Lawrean) on the third floor of

Ormsby. Debate and extempore speaking still formed the staple of their programs. According to the Lawrentian, careful preparation was neither required nor given.(1) For some purposes Phoenix and Lawrean worked together; Philalathean and Athena did likewise. Grouped thus, each two held joint meetings once or twice a year and sometimes cooperated in dramatic productions. Phoenix and Lawrean gave one reception to new students every fall; the other two societies, similarly cooperating, gave another. These parties had "come to be considered the principal social functions of our college life," but in 1897 were costing from \$55.00 to \$65.00 each, more than the societies could afford.(2) Both men's societies developed glee clubs in the early 1890's, but in 1895-96 the University Glee Club superseded them. Without doubt, the literary societies offered the most attractive social life in the University community during Plantz's first decade.

In the early years of the twentieth century the number of Lawrence students was growing rapidly: there were 130 in 1899-1900 and 324 in 1907-08. This increase might have affected the literary societies more than it did. Academy students were excluded from the men's literary societies in 1901; soon, however, they were given a society of their own called Demosthenian. At first for men only, this society later received women students also.(3) It lasted until late in 1908, or to about the time when the University announced its intention of ending the Academy.

From 1904 or 1905 onward, the President's annual reports, Faculty minutes and the Lawrentian all gave evidence that the literary societies were no longer as attractive to students or as efficient as they had been. They had entered upon their final decline, though it was not immediately recognized that the trend was irreversible. In October, 1906 the Lawrentian stated: ". . . we have known for a long time that the literary societies needed obituary notices."(4)

In the fall of 1905 a Faculty committee, appointed to suggest a way of "resuscitating" the societies, drew up a set of rules. Every student must join one of the societies; each of them must accept applicants until its membership equalled one-half the number of students of its sex. The University had long required students to do essays and orations in addition to regular class work. It was now provided that an appearance on the program of a literary society met that requirement.(5) The Faculty appointed one of its number to supervise

1. Law., Mar., 1897 p. 151.

2. Law., Oct., 1897, p. 16.

3. F.M., May 6, 1901, p. 293; Law., Oct. 20, 1903, p. 5; Feb. 15, 1904, p. 95; 1909 Ariel, spring 1908, p. 114, picture.

4. Law., Oct. 16, 1906, p. 19.

the work in each of the four societies.(6) Then this plan was abandoned and, instead, each student was asked to take a course in public speaking and to write an essay as a part of work in his major field.(7) An attempt to give vitality to the literary societies had obviously failed.

There is a revealing bit of evidence about conditions early in 1908. At that time the Executive Committee notified the two men's societies "that inasmuch as their rooms are not occupied by these societies, their use is forfeited unless they can at once show that they will make preparations for using them for literary purposes."(8)

A final outburst of real energy in men's literary society work came with the organization of a new society, called Euphronia, apparently in the spring of 1908.(9) Plantz reported in June:

. . . the men have organized a new society which has been doing successful work. Philalathean has continued the work of former years Phoenix has practically gone out of existence.(10)

In the spring of 1909 Phoenix had so far declined that it did not have any notice or picture in the Ariel. Euphronia, in contrast, had lists in the Ariel of 43 members in 1908, 53 in 1909 and 39 in 1910. Then in April, 1910 Euphronia took over the name and tradition of the Phoenix Society.(11)

The vigor given to Phoenix by its fusion with the younger Euphronia prolonged its life for a few years only. Phoenix and Lawrean once more gave a reception to new students in September, 1911; Philalathean and Athena did the same about a year later.(12) Through the academic year 1912-13, the men's societies continued a feeble existence. Philalathean held its last meeting May 24, the only one after March 14. The date of the last Phoenix meeting is not available. Toward the end of the school year, committees from Phoenix and Philalathean met with President Plantz and discussed possible means of survival. Mentioned were: the union of the two, a change from weekly to monthly meetings,

5. F.M., Dec. 12, 1905, p. 10; Law., Dec. 15, 1905, p. 115.

6. F.M., Sept. 17, 1906, p. 35.

7. F.M., Jan. 16, 1907, p. 48.

8. Exec. Com., Feb. 4, 1908, p. 138.

9. Law., June 15, 1908, p. 4.

10. Reports of the Pres., June, 1908, p. 3.

11. 1911 Ariel, spring 1910, pp. 152, 153.

12. Law., Oct. 3, 1911, p. 7; Oct. 8, 1912, p. 3.

and work for credit to be supervised by the Faculty. All such proposals came to naught and, in the fall of 1913, no one carried on in either society. Phoenix and Philalathean, once the "glory of Lawrence," had passed away.(13)

The two women's societies lasted somewhat longer. From 1906 onward they had rooms in the basement of the Carnegie Library building. Lawrean was the first to go out of existence. Until 1914 it was "distinctly a literary society" with about 50 members. In that year it became a "social society" with a membership limited to 25. In October, 1916 the larger part of the existing society reorganized as a local sorority, taking the name Delta Delta Sigma.(14) Two years later it became a chapter of the national sorority, Kappa Delta.

The Athena Society, last to disappear, outlived Lawrean by about ten years. In the early 1920's the Lawrentian regularly reported its initiations and some of its programs.(15) At the end membership steadily declined. The last picture of the society to appear in the Ariel came in the spring of 1926 when there were sixteen members.(16) An Athena reunion, chiefly of alumnae, had long been a feature of commencement week. The one held in June, 1929 was announced beforehand as the final one. The society's piano was given to Russell Sage Hall, and other property was disposed of. So ended a history of more than seventy years.(17)

The older generation of Lawrentians, who had participated in the work of the literary societies in their prime, saw their decline and final extinction with deep regret. Plantz and the rest of the Faculty did everything possible to keep them alive and vigorous. There were two concurrent reasons for their disappearance. One of them was thus stated in the Lawrence Alumnus of November, 1915:

Phoenix and Philalathean are no more A glance at the course of study offered . . . [now] will reveal the fact that much of the work done in the old literary societies has been considered to be so essential to modern culture that it has been incorporated in the prescribed course of study We are doing today in a somewhat systematic and thorough way that which was probably done under the old regime in an unsystematic and superficial way.(18)

13. Philalathean Secretary's Book, May 24, 1913; Law., May 27, 1913, p. 4; Oct. 12, 1916, p. 4.

14. Law., Oct. 12, 1916, p. 9; 1918 Ariel, spring 1917, p. 196.

15. E.g., Law., Dec. 14, 1922, p. 12; Jan. 19, 1924, p. 3.

16. 1927 Ariel, spring 1926, p. 171.

17. Law., June 10, 1929, p. 5.

Pointing in the same direction is that fact that just when the literary societies were waning, intercollegiate debate and oratory were waxing mightily and attracting from the societies the best performers in these fields.(19)

Another assertion made even more emphatically by those who saw the literary societies fade away was that the fraternities and sororities drove them out. While not solely responsible, these new organizations undoubtedly contributed much to the decline and disappearance of the old societies. The first modern fraternity began at Lawrence in 1897; when Plantz died, about half the men and one-third of the women students were members of Greek letter societies. Wilson S. Naylor taught at Lawrence from 1904 onward and later was also Dean. In 1925, while Acting President, he wrote to parents about dancing on the campus; and incidentally he showed what had befallen the literary societies:

The result [of rules about dancing at Lawrence in recent years] is that those who do not belong to fraternities or sororities have been almost without the most popular form of recreation among young people today -- The fact is, it is almost the only social recreation. The "party," the "receptions," the "literary society," etc., of a score of years ago have gone, simply because, even with the most earnest effort to sustain them, the students will have none of them.(20)

Naylor is here reporting on a great change in mores which left the literary societies out of date. As these societies neared the end of their long history, an increasing number of students transferred their allegiance to the fraternities and sororities. The establishment and growth of these new organizations signified that in her social habits Lawrence was entering a new era.

Fraternities and Sororities: The Matter of Amusements

American college fraternities began with the founding of Phi Beta Kappa at the College of William and Mary in 1776. At first this society was somewhat like a modern fraternity; but in 1826, being then half a century old, it changed its nature and became non-secret and

18. Alumnus, Nov., 1915, pp. 9, 10.

19. Law., Oct. 5, 1908, p. 6; Oct. 12, 1916, p. 4.

20. Naylor to parents, Mar. 14, 1925, No. 16,832.

purely honorary. About the same time, however, new societies came into existence from which the present fraternities in the United States and Canada are descended. The first was the Kappa Alpha fraternity, founded at Union College at Schenectady, New York in 1825. Other societies of the same sort soon followed, first at Union itself, then at Hamilton College at Clinton, New York, and at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. There were eight fraternities at these three institutions by 1839.

Greek letter societies for women appeared only after the Civil War. Some believe their coming was related to the women's rights movement of that period. The I. C. Sorosis was founded at Monmouth College in 1867 and incorporated two years later. It was in most particulars equivalent to a sorority and eventually changed its name to Pi Beta Phi.(21) Apart from this group at Monmouth, the first college sorority was Kappa Alpha Theta, formed in 1870 at Indiana Asbury University, now DePauw.(22)

In the 1830's a widespread dislike of secret societies expressed itself in the formation of the Antimasonic Party. As time passed some of the feeling against the Masonic order was transferred to the fraternities which, it was said, had copied Masonic ritual. Some of this animus lived on into the twentieth century, reinforced in some quarters by the assertion that fraternities were exclusive and undemocratic. In 1913 a bill was introduced in the Wisconsin State Legislature forbidding the existence of any secret fraternity or sorority in any university, college or high school in the state.(23)

Many Methodist ministers shared in this dislike of fraternities. Henry Colman, a member of Lawrence's first graduating class, speaking at the Semi-Centennial exercises in January, 1897, said: "No Greek letter societies have developed caste distinctions and weakened the college life [at Lawrence] by costly social pleasure." A few months later, Plantz wrote in advertising the college: "The outside expenses . . . are with us very light as we do not admit the college fraternities which are usually such an expense to the student."(24)

Within a few years Lawrence completely changed its attitude on these societies. The first fraternity received Faculty permission to exist on February 6, 1899. By February, 1903 two more fraternities had

21. F. G. Davenport, Monmouth College, The First Hundred Years, 1953, p. 93. The word "sorosis" is a botanical term, "a collective fruit formed by the union of many flowers."

22. W. R. Baird, "Fraternities," Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th ed., 1911; same author, Baird's Manual of American College Fraternities (Baird's Manual), 14th ed., 1940, pp. 1-5.

23. Law., Feb. 11, 1913, p. 5.

24. Messenger, June, 1897, p. 2.

been authorized. There were no further additions until 1909; but when Plantz died in 1924 there were eight social fraternities at Lawrence, six local and two affiliated with national organizations. The sorority record was similar. Within the years 1902 to 1904 four were authorized; then came a pause until 1914; but at the end of Plantz's presidency there were nine sororities at Lawrence, seven of them members of national societies. There were also two musical sororities, more professional than social and limited to Conservatory students.

Among the seventeen social organizations that came into existence in Plantz's time the Theta Phi fraternity was the first. The brief history of the Wisconsin Beta chapter of Phi Delta Theta, which ran its course just before the Civil War, was related earlier in this book. One of the members of that group, initiated in 1859, was Samuel Boyd, who later practiced law in Appleton. His younger son, Robert E. Boyd, graduated from Lawrence in 1899. While an undergraduate he learned of the early fraternity of which his father had been a member. He gathered a group of Lawrence men about him intending, with them, simply to resume the activities of the long-dormant chapter of Lawrence's only fraternity thusfar. Finding that this procedure was impossible, he and his friends, in October, 1897, formed a local fraternity, named it Theta Phi, and asked for acceptance as a reactivation of the Wisconsin Beta chapter of Phi Delta Theta.

Beginning in 1900, and persevering through weary decades, Theta Phi presented to biennial conventions its request for admission or (as they saw it) reinstatement. They were advised and encouraged in their petition by George Banta, Sr. of Menasha, a graduate of Indiana University, 1876, and a former President of the General Council of Phi Delta Theta. By a strange coincidence, three members of the Faculty in 1900 had been members of Phi Delta Theta elsewhere: C. W. Treat and F. E. Millis at DePauw; and F. A. Havighorst at Iowa Wesleyan. All three supported Theta Phi's cause. Excellent sponsorship and ably presented pleas were long of no avail. For more than a third of a century the Wisconsin Alpha chapter of the fraternity, at Madison, prevented the granting of the request. Eventually, in 1934, Theta Phi's hopes reached fulfillment; it became a re-chartered Wisconsin Beta chapter of Phi Delta Theta.(25)

Each fraternity and sorority has a cherished history of its own which preserves the memory of its founders, its scholastic and athletic prowess, and the accomplishments of its members after leaving Lawrence. But such histories are for the most part of interest only to members of the several societies and none will be attempted here. Instead, a list has been drawn up which is here inserted. It gives for each organization its name as a local society with the date of its authorization by

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25. Letter of George Banta, Sr., with enclosures, Palladium of Phi Delta Theta, vol. VII, Mar., 1901, pp. 143-158; program of Centennial of Wisconsin Beta chapter of Phi Delta Theta, Apr., 1959; M. Schumann, Appleton Post-Crescent, Feb. 3, 1959, p. B 14.

the Faculty. Opposite, to the right, is the name of the national society, if any, of which it later became a part, with the date of the chapter installation at Lawrence. Authorization by the Faculty, often called the charter, had to come later than the actual beginning of a fraternity or sorority. Thus, Theta Phi existed for a year and four months before it was officially given permission to exist at Lawrence. Psi Chi Omega began as a non-fraternity group called Elos and only thirteen months later was it chartered as a fraternity.

Somewhat apart from the usual fraternities and sororities are the professional and honorary organizations in American colleges. Two such societies specifically for Conservatory students were installed at Lawrence in Plantz's time. In both, marked musical ability was required for membership. The two, with the date in each case of the installation of the chapter by national officers, were:(26)

Mu Phi Epsilon	May 29, 1912
Sigma Alpha Iota	May 17, 1917

In the appearance of Mu Phi Epsilon the usual order of events was reversed. The installation of a chapter of the national organization came in 1912. During the following academic year a Faculty committee studied the organization and granted to the group permission to exist at Lawrence.(27) Other honorary and professional organizations in Plantz's time will be mentioned in a subsequent chapter about student activities.

26. Law., June 4, 1912, p. 18; May 24, 1917, p. 1.

27. F.M., May 9, 1913, p. 138; Feb. 12, 1914, p. 170.

Social Fraternities and Sororities Established
at Lawrence During Plantz's Presidency(28)

FRATERNITIES

Order as Local	Local name with date of authorization by Faculty	Order as National	Name as national with date of installation at Lawrence
1	Theta Phi Feb. 6, 1899	3	Phi Delta Theta May 12, 1934
2	Beta Sigma Phi(29) June 12, 1902	5	Beta Theta Pi Dec. 19, 1936
3	Delta Iota Feb. 27, 1903	4	Delta Tau Delta Apr. 6, 1935
4	Sigma Tau Nu Oct. 29, 1909	1	Sigma Phi Epsilon Feb. 27, 1915
5	Phi Kappa Alpha Oct. 25, 1916		(Never became national; disbanded Sept. 15, 1929)
6	Tau Alpha Sigma Oct. 24, 1919	2	Phi Kappa Tau Dec. 4, 1920
7	Delta Sigma Tau(30) Jan. 6, 1921		(Never became national; disbanded May 28, 1939)
8	Psi Chi Omega Nov. 10, 1924		(Never became national; disbanded 1935)

28. Dates of authorization from Faculty minutes except in two cases where other sources are indicated. Dates of installation of national chapters from Lawrentian except for Beta Theta Pi; its date is from 1938 Ariel, spring 1937, p. 95.

29. 1932 Ariel, spring 1931, p. 109.

30. Editor's note: Alumni of Delta Sigma Tau were invited to join Phi Gamma Delta when the chapter was established at Lawrence.

SORORITIES

Order as Local	Local name with date of authorization by Faculty	Order as National	Name as national with date of installation at Lawrence
1	Kappa Upsilon May 29, 1903	4	Kappa Alpha Theta Oct. 2, 1915
2	Alpha Gamma Phi June 19, 1903	8	Alpha Chi Omega Feb. 20, 1930
3	Theta Gamma Delta June 19, 1903	3	Delta Gamma Sept. 11, 1915
4	Zeta Omega Phi Nov. 11, 1904	1	Alpha Delta Pi June 10, 1908
5	Phi Mu Feb. 12, 1914	2	Phi Mu Apr. 10, 1914 (Ended at Lawrence, 1935)
6	Delta Delta Sigma Oct. 5, 1916	5	Kappa Delta Nov. 16, 1918
7	Epsilon Alpha Phi Oct. 31, 1919	7	Beta Phi Alpha Apr. 30, 1924 (Ended at Lawrence, 1933)
8	Zeta Omega(31) Feb., 1921	6	Zeta Tau Alpha Sept. 24, 1921
9	Rho Beta Phi, Jewish Women's Society Nov. 10, 1924		(Never became national; ended 1927 or 1928)

At the turn of the century, the Lawrence Faculty was still largely Methodist. This denomination, like several others at that time, urged its members to abstain from social dancing, card playing, and the use of tobacco and intoxicants. These pleasures were then part of normal living for that considerable fraction of the American people not

31. Law., Feb. 24, 1921.

subject to denominational restraints. Not all members of fraternities and sororities were eager for all these pleasures at all times; many individuals were doubtless faithful in one detail or another to restraining influences in which they had been reared. But it does seem clear that at Lawrence the fraternities and sororities served as a spearhead in the introduction of social dancing, card playing and the use of tobacco in a college community that had lived for the most part without them. The Faculty, as a discipline committee, also had to take note of the use of alcohol by some individuals who lived in fraternity houses. (The same offense had led to occasional disciplinary measures before there were any fraternity houses at Lawrence.)

The Faculty apparently thought at the beginning that it could admit fraternities and bind them with Methodist rules. Their earliest official act in this connection was a vote, on February 9, 1899, occasioned by the activities of Theta Phi, "that we admit a Greek letter Fraternity under conditions to be named later."⁽³²⁾ A month later they enacted a set of ten "conditions"; this was the first version of a code on fraternities and sororities many times amended and re-enacted, and yet preserving over the years the same spirit and a content little altered.⁽³³⁾

The first version of the rules for fraternities, made in 1899, contained some points afterwards omitted. Regular meetings should not be held more often than once in two weeks; the society must do successful literary work; it must provide its own place of meeting and defray its own expenses. Other items had a longer life. Regular meetings were not to be held on evenings followed by recitation days, nor (a detail omitted in 1907 and thereafter) on the same evening as meetings of the college literary societies. It was "urged" that a high standard of scholarship be required for membership; in 1907 what was urged became "a high standard of scholarship and of moral character." At first a fraternity was limited to fifteen members, all of them in the three upper College classes. By 1903 they were permitted to pledge and initiate Freshmen; and the membership allowed was gradually increased to 20 in 1908 and to 30 in 1910. If conditions were violated, the Faculty might "declare the charter forfeited" or, as it was later worded, "declare the fraternity disbanded."

There were some details in these codes, beginning with that of 1899, especially intended to impose on the fraternities the pattern of behavior advised by the Methodist discipline. "Cards or dancing parties, the use of alcoholic liquors, and anything else out of harmony with the rules of the college should not be allowed." In 1903 the item,

32. F.M., Feb. 9, 1899, p. 237.

33. F.M., Mar. 6, 1899, pp. 238, 239; following are restatements of the whole code, each usually about one typewritten page, single spaced: F.M., Feb. 27, 1903, p. 345; Dec. 6, 1907, p. 76; Apr. 14, 1908, pp. 90-92; Oct., 1910, p. 55; June 14, 1916, p. 257.

"smoking rooms," was added to the list of things not allowed. Four years later this one section became two, the wording of which remained unchanged for many years:

6. Dancing parties, the use of alcoholic liquors or anything else out of harmony with the rules of the college must not be allowed.

7. The faculty hereby expresses its disapproval of cards and smoking and earnestly recommends that the fraternities frown upon these forms of dissipation.(34)

Early in 1908 a Faculty committee made an investigation of fraternities elsewhere. It sent out a questionnaire inquiring about financial, scholastic and moral consequences, and received 34 replies. These varied somewhat from question to question, but roughly two-thirds of the opinion expressed in them favored the fraternities. This study probably solidified the position of fraternities and sororities at Lawrence. In the Faculty meeting that heard the report it was "Suggested that the Faculty Committee on Fraternities post themselves on national Fraternities with the idea of learning which are standard."(35)

Dancing was one of the amusements discountenanced by the Methodist Church. Yet Lawrence made some concessions. From early in Plantz's presidency students who filed a written permission from their parents might attend a limited number of private dancing parties. No date can be given: the record of legislation on this point has not been found. The Greek-letter societies all chose honorary members or patrons and patronesses, and these, in groups or as individuals, offered dancing parties to their young friends. But no fraternity or sorority might arrange for a dancing party on its own.(36)

It was mentioned earlier that a steamboat trip to Clifton was long the favorite excursion of Lawrence students. In April and May, 1908 the Faculty interpreted the existing rules as prohibiting dancing during these outings.(37) These rules, and perhaps others, were apparently the subject of complaint. In March, 1909 the Faculty called upon the Student Council "to express what they considered to be the attitude of the majority of the students towards the various questions of amusements; also to state . . . grounds of dissatisfaction with the School.(38)

34. F.M., Dec. 6, 1907, p. 76; June 14, 1916.

35. F.M., Feb. 8, 1908, p. 84; committee report attached. At that time Lawrence had three fraternities and four sororities, all still local.

