

Grinnell College

JOHN S. NOLLEN



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Grinnell College



JOHN SCHOLTE NOLLEN

GRINNELL COLLEGE

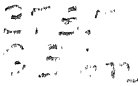
By JOHN SCHOLTE NOLLEN



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Editor's Foreword

IOWANS are justly proud of Grinnell College. Standing at the forefront among the private and denominational colleges of Iowa, Grinnell is mature in years, rich in experience, steadfast in its traditions and ideals, and generously supported by its alumni and friends. For more than a century thousands of sons and daughters of the Hawkeye State have been nurtured in body, mind, and soul by the presence of this fine college in their midst. As a result, Grinnell graduates have left an enviable record of good deeds and accomplishments, not only in Iowa but throughout the world.

Grinnell College represents the fruition of the vision, hopes, and dreams of a small band of Congregational ministers who trekked westward from New England to the Black Hawk Purchase in 1843. These courageous young men, who are known today as the Iowa

Band, had crossed the Mississippi, each pledged to establish at least one church and all together to found a Christian college in Iowa. It took more than hopes and dreams, however, to bring their Christian college into reality. Three precious years slipped by following their arrival, and still the Iowa Band could point to no college. Finally, the impatient James J. Hill catapulted them into action when, at their annual meeting at Davenport in 1846, he stepped up to the table and said: "I give one dollar for the founding of a Christian College in Iowa. Appoint your trustees to care for that dollar." It is to such a humble beginning that Grinnell can trace its origins, for it springs from a union with Iowa College which was established by the Iowa Band at Davenport in 1846.

While Iowa College was struggling along in Davenport, Josiah B. Grinnell had taken Horace Greeley's advice to "Go West." Born in Vermont in 1822, Grinnell had a liberal college training before becoming a Congregational minister. In 1854 he purchased land in Poweshiek County, laid out the town of Grinnell 120 miles west of the Mississippi, and projected a college — Grinnell University — which in 1858 was combined with Iowa College. Grinnell organized a Congregational Church and became its first minister. He helped form the Republican party in Iowa in 1856 and served in the General Assembly of Iowa as well as in the United States Congress. Through the years he was actively engaged in railroads and other business interests. He was always a devout Christian and an ardent temperance advocate. The impact of the character and personality of Josiah B. Grinnell can be felt to this day on both the town and the college that bear his name.

From its humble beginnings on the Mississippi, through the lean formative years in the valley of the Skunk River, Grinnell College has grown by dint of good business sense, the devotion of its faculty, and the generosity of its alumni and friends, until it has developed into one of the outstanding schools in the Midwest. To reach this peak required constructive leadership, not only in financing the college but also in building up the effective and inspired teaching staff that has won widespread acclaim for Grinnell. The half dozen men who have guided Grinnell since 1865 have exhibited unusual qualities of leadership over the years. Happily for Iowa as well as for Grinnell, one of these presidents, John Scholte Nollen, wrote the following history before his death in 1952. Born in Pella, educated at Central College

and the University of Iowa, Nollen taught at Grinnell for many years before assuming the presidency in 1931. He brought to this book a fluent pen, a ready wit, and an Olympian detachment in his narrative that should make this volume unique in its field. Since Grinnell was founded in 1846, the very year Iowa achieved statehood, the book mirrors the growth and development of higher education in our private colleges through more than a century of time.

The twenty-five chapters that make up the book have been divided into four parts which are self-explanatory. The first three parts are the work of Dr. Nollen, while the fourth part contains chapters which President Nollen asked others to prepare, or which were solicited by the editor to round out the story. President Samuel N. Stevens wrote an Epilogue which carries the story from 1946 to 1952. In addition, an unfinished autobiography of President Nollen's early life has been included.

The editor is grateful to the following members of the staff of the State Historical Society of Iowa for assistance in preparing the manuscript for publication: Dr. Mildred Throne, Dr. Robert Rutland, and Mrs. Adelaide Seemuth. James Stronks of Iowa City, an alumnus of Grinnell, also read the manuscript in galley and made excellent suggestions. Grateful acknowledgment is especially made to Dr. Leola Nelson Bergmann for valuable assistance in editing and in seeing the manuscript through the press.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

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Part One

From New England to the Prairies



The New England Heritage

"I LIKE this place. It has atmosphere." In these words more than one visitor, American or European, has expressed his feeling about Grinnell. This "atmosphere" is essentially that of the New England college town. Grinnell, town and college, is a bit of New England transplanted and flourishing among the cornfields of Iowa; not the later New England of manufacture and dense traffic, of teeming cities and a varied population of foreign origin, but the older, simpler, rural New England, still marked with the stamp set upon their new

world by the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower* and the Puritans of Salem. These sturdy men cherished, above their practical material interests, two ideals: religion and education. The most characteristic product of this dual devotion is that peculiarly American institution, the Christian college.

Grinnell College and the town of Grinnell have their roots deep in the Pilgrim and Puritan tradition; so their story cannot be told without reference to the development of religious thought in early New England. For the modern mind, steeped in the lore of experimental science, it is difficult to recapture the emotion or to appreciate the burning zeal of the older divines of New England in their passionate quest for absolute truth. To us their diverse efforts at a precise formulation of the eternal verities may seem like an attempt to scrutinize the inscrutable and to solve the insoluble. Their theological subtleties and bold paradoxes are foreign to our way of thinking. Moreover, we may even be amused rather than edified by their habit of hurling verbal thunderbolts at one another. However, if we are to get at the genesis of Christian education in the Midwest, we must at least take a rapid flight over this Sahara of arid speculation and stony invective. The miracle of Isaiah's vision was re-enacted on our soil. "Like a root out of dry ground," from the dogmatic ardor of the New England theology grew the tree of life for religion and education in the West.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a time of peculiar unrest in the ecclesiastical history of New England. The inevitable was happening. Wherever religion is interpreted dogmatically, there is sure to be, as long as the human spirit is free, reaction in the form of questioning, faction, schism, heresy. Protestant orthodoxy, with its sectarian divisions, has no central authority to cushion change with *ex cathedra* solutions, and any variation in doctrine is likely to be accompanied by a more or less noisy and destructive explosion.

For one hundred and twenty years after the landing of the Pilgrims, Congregationalism was in undisputed possession of New England. There was little occasion for doctrinal dissension, although questions of church government did cause heated discussion, as there were many who favored the Presbyterian rather than the democratic Congregational system. The Puritans, who had been Anglicans before their migration and who looked upon the Church of England as their ecclesiastical mother, naturally formed an established church of their own in their new home. Dissenters, such as Quakers and Baptists,

were unwelcome and, in case of recalcitrance, were persecuted, jailed, driven away, and even martyred. Furthermore, the legislature, or General Court, exercised control in ecclesiastical matters, and only church members, a small minority of the population, had the franchise, until this privilege was abrogated in 1692. The official expression of Congregational faith remained, in substance, the Calvinistic Westminster Confession adopted by Parliament in 1647. By the eighteenth century, however, the churches of New England had achieved such complete independence that they resented missionary work in their territory by the Anglican Church. Yale was purged of episcopacy by the trustees of the college, who voted that rectors and tutors should not be accepted without examination as to the "soundness of their faith in opposition to Arminian and prelatical corruptions."¹

The "Great Awakening," the powerful religious revival beginning in Jonathan Edwards' church at Northampton in 1734 and extending widely with George Whitefield's preaching a few years later, strongly reinforced the Calvinism of the New England churches, which had fallen into laxness during the preceding decades. On the other hand, this revival of doctrinal orthodoxy led to wide and violent controversy, intensified by the uncharitable attacks of the revivalist preachers upon ministers who repudiated their methods. The faculties of both Harvard and Yale were led by the excesses of the movement to issue "testimonies" against Whitefield himself. Even Edwards, who has with good reason been called the father of modern Congregationalism, was expelled from his pastorate at Northampton in 1750 and forbidden by the town meeting to preach there again.² His subsequent declaration of preference for the Presbyterian form of church government no doubt prepared the way for his later call to the presidency of Princeton College, only a few weeks before his death.

Another occasion for religious controversy arose from the persistent efforts of the established church in England to extend the Protestant Episcopate in the colonies. As Samuel Adams wrote in 1768, these efforts were "very alarming to a people whose fathers, from the hardships they suffered under such an establishment, were obliged to fly their native country into a wilderness. . . . We hope in God such an establishment will never take place in America."³ This fear of "ecclesiastical tyranny" and "prelatical rule" reinforced the exasperation at civil oppression that moved the colonies to revolution.

Far more perilous, however, to the solidarity of New England Christendom was the defection of the Unitarians, a reaction to the Great Awakening. The spirit of free inquiry was abroad (was it not the Age of Reason?), and there was wide revolt against the doctrinal rigidity and the metaphysical subtleties characteristic of the traditional theology and also against the emotional excesses that often accompanied revivals. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Boston and Harvard College had been captured by the new liberal movement. The conservatives then rallied their forces and found an eloquent leader in President Timothy Dwight of Yale, and a new "awakening" of great power swept westward. The Congregational Missionary Societies of Massachusetts and Connecticut were organized in 1798 and 1799. Their purpose was to send the gospel to "the remote parts of our country, where Christ is seldom preached," and even "through more distant regions of the earth, as circumstances shall invite and the ability of the society shall admit."⁴ So home and foreign missions were recognized as the responsibility of the New England evangelical churches. They consequently had a large part in the evangelizing of the new and undeveloped West.

The concern of orthodox Congregationalists in Massachusetts over the inroads of Unitarianism was responsible for the founding of Andover Theological Seminary. The way was open at Andover through the provision by the Phillips brothers, founders of Phillips Academy, of a fund for the support of students who wished to pursue theological studies. When a pronounced liberal was appointed to the chair of divinity at Harvard, Dr. Jedidiah Morse of Charlestown, a member of the board of overseers, and Dr. Eliphalet Pearson, professor and acting president, who had been the first head of Phillips Academy at Andover, withdrew from the Harvard Corporation. In July, 1806, they formed an association to found a conservative theological institution at Andover. Four other gentlemen joined them in the association, among them Samuel Abbott, who had bequeathed his estate for the education of theological students at Harvard, but who now revoked this will and transferred the bequest to Andover.⁵

Meanwhile a similar movement to found a seminary on orthodox principles had begun ten miles away at West Newbury. An effort to unite these two movements, similar in spirit and motive, finally succeeded in 1808, but not without difficulty. The crux of the problem was of course doctrinal, for there were two camps of orthodox Cal-

vinists, separated by super-metaphysical subtleties. Dr. Pearson and his associates were "Moderate" or "Old Calvinists" and held to the Westminster Confession and the doctrine of election, but were inclined to stress the love of God rather than His absolute sovereignty. The brethren at West Newbury, on the other hand, were Hopkinsians, so named after Samuel Hopkins, a pupil of Jonathan Edwards. They called themselves "Consistent Calvinists," and were as hyper-Calvinistic in their interpretation of divine sovereignty and predestination as Mrs. Edwards had been in her assertion that she was willing to endure damnation if God could thereby be glorified, and as Hopkinsian Professor Leonard Woods at Andover, who, when his fifth child was born, doubted whether he ought to ask God to save all his children, lest he thus offend against foreordination.⁶

These two schools of strenuous orthodoxy finally arrived at a workable compromise after nine months of "complicated negotiations between theologians of great ability and astuteness in drawing fine-spun distinctions." Dr. Pearson journeyed thirty-six times alone in his chaise from Andover to Newburyport to carry on this debate. However, the parties surrendered none of their cherished theoretical differences: Hopkinsian money was to support only Hopkinsian teaching, and Moderate Calvinist funds were to be used to pay professors of that faith. Meanwhile, Hopkinsians remained free to scoff at the "absurdities of the old Calvinism." Nevertheless, these discordant elements were merged in a Creed, and the Association Statutes provided that "every article of the aforesaid Creed shall forever remain entirely and identically the same, without the least alteration, or any addition or diminution." Every professor must pledge himself to maintain and inculcate the Christian faith as summarily expressed in the Shorter Catechism, "in opposition not only to Atheists and Infidels, but to Jews, Mahometans, Arians, Pelagians, Antinomians, Arminians, Socinians, Unitarians, and Universalists, and to all other heresies, ancient and modern," and he must repeat this declaration every five years. The Rules of the Seminary began with 7 chapters of 65 articles, and grew to 13 chapters of 102 articles.⁷ Evidently the personnel at Andover was expected to maintain a precarious balance on a theological tight rope. The first president of "Iowa College" — the original name of Grinnell — was an expert in this acrobatic exercise.

Despite all the efforts at strict dogmatic statement, the old conflict

of orthodoxies would not down. One member of the board of trustees remonstrated for forty years against subversive tendencies in the Seminary: "Candidates for ordination were not measuring up to the standards in the matter of total depravity . . . there was error in Zion, the professors were deviating from the Catechism." It seems odd in perspective that Professor Edwards A. Park, uncompromising champion of an unchanging Calvinism, should have been considered "not sound in the faith."⁸ All these honest brethren were zealously engaged in the enterprise attributed to Theodore Parker by Julia Ward Howe:

Saving the perilous souls of the nation
With holiest, wholesomest vituperation.⁹

Parker himself, in turn, offered a shining target for the shafts of the conservatives. One reverend opponent wrote: "Hell never vomited forth a more blasphemous monster than Theodore Parker and it is only the mercies of Jesus Christ which now preserve him from eternal damnation." Samuel Hopkins had been no less explicit about the Arminians: "The smoke of their torment shall ascend up in the sight of the blessed forever and ever . . . and all this display of the divine character and glory will be . . . most entertaining, and give the highest pleasure to all who love God, and raise their happiness to ineffable heights." But "vituperation" was not confined to such crusading extremists. Even such a benevolent and liberal spirit as Emerson described Garrison's Convention on Universal Reform as consisting of "madmen, madwomen, men with beards, Dunkers, Mugletonians, Come-outers, Groaners, Agrarians, Seventh-day Baptists, Quakers, Abolitionists, Calvinists, Unitarians and Philosophers."¹⁰ It remained for William James to discover virtue in "varieties of religious experience."

Conditions of living in the new seminary at Andover were as narrow and rigid as the brand of theology there professed. Stark simplicity and extreme economy were the rule. Tuition was free, room rent two to four dollars a year, board in Commons plain and cheap, dispensed in an unheated room. Molasses was often substituted for meat, and in an access of asceticism or penury the students voted to dispense with sugar. That students and teachers suffered from indigestion was not surprising. Nor were summer epidemics uncommon. For exercise, the students blasted and cleared away rocks on

the grounds, or did carpentry in a cold barrack. "Coffins fashioned in the workshop by student hands were grim reminders of the brevity of life. . . . Hard by [there was a cemetery on the campus] the winter snows drifted over the graves of students who had died before their time and lay in the winding sheet of God's acre." It was not exceptional that the work of the day began at 4:30 in the morning. At Yale, too, prayers began at 4:30 in the summer and at 5:30 on winter mornings. Timothy Dwight got up early enough to "qualify" for parsing a hundred lines of Homer before these exercises began.¹¹

It was these sturdy Congregationalists of the old faith who fostered the two great movements for the spread of Christianity, home and foreign missions. The Haystack Meeting of students at orthodox Williams College in 1806 gave birth to foreign missions. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized in 1810 in response to a petition by four Andover students. Likewise, the organization of the American Home Missionary Society in 1826 followed an appeal from Andover students. The spread of Christian education in the opening West was another absorbing interest of these pioneering theologues. It was an Andover man who started a seminary at Jacksonville which, with the help of a Yale Band, became Illinois College. It was another from Andover who "dedicated Wabash College to Christ as he knelt in the snow of the primeval forest on a winter day."¹² One Andover class after another sent a large contingent westward. Twenty-six different classes sent at least ten each into the home missionary field in thirty-three states, from Maine to Texas.

Iowa's turn came in the 1840's, when the tide of settlement began to pour across the Mississippi into a territory newly opened as the Indian tribes retreated westward. This rich new land tempted thousands to pioneering adventure. It could not help appealing to the imagination of young men imbued with the missionary spirit, lured by the no less hardy adventure of carrying the gospel to this new population that was reputed to be in urgent need of religious conversion and educational opportunity.

The first thought of the Iowa country as a home mission ground seems to have occurred to a group of young men studying theology at Yale. This was quite in line with Yale tradition. As early as November, 1828, in response to an essay on "The Call of the West"

by one of their members, a group of students gathered under the elms at New Haven and pledged themselves to give their lives to the work of education and of preaching the gospel in what was then the Far West, the state of Illinois.¹³ The founding of Illinois College in 1829 was largely the work of this Yale Band. So, in 1837, seven theological students at Yale formed the "Iowa Educational Association . . . to establish upon a firm basis a college for the future state of Iowa." The "firm basis" in the minds of these young men was a land-sale plan, such as appeared repeatedly in the founding of western colleges.*

One of the young men, Reuben Gaylord, on March 1, 1838, wrote on behalf of the group to the secretaries of the American Home Missionary Society:

A few young men, members of this seminary, have become deeply interested in that section of our country lying west of the Mississippi, commonly known as the "Iowa District," or "Black Hawk Purchase." Seeing its destitute condition, both as respects education and religious institutions, and learning that the District is filling up with a rapidity unparalleled in the history of our country, we feel a strong conviction that, if the way can be opened, it is our duty to plant our feet west of the Father of Waters. We wish to concentrate our influence, and bring it to bear upon the future state of Iowa while yet in its infancy. Our object will be two-fold — to preach the gospel, and to open a school at the outset, which can soon be elevated to the rank of a college. Knowing that such an enterprise cannot be accomplished by individual effort, the following brethren are ready to associate and pledge themselves to engage in the work, if the way can be opened so as to warrant the undertaking: J. P. Stewart, M. Richardson, H. D. Kitchel, A. B. Haile, R. Gaylord, J. A. Clark, M. Mattocks. Upon mature consideration we have thought best to lay the subject before your Society and put the inquiry, How much may we expect you to do toward founding such an enterprise? It is our purpose to enlist one or two more of the right stamp, who will throw themselves into the work, determined not to yield to any obstacle which is not insurmountable. One of our number, Stewart, was educated at the west, and has traveled extensively in the Iowa district. The writer of this has spent two and one-half years as teacher in Illinois College, at Jacksonville, so that we are not acting without such knowledge as will enable us to come to an intelligent decision. The tract of country we propose to enter, embraces an area of nine thousand square miles at present, and this will doubtless soon be enlarged by other purchases from

* In 1837 Iowa was still a part of the Territory of Wisconsin. In forming the Iowa Educational Association the members of the Yale Band showed that they were familiar with the book by Albert M. Lea, *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory; Particularly with Reference to the Iowa District or Black Hawk Purchase*, published in Philadelphia in 1836.

the Indians still further west. It has a population of from thirty to fifty thousand, and by its superior soil, local advantages and salubrious climate, holds out strong inducements to an industrious class of emigrants, who are making their way thither in large numbers. Its destitution of school and religious privileges is almost entire. Towns and villages are springing rapidly into being, one of which, Burlington, already numbers one thousand people, and it is of the greatest importance that a stand should be early made by the friends of education and religion. Friends [funds?] will be provided to support one or two of us as teachers. The others will devote themselves to preaching, and will be under the necessity of looking to you for a partial support. As one of the above individuals, and in their behalf, I now address you. Will you write us as speedily as convenient, expressing your views of our prospective enterprise, and stating what the society will be able to do for us. This will throw light upon our paths, and we trust promote the object for which you are laboring.¹⁴

Only three of the seven Yale men actually went west, however, and only one, Reuben Gaylord himself, participated in the educational enterprise planned by the seven. But other Yale men, older than the group of 1837, had a part in the work to be done principally by the "Iowa Band" from Andover. Most important of these, a leading figure in the religious and educational winning of the West, was "Father" Asa Turner. Others were Julius A. Reed and William P. Apthorp, who was also a student at Andover. Apthorp had no direct part in the educational enterprise, but Reed became one of the prime movers in it.

Julius A. Reed, whose career was to be closely bound up with Iowa College, was born at East Windsor, Connecticut, January 16, 1809, one of the many descendants of Governor William Bradford of the *Mayflower*. He was graduated from Yale in 1829, and his call to the ministry came four years later, after tutoring in New York and Mississippi, seeing the West on a visit to a brother in Jacksonville, and debating the claims of law and medicine. He had a "prophetic glimpse" of the Iowa country across the river in May, 1833: "I could see the prairie where Montrose now stands, and the bluff beyond, with a tall tree here and there upon its brow. The view was beautiful, but, I reflected that the vast region between me and the Pacific Ocean was inhabited only by savages. All beyond the river seemed buried in profound sleep." Reed returned to New Haven (a six weeks' trip on horseback), entered Yale Seminary, was graduated in 1835, and was commissioned by the American Home Missionary

Society. He was ordained at "God's Barn," Asa Turner's church at Quincy, in April, 1836, and in January, 1837, first set foot on Iowa soil:

I crossed the river on the ice from Warsaw to Keokuk, and preached the first sermon ever preached in the place by a Congregational minister, and I think by any minister. I preached in a building afterwards known as the Rat Row. At that time there were scarcely more than a half dozen buildings in the place, of which the Rat Row was the best. The inhabitants were chiefly river men, and were rough. Some of my friends thought it hazardous for me to attempt to preach there, but I could not ask for better treatment than I received. I recollect a man who was prostrated by rheumatism and was not expected to live. He had kept an account of the liquor he had drunk, and said it amounted to twenty-seven barrels. . . . I saw an Indian hunting within forty rods of the landing.¹⁵

Upon the completion of four brief pastorates in Illinois and a year's service as chaplain of the insane asylum at Worcester, Massachusetts, Reed again answered the call of the West. Following Asa Turner's advice, he came to the Territory of Iowa and began preaching at Fairfield on November 29, 1840. From 1845 to 1857 he was agent of the Home Missionary Society for Iowa; more than sixty churches were organized under his supervision.¹⁶ He was a charter member of the board of trustees of Iowa College, 1846 to 1868, was treasurer of the College, 1858 to 1863, and acted as principal of the Preparatory Department and teacher of mathematics, 1862 to 1863. Dr. George F. Magoun testified of him:

In the College business, his industry, his minute accuracy, his competence and practical judgment, his inflexible integrity, and love for Christian education were invaluable. In several instances someone has done for the College what no other could have done; and Dr. Reed's part in discovering the fraud of the second Treasurer, in extricating us from financial difficulties, and in conducting the removal [to Grinnell] was one. His success in business hid the fact that he was also a sound and discriminating theologian — though not very widely read, but deserving the honorary degree he should have earlier received.¹⁷

Reed retired from active service in 1869, but continued his helpful and generous interest in the Congregational enterprises of the state to the end of his days. He died in Davenport August 27, 1890, the last of the early patriarchs to pass away.



☆ II ☆

The First Pioneers and Asa Turner

THAT portion of the Louisiana Purchase now known as Iowa had neither name nor independent existence for fully three decades after President Jefferson, in March, 1804, "shutting up the Constitution for a time,"¹⁸ took over this vast territory. This unauthorized purchase from Napoleon, negotiated the previous year by Monroe and Livingston, turned out to be the best land deal in our history. At the time, this section was largely unknown. Jefferson transmitted accounts he had received telling of "Indians of giant stature, of a

mountain of salt one hundred and eighty miles long, forty-five miles wide, and of towering height." As late as 1819, Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, later United States Senator, described the land west of the Mississippi as an arid plain, without wood or water.¹⁹ Long before, however, Patrick Henry had a more prophetic vision: "Cast your eye, sir, over this extensive country and see its soil intersected in every quarter with bold, navigable streams, flowing to the east and to the west, as if the finger of heaven were marking out the course of your settlements, inviting you to enterprise and pointing the way to wealth."²⁰

The day was still far distant when men were to discover the inexhaustible agricultural riches of the Iowa land. The Indians had no thought of this potential wealth. William Clark, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, reported of them in 1826:

During several seasons in every year they are distressed by famine in which many die, and the living child is often buried with the dead mother. They have neither hogs nor cows, and do not want them, because they would eat up their little patches of corn which are without fences, and because, as the whole nation go out to hunt twice a year, they want nothing but horses and dogs which accompany them. In these expeditions the aged and infirm, when unable to keep up, are frequently left to die.²¹

For many years, even before the Louisiana Purchase, mining and the fur trade had lured white men across the Mississippi. As early as 1690 Perrot is said to have discovered lead in the Galena-Dubuque area. The lead mines opened here continued to be the principal source of wealth from this unexplored region. For both Indians and white trappers, the fur trade was important. Early travelers found the meadows teeming with "Buffaloes and other wild beasts," deer, black bear, beaver, otter, grey fox, raccoon, muskrat, mink, elk, panther, lynx, and swarming with wild turkey. In 1788 Julien Dubuque, fur trader, obtained a sanction from the Indians to work the lead mines, the value of whose product through the years was counted in millions.²²

French and Spanish explorers had some difficulty with the fluid name of the nomadic Siouan tribe of hunters who roamed over this territory before the white immigration, and early documents give about fifty different spellings for these Aioua or Ioway Indians.²³ They were described as rude and crude, of great physique, deep-voiced and dark-colored, courageous and emotional (weeping copious

tears of joy), good-hearted and intelligent. Their contacts with the whites were sporadic until well into the nineteenth century.

As late as 1832 there were not over fifty white persons settled in the Iowa country, and these few were squatters without legal rights. The following year, as a result of the Black Hawk Purchase, the Indian title to the lands expired. Long lines of pioneers crossed the Mississippi, still illegally, as Congress had passed acts in 1785 and 1807 forbidding anyone to enter upon public lands until they were surveyed and offered for sale. In spite of this, there were 10,531 settlers across the river by 1836, and twice that number by 1838, when both Calhoun and Clay inveighed in Congress against these "lawless intruders."²⁴

This sprawling wilderness, once a part of the Territory of Louisiana, had been incorporated in the Territory of Missouri when that district was established in 1812; but when in 1821 Missouri was admitted as a state, the Iowa country was left without civil government and continued so until it was made part of the Territory of Michigan in 1834. Two years later it was included in the Territory of Wisconsin.

It was in 1836 that the name "Iowa" (derived from the name of the river, and indirectly from that of the Indian tribe) first appeared in print as applied to this section, in *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory* by Lieutenant Albert M. Lea, who had traversed this region with the United States Dragoons.²⁵

The Territory of Iowa was established in 1838; it included all the region north of the Missouri line, and running up into Minnesota and the Dakotas. One of the early acts of the Supreme Court of the Territory was to validate the claims of the settlers, who through claim associations and land clubs had effected an orderly organization for the protection of their status; this was their answer to the charge that they were lawless intruders. Finally, on December 28, 1846, President Polk signed the act for the balanced admission of Florida and Iowa, and so Iowa became the first state free from slavery in the Louisiana Purchase.

Many of the early settlers in the Iowa country were Southern, drawn, however, not from the sedentary slaveholding class but from the Scotch-Irish stock of the foot-loose pioneers. The Southern pioneer followed the streams and forests. The prairie lacked, to his mind, both fuel and sufficient water, shelter from the winter's cold,

and fertility. And so the prairies remained for occupation by the Northern pioneers.²⁶

As to the quality of these early Iowans, reports naturally differ. Lieutenant Lea, writing in 1836, when the settlers were still the "lawless intruders" of the Clay-Calhoun invective, found everything lovely, even among the miners:

The character of this population is such as is rarely to be found in our newly acquired territories. With very few exceptions, there is not a more orderly, industrious, active, pains-taking population west of the Alleghenies, than is this of the Iowa District. Those who have been accustomed to associate the name of *Squatter* with the idea of idleness and recklessness, would be quite surprised to see the systematic manner in which everything is here conducted. For intelligence, I boldly assert that they are not surpassed, as a body, by an equal number of citizens of any country in the world.

Asa Turner's impression at the same time was similar: "The settlers generally are of much better character than usually falls to the lot of a new country. For enterprise, intelligence and industry, they far surpass those who first settled Illinois."²⁷

The miners of Dubuque, in 1834 and 1835, were described by Edward Langworthy: "My experience proves that nowhere has ever such a state of society existed for honesty, integrity, and high toned generosity as was found among the miners. . . . No need here for locks to keep out burglars." Charles Augustus Murray, an English traveler, found in Dubuque "as profligate, turbulent, and abandoned a population as any in the world, [yet] theft is almost unknown; and though dirks are frequently drawn, and pistols fired in savage and drunken brawls . . . I do not believe that an instance of larceny or housebreaking has occurred." And a young home missionary saw this picture: "In such a population there was none of the religious element, but, on the contrary, there was a total destitution of the fear of God, and, I had almost said, of regard for man. There was, of course, no recognition of the Sabbath, and no public worship, while vices of almost every kind were practised. A gentleman informs me that, wishing to procure a Bible, he searched the place [Dubuque] in vain to find one. . . ." Another summed it up in a fair generalization: "This population is a mixed multitude gathered from all parts of the United States, possessing every degree of intelligence from the liberally educated, to the most ignorant, and belonging to almost every religious sect in Christendom, besides including many

who boast that they are infidels.”²⁸ The *Home Missionary Magazine* in August, 1842, stated that there were only 2,133 professing Christians in a population of 60,400.

There could be no question, however, of the sobriety and the piety of the New Englanders who crossed the Mississippi in 1836 and settled at a spot known first as “Haystack,” and soon as “Denmark.” Their coming was the result of “Father” Turner’s missionary labors.

Asa Turner, pioneer extraordinary and home missionary patriarch, was born on a farm in the town of Templeton, Massachusetts, June 11, 1799, grandson of a Revolutionary soldier who had seen service at Bunker Hill and Saratoga. Asa was a sturdy youth, quick, social, impulsive. Unsatisfied by the Unitarianism of the parish, he was converted to an orthodox faith by the reading of Doddridge’s *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*. Even as a student, he conducted religious services in the home and was called “The Little Priest.”

He taught school at Templeton and Winchendon, and was already twenty-two when he entered Amherst Academy, and twenty-four when he became a freshman at Yale. He was graduated with the Yale class of 1827, almost one-third of whose members entered the Christian ministry. Already he had been active in evangelistic work, in the annual revival services of religious awakening. Poverty and overwork impaired his robust health. Entering college with bedding and two dollars, he worked on the academic woodyard, taught school, and boarded himself at about fifty cents a week; result, chronic dyspepsia, which left him “half dead.”

After a brief course at Yale Theological Seminary, Turner was licensed to preach at the age of thirty. Meanwhile, in 1828 he had joined a group of Yale men who planned to go to Illinois to preach and promote education, and who founded Illinois College, of which Turner became a trustee.

The year 1830 was decisive for him. He went to Boston to study with Lyman Beecher and met Martha Bull, who was teaching there. They were married August 31, he was ordained September 6, they started west September 14, and arrived at Quincy, Illinois, November 5, fording streams and passing through prairie and timber fires on the way. Quincy was then a frontier village of about four hundred souls. A Presbyterian church was organized December 1, with fifteen charter members, “three Baptists, three Congregationalists, four Presbyterians, and five from the world.” Already

Turner had lifted his spirit above sectarian disputes: "I do think the 'isms' of evangelical Christians among the greatest evils in this Western country. The withering influence is seen in almost every church, stirring up jealousy and strife and suspicion, paralyzing action, and putting a damper on all the holy affections." However, he created an orthodoxy of his own: "All must come into the church through the door of total abstinence." Poverty was the rule in the little parish: "But few have outside garments. Children met me at the Sunday School one morning when it was 14° below zero, more than half of them with nothing but their summer dresses. Little boys clad in tow-cloth." Epidemic diseases were common; at one time for ten weeks "there was but one family where there was no affliction."

It was well that the Turners were accustomed to simple living. They came to a home where one room served as sitting room, bedroom, study, kitchen, and dairy. They lived on wheat batter-cakes and corn dodgers, milk toast, coffee, and tea. Their salary was \$400, half of which the first year went for debt. Not unnaturally, illness followed privation.

The young missionary did not spare himself. His parish was broad — "as boundless as the eye can see — a territory greater than that promised to Abraham, more abundant in its productions, and, I fear, almost as destitute of the knowledge of the true God." Turner preached two or three times each Sunday, and on Wednesday evenings, "held conferences Saturday evenings, prayer-meetings Thursday evenings, and for women Wednesday afternoons," superintended the Sunday School, and preached twice a week in the country at three stations eight to fifteen miles distant. Besides, he was in great demand for "protracted meetings" or revivals at other towns as far distant as Galena, two hundred miles away, and he was instrumental in organizing thirteen churches in northern Illinois.

Travel had its difficulties. On the way back from Presbytery in Jacksonville, "on Thursday it stormed; on Friday left my wagon and wife so as to get home for the Sabbath; the cold was excessive, the storm very severe; nine miles on my way came to a creek, so cold I dared not swim; hired a man to build a raft and help me across; swam my horse and arrived in season; had been sick five weeks; took cold; was obliged to swim my horse three times, and swim with her twice, and thus, all drenched with water, ride fifteen miles before I could dry."

In 1832 Asa Turner went East to interest people in Illinois College and the new territory he was serving. At New Ipswich, New Hampshire (birthplace of Ephraim Adams), two men were moved to further inquiry, one of them visiting Quincy two years later. At last, in 1836, four bachelors and four men with their families journeyed from the East to seek western homes, arriving in Quincy while Turner was across the Mississippi reconnoitering the Black Hawk Purchase. The newcomers, one of whom had a brother already settled in the Purchase, crossed the river and settled ten miles inland, buying out the squatters and acquiring a cabin measuring eighteen by sixteen feet, the first home of eighteen persons. These New Englanders were not welcomed by the earlier pioneers, who were Southerners; one of these, the earliest settler at this spot, had taken up a claim in 1835 and was "sorry when he heard that the Yankees were coming."²⁹

In 1833, at the request of the members and encouraged by the pastor, the Quincy church became Congregational. This change at Quincy from the Presbyterian to the Congregational polity became important later in the ecclesiastical history of Iowa. Asa Turner's background and education were in the Congregational tradition. His early connection with Presbytery at Quincy was due to the practical effect of the "Plan of Union,"³⁰ which had been adopted in 1801 by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Association of Connecticut, to which the associations of Vermont, Massachusetts, and Maine later acceded. Both denominations were then essentially Calvinistic in theology, but they differed widely in polity, Presbyterianism being highly centralized, with authority over local churches mounting through Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly, while in Congregationalism the local church was completely independent.

There was, at first, fraternal cooperation in missionary extension. The American Home Missionary Society represented both denominations, "to promote mutual forbearance and a spirit of accommodation" between members of the two communions in new settlements. Its agents were at first largely Presbyterian, and the sentiment grew that the Congregational form of government was not well adapted to the mixed population of the West. This steady drift toward Presbyterianism in territory largely settled by Congregationalists from New England resulted in an estimated loss of over two thousand churches to Congregationalism in the home mission territory.

The dissatisfaction of many who were loyal to the New England tradition grew with the acrimonious differences between conservatives and liberals within the Presbyterian fold, which led to its split into Old School and New School organizations in 1837, when the Plan of Union was formally abandoned by the Old School party. The New School Presbyterians attempted to keep up the connection, but a national convention of Congregational churches in 1852 declared the plan inexpedient. This declaration was generally accepted by the churches. The dissension between Old and New School had to do with the attitude toward slavery as well as with theological differences.

“Upon such minds as had gone into the missionary work from New England” the controversy among Presbyterians “produced a deep and abiding conviction that it was not the church of their fathers nor of their youth, and that in it they could not fight the battle of life either with freedom or efficiency.”

Asa Turner’s church at Quincy prospered under the Congregational banner. In eight months it became self-supporting with but fifty-five members, and during the first year received nearly eighty new members. More than once, no doubt, Asa Turner had cast longing glances across the Mississippi upon the thinly settled Iowa district, and he had been charmed with the beauty of the site that was to become Davenport.³¹

In April, 1836, the month in which this Iowa land was made a part of the newly established Territory of Wisconsin, Turner and his fellow-member of the Yale Band, William B. Kirby, crossed the river at Fort Madison for a survey of the Black Hawk Purchase. They traveled north through the sparsely settled country, going a few miles beyond the site of Davenport, preaching at such settlements as they found along the way. Turner’s impression was most favorable: “As to the country, I see but one objection. It is so beautiful that there might be an unwillingness to exchange it for the paradise above. . . . The soil [is] similar to that of the Military Tract; as a whole . . . better. Prairies generally dry and rolling, streams clear, — of course more healthy than they generally are in this state [Illinois], — better supplied with timber, water-power, coal, etc.”³² It is evident that he was already prepared in spirit for further pioneering in this newer country. The call was not long delayed.



☆ IIII ☆

Denmark

IN THE summer of 1836, when the New Englanders who had been drawn westward by Asa Turner's plea at New Ipswich finally reached the Black Hawk Purchase, there were about ten thousand white settlers across the Mississippi. The only town claiming one thousand inhabitants was Dubuque, far to the north. No doubt these newcomers avoided the river bottom because of the prevalence of the ague, which the early settlers considered incurable. They made their way to the plateau ten miles inland above the Skunk River, on

whose banks the brother of one of them was then building a sawmill. Their first name for the new settlement was "Haystack," as the hay for the community was kept in a common stack, making a prominent landmark on the open prairie. They later called it "Denmark" after a hymn which seems to have been a favorite tune with the settlers from New Ipswich.³³

These New Englanders ran true to type. Half of their townsite was set apart for a school, and within a year a schoolhouse was erected which also served as a church. It was a rude structure covered with split oak boards smoothed with a drawing-knife, the floor loose, the walls unplastered, the whole unpainted. A pulpit was made of two cottonwood boards in front and one on each side, with a black walnut board nailed across the top. The pews were plain wood slabs without backs. "This house was the cradle of Congregationalism in Iowa."³⁴ In this cabin in Denmark, Iowa, Miss Elizabeth Houston from Lyndeborough, New Hampshire, began to teach in 1837. William P. Apthorp, Yale and Andover home missionary, preached there intermittently in 1837 and 1838.

A Congregational church was organized May 5, 1838, with thirty-two members, representing every New England state but one. The ministers present were Asa Turner, William Apthorp, and Julius A. Reed. The new church called Asa Turner to be its pastor. He accepted, and began his thirty years' ministry at Denmark on August 3, 1838, as the first settled Congregational minister in the Iowa country.³⁵ He came with the understanding that an institution of learning be founded, thinking, no doubt, of the successful work of the Yale Band in Illinois.

The village of Denmark then consisted of three houses and a schoolhouse. Conditions of living in these pioneer homes were severely simple. A daughter of an early settler wrote:

Come with me, favored children from ample Eastern homes, into our cabin, twelve by sixteen feet. One window of three panes of glass, made to swing out on leather hinges, a leather strap to fasten it inside, a large fire-place with sod-chimney, a loose floor, a slab-door, with wooden latch and leather string, an attic for store-room, to which we went up on wooden pins driven into the logs on the left side of the fire-place, while on the right were four narrow shelves for a cupboard, with a curtain hung before it. Two bedsteads in opposite corners; under these, two trundle-beds; back of them three swing-shelves against the wall for library. The table in the center, the side of a bed serving for seats while eating; at night the table placed across

the hearth so another bed might be made in the center. Every thing moved twice a day. Chests containing our clothing piled up at night, and spread around in the morning for seats. In this house thirteen of us lived, longed, and hoped; yes, and enjoyed.³⁶

Conditions of travel were no improvement over what Asa Turner had found in Illinois. Julius A. Reed wrote in his *Reminiscences*:

There is not a stream in Iowa, north and east of Cedar Falls, or south of Cedar Falls and east of Des Moines, that has not been forded by one or more of these pioneers, and some of the largest at many different points. Sometimes they drove their horses through the creeks and caught them as they came out, crossing themselves on logs; sometimes they swam their horses by the side of a canoe, sometimes took their buggies across large streams, piecemeal, in skiffs. Father Turner once swam the creeks between Farmington and Denmark, with his horse and buggy, though he could not swim one stroke himself. It was hard for him to stop when he had once started. . . . Bro. Lane had a narrow escape in the ice at Keosauqua. . . . Bro. Ripley was carried over the dam at Bentonsport.³⁷

Mr. Reed makes it clear also that theological controversy was not limited to New England. The minister of a German Congregational church at Dubuque left the Association.