36. F.M., June, 1916, p. 256, section (n); p. 257, section 2.

37. F.M., Apr. 14, 24, May 20, 1908, pp. 92, 95, 101.

In May, 1909 three fraternities arranged steamboat trips or "yacht rides," all with lady friends. The dates of these excursions were as follows: May 15, Theta Phi; May 19, Delta Iota; May 20, Beta Sigma Phi. On the day of the Theta Phi outing, the weather turned stormy and the party, instead of crossing the Lake to Clifton, put in at Neenah. There the boys hired a room in which there was a piano and danced. Exact details of the other two excursions are not known, but both included dancing.(39) For this breach of rules the Faculty disciplined all three groups. Each male offender was required to appear before the Faculty and apologize; this ordeal was submitted to by 14 Betas, 11 Thetas and 10 Deltas. The fraternities were also reprimanded in a chapel service. The girls who had danced were deprived of social privileges until commencement, then about three weeks off.(40) These doings gave added evidence that many students were at variance with the Faculty about rules.

The matter of amusements was one about which Methodists throughout the nation were divided. Plantz himself was of the opinion that all Methodists whose consciences were not offended should be allowed to dance. At successive General Conferences he argued for the lifting of the ban; but the solemn admonition against dancing remained unchanged during his lifetime.

Early in May, 1909, before the yachting trips, Plantz presented to the Faculty his own draft of rules about dancing. The Faculty at once enacted four of his proposals, but these four changed the situation very little. They were: (1) There should be no dancing between students of opposite sexes in University buildings or fraternity houses. (2) No students might attend public dances. (3) It was earnestly urged that students who had taken church covenants which forbade dancing should abide by them. (4) No individual might attend more than three dances a semester. This rule doubtless had to do chiefly with parties offered by patrons.(41) There was no repeal of the existing rule that prevented fraternities and sororities from giving their own dances.(42) One suspects that Plantz hoped to liberalize the rules in the spring of 1909 more than he was able to do; but in the absence of supporting documents this must remain a conjecture.

The next step, that of allowing fraternities and sororities to have their own dancing parties, came in 1920. Student pressure led up to the action taken.(43) On June 8 the Faculty voted: "Dances may be

38. F.M., Mar. 12, 1909, p. 141.

39. 1911 Ariel, spring 1910, p. 182.

40. F.M., May 20, 26, 1909, pp. 154-157.

41. F.M., May 11, 12, 1909, pp. 147, 148.

42. F.M., June, 1916, second of pages inserted at p. 256, section 5.

given only by regularly constituted organizations within the college, and held only in approved places and under chaperons approved by the president." The individual student might attend eight dances a year.(44) No organizations except fraternities, sororities and the Glee Club availed themselves of this permission until February 1, 1924, when the Sophomore class held a dance. Other classes soon followed suit.

No dancing was permitted in Lawrence buildings as long as Plantz lived. There is a seeming inconsistency in the fact that student organizations might hold dances in lodge rooms and other hired halls, but not in the College gymnasium. In dealing with the whole matter Plantz was forced to compromise between the demands of the fraternities and sororities on the one hand and the conservative opinion in the church on the other. How sensitive Plantz was to that opinion appears in another connection. In 1916 Naylor asked for billiard tables for Brokaw Hall where he was in charge. Plantz replied:

I am in entire sympathy with your thought personally, but when I hear the arguments on the amusement question such as were promulgated at the last General Conference, . . . I am a little fearful of the results of putting in billiard tables . . . I would dislike to do anything just now which might lead to serious criticism among the pastors.(45)

The new Inter-fraternity Council arranged "a big inter-fraternity smoker" in the spring of 1915.(46) In 1918, when Lawrence was host to an S.A.T.C. unit, the military permitted the men to smoke; and there was probably smoking in all the fraternities after World War I.

Plantz's stand on the use of alcoholic drinks is sufficiently indicated by the fact that he was long active in the Wisconsin Anti-Saloon League and for a short time its President. He once summarized the policy of the College as to alcohol thus:

We do not permit the use of intoxicants either on the part of teachers or students. Students who are known to frequent saloons are dismissed from college.(47)

43. Law., editorials, May 6, 20, 1920.

44. F.M., Mar. 5, Apr. 20, June 8, 1920, pp. 89, 91, 94; mimeographed rules sent to fraternities and sororities, Sept. 20, 1920; Plantz papers, No. 10,725.

45. Plantz to Naylor, Aug. 3, 1916, No. 2,565.

46. Law., Mar. 23, 1915, p. 4.

47. Plantz to Blanchard, Apr. 25, 1919, No. 7,442.

The following letter, addressed to one of the fraternities, shows the directness of Plantz's attack on the problem of student drinking:

Dear Sirs: I have evidence that two of your men were intoxicated last Saturday evening, and I now demand that these students be presented to me by the fraternity; otherwise we shall have to suspend the fraternity. Truly yours,(48)

By 1912 the Lawrence experience with fraternities had extended over more than a decade. Near the close of that year, Plantz set forth the pros and cons of their presence as follows:

Our fraternity houses do add materially to the expense of the members when the houses are full the expense is about the same as boarding in the college dormitory. When, as frequently occurs, the houses are not filled, the expense is greater

Usually the effect of fraternity houses upon the moral life of the students is not detrimental. Everything depends, however, upon . . . the fraternity leader. We had one fraternity six or seven years ago utterly demoralized by one man so that at the end of the year when we got onto the situation we expelled him and five other members. . . . All of our fraternities except one permit smoking and the habit has become quite universal among these fraternities The largest fraternity refuses to permit anybody to smoke who joins

I am not an enthusiast upon fraternities. However, . . . I think in our institution they help the scholarship of some fellows who would otherwise be more difficult to stimulate . . . I think also they control some students who are inclined to be "fast" and whom we could not get onto. That there is a certain degree of social culture derived from them cannot be doubted The worst objection is that they try to monopolize the offices and positions in college; that they assume to be superior to the other students, and that they segregate their members so that their interest is centered more in the fraternities than in the college.(49)

Writing to a middle-aged Methodist minister who knew Lawrence in the pre-fraternity days, Plantz said in 1916:

Fraternities are outside organizations which I wish did not exist, but they seem to be a feature of modern college life and it is impossible to convince students that they are not quite the necessary thing.(50)

48. Plantz to Theta Phi fraternity, Mar. 21, 1922, No. 16,553.

49. Plantz to F. S. Goodrich, Nov. 23, 1912.

There was criticism of fraternities from both Faculty and students. Trever once spoke in a Y.M.C.A. meeting of the bitter feeling that existed between some of the Greek letter societies and of the manner in which some students placed their fraternity above the College as a whole. The Editor of the Lawrentian said of fraternities: "Year in and year out we have kept up our railing, bitter verbal attacks on one another."(51) The establishment of an Inter-fraternity Council in 1915 somewhat mitigated this mutual hostility but did not entirely remove it.(52) As time passed each fraternity and sorority elected a few of the Faculty as honorary members; eventually almost everyone who taught at Lawrence for any length of time became the adviser and friend of one of these societies.

The fraternities, one after the other, came to own houses near the campus. Legal ownership always rested in a house-holding corporation in which alumni and patrons had the chief responsibility. Sororities rented rooms where "the landlady is willing to act as chaperon and will cooperate in upholding the rules of the college." Sororities were not permitted to own or rent whole houses or to rent "isolated suites of rooms."(53)

The sum of the whole matter is that, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, fraternities and sororities became an integral part of the Lawrence community. In academic 1922-23, 47 per cent of the men in the College and Conservatory were members of fraternities while 37 per cent of the women were members of sororities (college and musical).(54) As the decades passed, the Greeks came to constitute, at times, three-quarters of the student body. This factor in the Lawrence establishment was destined to be permanent and to increase in importance after the time of Plantz.

50. Plantz to T. D. Williams, Nov. 5, 1913.

51. Law., Oct. 27, 1914, p. 5; Mar. 16, 1915, p. 4.

52. Law., Oct. 26, 1915, p. 6; 1917 Ariel, spring 1916, p. 199.

53. F.M., May 29, 1903, p. 353; Apr. 4, 1924, p. 84.

54. F.M., Nov. 2, 1923, pp. 74, 75.

The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A.

A traveling secretary of the national organization founded a unit of the Young Men's Christian Association at Lawrence in 1870. Local initiative had produced such groups at an earlier date at several American colleges; but "the first college associations ever formed by an accredited agent of the Y.M.C.A.'s" were those organized at about the same time at Lawrence and the University of Wisconsin.(55) As was the custom in those early years, the Lawrence Association at first included women students; in 1884 a separate society for them was established. These two organizations were active during the whole of Plantz's presidency. Some features of Association work as it developed in metropolitan centers -- for example, dormitory buildings and facilities for physical exercise -- were not needed in colleges. Consequently, the activities of student Christian associations were almost entirely social and religious. Because of guidance from a national office the work of the Christian associations was much the same in all American colleges.

Plantz and other Lawrence University administrators set a high value on the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. For some years (beginning in 1897) there was a lengthy notice of them in the catalogue, reading, in part, as follows:

Much of the Christian life of the institution centers in these Christian Associations, the objects of which are to promote growth in grace and Christian fellowship among their members, and to develop a true Christian manhood and womanhood

The Associations hold Gospel Meetings every Sunday evening from 6:30 to 7:30, the young men in their neatly furnished and home-like room on the third floor [of Main Hall], the young ladies in the music room at Ormsby Hall.(56)

Throughout the history of the Christian associations at Lawrence the meetings on Sunday evening continued to be their central and most emphasized feature. That of the Y.M.C.A. was thus described in 1901:

There at the time of day when the shadows lengthen and the dusky gray of the twilight deepens into darkness, our band of young men lift their hearts and voices to Him who is their Almighty Father and Creator of the Universe.(57)

55. Hopkins, Hist. Y.M.C.A., p. 274.

56. With changes only as to the places of meeting, Cats., Apr., 1897, pp. 54-55; through Jan. 1906, pp. 39, 40.

57. Handbook, 1901-02, p. 9.

The Y.W.C.A. held similar devotional services. Here is an account of how about one hundred girls were initiated in the fall of 1914:

The new girls dressed in white and bearing lighted candles entered the chapel room [in Main Hall] singing "Onward Christian Soldiers." At the chapel door they passed under Lawrence banners held by members of the cabinet, typifying loyalty to Lawrence.(58)

As the student body increased and as new buildings became available the Associations progressed from one meeting place to another. Brokaw Hall was completed in the fall of 1911 and in it a large room at the south end of the second floor was assigned to the Y.M.C.A. Beginning in 1915 the Y.W.C.A. usually met in the auditorium of Peabody Hall, the Conservatory quarters of that time.

Second only in importance to the Sunday evening meetings were the Associations' volunteer study classes. Groups of students, varying usually between six or seven and twice that number, were formed each term (later, semester) to study the Bible, some phase of Christianity, or modern missionary work. The groups were led or taught by Faculty members or upperclassmen. The scope of these efforts is well shown in an advance notice in the Lawrentian.

The work offered in the Bible Study department [of the Y.M.C.A.] for [1899-1900] will comprise the three years' work outlined by the international committee of the association, and two local courses Mr. Pettibone is to take the third year's work, Old Testament characters and Mr. Pengilly is to lead a new class in topical study designed for advanced students. The plan is to spend a term on each of the following subjects: Prayer, The Holy Spirit, Salvation.(59)

As appears from this notice, many of the courses were planned by the central headquarters of the Y.M.C.A. Between 1900 and 1917 its student department published some 25 textbooks for volunteer study groups. Best known among them was Studies in the Teachings of Jesus and His Apostles, 1901, by E. I. Bosworth, Dean of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology. Wilson S. Naylor, a member of the Lawrence Faculty and later its Dean, wrote a book widely used as a text in mission study: Daybreak in the Dark Continent, 1905. In 1906 Naylor organized a mission study group of an unusual character: it was called the Africa Club and had 143 members.(60)

58. Law., Oct. 27, 1914, p.++++++.

59. Law., June, 1899, p. 38.

60. 1907 Ariel, spring 1906, p. 138.

A feature of Y.M.C.A. work much encouraged by national leaders was "deputation work," that is, evangelistic activity by students away from the campus. A "Lawrence University Gospel Team" conducted revival meetings in Kaukauna in 1902.(61) Such efforts continued year after year. In academic 1912-13 two "college teams," one of five and the other of six men, did deputation work in a number of small towns in Wisconsin.(62)

The Associations conducted summer conferences for students. The Y.M.C.A. developed this method of work at Northfield, Massachusetts during the 1880's. The President of the Lawrence Y.M.C.A. attended a conference there in the summer of 1889.(63) Beginning in 1890, similar conferences were held at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, some thirty miles west of Kenosha. There came to be a ten-day conference for men in June and a similar women's conference in August. Students received training in deputation work, in the conduct of Bible and mission study groups and in other "practical association problems." They also heard addresses and sermons given by the great men of the Y.M.C.A. and other prominent religious leaders. For many Lawrence students the conferences at Lake Geneva were a valuable addition to their college experience.(64)

For some years (at least from 1913 to 1917) the Lawrence Y.M.C.A. maintained a mission among the Menominee Indians at Wittenburg, a village about fifty miles northwest of Appleton.(65) The Y.W.C.A. in a summary of its work made in 1913, stated:

The Y.W. cooperates with the Y.M. in some of its activities One interesting phase of the work is . . . guiding the comparatively new Association at Wittenburg. A delegate is sent down every two weeks and she carries the letters of the college girls to the little Indian correspondents.(66)

For a long time the two Associations cooperated as a missionary society, and as such held a joint meeting once a month. A very special meeting of this kind was held in May, 1900.

In the early part of the evening the company was favored with an introduction to Elizabeth Plantz and Harriet Ormsby two little

61. Law., Mar., 1902, p. 128.

62. Law., Mar. 18, Apr. 1, 1913; 1914 Ariel, spring 1913, pp. 98, 99.

63. Handbook, 1889-90, p. 17.

64. Handbook, 1923-24, p. 15.

65. Reports of the Pres., June, 1917, p. 5.

66. 1914 Ariel, spring 1913, p. 100.

girls whom our societies are educating in China. They rendered a little song very pleasingly.(67)

The Christian duty of making the gospel known throughout the world included the task of staffing missionary work in non-Christian lands. In American colleges zeal in this direction was long channeled through the Student Volunteer Movement, an organization within and closely linked to the two Associations. Formally organized in 1889, its motto or challenge to college youth was "the evangelization of the world in this generation." Beginning in 1890, John R. Mott was both the National Head for the Student Department of the Y.M.C.A. and the Chairman of this movement. He held both offices for the next quarter of a century.

Fourteen Lawrence students formed a Volunteer Band in 1891. When the local organization was twenty years old the number of volunteers had reached 56 and 12 of them were then in the foreign field.(68) The group sometimes numbering as many as 15, held monthly meetings and usually had its picture in the Ariel. In 1921 they placed in the lobby of Main Hall what the student newspaper called a "Memorial Tablet," a list of Lawrentians who had gone to the foreign field; some of those listed had entered the Mission field before the Volunteer Movement was founded. Kept up to date, the roster contained 43 names in the spring of 1925.(69)

The Volunteer Band at Lawrence included one unusual member, Miss Fredrika Kla Bada Brown, who had been the object of missionary effort in a heathen land. She was a native of Liberia. Plantz once wrote of her: "Miss Brown has been disowned by her father, head of an African tribe, because she accepted Christianity, and is therefore entirely upon her own resources in this country."(70) Miss Brown's picture appeared in three successive Ariels as a member of the Band, and she graduated from Lawrence in 1917.(71)

About once in four years the Student Volunteer Movement held a great convention at which Lawrence was usually represented. Four Lawrentians attended at Toronto, Canada in 1902; five, at Nashville, Tennessee in 1906; and so on. Such a convention opened at Indianapolis on December 28, 1923 with 7,000 students and 1,000 Professors in attendance. Two Faculty members and eleven students represented Lawrence.

67. Law., May, 1900, p. 10.

68. 1912 Ariel, spring 1911, pp. 118, 119.

69. Law., May 19, 1921, p. 6; 1926 Ariel, spring 1925, p. 132.

70. Plantz to Herron, Mar. 17, 1916, No. 864.

71. Alumni Record (1922), p. 472; 1916 Ariel, spring 1915, p. 182, and in two ff.

Among those who addressed the convention were John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer and Sherwood Eddy, all of them then in their fifties and at the height of their powers. To hear them was a significant part of the college experience in that era.(72)

At Lawrence the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. long gave a reception, known as the Walk-Around, to new students. A report of 1891 stated that, after addresses of welcome and other preliminaries, all present were invited "to take part in the 'Walk-around' or promenade which developed into a grand march later in the evening." The reception as a whole soon came to be called the Walk-Around.(73) Under that name it lasted beyond the end of the Plantz period. The event took place at first in the old Chapel in Main Hall; then in the first Alexander Gymnasium. In the fall of 1918 a part of the celebration was held outdoors on the campus.(74) In Plantz's first four years the number of Freshmen varied from 22 to 37; and there would be a few other newcomers in the upper classes. In his last years the number to be "received" at the Walk-Around was about 350.

For many years the two Associations cooperated in publishing a Students' Handbook. The oldest specimen now available, possibly not the first, bears the date 1889. It may not have been issued every year at first. Of convenient vest-pocket size, it grew from 38 pages in 1895 to 112 in 1925. It contained much information useful especially to new students. Naturally it urged all to participate in the activities of the Christian associations. It was distributed gratis, its cost being at least partly covered by advertisements. Eventually, in their decline, the Associations surrendered the Handbook to others. Their names last appeared on the title page in 1927 in conjunction with Pi Delta Epsilon, an honorary journalistic fraternity. In 1930 the enterprise became the Handbook number of the College Bulletin.

Broadly speaking, the Christian associations in Plantz's time had the same religious and ethical message as the larger and better known Protestant denominations. One of the most highly regarded traveling evangelists of the Y.M.C.A., who had the title of International Secretary for the West, was A. J. ("Dad") Elliott. In 1909, 1917 and again in 1923 he conducted meetings at Lawrence; and on the last occasion the Lawrentian reported on him at some length.

Elliott found fault with many details of college life as it was in 1923: he campaigned against both smoking and dancing. A few quotations will show his leading ideas and also his censorious attitude.

72. 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, p. 108; Law., Jan. 10, 1924, p. 1.

73. Law., Oct., 1891, p. 45; Oct., 1892, p. 46.

74. Law., Oct. 24, 1918, p. 1; May 29, 1919, p. 6.

The present athletic system is all wrong . . . the fundamental test of our present system is winning games honestly if we can, but if not honestly, win anyway

The functioning of the fraternity today is wrong. It is getting more clannish by letting race, religion, and color influence. Such a practice is un-American and un-Christian

No one can base a case for efficiency upon impurity. . . . A case for efficiency upon the basis of law-breaking, lack of self-control, cigarette smoking, studying on Sunday, the neglecting of prayer and refusal to champion the person who has not had a fair deal, is equally impossible.(75)

So far as these reports show, Elliott was greatly concerned about the quality of life here and now: he emphasized little or not at all the future life and the "plan of salvation," both so frequently mentioned in sermons half a century earlier.

The Historian of the Christian association asserts that in the quarter century between 1890 and 1915 "the student Y.M.C.A. of the United States and Canada became a major influence in the educational life of the two countries." In the generation after the First World War there was a widespread decline: there were 731 student Associations in 1920 with about 94,000 members and twenty years later, only 480 Associations with 51,000 members.(76)

In his annual reports to the Trustees Plantz usually commented on the work of the Christian associations. In 1917 all seemed to be going well; but by June, 1918 the effects of the war were apparent. Plantz said: "As a result of the lack of leadership by older men and the loss of our foremost Christian workers, the Y.M.C.A. has been in a very depleted and inactive condition."(77) There were some better reports after the First World War(78) and a membership drive in October, 1923 passed the 100 mark.(79) But as the 1900's wore on it became apparent that the two Associations were no longer as important as they had been at the turn of the century. The catalogue issued in January, 1926 did not contain the list of officers of the two Associations, as had been the custom for many years; as has been stated, after the summer of 1927 the preparation of the Student Handbook was assumed by others; and pictures of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. cabinets last appeared in the

75. Law., Mar. 22, 1923, p. 2.

76. Hopkins, Hist. Y.M.C.A., pp. 627, 646, 656.

77. Reports of the Pres., 1917, p. 5; 1918, p. 7.

78. E.g., Reports of the Pres., Nov., 1921, p. 2.

79. Law., Oct. 11, 1923, p. 1.

Ariel in the spring of 1930.

Why did the Associations come to an end at Lawrence after an existence of sixty years? Among Americans in the armed services in World War I, the Y.M.C.A. was criticized for the manner in which it operated canteens and managed other welfare work: one heard from returning soldiers the phrase, "That damned Y." In time a fuller knowledge of all the circumstances dissolved much of this criticism and it may be doubted that it had much to do with the decline of the student Associations. The most serious effect of World War I on the Associations was that it broke the continuity of influence which older students normally had upon younger ones. Another reason for the decline may be the fact that the way of life insisted on by the Y.M.C.A. (as in Elliott's speeches in 1923) diverged too much from the social habits of those students attending Lawrence. In the spring of 1920, 96.6 per cent of the student body endorsed a petition "asking that properly chaperoned dances be permitted by college authorities."(80) The winds of change were carrying the College away from an older ethos.

80. Law., May 20, 1920, p. 4.

CHAPTER XXV
ATHLETICS AND OTHER
EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

All who have lived in a residential college such as Lawrence must place a high value on athletics, debating and the production of the student newspaper and yearbook. Students engaging in these activities uncover or increase skills that they prize, and some of which they will use as long as they live. Also, since, with the exception of a few types of athletics and the oratorical contests, these are group enterprises, each participant must learn to work harmoniously with others: this is an acquisition of no small worth. College publicity makes much of these activities, especially those that include competition with "rival" institutions. The student, filled with loyalty, may feel that he is contributing to the fame of alma mater. The athletes, orators and writers of the moment may not be great by national standards or measured against outstanding professionals in the post-college or non-college world. Yet, for the time being, leaders in these activities are "tops" in the College community. They have attained a position that is satisfying or even exhilarating: they have successfully met one of the challenges of their environment. Many former students, trudging along in a middle life that is not very exciting, remember their participation in these activities with nostalgic fondness.

Athletics

It was told earlier in connection with the growth of the campus that Plantz in his first years rented a gymnasium and a playing field (Chapter XVIII). For a time College men used the gymnasium of the Appleton Y.M.C.A.; but this burned in 1893. Then for five years (1894-99) the University leased the old Armory, which stood on part of the

site of the present Masonic Temple. This the University used for athletics, physical education, and military drill. After that, for two academic years, the University was without such equipment.(1) In the fall of 1901 the first Alexander Gymnasium came into use.

The history of the playing field is similar. The square bounded by North, Bateman, Pacific and Union Streets was long vacant, and was known as the "baseball park." The students had the use of it free in 1888 and perhaps for a longer time. In Plantz's first years the University used it at an annual rental of \$100.(2) This arrangement being no longer possible, the Trustees in 1900 bought the block bounded by Commercial, Winnebago, Meade and Rankin Streets. This area served as Lawrence's athletic field until 1925.

Football

Football, though not the earliest game to be played at Lawrence, has been the University's premier sport virtually since its introduction in 1893. In the spring of that year Ripon, which had been playing football for three years, challenged Lawrence to a game on the next Thanksgiving Day.(3) The strongest urge toward the new game came from a Lawrence student, Walter E. Garrey, '94. He saw teams representing Boston and Chicago play at the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893. Immediately enthusiastic, he returned to Lawrence in the fall and led in creating the first team, of which he was captain.(4) That first season there were three games, only one of them intercollegiate. Ripon defeated Lawrence by a score of 24 to 6; there was a draw game with the Fond du Lac city team and a "glorious victory over a raw team of green and inexperienced players from Oshkosh Normal and High Schools."(5)

The Lawrence football team played three games in each of the years 1893 and 1894. Then came two seasons of six games each. There were eight in 1897; and from that time on the season usually had either seven or eight games. Because of war conditions there were only inter-class games in 1917, the Freshmen being champions. In 1918, when

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1. Law., Mar., 1902, p. 135.
 2. Law., Mar., 1895, p. 180; Bulletin, Jan., 1901, p. 16.
 3. Law., June, 1903, p. 36; Nov., 1894, p. 101.
 4. 1923 Ariel, spring 1922, under "Football."
 5. Law., Jan., 1894, p. 118.

Lawrence had an S.A.T.C. unit her team played four off-campus games, winning all of them. Altogether there must have been about 200 games with non-Lawrence teams in Plantz's thirty years. For a time the season ended with a game on Thanksgiving Day; but in 1904 Plantz ruled, apparently without consulting anyone else, that there should be no more football on that day. He felt that it was not in keeping with a special day of worship.(6)

In her first decade of football Lawrence occasionally played non-educational groups: for example, athletic clubs of Rhinelander, Waupaca, and Neenah-Menasha. There were three games with the Oneida Indians (1897-99). But viewing the whole of Plantz's thirty years, Lawrence's opponents for the most part belonged to four groups, all made up of educational institutions. There were, first, certain of the State Normal Schools destined to become the State Teachers' Colleges and later integral parts of the University of Wisconsin system. In 21 years, 1895-1915, Lawrence met Oshkosh 18 times and again in 1921. With Stevens Point there were seven games in 1902-08, one in 1916, and six in 1918-23. From 1898 to 1901 there was a series of four games with White-water Normal.

Lawrence also met the football teams of three large universities but never defeated any of them. In 16 out of the 23 years from 1899 to 1921, Lawrence played the University of Wisconsin. From 1903 to 1910 there were six games with Minnesota; and from 1903 to 1905, three with the University of Chicago. In 1903 and again in 1905, Lawrence played all three of these universities. John P. Koehler, coach from 1904 to 1906, once gave the reason for such games: the "only time during the season when they made any money was when they played the big teams."(7)

The third group of Lawrence's opponents was made up of four other colleges, all in Wisconsin. With Lawrence they formed what the sports writers called the "Little Five." In Plantz's last five years Lawrence played all four every year. The following list shows when Lawrence began to play football with each one and how many games there had been up to the close of the 1924 season.

Ripon	1893	25 games
Beloit	1899	21 games
Northwestern at Watertown	1901	13 games
Carroll	1909	14 games

Between 1902 and 1919 Lawrence and Marquette played football thirteen times. Perhaps because she drew her team from the whole University and not merely from the undergraduate College of Arts and Sciences, Marquette was not counted as one of the "Little Five."

6. Appleton Crescent, Jan. 22, 1904, p. 1.

7. Appleton Post, Jan. 24, 1906, p. 1.

A fourth group with whom Lawrence played football, that of out-of-state colleges, was only beginning to be important when Plantz died. In the fall of 1920 Knox College proposed the establishment of an athletic league that would unite the eight strongest colleges in five states. (Two colleges in Indiana were included in the earliest plans.) Plantz secured the approval of the Executive Committee for Lawrence's entry into the new union and Professor Farley represented Lawrence at an organizational meeting held at Coe College, May 12, 1921.(8) By 1924 there were ten member colleges in four states, as follows: Monmouth, Knox, James Millikin, Coe, Cornell, Hamline, Carleton, Ripon, Beloit and Lawrence. Lawrence continued to play Beloit and Ripon, old rivals in the Wisconsin "Little Five." In addition she usually took on two out-of-state colleges each year. She met Hamline and Cornell in 1922 and in 1923; Hamline and Coe in 1925. In 1924 only Hamline was scheduled and that game was not played on account of Plantz's death.

Lawrence's first football coach was David Henry Walker. After graduating from Lawrence in 1890 he attended the Law School of the University of Wisconsin where he learned to play football. He spent the first week of October, 1893 at Lawrence "initiating the boys in the mysteries of football."(9) In the following year the coach was one J. E. Raycroft, to whom the students paid \$60.00 for two weeks' work.(10) In some years, as in 1895 and 1897, Lawrence apparently had no coach. One "Ikey" Karel, "the great Madison half-back," coached during part of the season of 1896.(11) From 1898 through part of the season of 1900 the coach was Kenneth Brewer.(12) Upon the completion of the first Alexander Gymnasium, the Trustees added to the Faculty a Physical Director for Men; and for a number of years the holder of this position was also the principal football coach. The first of these men, coaching in the fall of 1901, was Francis Henry Brigham.

In 1909 Mark Catlin came to Lawrence primarily as a football coach, though in some years he also coached both men's and women's basketball teams and helped with track work in the spring. In 1904, while an undergraduate at the University of Chicago, he participated in the Olympic games held in connection with the World's Fair at St. Louis. There he won the high and low hurdle races and placed second in the discus throw.(13) He was the captain of the University of Chicago foot-

8. Law., Nov. 18, 1920, pp. 1, 4; May 19, 1921, pp. 1, 8; Exec. Com., May 3, 1921.

9. Law., Nov., 1893, pp. 77, 78.

10. Law., Dec. 15, 1906, p. 96.

11. Messenger, Oct. 15, 1896, p. 5; Law., Oct., 1896, p. 53.

12. Law., Oct., 1900, pp. 71, 72.

ball team that Lawrence met in 1905.

Plantz's concern for the moral climate at Lawrence extended to the athletic area. When negotiations were going on between the University and Catlin, Plantz wrote to him:

It is scarcely necessary for me to say that this institution being a Christian college lays the greatest possible emphasis upon what makes for manly character. We feel that an athletic director is in very close touch with students and we do not wish any one here whose habits are not worthy of imitation. I know nothing about you in this respect and therefore write this word of caution. We could not have any one who is given to profanity or the use of liquor, or betting on games or anything of that kind in connection with our institution. We do not allow smoking in the college building or on the campus or on the athletic field. Of course, if one smokes in his room, that is his own affair. We would expect you to assist us in maintaining both discipline and high ideals if you come here.(14)

Before Catlin's first year at Lawrence had ended, Plantz could write to him: "We are very much pleased with the work which you have done for us."(15)

Catlin coached at Lawrence without interruption from 1909 through 1916. In the middle of this period his teams made a remarkable record. "During the seasons of 1911 to 1914 inclusive no state college eleven was able to cross the Lawrence goal for a touchdown and in 1911 and 1912 no state college scored on Catlin's boys."(16) For these four years they were undisputed champions. Catlin had some really outstanding players under him in these and adjacent years. Henry "Dutch" Sylvester played in 1910 and again in 1913. Later (1924-26), when he was a businessman in Appleton, he helped coach the Lawrence team.(17) Charles A. "Ikey" Beyer, '12, at Lawrence before Catlin, played under Sylvester for three years.(18) Beyer, too, returned to Lawrence, serving as Instructor in Physical Culture and as coach in 1919-20. Elmer Abrahamson, a superlative all-round athlete, also played under Catlin for four seasons (1911-1914). And, finally, there were the three Tippet brothers, all graduates of Lawrence: Ralph of the class of 1913; Earl, 1914;

13. Alumnus, Sept., 1920, p. 9.

14. Plantz to Catlin, June 26, 1909.

15. Plantz to Catlin, Mar. 2, 1910.

16. Law., Dec. 7, 1916, p. 7.

17. 1926 Ariel, spring 1925, p. 157; 1927 and 1928 Ariels also.

18. 1915 Ariel, spring 1914, "Reminiscences," pp. 105, 106.

and Walter, 1915. All three were on the football teams of 1912 and 1913. Ralph was killed in action in France during World War I.(19)

In the fall of 1918 Lawrence was host to a unit of the S.A.T.C., consisting of about 400 men. Catlin took charge of football and, as already indicated, his team was very successful. Still later he again coached Lawrence football teams for four years (seasons 1924 through 1927).

Another outstanding coach of the Plantz period was Harlan D. McChesney, Director of Athletics 1920-23. His Assistant Coach was Howard C. "Cub" Buck who was described as "Wisconsin's All American Tackle."(20) Lawrence won the football championship in all three of these years.

During its first two decades at Lawrence, football received much adverse criticism. The Lawrentian noted at the close of 1893:

For the first time in the history of the institution we have had a football team From start to finish the team met with great opposition both among the students and the townspeople, but our last game, the only one on the home grounds, threw overboard every opposing prejudice.(21)

In the summer of 1895 the Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Church stated that professional football was "most brutal and demoralizing," and passed a resolution asking that "our schools," which words of course included Lawrence, "suppress and in no way countenance" the game.(22)

In 1903 the Lawrentian itself contained the following assault:

In proportion as football has developed as a means for inter-collegiate strife, milder and more rational pastimes among students generally have lost their attractiveness and the average student has become a spectator, taking his exercise largely by proxy, and interested more in seeing his college win than in the game for its own sake. Other college sports may share in this criticism but football is the chief of sinners. But were all this otherwise, a "sport" which has a fixed death rate can well be spared.(23)

19. 1924 Ariel, spring 1923, "Stars of the Past," pp. 139-141; 1923 Ariel, spring 1922, "A History of Lawrence Football," no page numbers.

20. 1922 Ariel, spring 1921, p. 124.

21. Law., Dec., 1893, p. 99.

22. Min. Wis. Conf., 1895, p. 41.

In the middle years of the Plantz period there was a persistent movement to abolish intercollegiate football among the private colleges of Wisconsin. Plantz supported this movement wholeheartedly and may have been its leader. In 1907 the Conference of (Wisconsin) College Presidents requested the various Faculties to vote on this question. How the Lawrence Faculty voted was not made public; the result was left with Plantz to be used by him at the next meeting of the Conference.(24) Plantz discussed the whole matter in the Bulletin at the time, summarizing the arguments pro and con. In the contra column he put: professionalism, the fact that players are too tired to study, injuries, betting, and rowdyism (this last including the impulse after victory to "paint the town red.") The best solution of the problem, he then felt, was "for the various institutions in the state to agree to stop intercollegiate contests for a series of years."(25) This anti-football campaign of 1907 did not succeed.

In 1915 Plantz was again negotiating with Carroll, Ripon and Beloit about having the four institutions abandon football. Plantz wrote to President Eaton of Beloit:

It was suggested [by the Presidents of Ripon and Carroll] that I see you and ascertain whether Beloit college would join a movement with all the other colleges of the state to abandon it While I prefer to see intercollegiate football abandoned, if that cannot be done by the unanimous action of the colleges, I should be glad for any improvements(26)

This negotiation of 1915 was not made public at the time, as had been the case in 1907.

Basketball

Basketball originated in the Y.M.C.A. training college at Springfield, Massachusetts in the fall of 1891. The rules were first published in January, 1892 in a Y.M.C.A. periodical, and the game soon spread throughout the United States.(27) In December, 1894 the Lawrence

23. Law., Dec. 1, 1903, p. 37.

24. F.M., Nov. 15, 1907, p. 73; Nov. 27, 1907, p. 74.

25. Bulletin, Dec., 1907, pp. 6, 7, 14.

26. Plantz to Eaton, Jan. 18, 1915.

football team played in Marinette, Wisconsin. In the evening the Lawrence visitors were treated to a banquet, "after which they adjourned to the Y.M.C.A. building where they witnessed a game of basketball."(28) The first mention of playing at Lawrence came in the Lawrentian of November, 1896 as follows:

Basketball promises to afford quite a little amusement and exercise this winter. Sides have been organized and meet for practice and a promising amount of interest is shown to make it a success.(29)

Looking back in April, 1898, at the end of the second season of basketball, Plantz wrote:

Great interest has been taken during the past season in basketball and several contests have been held with the representatives of other institutions. The exercise . . . is free from the probabilities of casualties We believe that this rather new sport has come to stay.(30)

Thus basketball flourished for three seasons, from the fall of 1896 to the spring of 1899. Lawrence had its first athletic contest with the University of Wisconsin when the two met in basketball on February 18, 1899.(31) For the next two seasons Lawrence had no floor for basketball.(32) Then, in the fall of 1901, the first Alexander Gymnasium came into use. From that time on both men and women students played the new game with great enthusiasm.

Arthur C. Denney, who came to Lawrence as Director of Athletics in 1923, was especially devoted to basketball and immediately put new spirit into that sport. In his first year, in the spring of 1924, Lawrence played two games each with Ripon, Carroll and Beloit; in 1925 the same number with these three and also with Milton and Marquette. Games with out-of-state schools were usually one a season. In 1924 there was a trip into Iowa; in 1925 a number of games were played in northern Illinois.(33)

27. Hopkins, Hist. Y.M.C.A., pp. 259-263.

28. Law., Jan., 1895, p. 142.

29. Law., Nov., 1896, p. 73.

30. Messenger, Apr., 1898, p. 1.

31. Law., Mar., 1899, p. 121.

32. Law., Mar., 1902, p. 135.

33. 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, pp. 133, 144; 1926 Ariel, spring 1925, p. 171.

Baseball

It will be recalled that Lawrence students began playing baseball soon after the Civil War; that in 1884 they held their first track and field meet, an intramural event; and that Lawrence met Ripon in both baseball and track in 1889 (Chapter XIV). The two colleges continued annually through 1896 to have a baseball game and a track and field meet on the same day.(34) Because of a quarrel about slugging in football in the fall of 1896 there was no basketball with Ripon for three years, 1897 through 1899.(35)

In spite of their greater age track and field work and baseball were not pursued with quite the same vigor and continuity in Plantz's time as were football and basketball. Of the two, track and field work had somewhat more steady devotion. In 1897 Plantz himself contributed "a new take-off for jumping and pole vault," northeast of the observatory.(36) In the first half of the Plantz period the chief items in the history of this sport were interclass contests and dual meets. In 1897, just as relations with Ripon lapsed, Lawrence had its first dual meet with Beloit.(37) Sometimes, as in 1900 and 1902, these meets were held at the Appleton Driving Park, now Telulah Park. Lawrence had an excellent track team in 1908: it took first place in an Annual Intercollegiate Relay meet in Madison and ranked second at a multicollege meet in Chicago.(38) But in 1909 Lawrence had no track team.

Baseball suffered even more ups and downs than track work. In 1898 the Spanish-American War took away the best players and the baseball team was disbanded. There was no team in 1902.(39) In 1916 there was no intercollegiate baseball, though some interfraternity games were played.(40)

The Ariel reported an attempt, in 1923, "for the first time in several years . . . to bring baseball back to Lawrence as a major sport." The Lawrence team made a tour "by automobiles so as to cut down the expenses." They played at Milton, Augustana, Rock Island, Illinois, Cornell, Iowa, and at the Platteville Normal School in southwestern

34. Law., June, 1896, pp. 32, 33.

35. Law., June, 1900, p. 40.

36. Law., Apr., 1897, p. 170.

37. Law., June, 1897, p. 207.

38. Law., June 15, 1908, pp. 4, 20-22.

39. Law., May, 1898, p. 116; Apr., 1902, p. 156.

40. Law., Apr. 26, 1916, p. 12.

Wisconsin. On May 8 the game at Milton was called on account of snow.(41)

Tennis and Minor Sports

The Lawrentian reported agitation for tennis courts in April, 1891; and the first court on the campus was probably laid out that spring. By 1893 there were four courts on the campus, one in front of the observatory and three in the area between Ormsby Hall and College Avenue.(42) These four courts sufficed through the whole of Plantz's presidency. During all of this time practically the only news of tennis in the Ariel and the Lawrentian was the annual announcement of the Lawrence champions in singles and doubles.(43) Apparently, those who played tennis financed the upkeep of the courts.(44)

Besides the leading sports there were several minor ones, some of them quite short-lived. There was a Ski Club in 1894. In 1902 a Cross Country Club held runs, varying from 2 to 12 miles in length, three times a week. Wrestling was established by 1917 when Lawrence met the University of Wisconsin in that sport.(45) Bowling alleys provided in the new gymnasium in 1901 were popular at first, but interest died out. The few who still cared to bowl did so at the Appleton Y.M.C.A. or elsewhere; and in 1922 the College alleys were torn out to make room for a squad room. McChesney, the Director of Athletics, arranged for a skating pond on the tennis courts in front of Ormsby Hall in 1922; the Lawrentian called it "Lake McChesney."(46)

And always there was much informal outdoor fun. One who spent the years 1896 to 1903 at Lawrence later remembered:

Of course there were parties down river to Potato Point, boat rides to Clifton, sleigh rides to Neenah, bobsled parties down John Street hill and across the railroad tracks.(47)

41. 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, p. 161; Law., May 10, 1923, p. 8.

42. Law., Apr., 1891, p. 127; May, 1892, p. 5; Souvenir, 1893, p. 134.

43. E.g., Law., June, 1897, p. 208; 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, p. 163.

44. Law., Apr. 27, 1922, p. 8.

45. Law., Feb., 1894, p. 133; Nov., 1902, p. 51; Mar. 15, 1917, p. 4.

46. Law., Oct., 1922, p. 12; Dec. 7, 1922, p. 12; Mar. 8, 1923, p. 9.

The original pentathlon was a feature of the Olympic games in ancient Greece. It was a contest in which each participant competed in five events: jump, footrace, discus throw, wrestling and boxing. Later, the fifth event became the javelin throw. The modern pentathlon, like basketball, was perfected in the Y.M.C.A. training college at Springfield, Massachusetts.(48) It was introduced at Lawrence in the spring of 1901 by Professor Perry W. Jenkins as a sort of midwinter, indoor field meet. Each College class and the Academy put forward a team of four men who contested in five events: shot-put, rope climbing, tug of war, relay race, and three standing broad jumps.(49) The Lawrentian erroneously stated that the pentathlon was so called because five groups were contesting.(50) The Academy was discontinued and some time later, in 1915 and 1916, the Conservatory became the fifth competing group. The contest was not held from 1917 to 1919; then in the early '20s it was revived in a different form, being put later in the season and held outdoors.(51)

Athletic Associations

In 1884 the male students at Lawrence organized an Athletic Association which conducted the first "Track and Field Day." During the next generation the Association underwent frequent reorganization and adopted several constitutions in succession. Among its functions two are especially interesting: its handling of finance and its regulations about eligibility and kindred matters. Eventually other bodies took over the making of these regulations.

In the early days the students bore the entire expense of their athletic activities. Sometimes, as in 1893, they arranged an "Athletic benefit entertainment" with assistance from the Glee Club, the Banjo Club, and other groups.(52) In 1899 the Executive Committee noted that the Athletic Association was several hundred dollars in debt and resolved as follows:

47. 1915 Ariel, spring 1914, pp. 17, 18.