His plea was that our belief on some point connected with the fall of our first parents was erroneous. . . . With Joe Smith [Mormon] on one side and Abner Kneeland [Atheist] on the other . . . we had no heart for curious speculation and had no use for anything in our preaching but the essential facts of the gospel. . . . We were assailed with charges of heresy and disorder. . . . Congregationalists of Danville had been made so suspicious of Father Turner, through the same insinuations from the same source, that they were pleased that he was prevented from being present at the organization of their church. . . . Charges . . . were circulated at the east till they produced an extensive distrust of western Congregationalism. Presbyterian papers were full of these charges and Presbyterians visiting New England repeated them.³⁸

Asa Turner's salary from the Denmark church was \$300, paid partly in produce. In 1839 he began to act as agent of the Home Missionary Society, and thus \$200 was added to his income, which for ten years was never more than \$500, often less. "That he was economical in his household you can easily believe," wrote Julius Reed. "I have seen his children more than once making their suppers solely of stewed pumpkin and milk. I have heard that his family and his horse have been supplied from the same barrel." At one time

Turner rode for nearly half a day to borrow money so as to get his letters from the post office. Postage on eastern letters was then twenty-five cents, payable by the receiver.³⁹

Before the end of 1838, "Father" Turner was heartened by the arrival of a fellow-laborer in the new area across the Mississippi. Reuben Gaylord, of the "Iowa Educational Association" at Yale, who meanwhile had taught at Illinois College, was commissioned by the American Home Missionary Society in July, ordained in August, married Miss Sarah Burton of Round Prairie, Illinois, in October, and arrived at Mount Pleasant with his bride in December, soon to become Turner's close neighbor in a newly organized church at Danville. Gaylord's first report to the Society was optimistic:

After a fatiguing journey of nearly five weeks, I have found everything as favorable here as I expected, considering the age of the country. The first settlers came into this county about four years since, and it now contains not far from 4,000 inhabitants on an area twenty-four miles square. The improvements have been rapid beyond a parallel in any country. . . . Mt. Pleasant is three years old. It stands high and commands an extensive view of timber and prairie. It will have every facility for building when the enterprise of the people shall develop its natural resources. I mention these things to show the prospects of the place for future growth. There has been occasional preaching here by the Methodists, who have done much good.⁴⁰

Reuben Gaylord organized five churches in the Iowa territory and the first Congregational church in Nebraska; later he represented the Home Missionary Society in the founding of many churches in the Far West. He was one of the first trustees of Iowa College.

In 1840, after a brief interlude in the East, Julius A. Reed returned to Iowa for a lifetime of service. That same year, on November 6, Turner, Gaylord, Reed, and licentiate Charles Burnham, with the help of three ministers from Illinois and five laymen, organized the Congregational Association of Iowa at a convention held at Denmark.⁴¹ This was the first Congregational State Association formed west of New York.

The next year brought two further accessions to the ministerial ranks. Oliver Emerson, Jr., club-footed and half-paralyzed from birth, afflicted with a chronic kidney disease, had never seen a well day and never taken a step without pain. He began preaching while a student at Waterville College, Maine, preached his way through Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, was twice refused ordination as a Baptist

because he rejected "close communion," joined the Congregational Church at Davenport, and continued preaching as a private member until the Congregational Association ordained him in November, 1841, "with anxiety and hesitation." His salary at Davenport was fifteen dollars a month and "boarding 'round." This wreck of a man, living a Pauline life as itinerant evangelist for eastern Iowa, was the founder of many churches. As an apostle to the "scattered sheep in the wilderness," Emerson evangelized the whole region between Davenport and Dubuque and at one time served ten congregations simultaneously. His itinerant work enabled him to lead in the formation of not less than twenty-five churches, not all Congregational. He was a trustee of Iowa College, 1852 to 1883. "No speaker stirred the college students more effectively in the '60's than he," said L. F. Parker.

John C. Holbrook, like Reed and Gaylord a descendant of Governor Bradford of the Plymouth Colony, was the son of a paper manufacturer and book publisher at Brattleboro, Vermont. He had received a desultory education by private tutors and at Norwich Military Academy. Despite an early experience of sermons up to "sixteenthly" in an unheated meeting house, he turned his back upon a promising business career and, moved by a revival and the reading of Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, dedicated himself to Christian service and began lay preaching and the private study of theology. In 1839 he took his family to Davenport, whither a farmer brother-in-law had preceded him. Disgusted with the autocratic leadership of a rigid Old School Presbyterian pastor, he withdrew and with others formed a Congregational church. Licensed to preach by the Congregational Association in November, 1841, Holbrook held briefly a ministry at Lyons, then accepted a call to a small Presbyterian church at Dubuque, which soon became Congregational. Here he continued his service for twenty-two years, with an interval of three years in Chicago, where he participated in the founding of the New England Church and the *Congregational Herald*. He also was one of the first trustees of Iowa College.⁴²

Turner, as first home missionary agent for Iowa, was moved by elation and dismay as he saw the flood of pioneers pouring into his new empire. Insistently he pressed upon his eastern correspondents the urgent needs of this new population: "Have the churches yet to

learn that the best time to teach a state, as well as a child, is in its infancy?" In June, 1840, Turner wrote:

I have been here now almost two years, and during this time the A.H.M.S. has not sent a single man to this territory. Do try to find some more good men and true. We need some ten at least this moment — imperatively need them. Why should this most interesting territory be left? The land sales are over. Settlers have got their titles to earth. Now is the time to secure a title to heaven. . . . I suppose every day adds to our number, even Sundays. Children come into the world without respect of days; so [people] do into the territory. Do labor a little in our behalf.⁴³

After an exploring tour for the Society as far north as Dubuque, Turner again sent a plea to the eastern churches, this time for twelve more home missionaries. The following year he asked in his annual report: "Ought the six missionaries (in the field) to be left alone to labor with a congregation of about a thousand added to the territory every month?"

For a time these Macedonian cries for help seemed to go unanswered, and the tireless missionary had moments of discouragement. He wrote later of this phase:

For twelve years [i.e., beginning at Quincy] I had written so many letters to call men into this Western field that I had about concluded it was a waste of time and paper. And especially after I got to Iowa. I had heard so often of ministers, boxed and marked "for Iowa," *lost on the road*, that I had lost pretty much all faith in spiritual transportation companies. I did not really believe that a batch of them would come worth their insurance policy. One of the number wrote me that my want of faith in their intention operated as a stimulant to make them determined to come anyhow.

When he began to receive inquiries from a group of students at Andover Seminary, he answered, with uncharacteristic skepticism:

June 7, 1843. My dear young brother, I am happy to hear a reinforcement from Andover is *talked of*. I hope it may not end in *talk*, but I *fear*. I have received so many promises of the kind that they do not now even begin to excite *hope*. If your professors should write and say that the whole class would start for Iowa in two weeks, I should expect to see, *in the course of two years*, one or two of them who could find no other resting-place for the soles of their feet.⁴⁴

This time, however, the spiritual transportation company was really at work.

Meanwhile, expansive educational plans were the order of the day

in the new and hopeful West. At the 1837-1838 session of the Wisconsin Territorial Assembly, held in Burlington, charters were authorized for eighteen institutions for the territory, including eleven west of the Mississippi. One of these, "a college for the purpose of educating youth, the style, name and title whereof shall be 'The Philandrian College of the town of Denmark,'" was placed under the direction of seven trustees by act of January 19, 1838. The incentive for this action came from a family in Princeton, Illinois, who had contributed to the funds of Illinois College and selected Denmark as a proper site in the Black Hawk Purchase. Loss by fire of the family mills at Princeton and the failure of an emissary to secure funds in the East caused the projectors to abandon the enterprise, and with it the plan to establish several academies as feeders for the "Philandrian."⁴⁵

Less ambitious, but more in keeping with the pioneer conditions, was the actual fulfilment of Asa Turner's desire for an institution of learning at Denmark. The owners gave seventy-two town lots and fourteen out lots for such an institution, and the territorial legislature of Iowa, on February 3, 1843, granted a charter for Denmark Academy, which thus became the oldest incorporated educational institution in the Territory of Iowa.⁴⁶ The catalogue stated the pedagogical theory of the founders as follows: "Education consists in the amount of manhood, spiritual as well as intellectual, which is developed, and not in the abundance of facts with which the mind is gorged." Instruction began in the church building in September, 1845.

The first principal, Albert Anderson Sturges, came from Granville, Ohio, by way of school teaching at Washington, Iowa. After two years at Denmark he completed his own education at Wabash College and Yale Seminary. He was ordained at Denmark in 1851 and later had a remarkable career as missionary of the American Board in Micronesia. His successor for five years was the Rev. George W. Drake, an Oberlin man, who worked as a stonemason before and after school, taught briefly at Eddyville before coming to Denmark, and afterward taught at Oskaloosa. Then came Henry Kingman Edson, under whose twenty-seven years' service the Academy saw its greatest growth, from an enrollment of 18 up to 272. He was an Amherst man, served as principal of Hopkins Academy at his birthplace, Hadley, Massachusetts, studied theology at Andover, and was licensed to preach before going West. During his principalship, in 1867, a

commodious stone academy building was erected, greatly enlarging an older structure. His later years were spent as professor of didactics at Iowa College, and then in retirement at Grinnell.⁴⁷ Denmark Academy did yeoman service until, like so many other private preparatory schools, it was submerged by the rising tide of public education in the secondary as well as in the elementary field.



☆ IV ☆

The Iowa Band

IF THE first impulse in Iowa came from Yale, the decisive one came from Andover. However, even there the Yale influence was indirectly traceable. Among the budding theologians at Andover early in the forties there was a relatively mature young man named Edwin Bela Turner. Born at Great Barrington, Massachusetts, October 2, 1812, he was the son of a well-known temperance lecturer. Converted at sixteen, he and other young men began to hold religious services, out of which a church developed. When his family moved to Godfrey,

Illinois, Edwin attended Illinois College, graduating in 1840. He carried with him to Andover his knowledge of and interest in the West and a personal acquaintance with Asa Turner.

As early as March, 1841, he wrote from Andover to "Father" Turner, expressing his inclination toward the Mississippi Valley as a field of work, but with doubtful optimism about his fellow-students at the Seminary: "The majority of Andover students have not sufficient zeal and energy for the West, but would soon acquire [them] by mingling among Western people." He was writing for information on behalf of the "Domestic Branch of the Society of Inquiry." The next January another letter came to Denmark from three members of this "Society," including two later members of the Iowa Band, James J. Hill and Horace Hutchinson. "Our minds," they wrote, "are drawn towards the Great Valley. . . . Compared with the needs of other parts of our country, or even of the world, at this juncture, many of us incline to believe that those of three or four North-western states and territories are particularly urgent and imperative."⁴⁸

The solitary home missionary at Denmark had made so many vain pleas for help from the East that he could not be sanguine over this approach. Ready enough to send cautious advice to the young men at the Seminary, he yet had little hope that he would ever see them. But by that time the die was cast at Andover.

Ephraim Adams, leading member and historian of the Iowa Band, tells the story in which disabling sickness turns out to be a means of grace:

It was a beautiful evening in the summer of 1842, when the students of Andover Seminary assembled in the chapel, to be led as usual in their evening devotions by one of the venerable professors of those days. Among them sat one, pale and emaciated by continued illness, — one of whom friends began to whisper, "Unless relieved soon, we fear he will never be well, even if he lives." . . . He had entered the chapel that evening under the combined influence of his studies and his disease. He longed for the time when he should be a preacher; but then, could he be one? Even the duties of the Seminary were a burden almost too heavy to be borne. . . . Just then there came to his mind the thought that there was a field where the necessary labors of a minister would probably counteract, rather than foster, his disease; and that field the West. With this came a rush of other thoughts, of things that he had heard and read about the West. It would be self-denial to go; but then, in self-denial there would come strength of character, with the gain of a

more conscious consecration to God. Then there was the probable influence of his going upon fellow students, friends, Christians, and the Church, for to go West then was truly a missionary work. . . . The spell was upon him, and he seemed to stand alone as before God, — his feelings, his petitions, all embodied in one sentiment, one feeling, — a position of soul in which his one desire was, "Lord, prepare me for whatever field Thou hast before me. Prepare me for it, and make me willing to enter it."

It was Daniel Lane, and his trouble was the endemic Andover disease, dyspepsia. He was a Maine man, graduate of Bowdoin in 1838, and had taught school before beginning his theological studies. He was in the middle year, when "the student's heart kindles with desire to preach the great truths of the Bible to his fellow men." His urgent thoughts had the absorbing power of a vision. "He went out that evening not as he came in. Henceforth the prayer was, 'May I be found in the right place, doing the right work!'"⁴⁹

The next spring, in their senior year, Daniel Lane and two of his classmates, Hutchinson and Ephraim Adams, were on a tramp through the hills, talking about their future field of service. Their feelings inclined toward the West. Hutchinson suggested a common enterprise: "If we and some others of our classmates could only go out together, and take possession of some field where we could have the ground and work together, what a grand thing it would be!" Soon after, a meeting of the students was called to hear an elder of a church in Cincinnati present the claims of the West. At the hour appointed, the elder failed to appear, but a Western meeting was held none the less. A letter was read from a little church on the frontier — it was from Ira Houston of Denmark, Iowa — calling for young men for the new territory; two of the professors also urged the claims of fields of labor outside of New England. One of the seniors, Harvey Adams, was so impressed that he pondered the question through a sleepless night and the following day, and finally came to the decision, "I am for the West, where needed, and where most needed."⁵⁰

There followed a series of evening meetings for prayer and consultation, to which the men already mentioned quietly invited others. The meetings, secret at first, were held in the dark in a corner of the unlighted Seminary library, Daniel Lane, as assistant librarian, having access to the building. Various western locations were discussed. Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin were, they thought, already comparatively well provided. Missouri was suggested, but there slavery

was an obstacle. There remained the newest territory of all, Iowa. Correspondence was opened with the secretaries of the Home Missionary Society and with Asa Turner.

Daniel Lane was the first to come to a decision: "I am going to settle this question so far as I am concerned," he announced. "We have been thinking about it long enough to conclude one way or another." One evening, as he walked with a friend, after a day spent in fasting and prayer, he said, "Well, I am going to Iowa. Whether any one else goes or not, I am going." "And I think I will go with you," said quiet Ephraim Adams. Here was the nucleus. Gradually others joined in this decision, until there were twelve, one of whom, however, desisted at the last for fear of the climate, though Asa Turner had written: "Effect of climate on healthy persons about as great as going from Andover to Lowell."⁵¹

Evidently Asa Turner's skepticism about recruiting for the West began to thaw before the warm interest of these young men at Andover. He answered their many questions with characteristic homespun humor and practicality, especially as to the advisability of marriage:

Don't come here expecting paradise. Our climate will permit men to live long enough, if they do their duty. If they do not, no matter how soon they die. Chances for health, if one is inclined to pulmonary complaints, I think are greater than in New England. I have known many persons improved by a residence here. We have some two hundred people connected with our society here. I doubt whether one in fifty has ever had fever and ague. I never knew so much good health for so long a time. Office and station are but little regarded here. People will not speak of you or to you, as the Rev. Mr. So-and-So, but will call you simply by your name, and your wife Peggy or Polly, or whatever her name may be. . . . Come prepared to expect small things, rough things. Lay aside all your dandy whims boys learn in college, and take a few lessons of your grandmothers, before you come. Get clothes, firm, durable, something that will go through the hazel brush without tearing. Don't be afraid of a good, hard hand, or of a tanned face. If you keep free from a hard heart, you will do well. Get wives of the old Puritan stamp, such as honored the distaff and the loom, those who can pail a cow, and churn the butter, and be proud of a jean dress or a checked apron. Tell those two or three who think of leading out a sister this fall, we will try to find homes as good as Keokuk, the high chief and his lady live in, and my wife will have the kettle of mush and the johnny-cake ready by some cold night in November.⁵²

With one exception, the men who formed the Iowa Band were

New Englanders (one was a New Yorker), and all but three were graduates of New England colleges, three of Amherst, two of Bowdoin, one each of Dartmouth, Harvard (by way of Yale), and Vermont. One each came from Union College, New York University, and Illinois College. They were all members of the Andover class of 1843. The names of the eleven were: Ephraim Adams, Harvey Adams, Ebenezer Alden, Jr., James Jeremiah Hill, Horace Hutchinson, Daniel Lane, Erastus Ripley, Alden Burrill Robbins, William Salter, Benjamin Adams Spaulding, and Edwin Bela Turner.

Despite Father Turner's sage advice, these young missionaries had little conception of the conditions they were to encounter in the field of their choice. William Salter had a cozy plan for his missionary activity: "I am going to Iowa; and, when I get there, I am going to have my study and library. Then I am going to write two sermons a week; and, when the Sabbath comes, I am going to preach them, and the people, if they want the gospel, must come to hear." The reality was somewhat different.

Well, he came to Iowa to find his home, for the time being, in the house of kind Christian people, in which the one room must answer all the needs of the family, with those of the new minister superadded. The familiar quilt of those days partitioned off one corner for his bedroom and study; and his study-chair was a saddle. As for written sermons, they were, of course, few; and if any one was compelled to go about in search of the people, instead of being sought by them, it was William Salter.⁵³

Another, most likely Ephraim Adams,

. . . pictured to himself a country destitute of preachers, and a people, with the recollections of Christian homes fresh in their memories, all eager to hear the gospel. He had fancied, that, when once among them, the simple announcement that he came as a minister would be enough immediately to draw about him those famishing for the bread of life. "Oh, what a joy," thought he, "to be a home missionary!"

Imagine the change in his views as he found, in the place to which he was assigned, the great majority of the people not only just as indifferent as elsewhere, but, owing to the sharp, worldly features of a stirring Western town, even more so. The few that had any interest at all in religious things were cut up into cliques and denominations of all sorts, some of which he had never heard of before; and, to meet their wants, there was a minister or preacher of some kind at every corner of the streets, making it, as the Sabbath came, not only difficult to find a place or an hour in which to preach, but more difficult still to secure anything like a stated congregation

from Sabbath to Sabbath. Here was actual experience as against the theory of home-missionary life.

Later wisdom led Ephraim Adams to this mature afterthought:

Often the young minister finds himself coming awkwardly into his calling, because he seeks to carry into it the full panoply of the schools, or of favorite theological giants, instead of going to his work simply in the name of the Lord. The process of getting to work so as to work successfully, in which everyone has so much to learn that has not been taught him by books and teachers, is always more or less a process of disappointments and failures. A modification of previous views and plans becomes necessary. There are frequent calls for self-adjustments and adaptations, to meet unthought-of exigencies; so that the man often, in the course of a few years, comes out far different in many respects from what he had proposed. So it proved in the case of the classmates, who, in a few short days, were taken from the quiet scenes of student life at Andover, and set down — one here, and another there — as Home Missionaries in Iowa.⁵⁴

Having made up their minds to a common endeavor, "each to found a church and all a college," the adventurous Band lost no time. It was the fateful year 1843, which, according to William Miller's calculations from Daniel and Revelations, was to see the cataclysmic end of the world, when the Millerites, clad in white garments, went to housetops and hilltops to await their translation. For these young men it was instead the year of a great beginning. Nor were they allowed to forget the educational aspect of their mission. Shortly before their departure they were invited to the home of Samuel Farrar, treasurer of the Seminary, who urged that a part of their missionary work in Iowa should be the early founding of a college, and who then gave each of them a copy of the charter and constitution of Phillips Academy.

Near the close of the term at the Seminary, September 3, 1843, a public meeting was held in the South Church at Andover, in recognition of this unusual group of Christian apostles to the frontier. Leonard Bacon, "the Congregational Pope of New England," himself twenty years out of Andover, came from New Haven for the sermon, and Dr. Milton Badger of the Home Missionary Society advised the Band: "You go where you will find a soil of surpassing richness, all covered with beautiful flowers. But remember that the soil is yet in its natural state, and must be all turned up. Those flowers, though beautiful to the eye, are but flowers of weeds, wild and useless. They must be rooted out and better seed cast in their place."⁵⁵

Asa Turner had written: "Well then, come on; come all of you directly to my house; come here to us, and we can then help you to your respective fields of labor." So Denmark, Lee County, Iowa, was to be provisional journey's end, and boxes were shipped to Burlington, Iowa, via New Orleans. Two of the Band were detained for a year, Hill by the illness and death of his father, Ripley by a graduate appointment at the Seminary. The other nine were to rendezvous on Tuesday, October 3, at the Delavan House (a temperance hotel) in Albany, the next morning to take the train westward. Hutchinson was delayed a day by the death of a friend. Lane and Robbins had married, evidently unaffrighted by Asa Turner's warnings.

A month's travel lay ahead, with experiences quite new to the hardy adventurers. The westward journey from Albany began Wednesday, October 4, 1843, the first stage ending at Buffalo, where they spent Sunday after the inevitable trip to Niagara Falls; several of the pilgrims spoke at an evening service in the First Presbyterian Church. Monday, October 9, they boarded the steamer *Missouri* bound for Chicago over the Great Lakes:

. . . head winds and rough sea without, and seasickness and monotony on board, made it anything but a pleasant passage. Late on Saturday night, in stormy weather, they had only reached Milwaukee. There most of them left the boat to tarry for the Sabbath. A few, either too sick to leave their berths, or for some other special reason, remained on board to arrive at Chicago in the morning. Those tarrying for the Sabbath had a quiet, pleasant day, and on Monday found a boat to take them on their way to join those who had gone before them. And so the Lakes were passed.

Chicago, then a frontier town of eight thousand inhabitants, was the western terminus of lake transportation, but was without rail connections. Farmers drove in from all parts of Illinois to find a market for their produce. Farm wagons were thus available for the westward trip, and in such the pilgrims continued their hegira, some across the prairie to Davenport and down the Mississippi by boat, others by the longer southerly course direct to Burlington. They had laid in a supply of canvas wagon coverings, blankets, coffee, bread, and bacon for the trek across the prairie.

Now began Western life; — and, for a while, it was well enjoyed. Now in a slough in the bottom-lands of some sluggish stream, and now high up on the rolling prairie: what a vast extent of land meets the eye, — land in every direction, with scarce a shrub or a tree to be seen! How like a black ribbon

upon a carpet of green stretches away in the distance before them the road they are to travel! And occasionally some far-off cloth-covered wagon like their own is descried, like a vessel at sea, rightly named a "Prairie schooner." In the settled portions, what farms! what fences! how unlike their Eastern homes! No stones, no barns, children and pigs running together. Then what places in which to sleep! and what breakfasts! If, after a morning ride, they made a lucky stop, such honey! such milk! such butter and eggs! and all so cheap — twelve and a half cents a meal!

Day by day they traveled on, gazing, wondering, remarking and being remarked upon. Some thought them "land-sharks," some Mormons. But even this became at last wearisome and monotonous. On Saturday afternoon, the southern party, worn with travel, halted at Galesburg for another Sabbath's rest.

Monday morning found them early on their way, refreshed, and eager for the end. "To-day," thought they, "the setting sun is to look with us upon the great Mississippi;" and so it proved. For an hour or so, near the close of the day, they had been winding and jolting through timbered bottom-lands among huge trees, grand in their silence, gazing the while earnestly forward, till at last it was seen, — the smooth, broad bosom of the great river, with the last silvery rays of the setting sun playing upon it. "Three cheers," cried they, "for the Mississippi!" Their hearty cheers rang out upon the forest; and, in a few moments more, they were on the river's bank. But the ferry-boat had just made its last trip for the day; and, though they hallooed for help, no one responded to the call. The twilight deepened. It was soon dark, save as the stars and the moonbeams sparkled and danced upon the waters. The halloeing had ceased as useless, and things looked desperate; but the dip of a paddle was heard, and a canoe soon came in sight. It was a chance to cross the river, — twenty-five cents apiece, and a bark of limited accommodations. Brothers Salter and Turner declared they would rather stay by the stuff all night. The others paid the price, and stepped in. It was a heavy load for a light canoe, and all must remain motionless. So, in stillness and silence, with God's stars looking down upon them, they were paddled across to Iowa's shore.

Now in Iowa, at Burlington! Kind friends, even here, were waiting their arrival; and, as the news spread, they were soon constrained to turn from tavern fare to Christian homes. The watchers by the stuff came over in the morning; and before another night they had traveled fifteen miles on Iowa soil to Denmark. They had seen the Western pastor in his home, and he had scattered them for hospitality among the members of his flock. The northern party soon came in safety. All were to rest a while, and then scatter.

It was October 23 when they sighted the promised land.⁵⁶

Such an influx of new preachers was unexampled in the young life of the Territory of Iowa. In anticipation, Asa Turner and Reuben Gaylord, both veterans of five years in the Iowa country, had taken

a long tour in September to spy out the land for the newcomers. Sunday, November 5, 1843, was a notable day for Denmark — nine young ministers from the East to be formally welcomed, seven of them to be ordained: Ephraim Adams, Alden, Hutchinson, Lane, Salter, Spaulding, and Edwin Turner. With them were William A. Thompson, a Yale man who had fallen in with the Band on their western trip, and a licentiate, Charles Granger, who had come in July. Pilgrim pioneers already in the territory, in addition to Asa Turner, Reuben Gaylord, Julius A. Reed, Oliver Emerson, and John C. Holbrook, were Charles Burnham, a Dartmouth man who had come in 1841 from teaching in the Missionary Institute at Quincy, Illinois (joining Apthorp there); and Allen B. Hitchcock, whose family had come from Great Barrington, Massachusetts, to Iowa in 1837. He had studied at Harvard, was graduated from Illinois College in 1838 and from Yale Seminary in 1841, then became pastor of the church at Davenport. In 1843 there were fourteen little Congregational churches in Iowa, with a total of about three hundred members, one-third of these at Denmark.⁵⁷

The missionaries already in the field were overjoyed at this sudden more than doubling of their number. Reuben Gaylord said: "Such a day I had never seen before; such a day I had never expected to see in my lifetime. The most I could do, when alone, was to weep tears of joy, and return thanks to God. 'Father' Turner was radiant. He said: — 'For three weeks past, I have felt like weeping all the time. My heart has overflowed. O what a week we have had! The Lord be praised!' " ⁵⁸

Before the ordination there had been a meeting to decide upon future locations.

The young men were willing to place themselves in Father Turner's hands for assignments, but he was not willing to accept the responsibility. He and Mr. Gaylord met the young men, spread a map before them, and described the field, and then retired, leaving them to adjust the matter among themselves. The wonderful thing "was done with perfect harmony and good will, and quickly done, without an unpleasant word or a jealous thought; and everyone was satisfied." Hutchinson inclined to Burlington, and Harvey Adams to Farmington. A man from Keosauqua, seeking a minister for that place, picked out Daniel Lane. Bloomington, now Muscatine, a smart town of four hundred, seemed to be the place for one of the brides of the Band, and so Alden B. Robbins went down there to stay a little while, say fifty years or more! Out in the New Purchase, in the region about what is now

Ottumwa, some rough work was to be done. Brother Spaulding said he would as soon take that field as any. William Salter and E. B. Turner rather liked the idea of exploring fields to the north in Jones and Jackson Counties. Ephraim Adams selected Mt. Pleasant, and Mr. Alden, Solon.⁵⁹

Spaulding's experience indicates the conditions found by the more adventurous brethren. Five days after ordination he reached his field, November 10, 1843: "Their frail dwellings, slight fences, beaten trails and newly made graves [of the Indians] are still seen; and they are often passing and repassing, carrying away corn which has been raised on their fields, as if unwilling to leave a land which has been so long their home."⁶⁰ On September 15, 1844, a church was organized and a communion service held where less than two years before "savages were sitting and lying upon the floor, smoking their pipes and singing their songs." A few months later Spaulding formed another church at Eddyville, holding his first service in an Indian wicki-up. A year later he began another church at Ottumwa, a village then consisting of fourteen buildings.

The question of ecclesiastical affiliation for the newly established churches was important and as yet unsettled. At Buffalo the young men had been told that there were only Presbyterians to unite with, which was almost true, because of the practical working of the Plan of Union. Asa Turner had been positive in answer to a question about the best polity for the West: "Congregationalism, the world over!" But when he met the group at Burlington, he was noncommittal — ". . . if they wished to be Presbyterians, Presbytery was to meet at such a time and place, if Congregationalists, the Association would meet at Denmark." They all chose Congregational ordination, and though three of them took charge of Presbyterian churches, these also soon became Congregational. In at least one case, holy guile solved the problem. The church was Presbyterian; many of the members, however, were Congregationalists. Unfortunately, there was but one ruling elder, who made himself obnoxious by showing a "dictatorial spirit" and involving the church in debt. In order to circumvent the unpopular brother, a young man made a motion that all the members be elected ruling elders; the motion prevailed, and the majority then proceeded to transform the body into a Congregational church.⁶¹ There was pressure from the Home Missionary Society upon the new churches for organic union with the Presbyterians, and an elaborate plan of union was actually adopted by the Iowa Congrega-

tional Association in 1843, but since Presbytery never gave official recognition to this advance, nothing further was done in the matter.

It would be difficult to estimate the value of the pioneering service rendered, often under the most trying conditions, by the members of the Iowa Band and their few predecessors. Among them they gave over five hundred years of ministry to Iowa, most of them spending a lifetime of service in this field. Historians of Iowa record their appreciation of the work accomplished by these young pioneers:

What they did, suffered, and endured constitute one of the religious and educational epics of Iowa history. At first they found more fasts than feasts. They preached under the trees and in rooms over saloons. . . . No like group of men exerted a wider or more lasting influence in the making of Iowa. They were nowhere the mass, but everywhere the leaven. . . . It is in part due to these deeply religious, educated, cultured, courageous men and women, that the Iowa of today belongs to the "Bible Belt". . . with the lowest per cent of illiteracy in the United States.⁶²

It was the custom of the Band, at periodic meetings of the Association, to draw up a "testimony" for all surviving members to sign. At Burlington on June 6, 1863, in the twentieth year after their coming, there were seven to sign the statement recording "with gratitude their testimony to the faithfulness and care with which Divine Providence and grace have upheld them, their continued and confirmed trust in the promises of the great Head of the Church, their joy and gladness of heart in the work." The last of these statements, dated again at Burlington, May 24, 1901, found only Ephraim Adams and William Salter left to record

. . . their devout thanksgiving to the great Head of the Church for the continued care of divine Providence over them to the fifty-eighth year of their ministry in Iowa, their grateful recollections of the goodness of God in giving to them and to their brethren who have rested from their labors, a humble part in planting Christian civilization in this beloved Commonwealth, and their fervent prayers that the fruits of righteousness may in every part of the state be sown in peace of them that make peace in all the future years of its history.⁶³

One of the precious heirlooms in the possession of Grinnell College is a silver-headed ebony cane, presented to Benjamin Spaulding at Ottumwa in 1864, and inscribed with the name of each surviving oldest member of the Band. It thus passed from Spaulding to Lane, to Harvey Adams, to Robbins, to Ephraim Adams, and finally to Salter, after whose death in 1910 it came to the College.

To this brief record of the Iowa Band, let us add a final word on their leader, Asa Turner. After thirty years' service to the church at Denmark, Father Turner found in failing health and advancing years reasons for retirement, and in October, 1868, he became pastor emeritus. His last years were spent quietly at Oskaloosa. He suffered a paralytic stroke in 1878 and an irreparable loss in the death of his wife in 1882, a year and a half after their golden wedding anniversary. He died December 13, 1885, at the age of eighty-six.

The General Association of Iowa passed this tribute to his noble Christian character:

A Christian experience deep and thorough, formed under peculiar obstacles in youth, developed into an unwearied evangelism; an industrious and conscientious use of his time, energies, and means for the salvation of men; an ever-vigilant care of the churches among which he labored; a constant interest in the spread of the gospel every-where; and a notable courage in bearing reproach and facing danger for the cause of truth and righteousness. . . . The acuteness of his mind; his genial and incisive mother-wit; the kindly interest that he took in all whom he could benefit — especially all of the household of faith; his benign and gracious patriarchal manners as age wore on; his utter lack of self-seeking; his constant beneficence, won him, without effort of his own, the dear esteem and fraternal and filial love of Christians and ministers of Christ beyond all denominational lines. And reverence for his great and thorough nobleness, simplicity, and truth of character, and his consecrated life, deepened in all who knew him to the end.⁶⁴



A College for Iowa

COLLEGE building was in the minds of all these pilgrims of Iowa. While the members of the Iowa Band were still at Andover, Ephraim Adams said to his associates: "If each one of us can only plant one good permanent church, and all together build a college, what a work that would be!"⁶⁵ At the same time, half a continent distant, Asa Turner said to Julius A. Reed: "We must take steps to found a college."

At the meeting of the Congregational Association on October 6,

1842, a committee was appointed to report upon the expediency of founding a college in the Territory of Iowa, but this committee reported that a discussion of the subject was inexpedient, and recommended that another committee be appointed to "correspond and take such other measures as may be necessary." At the next meeting, April 13, 1843, Asa Turner reported for this committee that a letter had been addressed to the editor of the *Congregational Journal* in New Hampshire. After the arrival of the Band in Iowa, its members were "a little surprised and not a little gratified" when at one of the first meetings at Denmark they were invited to "tarry a few moments to listen to plans for founding a college." ⁶⁶

On March 12, 1844, a meeting of ministers and others interested in founding a college was held at Denmark; a plan was approved to find a tract of land subject to entry, obtain funds (of course in the East) for its purchase, "and then sell it out in parcels . . . to settlers favorable to the object; thus securing an endowment for the institution and a community in which it might prosper." ⁶⁷ (This was an idea common to settlers in a new country, and, among others, it was later exploited by J. B. Grinnell in the establishment of the town and the college that bear his name.) A committee of exploration with Julius A. Reed as chairman was to find a suitable location.

A favorable report was made to a meeting on April 16, 1844, of eleven Congregational and five New School Presbyterian ministers. They approved a resolution presented by Reuben Gaylord: "That we deem it expedient without delay to adopt measures preparatory to laying the foundation of an institution of learning in this territory." The site proposed by the committee was on high wooded land in Buchanan County, on the Wapsipinicon River, which offered water power for miles. ⁶⁸ (Three years later a trapper was to found at this point the town of Independence.) The report was adopted unanimously by the brethren, who now formed the "Iowa College Association." They then appointed Asa Turner as their agent to seek funds in the East for the purchase of this tract, those present agreeing to defray his expenses from their scanty resources.

Asa Turner went East the next month, and on May 28 and 29 met in Boston with a group consisting of ten prominent ministers and two laymen who had just organized a "Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West." They considered his report with care, and sent him home with wise though partly adverse

counsel. They considered it expedient "to begin to put things in train for the foundation of a college in Iowa," but were definitely opposed to the land speculation plan. They advised instead the choice of a favorable location; the securing, if possible by donation, of say forty acres for college grounds, and as much more land as might be donated; to raise money by outright gift, without offering "peculiar privileges" in return; to get churches to make annual contributions; to "avoid the contraction of debts as a first principle"; to begin instruction on a moderate scale, enlarging plans as means warranted; and to hope for help from the East when plans were so matured that they could "secure the confidence of the Eastern mind."⁶⁹

The pioneering brethren in Iowa perforce accepted this advice from the East, and at their next Association meeting, October 6, 1845, they appointed a committee on location, which selected Davenport as the most promising site for the college, "a point which, at that day, for ease of access and beauty of situation, stood forth without a rival." Asa Turner had been impressed by its beauty on his first acquaintance with the Iowa country. In June, 1846, this choice by the committee was approved, "provided the citizens would raise fourteen hundred dollars, and provide certain specified grounds for a location."⁷⁰ At this historic meeting, James J. Hill of the Band laid a silver dollar on the table and asked that trustees be appointed to care for it as the nucleus of an endowment.⁷¹ A board of twelve trustees was accordingly selected, and thus, on June 10, 1846, Iowa College began its corporate existence.

These first trustees were Ephraim Adams, Harvey Adams, Ebenezer Alden, Reuben Gaylord, J. C. Holbrook, Daniel Lane, Julius A. Reed, A. B. Robbins, Asa Turner; Presbyterian ministers J. M. Boal and W. W. Woods, and W. H. Starr, layman. Of the original trustees, Boal served only a year, Alden three years, Starr five, Lane seven, Woods ten, Gaylord eleven, Holbrook and Reed twenty-two, Turner forty, Harvey Adams and Robbins fifty, Ephraim Adams sixty-one years. Of the other pioneers, Salter was a trustee from 1850 to 1863, Oliver Emerson from 1852 to 1883.

In 1847, after the citizens of Davenport had pledged \$1,362 and thirteen lots, Articles of Incorporation were recorded at Davenport, signed by five of the Iowa Band, four of the earlier pioneers, three Presbyterian ministers, and three laymen. Of these founders, four were educated at Yale, two at Amherst, and one each at Bowdoin,

Dartmouth, Vermont, Norwich, Trinity, Union, and Maryville, Tennessee.

The original charter reads as follows:

Be it known to all whom it may concern that we, Asa Turner, Jr., Daniel Lane, John C. Holbrook, Julius A. Reed, Harvey Adams, Reuben Gaylord, Alden B. Robbins, Ebenezer Alden, Jr., Ephraim Adams, William H. Starr, William W. Woods, Gamaliel C. Beaman, Henry Q. Jennison, James McManus and Charles Atkinson, do for ourselves, our associates and our successors, adopt the following articles of association, in order to become a body corporate and politic, agreeable to an act of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, entitled "An Act to authorize general incorporations for other purposes than those of pecuniary profit," and approved February 24, 1847.

Article 1. This body shall be styled "The Trustees of Iowa College."

Article 2. The object of this body shall be to found and sustain an institution of learning to be called Iowa College and to be located at Davenport, Scott County, Iowa.

Article 3. The object of this institution shall be to promote the general interests of education and to qualify young men for the different professions and for the honorable discharge of the various duties of life.

Article 4. The Board of Trustees shall have power to remove any member who shall be guilty of dishonorable conduct or who shall neglect to attend to the duties of his office. They shall also fill all vacancies and may at any annual meeting add to their number; provided that the whole number of trustees shall not exceed twenty-one. No instructor in the college shall be a member of the board except the president, who shall be a member *ex officio*.

Article 5. The clerk of the board of trustees shall reside in Davenport, or its immediate vicinity, and the records of the board shall be deposited in his hands.

Article 6. There shall be an annual meeting of the board of trustees at Davenport on such day as shall hereafter be designated by them.

Article 7. The first meeting of the board of trustees shall be held at Davenport, on Thursday, the seventeenth day of June, 1847, at which meeting rules and regulations for the government of the board shall be adopted, which rules and regulations may be altered or amended at any annual meeting.

Signed by the members. Filed for record, June 17, 1847, at 11 o'clock a.m. Recorded in Book E of Deeds, pages 355 and 356. Jno. D. Evans, Recorder, Scott County, Iowa.⁷²

Once the location of the new college had been secured, instructions were given "to plan and erect a building, which shall be a permanent college building, in good taste, and which, when enclosed, shall not exceed in cost the sum of \$2,000." In keeping with the injunction of

the eastern society, trustees and members of the Association pledged themselves to make up any deficiency up to \$600.

So the building was erected, and all bills paid. It was one-story brick, located near Western Avenue between Sixth and Seventh streets in Davenport. It measured thirty-five by fifty feet, with the chapel on one side, and two recitation rooms across the hall. This was ample space for the modest beginnings, for when the first term opened in November, 1848, there were but two students to meet Erastus Ripley of the Band, professor of ancient languages, whose salary was to be \$500. "There were appropriate opening exercises, including an address and dedicatory prayer. It was a windy, wintry day. Not many were present, but a few were there, with hearts full of gratitude to God for all success hitherto in the enterprise wherein by faith was seen a college for Iowa." ⁷³

A graduate of the early years, later a distinguished educator, Dr. Henry Holmes Belfield, described the beginnings as follows:

The solitary building of the College was a cheap brick edifice of three rooms, a large room which served as chapel, lecture room, general assembly hall, recitation room. One of the two smaller rooms contained the chemical and physical apparatus . . . meager enough. No laboratory, not even for the professor. Science teaching was then, as elsewhere at that time, by lecture and recitation. An occasional experiment, such as could be performed with the simplest apparatus, relieved the monotony of text-book and lecture. The other little dingy room, furnished with wooden benches, one chair and a blackboard, was the mathematical recitation room. When four recitations were conducted at one time, a professor's house furnished the necessary fourth room.

Thus was re-enacted on the banks of the Mississippi the old story of the founding of New England colleges. Harvard was founded on a gift of 260 books and £780 bequeathed by a Puritan divine. Yale was built on forty folios, when ten ministers presented a number of books, each saying: "I give these books for the founding of a college in the colony." Dartmouth began humbly as an Indian charity school. Williams was founded on a small bequest for a "free school." Amherst grew out of a small village academy and was hampered for twenty-five years by a crippling debt.

From the first, the founders of Iowa College were faithful to the legacy of liberty that was theirs as heirs of the Congregational tradition; and no doubt they remembered the difficulties created for And-

over by attempts to perpetuate doctrinal differences through the control of seminary funds. They were determined that their new college should be free from ecclesiastical domination. So it happened that, though New School brethren had cooperated in the founding, they refused to accept the offer of Presbyterian funds for the endowment of a professorship, coupled with the condition that control of the chair be vested in Presbytery. Since then there has never been any question that the trustees, as a self-perpetuating body, had undivided powers of management and control, nor have the Congregational churches ever sought to limit them in their liberty.⁷⁴

Iowa College began, naturally, as a preparatory school, and it gave the first instruction of any kind in Davenport. (Not until two years later was a district school opened there.) The first catalogue, for 1849-1850, sets the tuition charge at \$5.00 a term, and the cost of board at \$1.50 a week. The catalogue for 1850-1851, when there was a freshman class, sets the tuition in the Preparatory Department at \$15.00, in the College at \$24.00 for the year.

It should be remembered that the dollar then had far greater purchasing power, in most directions, than today. A good six-room house could be built for \$800, "and \$2500 secured a town mansion of the finest architectural design." In Iowa at that time beef and pork sold at two to three cents a pound, corn at twelve and a half cents a bushel, and other agricultural products in proportion. On the other hand, clothing, furnishings, and books were more expensive than in the East, and living was necessarily severely simple.⁷⁵

Ephraim Adams remembered "years of anxiety and labor" for the infant College:

. . . teachers toiling, trustees planning, and the executive committee trying to execute, meeting often, with much to be done, but never able to do it. When they could do nothing else, they could at least pray. So they worked and prayed and worked. Every year, as the churches came together in their annual association, the story of the college was told, its wants rehearsed, and their prayers and alms besought. This was not without response.

In 1849 there were subscribed for it four hundred and forty-two dollars and sixty-five cents, — all but four of the subscribers being ministers; and the minutes of that year show the whole number of ministers to have been twenty-one. . . . As the old tale of pecuniary embarrassment was there told [in 1850], hearts were opened for relief, and four hundred and fifty dollars were pledged. In the minutes of that meeting it stands recorded that "the wives, also, of the ministers, anxious to share in the enterprise of founding

this college, resolved to raise a hundred dollars out of their own resources; and seventy dollars were subscribed by fourteen persons who were present." "It was a great sum then," said one of them, years afterward; "it was a great sum then, five dollars, but I managed to pay it."

So it went on for years afterwards. In 1852 a hundred and fifty-three dollars were raised; in 1853, seven hundred and eleven dollars. In this year came the first decided help from abroad — the donation from Deacon P. W. Carter of Waterbury, Connecticut, of five thousand and eighty dollars. It seemed a great sum.⁷⁶

This first considerable gift to the endowment came through the vigilance of someone who learned that money had been deposited, subject to the donor's order, with the home missionary treasurer in New York for the benefit of some educational institution in a new western state. On inquiry it was learned that the donor was Preserve Wood Carter, farmer, whose son Franklin was later to be president of Williams College. Correspondence with Mr. Carter, endorsed by Dr. Milton Badger of the Mission Board, brought a check for one hundred dollars, and later the magnificent gift of \$5,080, which, considering the time and the circumstances, was one of the most helpful contributions in the history of the College. It was used for the endowment of the Carter professorship of ancient languages.

In 1850 "the critical Ripley, a superior linguist,"⁷⁷ was joined by the Rev. Henry L. Bullen, who came from the East as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy (i.e., physics), and the first college freshman class of six members began its academic career. By this time growth had been rapid. There were 28 students in Latin and 8 in Greek, and a total of 70 in the Preparatory Department, conducted in 1851-1852 by Francis Adams Ball, in turn followed by Daniel Lane of the Band. The studies of the freshman year were modeled strictly after the common curriculum of the New England colleges: algebra, Davies' Legendre (geometry), Livy, Latin composition, Horace's *Odes*, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Herodotus, Worcester's history, and a manual of elocution. It is evident that the preparatory course had been heavily loaded with ancient languages.

In 1853 two new departments were opened in the College. The "tactful and winning" David S. Sheldon, M.A., "with the largest teaching gift (has Iowa ever had finer?)," came as professor of chemistry and natural (i.e., biological) science. A graduate of Middlebury College and Andover Seminary, he had taught at Burlington from 1850 to 1853, and after the removal of Iowa College to Grinnell, he

remained in Davenport to teach science at Griswold College. He was a member of the Board of Trustees of Iowa College from 1859 to 1861. Dr. Belfield wrote of him:

Professor David Sylvester Sheldon . . . taught the Natural Sciences. Having some means of his own, he was not wholly dependent upon the meager pittance called his salary. He therefore consecrated himself to his work, refusing flattering calls elsewhere. Professor Sheldon is my ideal of a Christian scholar and gentleman. Modest, gentle, a thorough scholar, a good citizen, he impressed himself deeply on every student, on none more than myself, who had the rare privilege of being one of his household during my junior and senior years.⁷⁸

Daniel Lane, "upright and godly," who "excelled most men in pure character and unadulterated goodness," was principal of the Preparatory Department, 1852-1855, and also, in 1853, professor of mental and moral science, a field of instruction which was no doubt added because a senior class was in the making. And indeed, in June, 1854, two brothers, John H. and William Windsor, received their diplomas, the first B.A.'s produced by any college in all the vast territory west of the Mississippi.⁷⁹ They were sons of an Englishman, John Wesley Windsor, who had been a midshipman in the British Navy (once in battle against our famous *Constitution*); he had been in Brazil, the Shetland Islands, and France. In 1820 he came to New York, was converted, and returned to England as a lay preacher. In 1844 he came to Iowa, became a deacon in John C. Holbrook's church in Dubuque, and was licensed as a home missionary ministering to many small communities in Iowa.⁸⁰

The brothers followed an invitation from Professor Ripley to attend Iowa College, with a promise to help them find work. They walked half the way from Maquoketa to Davenport, finding a ride in a stagecoach for the rest of the distance. The forty-mile walk home at Christmas was more exhausting, "a bitter cold day, wolves howling and the wind blowing hard." They worked their way through the four years, beginning with "chores"—feeding pigs, milking cows, sawing wood for four or five wood stoves. As labor was cheap, the day's work began at 4 a.m. While dressing on bitter winter mornings, they often stepped in the snow that had drifted into the attic room. Most of their studying had to be done after eight in the evening.⁸¹

Both brothers were graduated from Andover Seminary in 1857 and

ordained in 1858. Both began their pastoral service in Iowa, but whereas John's work was about equally divided between the West and New England, William's was largely confined to Iowa and Illinois. "In death they were not divided," except by distance; John died August 23, 1908, at LaGrange, Illinois; William, September 8, 1908, at Los Gatos, California.

It was in 1854 that the city fathers of Davenport began to make trouble for the new college, whose importance as a pioneering venture in higher education they did not appreciate. The growth of the town led them to cut a street through the campus. A new location was found on ten acres between Brady and Harrison streets, above Tenth, and an "elegant stone building with a boarding house" was erected in 1855 at a cost of \$22,000.

At this time prospects were bright. In his study of educational opportunities in the new state, N. Howe Parker says of Iowa College:

This College is located in the city of Davenport, and occupies grounds of great natural beauty, overlooking a wide expanse of prairie on the north, and commanding on the south a fine view of the Mississippi River and the adjacent cities. . . . The institution, under the care of well-qualified instructors, is furnished with a chemical and philosophical apparatus, and has a library of some 2000 volumes. With the new building . . . the College will be prepared to offer facilities for a thorough education, both in the preparatory and college departments.⁸²

Satisfaction with more commodious quarters for the growing college was short-lived, however. Again a street was thrust through the ten-acre tract, completely ruining it for the use intended. Finally in 1858 the trustees decided to sell the property and seek a site elsewhere, a decision reached because of a combination of circumstances: the persistence of the city authorities in building streets through the college grounds; lack of funds for necessary improvements; indebtedness caused by a breach of trust by the financial officer; fear that the College would not succeed in its present eastern location when rival colleges were starting in the interior, now rapidly being settled. Then, too, Davenport was not a congenial home for the College, an atmosphere probably stemming from the institution's temperance sentiment which found no favor among the strong liquor interests of the town.⁸³ However, in spite of some drawbacks Iowa College had made progress during the years in Davenport, enrolling 139 students in 1856. There had been some increase in funds. In 1856 Ephraim

Adams, acting as agent, had secured \$11,000 in subscriptions, "a large part of which was realized," and the Society for Western Colleges had made appropriations of about \$6,000 for current expenses. In 1859 the property of Iowa College was sold and proposals were invited for a new site.⁸⁴

God, in his providence, had one in preparation. A few years previous, in the heart of the State, a colony had settled with the express purpose of establishing, and at the outset had made provision for, an institution of learning. Here a school had already been commenced. After due thought and much prayer, it was concluded, with the general approval of all parties interested, that the fountain opened by the Father of Waters should be united with the rill of the prairies.⁸⁵

The next step was the merger of Iowa College with Grinnell University. Among the trustees were two men who were to play an important part in the future life of the College: J. B. Grinnell and George F. Magoun.



☆ VI ☆

Grinnell and the “University”

EPHRAIM Adams gives credit to Divine Providence for a succession of events which the unregenerate mind would describe as a series of fortunate accidents, producing unforeseen results. Fortuitous indeed were the steps by which the town of Grinnell and the college of the same name came to be established on the prairies of the young state of Iowa. The first line of causation we have described. The moving cause in the second line was a Congregational preacher named Josiah Bushnell Grinnell.⁸⁶

"Oh, that my friend Freeman were here! If Freeman were here, he would build an altar and make an offering." The speaker was James Bryce, author of "The Holy Roman Empire" and "The American Commonwealth." On the platform at Iowa College he has just been introduced to Josiah Bushnell Grinnell, *oekist-eponymus* of the town, and heard the story of its founding. Little wonder that the historian's mind reverted to the great days when Hellas was sowing her colonies from end to end of the Mediterranean, and to be an *oekist* was greater than to be a king — even a demigod.

So wrote an eminent graduate of Iowa College, J. Irving Manatt.⁸⁷

This *oekist*, Grinnell, like the pioneers from Yale and Andover, was of sturdy Pilgrim stock, and he too passed "through harsh ways to the stars." His ancestry was Huguenot and Scotch (Paris has several reminders of the name "Grenelle"), and he was born on a farm near the village of New Haven, Vermont, December 22, 1821, while his father — farmer, schoolmaster, and temperance lecturer — was addressing a Forefathers' Day Meeting in the village church. After the death of his father in 1831, the orphaned boy went to live with a guardian in the village. At fifteen he was entrusted with the care and sale of stock and the hiring of "hands" for the haying. He went to school only in the winter and, like Lincoln, studied grammar and arithmetic by a pine cone fire at a neighbor's. For a year, before he was seventeen, he taught a country school for ten dollars a month, boarding 'round at farm houses. During the next two years he attended Castleton Seminary, the Allen Classical School at Vergennes, and taught at Middlebury.

Intending to enter Yale College, he went to New Haven. But during a short visit at a young lady cousin's home in near-by Meriden, he was warned against such a course by her guardian, the venerable Rev. Erastus Ripley (no doubt a kinsman, but not father, of Ripley of the Band), a radical antislavery preacher, who felt that the tone of student morals at Yale and the old courses of study in the classics would endanger the boy's future. With a letter to President Beriah Green from Ripley, Josiah went instead to the Oneida Institute near Utica, "the hot-bed of radicalism as it existed at that day." The Institute combined education (which favored living and sacred languages rather than the classics) with manual labor on a farm.⁸⁸ He was graduated in 1843, with his digestion impaired by rigidly austere living at a dollar a week.

Colportage in Wisconsin for the American Tract Society followed,

and correspondence for the New York *Tribune*, couched in terms so glowing that the state reprinted the letters to induce immigration to Wisconsin. In 1847 Grinnell was graduated from Auburn Theological Seminary which he found conservatively stuffy after the free atmosphere of Oneida. His first charge, 1847-1850 (he was ordained in October, 1848), was a Congregational church at Union (Greenwich) Village, thirty miles north of Albany. This unique church, whose cultured, high-minded parishioners were equally devoted to temperance and social reform, freely opened its doors to Negroes in a salutary effort to uplift a class. Grinnell, preaching against the saloon and slavery, doubled the membership of the church during his three years' pastorate there.⁸⁹ In 1849 he received a master's degree from Middlebury College.

In 1850 Grinnell went to Washington, D. C., full of crusading ardor, to establish a Congregational church as a free pulpit and a focus of reform. There he was distressed to find an "open alliance of politicians and the Church, to keep still" about the evils of slavery.⁹⁰ Emotions were being sharpened by the appearance of the first chapters of Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *National Era* published by Gamaliel Bailey, who was one of Grinnell's supporters, together with other leaders of opinion like Henry Ward Beecher, Richard S. Storrs, and Horace Bushnell.

Though the young crusader found eminent supporters, even among political leaders, and was enabled to buy the vacated Trinity Church building for his new congregation, his ministry in the scrubby Capital City was not for long. Passions ran high. Congressmen carried pistols and bowie-knives, other clergymen gave him no support, his throat gave signs of failing him, and he had a "pleasing early matrimonial prospect which I did not desire to have clouded by violence, or by the lips of base informers." So he shook the dust of Washington from his feet and returned north, continuing his preaching and anti-slavery and temperance agitation in New York, meanwhile acting as superintendent of a "ragged school." Early in 1852 he married Julia A. Chapin of Springfield, Massachusetts.⁹¹

Outdoor speaking, in which Horace Greeley often joined, ruined Grinnell's voice, and Greeley recommended a novel cure: "*Go West, young man, go West.* There is health in the country, and room away from our crowds of idlers and imbeciles."⁹² And the great editor made his advice practical by sending Grinnell to Springfield, Illinois,

to report to the *Tribune* on the state fair held there. While in the West, Grinnell went to Missouri to inspect a tract of land inherited by his wife, and by chance met Henry Farnam, capitalist, philanthropist, and railway builder from New Haven, who advised him to "Go to Iowa, a free State, which I have just come from; and I am to build a railway across to the Missouri River, an extension of the Rock Island Road." Grinnell's interest in Iowa had been further aroused by his meeting with Julius A. Reed, whose advice he sought in a letter written December 27, 1853.⁹³

Evidently the great open spaces fascinated the preacher-reporter, for on his return to the East, he began to advertise for associates "desirous of educational facilities, and of temperance and Congregational affinities," who would be willing to join him in founding a colony in the new state of Iowa. He thought it important that the new population be homogeneous, and so he asked for "persons of congenial, moral and religious sentiments, embracing mechanics, and pecuniary ability to make the school and the Church paramount and attractive institutions from the outset."⁹⁴

Farnam had introduced Grinnell to one of his engineers, a son of the famous Dr. Leonard Bacon, who suggested a location in township 80, range 16 west, near Lattimer's Grove, high land along the railway survey (not to be divulged) where a future north-and-south road was also indicated.⁹⁵ This was in Poweshiek County (organized in 1848), named after the Fox chief who, with Chief Keokuk of the Sauks, had ceded this section of Iowa in 1842. The exact spot recommended was marked with a red flag on a tall flagpole at a controlling point on the survey.

In the spring of 1854, Grinnell, with Dr. Thomas Holyoke of Searsport, Maine, the Rev. Homer Hamlin of Wellington, Ohio, and Henry M. Hamilton, a young surveyor just out of Western Reserve University, set their stakes at the spot marked by the red flag. Grinnell drove to Iowa City to locate and buy 5,000 acres for the new colony.

The educational feature of the original plan was not forgotten, and 160 acres, divided into 348 lots, were set apart for the proposed university. Hamilton contributed the profits on the sale of 1,200 acres of his land to start a "Literary Fund" for the benefit of the university.⁹⁶

The "Trustees of the Literary Fund" were incorporated in January,

1855, and on August 13, 1856, articles creating a university corporation were filed with the recorder of Poweshiek County. These founders were H. Hamlin, T. Holyoke, H. M. Hamilton, S. L. Herrick, G. Gardner, T. B. Clark, L. C. Phelps, S. Loomis, J. W. Stowe, J. Conwell, A. A. Stevens, J. B. Grinnell.⁹⁷

Grinnell was to be a temperance town, and so every deed for lots sold to settlers bore the provision that if strong drink were sold on a lot, it should revert to the maker of the deed. The Congregational Church was organized in 1855. A rude \$150 building sixteen by twenty-four feet, erected on contract by J. B. Grinnell in six days, was used for both school and church. The first teacher was Miss Louisa Bixby.⁹⁸

This year 1856 was a busy one for J. B. Grinnell. In February he helped in the organization of the Republican party at a meeting in Iowa City. He was elected to the State Senate where he served for two terms, 1856 and 1858; he led the movement for a state-supported system of free schools, and was instrumental in bringing Horace Mann, whom he had long admired, to Iowa to devise a school law for the state.⁹⁹ He also began the erection of a building for the "Grinnell University," which was incorporated August 13, 1856.

The following year he was admitted to the bar. As chairman of the Senate committee on schools he introduced a school bill which remained the basis of all future educational legislation. He also gave active support to the establishment of a state agricultural college, and became a regent of the State University. Naturally, however, his first and enduring loyalty belonged to the institution growing up in his eponymous town. This institution was to be "separated into two departments—a male department which shall resemble eastern colleges, a female department which shall be modeled in its domestic arrangements and in its general course of instruction, after the Mt. Holyoke institution at South Hadley, Mass."¹⁰⁰

The sexes were still to be definitely separated. Two distinct locations for the two departments were to be at least one-fourth of a mile from each other, the building for the female "seminary" to be erected first. This building was not completed until 1861 and, as "East College," for some years served all the purposes of the institution after the merger with Iowa College. The name first adopted for the projected men's college and "seminary" at Grinnell was "People's College," but this was soon changed to "Grinnell University."

This "Grinnell University," before the merger with Iowa College, was somewhat more than a dream. As J. B. Grinnell, its founder and president, said at the ceremony inaugurating the first president of the newly merged colleges, it brought to the marriage "an untarnished reputation, two professors, a half hundred of students, the good-will of a community, and a considerable dowry of the value in College building, lands, and cash, of twenty-five thousand dollars."¹⁰¹

The two professors were Leonard Fletcher Parker and the Rev. Stephen L. Herrick. The *Early History of Grinnell, Iowa, 1854-1874* indicates a more ambitious educational program (antedating Professor Parker's arrival) most of which evidently remained on paper. It records:

The University faculty was thus constituted: J. B. Grinnell, A.M., president; S. L. Herrick, A.M., professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; Thos. Holyoke, M.D., professor of chemistry, physiology and agricultural chemistry; Sam'l Loomis, A.M., professor of Ancient Languages, Mental and Moral Philosophy; Mrs. A. J. Hamlin, wife of H. Hamlin, instructor in French, etc.; Mrs. C. S. Wyatt — Mrs. Frank Wyatt — instructor in music; Miss J. E. Loomis, instructor in Rhetoric, etc.; Miss L. Bixby — wife of H. A. Wolcott — instructor in English branches; Darius Thomas, instructor in vocal music.

These persons were all residents of the town, who gave "more or less of their time to the institution, some of the officers laboring gratuitously."¹⁰² Evidently J. B., like other enthusiastic founders, was not averse to propaganda by exaggeration. He was a typical promoter, just the right energetic leader for the bustling, rapidly expanding West. His was a magnetic personality, a generous, outflowing nature, incorrigibly optimistic, eagerly seizing upon new ideas and promising ventures.

There was excitement for students and townspeople in February, 1859, when John Brown spent a weekend in Grinnell, bringing with him a load of "contraband" on the way by the Underground Railway to safety in Canada. Brown was entertained by Grinnell, who turned over his large wool barn for the accommodation of the Negroes. An evening meeting was arranged for Brown at the church, and Grinnell helped him in his further travel by surreptitiously providing him with a stock car from Iowa City to Chicago. J. B. was roundly denounced by antiabolitionists for his part in this affair, and for it was adorned with the sobriquet "John Brown Grinnell."

There was further excitement when the Rock Island Railway finally extended its lines to Grinnell in 1863. This new accessibility was no doubt partly responsible for the sudden increase in the enrollment of the College from 92 to 174 in the following year.

To the mythical "faculty" listed above, with its expansive "et-ceteras," the *Early History* adds the following significant information: "Professor L. F. Parker and lady came later and were able and devoted instructors before the removal, and in the college after removal filled their respective positions with ability and fidelity."¹⁰³ Here indeed was the nucleus of a real faculty for the pioneer college.

Leonard Fletcher Parker was born of Puritan and Revolutionary stock August 3, 1825, at China (now Arcade) in western New York. Fatherless at four, he lived and worked on a small farm encumbered with debt until he was twenty, meanwhile attending the academy at Arcade, teaching district school, and becoming ardently interested in the antislavery movement. He started for Oberlin College, then a "ferment of reforms," with five dollars in his pocket, and spent four dollars on the way. He made his way by teaching and was graduated in 1851 and married in 1853 at Oberlin, having remained for two years' study at the Theological Seminary. His plan to go as a foreign missionary to Siam was frustrated by failing health. The doctors said he was dying of consumption, but he had fighting blood; defying the verdict, he lived to be eighty-six.¹⁰⁴

After three years' teaching in Brownsville, Pennsylvania, Parker was drawn to Kansas by the free soil agitation; but "bleeding Kansas" was in the throes of civil war, and the town of Lawrence gave no promise of school work. He went to Iowa, and there was advised by an evangelist to stop at Grinnell rather than Des Moines, as it was "a temperance town, anti-slavery, growing like a spring flower and building a university."¹⁰⁵

Arriving in September, 1856, he found a town of perhaps two hundred inhabitants, a public school newly opened, "with the school-room well filled. After weeks later others came in to compel an overflow. A third room was added in 1857." When he arrived excavation was proceeding for the "University." Parker's first impression of Grinnell was favorable: "The intelligence of the people, their cheerful acceptance of pioneer conditions, their purpose to make everything vastly better, and their spirit of pitching into everything that promised good with a cheerful abandon, and then with Mr. Grinnell

a living sunbeam, everywhere at home and an unpaid advertising agency everywhere in the state and out of it, I concluded this is the spot."¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, the new arrival was scrutinized with some question: to the more conservative Grinnellians "an Oberlinité was an object of suspicion, a crank probably." But Parker soon proved his reliability and his value as a teacher and a citizen.

In 1858 he became the first county superintendent of schools, fulfilling his duties with a six-day teaching schedule in Grinnell and visits to the rural schools as frequently as possible. The impression he made on one of these visits is described by R. E. Sears, a pupil in the Brooklyn school, later a student at the College:

I always remember the first time I saw him. It was about 1860 or earlier. . . . Our school consisted of a dozen scholars in a little room perhaps twenty feet square. One morning there was a delicate rap on the door and I was told by the teacher to go to the door. I opened it and there stood a gentleman of delicate frame but with a face such as I had never seen except in picture books. To my boyish fancy he seemed a stranger from another world. He advanced and introduced himself to our young teacher. Then followed an hour of — I do not remember what, except that it was an hour of absolute harmony.¹⁰⁷

During his service as county superintendent he "discovered" two farm boys, Jesse Macy at Lynnville and J. Irving Manatt at Bear Creek, who were to become famous in education. Parker's teaching hours were divided between the public school and the infant University, which he served without charge. Like Iowa College, the University in the early years was a preparatory school, as indeed was also the State University at Iowa City, where Parker, passing through in 1856, found sixty pupils studying everything from the highest study, algebra, down to the three R's.

Mrs. Parker (Sarah Candace Pearse) was a true helpmeet for him. Also of Revolutionary stock, she was born on a farm in the town of Sudbury, Vermont, February 21, 1828. She had taught in Cincinnati before graduating from Oberlin, then in Vermont and at Painesville, Ohio, before her marriage. She was quite capable of mending the failing budget of the college boarding hall by her good management, taking over her husband's duties as county superintendent when he was called to the State University of Iowa, and teaching some of his classes during his one European sabbatical leave in 1875. She was the first and for seven years the "Lady Principal" of Iowa College after its merger with Grinnell University.¹⁰⁸



☆ VII ☆

The Early Years at Grinnell

IOWA College, having ceased its operations at Davenport in 1858, remained in a state of suspended animation until the merger with Grinnell University was voted by the trustees. Meanwhile, circulars had been issued by the Board inviting proposals for relocation, to which eight towns and eight individual landowners replied. Three of the trustees visited proposed sites at Anamosa, Maquoketa, Muscatine, Davenport, and Grinnell. Such locations as Des Moines, Fort Dodge, and Webster City were evidently considered too far west.

The arguments for Grinnell emphasized "healthiness, cheapness of living, opportunities for students to obtain work and teaching, central position, absence of temptations to squander time and money." As a final inducement to the trustees the communication from Grinnell concluded:

We ardently desire that henceforth the interests of these two institutions may be united. So far as we can judge, the voice of our brethren in this state favors it, and the prosperity of the two united in one will be secured by the union. We earnestly hope that the time has fully come when the friends of Congregationalism in Iowa may unite their efforts in building up and sustaining one college, and only one; that one being so located as to be properly a college for the state. To secure this result we have already tendered your honorable body all the property which we have secured, &c. We propose not merely to aid you in the erection of buildings, and in financial affairs, but also to rally around you in the support of good order in society and of proper discipline in the institution. The students who come among us will find us in the social circle and in public the uniform supporters of your plans and the zealous advocates of your educational measures.¹⁰⁹

After long discussion, the trustees at Davenport voted on September 27, 1858, "to remove Iowa College to Grinnell at the commencement of the next college year or as soon thereafter as the interests of the institution will permit." In April, 1859, the trustees of the Literary Fund and the University at Grinnell took steps to make over their holdings to the trustees of Iowa College, who then added Thomas Holyoke and the Rev. S. L. Herrick to their number. J. B. Grinnell had been a member of this Board since 1854.

Before the removal from Davenport, the funds of Iowa College had been seriously impaired by the dishonesty of a treasurer who "swindled the College out of \$13,000," and there were debts to be paid. By the energy of Julius A. Reed, the liquidation was successfully completed, and Reed traveled to Grinnell "with our scanty library, our few pieces of apparatus, our meagre nucleus of a museum, and the old safe containing the college papers and \$9000,"¹¹⁰ to be added to the funds of Grinnell University, whose thirty-five pupils now became the "Preparatory Department." The name Iowa College was retained for the united institution.

The growth of Iowa College during the first few years after the merger appears from additions to the faculty as well as the enrollment. L. F. Parker, principal of the Preparatory Department, 1860-1861, was elected professor of ancient languages in 1861. He was

joined in 1863 by Carl W. Von Coelln as professor of mathematics and Mrs. Parker as principal of the Ladies' Department. In 1864 the Rev. Henry Webster Parker came as professor of chemistry and natural science; the Rev. Charles W. Clapp, from a pastorate at Rockville, Connecticut, as professor of rhetoric and English literature and instructor in vocal music; and the Rev. Samuel Jay Buck as principal of the Preparatory Department.

During the pioneer years at Davenport ten students had been graduated from the College. There were no graduates from 1858 to 1865, as the men who might have received their diplomas during the first years after the removal to Grinnell were called away by the Civil War.

In 1861 there was a freshman class of twelve. But then the war came. Soon all but two were in the field. Other young men came, but their minds turned feebly to Latin and Greek, while their thoughts were following those who had enlisted in their country's cause. Sometimes, when the news was sad, the recitation room even had no place for the lesson either for student or teacher, but gave way to a discussion of the situation, its responsibilities and demands. One after another was missing. Where gone? To the war. As the thickening conflict was prolonged and the call for men became more urgent, twenty-six enlisted at one time, their teacher at the head. The time came when all the male students of military age were bearing arms. They were found in fifteen different Iowa regiments and in some of other states. Their record as soldiers, and a tablet hanging inside the chapel door on which is subscribed the names of eleven that never returned, are witness to noble service rendered.¹¹¹

It was impossible to keep the men at their books. Students joined Company E of the Fourth Iowa Cavalry, which was made up largely of enlistments from the vicinity of Grinnell, and other units. Professor Parker wished to go with them, but was dissuaded by the trustees. In 1864, however, he did join the twenty-six students who were enrolled in Company B of the Forty-sixth Infantry, and acted as first lieutenant, much of the time in command of the company. "It was the hour of supreme effort on the part of the government, when the college retained no student within its walls who was liable to military service."

Two, who were consistent members of the Society of Friends, and did noncombatant service during the war, later did inestimable service to the College: Robert M. Haines as a leading trustee, Jesse Macy as the most distinguished member of the faculty. Of the ten men previously graduated during the years at Davenport, three laymen all had distinguished records in the Union Army, and two of the minis-

ters also served, one as chaplain, the other on the Christian Commission.

It was the women students who kept the College going during the four years of the Civil War.¹¹² The question of coeducation had arisen quite naturally, in the absence of women's colleges and the impossibility of realizing at that time the dual plan first proposed for Grinnell University. The problem had been solved at Oberlin as early as the 1830's when "young ladies of good minds, unblemished morals, and respectable attainments" were received and "placed under the superintendence of a judicious lady whose duty it is to correct their habits and mould the feminine character." However, there was not complete equality at Oberlin: "young ladies received only three cents an hour for the labor of the steward's department, together with the washing, ironing, and much of the sewing for the students," whereas the men received five cents; in return, the weekly charge to women was reduced from one dollar to seventy-five cents.¹¹³ At Davenport, in the absence of other provision, girls had been admitted to college classes on a petition from parents and with faculty approval, in spite of the opposition of men students.¹¹⁴

The year 1865 saw the graduation of the first class completing the college course at Grinnell, and at the same commencement, the inauguration of the first president. For seventeen years Iowa College had continued without a titular head, except for the president of the Board of Trustees, Alden B. Robbins of the Iowa Band. The first attempts to supply such academic leadership were fruitless. During the years at Davenport, the eminent Congregational clergyman, Dr. Ray Palmer of Albany, had been elected to the presidency in 1856, and in 1858 the Rev. Jonathan Blanchard, who had resigned as president of Knox College; but neither accepted the proffered post. After the removal to Grinnell, the Rev. Horace Bushnell, D.D., famous liberal theologian, who had just terminated his long pastorate at Hartford, Connecticut, declined a call to the young college in Iowa. In 1861, the attempt of a committee to interest the Rev. S. W. S. Dutton, D.D., was equally unsuccessful. Finally, in August, 1862, the trustees turned to one of their own number, the Rev. George F. Magoun, who had been a member of the board since his pastorate at Davenport and was at this time minister of the Congregational Church at Lyons.¹¹⁵

Again there was delay, as the election was conditional upon provisions being made for the salary of the new head. At the request of

his fellow-trustees, John C. Holbrook was given leave of absence from his church at Dubuque to seek help in New England. The first modest goal of \$2,000 was soon passed, and hopes raised to \$5,000; then the elated agent succeeded in interesting Samuel Williston of Easthampton, Massachusetts, whose benefactions to Christian education were already considerable. This generous Congregationalist contributed a total of \$28,500 for the endowment of the presidency at Grinnell.¹¹⁶

When provision had thus been made for his support, Magoun accepted the presidency at the annual meeting of the Board in July, 1864, and was also elected professor of mental and moral science. He was granted a leave of absence of six months for travel in Europe. "My health was so broken," he wrote later, "having buried wife and child, that all the assurance I could give the Trustees was that on my return, if I could do any work at all, I would see what could be done for the College." Mrs. Abby Hyde Magoun had died at Lyons, February 10, 1864. In his Inaugural Discourse, Magoun mentioned "sorrowful providences" as opening the way to his acceptance of the presidency, and added: "Surrendering a most happy pastorate, and declining other posts of honorable and more gainful service, I have heeded this call as the voice of God."¹¹⁷

It will be noted that the members of the faculty in these early years were recruited almost exclusively from the ranks of the clergy. Indeed, there was then no graduate work offered in this country except in theology, and the ministry was therefore the only learned profession in that sense. The versatility of these clerical pedagogues must seem prodigious to the too highly specialized academic minds of our day. An excellent example of this variety of talents was Henry Webster Parker, clergyman, scientist, artist, poet, historian, and taxidermist. His father, the Rev. Samuel Parker, was a member of the first class graduated from Andover Seminary in 1810. After a pastorate of twenty-five years at Danby, New York (near Ithaca), and two other brief charges, Samuel Parker was "exploring agent" for the Missionary Society in the Oregon Territory, 1835-1837, and enlisted Marcus Whitman as associate missionary. Born at Danby, September 7, 1822, Henry was graduated from Amherst College in 1843, and from Auburn Theological Seminary (of which his father had been agent) in 1846, a year before J. B. Grinnell. Ordained in 1848, he was pastor of Presbyterian churches at Aurora and Dans-

ville, New York, then of Congregational churches at Brooklyn, New York, and New Bedford, Massachusetts. In 1864, at the age of forty-two, he came to Grinnell (no doubt through J. B.'s influence) as professor of chemistry and natural science. He also taught painting, trained himself in taxidermy, and created a museum of stuffed birds and animals.¹¹⁸

In 1870 Parker returned to the East and became professor of mental, moral, and social science at Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst, where he also taught rhetoric and elocution, English composition, the Bible, geology, physical geography, physiology, and landscape gardening "as a system involving the study of nature and of art." He was also college chaplain and chairman of the committee on fancy articles of the Hampshire Agricultural Society, for which he wrote a poem, "Farm Wonders." In 1879 he returned to Grinnell as professor of natural history, serving until his retirement in 1889. He was given a D.D. degree in 1886. His publications included a book of verse in 1850, *The Agnostic Gospel, with Related Essays*, *The Spirit of Beauty*, and *How Oregon was Saved to the United States*.

Such extraordinary breadth of interest was possible at a time when universal knowledge was still the scholar's ideal, when Humboldt was reputed to have encompassed within himself the total sum of human science. However, it should be remembered that laboratory science was still in its infancy, and social sciences, as Parker said, were "quite inchoate." Thus the teacher's task was the relatively simple one of imparting "book-larnin'" and listening to recitations on the text.

In the Grinnell curriculum, only chemistry had gained a separate existence among the sciences, all the rest being included under such generic terms as "Natural Philosophy," "Natural Science," and "Natural History." It was not until the middle seventies that physics appeared as a secondary subject, not until the nineties that it became a distinct department. Biology and zoology emerged from the "Natural History" complex in 1891, and botany finally separated itself in 1902.

The first Mrs. Henry W. Parker, *nee* Helen E. Fitch, of Auburn, New York, was a vivacious lady, "of whose gracious beauty in all my wanderings I have never known the match," wrote the widely traveled J. Irving Manatt. Like her husband an artist (she taught drawing) and a collector (she was inordinately proud of a huge case full of shells), she was also author of a novel, *Constance Aylmer*,

published by Scribners in 1869, but unsold. Mrs. Parker never received any royalties to reimburse her for the borrowed money spent for the plates of the book. Her sprightly letters to a sister — in the possession of the latter's granddaughter, Mrs. Marquis Childs — depict the social life of a pioneer community with some condescension; she seems to have been incorrigibly and quite consciously "Eastern." She quotes with relish her husband's comment that, in comparison with other women at a party, she was a "hummingbird among sparrows" — she, in her "green silk and green headdress," while "everybody else had on plain dark delaines, black silks, etc." The local shops were not helpful.

You said you would let me know about bonnets. I hope you will for it is impossible to get information here. I went into a milliner shop once and drew back thinking I had made a mistake but was urged to walk in. A stove with the dinner steaming on it, a table set in the middle of the floor, a bed in the corner, a girl dressmaker and behind the door a bit of a counter with a small set of shelves and a few boxes was what I saw. Yet there I must buy a straw bonnet for spring by and bye. . . . No tailor here but a Hoosier cutter.

Mrs. Parker found social customs strange and crude. As to refreshments:

First came plates, second came tea, carried by the host, then the son with milk and sugar, then the daughter with a dish of watery, stewed cranberries, which went swimming about the tea cup on the plate. After some time biscuit and butter went the rounds, then came a glass dish of — cheese! Then a plate of tarts. Lastly came cake. At 10 o'clock we were politely reminded to keep early hours and so broke up! The people here are mainly from country villages or are and have been plain farmers all their lives. They are substantial New Englanders. There are two or three families of more refinement and accustomed to city ways of living.

She was irked by the habit of carrying dishes in piles "up to the chin" and made much of her own use of a "salver," which she hoped to teach the inhabitants to imitate. It troubled her especially that the hired help expected to sit at the table with the family, and she finally put her foot down against this remnant of frontier democracy. (In the census of 1850, of 192,214 inhabitants of Iowa, only ten are listed as "domestic servants.") But she thought there was some hope for improvement:

Never mind, all these ways of the backwoods will disappear in time. I do what I can by example and advice when it is asked. But there is one hopeless

western fashion which will only die out in the next generation. Borrowing! My yeast-pot is a nuisance. One neighbor depends so much upon it (and when she returns any it is not fit to make good bread) that Henry proposes I shall save the yeast she hereafter returns and give it to her instead of mine when she borrows! . . . Another neighbor used our wheelbarrow all summer till it really seemed as if it was his and that we had the privilege of keeping it in our yard. My pattern bag I have seriously thought of hanging by the back door so often have I to dispense these. The wash-tub has gone *weekly* and the butcher's wife I guess tries out all the lard for the shop in my iron kettle. I have lent dresses (for patterns), night dresses, chemises, drawers, sun-bonnet, Henry's clothes and cap, Mr. Parker's vest and dressing-gown, shoes, mouse-traps, baskets, all sorts of tools, coal & wood, books, all sorts of cooking materials, flour, meal, eggs, soda, mustard, spices, tin pans, egg beater, thread and needles, — everything in short except my large enamelled preserve-kettle, that *nobody* shall have. Even the cat has been proposed for, being a good mouser. Much cake being left at my tea last week, a neighbor who is wife of one of the richest here, offered to take it in exchange for fresh beef as they "had been killing" and as she wished to have some company!!! Henry cannot get over that. Well, it is something pleasant to live where your notions get a shock occasionally. One gets broader ideas. . . . A neighbor has just sent in to borrow pen and ink.

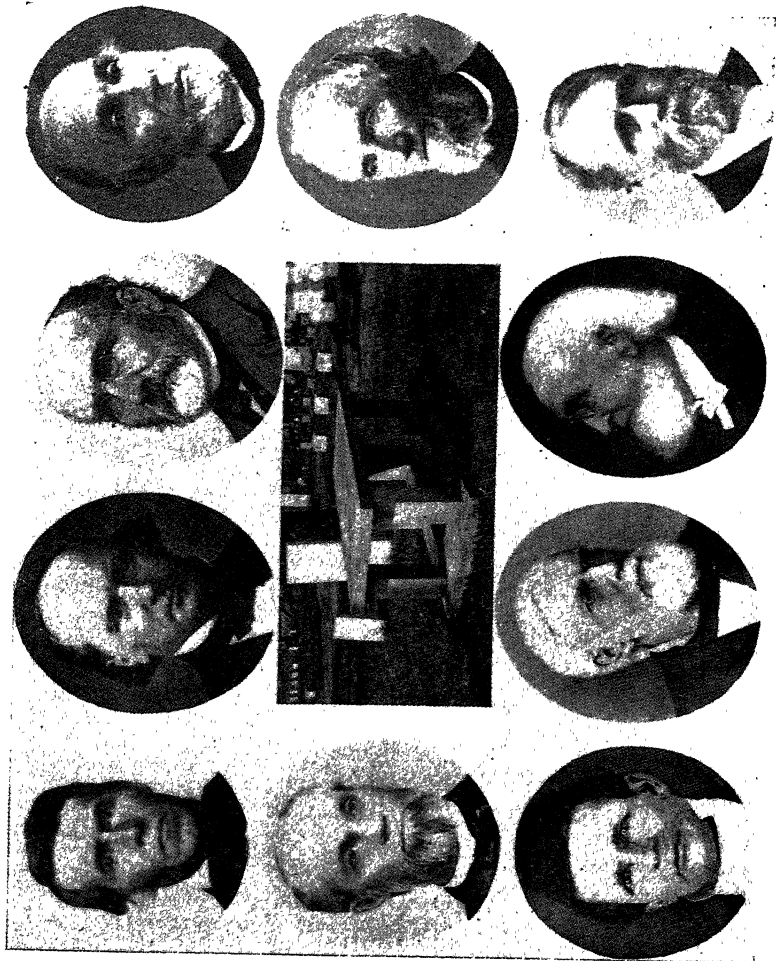
In one respect, however, Mrs. Parker had to hand the palm to the new West. On a stagecoach ride westward, "the way led through a beautiful region abounding in corn and grain. The country was fine — like an old cultivated farm district — not like a new country. You should have seen one farm of thirty thousand acres¹¹⁹ with one field of 250 acres of ripe grain. You can see nothing of this magnificence at the East."