48. Hopkins, Hist. Y.M.C.A., pp. 264, 459.

49. Law., Jan., 1901, p. 151.

50. Law., Feb., 11, 1913, pp. 1, 5; Feb. 8, 1917, p. 13.

51. Law., Apr. 28, 1921, p. 5; May 11, 1922, p. 9.

52. Law., May, 1893, p. 7; Oct., 1898, p. 63.

The college is unfortunately in such a condition that money cannot be taken from its treasury to meet these demands. We therefore trust our friends interested in athletics will do what they can to relieve the situation.(53)

It has already been told how in 1904 the students founded the University Club, primarily to give better financial support to athletics, oratory and debate, and the Lawrentian (Chapter XXIII). The weakness of this system lay in the fact that only a part of the student body joined the University Club and so assumed a part of the financial burden. Beginning in the fall of 1911 the Trustees collected a fee from all students, the proceeds to be divided among these enterprises. In a certain sense all students were now members of the Athletic Association, paying part of its expenses and helping elect student representatives to its "Board of Control."

The making of regulations about the eligibility of players was in the beginning a responsibility of the Athletic Association. The Association's constitution of 1897 included rules against professionalism and provided "for the best possible rules in favor of purely amateur events." To play on a Lawrence team "a man must be taking regular work in the college or preparatory departments"; and "members solely of the music, art or commercial schools will no longer be eligible."(54)

This constitution also provided for an Athletic Board of Control, one of whose duties was to apply these rules. In this task the Faculty cooperated by appointing one of its own members to the Association Board. The first man so appointed was Charles W. Treat, then Professor of Chemistry and Physics.(55) The Lawrentian later reported that, in the spring of 1897, "the baseball team left the Association because under the constitution the team would not be allowed to play outside men and . . . the Association was not strong enough to whip them back into line."(56)

The Faculty approved and supported the rules of the Athletic Association, both as applied to individual players and in general. Thus, in April, 1901, the Faculty ruled:

(1) Mr. Good cannot be played upon the [baseball] team for the reasons first that he is not a member of the school and secondly because he is scheduled to play [in] Sunday games.

53. Exec. Com., Nov. 7, 1899, p. 101.

54. Law., Feb., 1897, p. 136.

55. F.M., Mar. 30, 1897, p. 201.

56. Law., Feb., 1898, p. 68.

(2) No one can play on the team who does not come under the rules laid down by the athletic association.(57)

In 1902 it was customary for the Faculty to send to the Secretary of the Athletic Association a list of "Athletes below grade." At that time, also, the Association's Board of Control brought to the Faculty "a recommendation that the Baseball team be prohibited from going out this year."(58) A Faculty Committee on Athletics first appeared in September, 1902.(59)

The local Association was gradually superseded as the source of rules. The rise of modern athletics brought common problems to all colleges. Quite naturally, institutions having athletic relations pooled their wisdom and enacted common legislation. Early in 1906 six colleges in Wisconsin united with two in Illinois for this purpose. They were: Lawrence, Ripon, Beloit, Carroll, Marquette and Northwestern of Watertown; and Knox and Lake Forest in Illinois. They agreed to certain regulations. No copy of these rules is presently at hand: they were probably similar to those adopted by a Wisconsin group in 1908 to be mentioned next.(60)

In the fall of 1908 there was formed an "Intercollegiate Athletic Association of Wisconsin." About the time of the formation of the Association the presidents of the various colleges met at Beloit and drew up a set of rules applying to the athletic activities of their institutions. The rules formulated by the Presidents were adopted by the Lawrence Faculty almost as drafted. Among them were the following: the Faculty controls athletics, a coach is under the Director of Physical Education who is a member of the Faculty, and a player in any intercollegiate game must be a regularly enrolled student who is passing in twelve hours of College work. This last rule excluded Academy students. No one may play College football for more than four years. Various forms of professionalism, including the playing of summer baseball for money, were ruled out. College football teams were to play only against teams representing educational institutions.(61)

57. F.M., Apr. 24, 1901, p. 290.

58. F.M., Mar. 24, 1902, p. 317.

59. F.M., Sept. 18, 1902, p. 330.

60. F.M., Feb. 16, Mar. 16, May 4, 1906; Reports of the Pres., June, 1909, p. 14.

61. Constitution of 1908 of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of Wisconsin and newspaper account of rules attached to F.M., Oct. 5, 1908, p. 116. Cf., also, F.M., Sept. 24, 1908, pp. 114, 115.

With reference to legislation in control of athletics, a final word may be added. Whatever the students' association might enact, whatever a group of college presidents might agree upon, no legislation was binding upon Lawrence unless accepted by the Faculty. Technically, of course, the Trustees had the power to overrule; but apparently they never interfered with the Faculty in this area.

As we have seen, there had been an Athletic Board of Control as early as 1897. After 1911, when all students began to pay an activities fee, the Board continued, essentially as a part of the machinery of the All-College Club. The whole student body elected its student members; the Faculty named some of its own number to serve on it. In 1914 the Board consisted of the Director of Athletics, one other Faculty member and four students.(62) In Plantz's last years the Board included the Director of Athletics, three or four other male Faculty members and three or four students. Three students represented respectively football, basketball and track. Sometimes (1920 to 1923) there was a fourth student on the Board called the Manager of Athletics.(63) The Faculty members of the Athletic Board were the same as those named in the catalogue as constituting the Faculty Committee on Athletics.

A summary of the work of this Athletic Board written in 1928 doubtless applies equally well to Plantz's last years. It was as follows:

In addition to making the athletic appropriation each year and supervising the use of athletic funds, the Athletic Board gives the varsity and intra-mural athletic awards, takes charge of Lawrence's share in league business in the Wisconsin State and Midwest Conferences, and maintains the eligibility standards of the college for participation in intercollegiate contests.(64)

In 1895 the Athletic Association began the practice of conferring the "L" as a recognition of athletic performance. There is a suggestion in the Lawrentians of 1897 and 1898 that some men were given a "big L" as a special distinction. It was stated in the latter year:

The conditions for obtaining the "L" [presumably here the "big L"] are that the wearer play in three winning games of the season, or two such games if one be the Thanksgiving game.(65)

The Ariel issued in 1907 gave a list of the 79 men who received this honor in the years 1895 to 1907.(66)

62. 1915 Ariel, spring 1914, p. 140.

63. Ariels, 1920-23.

64. 1929 Ariel, spring 1928, p. 210.

65. Law., Dec., 1898, p. 78.

In the fall of 1920, at the suggestion of H. D. McChesney, Instructor in Physical Education and coach, the "L" men then in college organized the "L" Club. Its chief purposes were: to induce good athletes to come to Lawrence; to raise money to enable the coach to recruit athletes, personally, throughout the state; and to find employment for athletes who needed financial aid. Donald Dyer, the first President of the new Club, wrote to about one hundred Lawrence athletes of earlier years inviting them to join the Club, and asking them to help find athletes and contribute money.(67) The club was reorganized early in 1924.(68)

Though the early evidence is rather scattered, it seems clear that from just before the beginning of the Plantz period some women students were always interested in athletics for their sex. When the Souvenir was published in 1893 women had both a tennis and a Delsarte club. Military drill for men began in the fall of 1894. Girls petitioned to have drill likewise, but their request was not granted.(69) In January, 1898 three men students were appointed to coach the ladies' basketball team.(70) Beginning in 1902 the yearbook occasionally had pictures of women's basketball teams; for many years they were always garbed in somber black.(71)

In the spring of 1916 Theta Alpha, the forerunner of Mortar Board, suggested a pentathlon for women and there was one that year and another in 1917.(72) Apparently about that time more enthusiasm was developing for women's athletics, though a student writing in the Lawrentian credited most of the advance to only about twenty "live wires."(73) A Women's Athletic Association was organized and a Women's Athletic Board was named. Entirely composed of students, the Board was made up of four officers and the representatives of five sports. The sports listed the first year (1917) were basketball, hiking, indoor meet, swimming and tennis.(74) With some changes in the list of sports,

66. 1908 Ariel, spring 1907, p. 165.

67. Alumnus., Nov., 1920, p. 6; Law., Mar. 10, 1921, p. 4; June 2, 1921, p. 8; Plantz papers, No. 14,910.

68. Law., Jan. 24, 1924, p. 6; Feb. 7, 1924, p. 1.

69. F.M., Jan. 22, 1895, p. 142.

70. Law., Jan., 1898, p. 51.

71. '02 Ariel-Lawrentian, p. 87; 1904 Ariel, spring 1903, p. 45; 1912 Ariel, spring 1911, p. 161.

72. Law., Apr. 12, 1916, p. 4; Mar. 1, 1917, p. 12.

73. Law., Apr. 5, 1917, p. 5.

this set-up continued until 1924. In that year the Board was altered so that it would have four Faculty members and three women students.(75) In 1918 a point system was devised and women accumulating a certain number of points were entitled to wear the Varsity "L." The system was further elaborated in 1924 and a women's "L" Club was organized in 1926.(76)

The Athletic Association instituted and managed two series of annual contests, already mentioned in connection with Lawrence's publicity and recruiting efforts (Chapter XIX). The first was the Northeastern Wisconsin Interscholastic Track and Field Meet, which was held from 1901 through 1916. High schools within a radius of seventy-five miles were invited to compete. Sometimes teams came from as many as twenty schools and included more than one hundred athletes.(77) Probably on account of the entry of the United States into World War I, there was no such meet in 1917 or for some years thereafter.(78)

The other annual contest designed to interest high schools was called the Interscholastic Basketball Tournament. This enterprise was continued from 1905 through 1918. The Athletic Director of the University of Wisconsin twice undertook to bring the State Tournament to Madison; but President Van Hise ruled that Lawrence had originated and conducted it with success and should continue to manage it.(79) At least once the Executive Committee, acting for the Trustees, assumed the deficit occasioned by this tournament.(80)

In Plantz's last year somewhat similar meets of both sorts began again. As to basketball, the Athletic department of the University had by this time taken charge. There were district meets followed by a state-wide contest. The Athletic Association of Lawrence supervised the meeting of the Appleton district in March, 1924, the first in an annual series.(81) Also in the spring of 1924, Lawrence was host to a track meet for eight high schools that called themselves the Fox River Valley

74. 1918 Ariel, spring 1917, p. 37.

75. 1926 Ariel, spring 1925, p. 188.

76. Law., May 9, 1918, p. 2; 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, pp. 166-168; 1927 Ariel, spring 1926, p. 241.

77. Law., Apr., 1901, pp. 219, 229; May 24, 1916, p. 10.

78. Law., Apr. 19, 1917, p. 1.

79. Plantz to Crabtree, Aug. 4, 1915, No. 969; Law., Mar. 16, 1905, p. 15; Apr. 20, 1905, pp. 12, 13; 1919 Ariel, spring 1918, p. 126.

80. Exec. Com., Apr. 30, 1917.

81. 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, p. 151; 1927 Ariel, spring 1926, p. 228.

Conference, a group whose outlying members were Marinette, Fond du Lac, Manitowoc and Sheboygan. The idea of this meet originated with Coach Denney. This meet, too, was the first of a series.(82)

One of Plantz's last services to Lawrence athletics was the calling of Arthur C. Denney to the staff. The College had employed its first Physical Director for Men in the fall of 1901. In the next twenty-two years a succession of thirteen men, using various titles, held this position. This count does not include Catlin and other special coaches. In the spring of 1923 the headship of the department was about to be changed again. Among the applicants was Denney, then in charge of athletics at the Appleton High school. Plantz wrote: "Mr. Denney has been in I should judge from what he says that he is a pretty skilful man, and he has the right ideals."(83)

Denney worked under Plantz for about a year and two months. His coming ushered in a new regime. With great frankness the Ariel stated: "Lawrence has always been a power in football, but not until [Denney] came was much interest shown in other sports." The "athletic standard [had] lagged behind in proportion to . . . the enrollment." Now Denney had come with the slogan, "A Sport for Every Man in School."(84) Clearly Denney and his ideals met a Lawrence need. When he died in 1964 he was the last appointee of Plantz still teaching at Lawrence.

Forensics

It was only natural that a college guided by Methodist ministers should place a high value on the ability to sway an audience. Lawrence students did much public speaking from the beginning, both as a scholastic requirement and on their own initiative. Through many decades students prepared and delivered orations under the guidance of the Faculty. On the other hand they debated in the literary societies of their own free will and with great satisfaction to themselves. During Plantz's presidency Lawrence competed regularly in the State Oratorical Contests. Debating moved out of the literary societies and became a matter of inter-collegiate rivalry with a publicity value not unlike that of athletics. Faculty guidance in these areas, and particularly in debating,

82. Law., Apr. 17, 1924, p. 1; 1926 Ariel, spring 1925, p. 177; 1927 Ariel, spring 1926, p. 228.

83. Plantz to Exec. Com., Apr. 7, 1923, Wood papers.

84. Almost identical wording, 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, p. 132; 1926 Ariel, spring 1925, p. 156; 1927 Ariel, spring 1926, p. 208.

passed into the hands of specialists who counted up the victories of their teams somewhat after the manner of football coaches.

It was told earlier how a Lawrence student won the Interstate Oratorical Contest in 1877 (Chapter XIV). A few years later the state group fell apart, enthusiasm waned, and for a time Lawrence did not even have a local contest. A new state league was formed in 1894. For some time it had only three members, Beloit, Lawrence and Ripon; and each college had two representatives. At the State Contest in March, 1895, Lawrence won both second and third places.(85)

In the spring of 1900 a Lawrence Senior, William S. Wescott, won the State Contest and went on to win the Interstate, where ten states were represented. His oration was entitled "Macbeth and Iago." Upon Wescott's return from the final contest at Denver the students chartered two street cars, decorated them with appropriate placards, and rode and yelled all the way to Appleton Junction and back; then celebrated further with speeches and a bonfire on the campus.(86) Wescott later became a Congregational minister.

The State Oratorical Contest continued as an annual event throughout and beyond the Plantz period, except that there was no contest in 1919. Lawrence was always a participant. It was mentioned previously in connection with the first May Day that in 1906 Martha Irish won the State Contest and stood third in the Interstate. In the period 1910 to 1924 Lawrence took first place in the State Contest four times and never fell below second place. Lawrentians who won the State Contest were:

1914	Norman Cawley
1918	William Doll
1921	Victor Werner
1922	Karl Trever

Frederick W. Orr, who was at Lawrence from 1910 to 1925, had the chief part in training these men, though he had help from others of the Faculty, several of whom were able preachers.(87)

Propaganda intent brought to Lawrence two series of special oratorical contests. A philanthropic woman offered prizes for the best orations about world peace. In the Local Contest there was a first prize of \$35.00 and a second of \$20.00. Beyond that were State and Interstate Contests. Lawrence first participated in this enterprise in

85. Law., May, 1894, p. 8; Mar., 1895, p. 189.

86. Law., Mar., 1900, pp. 203-208 (Wescott's oration); May, 1900, pp. 23, 24.

87. 1924 Ariel, spring 1923, p. 113; as to William Doll's first place, see Law., Feb. 21, 1918, p. 1; May 2, 1918, p. 1.

the spring of 1912 when her representative stood third in the State Contest. When the United States entered World War I, in April, 1917, the Peace Contests were abruptly terminated. There was fear that "militarists," meaning perhaps super-patriots, might misinterpret the enterprise. Also, "the woman who was backing the contest financially prefers to give the money to war-relief work."(88)

For a generation before 1919 there was a great crusade in progress, the third in American history, to end the use of alcoholic beverages in the nation. This crusade culminated in the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. Actually, before this amendment took effect the manufacture and sale of intoxicants ceased at midnight on June 30, 1919, in obedience to a law passed as a belated war measure. There was always much zeal in this cause in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and consequently at Lawrence. When the Wisconsin State Anti-Saloon League was formed in 1897, a Lawrence alumnus, Henry Colman, '57, became its first Superintendent. (Colman Hall bears the name of his wife.) R. Percy Hutton of the class of 1903 later held the same office.

An Annual Prohibition Contest in the writing of essays was transformed in 1897 into a Local Oratorical Contest.(89) Evidence is lacking to show that such contests were held every year. In 1916 the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association was introduced or reintroduced at Lawrence. The Lawrentian stated that this Association had been engaged for fourteen years "organizing the students of American colleges . . . for leadership in the anti-liquor reform." At that time it existed in 32 states, had 248 college branches and approximately 7,500 members.(90) The Association managed Local and State Oratorical Contests. Money for prizes came from zealous persons in the local communities. State Contests were held in 1916, 1917 and 1918 in which Lawrence did well. In 1917 the Lawrentian announced the approaching State Contest with this headline: "William Doll, Milwaukee, to Attack Demon Rum as Lawrence Representative."(91) Apparently the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment ended contests of this sort.

Lawrence intercollegiate debating began in the academic year 1893-94 when the Freshmen of Lawrence and Ripon met; and apparently Freshmen continued to represent their respective schools for some years.(92) The first intercollegiate debate for upperclassmen took place in Appleton on April 1, 1902, when Lawrence was host to a team

88. Law., Mar. 26, Oct. 1, Dec. 10, 1912; Mar. 11, 1913; Mar. 15, 1916; Apr. 26, 1917; 1913 Ariel, spring 1912, p. 72.

89. Law., Apr., 1897, p. 167.

90. Law., Apr. 26, 1916, p. 7.

91. Law., Apr. 12, 1917, p. 2.

92. 1897 Ariel, p. 50; Law., Dec., 1897, pp. 38-43.

from Upper Iowa University of Fayette, Iowa. The Lawrence Faculty chose the debaters from lists submitted by the literary societies.(93) In the spring of 1903, Plantz and two Professors chose teams which met Upper Iowa a second time and Albion College, Michigan, for the first time.(94)

In the fourteen years, 1902 through 1915, Lawrence had 41 debates with other colleges, some 12 of them between Freshmen teams. She had 7 each, all upperclass debates, with Albion and with Hamline. Counting Freshmen debates, she met Ripon and Beloit each 6 times and Carroll 5. There were two or three meetings each with Upper Iowa, Lake Forest, St. Olaf and Carleton.

In Plantz's last nine years (1916-24) Lawrence continued to meet most of these old opponents occasionally. She also debated with a number of other colleges: among them two in Minnesota, two in Iowa (Cornell, 5 times), and two in Illinois. In March, 1922 came the first western trip. A Lawrence team debated at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota; Dakota Wesleyan at Mitchell, South Dakota; Nebraska Wesleyan at Lincoln; and Colorado College at Colorado Springs. A team on tour from Willamette College, Salem, Oregon came to Appleton in 1923. In April, 1925 there was a second western trip. Lawrence men had two debates in the state of Washington and three in Oregon, including one with Willamette College. On the return trip they debated with Cornell College at Mount Vernon, Iowa.

As just stated, Lawrence had its first upperclass Intercollegiate Debate in April, 1902. In the fall of that year the Faculty named F. A. Havighorst, then Professor of History and Political Science, as a committee on Intercollegiate Debate.(95) In the following April, Plantz, Havighorst and another professor helped the students draw up a constitution for an Oratorical and Debating League (also called Association). An executive committee was provided that included two Faculty members.(96)

The Faculty gradually came to the help of the students in debating. Professor Havighorst was their first advisor.(97) Judson G. Rosebush taught at Lawrence for seven years (1903-10), economics being his principal field. It was he who moved debating into the classroom. Year after year he gave an elementary course in the subject the

93. F.M., Nov. 18, 1901, p. 308; Law., Apr., 1902, p. 153; May, 1902, p. 181.

94. F.M., Jan. 16, 1903, p. 340; Law., May, 1903, p. 245.

95. F.M., Sept. 18, 1902, p. 330.

96. F.M., Apr. 10, Apr. 17, May 3, 1903, pp. 347, 350, 353; Law., June 1, 1903, p. 265.

97. F.M., Sept. 26, 1902, p. 331; May 13, 1903, p. 353.

first semester, usually to more than twenty students, and followed it with Intercollegiate Debate, a more advanced course limited to about a dozen students, the second semester.

Rosebush gave up teaching in the spring of 1910 and Frederick W. Orr joined the staff in the fall of that year. He worked at first in the School of Expression, but helped with debating from the time he came to Lawrence. In the fourteen years, 1910 to 1924, Lawrence men engaged in 63 debates and won 47, or about three-fourths of them. In more than half the victories, the decision of the judges was unanimous. For Orr's last year, 1924-25, Lawrence sponsored a new form of contest, a "non-decision, open-forum debate." (98) Orr trained Albert L. Franzke in debating for four years (1912-16). Franzke joined the Lawrence staff in 1922, and replaced Orr when the latter had leave of absence for a year (1923-24). In 1925 Orr took a position at the University of Washington and Franzke succeeded him at Lawrence. (99)

Athletes had worn the Lawrence "L" since 1895. In the spring of 1911 the practice began of conferring a similar award on the best orators and debaters. The authorities reached a short way into the past and conferred the honor on three men of the class of 1910. There were both a simple "L" and a distinctive "L" from the beginning; and between 1911 and 1924 a Double Distinctive "L" was twice awarded, Franzke being the first to receive it. (100)

Tau Kappa Alpha was a national honorary oratorical fraternity established in 1908 by students at several Indiana colleges. (101) Undergraduate membership was limited to Juniors and Seniors who had represented the College in intercollegiate oratory or debate, and election to it was "the highest honor attainable in the intercollegiate forensic world." Installation of a chapter at Lawrence took place February 17, 1912, to the accompaniment of a "banquet supper" at a local hotel. Faculty members in the early years were Rosebush, Orr and Naylor; M. Lyle Spencer was soon added. At any one time there were usually from five to seven undergraduate members. (102)

Professor Orr was probably the leader in promoting a new forensic society, the Phoenix Forum. It was a combination of the previously existing Politics Club and Public Speaking Club; and a third body seems

98. 1924 Ariel, spring 1923, p. 113; 1926 Ariel, spring 1925, p. 125.