Some years later, a famous Englishman recorded a pleasanter impression of the social scene at Grinnell. James Bryce, the distinguished author of *The American Commonwealth*, wrote to Mrs. Jesse Macy, February 16, 1891: "We have a delightful recollection of our glimpse of your life — the most idyllic life, if I may use the expression, I have seen in the West, was that of Grinnell."

Part Two

They Carried the Torch

THE IOWA BAND FROM ANDOVER SEMINARY IN 1843



Top, left to right: BENJAMIN A. SPAULDING, ERASTUS RIPLEY, JAMES J. HILL, and EBENEZER ALDEN.

Center: EDWIN B. TURNER, GRAVE OF HORACE HUTCHINSON, and DANIEL LANE.

Bottom: HARVEY ADAMS, ALDEN B. ROBBINS, EPHRAIM ADAMS, and WILLIAM SALTER.

PRESIDENTS OF GRINNELL

JOSIAH B.
GRINNELL
Founder



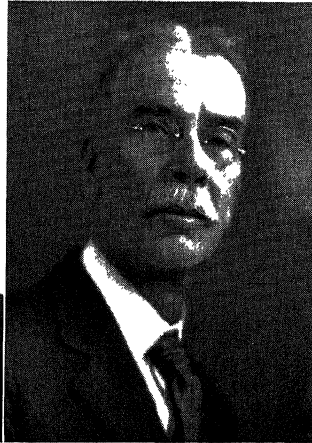
GEORGE F.
MAGOUN
1865-1884



GEORGE A.
GATES
1887-1900



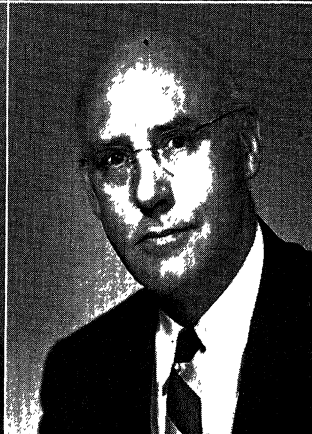
DAN F.
BRADLEY
1902-1905



JOHN H. T.
MAIN
1906-1931



SAMUEL N.
STEVENS
1940-





☆ VIII ☆

The College Under Magoun

1865-1884

COMPARED to many of the pioneers, his friends and associates in the new West, George Frederic Magoun was born with a silver spoon in his mouth.¹²⁰ His father was a leading citizen of Bath, Maine, ship-owner, bank president, mayor of the city, member of the state legislature in both branches, and as such co-author of Maine's first law prohibiting intoxicating liquors.

The family, like the Grinnells, was of Huguenot descent and came by way of North Ireland to America in 1660. George was born

March 29, 1821, attended Bath Academy, graduated from near-by Bowdoin College in 1841 (A.M. in 1856), studied theology at Andover and Yale, and spent two years in the West, 1844-1846, as principal of the public school at Galena, Illinois, and of an academy at Platteville, Wisconsin. He returned to Andover for the completion of his divinity course, graduating in 1846. The next year he married Abby Anne Hyde of Bath.

He was ordained January 25, 1848, at Shullsburg, Wisconsin, where he founded a home missionary Congregational church. He was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church at Galena in 1848, and five years each of Congregational churches at Davenport and Lyons, Iowa, with an interval of law study and practice at Burlington, 1851-1855. He assisted at the forming of the Republican party, and in 1856 became a trustee of Iowa College. He received the degree of doctor of divinity from Amherst College in 1867.

President Magoun was a man of large stature and commanding presence, with a leonine head, long hair and beard, prominent nose, a resonant voice, and an oratorical manner. A student in 1871 remarked on the amusing contrast between Dr. Magoun's "ornate, lofty, high-sounding" introduction and the drawling, unadorned simplicity of Horace Greeley as a lecturer.¹²¹

Magoun was fearless and decisive, an ardent partisan, combative and dictatorial, yet generous in nature and tender in his affections. His personality was of the all-out type that inspired adoring loyalty in his admirers, but also the undying hatred of certain others over whom he rode roughshod. The word "compromise" was not in his large vocabulary. One alumnus never forgave him — or the College — for the summary dismissal of his father (Professor Charles W. Clapp) from the faculty on the same commencement day that the son received his diploma.¹²²

Two events in particular tested the sturdy courage of Magoun as a leader. In 1871 "East College," the original Grinnell University building, burned, and the next year there was a better "Central College" to take its place. In 1882 a tornado destroyed the entire college plant just at commencement time, but graduation exercises were held as usual, and the next year three new buildings were ready for occupancy. In such emergencies Magoun had the invaluable backing of J. B. Grinnell, who gave himself to the cause with all his characteristic energy, personally raising large sums for the rebuilding. J. B.

was fond of saying later that the "cyclone was a wind-fall for Grinnell," both town and college.

President Magoun brought with him all the belligerent orthodoxy of the Andover Calvinists, the doctrinal severity and rigidity which the more conciliatory members of the Iowa Band had found ill adapted to their pioneering religious tasks. The "Articles of Faith" adopted by the Iowa Association in June, 1845, were as conservatively Calvinistic as the Andover stalwarts could have required,¹²⁸ but the members of the Band and their early associates were too busy with their absorbing religious message to waste time in theological hair-splitting. Magoun, on the contrary, was rock-ribbed in his conservatism, and he asserted it with ponderous dogmatic vehemence.

As the unmitred bishop of Iowa Congregationalism, he saw to it that no young minister who accepted the newly propounded Darwinian theory of evolution was settled in an Iowa pastorate. Naturally, the Higher Criticism of the Bible, with all its implications, was anathema to him. As a teacher, he never forsook the old-school psychology of Noah Porter's *Human Intellect*, or the type of apologetics represented by Mark Hopkins' *Evidences of Christianity*. Wide reading and a retentive memory provided him with an arsenal of controversial lore, which he could train with devastating effect upon any attempt to oppose or even mildly question his dogmatic statements.

In theory — according to the catalogue — his courses were supposed to encourage "the utmost freedom of inquiry and investigation, with special reference to the clear distinction of truth from error." But the "clear distinction" rather than the "freedom" was Magoun's province. His method of teaching was by monologue, and his occasional questions to the students were couched in such terms that they always suggested the acceptable answer. Naturally, there was no need of preparation by the student, and inattention was common in his classes. At the least dissent, Magoun could be an angry Jove hurling his thunderbolts. On the other hand, he could be faultlessly courteous and affable.

As a matter of course, the reins were held tight during Magoun's administration. It was a period of rules and regulations applied with an iron hand, and the students sometimes felt that the judicial process was tinged with espionage. Demerits were imposed for what today would seem trivial and even absurd causes, such as a young woman's

walking half a block downtown with a man she chanced to meet, though the gentleman in question was an elderly acquaintance.

College girls enjoyed no informality of attire. Agnes Wilson wrote: "I will give you a list of the fashions. Hoops and great bustles are all the rage, also dresses with basques. Almost every girl wears curls or frizzes. . . . Hats are mostly turbans and are worn on top of the crown."¹²⁴ Social relations between men and women students were guarded with special care. "Young gentlemen" were allowed to visit "young ladies" only Saturday afternoons, later also Friday evenings.

Of course Iowa College held no monopoly in such restrictive legislation. It is said that Oberlin College, in the old days, had "coeducational walks" on the campus, consisting of two boards far enough apart so that a couple could not walk arm-in-arm, and that one of the primitive rules there read that a young man and a young woman should not "walk together unless they were going in the same direction." An early rule at Princeton provided that students must take off their hats at a distance of ten rods for the President, and five for a tutor. It may be remembered that students at Andover Seminary were supposed to observe 102 rules laid down in thirteen chapters.

Of course dancing, cards, billiards, intoxicants, gambling, and tobacco were equally taboo at Grinnell, and these indulgences were linked with "profanity, obscenity and lewdness" in the college rules, and with "keeping of gunpowder, fire-arms and other dangerous weapons." The early laws of Harvard and Yale were full of similar restrictive regulations.

Attendance at morning and evening religious exercises, and twice at Sunday services, was strictly required at Grinnell. Old grads still remember "going to prayer-meetings" as the chief social experience of their student days. This was quite in the old Andover tradition. When the eminent German theologian Dr. Friedrich Tholuck was calling upon Professor Parker, he inquired: "How do you get along without the opera and theater?" The reply was prompt: "You forget that we have the church and the sewing society." At Grinnell, going to a circus cost a student from twenty-five to a maximum of thirty-one demerits.

President Magoun came to Grinnell as a widower, shortly after the death of his wife and child at Lyons. Six years later, in 1870, he married Elizabeth Earle, twelve years younger than himself. She came from Brunswick, Maine (where he had attended Bowdoin Col-

lege), was a graduate of Mt. Holyoke and a teacher there until her marriage. "Cultured, refined, a brilliant conversationalist, a marvelous Bible-class teacher, a gifted speaker, glowing with enthusiasm, cordial in her social relations, zealous in missionary endeavor, she was for many years a woman of commanding influence in our denominational life. After severe and prolonged suffering she 'fell on sleep' January 7, 1896."¹²⁵ Her husband survived her by less than a month. Mrs. Magoun was "Acting Lady Principal" from 1882 to 1884, and occasionally took charge of classes in English literature. Her alert mind and keen sense of literary values made her a stimulating teacher. Her memory is perpetuated by the ever-vacant chair in the membership of a work-and-reading club that bears her name.

During the twenty years of President Magoun's administration, the faculty of Iowa College was marked by an academic distinction rare among the small colleges of the growing West. The oldest member of the faculty, Leonard Fletcher Parker, has already been introduced as the first qualified teacher to come to the town of Grinnell, and the first member of the faculty in the merged college, as professor of ancient languages. He was another example of the versatility of the preacher-pedagogue of that day. As a student at Oberlin, while looking forward to future work as a foreign missionary, he had taken charge of classes in Greek and Latin in the absence of the professor. His theological studies were interrupted by poor health, and he was thus shifted to a teaching career. Nevertheless, he was ordained in 1862, and though never a pastor, he preached frequently. He acted as county superintendent of schools in Poweshiek County in 1858-1861 and 1869-1871. His interest in politics and reform led to his election as Representative in the Iowa state legislature in 1867, and in 1868 he became a trustee of the State University at Iowa City. In 1870 he accepted a call to the new department of Greek at the University.

Parker's departure from Grinnell was no doubt due in large part to the difficulty he found in close association with so domineering a chief as Dr. Magoun, for Parker was himself a man of positive nature, vigorous in his expression of his views, and far more adroit than the ponderous president. Besides, Parker, who was first on the ground and had complete confidence in his own ability, could not help feeling aggrieved that another, less expert in education, had been placed over him. Parker's former student, Professor J. Irving Manatt,

wrote: "President Magoun with his strong personality dominated all. The Oberlin element was a bit restive." There was no provision in Dr. Magoun's book on logic for the amicable meeting of the irresistible force and the immovable object.

Though Greek was an optional subject at Iowa City, it became under Professor Parker's skillful tuition one of the most popular courses at the University. In 1874 his title was broadened to include the instructorship in history, and his interest in this secondary field increased until he became entirely engaged in that study. During his last years at Iowa City he was head of the department of history, while retaining his interest in ancient philology and literature.

His crusading dedication to reform, especially to the temperance cause then being hotly debated in Iowa, brought his professorship at the University to an untimely end. The Board of Regents happened to be politically opposed to prohibition, and used its power to demand the resignation of three prominent members of the faculty who had been active in the support of the prohibitory law. Professor Parker was thus inactive during the academic year 1887-1888. The Alumni Association of the University protested vigorously against this action of the regents, and by an almost unanimous vote asked reconsideration, but in vain. The years at the University had also brought bitter bereavement; of three children then living, two had drowned in the Iowa River. Mr. Parker's return to Grinnell belongs in the next chapter.

Of Carl Von Coelln little is known save that he was an "importation from Germany," and that he at one time attended the academy at Orwell, Ohio, of which Professor S. J. Buck later, in 1862, became principal.¹²⁶ En route to Iowa in 1863 Von Coelln and his wife stopped in Ohio to see the Bucks. Von Coelln had accepted a position as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Iowa College, a post in which he remained until 1869. He was state superintendent of public instruction from 1876 to 1882, and a member of the faculty of Buena Vista College for some years after its opening in 1891.

Samuel Jay Buck, next in age to Professor Parker, was destined to one of the longest terms of service in the history of the College at Grinnell.¹²⁷ From Russia, Herkimer County, New York, where he was born on July 4, 1835, his family moved to a farm near the village of Mecca in eastern Ohio, and there he spent his boyhood. He was graduated from Oberlin College in 1858, from the theological school

in 1862, and was ordained to the Congregational ministry in 1863. As principal of the academy at Orwell, Ohio, near his home, he combined teaching with preaching. Von Coelln's recommendation led to Buck's selection early in 1864 as principal of the Preparatory and English department at Grinnell. When Von Coelln resigned in 1869, Buck succeeded him as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, his subjects later changing to mathematics and physics, and then to mathematics and astronomy.

Intermittently Buck acted as pastor of near-by churches, as county superintendent of schools, county surveyor, weather observer, and financial agent for the College. In 1903 Tabor College honored him with a degree of doctor of divinity. He retired in 1905, after more than forty years at Grinnell, most of the time as senior professor and from 1884 to 1887 as acting president. He and Mrs. Buck (an Oberlin classmate) lived to celebrate their golden wedding anniversary, November 17, 1909.

During the twenty years of President Magoun's administration, the curriculum remained almost unchanged. The "Classical Course" naturally continued Greek and Latin as the core of the curriculum. The "Scientific Course," which first made its appearance in 1862, omitted the ancient languages, added advanced mathematics, and was extended from three to four years largely by the simple expedient of adding "electives." The "Ladies' Course" also grew from three to four years by absorbing some of the didactic material of the disappearing "Normal Department."

However, a few courageous females were by this time permitted to attempt the full college courses, "with due regard to constitutional differences and suitable safeguards."¹²⁸ President Magoun, as trustee, had from the first supported the admission of women to college privileges, but evidently this liberality was accompanied by mental reservations, without formal explanation of what the "constitutional differences" might be.

So too Magoun's argument, in his Inaugural Discourse, in favor of the modern languages as claiming a place in the college course with the ancient, "perhaps before them," was not followed through. German and French remained feeble adjuncts to Greek and Latin, which, by 1884, absorbed the energies of two instructors.

The classics were taught by men of real distinction. When L. F.

Parker went to Iowa City in 1870, he was succeeded by Dr. John Avery, the "distinguished philologist" whom Dr. Magoun called

. . . our specimen scholar, pure and simple, one of the most unpretending of erudite men, having in Sanscrit only one superior in all the land, Whitney, his own instructor, knowing hardly more of the ways about our little town than those to his recitation room, the church, and the post office, able to stint himself to almost any extent for books which no one else in this great commonwealth could read, toiling and economizing for years to set himself free from bread-winning occupations that he might delve more profoundly in Oriental tongues, — died suddenly just as he had attained his freedom and resigned his chair at Bowdoin.¹²⁹

When Avery was called to Bowdoin in 1877, he was followed by Fisk P. Brewer, A.M.,

. . . as strong intellectually as he was feeble physically, of extraordinary attainments in several learned specialties, at home in Modern Greek as in Ancient, and in the linguistic transition from the one to the other, following a classical recitation with utmost keenness when he could scarcely breathe, a humble, tender-hearted, refined, cheerful Christian believer, gave us eminent evidence for thirteen suffering years, how brilliancy of mind and fervor of faith can conquer and command the body.

Next in this worthy succession, coming in the last year of Dr. Magoun's administration, was Dr. John M. Crow, who was the

. . . most devoted of these three men to the *ancient* Greek, had studied abroad like them, though not so long in Greece as Brewer, a child of nature never spoiled, losing none of the genuineness and quaint shrewdness of his rustic youth, enlivening with them his learned lectures on ancient art and his homely fireside talk; — it is easily remembered here how all too late he went to Colorado to live, if possible, and started homeward only to die. He would have been a preacher, but for feeble lungs.

Meanwhile, Latin was taught by Richard W. Swan from 1871 to 1883. He was an older man, who had taught at Phillips Exeter and at Albany, than whom Magoun knew "few milder or more inoffensive" — faint praise indeed!

English language and literature was still taught by one professor, with sporadic dashes of instruction in elocution. Professor Clapp, whose abrupt dismissal in 1871 has been mentioned, was followed in 1873 by Stephen G. Barnes, A.B., who came directly from graduation at Lafayette College, remained professor of English language, literature, and rhetoric until 1891, and in course of time acquired a "Rev-

erend," a Ph.D., and a Litt.D., and became Dr. Magoun's son-in-law. He was resident licentiate at Andover Seminary in 1879.

Ill health seemed common among the teachers of this generation. Barnes was slight in build, sallow in color, and suffered from insomnia. He repelled students by a cold, distant manner and a stony look, but his chilly exterior concealed a warm interest in their welfare, which expressed itself especially in persistent concern about their religious sentiments and convictions.

One of the ablest students at Grinnell in the later years of Barnes's professorship remembered him as third, with Macy and Crow, in the trio of teachers who most markedly influenced his development.¹³⁰ Less serious students were rebellious at Professor Barnes's puritanical attitude and suspected him of reporting to the Rhadamanthine president trivial infractions of college regulations which he happened to observe. After leaving Grinnell, he held pastorates at East Longmeadow, Massachusetts, and St. Johnsbury, Vermont, and for brief periods was dean of the theological department of Fisk University and lecturer on systematic theology at Hartford Seminary. Iowa College gave him a D.D. in 1896.

Physics and the biological sciences remained adjuncts to mathematics and chemistry until H. W. Parker, who had taught "Chemistry and Natural Science" from 1864 to 1870, returned from Massachusetts in 1879, as professor of natural history, remaining until his retirement in 1889. Continuing his earlier interest, he did much to restore the museum of natural history, which had been destroyed by the tornado in 1882.

Dr. Henry Carmichael, the first professionally trained chemist to fill the chair of chemistry, was called to Bowdoin College in 1873 after but two years at Grinnell. He was followed after a year's interval by William H. Herrick, A.M., who remained until 1885. During the brief service from 1871 to 1873 of Albert Sherburne Hardy (an author of some reputation), the courses in mathematics and natural philosophy expanded into "Civil Engineering, Applied Mathematics and Military Drill," but this was a transient phenomenon.

President Magoun himself taught mental and moral science, and congratulated himself at the beginning on using the newest texts, but as he inclined to remain faithful to these same texts for a generation, their novelty was at last somewhat tarnished. So the contention in his

Inaugural Discourse that western college culture must be "advanced" and "progressive" yielded to an increasing conservatism.

Two new departments were in the making during the last years of President Magoun's administration. By far the more important of these, because of the developing genius of Jesse Macy, deserves extended notice in a later chapter. The other was an extension of interest in the education of prospective teachers, which goes back to the early years of the College. Desultory instruction in this field was followed in 1879 by the transfer of the Rev. Henry K. Edson, A.M., from the principalship of Denmark Academy to the newly created chair of the theory and practice of teaching.¹⁸¹

Two years before, the early sporadic teaching of music had crystallized into a "Conservatory of Music" under the direction of Willard Kimball, who came as instructor in 1875, and remained as director until 1894. During this time it was a loose annex rather than an integral part of the College.

Under President Magoun's leadership the College grew very gradually in enrollment, with occasional sharp fluctuations. Counting both men and women, and remembering that during this period the "Ladies' Course" was less severe in its requirements, the total registration rose from 60 in the college department in 1864 to 112 in 1883-1884. There was a sudden decrease from 105 in 1870 to 69 in 1871-1872, due perhaps to the burning of "East College" and to the retirement of four of the five members of the college teaching staff. Again, in 1882, the tornado that destroyed the college buildings caused a drop in the enrollment from 160 — the highest figure for the entire period — to 120. The registration of preparatory, English, normal, and music students remained greatly in excess of that in the college classes.

The most dramatic and potentially tragic event of Dr. Magoun's administration was the famous "cyclone" of 1882, the first destructive tornado to wreak its havoc upon an educational institution. This furious storm cut a swath of ruin through the town and completely wrecked the two large brick buildings which then housed the College, "West College" (built in 1867), and "Central College" (built in 1872 after a fire in December, 1871, had destroyed the original building, "East College," erected in 1861).

The event seems sufficiently unique to justify quoting a description by an observer from outside, the Rev. David O. Mears, D.D., of

Worcester, Massachusetts, who had come to Grinnell to deliver the commencement address:¹³²

The 17th of June, 1882, in Grinnell, was a day of terror and of death. All through the sunshine the sky seemed a curtain, above which the intolerable heat could not find a vent. Not a breath of air moved even the topmost leaves of the highest trees. The grass, parched by the burning heat, rustled like silk, beneath the tread of men who ventured upon their errands. Even the children gave way to the oppressiveness of the day, and waited for the sun to set. The cattle sought the shade of the trees, but panted for breath, as if between them and the sun there was no foliage. They sniffed the air in fear of what men did not see. The birds winged a hurried flight before the storm-clouds for safety.

The evening gave no rest. From an hour before sunset, hurrying clouds banked the western sky. These clouds, colored with green and yellow and crimson, swayed to and fro in malignant shape, arresting attention through their fantastic changes. . . . At eight o'clock, after the sunset, the huge clouds put on their deepest black, as of mourning for what was to come. Following a fierce thunder-gust of rain, and a brief, deathly calm, at a quarter past eight, the black funnel-shaped cloud was seen making its awful course. Within its sable folds the caged lightnings were at their horrid play. Almost in a moment of time there was the fearful terror of blackness and the deadly roar — and all was still as if the shrill whistling train of death were passed.

There was only death and ruin left in its track, save where people had hidden in cellars, some of whom were yet prisoners beneath the debris. Buildings had been tossed like egg shells from their foundations. Freight trains with many cars had been seized by the fiery hands and tossed off the track. The ponderous locomotive had been lifted from its standing place as children toss their toys. Trees within its track were twisted from their roots, some one way, and some another, by the electric forces in their havoc and play. The spokes of wheels were twisted from their hubs by a process no man has discovered. Carriages were lifted from the street and lodged in the tops of trees. Human beings were seized by the terrible blast and carried away hundreds of feet, and left among the ruins that had covered from sight the streets and gardens. Huge timbers were driven deep into the earth as no ponderous hammers could drive them. The college buildings of stone and brick were crumbled under the crunching hand of destruction. For the width of a quarter of a mile, the prostrated ruins were a monument of death. Thirty-two dead bodies were left as its evidences, while nearly a hundred persons more were seriously wounded.

“No such destruction of its outward belongings,” said Professor Park of Andover, “ever befell any college in the whole history of education.”¹³³ But the resolute temper of the pioneers was still alive.

College exercises were suspended only on Monday, June 19, when the victims of the tornado were buried. Commencement was held at the appointed time, and the graduates of 1882 — an unusually able group — have always taken pride in their distinction as the "Cyclone Class." Dr. Magoun's manuscript for his baccalaureate had been swept away in the storm. He chose a new text for his sermon, modified for the occasion: "And God was in the Whirlwind."

There was an unexampled outpouring of sympathy and help from every part of the country. The list of donors who came to the rescue includes many famous names — Blair, Dodge, Russell, Sage, Vanderbilt, Huntington, Gould, Jesup, Whitney, Farnam, Slater, Mather, Corliss, Coats, Goodnow, Farnsworth, Phillips, Ames, Hyde, Hammond, Blatchford, Armour, Farwell, Hooker, Grimes, Congregational churches everywhere, and even "six Wellesley girls," and the trustees of Knox College.¹³⁴ Three buildings were erected that same year to replace the two destroyed; three years later a fourth was added.

Dr. Magoun's presidency ended in 1884, when he was sixty-three years old. He retired unwillingly from his post of authority, but his inflexibility and conservatism were felt to be detrimental to the further development of the College in a time that was seething with new ideas and methods. He continued his teaching function, as professor of mental and moral science, until 1890, and then lived in retirement at Grinnell until his death in his seventy-fifth year, January 30, 1896. The Minutes of the Congregational Association for 1896 record the following tribute:¹³⁵

Doctor Magoun, eloquent as a preacher, profound as a thinker, eminent as an educator, was one of the strong personal forces of our state for many years. His loyalty to his conceptions of truth, his bold and convincing utterances, his interest in that which affected men socially, politically and religiously, drew attention to him early. He was a man to be taken account of, so all felt who saw his grand proportions and heard his trumpet voice. He was intimately associated with the Congregational fathers of Iowa, the founders of Iowa College. It was not strange that they turned to one who moved before them like a king, and called him to the place which it was long his pride to fill, the presidency of the young and struggling school. That was his real life-work. It commanded him. His heart went into it. He gave the name of the college publicity. He drew to it the respectful and kindly thought of many friends who opened their hands to it with gifts. In the time of the great disaster his name and influence meant much for its rebuilding. His literary activity was unremitting as long as his health allowed, and even after it was seriously broken. He had the genius of work. His most

valuable contribution to the churches of Iowa is his "Life and Times of Asa Turner." It is a monument of patient research, showing better than anything else the work of those pioneers who planted our churches in Iowa. He held the pen of a ready writer. It was natural for him to speak his thought fully. He was quick to defend his position, if assailed. He was not easily intimidated; the polemic spirit was no stranger to him. He loved the missionary work and the workers of our churches. He was a corporate member of the American Board. He was before the war an earnest opponent of slavery. The cause of temperance always enlisted his hearty sympathy. He did a good work and will live in the respectful memory of the Christian people of Iowa as well as in the respect, honor and affection of many who, as students, learned of him to think and to believe.



☆ IX ☆

The Presidency of George A. Gates
1887-1900

THREE quiet years of interregnum followed the retirement of President Magoun. Professor Buck, by virtue of seniority, officiated as acting president. He was a schoolmaster of a type fast disappearing; large of frame and slow of movement, quiet in speech, patient and industrious, solid and unimaginative, kindly in spirit, with an elementary sense of humor expressing itself in too obvious quips uttered without the moving of a muscle. One of his favorite witticisms was to refer to an abandoned part of the former curriculum as "The Old

Ladies' Course." He was a textbook teacher, capable of using the same book (in physics!) for a lifetime, so that students passing down the class text from generation to generation with all the old traditional jests (after the lesson on the lever: "We'll now leave 'er be") scribbled in the margin, and the traditional horse-laugh, could anticipate the recital. He was not alone in this fidelity to the familiar. So brilliant a lecturer as Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes at Harvard used the same notes on anatomy for thirty-five years. Steadily conservative, a fatherly spirit, carrying on in the old ways, Buck saw a healthy increase in the college enrollment during his incumbency — from 122 in 1884 to 187 in 1886-1887. The registration of preparatory and music students also rose to a new maximum. Quiet waters made good sailing.

During this time Iowa College again had the unpleasant experience of seeing its presidency declined by two distinguished ministers. In December, 1884, the Rev. Charles F. Thwing, pastor of the North Avenue Church in Cambridge, was elected president, but declined; in 1890 he became president of Western Reserve University. The catalogue for 1885-1886 names the Rev. David O. Mears, D.D., as president-elect. Dr. Mears was the pastor of the Piedmont Congregational Church at Worcester. He was widely known as preacher, lecturer, and author, and had a special relation to Grinnell by his marriage with Mary, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of J. B. Grinnell, which resulted from his coming to Iowa College as commencement speaker at the time of the tornado. But Dr. Mears preferred to continue in the ministry, and after further search the choice of the trustees fell upon the young pastor of the Congregational Church at Upper Montclair, New Jersey, George Augustus Gates.¹³⁶

There could scarcely be a stronger contrast than that between the first and second presidents of Iowa College. The transition was like a sudden leap from the past into the future, from fixity to fluidity, from metaphysics to experimental science, the conservative reluctantly passing the torch to the radical. A good touchstone, for that time, was the difference in the attitude toward the theory of evolution. While Magoun, at least in his public utterances, remained to the last hostile to the Darwinian "heresy," Gates was capable of saying to a graduate student in biology, himself as yet undecided in the matter: "Are you an evolutionist? You will never amount to anything until you are." Meanwhile, the teachers of science had been quietly prepar-

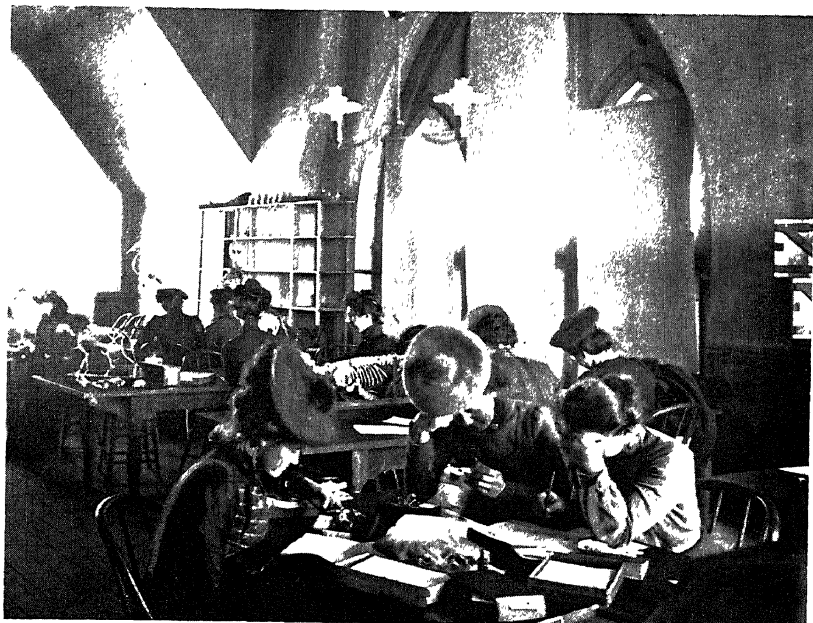
ing the way for the acceptance of evolution, without interference from Dr. Magoun.

George Augustus Gates was born January 24, 1851, in the village of Topsham, Vermont, the son of Hubbard Gates, miller, who moved soon after to St. Johnsbury, and died in 1861. The widowed mother opened a millinery shop to support her three children. George attended St. Johnsbury Academy and was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1873. After two years as principal of an academy at Morrisville, Vermont, he began his theological studies at Andover Seminary, where he was graduated in 1880, having meanwhile tutored in Boston and spent the years 1878 and 1879 in study and travel abroad, hearing lectures at Göttingen, Bonn, and Neuchatel.

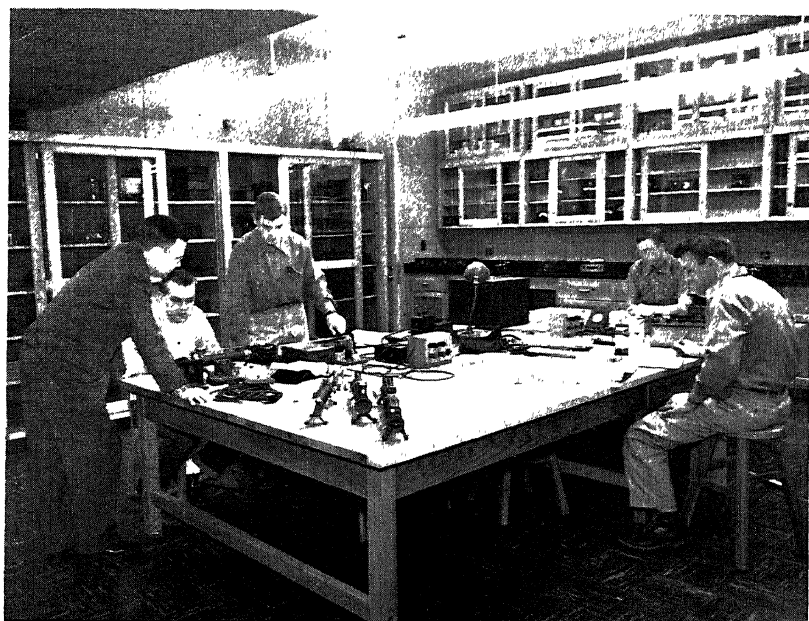
During the generation that separated Gates from Magoun, decisive changes had developed in the theological atmosphere at Andover. A notable exception was the chair of Christian theology held since 1847 by the formidable Edwards A. Park, who remained solidly anchored in his dogmatic assertion of strict Calvinist orthodoxy. The other professors, who had come in the sixties and seventies, were more open to the new currents of thought coming from the advance of natural science, biblical criticism, and German scholarship. The time was fast approaching when Andover was to be the very storm center of theological controversy in the country. The new spirit was most evident in William Jewett Tucker, who came to the faculty in 1879. In contrast with Park's static theology, he interpreted Christian thought dynamically, and was among the first to see the social implications of Christianity (he was the founder of the Andover House settlement in Boston).¹⁸⁷

Gates's generous nature and deep human sympathy could not help responding eagerly to such intellectual and moral leadership. He was also powerfully influenced by his contact with the progressive thought of German philosophers and theologians, particularly by the "realistic idealism" of Rudolf Hermann Lotze at Göttingen, with its emphasis on the emptiness of abstract notions and the fullness of individual life, with its aspirations, feelings, and desires, its aesthetic and ethical interests, and its religious faith.

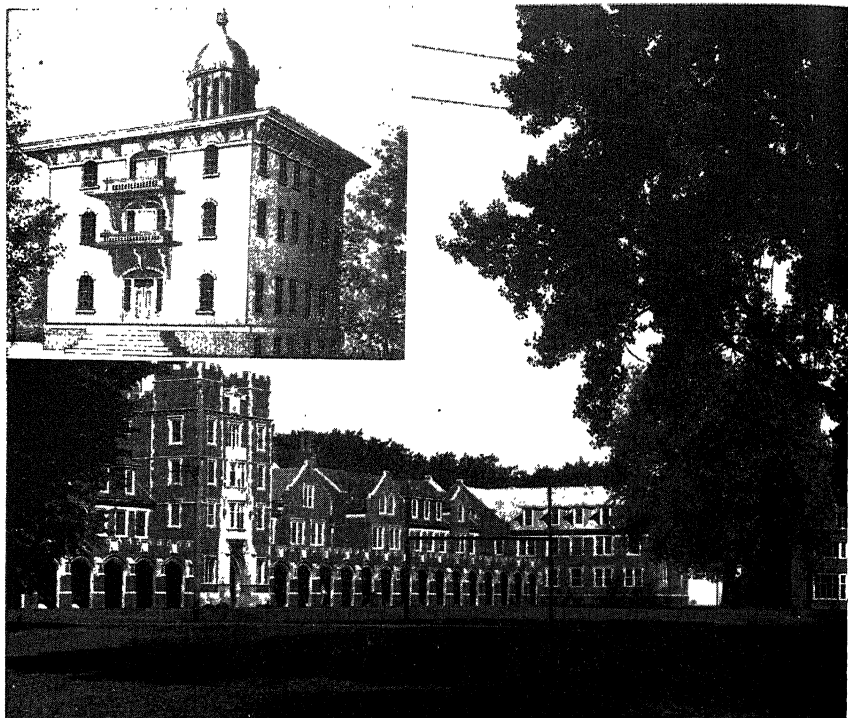
Gates thus approached his pastoral responsibilities as a convinced and enthusiastic modernist. He was made aware of the bitterness of the conflict between old and new when he was charged with subversive radicalism and therefore refused ordination by an ecclesiastical



AN EARLY SCIENCE LABORATORY



PHYSICS LABORATORY IN THE NEW HALL OF SCIENCE



Top: MEN'S DORMITORIES. Inset: IOWA COLLEGE AT DAVENPORT ABOUT 1855.
Bottom: REDEDICATION SERVICE, HERRICK CHAPEL, 1949.

council at Littleton, New Hampshire. The council was presided over by President Bartlett of Dartmouth, who was to make amends ten years later by conferring a D.D. upon his former student, and who even recommended Gates to succeed him in the presidency of his Alma Mater. Similar fears as to his theological soundness led the American Board to decline to accept Gates for missionary work in Japan. A newly organized Congregational church at Upper Montclair, New Jersey, showed more courage by calling the proscribed radical to its pulpit, and he remained the successful pastor of this church from 1880 to 1887, when he came to Grinnell. In 1882 he was unanimously accepted for ordination by an ecclesiastical council headed by Lyman Abbott. Charles Noble, then a pastor in New Jersey, later called to the chair of English at Grinnell, was a member of this council. It was also in 1882 that Gates married Isabel Augusta Smith of Syracuse, New York.

The arrival of George A. Gates on the Grinnell campus in 1887 had the effect of an electric shock. He did not have the impressive personal presence of Dr. Magoun. Of medium height and slender build, with short sandy hair receding somewhat from his broad forehead, a ragged moustache concealing his full lips, with merry blue eyes and a quizzical expression of countenance, the new president had none of the Jovian air of his predecessor. Nor did he have a preacher's manner. He spoke in short, sharp sentences, quite different from the oratorical rotundity of Magoun's periods. Not only was he a convincing speaker by the clear impact of his thought and the fearless courage of his utterance, but he had the gift of brevity. His short Friday morning chapel talks were powerfully effective. He had a keen sense of humor, and his frankness often gave the impression that he enjoyed shocking people by a startling brusqueness. His pedagogical method was in keeping with this habit. The textbook and the opinions of traditional authorities were only occasions for sharp, bold, ruthless discussions in which student contribution was explicitly encouraged. He was positive in his views, blunt and forthright in expression, but never authoritarian.

Pomp and ceremony were quite foreign to his nature, and that he must preserve the professional dignity of his office never occurred to him. He was happy batting up flies for the ball players in his shirt-sleeves, or coasting down a hill on his bicycle, thoughtless of the bumps that might lie in wait for him at the unseen bottom. One of

his characteristic sayings was "You get your best fun on the edge of disaster."

Of course Gates's theological and philosophical views and his frank acceptance of the "higher criticism" of the Bible were diametrically opposed to those of Dr. Magoun, who, still teaching mental and moral science, no doubt had to restrain himself to avoid taking sharp issue in his classes with his presidential successor. Dr. Frank I. Herriott in his reminiscences records an occasion when the old school won out by a subtle stratagem. President Gates was to preach at the Congregational Church. Seeing Dr. Magoun in the congregation, he asked him to assist in the service. In his opening prayer the old war horse made such an eloquent and powerful plea to the Almighty to guide the thought of the preacher in ways of truth and to shield him from the manifold errors of insidious modern heresy and infidelity that his young successor shifted from an intended discourse of controversial tenor to a completely inoffensive sermon to which the most conservative of his hearers could not take exception. But that was a type of ironic courtesy which Gates the crusader was more likely to honor in the breach than in the observance.

Gates was not a great scholar, and his pedagogical experience was limited. He was wise enough to leave the educational planning and functioning of the curriculum to his faculty, while he attended most successfully to the public functions of his office and to student discipline. He was a keen sleuth, or perhaps still enough of a boy inside to sense the ways of boys, and he enjoyed grilling the mischievous youths who worked off their surplus energy in miscellaneous pranks. He usually succeeded in locating the culprits in jig-time, no matter how cleverly they covered their tracks. Gates discarded the minute, vexatious regulations of the old days, for he expected students to be ladies and gentlemen and good citizens. In his eyes the cardinal sin was lying. His own transparent honesty, his winning kindness and humor removed any sting from his discipline, even of the young sinners whom he handled most roughly. They often became and remained his most ardent admirers.

President Gates showed excellent judgment in his selection of new members of the faculty, and, as he had the appointment of an almost entirely new teaching staff during his term of thirteen years, that was his most important and lasting contribution to the life of the College. The faculty, which was relatively strong under Magoun, became un-

der Gates one of the best teaching groups in the entire country — this in spite of a pitifully low salary scale.

Of the nine members of the teaching staff whom Gates inherited in 1887, only two, Buck and Macy (one mediocre, the other truly great) remained through his entire term of service. Of the sixteen full members of the faculty at the close of his presidency, fourteen were chosen by him, in addition to others who came and went during the period. This fact alone indicates to what extent again, as in the first presidency, the College became the "lengthened shadow of a man." So far as it is known, the retirement of older members of the faculty was accomplished without the bitterness that accompanied some such changes under the former administration.