99. 1917 Ariel, spring 1916, p. 140, about Franzke as undergraduate.

100. 1912 Ariel, spring 1911, p. 193; 1913 Ariel, spring 1912, p. 70; 1924 Ariel, spring 1923, p. 114.

101. Baird's Manual, 1940 edition, p. 601.

102. Law., Feb. 13, 1912, p. 6; 1914 Ariel, spring 1913, p. 141; 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, p. 175.

to have determined the name. The old Phoenix Literary Society had ceased to function in the spring of 1913. Three years later the Lawrentian reported:

Members of the phoenix literary society now in school have donated their fixtures and hall to be used as a club room for the new organization. . . . In the future only members of the Phoenix Forum will be eligible to try out for college debates.(103)

In the spring of 1917 when the society was about a year old, the Ariel pictured its officers and listed its 38 members, all men. After these two years, the Phoenix Forum disappeared: it was probably a war casualty.(104)

Brief mention was made earlier, in a discussion of the College's publicity efforts, of contests for high school students in oratory and extempore speaking.(105) These began in 1918. Four years later the Lawrence Forensic department sponsored, in addition, a Wisconsin Inter-scholastic Debating League. In the spring of 1924, the third season, approximately six hundred students representing 69 high schools took part in this enterprise. There were preliminary debates in February, a second round in March and the finals in May.(106)

Something was said earlier (Chapter XXII) about play production in the time of the School of Expression. John S. Garns, its last Director, managed the tours of a dramatic club. He also presented plays, often by Shakespeare, at commencement. After Garns left Lawrence in 1914, four years passed with no major dramatic efforts. Then, beginning in 1919, there was a full-length play every year. In 1919 the "First Lady of the Land" was given at the Appleton Theatre. Sheridan's "Rivals," presented May 17, 1920, was the first major play produced by students in the new Memorial Chapel. "Dulcy," written by George S. Kaufman and Marc Connelly, was given May 11, 1925, again in the Appleton Theatre, and was the last play that F. W. Orr directed at Lawrence.(107)

103. Law., June 13, 1916, p. 2, order of sentences changed.

104. Law., Oct. 12, 1916, pp. 1, 9; 1918 Ariel, spring 1917, p. 154.

105. Law., Apr. 11, 1918, pp. 1, 9; May 22 1919, pp. 1, 7; also, Chapter XIX.

106. Law., Mar. 8, 1923, p. 9; Apr. 26, 1923, p. 1; Feb. 14, 28, 1924; 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, p. 98.

107. Annual notices in Ariels; Law., May 7, 1925, p. 1; May 14, 1925, p. 2.

The Lawrentian

The Lawrentian was a little more than ten years old when Plantz became President. Something was said earlier about its predecessors and its own first years (Chapter XIV). In Plantz's time it changed in many ways: in frequency of issue, in format and in content. It was a monthly magazine in 1894, and so remained until June, 1902. Then for seven years it was a semi-monthly, appearing fifteen times in most years. It was a monthly again in 1909-10, and after that always a weekly in Plantz's time. In his last decade it was a newspaper rather than a magazine.

As to format, in 1894 the pages of the Lawrentian were about 6 1/2 by 9 inches and, having two columns on the page, it resembled the Atlantic Monthly and other literary magazines of that time. In some years (1899-1903 and 1908-10) it used a one-column octavo page but had the two-column page once more, for the last time, in 1910-11. It then adopted a three-column page measuring about 10 by 13 inches and continued thus for four years. In the fall of 1915 it began to use a four-column page of about the same size, printed in smaller type. It now looked like a small newspaper. It moved further in the same direction in September, 1923 when it adopted a five-column page about 11 1/2 by 18 inches.

For a time after the Lawrentian became a weekly newspaper (September, 1910), "magazine" numbers took the place of the weekly issues once a month. They were so called both because of their form, the smaller two-column page, and because of their literary content. The last magazine number appeared in June, 1915.

The year 1915-16 saw a notable increase in the size of the Lawrentian. A page now contained more than it had before. Also, between September and February the number of pages grew from 8 to 16. Then from March to mid-May each issue contained 20 pages. The Editor-in-Chief that year was Clarence M. Mitchell. In January, 1916 a subtitle, "America's Greatest College Weekly," appeared on the front page under the word Lawrentian. This label was used for seven and one-half years, or until a change in format in 1923. From 1918 to 1923 the paper usually had 12 pages. When the size of the pages was again enlarged, in 1923, the number was reduced to eight.

As to content, the Lawrentian was long more of a magazine than a newspaper. The issue for October, 1894 had a poem by Myra Goodwin Plantz, and nearly every number contained some verse. In January 1895 someone, perhaps a Faculty member, commented briefly on "Books of 1894." Among those mentioned were: novels by George Du Maurier, Mrs. Humphrey Ward and F. Marion Crawford; Social Aspects of Christianity by Richard T. Ely and Social Evolution by Benjamin Kidd. Communications from alumni and brief notices about them were frequent; in fact, the Lawrentian seems to have been to some extent an alumni organ. A recurring feature was the texts of speeches delivered in Oratorical Contests, both Local and State. The issue for January, 1897 was

made up almost entirely of the addresses made at the Semi-Centennial celebration. Modern football began in 1893, and from then on it received much attention in the Lawrentian. At the same time the Lawrentian included many personals of only limited interest.

For many years a formula in the Lawrentian stated that it was "published monthly by the Lawrentian Paper Association, composed of representatives of the four literary societies." Each literary society named from four to six members to the Association (the numbers varied a little over the years), and this body of about twenty chose the Editor-in-Chief and several assistants.(108) In the fall of 1903, on Faculty initiative, the literary societies relinquished their control; and it was arranged for the whole student body to elect a Lawrentian Board, which took the place of the old Association; the Board then chose the staff.(109) The Editor-in-Chief and principal staff members soon came to be elected as such: they were the Board.(110)

A succession of men in the English department gave courses in newspaper work and undoubtedly guided the development of the Lawrentian. The first of these was Matthew Lyle Spencer, who was at Lawrence from 1911 to 1917. Then came William B. Lindsay, who joined the teaching staff in February, 1917 and remained for five and one-half years, or until June, 1922. In his later years he gave courses, among others, in News Writing and in Advertising Copy Writing. Then came three years when Lawrence had two men in succession with the title, Professor of Composition and Journalism. After having this title for one year, 1924-25, Frank W. Clippinger, second of the two, became simply Professor of English. As such, he was advisor to the Lawrentian until 1939.

In May, 1916 Spencer led in founding an honorary journalistic fraternity at Lawrence called Eta Theta Epsilon. Chapters were soon established at three other institutions. Spencer was "Grand President," and four students, all on the staff of the Lawrentian, held the other "Grand" offices.(111) In the following year this organization merged with another of the same sort, the union taking the other's name of Pi Delta Epsilon. Using this name, it lived on at Lawrence until November, 1929.(112)

108. 1897 Ariel, p. 94; 1902 Ariel, spring 1901, p. 80; Law., Feb. 1, 1907, p. 154.

109. F.M., Sept. 16, 29, 1903, p. 360; Bulletin, Nov., 1903, pp. 12, 13.

110. Law., June 11, 1907, p. 297.

111. Law., May 31, 1916, p. 1; June 13, 1916, p. 1.

112. Law., Nov. 22, 1917, p. 3; 1931 Ariel, spring 1930, p. 169; 1932 Ariel, spring 1931, p. 87.

Zeta Pi, a local journalistic "fraternity" for women was founded at Lawrence in 1917. Three years later it became a chapter of Theta Sigma Phi, an honorary professional sorority of women journalists.(113) In Plantz's later years three women were at different times Editors-in-Chief of the Lawrentian. They were:

1917-18	Elfrieda Hampel
1918-19	Muriel Kelley
1924-25	Mary Bennett

In Plantz's final years the Lawrentian again gave space to poetry and short essays written by students. There was some such material in the spring of 1922 under a caption, "Contributors Club."(114) In 1924 the local chapter of Pi Delta Epsilon sponsored a prose and poetry contest. This resulted in a "Literary Supplement" in the Lawrentian that extended over parts of two issues.(115) Many years later, beginning in 1938, there would be a separate publication at Lawrence called The Contributor for material of this sort.

In 1894 subscription to the Lawrentian cost \$1.00 a year. In 1911 when all students began to pay for it as a part of the required All-College Club fee, it was listed at \$1.75. In 1924, Plantz's last year, the rate was \$2.25.

In Plantz's last years there were also several comic publications. First was "The Yellow Cow," dated March 24, 1921. It had four pages measuring about 8 1/2 by 11 inches and was printed on yellow paper. Two of its mottoes were: "What is writ is rotten," and "All the News unfit to print." Some of its personal items might well offend. Thus:

By the way Miss Foster looks in chapel when they sing those sentimental love songs we aren't betting much on Doc Mac's chance of staying free very long. Poor Mac -- and such a nice man, too.

On another page was "A little dope on lovemaking." Part of it went:

When mutual admiration and confidence entwine a maid and a man, they are on the first lap of the love race. Usually it is the young lady who is on the young man's lap. . . . [In this race] the result will be a tie, with the minister doing the tying

113. Law., Jan. 25, 1917, p. 1; May 27, 1920, p. 1; Law., May 11, 1922, p. 11."

114. Law., Apr. 13, 1922, p. 6; Apr. 27, 1922, p. 6.

115. Law., Mar. 6, 1924, pp. 5, 6, 8; Mar. 13, 1924, p. 6.

Early in 1922 Plantz wrote to W. B. Lindsay:

I have heard it rumored that the publication entitled "The Yellow Cow" is about to be issued again and that you have some connection with it. I wish to state that we do not want this publication reissued, and I hope if you have any influence in the matter you will use it to stop its republication.(116)

"The Yellow Cow" did not make a second appearance; but in the spring of 1922 the men's journalistic fraternity, Pi Delta Epsilon, issued something called the "Eye-Opener." No copy is available, but the Lawrentian tells us that it was intended as a "humorous" publication.(117) In March, 1923 the same group produced another comic, calling it the "Stude Prune." Opinions about it appeared in the Lawrentian. One student, destined to become a Trustee of the College in 1957, said: "It was too foolish, not funny -- and the foolishness got monotonous."(118)

The Ariel

The Lawrence Columbian Souvenir of 1893 was intended, by its own statement, to be the first of a series of yearbooks; but there was nothing more of the sort until the Seniors issued, in 1897, what they christened The Ariel 1897. Cora Crowe, '97, a member of the yearbook committee, suggested the name, borrowing it from Shakespeare's Tempest.(119) Later, from 1921 onward, she spent many years in the College community as the second wife of Dean Wilson S. Naylor.

In the following year the Juniors produced the annual, but called it The Ariel of '99, though it was issued in 1898. The sequel is most clearly set forth in a list, as follows:

116. Plantz to Lindsay, Jan. 19, 1922, No. 14,021.

117. Law., Apr. 13, 1922, p. 13.

118. Law., Mar. 1, 1923, p. 2; 1924 Ariel, spring 1923, p. 132.

119. Law., Feb. 21, 1924, p. 8.

Year of issue	Prepared by	Title used
1899	(No yearbook)	
1900	Juniors	The Ariel Class of '01
1901	Juniors	Ariel '02
1902	Lawrentian staff	'02 Ariel-Lawrentian
1903	Juniors	The '04 Ariel

One item on this list calls for comment. The class of 1903, when Juniors, decided not to publish a yearbook.(120) Instead, the Lawrentian staff prepared a substitute which they issued in June, 1902 under the title '02 Ariel-Lawrentian. The group that produced it included members of all four college classes, a Sophomore being the Editor-in-Chief. Their book, of 128 pages, had 27 pages of photographs of classes, athletic teams and other groups and individuals. Warren H. Stevens, a Junior, contributed pen drawings: one showed Farley explaining geometry in Paradise, whence all the angels had fled to escape him; another pictured Plantz in his black skullcap. Under this was a parody of which the first stanza was:

There's a little, kindly man,
Which is "Doc."
Looks the solemnest he can,
Don't you "Doc?"
Though in stature he's not tall,
He's the patron saint of all,
The Prexie whom we love to call
Simply "Doc."

From 1903 onward the Juniors have produced an Ariel every year. Until 1938 the year named in the title was one more, or one later, than the actual year of issue. Since 1938 the year of issue has been a part of the title.(121)

The first Ariel, issued in 1897, sold for \$.75. The price gradually rose to \$1.50 in 1912 and \$4.00 in 1924.(122) The purchase of an Ariel was not required, but it was stated in 1924 that most students ordered copies when they registered.(123) Apparently, financing was sometimes difficult. In 1915 the Ariel Board organized a "local talent minstrel show" to help pay the bills.(124)

120. Law., Nov., 1901, p. 29.

121. In references in this book to Ariels earlier than 1938, the name of the sponsoring class (which includes the date of its graduation), as given on the title page, is followed by the date of publication.

122. Messenger, June, 1897, p. 4; F.M., May 31, 1911, p. 42.

123. Law., Jan. 10, 1924, p. 1.

Until near the end of the Plantz period the class that was to give its name to an Ariel, in the spring of its Sophomore year, chose the leading staff members from its own ranks. In accordance with changes made in November, 1923, the student body, acting as the All-College Club, from that time on elected the Editor and the Business Manager from the sponsoring class and their chief assistants from the following one. Thus, men who had already worked on the Ariel were supposed to be available for the top positions and were usually elected. At this time also, an Ariel Board of Control was set up consisting of a part of the undergraduate staff and three Faculty members.(125)

The Ariel grew rather early to the size familiar today. The number of pages passed 200 in 1904 and 250 in 1908; and, not counting advertisements, it varied between 250 and 300 pages until 1933. Then it entered into a temporary decline, doubtless on account of the depression. Later, during World War II, the Ariels would again be small.

Early Ariels sometimes included features later abandoned. Thus there were occasional pictures of Clifton (High Cliff), the scene of many student outings.(126) But the yearbook came soon to consist, for the most part, of items that are found in it today. In the spring of 1901 there was for the first time a group picture of Theta Phi, then the only fraternity.(127) Beginning in 1904 there were individual pictures of Seniors and Juniors and group pictures of the other classes. Information about Seniors was at that time approaching the form and amount that would be standard practice half a century later. As the years passed student societies in great variety -- literary, religious, fraternal, departmental, political -- were pictured in the Ariel.

The first Ariel had a section headed "Literature." This caption was repeated through 1909, and there was genuine literary effort even later. Included were verse, fiction and accounts of foreign travel. Undergraduates, alumni and friends all contributed. Thus in 1911 there was verse by Mrs. Plantz and Mrs. Stansbury; and Eben E. Rexford ("Silver Threads among the Gold") kept writing poems for the Ariel until his death in 1916.(128) "Our Faculty at Home and Abroad" recounted amusing episodes that happened mostly in Europe.(129) A number of times alumni described the Lawrence they had known long before.(130)

124. Law., Oct. 19, 1915, p. 3.

125. 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, pp. 100-102.

126. Ariel '99, spring 1898, p. 42; 1905 Ariel, spring 1904, p. 192.

127. Ariel '02, spring 1901, p. 77.

128. 1917 Ariel, spring 1916, pp. 8, 200, 201.

129. 1908 Ariel, spring 1907, pp. 180-185.

In Plantz's last years the Ariel appeared time after time without much change of plan. First would come photographs of buildings and campus scenes, which were especially good in 1920 and 1922. A section called "Administration," usually of about 40 pages, was made up mostly of pictures of officers and Faculty. Sometimes permanent office assistants were included.(131) Another section called "Classes," once reaching 65 pages, followed early precedent and gave individual pictures of Seniors and Juniors and group pictures of the other two classes. For each Senior there was a list of his affiliations and accomplishments at Lawrence. A division called "Activities," of 25 to 50 pages, dealt with student self-government, forensics, the religious societies, and musical and dramatic groups and their doings. Then came "Athletics," amounting to about 40 pages. Of this space about one-half was usually devoted to football. In 1924 women's athletics were accorded three pages and in 1925, seven. Still another section was usually labeled "Organizations." Included were the honorary societies, led off by Phi Beta Kappa; fraternities and sororities; and the many department clubs such as the English Club and the History Club. Each one had its picture, its list of officers and usually its list of members. In 1924, including the fraternities and sororities, forty organizations were recognized.(132)

The last of the regular departments, amounting sometimes to more than 30 pages, was a sort of humorous medley. In 1921 it was called "Humor"; in 1923 and 1924, "Satire"; and in 1925, "The Ariel Attack." In 1924 this section had a subtitle, "Just a Happy Little Bull," the words being accompanied by the sketch of a calf. This section always included informal snapshots, some cartoons, and a good deal of "ribbing." This was directed at individuals, both students and teachers, at the fraternities and sororities, and at the Administration. Simple and direct in its message, for example, was a picture of the county jail of that time labelled "Brokaw Hall."(133)

To these regular departments, the editors sometimes added features that were not repeated. In 1920 there was a good deal about the services of Lawrence students and Faculty in the First World War, with a list of those who had lost their lives. In 1922 Professor MacHarg discussed "The Founding of Lawrence and Appleton," and added some interesting photographs.(134) In those years fraternities and

130. 1899 Ariel, spring 1898, pp. 36-45; 1901 Ariel, spring 1900, pp. 136-142; 1902 Ariel, spring 1901, pp. 133, 134; 1915 Ariel, spring 1914, pp. 13-18.

131. 1926 Ariel, spring 1925, p. 35.

132. 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, pp. 171-235.

133. 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, p. 239. This and the preceding paragraph are based especially on six Ariels issued 1920-25.

134. 1923 Ariel, spring 1922, 9 pages: pages not numbered.

sororities often occupied cottages on the Waupaca lakes for a few days after commencement. The Ariel in 1925 had four pages of pictures of Waupaca scenes and activities.(135) In the preceding year the following appeared in the "Satire" section: "Waupaca abounds in lakes At present plans are being made . . . to reclaim part of the vast amount of fraternity jewelry said to be lost there annually."(136)

For those who would recapture in imagination the world of Lawrence now passing inexorably beyond living memory, the Ariels of the Plantz period are invaluable. The pictures in them supplement most usefully the printed and written words of other sources. But the Ariels are above all a record of personal friendships and accomplishments. Many a student preserves the yearbooks of his era long after graduation, counting them among his most cherished possessions. After his death his heirs frequently offer them to the Lawrence Library.

Mace and Mortar Board

Phi Beta Kappa and the special societies founded to reward work of distinction in journalism and forensics have been mentioned. Lawrence acquired two other honor societies in Plantz's time: Mace for men and Mortar Board for women. They exist chiefly as a recognition of outstanding service in the undergraduate community.

The idea of Mace originated in April, 1911. It was designed to recognize "those men who during their course lend their abilities to the upbuilding of the college, accomplish things worth while, and by the verdict of student opinion stand as leaders." In May all Senior men were asked to choose five of their number to be members of Mace. In June two more Seniors and four Juniors were elected, the latter, of course, to carry on in the following year.(137)

A local honorary society for women soon followed Mace and resembled it in many ways. The moving spirit in this enterprise was Professor M. L. Spencer of the English department. At his suggestion the Faculty chose a nucleus of seven women, all of the class of 1914, who had the desired qualifications. Spencer called the seven together and helped them organize. They took the name Theta Alpha and announced the

135. 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, pp. 151-154.

136. 1925 Ariel, spring 1924, p. 280.

137. Law., Apr. 25, 1911, p. 1; May 9, 1911, p. 3; list of members, 1911-20, 1921 Ariel, spring 1920, p. 192.

founding of their society in chapel services on December 12, 1913.(138)

Lawrence's Theta Alpha more than once asked for membership in Mortar Board, a national society of similar character. For a time the national society limited its activities to large universities; only after a change of policy did it grant the petition from Lawrence. On October 8, 1922, at ceremonies held in Russell Sage Hall, Theta Alpha became a chapter of Mortar Board.(139)

138. Law., Dec. 16, 1913, p. 1; later, the beginning was erroneously dated 1914; Law., Sept. 21, 1922, p. 3; June 8, 1945, p. 2.

139. Law., Sept. 21, 1922, p. 3; Oct. 12, 1922, p. 1.

CHAPTER XXVI

SOME LESSER MATTERS: END OF THE PLANTZ ERA

Preceding chapters have dealt in succession with various aspects of the College community in the time of Samuel Plantz. To complete the picture a number of smaller matters are now presented in a final Plantzian miscellany. Subjects included are: the alumni and Lawrence, the Library, the Museum, Lawrence's fiftieth and seventy-fifth anniversaries, the effect upon the College of the Spanish-American and the First World War, and the Rhodes Scholars of Plantz's time. Mention is made of certain plans for the future that Plantz had in mind, but did not live to carry out. And, finally, there are a few words about the months after Plantz's death when Wilson S. Naylor was Acting President.

 Alumni Relations

The commencement held in June, 1894, brought the number of baccalaureate degrees conferred at Lawrence to 402. There were at that time about 375 living alumni. In Plantz's thirty commencements, Lawrence granted 1,396 degrees, bringing the total in 1924 to 1,798. There were probably at that time over 1,600 living alumni.

Just before Plantz became president of Lawrence, the head of the Alumni Association at that time, Mrs. Mary A. P. Stansbury, thus stated the bond between the University and its graduates:

Least of all, should we who owe so much of our own success and happiness in life to the Christian nurture and intellectual training of Lawrence University, fail to assist, by all means in our power, her continued progress and usefulness.(1)

No account is available of the beginning of the Lawrence Alumni Association. It was a going concern in 1866, in all likelihood quite new at that time. It had thus been in existence for at least 28 years when Plantz became president. It had already established an Alumni Professorship and had raised about \$9,000 partly to endow it (Chapter XI).

In Plantz's time the day before commencement was Alumni Day. There was usually a business meeting of the central Alumni Association in the afternoon and in the evening a supper or "banquet" with numerous toasts. In 1915 about 190 graduates and old students took the steamer "Leander Choate" at the government dock at two o'clock for a boat ride to Neenah Park. There the business meeting was held at four o'clock and supper was served in the pavilion. This trip to Neenah was repeated in the two following years. Such an excursion was exceptional: in most years meetings were held in Appleton.(2)

As Lawrence graduates scattered over the United States in increasing numbers they organized local alumni groups. An Eastern Lawrence University Association was formed in Boston in 1893; Chicago alumni organized in 1895, and those in Milwaukee in 1896.(3) Some of these local organizations became inactive and were later refounded.(4) After Plantz became a Trustee of the Carnegie Endowment in 1906 he was in New York every November as long as he lived. This visit was always made the occasion for a meeting of Lawrence alumni there. Also, every fall Lawrence alumni held a dinner meeting in Milwaukee at the time of the annual meeting of the Wisconsin State Teachers Association. Attendance varied, according to a statement made in 1913, from 60 to more than 100 persons.(5)

Plantz wrote in 1915:

It is strange to me that we have to nurse these alumni associations as much as we do. I got one started in Minneapolis three years ago and we had a good time and a good organization, but that was the last of it until this year when I got them going again I am afraid even the Chicago Alumni Association has had a slump for I have heard nothing about it this year.(6)

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1. Law., May, 1894, p. 18.
 2. Alumni Record (1915), pp. 117, 118; Alumnus, June, 1916, p. 109; 1919 Ariel, spring 1918, picture, p. 136.
 3. Law., June, 1893, p. 7; Dec., 1895, p. 84; 1897 Ariel, p. 92.
 4. Alumni Record (1915), pp. 121, 122.
 5. Bulletin, Apr. 1913, p. 12.
 6. Plantz to Elizabeth Wilson, June 10, 1915.

Mature alumni should make informed and devoted Trustees. In 1869 Henry Colman, a member of the first graduating class, was named to the Board of Trustees, a position that he held until his death almost fifty-eight years later. The first five graduating classes, whose combined membership was only 51, in the course of time produced six Trustees, two from the class of 1860 and one from each of the others. When Plantz became president in 1894 there were six Alumni Trustees; and throughout his presidency the number varied from one-fourth to one-third of the whole Board.

About 1895 the idea appeared that graduates of the University should be given the right to choose Alumni Trustees, and thus be specifically represented on the Board. At the commencement of that year the Alumni Association sent the name of the Rev. John Faville to the Board of Trustees who elected him a member of their body.(7)

At the commencement of 1896 a plan was adopted whereby alumni might select three candidates for the position of Alumni Trustee, from whom the Trustees were to choose one.(8) Somewhat altered in details, this plan of getting nominations from the alumni was described and authorized in the By-laws of 1897. Ballots were sent out and received by the University librarian.(9) In 1898 Luman J. Nash, '70, who had already been a Trustee for fifteen years, was so elected. The Trustees were listed in three groups because a third of them were elected or re-elected each year. Beginning in 1899, or with the catalogue of April, 1900, there was an alumni trustee in each of the three groups. The first man actually to be placed on the Board by this process was Dr. James S. Reeve, '85, who joined in 1899. He was destined to be a Trustee for 45 years, or until 1944, and an Honorary Trustee until his death in 1953.

The Joint Board included nine Visitors until 1895, twelve after that date. There were many alumni among the Visitors. About one-third of them, or in Plantz's later years sometimes more, had baccalaureate degrees from Lawrence. A still larger number had received from Lawrence the honorary degree, Doctor of Divinity. Thus, in 1924, eight out of twelve Visitors had degrees from Lawrence, honorary or in course, and three men had both.(10)

Lawrence, doubtless out of pride in her offspring, for many years included a list of graduates in the catalogue. At first (1857-64) the names of alumni and alumnae appeared on widely separated pages.(11)

7. Law., July, 1895, pp. 29, 38.

8. Messenger, June 15, 1896, p. 5.

9. By-laws, 1897, Section 9; repeated, By-laws, 1906, Section 9.

10. Cat., 1924, p. 18.

In 1865, the first year of President Steele, the names of men and women were put into one list. Fifteen years later, addresses were added.(12) The growing list, given class by class, continued through 1901. Then, for two years the list of graduates arranged by classes was followed by an index in which the names of all graduates were arranged in one alphabetical list; addresses came with this second list. This roster of graduates at its last appearance made up about one-eighth of the catalogue.(13) In the remaining 21 years of the Plantz administration Lawrence four times printed a list of graduates with addresses: first in an alumni number of the Lawrence University Bulletin in December, 1910, and then in the successive issues of the Alumni Record.

The first Lawrence University Alumni Record, a book of 90 pages, had been published in 1881. Plantz issued three such Records in succession. His first, the Alumni Record of 1905, ran to 245 pages. There were short essays on each of the decades from 1846 to 1905, on Lawrence's Presidents thusfar, and on 21 selected Professors. Then followed lists of Trustees, Visitors and Faculty from the beginning. Finally, filling 114 pages, came summary statements about most of the 647 graduates to date. The editor of this volume was Edward P. Humphrey, '85, son of Mary A. P. Phinney, '59, and her first husband.

Plantz himself edited the Alumni Record of 1915 which followed, in general, the plan of its predecessor. One unique feature was a brief history of Lawrence in its earliest days. The author of this summary, Arthur D. Willett, '11, was the first writer to make use of the Amos A. Lawrence papers in the College archives. He carried the story from the first contacts of Eleazar Williams with the Lawrence family to the inauguration of Edward Cooke as President in 1853.(14) Notes about the alumni, who now numbered 1,130, filled 218 pages. One very remarkable letter from Francena Medora Kellogg Buck, a member of the first graduating class, was printed in full.(15) The whole volume amounted to 410 pages.

Plantz brought out his third and final Alumni Record in 1922 as part of the observance of the College's seventy-fifth anniversary. Appropriately, he included much historical material. There was an account of the beginning of the institution, written by William H. Sampson about 1866; and some history by Russell Z. Mason, the second President, which had originally appeared in the Appleton Post in 1902. Plantz also reproduced the greater part of one version of Reeder Smith's

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11. E.g., Cat., 1859, pp. 7, 43.
 12. Cat., 1880, pp. 37-43.
 13. Cat., 1903, pp. 128-146.
 14. Alumni Record (1915), pp. 9-53.
 15. Alumni Record (1915), pp. 172-175.

famous pamphlet, "Importance and Claims of the Lawrence University of Wisconsin," printed in Boston in 1860. This historical material, including some smaller items not mentioned here, filled 81 pages. The 87 pages that followed gave the text of the pageant and other matters connected with the celebration of the anniversary. The lists of Faculty, Trustees and Visitors were again brought to date. Graduates now numbered 1,589 and information about them filled 281 pages. In all, the volume contained 608 pages.

In these Alumni Records Plantz served the cause of history. He placed before the public material from the College archives that would otherwise have remained unknown for decades; and the printing of reminiscent essays and speeches preserved memories of the early University that would otherwise have been lost forever. One might wish that he had pointed out some of the inaccuracies in the pamphlet by Reeder Smith (Chapter VII).

Before there was a Lawrence Alumnus the desirability of such a periodical was often expressed,(16) but money to pay for it was not available. Consequently the alumni community had to do with a makeshift: between 1910 and 1914 four numbers of the Lawrence College Bulletin were issued, coming at intervals of a little more than a year, each with the subtitle, "The Alumni Number". The first of these included the address list of 1910 already mentioned.(17) The second contained a forceful presentation of the financial plight of the College teacher.(18)

The Lawrence Alumnus made its first appearance in November, 1915. It was a quarterly publication and ran to about 150 pages a year. The "Literary Editor-in-Chief" was Constance Johnson (later Mrs. Frank Schneider), '10, and several very able alumnae were her helpers. The staff did its work without compensation but the enterprise was always in financial difficulties. In the third year only two numbers were issued.(19) For the fourth year a Faculty member, Lee C. Rasey, '13, was Editor, and under him three numbers appeared.(20) For the remainder of the year alumni who had paid their dues received the Lawrentian; and in addition there was another alumni number of the Bulletin in December, 1919. The chief financial support of the Alumnus was alumni dues; and in April, 1920, it was stated: "There are at present about 250 alumni who pay dues of one dollar to the Association."(21)

16. Bulletin, Apr., 1913, p. 1.

17. Bulletin, Dec., 1910; Feb., 1912; Apr., 1913; May, 1914.

18. Bulletin, Feb., 1912, pp. 11-16.

19. Alumnus, Nov., 1917; June, 1918.

20. Alumnus, Jan., Apr., June, 1919.

In June, 1920, the Alumni Association voted to establish the Alumnus as a monthly magazine. Ethel A. Buskmaster, '19, became Editor-in-Chief and also apparently assumed financial responsibility. Plantz wrote later: "The college subsidized her a little when she ran behind, but not by previous arrangement." (22) The first three issues were sent to all living alumni, who then numbered about 1,400. They were asked to subscribe at \$1.50 a year but only about 330 did so. (23) As a monthly magazine under Miss Buckmaster the Alumnus appeared twelve times the first year and nine the second. (24)

The next to take the Alumnus in hand was Miss Allabelle or "Allie" Lammel of the class of 1907. After Lawrence she had three years of graduate work in economics at the University of Wisconsin and she held various positions involving economic research. (25) From January to June, 1922, Plantz employed her in the College office to help with the money-raising campaign then in progress. In September, though no longer employed by the College, she accepted the editorship of the Alumnus, now once more a quarterly. (26) Miss Lammel remained the Editor for nine issues, from October, 1922 to October, 1924. During her first year as Editor the periodical had resources of \$760, derived as follows: from the College, \$350; from the Alumni Association, \$350; subscriptions at \$1.00 a year, \$40; advertisements, \$20. "The services of the editor were contributed without pay." The report for the second year was similar. (27)

An official Alumni Secretary appeared only at the very end of Plantz's life. In 1916, Plantz wrote to the president of another college:

We do not employ the full time of an alumni secretary. Our librarian has acted in this capacity for twenty-five years. (28)

Miss Zelia Anne Smith, the librarian, continued, for as long as she lived, to send out ballots for the nomination of the Alumni Trustees and requests for the payment of dues to the Alumni Association. (29) Miss

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21. Law., Apr. 15, 1920, p. 9.
 22. Plantz to Lammel, Sept. 25, 1922, No. 15,586.
 23. Alumnus, July, 1921, p. 7.
 24. Alumnus, Aug., 1920, through May, 1922; no issue in Apr., 1922.
 25. Alumni Record (1922), p. 385.
 26. Plantz to Lammel, Sept. 21, 1922, No. 15,586.
 27. Alumnus, Oct., 1924, pp. 2, 19.
 28. Plantz to Dickie, Apr. 26, 1916, No. 444.

Smith died May 26, 1924. During the summer Plantz and the Alumni Association decided to employ a full-time Alumni Secretary.

In the spring of 1923 Plantz added to the staff of the College office an alumnus, Andrew or Anders Anderson, '02.(30) About fifteen months later the Executive Committee chose him as "an alumni secretary who could give all his time to college publicity, organizing alumni clubs, correcting [the] alumni register, edit the Alumni magazine and do such other work as will help keep the college in touch with its former students." His salary was \$2,000 a year, half paid by the Alumni Association.(31) Anderson took Miss Lammel's place as Editor of the Alumnus. He was responsible for ten quarterly issues from January, 1925 through April, 1927. Miss Lammel and Anderson both had the help of a committee of alumni, some of whom had been Assistant Editors since the appearance of the first Alumnus in 1915.

The accounts kept by the College do not single out contributions made by alumni during the Plantz period. The only exception to this statement has to do with the endowment of the Alumni Chair. As stated earlier, this amounted to about \$9,000 in 1894. During the two years, 1911 to 1913, the alumni subscribed about \$5,000 to add to this fund.(32) At Plantz's death the endowment of this Chair was a little less than \$15,000.(33)

One alumni activity was mentioned earlier. From 1916 to 1922 there was an Advisory Council made up of five Trustees, five Professors and five alumni. This body made studies and laid recommendations before both Faculty and Trustees (Chapter XX).

The Library: Zelia Anne Smith

Besides the gradual growth in the number of books, the two most noteworthy facts about the Library in Plantz's time were its removal from Main Hall to the new Carnegie building in 1906 (Chapter XVIII) and

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- 29. Alumnus, June, 1923, p. 23.
 - 30. Alumnus, June, 1923, p. 24.
 - 31. Exec. Com., Sept. 2, 1924.
 - 32. Bulletin, Apr., 1913, pp. 26-29.
 - 33. Treas. Reports, 1925, p. 21.

the remarkably long service of Zelia Anne Smith. By 1894, Miss Smith had been librarian for eleven years and was destined to remain in office for almost thirty years more, dying some six months before Plantz himself.

Zelia Smith's annual reports presented the principal needs of the Library as she saw them. As long as she was in Main Hall she kept calling for more space. The Trustee Committee on Library reported shortly before the removal from one building to the other that "it was absolutely imperative that . . . means be provided to relieve the intolerable congestion existing in the present library."⁽³⁴⁾ But from about 1900 onward her chief demand was always for more hired help.

For many years Lawrence made do with student assistants in the Library. They were not all secured on the same basis. One plan was thus authorized by the Trustees in June, 1900:

That the Librarian be empowered to secure such assistance as may be necessary, provided the University is put to no expense beyond the donation of the tuition of such assistant.

A year later two assistants were authorized, their compensation again limited to tuition.⁽³⁵⁾ The word "tuition" as used here probably meant tuition and incidental fees, which together amounted to \$36.00 a year.⁽³⁶⁾ Apparently, for the sum of \$36.00, the assistant worked about 240 hours.

The other plan for getting student help was thus described by Zelia Smith in June, 1902, when it had been in effect for a year:

We have had some assistance from three young lady students during the entire year who spent two hours a day in the Library either studying Library Economy or in practice work and who have received credit in hours for their work as for any other study.

Miss Smith explained that she had set up a two-year course of which these students had just completed the first half.⁽³⁷⁾

34. Trustee Committee on Library (Trust. Lib. Com.), June 22, 1904, p. 33.

35. Trust. Lib. Com., June, 1900, p. 17; June, 1901, p. 21; June, 1902, p. 23.

36. Unchanged, 1897 through 1908, not including Library and Gymnasium fees.

37. Lib. Repts., June, 1902, pp. 81, 82.

Over the years the number of students working in the Library under both plans gradually increased. They assisted both at the circulation desk and in cataloguing. Miss Smith had her first full-time helper in 1917-18, a graduate of Lawrence of 1917 whom she had trained. In 1918 Miss Alice Beach began a six-year term as Assistant Librarian. She had an A.B. degree from the University of Minnesota and had spent a year in the Library School of the University of Illinois.

The Wisconsin State Department of Education gave notice in 1918 that beginning with the school year 1919-20 every high school in the state would be expected to employ a teacher-librarian. Such a person would have the library training represented by the course for teacher-librarians given at the University of Wisconsin or its equivalent. To equip its graduates in this field Lawrence accordingly introduced such a course, frankly following the plans provided by the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Six students completed the course in 1918-19, its first year, and fifteen in 1923-24. For six years Miss Alice Beach did most of the teaching in this enterprise. How much this work differed from that begun by Zelia Smith in 1901 is unknown. The students in this later course, too, were of some assistance in the Library.(38)

In Plantz's third year Library hours were increased from five to seven a day.(39) It was open for student use 38 hours a week in 1907 and 44 hours in 1911.(40) The students long desired to have the Library open in the evenings but this request was not granted until the fall of 1917 when Miss Smith first had a full-time assistant.(41) From then on, the Library was kept open about 56 hours a week.(42)

A few other details may be given about the administration of the Library. Most Faculty committees began their separate existences between 1902 and 1904 (Chapter XX), but there was a Faculty Committee on Library at least as early as 1884. The Committee in early days annually dealt with the list of periodicals: the Library subscribed to 14 in January, 1894 and 34 in October, 1900.(43) For many years it took three daily newspapers, one from Milwaukee and two from Chicago, and received the Appleton newspapers free. The Committee gave some, but not much, attention to the purchase of books. In 1912 each Professor controlled the spending of \$15.00 annually for books and in 1924, \$30.00.(44)

38. Lib. Repts.: Smith, 1918-23; Beach, 1924; Fehrenkamp, 1925.

39. Exec. Com., Oct. 13, 1896.

40. Lib. Repts., 1907, 1911.

41. Law., Oct. 24, 1911, p. 4; Sept. 28, 1916, p. 4; Oct. 18, 1917, p. 4.

42. Lib. Repts., 1918, 1921.

43. Faculty Library Committee

The Library grew steadily in book resources, but by modern standards rather slowly. The accession numbers reached at certain dates were as follows:

Summer of 1894, when Plantz came	13,748
September, 1906, to new building	22,755
November 14, 1924, Plantz's death	44,537

In Plantz's early years many of the volumes entered in the accession book, at least half of them were federal and state documents.

A few special groups of books may be noted. In 1900-01 the Latin Library was inaugurated as a memorial to Professor Hiram A. Jones. By 1908, this collection had reached 1,025 volumes.(45) Herman Erb came to the United States from Germany at the age of sixteen. He was connected with the First National Bank of Appleton from 1870 until his death in 1921, being President from 1910 to 1919. In 1912 he gave \$2,000 to Lawrence: \$1,200 to endow prizes for students of German and \$800 to buy books for the Library, mostly in the German language.(46) By June, 1912, 468 volumes of this collection had arrived. In 1924 Miss Frances Foster, holder of the Edwards-Alexander Chair of English, contributed part of the necessary money and so made it possible to buy the (English) Dictionary of National Biography.

The College acquired the libraries of two alumni: in 1913 it bought that of Alonzo M. Bullock, '69, a Methodist minister, and in 1923 it received that of Loren Edwards, '68, a lawyer, as a gift. Among Bullock's 1,800 volumes were many sets of standard English authors of the nineteenth century and much material in American history, especially biographies. The most important item in the Loren Edwards library was the Reports of the Wisconsin State Supreme Court through 1912. The Library under Plantz continued the tradition of assembling material about the Methodist Church. Plantz noted with pleasure in 1909 that the Library now had a complete set of the Methodist Review to date.(47)

The Library operated on a surprisingly small budget. There are no separate figures for the cost of space, heat, light and janitor service. Omitting these matters, the Library was at first supported by the income from the endowment provided by Samuel Appleton, plus what the Treasurer's reports called "fines and sundries." Income from the endowment was fairly constant in Plantz's early years: \$704.00 in 1899-1900 and \$685.00 in 1904-05. "Fines and sundries" came to \$32.18 in 1894-95.

44. F.M., Oct. 2, 1912, p. 105; Fehrenkamp to Naylor, Dec., 1924, with Fehrenkamp reports.

45. Lib. Repts., 1908, p. 107.

46. Exec. Com., Feb. 6, 1912.

47. Plantz to S. C. Ayers, Nov. 24, 1909.

In 1897 students began to pay a Library fee of \$.75 a year. This was raised to \$1.00 in 1904 and to \$2.00 in 1906 when the Library moved into the new building. Library resources, as defined above, first exceeded \$1,000 in the year ending April 30, 1903. At that time Zelia Smith's salary was \$450. By 1924 the principal of the Library endowment had grown to \$20,217.(48)

Economies in the Library even extended to the point of having no telephone. Zelia Smith's successor wrote after one year at Lawrence:

The installing of a telephone in this office would enable the librarians to recall to the library books kept out overtime and would be a great saving in time and postage. . . . The members of the faculty feel the need of this telephone as much as the librarians. The present system of whistling through the speaking tube to the desk is disturbing to students and assistants alike.(49)

Zelia Smith herself always worked for very little. From 1884 to 1896 her annual salary was \$250. She reached \$500 in 1903; and in 1918-19 her salary was still only \$850. In the following year it was made \$1,200. After that it was raised every year until she had \$1,600 in the last year of her life. After her death Plantz wrote to certain College Presidents asking what he should pay a librarian. He explained his ignorance thus:

This particular woman who was with us so long worked upon a very low salary, having some means of her own and not being financially ambitious.(50)

In 1924-25 Miss Smith's successor received \$2,300.