The work in the classics was notably strengthened in personnel and reached high distinction. Professor John M. Crow, who added instruction in the modern languages to his proper work in Greek, was a humanist of the most humane type. His quiet, sober, kindly manner still carried an illumination which inspired respect. No mere syntax-grinder, he made his students conscious of the human interest of his subject and its enduring value for the modern world, the literature and life of the Greeks becoming through his interpretation a living influence in the thought of his students. His service at Grinnell lasted only seven years. In 1890 he sought relief from tuberculosis in Colorado, but found only temporary improvement and died on the way home. The contrast between Professor Crow and his wife, Martha Foote Crow, who served from 1884 to 1891 as "Lady Principal," was quite marked. A source of some amusement to the students, she expressed her individuality by spelling their name "Crowe," and always marched briskly ahead of her husband as they walked to their work at the College. A beautiful woman, mercurial and sentimental, her moods varied from graciousness to severity. She could wax sweetly lyrical about the blue gentians on the campus, and then pour out the vials of her disapproval upon young ladies who departed from her accepted norm of conduct. After leaving Grinnell, she was assistant professor of English literature at the University of Chicago and at Northwestern, where she also served as dean of women.

After Professor Crow's death, Greek was taught *ad interim* by the Rev. James A. Towle (A.B., Harvard), until in 1892 the coming of John Hanson Thomas Main marked a new era, to be discussed in the chapter dealing with his long and fruitful presidency. The growing

popularity of the courses in Greek led soon to the transfer from the preceptorship of the Academy of Clara E. Millerd (A.B., A.M., Grinnell, later Ph.D., Chicago), one of the most brilliant women graduates of the College, to a professorship of Greek and philosophy.

Latin (with French as an adjunct) was taught from 1886 to 1890 by Ernest Sicard, Ph.D., a native of France who spoke English with a strong accent. He was a scholarly man whose teaching contrasted sharply with that of Professor Crow in his emphasis upon grammatical and syntactical minutiae to the virtual exclusion of literary values.¹³⁸ He was succeeded by Moses Stephen Slaughter, Ph.D., who came from graduate study at Johns Hopkins and an instructorship at Bryn Mawr College (where he met his charming and accomplished wife). After five years at Grinnell he was called to the chair of Latin at the University of Wisconsin. Slaughter was not an outstanding scholar in the narrower sense, but he was a great teacher, making participation in his classes an absorbingly interesting experience, spiced with mischievous humor. Occasionally a bright student came back at the professor. One such, with an innocent air, asked: "Professor, what does MSS stand for?" Slaughter answered: "You ought to know that; those are just my initials." The boy grinned and said: "O, now I understand. The notes to this passage say 'MSS hopelessly corrupt.'" The professor used to tell this story with great gusto.

Slaughter was succeeded at Grinnell by William Arthur Heidel (Ph.D., Chicago), one of the most learned men in philology and philosophy among classicists. After nine years at Grinnell he rounded out a notable career on the faculty of Wesleyan University, Connecticut, where he occupied the chair of Greek and published a series of scholarly works.

The modern languages came to life during the Gates administration. At first a feeble adjunct to the classics, they claimed a professorship when John R. Wightman, Ph.D., came in 1889. After two years he transferred to Oberlin, and was succeeded by Raymond Calkins (A.B., Harvard), who taught French and German for two years, but was soon on the way to a distinguished career as pastor of Congregational churches in New England. He was succeeded in 1893 by John Scholte Nollen (Ph.D., Leipzig), who was later to become the fifth president of the College.

The English department was still served for a time by a succession of clergymen. Barnes carried on until 1891, followed for two years

by the Rev. Newton M. Hall (A.M., Dartmouth). In 1893 the Rev. Charles Noble (A.B., Williams), came from a pastorate at Charles City, Iowa, and continued on the faculty for twenty-six years. He was born in New York, December 3, 1847, the son of a minister. After graduation from Williams he studied at Union Theological Seminary and abroad, was ordained in 1873, and held pastorates at Franklin, New York; Hyattsville, Maryland; Woodbridge, New Jersey (at which time he participated in the council that ordained George A. Gates); and Charles City, Iowa.¹³⁹ Neither a scholar nor an accomplished teacher, Noble had a literary knowledge that was broad rather than deep; but he had a most lovable and sympathetic nature, and his influence as a friendly adviser far transcended his importance as a pedagogue.

In his second year at Grinnell he found an invaluable colleague in Selden Lincoln Whitcomb (A.M., Columbia),¹⁴⁰ who was the first professor of English literature in Grinnell to bring an ample scholarly training to bear upon his teaching in this field. Born at Grinnell, July 19, 1866, he was graduated from Iowa College in 1887. He taught foreign languages in 1887-1889 at Stockton Academy, Kansas, earned his master's degree at Columbia University in 1893, and carried on graduate study at Cornell University, Harvard, Chicago, and Colorado. During his eleven years' professorship at Grinnell he developed a new technique in the study and criticism of literature and stimulated serious work in comparative literature with the help of colleagues in other language departments. His book, *The Study of a Novel* (1905), set a new standard in literary analysis. Leaving Grinnell in 1905, he taught English literature at the University of Kansas, and was professor of comparative literature there from 1919 until his death in 1930.

Whitcomb, poet as well as scholar, published several booklets of verse. Short of stature, quiet and retiring in manner, never in robust health, he limited his activities to his study and his classroom, except for his meditative pleasure in nature and his membership in several learned societies devoted to economics, sociology, and politics, as well as literature. His modest estate was willed by his widow to Grinnell College for prizes in poetry, which bear his name.

The natural sciences found their full place in the curriculum during the administration of President Gates. Following the five years' service of Joseph Torrey, Jr., Walter Scott Hendrixson¹⁴¹ (A.M.,

Harvard, 1889; Ph.D., 1903; Berlin and Göttingen, 1894-1895) came in 1890 to spend thirty-five years as head of the department of chemistry. He shared with Professor Harry Waldo Norris (biology) the responsibility for making Grinnell a center of research as well as of distinguished teaching in science. From their laboratories issued an unbroken stream of publications in their specialties and a succession of well-trained young scientists for the colleges and the research laboratories of the country.

Physics, hitherto unequally yoked with mathematics, became a separate department in 1893, with the arrival of Frank F. Almy (B.Sc., Nebraska).¹⁴² He remained for thirty-nine years head of this department, from which also many younger physicists went on to academic teaching.

In the biological sciences, the inclusive term "natural history" remained through 1891. Following the retirement of Henry W. Parker, whose last year was filled out by Norris as instructor, Erwin Hinckley Barbour (Ph.D., Yale) held this chair in 1889-1891, going then to a successful career as professor of geology at the University of Nebraska and as state geologist. He was followed by Norris,¹⁴³ who rounded out a full half-century as a member of the Grinnell faculty in 1941.

Norris was born in Pittsfield, New Hampshire, September 11, 1862, was graduated from Iowa College in 1886 (M.A., 1889, D.Sc., 1924), and did graduate work at Cornell University, the University of Nebraska, and Freiburg, Germany. With his coming, "natural history" became biology and zoology, with further limitation to zoology in 1903. He was exchange lecturer at Harvard in 1913-1914, and at various times taught summer courses at the universities of Iowa, Illinois, and Minnesota. He engaged in internationally recognized research on the comparative anatomy of the nervous system, his published researches numbering some sixty titles. To the life of the College he also made a singularly valuable contribution in his chapel and vesper talks and in his work as chairman of the faculty, a post he held for many years.

Norris succeeded in carrying into all his living and doing the uncompromising and clear-eyed integrity that characterize the true scholar. It was due largely to him and to Professor Hendrixson that the laboratory sciences won their full place in the curriculum at Grinnell, though only after many a skirmish with the proponents of the older restricted course of study. The result was the acceptance of

the new concept that a rounded college course included both the humanistic disciplines and the sciences. Soon, as we shall see in the next chapter, the social sciences also claimed a larger place in the scheme of education.

When former President Magoun retired from teaching in 1890, the way was open for a full-fledged and modernized department of philosophy under James Simmons, Jr. (A.M., Beloit), who had come as instructor in mathematics in 1889, after three years' graduate study in Berlin. He soon changed the older title "mental and moral sciences" to "philosophy and pedagogics," retaining the work in education carried until 1892 by Professor Edson, and also elementary work in psychology.

Simmons, quiet and unassuming, became one of the most beloved and efficient members of the faculty, constantly active in counseling and in committee work. His early death, after but a decade of teaching at Grinnell, was felt as a personal bereavement by all who knew him.

Faculty control of the educational interests of the College was firmly established under President Gates, and with it the independent sovereignty of each department of study within its particular sphere. The pressure of new subjects upon the curriculum broke through the bonds of the older courses of study. In 1895 Grinnell adopted the Group System, then newly inaugurated at Johns Hopkins, in order to make room for new material and yet prevent the indiscriminate choice of unrelated subjects and the piling up of elementary courses in many fields. Thus a high degree of elasticity was secured, without the danger of futile scattering which was inherent in the method of the uncontrolled election of subjects with which Harvard was then experimenting — when President Eliot had "turned Harvard over like a flapjack," as Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote to John Lothrop Motley.



The Social Sciences and Jesse Macy

WITH Gates's strong personal commitment to the cause of social progress, it was inevitable that he should do all in his power to encourage the study of social science at Grinnell. The local atmosphere was already favorable to this development through the presence in the faculty of a graduate of the College, whose unfolding genius, growing through a strangely changing program of teaching, was to make him a great pioneer in the study of national and international politics.

Jesse Macy¹⁴⁴ was the youngest son, the thirteenth of fourteen chil-

dren, in a Quaker family settled on a farm near Lynnville, Iowa. Pioneering was in the Macy blood, as was sturdy independence of thought. The founder of the American branch, an English Puritan, emigrated from Wiltshire to Massachusetts about 1635, came under condemnation of the law in the colony by harboring "obnoxious" Quakers, and escaped to the island of Nantucket, where the family became converts to the faith of the English Friends. Jesse's progenitors later joined a Quaker settlement in the forests of North Carolina. His parents, to escape the blight of slavery, journeyed over mountains and across rivers to the wilds of Indiana, later moving to a still newer section of the Hoosier state. Jesse was born in Henry County, Indiana, June 21, 1842. In the 1850's, the pioneering urge drove his parents to seek a larger opportunity for their many children in Poweshiek County, Iowa, fifteen miles south of the location selected by J. B. Grinnell and his associates for a town and a university.

Jesse was seventeen when Professor L. F. Parker, who was then also county superintendent, "discovered" him and persuaded his father to send him to Grinnell to be educated. Since Jesse was destined to be the most distinguished son of the College and its most influential teacher, and since no other man's career was more completely bound up with Grinnell, it seems appropriate to give ample space to the events of his life.

"The week John Brown was hanged" (December 2, 1859) Jesse Macy walked fifteen miles across the prairie and came to Grinnell to complete his fragmentary preparation for college. A girl in the later academy class of 1865 remembered the "tall gangling figure in a butternut suit" coming into the upper room of the public school, and remarked that the young recruit was well behind her own class in preparation. After one term Jesse's beginning of formal education was interrupted. These farmer boys had to work for the few dollars it cost to go to school, and Jesse applied himself to farm labor and rural school teaching. When he continued his own schooling, it was at the Friends' Institute near Oskaloosa, from 1861 to 1863, after which he returned to Grinnell for another term in the junior preparatory class.

Meanwhile he had been chosen a member of the representative committee of the Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends. It was this official responsibility rather than personal preference that led him to claim the legal exemption from military service granted to Quakers, when

he was drafted for the Union Army in 1864. The military officers refused to honor this exemption and insisted on his bearing arms, but he steadily declined. As he was denied hospital service for which he applied, he remained with his military unit and participated, strictly as a noncombatant, in Sherman's March to the Sea. He was at last given a hospital assignment shortly before he was mustered out at the close of the war. This extraordinary experience is described graphically and with good humor in his *Autobiography*. His personal contact with the pretentious rigidity and arrogance of the limited military mind was calculated to confirm him in his loyalty to Quaker principles.

In February, 1866, Macy entered Iowa College as a freshman. He was just twenty-eight when he was graduated from the classical course, which included Greek, Latin, mathematics, mental and Christian science (no relation to Mrs. Eddy's later sect), "belles lettres" (bits of English literature, rhetoric, aesthetics, and general history), a smattering of physical science, and one term of political science.

While remaining a member of the Society of Friends, he had joined the Congregational Church at Grinnell and chosen the ministry as his life work. However, instead of going to Yale for a theological course, he accepted a position as tutor in Iowa College, to which he had been elected without his knowledge, but a position for which he had qualified himself by teaching Academy classes during his own college years. By the end of the year, the trustees elected him principal of the Academy. Their urging, together with his fear that a serious weakness of the throat would prove a permanent impediment to success in the pulpit, led him to abandon his plan for a ministerial career and accept the teaching profession that seemed "thrust upon him."

During the fifteen years of Principal Macy's administrative service, he was feeling his way toward his lifework and his original method as a teacher. More or less filling gaps in the curriculum, he taught mathematics (rebellng against repetition of the same material), ancient languages (with a defective verbal memory and uncertainty as to the forms of speech), physiology, history of civilization, history and constitutional law (replacing desultory lectures by visiting jurists), and political economy, for which his preparation consisted of six weeks devoted to the study of an inferior text in economics. All the time his own chief interest was in politics and government.

During the last two years of his principalship he was also acting

professor, and then professor, of history and political science in the College. From 1885 to his retirement in 1912 he gave his time altogether to college teaching; his chair was described presently as constitutional history and political economy, and finally as political science.

Macy's interest in problems of government and social reform stemmed in part from his family's discussions of the slavery issue and the reading of Horace Greeley's editorials in the *New York Weekly Tribune* and of Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as it appeared serially in the *National Era* during his boyhood; in part from his experience in the Civil War, after which he sought but failed to find work among the freedmen in Missouri. His method, which was a natural expression of his personal rectitude and devotion to truth, was stimulated by the reading of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, which came to him as a "veritable new gospel." The unprejudiced objectivity of Darwin's approach, the untiring accuracy and patience of his twenty years' observation and gathering of facts, the honesty of his consequent generalizations, came as a revelation of a scientific method which Macy was eager to apply to the study of human relations, in order that there might be a *science* of politics, leading to a "new and righteous order." "Great as was the revolution actually accomplished in the advancement of the natural sciences, even greater and more beneficent would be the expected revolution to be accomplished in social and political science."¹⁴⁵

Macy was realistic enough to recognize the difference in the materials of political as compared with natural science: "What men say and think about the operations of oxygen and hydrogen makes no difference to the phenomena; but what men say and think about the relations of capitalists and their employees does make a difference." So opinions, prejudices, traditional views, partisan loyalties, and hatreds, which have no place in the study of physical and biological phenomena, are among the very materials of investigation in the field of politics. But Macy was also enough of an idealist to believe that a political debate, conducted in the scientific spirit, might promote a willingness to surrender individual and partisan advantage for the sake of general welfare. However, the political scientist would always begin by inquiring, not how the human animal ought to behave according to any preconceived system, but how he actually does behave.

Macy tells in his *Autobiography* how he stumbled on the proper method of study in his chosen field. He was teaching a class in Greek and Roman history, and though he had himself found much pleasure in reading Rollins' *Ancient History*, he could not arouse the students' interest in the remote subject of the Greek city-state. At last, in a fit of desperation, he closed the book and dismissed the class with the assignment: "You may take the town of Grinnell for your next lesson!" So he and his pupils consulted local officials, interviewed pioneer citizens, read town ordinances and state laws, and learned what they could about the relation of the little municipality to township, county, state, and federal government. When at last they resumed the study of the ancient Greeks, both class and teacher were transformed: "We had planted our feet upon the solid earth. Political phenomena, in Athens or Grinnell, had become an object of transcendent interest, and civil duties were to be taken note of in the classroom as an important part of our daily work."¹⁴⁶

Here was the new method: never to learn by rote out of a book what the student could see with his own eyes, but to go to the grass-roots, gather the facts, and let theories grow out of the facts. This was quite in the spirit of Macy's great contemporary, Justice Holmes, who said in his Lowell Lectures (1881): "The life of the law has not been logic; it has been experience. The felt necessities of the time . . . even the prejudices which judges share with their fellow-men, have had a good deal more to do than the syllogism in determining the rules by which men should be governed."

Macy was eager to impart his discovery to other teachers, especially to those in the public schools, but he found it most difficult to wean the ordinary pedagogue away from his (or her) dependence upon the authority of the textbook. School superintendents demanded a book containing the materials which the teachers could not be expected to gather at firsthand. Making this concession from his design, Macy published *Civil Government in Iowa* (1881), and expanded it in *A Government Textbook for Iowa Schools*. Publishers were asking for a general text on civil government, and the result was *Our Government, What It Does and How It Does It* (1886).

This was the beginning of extensive writing, during a period of forty years, on political, social, religious, and international subjects. Meanwhile, textbooks in civil government multiplied throughout the country, all following the lead of Macy's essential idea. In his later

writing Macy encountered charges of radicalism because he combatted the rigidity of contemporary interpretations of the Constitution. Here again he was at one with Justice Holmes, who said: "The Constitution is an experiment, as all life is an experiment."

The chair of political science in Iowa College was the original creation of Professor Macy. In it he pioneered not only in the instructional material but also in the use of the discussion method rather than formal lectures or textbook recitation. Though he had strong convictions, he never imposed his own opinions on his students or gave them ready-made formulas. He was so objective in his attitude and consistently inductive in his method that his students often complained they could not discover where the professor stood on controversial issues.

Abstractions and facile generalizations never allured his inquisitive and realistic mind. It was the human scene itself, with all its crudities, complexities, contradictions, and oddities that fascinated him. For statistics and mere book-learning he had little use, and for propaganda none at all. It was refreshing to watch his keenly penetrating mind, illumined by a dry and kindly humor, cut through the specious sophistries of self-important pedantries of academic debate to the warm human values underneath. Human conduct was his raw material, and his clearness of vision in reading it was matched by the honesty and simplicity of his interpretation. He was therefore consistent in treating with great patience and consideration the immature opinions and arguments of his students, when they were genuine and honestly expressed. But toward evasion and disingenuousness he was without pity.

Professor Macy was an idealist with a realistic method. He was a rare combination of the scientific mind and the sympathetic heart, one of the few men whose minds and hearts are big enough to harbor a genuine concern for the whole of humanity, without the least admixture of sentimentality. His thinking about the facts of political behavior rose inevitably into a philosophy, which was at one with his religion. His steady loyalty to the church was based more upon his conviction of the social significance of the church as an institution than upon any dogmatic consideration or any direct personal inspiration he derived from it. He was fundamentally impelled to an unswerving devotion to those institutions which he felt were expressive of the common life and instrumental in its best development.

Among the happiest of Professor Macy's life experiences were the cordial relations formed with other authorities in the field of interest that he had made peculiarly his own. Such contacts were widened through occasional leaves of absence for foreign travel or temporary teaching elsewhere, or by giving courses at summer sessions of American universities. He carried on this work even after his retirement from active teaching at Grinnell, and in 1913 gave the Harvard Lectures at the French provincial universities in Poitiers, Tours, Bordeaux, and Toulouse, substituting for Albert Bushnell Hart. During his stay in England he formed close associations with such leaders of advanced thought as Sidney Webb and George Bernard Shaw.

James Bryce became Macy's intimate friend and visited him at Grinnell whenever his travels brought him within reach. Bryce consulted Macy with regard to his *American Commonwealth* and later books, and asked him to prepare the abridgement of his *Commonwealth* for college use. In 1921 Lord Bryce wrote to Mrs. Macy: "There was no one in your country whose friendship I valued more or for whom I had a deeper respect." And one of Professor Macy's old students expressed the general feeling of many in saying: "He was the wisest and kindest man I have ever known."

Professor Macy was already well established in his college chair when his former teacher of classics, Professor L. F. Parker, declining calls from other colleges, returned to Grinnell from his unhappy experience at the State University. He relieved Macy of part of his dual chair by creating, in 1888, a separate department of history, which he conducted until his retirement. Professor Parker remained a teacher of the old school, and retained undimmed his crusading loyalty to causes that appealed to his patriotic and religious devotion. He differed from Macy in his inflexible partisanship and in his growing conservatism, supported at times by special pleading. But Professor Parker's vivid personality, his generous interest in his students, and his never failing devotion to the welfare of the community ensured him the widest recognition as the Grand Old Man of college and town.

Professor Parker retired in 1898 and was succeeded by Allen Johnson (Ph.D., Columbia),¹⁴⁷ who brought modern equipment to the teaching of history. After seven years Professor Johnson accepted a call to Bowdoin College and went from there to Yale, where he edited the collection of *Chronicles of America*. In 1926 he retired from

teaching to become general editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

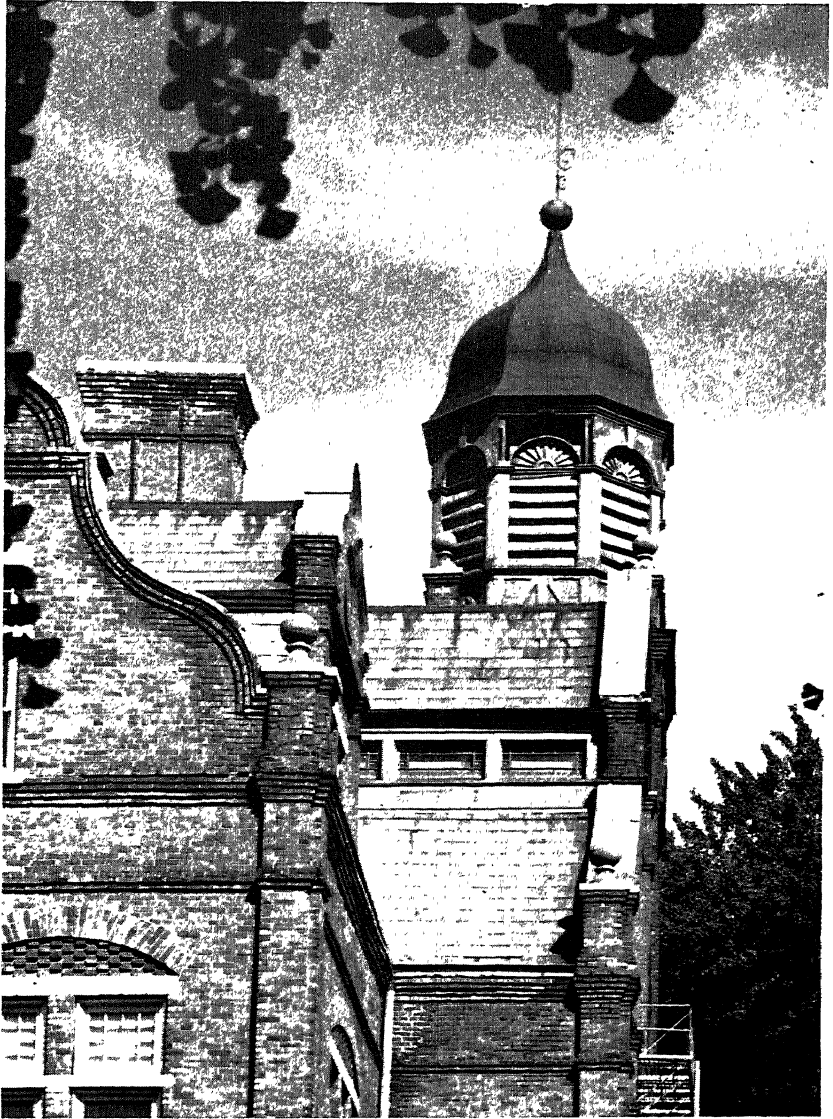
Reactions differed toward the establishment of a new department of study under the challenging title of "Applied Christianity." Gates was characteristically enthusiastic, Parker instinctively hostile, Macy favorable — with quiet reservation — to the injection into the Grinnell scene of a firebrand whose name was George Davis Herron.¹⁴⁸ Herron was born into a devoutly religious family in Montezuma, Indiana, January 21, 1862, and even in his boyhood seems to have developed a persistent conviction that he was destined to play a messianic part in the regeneration of the world. His formal education was fragmentary — an unfinished course of study in the preparatory department of Ripon College in Wisconsin — but he was able to assimilate the materials for his career as a public speaker by diligent reading. Impatient of the lore of the schools, he managed admission to the ministry without the formality of a course in theology, and he did not escape the tendency to cocksureness that is often found among the self-taught. He was twenty-one when he entered the ministry and married the daughter of the mayor of Ripon. His horizon was widened by two years' subsequent travel and study in Europe.

In 1891 Herron was pastor of a small Congregational church at Lake City, Minnesota, when an address before the State Association of Congregational Churches at Minneapolis gave him an opportunity to display his oratorical power before a wider audience. His subject was "The Message of Jesus to Men of Wealth." The impression made by this address led to his call to Burlington, Iowa, as associate pastor with Dr. William Salter of the Iowa Band. Here his fervid preaching of a social gospel aroused the instinctive hostility of many conservative members of the church, but found ardent support among the liberal-minded. Among these were Mrs. E. D. Rand, wealthy widow of a pioneer lumberman, and her daughter Carrie. Their sympathy with the young preacher's desire to find a free platform and a wider resonance for his radical message prompted them to provide the endowment for a chair of Applied Christianity at Iowa College, in which, with the cordial support of President Gates, Herron was installed as professor in 1893, just after Tabor College made him a doctor of divinity. Mrs. Rand and her daughter also now made Grinnell their home, and Carrie became instructor in social and physical culture, as well as principal for women in the College.

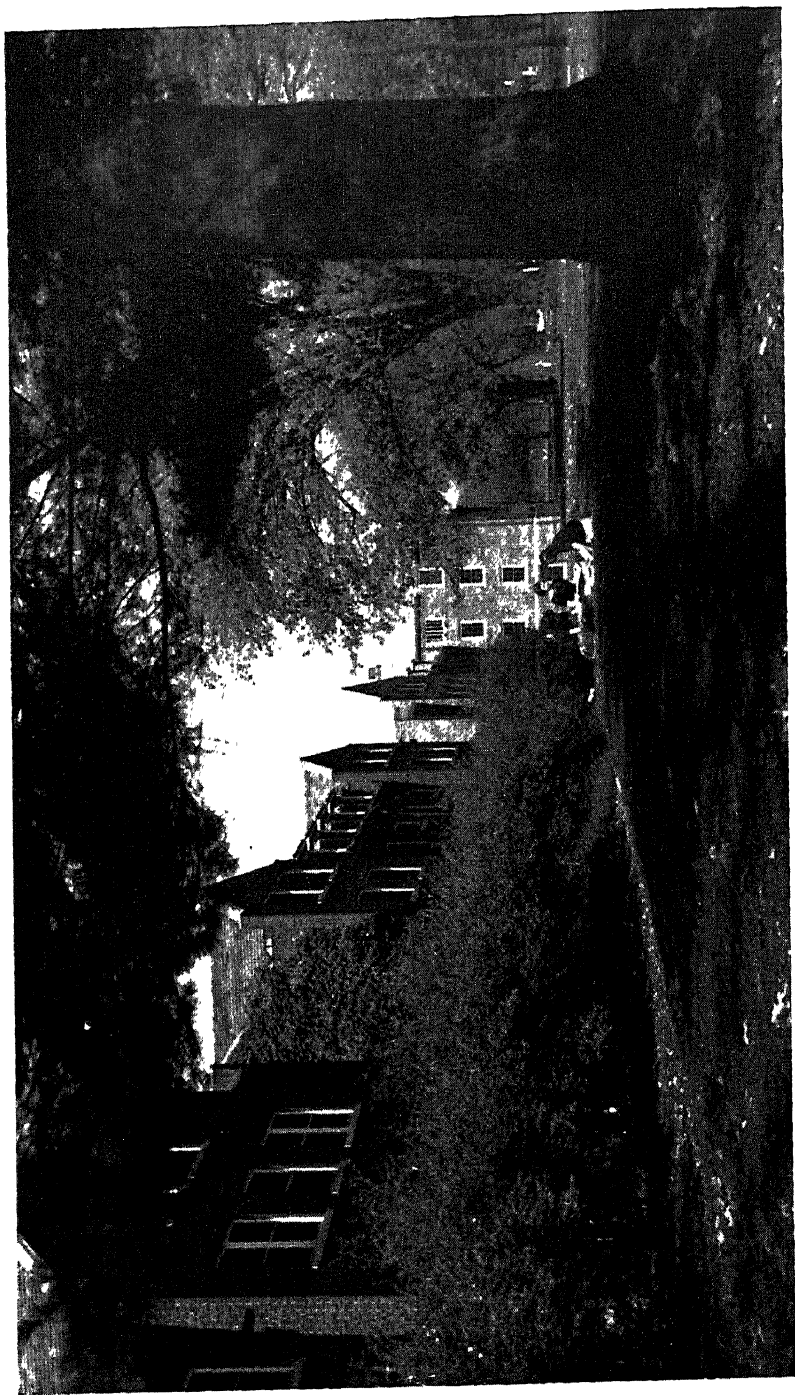
The impact of the personality and the teaching of Professor Herron upon the College and the larger community was electric; it soon became nationwide. His appearance was arresting rather than impressive: a slender frame of somewhat over medium stature, a pale complexion contrasting with the deep black of hair and beard, a carrying voice which could become rasping in invective, a combative self-assurance, and a certain hypnotic power reminding one of Svengali in Du Maurier's *Trilby*. The man had a passionate conviction of his prophetic mission, which made him as ready as Amos to ride roughshod over the prejudices and cherished traditions of creative minds, and with harsh denunciation to attack entrenched privilege in economic and social life.

This flaming evangel of a Christ-motivated society made a powerful impression on serious and generous minds in the college community, as well as on ever wider circles outside. Here was a prophet of a new Christian order who might have hastened the progressive movement toward social justice in the nation if his unquestionable power had not been vitiated by weaknesses that became more evident during his eventful six years at Grinnell.

The contrast between Macy and Herron, who were working in the same general field, was as sharp as that between Magoun and Gates, though in a different way. Both, indeed, had a common passion for social righteousness and shared a common devotion to the ideals of Christian living. Both, likewise, were self-taught. But despite the Quaker's inbred faith in the "inner light," Macy was conscientiously scientific in his survey of the political and economic scene, basing all his study upon a careful investigation of factual data. Herron was audaciously intuitive, believing himself the recipient of direct personal revelation of the truth. There was always a twinkle in Macy's eyes; Herron was too intense ever to be humorous. Macy's method was Socratic — he made his students talk and acted as a judicial arbiter of their discussions; Herron was authoritative and taught by omniscient exhortation. Macy's style was simple, lucid, didactic; Herron's utterance was apocalyptic, with free use of superlatives and flamboyant phrases. Macy's high-pitched voice and somewhat hesitant manner disqualified him for effective public speaking; Herron was a forensic wizard. Macy was a faithful and humble communicant of his church; Herron was its caustic critic. Macy would improve the social structure by intelligence and good will; Herron would lay the



ADMINISTRATION BUILDING TOWER



THREE UNITS OF WOMEN'S QUADRANGLE

torch to it, that after its destruction there might arise something nearer to the heart's desire. In short, Macy was for reform, Herron for revolution.

In essence, it was Herron's manner rather than his substance that was most offensive to the defenders of the status quo. His theory, in so far as he had a definite doctrine, was not more subversive than that of progressive religious and social thinkers in general. His earlier publications were approved by religious journals of various denominations and highly praised by men whose judgment carried weight. Lyman Abbott said of Herron's first book: "It is electric, and needs not the impassioned utterance of the speaker to give it emphasis. It flashes with a fire that is internal, and contains even more than it imparts. It is timely, courageous, Christian." Dr. John H. Barrows commented: "Nothing so eloquent and timely has appeared for many a month," and Josiah Strong wrote: "In this volume there speaks a man with the profound conviction and intense earnestness of one of the old Hebrew prophets."

Unfortunately, there were rifts in this champion's armor. He was the victim of his own extraordinary qualities, and he lacked the strength of character to overcome his peculiar temptations. His self-confidence easily took the form of overweening pride, his intense conviction made him impatient and censorious, his eloquence ran into exaggeration and wild invective, his hatred of the tyranny of wealth and privilege and his sympathy for the victims of social injustice were marred by his personal love of luxury and the alluring satisfactions that wealth can buy. Of money that came into his hands he was a thoughtless spendthrift. His domestic life was unhappy, and he took refuge from discord (doubtless much of his own making) in the adulation and ease that he found in the home of his patroness, whose daughter was his best comforter. Even in Burlington, before his coming to Grinnell, "a domestic tragedy had developed which made it impossible for him to continue as pastor."

There came into his manner an acerbity and a martyr-complex neither of which could gain him sympathy. His scathing condemnation of existing institutions aroused bitter antagonism and even alienated many who had once been his ardent partisans. President Gates continued to support him with exemplary loyalty, but many of the trustees and some members of the faculty felt that his presence was detrimental to the best interests of the College. This opposition

led to his resignation in October, 1899. When he joined the Socialist party, his enemies felt that their strictures had been justified.

Mrs. Herron secured a quiet divorce in a distant Iowa town. When it became known that she and her four children had been compensated with a large sum from the Rand fortune, and when Herron and Carrie Rand were married in an informal service, "each choosing the other as a companion," the Greek tragedy of the flaming prophet of righteousness seemed to have reached its catastrophe, at least so far as Grinnell was concerned.

In June, 1901, a Council of Iowa Congregational Churches, after full investigation, found Herron "guilty of immoral and un-Christian conduct" and expelled him from the Congregational ministry. His later opulent life abroad, in Italy and Switzerland, his third marriage after Carrie's death, and his activity as a sort of super-spy for President Wilson during and after the first World War had only faint reverberations among his old associates in the Midwest.

The Herron episode, backed by Mrs. Rand's financial support, made Grinnell the center of nationwide interest in the bold experiment of applying the teachings of Jesus to the solution of social and economic problems. Eminent lecturers were brought to Grinnell for addresses on social questions; summer schools and "retreats" organized by the department of Applied Christianity brought ministers and social workers to Grinnell from every part of the country for discussion and conference. One feature of such meetings has remained a permanent characteristic of great educational value: Grinnell College has always maintained a free platform for the serious discussion of controversial issues.

The administration of President Gates had made Grinnell a pioneer in the preaching of the Social Gospel. Reform was in the air, and soon the muckraker was abroad, proclaiming the economic and social sins of the nation. The Protestant churches began to draw together in a concerted movement toward social justice. In 1908 the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was organized, and the Council soon went on record as advocating protection of the worker from occupational diseases, abolition of child labor, suppression of the sweatshop, reduction of the hours of the work day, workers' compensation, old age insurance, and "the most equitable division of the products of industry that can be devised." The church was well on the way toward a new interpretation of the Abundant Life.



☆ XI ☆

Presidency of Dan Freeman Bradley
1902-1905

THE contention aroused by the activities of Dr. Herron cast a shadow over the last years of President Gates's administration. Not only some of his associates on the faculty and among the trustees but many of his ministerial brethren were increasingly critical of the radicalism that seemed to be injected into the academic blood stream. This disapproval reacted upon the president, who had remained a sturdy champion of freedom of teaching. He could not help feeling also that Herron, whom he had supported with fraternal loyalty, had let him down. Burdened

by such griefs, and by the state of his wife's health, which required a change of climate, he resigned the presidency in 1900. A brief but strenuously public-spirited pastorate at Cheyenne, Wyoming, was followed by two further college presidencies, at Pomona College, California, 1901-1909, and at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. His death, November 20, 1912, was the indirect result of a serious injury in a railway accident.

During the interregnum following the departure of President Gates, John H. T. Main, professor of Greek, served as acting president. He seemed so well fitted for academic leadership that his colleagues on the faculty urged his election to the vacant presidency. However, the trustees were still faithful to the tradition that the head of a Christian college be a minister. They were also mindful of the suspicion of the College that had arisen among ministers, and hence desired that the new president be able to reknit strong bonds of sympathy between the churches and the College. In September, 1900, they extended a call to Professor Frank Knight Sanders of the Yale Divinity School, who visited Grinnell but declined the offer, probably because of the financial burden it involved. Then their choice fell upon another prominent churchman who seemed to possess all the desired qualifications: the Rev. Dan Freeman Bradley. He was elected president in June, 1902.

Dan Freeman Bradley¹⁴⁹ was born into a family of missionaries in Bangkok, Siam (now Thailand), March 17, 1857. He was a graduate of Oberlin College and Oberlin Theological Seminary, and had some academic experience as acting president of Yankton College in South Dakota, 1889-1892, and as a trustee of Oberlin. He had been for ten years pastor of the First Congregational Church in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Dr. Bradley was an excellent preacher, though without the exuberance of Gates or the fiery eloquence of Herron; he was possessed of a friendly and loyal spirit. The fine trees on the Grinnell campus, many of them planted by his hands, bear witness to his love of natural beauty.

He introduced an element of conservatism into the academic scene which was welcomed by friends of the College who had been disturbed by what seemed to them perilously radical tendencies. He was received with sympathy by the churches of the state, and did much to re-establish the College in their confidence. In short, Dr. Bradley did for Grinnell just what the trustees wished to have done. On the other

hand, the students were inclined to be critical of the informality with which he conducted public exercises (the Chapel had never before been used for pep-sessions), and the faculty failed to find in him the educational leadership which seemed to them essential in the conduct of academic affairs. He was himself disappointed in the lack of enthusiasm he encountered among men from whom he had confidently expected financial support.

Dr. Bradley presently realized that he was better fitted for the pastorate than for a college presidency, and after three years he relinquished the somewhat uncongenial task at Grinnell and accepted a call to the important pulpit of the Pilgrim Congregational Church in Cleveland, which he served with distinction for thirty-two years. His well-earned place of leadership in the Congregational ministry was recognized in his election as associate moderator of the National Council in 1925; and his Alma Mater honored him in 1934 with a medal of distinction as the most useful alumnus of Oberlin. Dr. Bradley retained a generous interest in the welfare of Grinnell College until his death in 1939.

Faculty changes were relatively numerous during the three years of Dr. Bradley's administration. Professor Buck's long reign as sole professor of mathematics was nearing its end, and for the first time expert teaching came to this department in the persons of William James Rusk (A.M., Toronto and Bishop's College), who began his forty years' service in 1903, and Raymond Benedict McClenon (A.B., Yankton; Ph.D., Yale), who came as instructor in 1905, to become professor in 1918.

Two new departments were created. Botany was severed from the biological complex and began its separate existence in 1903, under Bruce Fink (Ph.D., Minnesota), who transferred to Miami University after three years. A department of speech was organized by John P. Ryan (A.B., Cornell; A.M., Chicago), who came as instructor in 1903 and became professor in 1906.

The resignation of Professor Nollen, who transferred to Indiana University in 1903 after a year's leave of absence abroad, was followed by the appointment of Percy B. Burnet, A.M. He was succeeded after two years by Roy Henderson Perring (A.M., Indiana; later Ph.D., Pennsylvania), who remained for thirty-eight years, first as professor of modern languages, later confining his teaching to German.

Allen Johnson's departure for Bowdoin brought Paul Frederick Peck (A.B., Grinnell; Ph.D., Chicago) back to Grinnell as professor of history in 1905. Dr. Heidel was succeeded by Charles Newton Smiley (A.B., Drury; Ph.D., Wisconsin) as professor of Latin in 1905. In the department of English, Professor Whitcomb was followed in 1905 by Herbert S. Mallory (Ph.D., Yale), who remained in Grinnell only two years.

After the death of Professor Simmons late in 1900, John Eloff Boodin (Ph.D., Harvard) became professor of philosophy, succeeded in 1904 by John Dashiell Stoops (A.B., Dickinson; Ph.D., Boston), who thus began thirty-eight years of service in this department.

The aftermath of the Herron episode was more complicated. The departure of Dr. Herron in 1899 gave Associate Professor Garret Polhemus Wyckoff (A.B., Grinnell)¹⁵⁰ charge of the department for the second semester. He remained as acting professor until 1903, then filled out Professor Macy's absence on leave as acting professor of political science, and in 1905 became professor of economics.

Meanwhile, as a result of meeting Dean Main on a transatlantic vessel, Edward Alfred Steiner (Ph.D., Heidelberg)¹⁵¹ had become professor of Applied Christianity in 1903 and continued to adorn this chair for thirty-eight years. Dr. Steiner was born in Slovakia, then under Hungarian domination, November 1, 1866. He was educated in the public schools of Vienna and the *gymnasium* at Pilsen, Bohemia, attended the University of Heidelberg, and later the universities of Göttingen and Berlin. A pilgrimage during his student days to the home of Tolstoi left a deep impression upon him. An indiscreet interest in revolutionary literature made him an object of suspicion to the Hungarian authorities; a timely warning made him a fugitive and an emigrant to America. His book *From Alien to Citizen* is a moving story of his escape from the clutches of a despotic government to our shores and of the struggles of a lone immigrant with inhospitable elements in this land of the free.