Besides the normal duties of Librarian, Zelia Smith performed other tasks in the College community. As already noted, she was the Secretary of the Alumni Association for much of the Plantz period. From 1899 to 1906 she handled at first the rental and always the sale of textbooks; this she did in the crowded Library quarters.(51) A graduate of 1890 said of her at the seventy-fifth anniversary banquet in 1922:

The one enduring and endearing bond between the old university and the new college is our beloved librarian, Zelia Anne Smith She is an institution all by herself and has made

48. Treas. Reports, annual.

49. Appended to Lib. Repts., June 12, 1925.

50. Plantz's correspondence to and concerning Dorothy Fenton, No. 16,910, June 25, 1924.

51. Lib. Repts., Trust. Lib. Com., both 1900 through 1905.

everyone of us members of her . . . devoted constituency.(52)

In the spring of 1914, alumni and Trustees raised a fund to send her to Europe. She was in Germany at the outbreak of the First World War and went from Germany to England "under the protection of Sir Edward Goschen," British Ambassador to Germany.(53)

On May 24 Zelia Smith attended the May Day festivities of 1924, outwardly in good health. Shortly after, while crossing the campus, she was struck down by apoplexy and died two days later. She left \$2,000, which was half of her estate, to found a scholarship.(54) Some of the alumni raised a fund of \$500 and engaged Mr. Morton Grenhagen of Oshkosh to paint a likeness of her from a photograph. This portrait was unveiled at the commencement of 1925.(55)

Zelia Smith by all accounts did not leave her Library in the best of shape. Plantz, in search of a successor, wrote:

Miss Smith had never been educated in a library school and used the old Dewey system with the result that our library is not at all in the shape it ought to be. There is a great amount of material which is misplaced and much which is unavailable because it has not been properly catalogued.(56)

Miss Winifred Fehrenkamp, the successor whom Plantz chose, was a graduate of the Library School of the University of Illinois and had been a Librarian for twelve years. Some three months after she came to Lawrence she reported:

The catalogue is in an unfortunate condition. The system has been changed in the course of years, and as a result books in the same class and by the same author are often separated on the shelves.

She estimated that two-thirds of the books would have to be recatalogued, and that this task would require several years. Many books were out of date and should have been discarded.(57)

52. James Arneil, Alumni Record (1922), p. 174.

53. H. W. Abraham, circular to alumni, May 26, 1914, Wood papers; Alumni Record (1915), p. 232.

54. Plantz to E. Wilson, July 16, 1924, No. 13,187.

55. Law., May 29, 1924, p. 1; Grenhagen to Plantz, July 8, 1924, No. 15,170.

56. Plantz, June 13, 1924, No. 16,910.

57. Fehrenkamp to Naylor, Dec., 1924, with Lib. Repts.

The Museum

The Cabinet of early days developed into the College Museum. In Plantz's first years the catalogues stated that Lawrence had a "well furnished cabinet," but gave no details.(58) In 1898 the third floor of Science Hall was assigned to the Cabinet material. As the new building neared completion in the spring of 1899 Plantz wrote two successive articles for the Messenger on "The College Museum." In one of these he stated: "Circulars have been sent out asking for the gift of specimens such as stuffed birds and animals, curios, relics, minerals and so forth."(59) For some years around the turn of the century the annual reports of the Treasurer placed the value of the Cabinet at or near \$9,000.

The Museum was perhaps not an outstanding part of Lawrence, but Plantz believed in it. W. C. Brinckley was Professor of Biology from 1903 to 1910, and Plantz sometimes employed him to list and label specimens in the Museum. The Treasurer's report of May, 1905 noted the payment of \$200 for such work.(60) Plantz wrote in 1909:

Lawrence has an extensive and valuable museum It occupies nearly the entire third floor of the Hall of Science, and contains many thousands of biological, geological, botanical, archaeological and other classes of specimens.(61)

Additions were made from time to time, both by gift and by purchase. The College paid \$50.00 for "certain Philipino relics" in 1917; \$250.00 for a collection of curios "of an archaeological character" in 1920; and in 1923 it bought two ancient Babylonian tablets said to date from about 2100 B.C.(62)

58. Cats., annually, 1894, p. 11, through 1898, p. 11.

59. Messenger, Jan., 1899, p. 3; here quoted, Apr., 1899, p. 2.

60. Treas. Reports, May, 1905, p. 3.

61. Bulletin, Sept., 1909, p. 5.

62. Exec. Com., Feb. 6, 1917; Jan. 6, 1920; Law., Mar. 8, 1923, p. 12.

On the whole, however, Plantz seems to have spent little on the Museum. In 1924 the Treasurer valued its contents at \$10,416.86.

In Plantz's later years a full page in the catalogue was always devoted to the Museum. The larger part of its contents always pertained to the natural sciences. Emphasized most were the natural history collection, the herbarium, and specimens in the fields of geology, mineralogy and paleontology. There was also valuable material in anthropology: especially well represented were Africa and the civilization of the Incas. A collection of Indian arrow points and implements from the Fox River Valley was on loan for many years.(63)

College Anniversaries

Lawrence counts its age from the charter of January 15, 1847. Its fiftieth and seventy-fifth anniversaries fell within Plantz's term of office. The Semi-Centennial was observed with a crowded series of public meetings held on the evening of Tuesday, January 19, 1897 and throughout the following day. On Wednesday there was a religious service at 9:00 a.m. and other meetings filled with speeches at 10:30, 2:30 and 7:30. After that there was a banquet that began at 9:00 p.m. at which responses were made to seven toasts. The speeches made during the whole celebration amount to some 30,000 words and filled a pamphlet of about fifty pages.

At one of the meetings Mrs. Mary A. Phinney Stansbury, '59, read a poem about the relation existing between Lawrence and the City of Appleton. Her title was, "Collegium et Urbs Festum Diem Agunt"; and she began:

As married lovers whom the years,
With mingled tale of joy and tears,
Have nearer drawn and closer bound
In . . . affection true . . .

The dominating idea of the speechmaking was satisfaction with the private church-related college. The most prominent speaker on the program was the Rev. Charles H. Payne, L.L.D., of New York, Secretary of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church. According to him colleges should be centers of religious life, and he spoke of little else. His criteria were: how many students were converted in college

63. Cats., 1902, p. 17; 1917, pp. 35, 36; through Jan., 1926, pp. 24, 25.

and how many graduates entered the ministry? "Not Plato, nor Aristotle, nor Cicero, nor any modern representative of the new cult, but only the matchless Man of Nazareth can be the safe and sure guide of our youth." One of the after dinner speakers rejoiced that Lawrence had no Greek letter societies; he was even glad to be without Phi Beta Kappa. All in all, as was perhaps fitting, the celebration looked backward rather than forward.(64)

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the College was celebrated on June 5 and 6, 1922, just before commencement which came on the seventh. On Monday evening, June 5, there was a concert given by the Lawrence Choir led by Carl J. Waterman. The Fullinwider String Quartet also appeared. On the following morning there was a series of addresses, the principal speaker being the Rev. Homer Stuntz, a Methodist Bishop and a national figure in his church. Tuesday afternoon was given over to a beautifully written historical pageant entitled "The March"; that is, the march of time in Lawrence history. The author was Mrs. Laura Lummis Schutz, '03, daughter of Professor Henry Lummis. More than one-fourth of the pageant was a development of the unhistorical but romantic idea that Eleazar Williams was the "Lost Dauphin" of France. Other episodes were concerned with the Civil War and the First World War.

Tuesday evening there was an anniversary banquet. Six alumni, representing different periods, recalled the Lawrence of their student days. Two of the speakers were the Rev. and Mrs. Henry Colman who had graduated sixty-five years before. These six speeches were all printed in the Alumni Record (1922).

Two Wars

The Spanish-American War and the First World War both took place in Plantz's time. The first of these touched Lawrence rather lightly. It was noted earlier that from 1894 to 1900 the College offered work in military science (Chapter XXI). When war came in April, 1898 students who had drilled were not called into the army and were under no obligation to enlist. Drill itself was somewhat affected. The Professor of Military Science rejoined the regular army about May 1, and after that drill continued for two more years under student cadet officers.(65)

64. Law., Jan., 1897, pp. 98-126; Lawrence University Proceedings of the Semi-Centennial Celebration 1897, 56 pp.

65. Messenger, Feb., 1898, p. 5; Oct., 1898, p. 6; F.M., Sept. 18, 1899, p. 250; 1901 Ariel, spring 1900, p. 64.

Seven Lawrence undergraduates and one alumnus served in the "war for the freedom of Cuba." One enlisted at his hometown of Sparta; the others entered Company G of Appleton. This was commanded by Hugh Pomeroy, a son of the Professor Henry Pomeroy who had left the Lawrence Faculty in 1861 to enter the Union Army. The seven students included one Senior, two Freshmen and four in the Preparatory department. At the commencement of 1898 the Senior, Walter Alvin Ladwig, "being with the volunteers at Chickamauga," was graduated in absentia. No Lawrentian was killed in the war proper. The alumnus, Willam J. Merrill of the class of 1895, however, after finishing his service as a volunteer, enlisted in the regular army and met death in the Philippine Islands in March, 1899.(66)

The First World War was important in the history of Lawrence in many ways. Some of its effects have already been mentioned: for example, the general rise in prices and the break in the continuity of many undergraduate activities. The war in Europe was about two years and eight months old when, on April 6, 1917, Woodrow Wilson reluctantly led the United States into the conflict.

Through the spring of 1917, even before the declaration of war, students were leaving Lawrence to enter the army or navy, or to work in industry or farming. An enrollment of 574 in January had shrunk to 468 by commencement. In the following year, 1917-18, students numbered about 450. Early in May, 1917 the first Lawrence men went to the Officers' Training School at Fort Sheridan, Illinois; by December, many of them were commissioned.(67) The great "draft" registration for men between the ages of 21 and 30 took place on June 5. Only about 35 Lawrence men of that age were still in college at the time.(68)

Among Faculty members who abandoned teaching temporarily for war service were: Wilson S. Naylor, Professor of Biblical Literature, College Pastor and Dean of Brokaw Hall; John S. Custer, Professor of History; and Frederick Vance Evans of the Conservatory. These three men all went into Y.M.C.A. work and all eventually reached Europe. Custer recounted his wartime experiences in a series of letters to the Lawrentian which were later gathered into a pamphlet.(69) Several other Faculty members, on the staff for a short time only, resigned to enter the army and never returned to Lawrence.

66. Messenger, June, 1898, p. 5; Law., May, 1898, p. 101; June, 1898, p. 21; Apr., 1898, p. 140; Alumni Record (1905), p. 209.

67. Law., May 24, 1917, p. 12; Dec. 6, 1917, p. 1.

68. Law., May 12, 1917, p. 13.

69. Law., Nov. 7, 1918; through Apr. 24, 1919.

Some wartime features of American life, much the same for collegians and non-collegians alike, touched the Lawrence community. Plantz as a leading citizen spoke at a rally held in an Appleton theater, emphasizing Germany's disregard of international law.(70) Lawrence men began drilling on a voluntary basis about the time war was declared. Drill was made a requirement for men in May, and the number of those participating soon reached 175. It remained compulsory through academic 1917-18.(71) Meanwhile, women students did their part. A Patriotic League, sponsored by a state Junior War Work Council and the Y.W.C.A., enrolled 230 Lawrence women. There was much Red Cross work: a Faculty wife held classes for women in rolling bandages.(72) Everyone was urged to buy thrift stamps and Liberty bonds.

In September, 1918, when the war had almost run its course, the College entered into a contract with the War Department to accept a unit of the Students' Army Training Corps (S.A.T.C.). Preparations were made for 500 men but, in the end, only 400, having met the physical and other requirements, were inducted. The unit was on the campus from late September to December 22.(73) The men were quartered in Brokaw and Ormsby Halls. At that time there were 33 other men and 236 women in the College, a total of 669 students.(74)

The Commanding Officer of the unit was Thomas B. Black, a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a First Lieutenant in the Field Artillery. He was assisted by four Second Lieutenants.(75) The military personnel had charge of drilling, discipline and instruction in certain subjects. To carry on its part of the work, the College hired six new full-time teachers and two part-time ones.(76) Civilians taught an indoctrination course called War Issues. This was largely European history covering the period from about 1860 to 1914, with emphasis on Bismarck's work and the threat that Germany posed to world peace after his time. At Lawrence this course was combined with English Composition: the students took notes on a history lecture and then wrote on the same or a related topic. The men studied in their own rooms, and Sergeants, each having charge of a small number of rooms,

70. Law., Apr. 12, 1917, pp. 5, 9.

71. Law., Apr. 5, 1917, pp. 1, 14; May 17, 1917, p. 4; F.M., May 8 1917, p. 26; Law., Nov. 15, 1917; Exec. Com., Mar. 5, 1918.

72. Law., Feb. 21, 1918, p. 1; Mar. 14, 1918, p. 1.

73. Alumnus, Jan., 1919, p. 11.

74. Exec. Com., Sept. 3, 1918; Plantz papers, No. 8,825; Law., Dec. 19, 1918, p. 4.

75. Cat., Jan., 1919, p. 27.

76. Exec. Com., Oct. 1, 1918.

kept them at their tasks. The system seemed to work out very well, at least until the Armistice.

Lieutenant Black and his staff maintained excellent discipline. The boys were kept close to quarters; and while they were on the campus Plantz wrote of them as "an orderly fine company of young men. . .The only thing we can't quite get used to is their smoking about the campus."(77) The men in the unit invested \$12,900 in war bonds, most in the amount of fifty dollars.(78) On December 6, 1918, the S.A.T.C. unit gave an All-College dance in the Armory at which 300 couples were present.(79) This event, of course, was due to momentary control by the military and was not in harmony with Lawrence's Methodist tradition.

The worst effects of the war on behavior appeared after the S.A.T.C. had departed. In the spring of 1919 Plantz observed "a great spirit of recklessness and an inclination to kick at everything."(80) For some years there was more student drinking than there had been before the war. The offenders, Plantz said, had learned to drink in France.(81)

Two developments that followed the war call for mention here. In September, 1919 the Legislature of Wisconsin voted an educational bonus. Residents of the state who had been in military service three months or more received \$30 a month while attending a college or university. A maximum of \$1,080 (thirty-six months) was set for each individual. About 75 bonus students attended Lawrence in 1919-20 and more than 100 in the following year. By 1922-23 their number had fallen to 21.(82)

The American Legion began in Wisconsin with local clubs formed in the spring of 1919. Representatives of these clubs organized the Wisconsin Department at a convention in Milwaukee in September. Ex-servicemen at Lawrence formed the Lawrence Legion on October 2, 1919. About a year later they changed their name to the Lawrence Loyalty Legion. At that time a writer in the Lawrentian anticipated a membership of 150.(83) In 1923, when it was holding a memorial service, it was called "the Lawrence division of the American Legion."(84)

77. Plantz to Robert J. Smith, Oct. 16, 1918, No. 8,997.

78. Law., Oct. 17, 1918.

79. Alumnus, Jan., 1919, p. 13.

80. Plantz to J. S. Custer, Mar. 14, 1919, No. 10,883.

81. Plantz to G. L. Varney, Mar. 1, 1923, No. 16,597.

82. Plantz, Sept. 20, 1919, No. 9,364; Sept. 29, 1922, No. 12,530.

83. Law., Oct. 9, 1916, pp. 1, 9; Oct. 28, 1920, p. 2.

The College office was at considerable pains to gather information about services rendered by Lawrentians in World War I.(85) The honor roll of participants contained 470 names and was admittedly incomplete.(86) Eleven young men died in service. In 1920 a bronze plaque bearing their names was placed in the foyer of the Memorial Chapel. The 1921 Ariel contained pictures of ten of these men.(87)

Rhodes Scholars

The Rhodes Scholarships were established by the will of Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902). Especially in their early years they afforded opportunities without parallel either in distinction or in numbers. More recently, and particularly since World War II, other comparable systems of scholarships and fellowships have appeared. The first Rhodes Scholars from the United States went to Oxford in 1904. Until 1919 every candidate qualified by doing Responsions, the Oxford entrance examination. In American educational terms one needed, in preparation for this test, the following: some ability in arithmetic (e.g., doing interest problems in English money) and a year of high school algebra; four years of high school and at least one of college Latin; and two years of Greek in college. From those passing the examination a committee of selection in each state chose one man. Before the First World War President Van Hise of the State University was Chairman of the Wisconsin Committee, which also included the Presidents of several Wisconsin private colleges, among whom was President Plantz.

Lawrence's first Rhodes Scholar, who was at Oxford from 1905 to 1908, was Athol Ewart Rollins of the class of 1904. His Senior oration at Lawrence had this unusual title: "Value of Sesquipedalian Verbiage in Classic Research."(88) Most early Rhodes Scholars took one of Oxford's "final honour schools" leading to a B.A. degree, a concentrated course of study at least equivalent to a Master's degree in the United States. Rollins took the final honour school of Literae Humaniores, in

84. Law., May 31, 1923, p. 15.

85. Law., May 1, 1919, p. 2.

86. Alumni Record (1922), pp. 192-196.

87. 1920 Ariel, spring 1919, p. 2; 1921 Ariel, spring 1920, pp. 242-246.

88. 1905 Ariel, spring 1904, p. 44.

which one studied Greek and Latin literature, ancient history, and philosophy, both ancient and modern. No one begins this course unless he can read Latin and Greek. Upon his return to the United States Rollins first did high school teaching, then journalism, and from 1919 onward was the Managing Editor of a publishing house in Chicago. He died in 1942.

Lawrence's second Rhodes Scholar was Earnest Albert Hooton of the class of 1907. He received his B.A. at Lawrence some five months before his twentieth birthday. He spent the next three years in graduate work in classics at the University of Wisconsin, teaching in the department as fellow and then as assistant. In the summer of 1911 he returned to Madison to receive his Ph.D. degree, being then not yet twenty-four years old. He was at Oxford from 1910 to 1913. There in 1912 he received a Diploma in Anthropology, "with distinction," and in his final year wrote a research paper in anthropology which gained him the degree of B.Litt.(Bachelor of Literature). He attained the rank of Professor in 1930, wrote many books, and remained at Harvard until his death in 1960. A popular and provocative lecturer and writer, he came to be much quoted in the newspapers. In his later years he was probably the most famous alumnus of Lawrence, not only in academic circles but among the literate public as well.

Soon after the First World War new rules about the scholarships came into effect. The state committees were now made up largely of former Rhodes Scholars; and Plantz was relieved of one of his duties. Candidates no longer took any qualifying examination sent from Oxford. Normally, a committee of selecton based its choice on academic records, letters and personal interviews. On rare occasion, state committees used intelligence tests or other tests of their own devising.

The first Lawrentian selected under the new rules, and the last Rhodes Scholar in Plantz's time, was L. Keville Larson of Neenah. He graduated in 1920, magna cum laude and a member of Phi Beta Kappa. In the matter of language study he belonged to a new generation. He had never studied either Latin or Greek; instead he had had two years of German in high school and two years of French and one of Spanish in college. As a Lawrence undergraduate his two favorite subjects, almost identical in the amount taken, were history and economics.

"Keev" Larson was a participant and leader in an unusual number of undergraduate activities and, in his Junior year, was pictured in the Ariel as "The Most Popular Man." (89) He spent the summer and fall of 1918 in military service and returned to Lawrence at the opening of the second term. Between graduation from Lawrence and matriculation at Oxford he spent about one year as Manager of the branch office of a manufacturing company, and one as a "Financial Secretary" of Lawrence College, soliciting money from alumni. (90)

89. 1920 Ariel, spring 1919, p. 131; 1921 Ariel, spring 1920, p. 33.

Before going to Oxford in 1922 Larson was interested in the "Final Honour School of Modern History"; but, perhaps because of his lack of Latin, he did not take this course. Instead, he earned a diploma in economics. For many years he was a Vice-President of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, with headquarters in New York City, and a resident of Long Island.

Plans for the Future not Realized in Plantz's Lifetime

The Fox River in northeastern Wisconsin and the Wisconsin River in the center of the state have made possible a great development in the manufacture of paper. Lawrence has many connections with this industry. In Plantz's last years his Board of Trustees had thirty members. The Board included ten paper manufacturers, the wife of one paper manufacturer and the widow of another.

At least twice Plantz had thoughts that in a small way anticipated the Institute of Paper Chemistry, founded five years after his death. In June, 1915, he recommended the appointment of a Trustee committee to investigate the possibility of introducing

. . . some courses on the chemistry of paper making which would be of advantage to the mills in this part of the state somewhat similar to a course being offered at the University of Maine It has seemed to me that if something of this character could be developed it would enable our college to be of larger service to the community in which it is placed.(91)

In the years 1919 to 1921 Plantz corresponded on this subject with several of his Trustees. On one occasion M. A. Wertheimer sent him a circular describing courses in paper making given at Syracuse University. Plantz replied in part as follows:

It seems to me that a school of this kind in our vicinity, and especially if a night school could be joined with it, would be of very great advantage to the men who are in the paper mill industry I do not see how we could get on with our present equipment. We would probably have to have a building with sufficient paper mill machinery to make the work valuable. This would cost, I presume, in the neighborhood of fifty

90. Alumni Record (1922), p. 500.

91. Reports of the Pres., June, 1915, Recommendations at end, p. 1.

thousand dollars for a building and you can guess much better than I what the equipment would have to be in the line of machinery [After speaking of the number of teachers needed and their salaries, Plantz continued:] It looks to me therefore that it would take in the neighborhood of from \$200,000 to \$250,000, probably the latter figure, to float this matter in an efficient way(92)

The Institute of Paper Chemistry, devoted as it is chiefly to basic research and its methods, has no doubt developed in ways different from anything Plantz had in mind. Some of the Trustees who made suggestions in this field may have wanted Lawrence to produce technicians for their mills rather than "pure" scientists. Yet Plantz may have done something to crystallize what was "in the air" and prepare for future developments.

If Plantz had lived a little longer the College might have built a broadcasting station in his time: at least he was looking into the matter during his last year. In 1923, the Alumni Association of Minneapolis and that of Milwaukee, upon prompting from Minneapolis, urged that the College establish a station to keep itself before the public. The Professor of Physics ascertained, at Plantz's request, that a 1,000-watt station would cost \$15,000 at the very least. About three weeks after Plantz's death the Executive Committee voted that "the recommendation [by whom is not clear] to investigate the feasibility of a radio broadcasting station at Lawrence College not be approved."(93)

Naylor, Acting President

Plantz died on November 14, 1924; Henry M. Wriston arrived in Appleton on September 25, 1925, to take up his duties as President of Lawrence. Something may be said here of the interim administration that bridged the gap between these dates. On November 18, the Executive Committee, "after an extended conference" with representatives of the Faculty, named Wilson S. Naylor Acting President. John C. Lymer became Acting Dean and James A. Wood was named Business Manager, pro tem., at a salary of \$100 a month.(94)

92. Plantz to Wertheimer, Apr. 14, 1919, No. 3,982 A.

93. Reports of the Pres., Nov., 1923, p. 17; H. F. Richards to Plantz, Jan. 10, 1924, No. 16,284; Exec. Com., Dec. 2, 1924.

94. Exec. Com., Nov. 18, Dec. 2, 1924.

A committee of Trustees and others was named to find a successor to Plantz. Within a few months it offered the presidency to the Rev. James C. Baker, Director of the Wesley Foundation at the University of Illinois, who declined the honor. This offer to Baker was the final expression of the hitherto unbroken tradition that Lawrence's President should be a Methodist minister.(95)

Naylor thought the time a favorable one for securing large gifts as memorials to Plantz. He made many suggestions in many quarters, but nothing came of most of them.(96) There was one much publicized gift during Naylor's tenure: George A. Whiting assumed the cost of the new athletic field which the Trustees had bought before Plantz died.(97)

Two items from the Naylor period were signs of changing mores. In March the Faculty ended required church attendance on the part of Lawrence students.(98) In March and April Naylor polled 661 parents and 392 alumni and found that more than 93 per cent of both groups favored permitting students to dance. Accordingly, an All-College dance was held in the Armory on May 22, 1925.(99) Certain forerunners of this event have already been mentioned. There was an All-College dance held in the Armory in December, 1918, under the aegis of the S.A.T.C.; and the alumni had managed an All-College dance at Homecoming in 1923 (Chapter XXIII). The holding of the All-College dance in 1925 resulted in some protests from conservative Methodist ministers. "Lawrence has no moral right to introduce supervised dances or anything kindred without giving the men and women of Methodism in the state of Wisconsin a chance to express themselves frankly."(100)

A serious fire occurred in Brokaw Hall during the night of June 3-4, 1925. The entire third and fourth floors of the north wing were burned out and one male student was rather badly burned, "particularly his hands."(101) The press at first reported that damage amounted to \$25,000; but eventually Lawrence settled with the insurance companies for \$17,584.95 (building, \$15,833.36; contents, \$1,751.59). The family of the injured boy received \$950.00 from the College.(102)

95. Law., May 28, 1925, p. 1.

96. Naylor to Mrs. Ingraham, Dec. 11, Dec. 22, 1924, No. 15,421; to L. M. Alexander, Feb. 10, 1925, No. 14,326.

97. Law., May 14, 1925, p. 1.

98. F.M., Mar. 6, 1925, p. 116.

99. Law., May 21, 1925, p. 1; Naylor to Schaal, May 29, 1925, No. 16,326.

100. H. Logan to Naylor, May 28, 1925, No. 16,326.

101. Naylor to S. Evans, June 10, 1925, No. 14,976.

The Plantz Epoch Continues

When a man of Plantz's stature dies someone is sure to use the hackneyed phrases, "the end of an epoch," or "the College can never be the same again." As a matter of fact, almost the opposite is true: the epoch continues. Community habits, being the routine and interlocking behavior of many, alter very slowly. To be sure, small changes are constantly coming on, as was illustrated even in the brief Naylor interregnum. But in many particulars Lawrence continues, nearly forty (1960) years after Plantz's death, in the mould that he fashioned for it.

About three weeks before he died, Plantz spoke at the funeral of Robert Seney Ingraham, a fellow Methodist minister, long a Trustee of Lawrence, who had been generous with inherited wealth. What Plantz said of his friend that day could be said with equal fitness of himself. These words may well conclude the section of this book devoted to Plantz.

A good man has fallen. A helpful life has been lived. We are all richer for having known him and all poorer by his loss. But let us in our sorrow remember that the journey of life is not long; and that sooner than we realize we too shall end our earthly pilgrimage and join those who have preceded us to that land of which it is written: "there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things are passed away."(103)

102. Appleton Post-Crescent, June 4, 1925; Exec. Com., July 3, 1925.

103. R. S. Ingraham, "An Appreciation," 25 pages, Plantz's speech, pp. 14-16.

CHAPTER XXVII

HENRY M. WRISTON, NEW PRESIDENT

Henry Merritt Wriston, eighth President of Lawrence, was born July 4, 1889 at Laramie, Wyoming, the younger son of Henry Lincoln and Jennie Amelia (Atcheson) Wriston. Wriston's father, a Methodist minister, prepared for college at Ohio Wesleyan. Then, going West, he worked his way through the University of Denver, also a Methodist institution, supporting himself by preaching in nearby communities. Later, he enrolled in the Theological School of Boston University. He joined the New England Conference, completed his training at Boston, and preached in New England for several decades. Wriston's mother had been a Colorado school teacher. After marriage, she studied all the courses her husband took. Late in life she wrote an account of her early years which she called A Pioneer's Odyssey (privately printed, 1943, 92 pp.). Both parents remained scholarly persons throughout life and "took college for granted for their sons."⁽¹⁾

Young Henry received his early education in the public schools of various cities in Massachusetts where his father had churches. He finished high school at Springfield in 1907 and spent the next four years at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut. Within that time he completed requirements for both the B.A. and the M.A. degrees.

Half a century later, Wriston recalled the zest he found in college life as an undergraduate.

I entered college in 1907 with no vocational objective and no deep concern about one No college experience passed me by. I learned to dance and missed only one dance in my four years. Six feet tall and weighing only 128 pounds, I played scrub basketball. I worked on and finally edited the college paper People talk of "preparation for life"; whatever meaning that inane phrase was supposed to possess, it had none

1. Henry M. Wriston, Academic Procession (Acad. Proc.), 1959, p. 2.

for me. I was living already How one could be more alive I could not then see -- and never have since.(2)

While at Wesleyan he committed himself -- gradually, as was natural -- to a life of scholarship.

At first normal industry and the admonitions of my brother, three years ahead of me, made me do respectable but undistinguished scholastic work I soon decided on the road of scholarship From being a casual student I became an earnest one. Without giving up any aspect of college life, I put books first and began to find the satisfactions that lie in hard intellectual labor.(3)

Wriston spent the years 1911 to 1914 in the graduate school of Harvard University, where his principal field of study was medieval history. For two of these years he was a teaching fellow and as such was responsible for sections of a large class. In 1914 he returned to Wesleyan as an Instructor in History and Government. He remained there, with successive rises in rank, until he came to Lawrence in 1925.

Just at the close of his three years at Harvard, in June, 1914, Henry Wriston married Ruth Colton Bigelow of Springfield, Massachusetts. A son and a daughter were born to them. Barbara was eight years old and Walter six when the Wristons came to Appleton. During her years at Lawrence, Mrs. Wriston made notable contributions to the college community.

For the eleven years between Harvard and Lawrence, Wriston was developing in ways that would stand him in good stead later as a College President. In view of his upbringing and character, he must have been a devoted teacher from the beginning; but even the most devoted man needs to mature. And skills in the teaching art would seem necessary equipment for the leader of a College Faculty. As things then were at Wesleyan, he had to teach a wide variety of subjects. Over the years he undertook an unusual number of courses that he had not taught before, in some of which he had never had instruction. These assignments, combined with his first great enterprise in research, led him into the fields of American history and government, in which he was later to write most of his books and become a nationally known authority. Also in these years he came to be greatly interested in the administration and proper use of a college library, matters of lifelong concern to him.

Wriston was in his third year on the Wesleyan Faculty when the United States entered the First World War. Rejected for military service, he taught the Manual of Arms and the Origins and Issues of the War. In 1918-19, on leave of absence from Wesleyan, he worked with the

2. Wriston, Acad. Proc., pp. 2, 4.

3. Wriston, Acad. Proc., pp. 2, 8.

Connecticut State Council of Defense. His first task was to visit several cities, among them Rochester, N.Y., and Detroit, and report on their methods of community money-raising. The fruit of this assignment was a small book published by the Council: War Chest Practices, 1918. This done, he became Assistant Manager of the Council and, at the end of the year, wrote the Report of the Connecticut State Council of Defense, 1919.

Wriston found the year a very rewarding one. His work on the Council itself was "an apprenticeship in administration with an expert," Joseph Alsop, Senior, the father of the news commentators, Stewart and Joseph Alsop. The Council of Defense was attached to the Governor's office and Wriston saw a good deal of political action at close range. He used the knowledge gained here in his subsequent teaching. As an undergraduate at Wesleyan he had taken his first lessons in the art of using a secretary. At Hartford his education in this field continued. Later he wrote:

My eyes were opened even wider than before to the value of expert secretarial work; because of the splendid organization of the reference and stenographic departments I was able to write at a pace which would have been impossible in academic life.(4)

Wriston taught through 1919-20, then took another year of leave. Wesleyan was then embarking upon an effort to increase its endowment by \$3,000,000. President Shanklin needed an organizer; and Wriston became his assistant and the Executive Secretary of the campaign. He took the assignment chiefly in the hope that out of the effort would come better salaries for the Faculty. He sent his family to Springfield to live with Mrs. Wriston's parents while he lived and had his office in a New York hotel. Many colleges were at that time conducting money-raising campaigns with headquarters in New York; and Wriston later wrote about how much he learned at that time of the qualities of College Presidents.(5) After a year he withdrew from the campaign and others helped President Shanklin carry it to a successful conclusion.

Wriston immediately had his leave from teaching extended for another year (1921-22). He worked in the archives of the State Department for several months, then spent the remainder of the academic year at Harvard. There he received his degree of Ph.D. in June, 1922. In 1923-24 Wriston gave the Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History at Johns Hopkins University. These lectures were the first fruits of his work in the State Department. Eventually, in his fourth year at Lawrence, he published the same material in an enlarged version under the title, Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations (Baltimore, 1929, 874 pp.). These agents were persons appointed by the President of the United States, without "the advice and consent of the Senate," to

4. Wriston, Acad. Proc., p. 14.

5. Wriston, Acad. Proc., pp. 18-20.

assist him in his dealings with foreign powers. Among them Colonel E. M. House, friend of Woodrow Wilson, is probably best remembered. Wriston showed that such agents, in surprisingly large numbers, have been a part of our machinery of government from the beginning. The book was hailed by scholars as a "monumental treatise."

Wesleyan raised Wriston to the rank of full Professor in 1920. After his leave of absence he returned there for three final years of teaching (1922-25). Subsequently, in his book, Academic Procession (1959), he enumerated a number of the elements in his life as a Professor that gave skills useful to him as a College President. He put research and teaching first. Other matters in which he became competent were: academic protocol and pageantry, understanding and disciplining students, and the evaluation of Faculty personnel. Every college professor, as he advances in years, must come to know something of all these matters. And obviously a College President should know much more.

Among the multifarious duties of the College or University President, Wriston counted speechmaking one of the most persistent and important. "He must talk. Heavens! how he must talk." Most presidents, he later estimated, have to make between fifty and a hundred speeches a year. By the time he came to Lawrence he had served his apprenticeship; while a teacher at Wesleyan he had made upwards of two hundred speeches. Speaking, he confessed, "ever remained an arduous matter." But just because he made it arduous, because he felt an obligation to his hearers and prepared carefully for each occasion, he became a master in the art.(6)

Wriston and the Ideal of Liberal Education

Wriston arrived in Appleton to take up his duties as President on September 25, 1925. After eleven years and some months at Lawrence he went on to the presidency of Brown University. In all, he spent three decades as a College or University head. Over the years he wrote many articles and spoke frequently on the meaning and purpose of education, especially at the College level. His inaugural address at Lawrence was an impressive statement of his devotion to the liberal ideal.(7) His thoughts in this area were well matured before he came to Lawrence, and altered little in subsequent years. Ten years later he

6. Wriston, Acad. Proc., pp. 42, 163-165.

7. Wriston, Inaugural Address, Nov. 24, 1925; Bulletin, Jan. 1, 1926, pp. 14-34.

said: "Upon rereading it [the inaugural address] I would not change one article of faith. The changes are in intensity and in quality rather than in substance."(8)

Wriston's ideas about education are now most accessible in two books. He wrote the first during his final months at Lawrence, calling it The Nature of a Liberal College (1937, Lawrence College Press, 177 pp.). Coming at this time, it summed up much of what he had said and written on the subject while at Lawrence. The extent to which the inaugural address of 1925 contained the leading ideas of the book is astonishing. At the end of it Wriston admitted that he was describing "the College of Utopia."(9) But though the book set a course for Utopia it shows us also the beacons that had guided him in his administration at Lawrence.

The other book came four years after Wriston's resignation from Brown. He gave it the title, Academic Procession: Reflections of a College President (1959, Columbia University Press, 222 pp.). It claimed to be simply an essay on the institution of the American college presidency as observed by one man. But the author's lifelong ideals in education appear in this book, too, though they are partly taken for granted.

The remainder of this chapter is an attempt, based mostly on the first of these books, to summarize Wriston's educational philosophy. Some topics, among them his ideas on the relation of teacher and student and the place of the Library in the College, are omitted at this point but will be introduced later.

Wriston began The Nature of a Liberal College by saying that a liberal education is an experience which makes one permanently different, leaves one with an altered personality. Entrance upon it is thus like falling in love, or like a religious conversion as described by John Wesley. Only one who has gone through the experience can really know what it means.

A liberal education as Wriston understood it is therefore a rebirth, a regeneration. It is a lifelong commitment. The student has found the area where he can best serve his generation; and with discovery and commitment has come a sense of power. He has acquired standards of value to which he will always adhere. For the liberally educated, life continues to be the rich experience of a "free" spirit. This experience exists purely for itself: it has no ulterior motives.

8. Speech at Neenah, Nov. 18, 1935, p. 2, in Reports of the Pres., p. 22.

9. Wriston, The Nature of a Liberal College (Natr. Lib. Coll.), p. 177.

There is much that is grasping, sordid and narrow-minded in modern life. This environment is uninterested in, and even hostile to, the liberal ideal. "And the light shineth in the darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not." Preferably the College should accept as students only those who have a predisposition towards the ideals inherent in a liberal education. Otherwise they may never cease to be dominated by the alien world from which they have come.

There is no such thing as "mass education." Education is a wholly individual process. The life of the mind -- despite all pressures to invade it -- remains a private life. It occurs to each person uniquely.

Wriston's elucidation included some negative statements that help to clarify his meaning. He admitted the usefulness, and indeed the necessity in our society, of vocational, technical and professional training; but these enterprises stand quite apart from a liberal education. A liberal college is not a service station; it is not a place to acquire a "bag of tricks" to help earn a better living. "Economic determinism" should have no influence on a student's choice of courses nor any part in determining a college curriculum.

Wriston spoke rather sharply of those who would too early tie the student to a lifelong career. A "vocational vacuum" during college years has much to recommend it. He frequently decried too much emphasis on the future. Untrammelled growth in the present will give needed competence for the future which, when it comes, may well be very different from any present forecast.

Wriston always took issue with those who asserted that the college should confine itself exclusively to the intellect. To him the intellect is but one of several elements in man that must develop and exist harmoniously. Yet he sometimes presented education as an enterprise of many facets; and in enumerating the facets he used more than once a certain series of adjectives. Thus:

A liberal education consists in the acquisition and refinement of standards of values -- all sorts of values -- physical, intellectual, emotional, aesthetic, and spiritual.

Or again:

The struggle for a liberal education is an example of physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual living upon an urbane and significant level.(10)

The inclusion of the word physical in this list is evidence enough that Wriston did not forget or hold in low esteem the training of the body. Yet neither in his regular reports to the Trustees nor in

10. Wriston, Natr. Lib. Coll., pp. 9, 12.

either of his books on education did he say much about physical education. On the other hand he wrote very interestingly about intercollegiate athletics, where most of the students are present as spectators and where the important thing for them is the involvement of their emotions.

Wriston mentioned with dissent and regret the distrust and suspicion of the emotions felt by some educators. He advocated, on the contrary, "positive and aggressive measures for the education of the emotions." For him the word "emotions" covered a vast area. Into a chapter on "Emotional Life" he brought most of what he had to say about aesthetics, religion and athletics. The emotions also motivate learning in many fields usually regarded as almost entirely intellectual.

Knowledge of the arts is sterile without feeling; information about the social studies is academic without sympathy; the natural sciences would be static without enthusiasm; and the humanities are worthless without warmth. Emotion is of the very essence of the process of learning.(11)

The ancient Greeks placed at the summit of their thought the good, the true and the beautiful. Unfortunately education in America fell under the shadow of the Protestant Reformation and the status of beauty and art suffered in consequence. Though American colleges in the nineteenth century sometimes offered, or even required, a philosophical course called Aesthetics, they really did almost nothing to bring students into contact with beauty, to say nothing of encouraging creative effort. In their poverty the colleges had no art galleries and starved their museums. Yet, said Wriston, deep within each of us there is a yearning for beauty. It is a proper function of the College to open this area to students, give them aesthetic standards, and inspire them to a lifelong growth in the power of appreciation. And the greatest satisfactions, as well as the soundest judgment, come from actual participation, in chorus or orchestra, in painting or sculpture, in dramatic production or dancing.

In The Nature of a Liberal College Wriston often expressed himself with total respect and great sensitivity about religious experience. Those enthusiastic about business and the forum should not "mock the place of retreat, the moment of quiet, the altar and the study." The cathedral "types the peace that passes human understanding."(12) Twice he mentioned Jesus as a significant or incomparable ethical teacher.(13) As noted above, Wriston used the separate words, emotional, aesthetic, and spiritual, for various aspects of man's being. Yet the aspects so named seem greatly to overlap, the spiritual or religious having a certain pre-eminence. "Religion is more than

11. Wriston, Natr. Lib. Coll., pp. 116, 117.

12. Wriston, Natr. Lib. Coll., pp. 20, 21.

13. Wriston, Natr. Lib. Coll., pp. 15, 140.

beauty; it goes far beyond the emotional life."(14)

Once in this book Wriston mentioned the leap some persons make from orthodoxy to humanism.(15) Such a leap, or some new understanding of orthodoxy, is, for many, a normal part of growing up and for some, a real crisis. To our regret Wriston did not discuss this change at length, here or elsewhere. Nor did he ever cultivate the area where the intellectual part of man overlaps with the spiritual or religious.

Wriston was always active in the Methodist Church, both locally and in the nation-wide body. He attended the General Conference in 1928 as a lay delegate from Wisconsin and became a member of the University Senate which supervises the Church's educational institutions. Yet, since he was not born until 1889 and was trained in history and not theology, his approach to at least some religious problems differed from that of the ministers who preceded him as President of Lawrence. One example will suffice. In a sermon to the students on Easter morning he addressed himself to the subject of immortality. The exposition was beautiful, the ideas included were noble and convincing; and yet his admission that "shadows of doubt" persist and his failure to assert in clean-cut fashion that each individual survives as a separate person after death mark Wriston as different from earlier generations. The sermon ran in part as follows:

Easter dramatizes and makes perennially vivid the greatest of all mysteries, death and life after death We know that the richest personality, the more abundant life, occurs where the values of truth and honor and justice and love, and appreciation of beauty are found blended in finest harmony Why may we not believe that these values may live after death? . . . the experience of the race, the experience of individuals, analogies from physical life and from scientific method all combine to give us "intimations of immortality," but there are still doubts. So, life will always have its shadows of doubt, but faith will bring the sunrise again. Easter comes to renew our faith; it comes to say that life has meaning, that experience is a valid guide, that death is not the enemy of life but a part of its total experience, that the values that make life rich remain after death, and that personality, having flowered in life, enters upon a new phase as do the flowers themselves.(16)

Perhaps the most thought-provoking chapter in The Nature of a Liberal College is entitled "A Theory of Disciplines." The first discipline proposed is that of precision. Here we are entirely in the

14. Wriston, Natr. Lib. Coll., p. 118.

15. Wriston, Natr. Lib. Coll., p. 127.

16. Law., Mar. 29, 1932, pp. 1, 4.

realm of intellect. Succeeding disciplines, however, bring into play, exclusively or in part, other elements of man's nature such as emotion and aesthetic appreciation. The fourth and last of the suggested disciplines is that of reflective synthesis. In exercising this:

One must deal intimately and courageously not only with tangible, external, and objective facts, but with entirely subjective thoughts. [This] involves the synthesis of all one's opinions on all aspects of experience. It is an effort to give form and reality not merely to observation but to experience itself. It seeks to find meaning not only in the world about us but in life.(17)

This seems to be the end of the road in Wriston's exposition of the goals of education. To see him at this point calls to mind Dante in the last canto of the Divine Comedy when, after his long journey, he gazed for a brief moment on the whole essence of the universe.

Thus, as President of Lawrence, Wriston sought continuously and eloquently to explain and define liberal ideals. In so doing he gave the College a new coloration. His very success made it unnecessary for later Presidents to do as much indoctrination of the same sort. He largely unified the staff behind him in seeking these ideals. And in his own administration action followed as closely as possible after the enunciation of ideas. Action was, to be sure, limited in some matters by financial or personal considerations. But no one could say of Wriston that he dreamt beautiful dreams but failed in the realm of action.

17. Wriston, Natr. Lib. Coll., pp. 160, 161.