From an extraordinary variety of discouraging adventures and hard labor he came at last to Oberlin, where he found spiritual peace and a vocation, entered the Seminary, and received his B.D. in 1891. He was ordained a Congregational minister that same year and held pastorates at St. Cloud and St. Paul, Minnesota, Springfield and Sandusky, Ohio. In 1903 he was the special representative of the *Outlook* in Russia, where he renewed his acquaintance with Tolstoi,

whose biographer he became. In September, 1903, he came to Grinnell, from where he also carried on a lecturing activity that covered the entire country; he wrote sixteen books and many magazine articles. For some years he made frequent trips abroad with groups of students, investigating immigration conditions and problems.

Probably no one connected with the College from the beginning has carried the name of Grinnell to so wide an audience throughout the nation as has Dr. Steiner. Considering that English was not his mother tongue, his felicity of style and his effective use of humor and pathos may be called phenomenal; his power to express spiritual values in forms that are intellectually and emotionally telling is unexcelled. He received two honorary degrees from Grinnell, D.D. in 1915, L.H.D. in 1943.

Dr. Bradley's brief administration marked the end of the ministerial tradition at Grinnell. Henceforth the presidency was to be considered as primarily an educational function, demanding the service of men with a definite training and experience in the academic field. Such a man was then immediately available, and this time the trustees and faculty were agreed that the College could be best served by the promotion of Dean Main, who had already proved his ability as a teacher and an administrator. This time there was no need of a hiatus between administrations.



☆ XII ☆

Administration of President Main
1906-1931

JOHN Hanson Thomas Main¹⁵² was born at Toledo, Ohio, April 2, 1859. His father was a farmer and contractor, of remote English descent, but the branch that settled in Maryland early in the seventeenth century came from Germany. His mother died when he was a few weeks old, and he was brought up by an aunt near Fremont, Ohio. Intending to become a physician, he read some medicine while attending Moore's Hill College in southern Indiana (A.B., 1880; A.M., 1883). After graduation he taught in country schools, then

returned to Moore's Hill to teach Latin and Greek, and to become vice-president of the college. Here, in 1881, he married Emma Myers of Jeffersonville, Indiana. He did his graduate work and earned his Ph.D. in Greek under the famous Gildersleeve at Johns Hopkins, 1889-1892, meanwhile teaching Greek and Latin at the Woman's College of Baltimore (now Goucher) and holding a fellowship at Hopkins.

Dr. Main began his thirty-nine years' service at Grinnell in 1892 as professor of Greek. At this time he seemed the typical cloistral scholar and teacher, whose influence would be limited to the college close. He was very tall (six feet four), slender, quiet, retiring in manner, and ineffective in public address, but a born teacher. He immediately drew to the study of Greek some of the ablest of the academic youth and aroused their enthusiastic loyalty. His capacity for academic leadership soon became evident to his colleagues, who elected him secretary of the faculty and member of the curriculum committee which so dominated the academic procedure (untouched by President Gates) that other members of the staff jocularly, or sometimes petulantly, referred to it as the *Imperium in Imperio*.

During the interval following the departure of President Gates, Main was made acting president and with the coming of Dr. Bradley became dean of the faculty. In 1906 he entered upon his twenty-five years' service as president, the longest and in some respects the most fruitful administrative term in the history of the College, ending with his death April 1, 1931.

The friends and associates of John H. T. Main were able to follow, in his career, the unanticipated development of a public leader. Beginning as a highly successful teacher, but demure and unimpressive in his wider relations, by dint of an indomitable will and untiring devotion to the interests of Grinnell and of higher education, he succeeded in becoming one of the great college builders of his generation and a leader in academic affairs in state and nation. His growing importance as an educator was recognized by five honorary doctorates, including one from Harvard, and by his election in 1924 to the governing board of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. During the first World War he served as member of the American Relief Commission to the Near East.

As an executive officer, President Main tended to be somewhat autocratic. Confident of his own ability and his own judgment, he

found it difficult to devolve responsibility, and he was impatient of opposition. The Board of Trustees, of which he was the president as well as the appointee, did little more during his administration than approve his recommendations, consequently losing some of its active members who had independent opinions and expressed them with vigor. He made some costly mistakes in acting, without full support of the trustees, upon his own imperfect business judgment, and toward the end this cost him the backing of some strong friends of the College. Nevertheless, largely by his own personal efforts, he raised the College to a new height of importance and influence.

The quarter-century of President Main's administration saw the building of the Grinnell of today. Curriculum, character of the faculty, endowment, effective plant, campus organization — these are in large part the work of his brain and his unflagging energy. Though it was many years since he had left the classroom for wider fields of activity, still all his thinking to the last day remained educational in the truest sense.

Not only in the rebuilding and the modernizing of the curriculum, and the choice of instructors, but in the planning of residences for men and women, in the development of student government, in the Gates Memorial Lectures, and in the Harvard Exchange relationship, he thought always in terms of a liberal education. The Women's Quadrangle and the Men's Dormitories are perhaps the most characteristic expression of this dominant interest in his life; because he embodied unique educational values in the structures and the furnishings of these student homes, they became a model for other institutions far and wide.

Above all, President Main had a zeal for the building of character, and he could contribute greatly to this end because he was himself endowed with a rarely rich and powerful character, some of whose outstanding qualities no one who knew him well could fail to observe and admire. Like the good Greek that he was, he remained a follower of Plato and an uncompromising idealist. He could not deliver an address without reference to eternal and absolute verities, and his clear eyes were unwaveringly fixed upon the Hellenic triad of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful. He was a man of faith, to whom Jesus was not a vague image in the dim distance, but a living presence calling men to follow Him, the very Master of Life.

He had abounding courage and never turned his back upon a

baffling problem or a threatening foe. He was sincerely a man of peace; yet he had the qualities of the good soldier. He had a power and persistence of will that carried him through every crisis of his severely tested administration and that bade him in the end drive himself with the last ounce of his waning strength, that his long task might be fully accomplished.

His was a sensitive spirit, responsive to every fine and lovely thought or thing, sympathetic and affectionate beyond the imagination of those who could not penetrate beneath the outer shell of reserve that always encased him to the core of tenderness in his heart. The last word in an estimate of his character must be devotion. He believed in Grinnell with a loyalty that claimed his whole being.

The outward aspect of the College was transformed during President Main's administration. For many years there had been little building on the campus. Under Gates had come the Mears Cottage for women and the two gymnasiums; under Bradley, the Carnegie Library, secured with the influence of Dr. Albert Shaw, alumnus and trustee. Now Herrick Chapel and the Christian Association building (1906) provided an adequate center for the religious life of the College. Students who had been housed in private dwellings through the town were gathered into the Women's Quadrangle (1915) and the group of Men's Dormitories (1917), built according to the president's plan. These residence groups furnished a beautiful and dignified setting for the integration of student life for both men and women on the campus, making it possible to organize the social life of students more effectively and to experiment with appropriate methods of student self-government. A dean of men and a dean of women were added to the staff in order to give better guidance to the social as well as the academic life of the College, and housemothers or hostesses for the various cottages and men's dormitories made the life of these residence centers more homelike. It must be admitted that the men at first looked askance at the intrusion of this female element into their masculine life, but the ladies who assumed this motherly function soon made themselves popular and indispensable.

The religious life of the students was not neglected. President Gates had experimented with a brief vesper service on Wednesday afternoons, but this experiment was of short duration. It was while Dr. Main was acting president in 1901 that he proposed a regular Sunday afternoon period of worship in the Chapel; he favored a service rather

formal in type, musically enriched, with the use of liturgical elements. This was arranged by a committee of the faculty, and for forty years this vesper service continued as a "heritage of beauty." The architecture of Herrick Chapel (built in 1906) lent itself admirably to this purpose, as did the Terrill Memorial Organ after 1908; the men's and women's glee clubs furnished the personnel of an exceptionally effective vesper choir.¹⁵³

To accommodate the rapidly growing enrollment, a new Recitation Hall was erected in 1916; and in the following year a new President's House was built, which was admired and envied by visiting college executives. An athletic field and grandstand and a modern heating plant had been provided in 1910; in 1927 a swimming pool rounded out the equipment for physical education.

When Dean Main became president, it was assumed that his duties would be academic rather than financial. However, it soon became evident that no one else was equal to the task of attracting the necessary funds; and perforce the scholar-teacher-administrator became also the financial agent of the College. This function he fulfilled with a success beyond the dreams of his predecessors.

Fortunately, Dr. Wallace Buttrick, executive secretary and later chairman of the General Education Board, had great faith in Grinnell College and was personally friendly to its president. Dr. Main was able to launch three campaigns for endowment, based on conditional grants from the Rockefeller Foundation. Thus one endowment campaign for \$500,000 was completed in 1908, another for the same amount in 1914. Four years later a more ambitious effort was contemplated: the raising of one million dollars in pledges, to secure an additional gift of half a million from the General Education Board. World War I and its aftermath greatly delayed progress on this campaign. The attempt to set up outside organizations to carry the load had no success, and the work, after such costly experiments, came back to the Grinnell office. Extensions of time were granted by the General Education Board, and finally by the last day of the last year of grace, December 31, 1930, the great task was completed. To it President Main gave the final efforts of his failing strength, as he was assailed by a fatal anemia for which medical science had no cure.

During the first quarter-century since the founding of the College, the endowment had grown to \$90,000, including subscription pledges and unpaid notes. Twenty-five years later the productive funds

amounted to almost \$400,000. At the close of President Main's quarter-century, the productive endowment amounted to \$2,165,000. There had been an equally notable increase in the value of the college plant. By 1945 the endowment had increased to \$3,760,000, and the value of the plant to \$2,600,000.¹⁵⁴

Another significant event of Dr. Main's administration was the change in the name of the College. In 1909, with the renewal of the original charter, the trustees decided to abandon the confusing name "Iowa College" (there being two state institutions of later date, the State University of Iowa and Iowa State College), except as the legal title of the corporation under the old charter, and to adopt the name "Grinnell College," which was already in general use.

Grinnell College was granted a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa in 1907, and was early admitted to the approved list of the Association of American Universities, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Graduates of the College were given large recognition by the Rhodes Scholarship Trust and for the special Iowa fellowships at Columbia on the Roberts Foundation, and the Perkins scholarship at Harvard.

President Main's activities served always to widen the scope of Grinnell College. The Harvard Exchange relationship, established in 1912, brought a succession of distinguished men to Grinnell as temporary members of the faculty. Albert Bushnell Hart initiated this plan at Grinnell, and he was followed by George Herbert Palmer, Clifford Herschel Moore, Lawrence Joseph Henderson, Thomas Nixon Carver, James Hardy Ropes, Edward Caldwell Moore, George Howard Parker, William Ernest Hocking, William M. Davis, George D. Birkhoff, George Grafton Wilson, and other eminent Harvard teachers.

The Gates Memorial Lectures also brought leading interpreters of the Social Gospel to the campus for brief courses of lectures. Among these were Hugh Black, Walter Rauschenbusch, Edward A. Ross, Franklin H. Giddings, Shailer Mathews, Willard L. Sperry, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Francis J. McConnell, Rufus M. Jones, Charles W. Gilkey, Harry F. Ward, Reinhold Niebuhr, George A. Buttrick, and Halford E. Luccock.

In 1913 the Grinnell-in-China educational movement was inaugurated, and since that time Grinnell graduates have been active in the conduct of schools for Chinese boys and girls at Techow in the province of Shantung.¹⁵⁵ In this same year the annual Fellowship Con-

ference of Congregational Churches in Iowa was inaugurated, in connection with which eminent leaders in the fields of religion, philosophy, and sociology have been brought to Grinnell for memorial lectures on a foundation created in honor of former President George A. Gates, and in memory of his dedication to the cause of the Social Gospel.

Another outpost of Grinnell, in the Near East, is Anatolia College. This college was organized in 1886, growing out of a school long operated under the A. B. C. F. M. at Marsivan in Turkey. In 1890 the Rev. George E. White, Grinnell '82, became a member of its faculty, in 1913 its president. During the first World War the college was closed by the Turks. After interim work with the Near East Relief, Dr. White in 1923 began the creation of a new Anatolia College at Salonika, the ancient Thessalonica, "beginning not only without a building, but without a bench, a book, a bed or a bell." Since that time the staff has been made up largely of Grinnell graduates — Dr. White's son George D. and his wife, both '15, Dean and Mrs. Carl Compton, both '13, and a succession of others. Dr. White tells the story in "Adventuring with Anatolia College."¹⁵⁶ The college at Salonika was taken over as a hospital during the second World War, first by the Greeks and then by the Germans, but was reopened in 1945.

During the quarter-century of President Main's administration the academic enrollment (exclusive of music) had grown rather steadily from 388 in 1905-1906 to a maximum of 785 in 1925-1926. A disturbing element had entered into the picture, however, when the first World War brought the Student Army Training Corps to the Grinnell campus in the fall of 1917. The young officers who were in command of the training corps were too inexperienced to succeed in the care and discipline of the boys in their charge, and were too conscious of their brief authority to cooperate smoothly with the members of the faculty who remained to carry on their teaching functions. As a result of this condition, there was a needless loss of life among recruits from an epidemic of influenza. Meanwhile several members of the faculty were in auxiliary war service away from Grinnell, and President Main himself worked, from December, 1918, to June, 1919, as a member of a commission appointed by the Near East Committee of New York to investigate famine conditions in Armenia and Syria. Much remained to be done to restore normal

conditions on the campus after the disbanding of the S. A. T. C. which brought a sudden drop in enrollment. The flush twenties more than compensated, however, but the early depression years brought the enrollment down to 661 in 1930-1931, and further to a low point of 551 in 1933, when the enrollment in music, which had touched nearly 300 in 1920, dropped almost out of sight, with 19. But this was a problem for the next administration.

The doubling of the enrollment up to 1925 had brought with it a large increase in the size of the teaching staff, and also the establishment of several additional departments of study. In 1905 there were sixteen departments; by 1931 ten had been added, partly by the division of modern languages into German and Romance languages, the separation of economics and sociology, and of education and psychology; partly by the creation of new departments, such as business administration, history of thought, art, drama, journalism, and physical education. The "School of Music," originally semi-independent, was now incorporated into the curriculum as a regular department of the College. There were also temporary titles, such as engineering, history of philosophy and religion, biblical education and religious education, and religious thought.

It is evident that in these years of expansion the College was reaching out for an ever wider interpretation of the concept of liberal education (in which President Main used to say that Grinnell "specialized"), with the result that some rather technical material was more or less fully absorbed, and there was inevitable duplication of the subject matter between the departments. Later years were to see a recession from this tendency.

With the great increase and constant fluctuation of personnel during this administration, it is manifestly impossible to follow the changing membership of the faculty in full detail. Of the sixteen members of professorial rank who came before 1906, eight remained beyond 1931. They were Norris in biology, Almy in physics, Rusk and McClenon in mathematics, Perring in German, Ryan in public speaking, Stoops in philosophy, Steiner in Applied Christianity.

Changes in personnel during President Main's incumbency were kaleidoscopic, and the pattern remaining at the close of his administration was in many ways different from that at the beginning. The fundamental purpose of the College had not changed; the ideal of a liberal education was constantly held in view, but the injection of

rich new material into the curriculum led to much experimentation in the arrangement of the course of study.

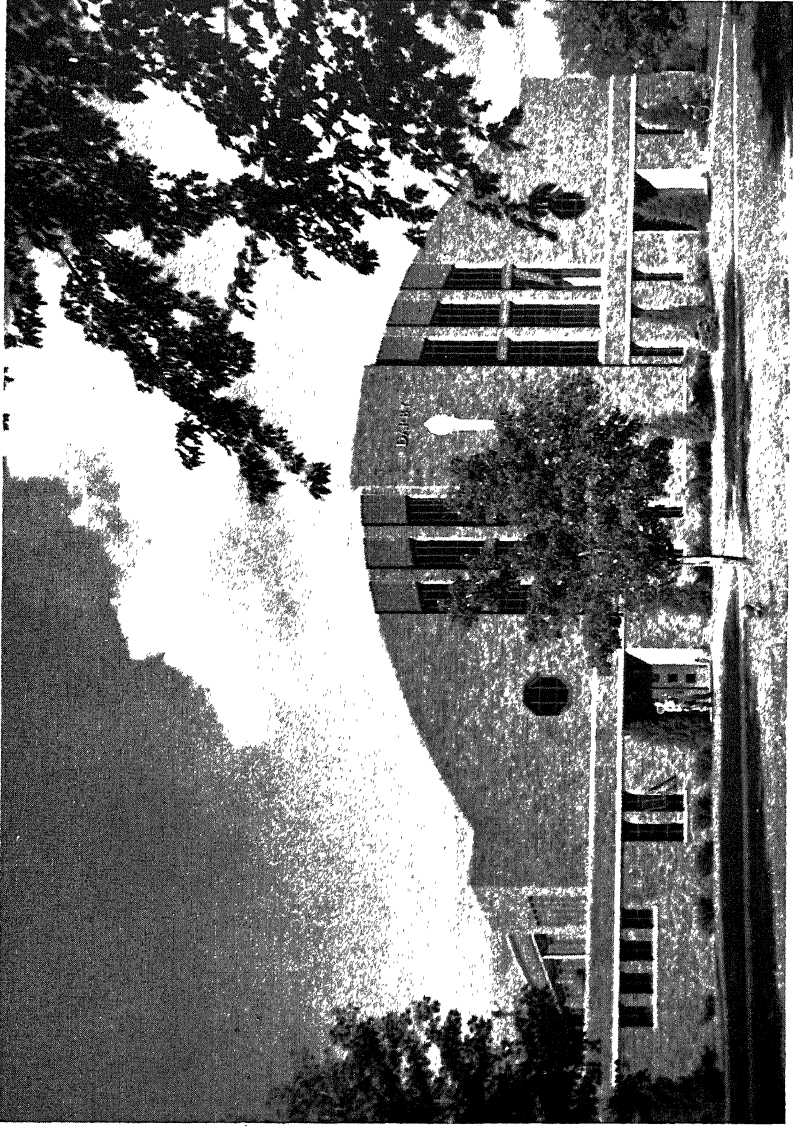
The group system, which had liberalized the curriculum in the nineties, in turn broke down under the pressure of multiplied courses. A major-and-minor system was adopted, with specific requirements stressing foreign languages (preferably ancient) for the B.A. degree, and laboratory science and mathematics for the B.S., with minimum requirements for either degree in English, mathematics, laboratory science, social science, foreign language, and philosophy or psychology.

Later the B.S. degree was discontinued, "orientation" and physical education appeared among the general requirements, and an ancient language or an additional laboratory science were admitted as possible substitutes for the required mathematics. Still later a system of concentration and distribution was adopted, with a grouping of subject matter and comprehensive examinations at the end of the course.

Naturally, the discussion as to the meaning and the content of a "liberal education" continued, and committees labored interminably to devise curricular arrangements that would combine strength with flexibility. The faculty continued to prove its liberality by its readiness to try educational experiments with a view to educational progress.

The title of dean of the faculty was unknown in Grinnell until Dr. Main was so designated with the coming of President Bradley. President Main at first continued to carry the duties of this office as a part of his administrative work, but when his frequent absences on endowment business suggested the revival of the deanship, Dr. John S. Nollen was recalled from his Red Cross service abroad in 1920 to fill this post, in which he continued until his election to the presidency in 1931.

Meanwhile the functions of a dean of men and a dean of women had been carried on as auxiliary service by various members of the faculty. Thus Fanny Cook Gates (Ph.D., Pennsylvania) was professor of physics and hygiene and dean of women, 1913-1916. The increase in the enrollment and the creation of the dormitory system made it advisable to give greater emphasis to the personal guidance of students. This service was first developed into a major function by Luella Jane Read (Ph.D., Michigan), who became dean of women in 1919, after serving as instructor in German, and who also taught the history of art until her death in 1932. Her service to the College



DARBY GYMNASIUM



AERIAL VIEW OF THE CAMPUS

was recognized in the naming of Read Cottage in the Women's Quadrangle.

The first full-time dean of men was Paul Norton MacEachron, '11, who went from Oberlin Seminary to Tchow, China, in 1916 as educational director of "Grinnell-in-China," and returned to Grinnell as dean in 1922. He was succeeded in 1925 by James Franklin Findlay, '22 (Ph.D., New York University), who transferred to the deanship of men at the University of Oklahoma, and then became president of Drury College. In 1929 Shelton L. Beatty (A.M., Cornell) came as dean of men and assistant professor of English, until he entered the naval service in 1943, when the second World War had reduced the registration of men to a handful.

In general, it may be said that during President Main's administration Grinnell College grew to full stature as one of the leaders in midwestern higher education. The last word about the president himself was spoken by Professor Harry W. Norris at the memorial service held in Herrick Chapel: "President Main personifies to me the driving force of ideals. On such men rest the staggering burdens of the world's unsolved problems. Such men are never daunted by disaster, never frightened by fear. With eye fixed upon the goal they never swerve from the course of their dreams. They may perish in the attempted fulfilment of their plans, but at least they hand the torch to light the way through the dead wood of tradition."¹⁵⁷



☆ XIII ☆

Through the Great Depression

1931-1940

BY THE end of 1930, after eleven years of strenuous effort, President Main had succeeded in securing pledges for one million dollars in his third endowment campaign. When, after his death, the officers of the General Education Board came in April, 1931, to make settlements on the Board's conditional pledge of half a million, only two-thirds of this amount was actually due, as one-third of the million in pledges still remained unpaid. This one-third was never realized, except in very small part. The Great Depression was on, and friends

of the College who had pledged generously out of previous prosperity were now utterly unable to keep their pledges, and most of these were subsequently written off by the trustees as uncollectable.

The depression had a cumulative effect upon Grinnell, as upon colleges in general. The academic enrollment, which had already declined from 785 in 1926 to 661 in 1930, dropped to a new low of 551 by 1933. Meanwhile, heavy deficits began immediately after the settlement with the General Education Board, at the rate of about eighty thousand dollars for the first fiscal year. Conditions were most unfavorable to the raising of money for current expenses.

It was under these conditions that John Scholte Nollen (A.B., Iowa; Ph.D., Leipzig) was promoted from the deanship to the acting presidency in April, and to the presidency in June, 1931. He was born January 15, 1869, at Pella, Iowa, the town founded by his maternal grandfather, the Rev. Henry P. Scholte, a Dutch nonconformist minister who had brought a colony of Hollanders to Iowa in 1847.

John received his early education from his father, who had taught mathematics at a *gymnasium* in Holland before coming to Pella, to become in time cashier of the local bank. This instruction at home was supplemented by courses at Central College in Pella. After graduating in 1885, he taught there for two years, in such varied fields as preparatory science, Greek, mathematics, and history, then studied a year at the State University of Iowa, specializing in chemistry and physics. The five years from 1888 to 1893 were spent abroad, two years in private tutoring at Cham, Switzerland, the rest in study at the universities of Zurich, Leipzig, and Paris (Sorbonne and Collège de France).

He came to Grinnell as professor of modern languages in 1893, and after ten years transferred to Indiana University as professor of German. He was married to Emeline Barstow Bartlett in 1906, just before taking a year's leave of absence abroad, whence he was called to the presidency of Lake Forest College, Illinois, in 1907. Mrs. Nollen died in 1910; four years later he married her sister, Louise Stevens Bartlett.

With the entrance of the United States into the first World War, Mr. Nollen in the fall of 1917 volunteered for service abroad under the Y.M.C.A., and after working with the American troops in France he was appointed general secretary of the Association to organize and

direct its work with the Italian Army. When it became evident that this war service would last indefinitely, he resigned the presidency of Lake Forest College, as well as the presidency of the Association of American Colleges, in which capacity he had also served on the educational section of the National Council of War. After the completion of his service with the Y.M.C.A., he served for some months in 1920 with the Commission to Europe of the American Red Cross. In the fall of this year he returned to Grinnell as dean of the faculty. During his eleven years as dean he did occasional teaching in the modern languages and in religious education.

The transition from Main to Nollen was marked again by a sharp contrast between a president and his successor. Main and Nollen always were and remained as close as the initial letters of their names in personal friendship and mutual confidence, but they differed in disposition and policy. M. was autocratic, N. cooperative; M. was remote, N. companionable; M. towered above his associates, N. was *primus inter pares*; M. was a Platonic idealist, N. a realistic meliorist; M. was a devotee of absolute verities, N. inclined to pragmatism; M. was essentially solitary (a tendency accentuated by later deafness), N. was sociable; M. was impatient of opposition or criticism, N. welcomed advice or suggestion; M. had the longest administration in the history of the College, N. came to the helm at sixty-two and could expect only a few years of executive activity.

"O wad some power the giftie gie us. . . ." N. had this "giftie" presented to him in a collection of letters gathered by his former Indiana colleague, John M. Clapp, then at Lake Forest, when the latter was proposing him (without his knowledge, during his year abroad) for the presidency of Lake Forest College. As N. has characterized M. in these pages, let the latter return the compliment. President Main wrote as follows:

I [have] had every opportunity to know in detail of [Professor Nollen's] work in the classroom, his training and his personality. He is a man with especially fine training and possesses, I believe, the qualities of personality and executive ability that are demanded in a successful administrator. He is a scholar in the best sense of the term. The work he has done has won recognition the country over, and he is looked upon by men competent to pass judgement as one of the ablest men in his department in the United States. He has every assurance of a brilliant future in his own department. I believe, however, that he is so well qualified for administrative work that he ought to take up the work of administration permanently. He is a man

of large sympathies and appreciates thoroughly the claims of all the subjects embraced in the college curriculum. He is a ready writer, a man of first-rate business ability, has a wonderful capacity for detail, and would be able easily to keep in touch with every college department and interest. In the matter of personality I am acquainted with no man whom I regard as his superior. He is sane, easily approached, sympathetic, and quick to appreciate in difficult situations the exact thing to do. I have long regarded him as the best available man for a presidential position.

This too-generous estimate by a friend is transcribed with proper diffidence, at the risk of its subject's appearing to be eavesdropping at his own funeral.

Naturally, the first concern of the new administration and of the trustees was to conserve the financial stability of the College in a time of severe economic crisis without impairing its educational efficiency. It was impossible to avoid laying a burden upon the administrative and teaching personnel; and in keeping with the general practice of colleges during the depression, salaries (none too large) were reduced as much as 20 per cent (half of this cut was subsequently restored). The faculty met this necessity with exemplary magnanimity.

In view of the extreme difficulty in the way of securing gifts for current expenses, a resolute effort was made to increase income by adding to the enrollment while also raising the charges for tuition and living to a figure commensurate with the quality of the service offered. Success was achieved in this matter, in spite of the cost of the method adopted, through the efficient work of field agents who were as much interested in the quality as in the number of the new students secured by their efforts. President Main had always been opposed to such field work, being persuaded that the quality of instruction at Grinnell should be its only recommendation ("the best mousetrap," etc.). He did not reckon with the power of the personal approach in publicity, or the extent to which other colleges, and even the state universities, were taking advantage of it. Much of the credit for the rapid increase in the enrollment at Grinnell was due to the intelligent work of Mrs. Elizabeth Howe, Associate in Public Relations, 1934-1937, whose efforts raised the enrollment from the Chicago area from 40 to 140. The entire academic enrollment was increased from 551 in 1933 to a new maximum of 817 in 1937-1938, and in June, 1939, the 168 students receiving bachelor's degrees constituted the largest class ever graduated from the College.

In order to accommodate the increased attendance, three large residences were taken over as additional dormitories. The over-all charge for tuition, room, and board, which in 1933 had been temporarily reduced to \$620 as an emergency measure, was gradually increased to \$750, which was still far below the amount charged by eastern colleges for similar accommodations. The general result of these expedients was the achievement of a balanced budget by 1936.

Another prime concern of the administration was the conserving and improvement of the teaching function of the College. To this end it became a difficult duty to sever the connection of several instructors with the College, and to find competent persons to fill these and other vacancies. It is a testimony to the appeal Grinnell made to well-trained and experienced teachers that, despite the financial difficulties of the time, it was possible to raise the general standard of teaching to a higher level.

The core of the faculty remained intact. Of the more important members of the staff in 1931, thirty-six continued through the nine years of this administration. The serious vacancy caused by the death of Dean Luella Read in 1932 was filled in 1933 by the election of Evelyn Gardner (A.B., Beloit; A.M., Radcliffe, formerly dean of women at Emporia College) as dean of women and associate professor of English.

The perennial discussion of the curriculum continued as usual, with an effort to limit the number of two-hour and two-student courses, to encourage scholarship by an improved grading system, and to arrive at a better balance of teaching loads among the members of the staff. A system of comprehensive examinations with reading periods was adopted in 1933. The circumstances which had led to the appointment of a dean of the faculty did not now exist, and as was the case during the earlier years of the preceding administration, the president continued to exercise the functions of the deanship. Certain of these functions, especially during the frequent absences of the president on visits to alumni gatherings throughout the country, and with "prospective donors," were assumed by Professor Henry S. Conard as chairman of the faculty, and his intelligent and devoted service to the interests of the College deserve grateful appreciation.

The tendency toward democracy in college government, which began with President Gates, came to its fullest development under this administration. The Board of Trustees was urged to change the

rule by which the president of the College had always been also chairman of the Board; and Fred Crego Smith, alumnus of the College and ever generous and loyal trustee, was elected president of the Corporation. The Board of Trustees was strengthened by the return of most useful members who had recently retired, the substitution of inactive members by new accessions giving promise of faithful service, and the election of two women to the Board, as seemed appropriate for a coeducational college.

All appointments to the faculty were made on recommendations of relevant faculty committees, and freedom of teaching continued to find defense against occasional criticism from the outside. Each teaching department remained autonomous within its own field. Trustees and faculty were animated by the same spirit of friendly cooperation; there was a minimum of the friction that is inevitable where many minds meet in common effort, and in spite of the economic difficulties of the period, the College approached the idyllic state of a harmonious confraternity of scholars. The students were given every opportunity for self-government they were ready to assume, and the advice of representative student groups was sought with reference to legislation affecting student life and organization.

Meanwhile, the gracious hospitality of the "first lady" made the President's House, ideally adapted to the purpose, a genial social center for the College, with a welcome also for the people of the town, few of whom had as yet entered its inviting doors.

The interest of the alumni was maintained and perhaps raised to a higher level. Many of them had found their enthusiasm flagging under the impact of continuous and burdensome though necessary appeals for funds, especially when professional soliciting agencies were employed whose tactics were more vigorous than judicious. Direct financial admonitions were now avoided at the many reunions attended in all parts of the country, though no secret was made of the needs of the College. There was enough in the recognized standing of the College and in the fine record being made by the newer graduates to arouse new pride in Alma Mater.

The constituency of the College was widened by the action of the Episcopal Diocese of Iowa in "adopting" Grinnell, there being then no college in the state officially recognized by that church. The Bishop of Iowa was elected to the Board of Trustees and became a faithful and valued member of this body.

Interest in international affairs was further stimulated by the association of the College with the American Friends' Service Committee and the Congregational Council for Social Action in organizing and conducting since 1935 a summer institute of international relations on the Grinnell campus, attended by delegates from all parts of the Midwest.

Since 1937 the generous interest of a friend of the College has provided the Rosenfield Lectureship on International Relations, which has brought a succession of experts to Grinnell, spending enough time on the campus for public lectures and more intimate conferences with students. The lecturers have included W. Arnold-Forster, British authority on world affairs, formerly associated with the League of Nations; Professors Hans Kohn and Walter Kotschnig of Smith College; Professor Owen Lattimore, leading expert on the Far East and political adviser to Chiang Kai-shek; Dr. Hans Simons of the New School for Social Research; and Dr. Pitman B. Potter, long connected with the Institute for International Study at Geneva. These developments have represented an attempt at a realistic appraisal of the forces making for a new world order. Much credit is due in this connection to the organizing leadership of Professor Charles E. Payne, head of the department of history.

Mr. Nollen's personal interest in world affairs was stimulated by several sojourns abroad, so that he spent altogether ten years in residence in European countries. During his deanship he had a year's leave of absence in 1927-1928, spent in teaching at Pomona College in California; this followed upon attendance during the summer as a delegate at the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne, Switzerland. His more recent public services have included membership on the Iowa State Board of Educational Examiners from 1933 to 1940, the governorship of the Nebraska-Iowa District of Kiwanis International in 1936, and the chairmanship for Iowa of Finnish Relief under Herbert Hoover. In 1941 he was appointed state chairman of the War Finance Committee for Iowa under the United States Treasury.

President Nollen arrived at the normal retiring age in 1939, but at the instance of the trustees he remained in office for an additional year, during which a committee of the Board, with representation of the faculty, engaged in an exhaustive search for his successor. The committee winnowed a list of one hundred and fifty suggested names

down to a small group of the most available, but when some of these gentlemen visited Grinnell, none seemed to the local authorities to combine all the desirable qualities.

Then an apparently fortuitous concatenation of casual circumstances led to the desired result. Toward the end of the year, President Nollen happened to be invited to speak on "college day" at the Congregational Church in Wilmette. Passing through Chicago, he happened to call on an alumnus of Grinnell, who chanced to mention the remark of a friend favorable to a Dr. Samuel Nowell Stevens at Northwestern University. With some difficulty, the alumnus succeeded in arranging an interview for Dr. Nollen with Dr. Stevens on Sunday afternoon. Immediately after the interview Dr. Nollen sent a report to members of the trustee committee (of which he was not a member). They had further conferences with Dr. Stevens, who then came to Grinnell for a visit and met other members of the Board in Des Moines.

Within a few days the whole matter was settled; election of Dr. Stevens followed at the annual meeting of the trustees at commencement. The next day the new president was presented to the alumni at their annual meeting, and met many who had come to attend the commencement exercises. Thus the torch was handed on from incumbent to successor with smoothness and dispatch, and a clear course was open for the new administration.

The attitude of the faculty toward the retiring executive was most generously expressed in the following resolution, adopted January 8, 1940:

Our friend and President, John Scholte Nollen, having resigned from the active administration of Grinnell College, the faculty wishes to place on record its profound respect and affection for one who has been its honored chief for nine years. He was elected at a time when all agreed that the new president should be one familiar with the traditions of Grinnell. His name was the only one mentioned on the campus, and he entered on his term of leadership with the unanimous support and confidence of his colleagues. That confidence has been fully justified. The range and versatility of his mind, the ample scholarship that he has never allowed to lapse, the integrity and generosity that all could count on, having been humanized by his friendliness, his sense of humor, his unflinching patience, and his joy of living. Dr. and Mrs. Nollen have been a priceless element in the life of Grinnell for over twenty years. They will be greatly missed and gratefully remembered by their associates.



☆ XIV ☆

Through the Second World War
1940-1946

THE recovery of the country from the Great Depression and the threat hanging over the world of a global war made it imperative that the new leadership of the College be in firm and experienced hands, ready to guide its destinies into an as yet uncharted future. Such leadership Dr. Samuel N. Stevens seemed unusually well qualified to provide. Men who knew him intimately testified that he was alert, vigorous, and well-rounded, "a superb administrator, utterly devoted to education in its best sense," with an enormous fund of energy,

accomplishing things by working with people, enlisting their loyalty and cooperation. In discussions with the trustees, he gave convincing evidence of a philosophy of life and education that was in full accord with the historic character and ideals of Grinnell College. The conjunction seemed most fortunate.

Samuel Nowell Stevens was born October 22, 1900, at Eastport, Maryland, near Annapolis. His father, Philip T. Stevens, was an officer in the United States Navy, assigned to the experimental station at the Naval Academy; the family had been connected with naval affairs for several generations. Samuel served in the United States Army at the end of the first World War, in 1918, and received his undergraduate education at Wesleyan University in Connecticut (B.A., 1921). Graduate work at Johns Hopkins University was followed by a theological course at the Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston, Illinois (B.D., 1924) and graduate courses in psychology at Northwestern University (Ph.D., 1926). In 1922 he married Anna Albert, who was a graduate of Johns Hopkins. Beginning as an instructor in psychology at Northwestern, he became a professor in charge of graduate courses in business and industrial psychology, specializing in psychotechnical problems. This special interest enabled him to act later as an expert consultant to important industries.

In 1929 he undertook the development of adult higher education at Northwestern, becoming the director of this department in 1931. Out of this experience grew the University College of Northwestern University; as its dean, he saw its enrollment increase from 400 to over 3,000. He also directed a course on the history and enjoyment of music for about 3,500 participants annually, and was active in the work of the North Shore Festival Association. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and other honorary societies.

Dr. Stevens began his service as president of Grinnell College on July 1, 1940. His wide and varied experience made it possible for him to apply himself without delay to the tasks of his position, which soon posed new and difficult problems with the outbreak of World War II. His many connections at Washington enabled him to secure for Grinnell such military educational units as were best adapted to the facilities of the College. There was an Officer Candidate School in the Adjutant General's Department, numbering about 750, in residence from October, 1942, to July, 1943; a Specialized Training Assignment and Reclassification Unit in residence from July, 1943,

to March, 1944, which brought from 500 to 1,100 men to the campus; and a unit of the Army Specialized Training Program from September, 1943, to March, 1944, attended by 250 to 360 men. The care of such large numbers was made possible by two important additions to the college plant, the Gardner Cowles Dormitory, providing additional dormitory rooms and a spacious refectory, and the Darby Gymnasium, with modern equipment for physical education and indoor games, as well as abundant space for large gatherings. These buildings were completed just in time for the use of the military units, and much of their furnishing could be secured only with the use of military priorities.

As at the time of the Civil War, so now, Grinnell became practically a women's college for the duration, and the civilian enrollment dropped to half the normal figure. The faculty too was reduced, partly by the demands of the war upon the younger personnel, partly by the retirement of an unusual number of older professors and the merging of departments related in subject matter. Latin and Greek were combined into a department of classical languages, and business administration was merged with economics.

The members of the faculty who were drawn into the national service included Henry Alden, Shelton L. Beatty, Evelyn M. Boyd, Herschel M. Colbert, Ben Douglas, H. K. Gayer, John W. Pooley, Elbert M. Smith, Walter J. Schnerr, and Dwight L. Wennersten. Others on leave were G. L. Duke, John Scott Everton, Raymond B. McClenon, and John C. Truesdale.

The "emeriti" included Henry S. Conard (D.Sc., 1944), Letitia Moon Conard, John W. Gannaway, Cecil F. Lavell, Eleanor Lowden, John S. Nollen, Harry W. Norris, George L. Pierce, William J. Rusk, E. B. T. Spencer, Edward A. Steiner, John D. Stoops, Milton Wittler, and G. P. Wyckoff.

Earl D. Strong, professor of economics, was elected dean of the College in 1944. In the absence of Dean Beatty, Associate Professor Joseph W. Charlton became acting dean of men, and Professor Paul Spencer Wood succeeded Professor Conard as chairman of the faculty. In 1945 the new office of vice president of the College in charge of institutional development was created by the trustees, and Louis Gage Chrysler, former mayor of Grinnell, was elected to this office.

The new administration was able soon to announce important additions to the resources and the physical equipment of the College. Al-

though these were in part due to the maturing of older plans, they testified to the strong faith of friends of the College in the present leadership and the assured future of Grinnell. In addition to the Cowles Dormitory, the gift of Gardner Cowles, publisher of the Des Moines *Register* and *Tribune*, and the Darby Gymnasium presented by Trustee John Frederick Darby, other gifts came to Grinnell. In 1942 Benjamin A. Younker, of Des Moines, and his family created the munificent Younker endowments to provide for the erection of an additional dormitory for men, a health center, instruction in branches of study pertaining to health, and a large number of scholarships to be awarded "without financial responsibility or liability for repayment upon the part of the recipients, so that they may start life free from debt and in the hope that those who in later life are in a position to do so, of their own accord, will give some other boy or girl in need of financial assistance the opportunities that Grinnell has given them." In 1945 the trustees inaugurated a campaign for one million dollars as an addition to the working funds of the College.

Plans under way for the improvement of the curriculum were now quickly matured. The proliferation of short-hour courses was summarily stopped with the adoption of a uniform system of four-hour courses. The material of the curriculum was organized into five divisions: Language and Literature, including the ancient and modern foreign languages, English, and speech; Social Studies, including economics and business, history, philosophy, religion, political science, psychology, and sociology; Natural Sciences, including botany and zoology, chemistry, mathematics, and physics; Fine Arts, including art, drama, and music; and Education, including health education, physical education, secretarial training, and teacher training.

As the College completed, in 1946, the first century of its persistent contribution to the furtherance of liberal education in America, its objectives were stated as follows in the annual catalogue:

Grinnell College is a college of liberal arts, dedicated to the advancement of humane learning. The College defines a liberally educated person as one who has the ability to read, write, and speak his own language well and has an appreciation of its literature; who can read at least one foreign language and has first-hand acquaintance with the literature and culture of the country in which it is spoken; who is thoroughly grounded in the history of the modern world and in the Christian tradition, and has a sympathetic understanding of the social problems of his time; who has subjected himself to the discipline of science and learned to understand the principles and methods

of the natural sciences and the part which they play in modern society; who has acquired the ability to perceive the values of the arts and to derive enjoyment from them; and who has learned to care for his own bodily health and to take an intelligent interest in the health of the community in which he lives.

In order to implement these objectives, which supersede the usual academic requirements met by the mere passing of certain designated courses, the College offers the student a form of guidance which integrates educational, social, and vocational counseling into the academic pattern. It is significant that more recently other colleges and universities east and west have been developing similar programs. This may indicate how the pioneering activity of Grinnell in the past continues in vital response to the needs of the present and the demands of a living future.

Part Three

Cornerstones



☆ XV ☆

The Academy

IN A sense, the Iowa College Academy antedates the College itself, since it was necessary in the beginning to prepare students for the first college freshman class, entering in 1850. For many years the preparatory enrollment exceeded that of the four college classes. It was not until the eighties that the number of college students equalled the number in preparatory courses, and not until the nineties, in the administration of President Gates, that the college enrollment definitely surpassed that of the Academy. The attendance of prepara-

tory students grew rather rapidly during the years in Davenport, from 2 in 1848 to 70 in 1850, to 130 in 1857. In the first full year at Grinnell there were 99 academy students, 64 denominated "Males" and 35 "Females." During the Civil War the number fell to a total of 41, but then rose rapidly until in 1867 there were 238 enrolled in the Academy, while there were only 68 in college classes. The all-time high in the academy enrollment came in 1871, with 259 students, most of whom were in the so-called normal and English courses. In succeeding years there was much fluctuation in attendance, with a gradual downward trend. In course of time the development of the public high school throughout the Midwest undermined the college preparatory courses, finally leading to their abandonment. The Iowa College Academy continued until 1910-1911, when it enrolled 102 students; then it disappeared from the scene, leaving only a residue of "sub-freshmen" to be sloughed off during the next two years. Thus the Academy had existed for sixty-three years, doing an essential task in giving boys and girls an excellent preparation for college until the public school system could take over this service.

In the early years there was no distinction between College and Academy in the teaching staff. The first principal to devote his entire time to the preparatory and English department was the Rev. Samuel Jay Buck, from 1864 to 1869, when he became professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in the College. The most important early period in the history of the Academy was that from 1871 to 1885, when Jesse Macy was principal; he too took on college courses, in history and political science, and soon devoted his energies exclusively to college teaching, though his old students always continued to refer to him as "Prin Macy." He was succeeded for brief periods by two graduates of the "Cyclone Class" of the College, who were likewise destined to have distinguished careers in the academic field: from 1885 to 1888, Oliver Farrar Emerson, '82 (Litt.D., Ph.D., Cornell), son of pioneer and trustee Oliver Emerson, later professor of English at Western Reserve University; and George Meason Whicher, '82 (Litt.D., Dr., University of Padua), gifted classicist and poet, for many years professor of Greek and Latin at Hunter College in New York City. Moses Stephen Slaughter (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins) took over for one year, combining the principalship with his professorship of Latin in the College. After them, from 1890 to 1899, came J. Fred Smith, a Dartmouth man, and finally from 1902

to 1911, Charles Henry Horn (A.M., Olivet), the last of the line of principals.

The first preceptress of the Academy was Mrs. L. F. Parker, 1863-1870, who was also "Lady Principal" of the College, as were after her Mary Ellis, 1874-1882 (the young women named their Ellis Society after her), Mrs. Magoun, 1882-1884, and Mrs. Martha Foote Crow, 1884-1888. Later preceptresses included Mary Haines, '90 (later Mrs. Frank I. Herriott, daughter of alumnus and Trustee Robert M. Haines), Clara E. Millerd, '93, later professor of Greek and philosophy in the College, Emeline Barstow Bartlett (A.B., Vassar, later Mrs. John S. Nollen), Arletta Warren (Ph.D., Michigan), Grace Moreland Henderson (B.L., Western Reserve), and finally Fanny Orythia Fisher, '94, from 1902 to 1911.

During most of its history the Academy was operated solely as a feeder for the College. However, from 1871 to 1884 the regular preparatory courses were supplemented by a normal and English department. The strictly preparatory course consisted very largely of Latin and Greek, with one year of mathematics, one term each of English, physiology, and mental science, and two terms of ancient history. The English course at first retained Latin, but eliminated Greek and added English, astronomy, and physical geography. Later Latin disappeared from the English course and snippets of "Science," modern language, drawing, didactics, and additional mathematics filled the void. It was apparently thought that this miscellaneous material would be useful to teachers in the common schools who did not look forward to a college course. After 1879 the training of teachers was transferred to the College, with the creation of a professorship of the theory and practice of teaching. Courses in didactics now appeared in the outline of college studies, with the somewhat grudging early footnote: "The time for Didactics is taken from the other studies." The technique of this particular operation is not indicated.

The unique value of the Academy was expressed by Principal Smith in the President's Report for 1898 as follows:

Unquestionably the preparation for College afforded by the Academy far excels that of any public High School. Contact with College men and women, concentration of thought and energy upon carefully arranged work, the training afforded by skillful teachers of broad scholarship and wide experience, are advantages of untold value. Perhaps the most helpful influence of all is the almost unconsciously acquired realization that the work

is but preparatory, an introduction to a higher course. The average High School graduate is more exposed to the danger of considering his education finished. The Academy student realizes fully that his is but just begun.

It was the hope of the principal that the Academy might become a "well endowed, permanent institution, well fitted to continue the good work of the past fifty years." This hope was not realized.



☆ XVI ☆

The Faculty and Staff

THE faculty of Iowa College in 1848 consisted of one professor; in 1850 there were two teachers; in 1853, three. Under President Magoun's administration the teaching force grew from five in 1865 to thirteen in 1885. The thirteen years of the Gates administration saw an increase from 15 in 1887 to 24 in 1900. Three were added to the number in the three years of Dr. Bradley's service. During the quarter century of President Main's administration, with an unexampled increase in enrollment and equipment, the teaching force

grew from 27 to 70. There was no further increase, though there were many changes during the next ten years, when the enrollment reached its maximum. With the heavy drop in the enrollment of men, due to the second World War, the teaching force in 1943 was reduced to 54. There was a similar development in the office force and service staff, which grew from zero to a maximum of 48, then fell to 37. The total payroll thus grew from one to a high of 121, decreasing then to 91.

The earliest records of the faculty were destroyed in the cyclone of 1882, with the exception of minutes from 1878, which were rescued by President Magoun. Probably there was little change in the preoccupations of the faculty until the end of the first thirty years, when there were as yet only eighty-five students, including "Ladies," in the college courses. These preoccupations seem to have been largely of a disciplinary nature, and the faculty was cooperating loyally with the trustees in this field. It was the day of "demerits," and also of a species of inquisition or "self-reporting" (each class had a faculty father-confessor) of which the trustees finally disapproved. The intensive work of later years on the curriculum was not then anticipated, for the traditional course of the New England college was taken for granted.

The meetings of the faculty, therefore, were concerned with small details of housekeeping and matters of individual student conduct, governed by a system of numbered rules. Larger matters of discipline came under four heads: probation, suspension, dismissal, and reinstatement. Actions are recorded on the provision of a stove for a professor's room, on "objectionable phrases" in the student paper (leading to 10 to 15 demerits for the editors), on permission for parties, receptions, and sleighrides, on excuse from Sunday evening church for a young lady who had "no escort," on the prevention of Halloween "misdemeanors," on smoking, drinking, and billiard-playing, on a "violent scuffle in Professor Buck's room," on students breaking into the taxidermy room, on permission to attend the Methodist Church, on order in chapel, on "profanity and low language" in the student paper (considered also by the trustees), on the use of the Revised Version at prayers, on evening skating by ladies (not allowed), on a request for a pump in the cistern, and for thermometers in the rooms, on the location of the bell-rope, on the "Roman" pronunciation of Latin, on pancake or strawberry "festi-

val," oyster supper, and "sugaring off," on calling hours, on inexpedience of a dramatic performance, on a leak in the roof, on mats and scrapers at the doors, on the spelling of "catalog," on discouraging attendance at theaters, on the stealing of a sophomore cake, on hazing, throwing of water, forgery of names, and frequently on noise and disorder. A student who later became a trustee was chided for his "unsteadiness in recitation and insubordination of spirit." One student was haled before the faculty for smoking, and plead "the use only of catarrh cigarettes, so medicated as to conceal the odor and taste of tobacco." Another who eventually became a federal judge was suspended for six weeks for "posting an impertinent notice in the Reading Room." Another who was destined to a place among the benefactors of the College was "forbidden to associate with the young damsels of the College." Students were admonished "not to be under trees on the campus in study hours," with demerits for violation. They were granted permission to use the "reformed or brief spelling" if such words were printed or written backhand. The trustees were respectfully asked to arrange so that teachers could draw their salaries monthly, and also to put in a steam heating apparatus; after its installation, there were actions relating to its deficiencies.

Under the liberalizing administration of President Gates there was a gradual change in the content of the faculty minutes. The concern about disciplinary matters persisted for a time, and the catalogue of student delinquencies still adorned the record. However, scholarly interests were coming to the fore. The old habit of bestowing a master's degree after three years of intellectual living was abandoned, and a graduate course and examinations for the M.A. adopted. Regulations on College Honors were approved. The group system (after Johns Hopkins) was substituted for the old restricted courses. The epic struggle between the scientists and the classicists for the full recognition of laboratory science in the curriculum was fought and won. The modern languages and the social sciences were gaining ground. The "Princeton Examination Scheme" was adopted to combat dishonesty in written work, but this honor system was abandoned after a few years for lack of student support. Grades were recorded in letters A to E, instead of percentages. In an access of meticulousness, pluses and minuses were appended by the professors, but these were banned a year later. Caps and gowns were discussed and eventually

adopted, as was also a commencement address by a distinguished visitor instead of class orations. The social amenities were considered and a system of chaperons and hostesses adopted for parties and picnics, but dancing and smoking in public were still taboo. The semester system was adopted. Gradually a system of standing committees of the faculty was developed to take over the routine administration of academic matters. Five such committees appear for the first time in 1895 — on curriculum, athletics, scholarships, teachers and schools, and extension lectures. These proliferated so rapidly that there were eighteen in 1902, and twenty-one in 1904, in spite of a movement in 1903 to "consider reduction in the number and work of Faculty committees." One member used to refer to committee meetings as "the great American disease."

During the earlier years of President Main's long administration, the social regulations of an older day were reaffirmed: no dancing or card parties in term time, or immediately before or after; no strolling or driving of men and women on Sundays. Sunday calling, however, was now left to the discretion of the dean. Fraternities were still opposed, and in fact were never established at Grinnell. Dishonesty in examinations was still a matter of concern, as was also the question of chapel attendance, which had become voluntary under Gates. A student council was formed to represent student opinion and regulate student conduct, and on its recommendation a semester fee was adopted to cover admission to all athletic contests, lectures, and recitals. The old hostility to the drama had vanished, and three dramatic performances a year by students were approved; later years saw even the phenomenon of a faculty play and the formation of a department of drama. A chapter of Phi Beta Kappa was secured; the Harvard Exchange established; membership in the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, the Association of American Colleges, and other intercollegiate organizations followed. The rapid development of intercollegiate athletics called for constant faculty control of regulations, personnel, and schedules. New courses and departments of study were approved, the curriculum and teaching loads were matters of regular study, and the organization of the student body remained a subject of discussion.

During the thirties much attention continued to be given to curricular matters. A reading period and a system of comprehensive examinations betrayed Harvard influence. A new curriculum was

adopted, governed by the principles of distribution and concentration. A summer session, tried fitfully in earlier years, was again attempted, then abandoned. A new grading system was adopted, for the better recognition of superior work and to correct the tendency toward up-grading which seems to be a professorial weakness. The student council was twice reorganized. It was considered inexpedient to form a unit of the R.O.T.C. Arrangements were made to cooperate with the Friends Service Committee and the Congregational Social Council in a summer session of an Institute of International Relations.

During the early forties, the faculty was organized in five divisions: language and literature, social studies, natural sciences, fine arts, and education. A four-course plan was adopted, implying four-hour courses throughout, graduation requiring sixteen such courses. The number of departments was reduced by merging those covering similar material, thus eliminating some duplication, and the number of faculty committees was reduced to fifteen. New major fields for the bachelor's degree were set up in general humanities, American history and literature, and international relations. New action was taken on appointments and tenure. A trimester division of the year was substituted for the semester plan, each of the three terms to cover $15\frac{1}{2}$ weeks, thus adding ten weeks to the college year.

The impact of the second World War was evident in its effect upon the faculty. Younger members of the teaching force were drawn into the armed forces or into auxiliary service. Action was taken on degrees for men in the national service, and a "conditioning program" adopted for students remaining in college. A number of faculty members, including some "emeriti," participated in the teaching force or the administration of the units of the Army Specialized Training Program which were in residence until March, 1944. Meanwhile, considerable change in the personnel of the faculty was involved in the retirement of an unusually large group of the older professors, so that the Directory for 1944-1945 listed fourteen "emeriti," by far the largest number in the history of the College. The veterans who had borne the burden and heat of the day for a generation and longer were receiving their honorable dismissal. The task was now laid upon the shoulders of their younger associates and successors.

In the higher ranks of the faculty fairly long terms of service have been common. The average length of service for full professors is

just under fifteen years; one-third of all professors from the beginning of the College have been in residence twenty years or more. Professor Norris' term of fifty-one years is, of course, unique; only three other professors have served for forty years. There has been far less permanence in the lower grades. Associate and assistant professors have had an average term of somewhat over six years, with one extreme case of thirty-five years, and only three others of twenty years or more. Instructors have averaged under three years, with a maximum of eighteen, and assistants average about a year and a half.

In the early years of the College there was no office force: the financial affairs of the institution were in the hands of a treasurer who was a member of the Board of Trustees, serving, like his colleagues, without salary. Registration and other auxiliary services were carried on by the faculty. At that time the typewriter was unknown. During President Gates's administration, two local bankers, H. C. Spencer and C. W. H. Beyer, neither one a trustee, served as treasurer and auditor, the former until 1902, the latter until 1906, followed by bankers George H. Hamlin and Samuel J. Pooley, '92. The first salaried officer of the Board was Horace H. Robbins, '69, son of A. B. Robbins of the Iowa Band, who had also been the first president of the Board. H. H. was secretary from 1887 to 1906, and a member of the Board from 1890, and he kept the College books during his term of office. Herbert W. Somers, '82, succeeded him as secretary from 1907 to 1921. Louis V. Phelps came to Grinnell as superintendent of construction for the new dormitory system in 1915, and remained as business manager and secretary-treasurer of the Board. The first full-time registrar of the College was Mary E. Simmons, '91, who served from 1908 to 1925; she was succeeded by Bethana McCandless, '19.

The administrative staff of a modern college would look formidable, if not fantastic, to an old-timer, serving as it does a multitude of functions unknown in the early days. Not only deans, registrars, secretaries, and bookkeepers, but counselors, consultants, vocational experts, public relations folk, publicity men, directors of foods, college nurses, superintendents of buildings and grounds, personnel advisers, and hostesses (a woman's college calls them "wardens") make up an extensive list of services necessary to the health and comfort as well as to the recruiting and guidance of a large student body. The business of education, like that of industry, has developed a

whole complex of specialized services. The jack-of-all-trades has passed away with the disappearance of the frontier and of pioneer versatility. Specialization is the order of the day in the auxiliary services of the College, as well as in the teaching and research of the faculty.



☆ XVII ☆

The Board of Trustees

THE trustees of an American college represent an element in the academic life for which there is no analogue in the administration of higher education in other countries. On the European continent such education is a function of the state, directly controlled by a department of the central government and dependent on the government for its support. The internal organization of such a university is completely controlled by the faculty, which elects its own presiding officer by a process of rotation from its own ranks. The "colleges" of the English

universities, growing out of early voluntary associations of teachers and students, are governed by a head, or master, and fellows, or graduate students. The legal control of the American college, on the contrary, is completely in the hands of an extraneous self-perpetuating corporation from which the members of the teaching staff are usually explicitly excluded by the charter. The president of the college, ex officio member and also often chairman of the Board, is the only direct link between the trustees and the faculty. The relationship of the trustees to the college is therefore much like that which obtains in any charitable trust. The trustees constitute the corporation and manage the property. Administration and faculty are their employees, whose appointments, tenure, salaries, and privileges are subject to their direction and control. In the course of a natural evolution, boards of trustees have usually divested themselves of strictly educational functions, and have left the internal management of the college and the control of its students to the faculty.

In the early years, at Davenport and Grinnell, the trustees of Iowa College concerned themselves with every detail of academic life, and evidently felt themselves directly responsible for the action of the College *in loco parentis*. They even dealt with individual cases of student discipline, which are duly recorded in their proceedings. As late as the eighties and nineties they directed the courses of study to be taught, ordered that the faculty "hear each four lessons a day" (June, 1881), and later expected instructors to teach an average of eighteen hours a week (June, 1890). When a professor resigned in protest against this arrangement, his resignation was cheerfully accepted by the Board.

The trustees deliberated on the proper calling hours for students, on commencement honors, and the contents of the student publication. They legislated on the personal habits of students, commanding church and daily chapel attendance, study hours, and abstention from "profanity, obscenity, intoxicants, gambling, dancing, cards, billiards and all unlawful games" (June, 1884). However, they reacted against an unwise procedure of the administration by advising the abandonment of the system of self-reporting by students, no doubt considering it too much like the "popish" rule of the confessional, or accepting the student judgment that lying was developed by this weekly inquisition in chapel. They kept a close rein on individual members of the faculty, interviewed them personally on occasion,

reminded them of rules to be observed, and suggested desirable resignations. They made the faculty responsible for the observance of rules of propriety. They controlled the assignment of scholarships to students. They asked the faculty to limit intercollegiate contests (June, 1888) and disapproved the use of non-students in athletics (June, 1893). They considered \$117 spent for periodicals for the library "quite large," and one of the trustees, an Oberlin man, is said to have actually asked the famous question: whether the students had read all the books already on the shelves. They considered the dissatisfaction of the seniors with Dr. Magoun's required course in logic and made it optional (June, 1890). They passed a resolution against secret societies, which, incidentally, have never been established at Grinnell. They decreed that examinations should count one-tenth of daily work in computing grades (January, 1892) and voted against semi-annual examinations.

In the nineties it was decided that the faculty should have a voice in the selection of "members of its corporate body" and be consulted as to honorary degrees, and that seniors should be permitted to choose a commencement speaker from the outside, in place of the traditional annual orations for men and essays for women. Permission was refused to keep the library open evenings. In 1895 the faculty was entrusted with the arrangements for commencement, and it was ordered that students present their petitions through the faculty. However, indiscreet remarks by members of the faculty were frowned upon in a resolution condemning professors and instructors who criticized the administration or fellow-teachers in the presence of students (1905), and committees were still being appointed to inquire into the work of individual teachers.

During President Main's administration the trustees relinquished their direct control of academic work and *mores*, and limited themselves to their more appropriate duties as custodians of the property and promoters of the financial interests of the College, which were growing rapidly in importance. Repeated efforts during preceding years to add significant amounts to the funds of the College had met with indifferent success, and deficits in current accounts had become almost chronic. The trustees themselves had to bear the larger part of the financial burden involved, and their resources were not equal to the demands. By 1904, after almost sixty years of labor and struggle, the productive endowment amounted only to the utterly inadequate

sum of \$340,000, the value of the plant to approximately \$250,000. Meanwhile, the income from investments had been falling steadily. The interest rate, amounting to 10 per cent in the early years, became 8 per cent by 1886, fell to 7 per cent and 6 per cent ten years later; by 1903 the recognized rate was 5 per cent, though loans were still made at 6 per cent. The catalogue for 1890-1891 lists about four hundred names of contributors to an endowment fund of \$200,000, in sums ranging from \$5.00 to \$25,000. Of \$62,000 secured during 1904-1905, the trustees themselves contributed \$25,300, the alumni \$10,117, the faculty \$6,650; only \$19,770 came from other donors. For many years the only large gift from outside sources had been \$50,000 for the library building, secured from Andrew Carnegie by the efforts of alumnus and Trustee Albert Shaw in 1903. In 1886 the trustees had declined an offer of \$50,000 by E. A. Goodnow of Worcester, donor of Goodnow Hall and Mears Cottage, because it was conditional upon changing the name of the College, which the Board considered "unwarranted," though they might have considered a change of name for \$150,000 or \$200,000.

It became evident that the College must make very substantial additions to its endowment and plant if it was to maintain its place as a pioneer and leader among the colleges of the Midwest. The trustees did what they could by making generous pledges themselves and appointing a succession of field agents to work with the president on financial campaigns. Fortunately, President Main succeeded in interesting the General Education Board, which administered John D. Rockefeller's benevolences. He likewise obtained further support from the Carnegie Corporation. With this encouragement, two campaigns, each for \$500,000, were completed in 1908 and 1914, touched off in each case by a conditional offer of \$100,000 by the General Education Board. In spite of this notable increase in endowment, deficits still occurred for which the trustees felt a painful responsibility. The expansion of the College made further heroic efforts imperative in order to provide a plant equal to the needs of the growing student body, without waiting for the slow accumulation of the necessary gifts.

In 1909 a plan to form a "syndicate" to finance a music building had been abandoned. In 1913 plans were approved for the organization of the Grinnell College Foundation, a corporation separate from the Board of Trustees, formed to finance the building of a complete

system of dormitories by a bond issue to be amortized from subsequent gifts and by a long-term use of surplus income from rentals. By this method the Women's Quadrangle was completed in 1915, and the Men's Dormitories in 1917. Meanwhile, the Alumni Recitation Hall, the President's House, and a new heating plant were erected with funds secured from other sources. Thus within a few years a completely modern plant was created, which made the College self-sufficient, for the time being, in the organization of the student life.

In 1909 the trustees amended the Articles of Incorporation, adopting formally the name "Grinnell College," which was already in common use, while retaining for the Corporation the old charter title "The Trustees of Iowa College." They discontinued the indeterminate tenure for trustees by dividing the Board into three classes, each elected for a term of six years, and they continued an earlier provision for alumni representation. They adopted a new scale of salaries: president \$4,000, professors \$1,600 to \$2,000 (compared with \$1,200 in the nineties), assistant professors \$1,200 to \$1,400. In 1914 a system of sabbatical leaves for professors was adopted, providing full salary for a semester's leave, or half salary for a year. By 1917 the president's salary was raised to \$7,500, in 1919 to \$9,000; other salaries were scaled higher somewhat in proportion.

There still remained the necessity of further addition to the productive funds. In 1919 the trustees made a bold venture of faith by contracting with a professional money-raising agency, with a drawing account of \$800 a week, for a campaign to raise three and a half millions. Within a year the professional agency was discharged, since it had succeeded only in accumulating a debt which the trustees were compelled to underwrite. In the process, the agents of the concern had so alienated the alumni by their crude methods that it was difficult to revive the confidence and support of these graduates. In 1920 a more manageable campaign was inaugurated by an offer of \$500,000, conditional upon the raising of an additional million by the College. Even this amount proved exceedingly difficult to attain. The General Education Board was generously willing to grant successive extensions of time, but it was not until the very last day of grace, December 31, 1930, that the task was completed, with gifts and pledges for a million dollars secured and a heavy total of deficits paid up.

But now the Great Depression brought new difficulties. Pledges

made in good faith could not be collected, because generous donors found themselves impoverished; actually only two-thirds of the contemplated million and a half was realized. Mounting costs, a dwindling student body, and reduced charges, resulting in a decreased income, made new deficits, and it was practically impossible to find new money. Salaries were cut, and resolute efforts gradually built up the student body to a new maximum, requiring the use of additional dormitory space, while charges were restored and then increased to a more adequate figure. Tuition in the early years had been fantastically low, beginning at a rate of \$24, and remaining at this figure for thirty years. By 1889 the tuition had risen to only \$37; it became \$50 in 1895, \$70 in 1910, \$100 in 1914, \$125 in 1917, \$150 in 1919, \$160 in 1921, \$210 in 1925, \$250 in 1934, and \$320 in 1941. There was a somewhat similar increase in living expenses for students. In the early years, it was stated that "board may be obtained in good families at \$1.50 or \$2.00 per week," and when the College began to furnish board and room, the price for meals was still \$1.50 to \$1.75 per week, and room rent \$3.00 to \$4.00 *per term* of twelve weeks. In the fifties, total charges for room, board, and tuition for the entire college year varied from \$63 to \$75, according to figures quoted in the catalogue. By 1919, when the new dormitory system at Grinnell was in full operation, the over-all annual charge was \$525. This amount was gradually increased until in 1942 the over-all charge, including all fees, became \$800. Even this sum, over ten times the amount of the expenses quoted a century earlier, remained well below the actual cost per student to the College, and far below the charges by eastern colleges for similar accommodations.*

Another experiment in college financing, common to western institutions, was disappointing in its results. Apparently it was not clear to trustees, here or elsewhere, that the magnitude of their operations did not justify competition with insurance companies in the annuity business, nor did they reckon with the rapid drop in interest rates or the disastrous effect of an unanticipated depression upon income from farms and other real estate, nor did they realize that annuitants are apt to enjoy an altogether unwarranted longevity. The agents of the College therefore entered into a large number of annuity contracts, at rates graduated according to the age of the

* In 1953 the over-all charge amounted to \$1,400, of which \$600 was the tuition.

annuitant, sometimes as high as 8 per cent upon the presumed value of the property taken over as principal. The trustees tried to direct these operations within safe limits, but their best wisdom was frustrated by the inherent unsoundness of the procedure itself and by the unsettling effect of the Great Depression upon values and incomes. Losses from this source added heavily to the burden of other deficits. On the other hand, welcome help came from the ever-generous General Education Board, which again came to the aid of colleges, including Grinnell, by a three-year appropriation for teachers' salaries.

In spite of all difficulties, a balanced budget was achieved in 1936, and for some time things proceeded on a fairly even keel. The early forties brought new problems as well as new resources. With the entrance of the United States into the second World War, President Stevens succeeded in securing three military training units for the Grinnell campus, thus keeping the Men's Dormitories full to overflowing, in spite of the virtual disappearance of civilian men students from college halls. It had been intended to accommodate 750 men in these units; the numbers actually in residence fluctuated widely, but at times ran up to about 1,200. It was fortunate that the Cowles Dormitory had just been completed before the arrival of the military units. The educational arrangements were far superior to those of the S. A. T. C. in the first World War. The College undertook all responsibility for teaching faculty and administration, as well as housing and meals. Relations with the military command were most amicable and cooperative, the men were loud in their praise of the comforts provided for them, and on nationwide educational tests the units in Grinnell ranked among the very highest in achievement.

The twenties had seen but one addition to the college plant, the building of the swimming pool in 1926, due largely to the interest of Trustee Jay N. Darling. In the thirties the pressure of a greatly increased enrollment was met by the taking over of several large residences as temporary dormitories, but there was no new construction. In 1940 occurred the first loss by fire since 1871, in the burning of the Rand Gymnasium. The early forties brought a new building era. The Darby Gymnasium provided a modern center for physical education for men, while the Cowles Dormitory provided an adequate refectory for the men of the College, as well as additional housing and recreational facilities. At the same time the munificent donation

by the Younker family of Des Moines, establishing the Marcus and Annie Berkson Younker Endowment, provided for the erection of a Health Center and another Men's Dormitory, as well as funds for generous scholarships, eventually amounting to eighty-four such awards to students. This donation, the largest in the history of the College, is a signal testimony to the regard in which Grinnell is held.* The administration announced that it "came to Grinnell unsolicited. After the founders had investigated the privately endowed colleges of Iowa, Grinnell was selected by them as the college best adapted to carry out the objectives: to assist boys and girls to obtain a college education, to give supervision to their health while in college and to help support the teaching staff of the college."

From the long list of good citizens who have given generous service to the College as members of the Board of Trustees, it is difficult to select a few for special mention. It was not until 1875 that an alumnus was elected to the Board; in 1876 there were two; in 1884, three. Since 1891 the Alumni Association has nominated first two, then three trustees, and others have been elected by direct action of the Board. Since 1903 a majority of the trustees have been alumni.

In the early years it was naturally the men of the Iowa Band and their fellow-pioneers who kept the flickering light burning by their unconquerable devotion. Some of them saw such fruition of their hopes as must have surpassed their fondest anticipations in the difficult formative years. The longest and perhaps most fruitful service among the pioneers was that of Ephraim Adams, covering sixty-one years, a record almost matched by that of alumnus Albert Shaw's sixty years on the Board. Harvey Adams and A. B. Robbins each served forty-nine years, the latter for the first seventeen years as president of the Board, before there was a president of the College. "Father" Turner served for thirty-nine years, Oliver Emerson thirty-one, Daniel Lane twenty-six, J. C. Holbrook and Julius A. Reed each twenty-one, William Salter thirteen, Reuben Gaylord ten. Of the laymen on the original board, James McManus served for thirty-two years, Charles Atkinson and Henry Q. Jennison each sixteen years. Among the early residents of Grinnell, J. B. himself was a trustee for thirty-six years, Dr. Magoun for twenty-eight, S. L. Herrick for twenty-six, Dr. Thomas Holyoke for seventeen. From near-by Newton, Colonel John

* In April, 1953, the College received an even larger donation — \$5,000,000 from the estate of John Frederick Darby.

Meyer attended meetings for forty-one years. From pastorates in Dubuque, Des Moines, and Eddyville came the Rev. Joshua M. Chamberlain, generous donor, trustee for thirty-seven years, treasurer of the College for nineteen years, and librarian for seven years.¹⁵⁸

There are several cases of two members of a family (father and son or daughter, husband and wife, brothers) serving on the Board, but only one case of three members of one family: Colonel Samuel Merrill,¹⁵⁹ Civil War veteran and seventh governor of Iowa for two terms, trustee from 1867 to 1900; his brother Jeremiah H., from 1875 to 1904; and the son of the latter, Samuel A., of the class of '79, from 1898 to 1920. Also from Des Moines came the Rev. Alvah Lillie Frisbie, D.D.,¹⁶⁰ pastor of Plymouth Church, trustee for thirty years; his son, A. L., '00, an alumni trustee. From Osage came Hon. James A. Smith,¹⁶¹ organizer of an extensive lumber business, state Representative and Senator, his thirty years of benevolence remembered in the naming of Smith Hall; his son Fred Crego, '00, succeeded him as trustee and became chairman of the Board. Colonel J. K. P. Thompson,¹⁶² Civil War veteran of Rock Rapids, served for fourteen years; his nephew Burt J., of Forest City, was twice a member of the Board.

Among the trustees of the intermediate years, the longest service was that of Archibald Cattell, '91, who was one of the most active and faithful members of the Board for twenty-eight years. Henry W. Spaulding¹⁶³ of Grinnell, buggy-builder extraordinary, was active on the Board for twenty-six years. Roger Leavitt of Cedar Falls and James G. Olmsted of Des Moines each served seventeen years. Among others prominent in the public eye who were trustees, we may mention superintendent T. O. Douglass, D.D.; Governor and United States Senator Albert B. Cummins; Iowa Supreme Court Justice William D. Evans; Director of the United States Mint George E. Roberts; Governor and Senator Clyde L. Herring; Edward W. Cross, D.D.; Jay N. Darling, cartoonist; Walter W. Head, banker and insurance president; George M. Bechtel, broker; F. L. Maytag, manufacturer (succeeded later by his grandson Frederick Louis Maytag II); Brigadier-General Hanford MacNider; Rt. Rev. Harry S. Longley, D.D., S.T.D., Bishop of Iowa; Stoddard Lane, D.D., minister of Plymouth Church, Des Moines; Robert B. Adams of Odebolt, farmer extraordinary; Woodward Harold Brenton, banker.

In the early years, it did not occur to the trustees that it might be

appropriate for a coeducational college to have women on its governing board. In the eighties the death of Hon. R. D. Stephens, after but four years' service, suggested the election of Mrs. Stephens as his successor, but she remained only two years. Thirty years later Mary Chamberlain, '92, daughter of Trustee J. M. Chamberlain, was a member of the Board for four years. After another quarter-century, it became the policy of the Board to include women in their number, with the election of Mrs. David S. Kruidenier of Des Moines (daughter of Gardner Cowles, ex-'82), and of Mrs. Frank P. Hixon of Lake Forest, Illinois.

The naming of the grounds and buildings serving the College was naturally a function of the trustees. Blair Hall, laboratory, was named for John I. Blair; Goodnow Hall, first used as a library, then as a laboratory, for Hon. E. A. Goodnow of Worcester, Massachusetts. The office building, formerly Chicago Hall, was renamed after President Magoun. The first dormitory unit for women, vulgarly yclept "the Shack," was named Mears Cottage, for Mary Grinnell Mears, '81, at the request of the donor, E. A. Goodnow, a member of Dr. Mears's church. The central building of the new Women's Quadrangle was made a memorial to President Main. James Cottage is named for Mrs. Mary B. James of Minneapolis; Cleveland for Martha Cleveland (Mrs. LeRoy Dibble), '67, of Kansas City; Haines for Mrs. Robert M. Haines, '65; Read as a memorial to Luella J. Read, late dean of women. Among the men's dormitories, Smith Hall is a memorial to Trustee James A. Smith; Langan to W. H. Langan of Des Moines; Rawson to alumnus and Trustee Charles A. Rawson; Gates to President George A. Gates; Clark to Theodore F. Clark, father of Edith M. Clark (Mrs. F. A. McCornack), '89, of Sioux City; Dibble to Dr. LeRoy Dibble of Kansas City. Cowles is named for donor Gardner Cowles, ex-'82. The women's gymnasium, destroyed by fire in 1940, was named for E. D. Rand, of Burlington, father of Carrie Rand, the donor; the Library, for Andrew Carnegie; the Chapel, for Trustee S. H. Gerrick, '65; the new men's gymnasium, for Fred Darby, '95. Three sections of the college grounds have been named: Chamberlain Park, the women's campus, for the donor, Trustee J. M. Chamberlain; the Athletic Field for Herbert Clark Ward, '90; the men's campus for Paul MacEachron, '11, formerly dean of men. The fine service of President Bradley was recognized

by naming a splendid clump of trees, among the many planted by his hands, the Bradley Oaks.

The roster of the Board of Trustees for the centennial year of 1946 follows:

- * Robert B. Adams — Odebolt
- * W. Harold Brenton, B.S. — Des Moines
- * George Melville Crabb, '06, M.D. — Mason City
- John Frederick Darby, '95, LL.D. — Tulsa, Oklahoma
- Chester Charles Davis, '11, D.Sc., LL.D. — St. Louis, Missouri
- Rt. Rev. Elwood Lindsay Haines — Davenport
- * John R. Heath, '19, LL.B. — Chicago, Illinois
- * Mrs. Frank P. Hixon, A.B. — Lake Forest, Illinois
- Harry Lloyd Hopkins, '12, LL.D. — Washington, D. C.
- * Stewart Ray Kirkpatrick, '15 — Omaha, Nebraska
- * Mrs. David S. Kruidenier — Des Moines
- Fred Albert Little, '16, LL.B. — Des Moines
- Rev. Bruce H. Masselink, B.D. — Burlington
- * Frederick Louis Maytag II, A.B. — Newton
- * Gerard Scholte Nollen, '02 — Des Moines
- Samuel J. Pooley, '92 — Grinnell
- * Joseph Frankel Rosenfield, '25, J.D. — Des Moines
- Albert Shaw, '79, Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D. — New York City
- James Glenn Shifflett, LL.B. — Grinnell
- * Samuel Nowell Stevens, Ph.D., ex officio — Grinnell
- Burt J. Thompson, '94, LL.B. — Forest City
- * Rudolph Wilson Weitz, '21 — Des Moines
- * Murray DeWitt Welch, '16, LL.B. — New York City

The members whose names are starred are still serving on the Board. They, together with the following, make up the 1953 Board of Trustees:

- Louis G. Chrysler, Sr., Chico, California
- Donald H. Clark, St. Louis, Missouri
- W. Donald Evans, Des Moines
- Rev. Judson E. Fiebiger, Grinnell
- Rupert A. Hawk, Grinnell
- Maxwell H. Herriott, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
- Mrs. Leonard Hurtz, Omaha, Nebraska
- Robert Kinsey, Grinnell
- Dr. Angus C. McDonald, Huntington Park, California
- F. Wendell Miller, Rockwell City
- John W. Norris, Marshalltown
- Fred M. Roberts, Seattle, Washington
- Rt. Rev. Gordon Smith, Des Moines



☆ XVIII ☆

The Alumni

THE QUALITY of a college as an educational institution depends primarily upon its teaching force, and secondarily upon its physical assets and equipment. Another criterion is the output of the "knowledge factory," which is more difficult to estimate. In general, it may be said that Grinnell graduates everywhere have been noted for their sturdy character and their public spirit, as well as their devotion to the ideals of the College. Faye Cashatt Lewis, in the novel, *Doc's Wife*, bears interesting and humorous testimony from the outside to the loyalty of Grinnellians:

If one has attended Grinnell College, one need never worry about his passage through the pearly gates! I write this in no spirit of cattiness toward Grinnell College, but in puzzlement and wonder. I have never known the alumni of any other institution to emanate such complete satisfaction with their alma mater. I have never heard any of them *say* that Grinnell is the most wonderful school on earth; they merely exude that opinion in some subtle way that I have not been able to analyze. Most of them are intelligent and discriminating people, who know something of other schools elsewhere, so there must be some basis for this opinion.

For many years, only desultory attention was paid to the organization of Grinnell alumni. The General Alumni Association was established in 1879, but the catalogue makes no mention of its existence until 1890, when the officers, in addition to president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, included an "orator," who disappears from later lists. The organization of local alumni groups followed very slowly. The alumni in the Chicago area were first in the field, organizing in 1892. The Des Moines group followed nine years later, as did the association formed in Southern California. In 1903 a New England Association was organized; in 1905 the alumni of New York and vicinity formed an Association of Middle States, the San Francisco area gathered in a Bay Association, and a local group was established in Grinnell. The following years brought a more rapid increase in the number of local groups, attesting to the spread of graduates of the College throughout the country and even into the Orient. The Minneapolis-St. Paul group was formed in 1907. In 1912 associations were formed in Montana, Oregon, and Utah, and the "Inland Empire"; in 1913 Denver, Omaha-Council Bluffs, and the Oriental group in China followed. In addition to the more important towns in Iowa, by the twenties such more distant centers as Kansas City, Lincoln, Washington, San Diego, and Urbana were organized. Ten years later Detroit, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis had been added. By 1920 the catalogue listed thirty-five alumni associations; a few of these had a precarious existence, but new groups replaced those that ceased to function, and in the early forties there were thirty-three associations still alive.

The attention of the College to its alumni interests has been somewhat sporadic. In the early years there was no attempt to keep in touch with graduates and former students from the central office in Grinnell, and it was usually in connection with financial campaigns

that *ad hoc* efforts were made in this direction. Looking toward the systematic encouragement of alumni interest in college doings, from November, 1900, the *Iowa College News Letter* was sent to graduates and others interested.

The first publication aimed specifically toward alumni was the *Grinnell Review*, begun in October, 1905. A two-column paper, it was published monthly during the college year and "devoted to the interests of Iowa College and its graduates." Concerned mainly with money-raising, it carried news of alumni and of the College as well as reviews, essays, poetry, and editorials.

In November, 1919, President John Hanson Thomas Main wrote this message to readers of the *Review*:

Whatever contribution the Middle West may have for American thought, this contribution cannot be articulate without a journal where it may be expressed. The *Grinnell Review* expects to be such a journal. . . . Yet here, as in the East, are men and women in passionate revolt against the existing order and men and women in exquisite harmony with it. If the *Grinnell Review* can express the particular quality of this revolt and the harmony, it will have done much.

Grinnell and You was another bulletin of information for the alumni and friends of Grinnell College which was published from 1921 to 1940. Continuing along the same lines as the *Grinnell Review*, it was published eight times during the year. There were regular columns for births, deaths, and weddings, and a "Here and There" column with alumni news by classes.

The alumni publication, *Alumni Scarlet and Black*, is issued four times a year in September, November, February, and May, and it varies in size from four to twelve pages. Births, deaths, and marriages are listed, and a "People You Know" column carries alumni news by classes. In addition it has major alumni stories, campus news and events, and an "Across the President's Desk" section.



☆ XIX ☆

The College in War

DURING the hundred years of the history of the College, the United States has been involved in four wars, each of which naturally affected the institutional life. The participation of pioneer Iowa College in the Civil War is indicated by the catalogue for 1865-1866, which lists seventy-one men, practically the entire masculine enrollment, as having entered the service from Grinnell; one member of the faculty and five of the ten men graduated at Davenport were also in the national service. Of this number, eighteen were commissioned

officers, including one Lieutenant Colonel, two Majors, and two Captains. Casualties were relatively high, with eleven fatalities, five killed in action, six the victims of disease and exposure in prison camps. The names of those who gave this "last full measure of devotion" are engraved on a marble tablet in the College Chapel. Professor Jesse Macy in his *Autobiography* gives an interesting account of the grudging attitude of military officers toward recruits who were legally entitled to be noncombatants.

It was probably not merely the backwash of the Civil War that brought the first and only experiment with peacetime military training at Grinnell. It was probably rather due to the engagement of Albert S. Hardy as professor of civil engineering "etcetera," and the fact that he was a West Pointer. In any case, during Mr. Hardy's presence, 1871-1874, military drill in artillery and infantry tactics was required of all male students for a half hour daily, four days a week. After his departure students still drilled under "officers selected from their own number who had large experience in the late war," but this arrangement was dropped in 1876, "owing to the want of a suitable instructor," whom it was hoped to provide "as soon as circumstances allow"; but this was the last mention of the matter in the catalogue.

The six months' war with Spain in 1898 made little impression upon the college enrollment, which showed a drop of only ten, from 280 to 270, more than made up for in the following years. The President's Report for 1898 had this brief reference to such participation as there was:

The call for volunteers for the war against Spain has affected our numbers probably less than those of institutions in which regular military organizations existed. Three of our students were already members of the National Guard and felt, therefore, under this special obligation to enlist. Three others have followed them. Five of these are in Company K of the 50th Regiment [which never left the United States], and one in the 49th Regiment [which spent the winter in Cuba]. . . . A military company has been formed which includes a very large number of students. They drill regularly, so far as they are able to do so without arms. These they have tried to obtain but up to this time have not been successful.

Military medicine was then still in its infancy, and the choice of training camps, dictated by political pull, was most unfortunate; consequently, disease was rampant. Of all the volunteers from the

entire state of Iowa, about two hundred died in the service, of whom just one man was killed in battle.¹⁶⁴

The first World War caused a serious dislocation of college programs throughout the country, and there was a disturbing lack of intelligent cooperation between military commands and the academic organization. In many cases, as at Grinnell, young and inexperienced officers, who were evidently overmuch impressed with their brief authority, made it impossible for college officials to work effectively with them, and by ill-advised orders, jeopardized the health of the men under their charge in the Students' Army Training Corps. As President Main said in his Report for September, 1920:

The confusion and disarrangement attendant upon military service during the first portion of the year, and demobilization continuing through the year 1918-1919, made the establishment of normal conditions, for college work and activity, practically impossible. Connected with this period there is much to regret from the College point of view. On the other hand there is every reason for thanksgiving from the point of view of loyalty to the great cause to which our country committed itself.

The faculty made every concession to students entering the national service. On April 30, 1917, they voted full credit for such students in courses in which they were in good standing, and students were granted degrees *in absentia*. In March, 1918, proportional credits were voted for men leaving for the national service. In 1919 men who were unable to return to complete the course were granted a "war diploma" recording their work in college. Meanwhile, twenty-three members of the faculty, among them the president, were engaged in various forms of war work.

During the first World War, the total number of Grinnell men and women in all forms of war service was 951, of whom 868 were in military service and 83 in auxiliary services, such as the Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A., and War Camp Community Service. The number in training on the campus in the S.A.T.C. was 259. From the classes attending college during the war, 301 were in the service. The total number of fatalities was 22, of whom 6 were killed in action and 16 died of disease — evidence that the army medical service was still on a low plane. There was a great improvement in this service during the following quarter-century, as appears from its record in the second World War, when, however, airplane accidents during training introduced a new element of danger.

For about a quarter-century after the armistice of 1918, the College was free to return to its traditional pacific activities, and Grinnell made a conspicuous contribution to the discussion of ways and means to organize the world for peace by holding summer institutes and lectureships on international relations. The reluctance of the nation to take an active part in the second World War is a matter of history, as is the decisive impact of the attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, upon the public mind. A year before this historic event, arrangements had been made at Grinnell for training in aviation for students applying for such preliminary training. Now the war claimed the service of all able-bodied men of military age.

The American participation in the first World War was so brief that its impact upon the colleges, though disturbing, could be considered a disagreeable interlude. The second World War made incomparably greater demands upon the resources of the nation, and far more effective arrangements were made for the indispensable cooperation of our educational institutions. As for Grinnell, the normal college activities were carried on by the women, while the men entered the national service. The total number of Grinnell students, graduates, and former students engaged in various branches of the national service exceeded 1,300, the great majority in the army and the air corps, relatively few in the navy, the marine corps, and the medical service. Of forty-four who were reported as giving their lives, twenty-four were direct war casualties, eleven were victims of plane accidents and five of other accidents, and four died of disease. Over two-thirds of the casualties were commissioned officers.

In addition to the students and alumni mentioned above, there were large numbers of men resident for short periods on the Grinnell campus for specialized training under the army. This educational work was far better organized and directed than was the case in the S.A.T.C. in 1918. By October, 1942, an Officer Candidate School was set up under the office of the Adjutant General; it took over the Men's Dormitories, the Alumni Recitation Hall, and several buildings off the campus. During the next nine months this school graduated over fifteen hundred administrative officers. This work was discontinued July 1, 1943, together with similar courses in other centers throughout the country. Immediately afterward the facilities of the College were made available for the Army Specialized Training Program, which included instruction in foreign languages, the history,

geography, and culture of foreign areas, mathematics and the physical sciences, and physical education. The Officer Candidate School had utilized only military personnel for instruction, but the Specialized Training Program required civilian instructors. Many members of the Grinnell faculty were engaged in the administration and full or part-time teaching, and a number of additional instructors were engaged by the College for this work. A great flow of soldiers passed through the various programs of instruction, and at times the military personnel on the campus exceeded 1,200. The War Department discontinued these programs throughout the country in March, 1944.

During the war, following the recommendation of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and of the Educational Policies Commission, the College admitted students from high schools at the end of the junior high school year, under rather strict conditions of scholarship and maturity. The effect of the war upon student enrollment did not, of course, end with the cessation of hostilities. The return of the younger members of the armed forces was necessarily slow; the demands of the armies of occupation continued. For the year 1945-1946, the registration of women at Grinnell was by far the greatest in the history of the College, while the enrollment of men began to rise from the minimum of the war years.

Meanwhile, new and formidable developments in the conduct of war, such as radar, rocket propulsion, and the atomic bomb, changed the whole basis of national defense. The spectacular evidence in recent research of the paramount value of the trained mind and the pursuit of pure science will justify anew the claims of our colleges and universities to freedom of action and adequate support in their essential educational work.

Part Four

Campus High Lights



☆ XX ☆

Art and Music*

CONSIDERING the great importance of art and music in Greek culture, it seems strange that these disciplines found their way very slowly into the program of the American college, though its early curriculum was dominated by classical influence. The Puritan was indeed wedded to the Good, but he paid scant heed to the Beautiful, and in that he was un-Hellenic. Besides, his English ancestry was not conducive to artistic endeavor.

Typically, both at Davenport and then at Grinnell, Iowa College

* This chapter is based on studies made by Edith A. Sternfeld, associate professor of art, and George L. Pierce, professor emeritus of piano.

paid only the slightest lip service to the arts. It is only by comparison with other colleges that Grinnell was early in the development of this interest. In the sixties the catalogue of Iowa College lists an instructor in vocal music, and states that "instruction in instrumental music can be obtained in the village," but there is no indication of organized work in this field. An interest in art, equally inchoate, appears even later. An instructor in drawing is listed for the first time in the catalogue for 1877-1878, but no place is provided for it in the curriculum, whereas by this time a "Conservatory of Music" is announced, with a three-year course of study. Meanwhile, it appears that opportunities for instruction in drawing and painting were offered by the ubiquitous Professor H. W. Parker and his vivacious lady while they were in Grinnell, and later by Professor Barbour and his sister.

Art disappears from the catalogue during the ten years from 1878 to 1888, when an instructor in drawing and painting is listed, though again the curriculum knows nothing of the subject. Three years later, Alfred V. Churchill appears for one year as "director of the Art School," and three courses are offered in drawing and painting, with additional provision for "wood-carving and china-painting." These accessories were omitted from the courses offered by Susan Burroughs, '84, who succeeded Churchill as director, but continued for only two years.

For a period of twenty years, from 1895 to 1915, art again had no place in the college curriculum. It was in vain that the trustees had shown some hospitality to the claims of art; in June, 1891, they referred to the executive committee a petition asking for an art department. The faculty was also asked to consider a combined music and liberal arts course, but they displayed a grudging attitude toward art instruction, as appears from an inconclusive vote in June, 1893, on a recommendation that courses be given in free-hand drawing and the history and principles of art.

In February, 1895, art was accepted by the faculty as a three-hour elective, but in September this credit was rescinded. In March, 1898, an unfavorable report was made on a proposed art exhibit, but in March, 1900, an art class under Mrs. H. H. Robbins was approved. Meanwhile, members of the faculty and others had formed an art club, which made a collection of photographs of masterpieces and held exhibits with informal lectures for the benefit of students and the public.

It was not until 1915 that courses in art history and theory began to receive full recognition for college credit. Miss Millerd offered courses in Greek and Roman sculpture and the Italian Renaissance, Miss Sheldon lectured on mediaeval art, and Professor Spencer's courses in classical archaeology and Greek and Roman monuments also contained relevant material. The course in archaeology continued until Mr. Spencer's retirement in 1940; the course in monuments was conducted in turn by Professors Smiley and Bridgham, with an interval from 1929 to 1940. Miss Read, then assistant professor of German, began teaching in the field of art in 1918; during the next fourteen years she gave a variety of courses in the art of the Renaissance, the Netherlands, American art, domestic art, modern painting, history of architecture, and art appreciation. In 1925 the College received a gift of \$50,000 from the Carnegie Corporation for the development of courses in art.

Thus far, except for sporadic instruction in the early years, the art courses given were all in the field of history and theory. Studio courses in creative art began in 1930, with Edith Sternfeld (A.B., Northwestern; B.A.E., Art Institute of Chicago; A.M., Iowa) as assistant, later associate, professor of art. With changing assistance, particularly by Mrs. Elizabeth M. Hensley in crafts, Miss Sternfeld developed a full-fledged department of art, offering a major in this subject. The aim of the instruction was stated as follows:

Throughout the work of the department the aim is to develop a sensitivity to artistic values, sound critical judgment, and interests which will be a source of satisfaction during and after college days. Opportunities are offered for the exploration of various mediums and techniques and for the development of skills with a view to ease and adequacy of expression. While the courses are definitely nonprofessional in character, they are fundamental and thorough enough to serve as the basis for later specialization should that be desired. But the chief purpose is to give to all students artistic resources which will make daily living richer and more significant.

By the early 1940's, courses in history and theory included introduction to the visual arts, history and appreciation of art, modern art, interior decoration, and dress design. The studio courses included art structure (in design and drawing), art in the elementary school, crafts, lettering and advertising design, puppetry, and studio problems. A new educational feature was a picture rental collection of framed originals or reproductions available to students or faculty

members for the decoration of their rooms. For the benefit of the whole academic community, a variety of loan exhibitions, numbering eighty from 1930 to 1945, presented collections in many art forms, including oil paintings, water colors, prints, Japanese, Chinese, and Amerindian art, sculpture, stained glass, textiles, and fresco. Noted artists have cooperated by giving lectures on their art fields.

During the sixties and early seventies the College had made some provision for instruction in vocal music. The first instruction in this subject was offered in 1862-1863 and again, 1867-1870, by the Rev. Darius E. Jones,¹⁰⁵ who sang his way through an extraordinary variety of occupations, as manufacturer, editor, church chorister, pastor, secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, agent of the Bible Society, representative of the Boston and Maine Railway, composer, and compiler of songs. In 1863 William Beaton taught vocal music, and from 1864 to 1867 the Rev. Charles W. Clapp added this function to his duties as professor of rhetoric and English literature. For the two years, 1873-1875, Harlow S. Mills, '74 (D.D., '14) had charge of this work. At this same time Miss Debra C. Fessenden was the first instructor in instrumental music to appear as a member of the teaching staff.

All this was preliminary to the appearance in 1875 of Willard Kimball (B.Mus., Oberlin) as instructor in vocal and instrumental music. He became professor the next year when a regular course in music was "contemplated." In 1877 a "Conservatory of Music" was organized with Kimball as director, and a three-year course was outlined in the catalogue. Director Kimball's nineteen years at Grinnell saw the full development of the Conservatory, with a teaching force of five instructors, a maximum enrollment of 180, and courses in piano, pipe organ, violin and stringed instruments, voice culture, and the science and theory of music. In the early years music was still regarded as an extra; in June, 1880, the trustees permitted it to be offered as an optional subject only in the ladies' course, and the expectation was that the Conservatory should be self-sustaining. Seven years later the trustees by-passed a suggestion that music be an optional subject in the classical course.

By this time it appears that Director Kimball took over the work in music as a private venture, and in 1888 a separate catalogue was issued for the Conservatory. He had the use of the college plant, but in return was required in 1889 to pay 10 per cent of his gross income

to the College. In 1891 the offering of a degree for the music-literary course was voted down, but the next year music became available as an elective in the junior and senior years of all college courses. In 1893 the Conservatory of Music was taken over by the trustees as an integral part of the College, and the equipment was purchased from Kimball, who transferred the next year to the University of Nebraska, taking his staff of instructors with him.

It was therefore a completely new music faculty that took over in 1894 under Rossetter Gleason Cole (Ph.B., A.M., Michigan; later Mus.D., Grinnell) as director, and the Conservatory was now renamed the School of Music. The opportunities for the election of music by the academic students were enlarged by the offering of ten two-hour courses in theoretical music, including courses in harmony, counterpoint, theory and history of music, musical analysis and form, and aesthetics of music. A normal course for teachers was also added.

Integration with the College had the result that gradually a large majority of the music students took academic courses, and the influence of the music faculty affected the College life in the organization of the College Glee Club and the Amphion Orchestra, which cultivated serious music of a type quite different from that purveyed by conventional student clubs, and which carried its influence far and wide on concert tours. There had been earlier choral groups of an ephemeral character, but here was the beginning of the application of ideals in musical education that made it truly coordinate with long-cultivated academic fields. This tendency found its final expression when the School of Music became the Department of Music in the College in 1931.

Mr. Cole was succeeded as director for brief periods by Henry W. Matlack (B.Mus., Oberlin; A.B., Grinnell), 1901-1903; by William B. Olds (A.B., Beloit; instructor in singing since 1901) as acting director, 1903-1904; and 1904-1907 by Dudley Lytton Smith (A.B., Western Reserve; instructor in piano since 1901). In 1907 George Leavitt Pierce (B.Mus., Oberlin) began his twenty-four years of service as director.

During this period there were six others of full professional rank on the music faculty. Edward Benjamin Scheve (hon. Mus.D.) came in 1906 as professor of musical theory and composition and instructor in organ. He continued to render distinguished service as teacher, composer, and organist until his death in 1924.

Henry W. Matlack returned to Grinnell in 1909 as acting professor of musical theory and instructor in organ; he was acting director during Professor Pierce's leave of absence in 1910-1911, and remained as professor until he became assistant to the president in alumni relations in 1922, continuing as college organist and serving again as professor of organ as well as alumni secretary, 1931-1936.

The enrollment in the School of Music increased rather steadily after 1910 and in 1920-1921 reached an all-time high of 293, of whom 152 were also enrolled in academic courses; 90 were children. Ten years later the depression had left its mark, reducing the enrollment in music to 89 adults (practically all academic students) and 14 children. It was evident that the public at large still considered music a luxury.

Meanwhile, the teaching staff had done not only its full share in developing an interest in good music on the campus, but also in making the excellent results available to the public. As a successor to the Amphion Orchestra, Professor Pierce in 1907 organized the Grinnell College Symphony Orchestra, which continued under his direction until 1940, except for his two leaves of absence, when Professor Scheve took charge, 1910-1911, and Professor Peck, 1930-1931. During its best years the orchestra numbered fifty-five members; its repertoire included symphonies by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Franck, and Dvorak, the classic overtures, and a variety of concertos with eminent soloists.

The Grinnell String Quartet was also organized in 1907, and, under the leadership of David E. Peck as first violin, performed the classic quartets and a selection of modern works. During the thirty-five years of its existence this quartet probably did more for the appreciation of chamber music in the Midwest than any other organization.

The Men's Glee Club, organized in 1895 by Rossetter G. Cole, was conducted from 1901 to 1907 by Dudley L. Smith, from 1907 to 1910 by George L. Pierce, and then for twenty-seven years by David E. Peck, its repertoire including many of the finest works for male chorus. The club made frequent tours in the Midwest and two singing trips to the Pacific Coast. In 1924 it won first place at the contest of college and university glee clubs in Chicago, and a high place among eastern clubs in the subsequent contest in New York. For forty years it sang without the personal direction of the conductor. The Grinnell College Girls' Glee Club was conducted by George L.

Pierce from 1907 to 1942. This club also made annual tours of the Midwest, and one trip as guests of the Sante Fe Railway to Los Angeles.

A general choral organization was attempted as early as 1874, when the "Lowell Mason Society" met to sing works by classical composers. In the eighties this was followed by a "Mozart Club" and a "Musical Union," and in 1901 an "Oratorio Society" sang Mendelssohn's *Elijah*. The first permanent College Choir was organized in 1907, consisting of the membership of the two glee clubs. For thirty-five years this "Vesper Choir" introduced its members to the best sacred music as a part of the formal vesper service on Sundays in the College Chapel. With an enlarged membership, it participated annually in the production of the great oratorios. The Choir thrice entered the Des Moines Eisteddfod, twice winning the first prize and once the second prize.

Members of the music faculty were responsible for the organization of the music festivals held in May or June since 1901, first with the participation of the Chicago Symphony (not the one founded by Theodore Thomas), later with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra under Frederick Stock, and the New York, Minneapolis, and St. Louis symphonies. The musical programs brought to Grinnell included the names of practically all the great recital artists of the past fifty years, famous string quartets, orchestras, and other instrumental groups, bands, choruses, and singing groups.

Grinnell was one of the first colleges in the country to offer the degree of bachelor of arts with a music major, and to provide a standardized course for the degree of bachelor of music. In recent years, the department of music has become so completely integrated into the academic curriculum that students are no longer listed separately as enrolled in music.



☆ XXI ☆

Athletics and Physical Education*

THE athletic teams representing Grinnell College have long rejoiced in the sobriquet of "Pioneers," which might be a recognition of the early development of interest in athletics on the campus, as well as of the priority of the College in midwestern education. During the first decades this interest remained subordinate to the demands of humbler and more lucrative occupations upon the leisure hours in the student life. John Hall Windsor, '54, first graduate of the College, wrote in 1889: "First claims on physical exercise in 1849-1854 were

* This chapter is based on a study made by John C. Truesdale, professor of physical education.

so great in sawing wood and doing chores that gymnasium and outdoor recreation were rendered unnecessary. Still, we had some first-class baseball games. Even now we would willingly take up the challenge of freshmen against sophs, though the game as we knew it would doubtless astonish the professionals of today.”¹⁶⁶ H. H. Belfield and E. O. Tade, '58, wrote: “This was the glacial period of amusements. No gymnasium, no baseball, no rowing, no glee clubs, no nothing. We did hunt a little along the river and in the woods. Life was too serious to be devoted to frivolous sports. Our amusements were ‘prisoner’s base’ and ‘town ball’ — mere general games. We were nearly all poor young men and had to cut wood and do chores for our fun and to pay board.” This was the story for the Davenport days.

The early years at Grinnell brought little change of procedure. Professor Jesse Macy, '70, writing in 1902, remembered no playing of games during the Civil War period, but claimed credit for himself introducing a game of football, “neither Rugby nor Association” — the latter term equivalent to “soccer.” Macy reports that Charles N. Cooper, '67, was a positive advocate of regular physical training, prophetic of later enthusiasm for athletics, and that he “raised a little fund and erected a swing among the locust trees west of Alumni Hall,” the present Music Building. Mahlon Willett, '69, “contracted a very uncomfortable habit of arising early in the morning and taking a brisk walk or run into the country before breakfast. By downright persistence he induced a score of others to join him in these early perambulations.”¹⁶⁷ This was the first adumbration of the later keen interest in track sports.

The “national game” was naturally the first to be played with some regularity on the Grinnell campus. Macy reports that baseball was introduced about 1867 by a returned soldier, Michael Austin, '71, later a trustee of the College. The first match game with an outside team was played in 1868 with the State University. Grinnell won, 24-0. This was apparently the earliest intercollegiate contest in Iowa.¹⁶⁸ Baseball, played in both spring and fall, remained the one athletic game on the campus through the seventies, with occasional outside games. The student paper indulged in frequent editorial exhortations to a flagging athletic interest. It urged students to “bestir themselves, to wear down the weeds on the base paths of the diamond field, to walk or hunt instead of day-loafing or smoking as their Saturday

pastimes. Our boys are famous for their eloquent orations on 'Physical Culture'; our eyes long for a practical demonstration."

The sporadic interest in soccer mentioned by Macy was revived in the late seventies and early eighties, when the students evidently became possessed of a football. Thus the *News Letter* in May, 1881, wisecracks: "the football is here, and when a student is sad and wants to die, he goes out and runs the ball across the campus for an hour. If he isn't dead before morning, he will have endured so much bodily anguish that the blues can not get hold upon his constitution. . . . The Juniors, essaying to beat the Preps, were ingloriously defeated by a score of 8 to 7." Such intramural matches continued throughout the eighties.

The change from soccer to Rugby toward the end of this decade was highlighted by the first intercollegiate game in modern football west of the Mississippi.* The occasion was a challenge issued by the State University Foot Ball Team in October, 1889, to any college or other team in the state of Iowa. The Grinnell student papers for October and November abound in discussions of the challenge and its results. The first approach was almost a plea in avoidance: "Our boys have just started to play foot ball and perhaps could not do up the S. U. I. team. However we are ready to try them in base ball this year."¹⁶⁹ But evidently the student dander was up, and the *Pulse* for October 26 published a communication urging acceptance of the challenge:

Why cannot we accept their challenge? The answer is simply because we do not know enough about the Rugby game. We have balls, grounds laid out, several Rugby players, and a whole host of men who would make good Rugby players. We could put a rush-line in the field of an average weight of 170 lbs., and all of them men who can run an 11-sec. gait. But to play this game as it should be played there must be a large amount of practice and in order to get this practice there must be system. If they are not willing to do this and if proper training cannot be taken, then let us keep quiet and still retain the old worn-out back seat which we have hitherto held in respect to foot ball.

A football association was formed, "the longed-for football" arrived, Rugby was now the popular game, and the challenge was accepted. The *Pulse* for November 23 reported the epic struggle:

* One sports authority cites 1881 at the University of California as the starting date for collegiate football in the trans-Mississippi West. See Christy Walsh (ed.), *College Football . . .* (Culver City, Calif., 1949), 19.

The S. U. I. has quite a reputation among Iowa colleges for athletics and when the challenge was issued it was with fear and trembling that Iowa College accepted it. This fear was in no way lessened when their brawny representatives appeared on the grounds last Saturday. Much heavier in actual weight and looking even larger than they were in their new uniforms, the S. U. I. team was not exactly calculated to inspire confidence in Iowa College's victory. It being a fine day and the first match ever played here a large crowd was out to witness the game, and judging from the enthusiasm both during the game and after the game all enjoyed the sport and will hail with pleasure the announcement of another.¹⁷⁰

The score: "Iowa College 24; State University 0" — in spite of the fact that the coach at the University (also professor of English) played with his team. This historic contest was honored fifty years later by the erection of a suitable monument on the athletic field, flanked by flagstuffs for the display of banners of the home and visiting teams at each game.

Following the 1889 contest with the University of Iowa the football tradition at Grinnell grew during the last decade of the nineteenth century as a more ambitious schedule was arranged. Grinnell defeated the University of Minnesota in their first meeting in 1893, 6-2, and outscored Iowa State College, 38-2, during the same season. Other gridiron victims of the Pioneers during the days of the "flying wedge" and the drop-kick artist were the University of Nebraska, Drake University, Carleton College, and the Des Moines Y. M. C. A. (the latter squad fell by a score of 132-0 in 1892). Rivalries with Coe, Simpson, Cornell, and Penn colleges also added to the collegiate sports scene at Grinnell long before spectators considered a reserved seat or bottle of carbonated water a necessary adjunct to such contests.

At the end of World War I Grinnell officials moved the College into the Missouri Valley Conference, one of the major collegiate associations in the Midwest. Founded in 1907, the Missouri Valley already included Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Kansas State, Drake, Iowa State, and Washington of St. Louis among its members. Grinnell teams found competition in the conference formidable. "Grinnell had a hard-fighting eleven," a Kansas City sportswriter noted in 1923, "but the material was not of sufficiently heavy caliber to enable Coach [A. H.] Elward to put out a team to cope successfully against the heavier and more powerful Conference members." The Pioneers made creditable showings in 1925 and 1926, but discord

in the conference soon led to a realignment of member schools. Most of the original members formed their own conference, limited to state-supported universities, and Grinnell remained in the old Missouri Valley group until 1939. Before the 1939 football season began, Grinnell shifted its membership into the smaller Midwest Conference, although occasionally nonconference contests with the University of Colorado, Washington University, and De Pauw were scheduled.

Track and field sports began to engage the serious attention of the students in the eighties.¹⁷¹ The *News Letter* for June, 1886, records the first home Field Day, consisting of a variety of running and jumping events and stunt races, for prizes such as "100 glasses of soda-water, laundry for twenty weeks, or a pair of knee pants." This Field Day was to continue through the years as an Annual Home Meet of contests between the college classes. The first State Meet was held in Grinnell in 1890, under the auspices of the Iowa Intercollegiate Athletic Association formed during the preceding winter. Such State Meets were held regularly until 1917, and occasionally in later years. During the track seasons of 1907, 1908, and 1909 the Grinnell teams captured the Iowa Intercollegiate Track Meet cup with convincing victories in dash events, hurdles, relays, and the pole vault. The climax of the three-year reign came on May 29, 1909, when Grinnell won the championship cup for the third straight time by amassing 63½ points. E. W. Turner was the individual star for Grinnell as he won the 100-yard dash, the 220-yard dash, and the 440-yard run to contribute personally 15 points to the scarlet-and-black total. William Ziegler pressed Turner for team honors by winning the shotput and placing second in both the hammer throw and discus throw. "Seldom in the history of track athletics in Iowa has one team shown such wonderful superiority," a sportswriter wrote following the meet. In 1894 Ralph Lee Whitley, '95, ran the 440 in 49 seconds, a state record which stood for over forty years. Grinnell track athletes participated with honor in national and international contests, such as the Western and Missouri Valley Conference, the Drake Relays (at which Grinnell was classed with the universities), and the Olympic Games. In the nineties John Harland Rush, '97, in the 1900's Harry J. (Doc) Huff, '09, in the next two decades Charles B. (Chuck) Hoyt, '18, and Leonard T. Paulu, '22, were national champion sprinters, and later Myron C. (Mike) Pilbrow, '33, was a national champion two-miler. Fred-

erick Morgan Taylor, '26, won the 400-meter hurdles at the Olympic Games in 1924, in the best time to that date, and almost repeated by taking second place in the Olympics four years later, and third place in 1932 at Los Angeles. He is the only American athlete known to have placed in track and field sports at three Olympics.¹⁷²

Tennis began as a female sport in Grinnell, and in reporting the formation of a girls' tennis club in April, 1886, the *News Letter* added: "Tennis is a game particularly adapted to ladies." Male members of the faculty, led by President Gates, also were addicted to this sport, as well as to cycling, before the college boys took it up and founded a Tennis Association in 1888; the next year there were twenty-six competing for the college championship. Intercollegiate matches in dual contests and state tournaments began in 1890 and were continued rather regularly in subsequent years. The women have also shown a continuing interest in this sport.

Indoor sports had perforce to await the provision of a suitable building. Student agitation for a gymnasium began as early as the seventies. The first attempt in this direction was the installation of an outdoor gymnasium, the purchase of a "health lift" by the students, and the setting up of "vaulting and turning poles." After the cyclone of 1882 the basement of the old Alumni Hall was used as a gymnasium, but attendance was voluntary and the catalogue stated rather vaguely that "it has been used by a large number of students under competent instruction [unspecified] and is believed to be of great service." The faculty evidently took no part in this "competent instruction," and the optimistic "belief" was ill founded, for the facilities provided were completely inadequate, and even janitor service left much to be desired. The student paper announced the occupancy of "our gymnasium" in the spring of 1884, but it brought no happiness. There was frequent action by the faculty in an effort to obtain order, quiet, and participation. Student leaders were hired, a bathtub was installed to attract customers, apparatus was purchased, members of the faculty attempted to oversee the area and even direct classes, dues were charged and fines imposed, but there was no cure for the ills that all recognized and deplored. The women were first supplied with adequate quarters when the E. D. Rand Gymnasium was built in 1897 by Miss Carrie Rand, who had come in 1893 as "Instructor in Social and Physical Culture." Then the men finally got their gymnasium, which was opened in January, 1900. The Rand

Gymnasium was destroyed by fire in December, 1939. The men of the College occupied their new and completely adequate quarters in the Darby Gymnasium in 1942, and the old Men's Gym was then made available as a temporary home for the women's program of physical education.

Basketball, like tennis, began at Grinnell as a women's sport, introduced to the campus by Emeline Barstow Bartlett (Vassar, '94), who was acting preceptress in the Academy. Thus, even before the erection of the Rand Gymnasium, the "cottage ladies" and the "town ladies" in 1896 practised in a room "over the C.O.D. laundry," and played championship games in the "armory," a wooden structure downtown which has since disappeared.¹⁷³ Largely as a joke, the girls of the class of '98 challenged the boys of the class to a game of basketball, which the boys won by a score of 59 to 32. Four years later the college men were playing the game on their own account, and basketball was formally adopted as a college sport by the Athletic Union in January, 1901. Since that time basketball has been continuously on the Grinnell sports schedule.

Bowling was at first an activity of members of the faculty, who financed the building of an alley in the basement of the new Rand Gymnasium. As other alleys were developed, the students also participated. The interest in bowling lapsed in the course of time, and it was never a medium of intercollegiate competition. Neither was handball, which was apparently first played in 1900, with the formation of a club, and the installation of a court in the Men's Gymnasium. Swimming had to await the building of a swimming pool in 1926, and became an intercollegiate sport only four years later; since then Grinnell swimming teams have participated in Missouri Valley and Midwest Conference meets. Wrestling was doubtless indulged in sporadically and unofficially from the early days, but the first recognition of it as a college sport appears in the college papers late in 1935. For a time there was participation in intercollegiate wrestling; more recently it has remained a part of the intramural program. Boxing was formally prohibited by action of the faculty in December, 1891, and has never developed into a recognized sport at Grinnell.

Golf, like bowling, was first played by members of the faculty as early as 1899, when Professor Macy and others chased the elusive gutta-percha over an improvised course, first on the campus and later in Sanders' pasture. It became a student sport much later, after the

present golf links were laid out by a town club. The earliest mention of golf in the student press occurs in 1935. Since that time golf teams have participated regularly in dual and conference meets. Intramurals began at Grinnell as competition between the college classes, there being no fraternities and for many years no men's dormitories. The class unit remained in later years, but has been supplemented since the building of the Men's Dormitories in 1917 by lively competition between the various houses, which have developed a somewhat remarkable tradition of house loyalty. Intramurals have extended to the entire student body the benefits previously limited to the candidates for memberships on the college teams.

In the early years the management of athletics was in student hands, and the faculty took little notice of activities that were evidently considered unacademic and unimportant. Early actions of the faculty were purely restrictive in character, to meet abuses or matters that were considered such. In 1883 both faculty and trustees took action forbidding students to engage in contests outside of Grinnell in term time; and it was only "under protest," as late as 1888, that occasional permission was given for such absence from town. The passion for victory was too strong for the immature conscience, and Grinnell was not guiltless of the common practice of hiring "ringers" to bolster the strength of athletic teams. In May, 1890, the faculty voted that "no one be allowed to register from now on for the sake of entering State Field Day"; in February, 1891, it was hoped to "suppress betting and riotous conduct" at an intercollegiate field day; in March, 1892, the president was asked to correspond with other college executives "in regard to professionalism in athletics"; and in 1893 the trustees took action against extended tours by athletic teams and "the use of hired men on teams." In May, 1894, the student paper claimed that "professionalism has wholly vanished this Spring," but one suspects that this claim was premature.

The first committee of the faculty on athletics, appointed in December, 1890, recommended the encouragement and furtherance of physical culture throughout the College. It became a standing committee in April, 1891. Soon a petition was granted for the establishment of an Athletic Union. Intercollegiate games were now regularly authorized, and the names of members of the teams were passed upon as to scholarship. Reports were made upon individual students whose work suffered from "over-athletic zeal." Athletic rules were

adopted in 1897, and coaches were approved by the faculty. Alumni interest in athletics crystallized in 1900, when the faculty adopted a new constitution for the Athletic Union, providing for a board composed of three alumni, one faculty representative, and one student. In the long run this organization proved ineffective, and the faculty assumed definite responsibility for the conduct of athletics, including eligibility, the physical examination of contestants, restriction of the number of games on the schedule, approval of the election of captains and managers, and financial control. In 1909 a system of permanent coaches with faculty rank was adopted, and in 1910 the one-year residence rule was accepted.

The custom of wearing the insignia of the College on uniform or sweater was apparently adopted at Grinnell in the early nineties, and in 1892 Ernest W. Atherton, '95, won a contest for the selection of an official emblem, a Maltese cross with the block letter G, which was first used by the track team and then extended to contestants in all other sports.¹⁷⁴ Since 1928 the Honor "G" has been awarded in eight sports: football, basketball, track, cross-country, swimming, tennis, golf, and wrestling.

As athletics developed beyond the primitive stage of the possession of "a football," the problem of financing the expenses of the program became increasingly difficult; the student papers were full of pleas for more careful planning, frequent auditing of accounts, and more adequate facilities. For many years necessary expenses were met by voluntary contributions from students, alumni, and members of the faculty. Too frequently there were harassing deficits and inexpert bookkeeping. In 1907 a plan was adopted, with the consent of the student body, to add to the tuition charge a semester fee, first of \$3.00, later increased to \$5.00 and \$7.50, payment of which entitled the student to attendance at all athletic contests, concerts and lectures, and eventually also to certain dramatic performances. The proceeds have been allocated to various interests by the student council, with the approval of the faculty, and the funds handled by the College treasurer.

The earliest playing field was on the central campus, north of the present location of Blair Hall, but the disturbance caused by the close proximity of the field to classrooms caused criticism. In 1892 the present athletic field was laid out and named after Herbert C. Ward of the class of 1890. The concrete grandstand was built in 1910.

The one-third mile track was completed in 1903, but in order to conform with common custom it was reduced to a quarter-mile track in 1938. In 1918 an additional field was laid out for tennis and baseball north of Ward Field. The ground between Ward Field and the dormitories, used as a practice area, was named for Paul MacEachron, '12, former dean of men. The women's outdoor playing field in Chamberlain Park, adjacent to the Women's Quadrangle, was laid out in tennis courts, a hockey and baseball field, and courts for volley ball and badminton.

In the early years the coaching as well as the management of athletics and physical training was in student hands. The first professional football coach employed was H. O. Stickney, from Harvard, in 1893; he was followed in 1894 by Martin J. (Mike) Bergen, a Princeton man. From 1897 to 1904 John Pyper (Jack) Watson was track coach and trainer of the football team, and from 1899 to 1902 Walter W. Davis (Ph.D., Yale) was director of physical training. Since his time, physical directors have been recognized as members of the teaching staff. For six years Charles Edward Fisher ('99; A.M., Harvard) combined this work with an assistant professorship in Latin. Arthur Milton Brown (A.B., Williams) was full-time director of physical training, 1911-1913. He was succeeded by Harry J. Huff, '09, who remained in charge until 1926 as director and as track coach, assisted by others in the coaching of other sports. Raymond W. Rogers was associate professor of physical training, 1920-1924. John Cushman Truesdale (S.M., Iowa) came as professor of physical education and director of athletics in 1927, and has more recently had charge of intramurals, which were organized by Huff and Duke in 1925. G. Lester Duke, '25, came as instructor in physical education in 1925, acted as track coach from 1926, since 1933 has been assistant professor, and since 1940 director of intercollegiate athletics. Lester L. Watt, '18, was associate professor of physical education and football coach, 1927-1936. F. Benjamin (Ben) Douglas, '31, was assistant professor of physical education and football and basketball coach from 1940 until his call to military service in 1943.

The physical education of women was introduced in 1890 by Siveri L. Ringheim, '89, as instructor in elocution and physical culture ("Delsarte and Calisthenics") and continued after 1893 by Miss Carrie Rand as instructor in social and physical culture, with the use of the armory, a large wooden building off the campus. It was

organized more formally with the building of the Rand Gymnasium in 1897, and continued until 1903 by Annie Bell Raymond, '97. She was followed by Grace Douglass, '02, and Frances Rebekah Gardner (ex-'00; A.B., Stanford); in 1909 Clara Julia Andersen came from Y. W. C. A. service in Des Moines; she taught physical training for women at Grinnell until 1945. During these years there have been material changes in the program of physical culture. In the early days classwork consisted of Swedish gymnastics, a formalized "day's order" which included the use of apparatus, stall bars, ladders, parallel bars, etc. Games were then restricted to tennis and basketball. Costumes consisted of long black hose, full, heavy serge bloomers, and long-sleeved middy blouses, a far cry from the present abbreviated costumes. Gradually additional sports were introduced, and with the erection of the Women's Quadrangle seasonal tournaments between the cottages were organized. These intramurals now include hockey, basketball, volley ball, badminton, tennis, and baseball. Swimming meets and a dance intramural, for which each cottage develops its own original theme, complete the year's events. These intramural tournaments are in addition to the two years of physical education required for graduation.

Ever since the first World War it has been apparent that greater emphasis on neuro-muscular control and physical development is essential. This became even more evident during World War II, since so many women had gone into military service and were working in factories where great endurance was required. To meet this need, a conditioning program for women was organized in February, 1942; since that time every woman has had two conditioning classes a week, in addition to two classes in a selected sport or in swimming. Those who are not physically able to take this work are given special restricted exercise. The emphasis in physical education is now upon the type of physical activity which can be carried on after college days. Hence individual sports are popular. In the entire program stress is laid upon social and aesthetic values.

For many years physical education remained an accessory to the academic curriculum, a requirement in addition to the 120 hours specified for graduation. In the twenties the women were given the first opportunity to register for a minor in physical education, which included a course in dramatics. By the thirties both majors and minors were offered for men as well as for women, and these courses

were fully integrated into the requirements for the bachelor's degree. For students not registering for these courses there remained the general requirement of six semester hours in physical education, in addition to the standard 120 academic credits, these six hours being distributed over three years of participation in athletics or gymnasium work. In the forties the courses in physical education were integrated into the new system of concentration, within the Division of Education.



☆ XXII ☆

The Library

By MARGARET G. FULLERTON *

THE history of the Grinnell College Library follows so closely that of the College itself that the two are inseparable. Its function as an integral part of the educational program throughout the years is revealed in the catalogues, librarians' reports, news letters, and other college publications that furnish the story of its growth and service from 1846 to 1946.

The first mention of a library is found in the first catalogue of Iowa College at Davenport, for 1849-1850. It states that "a small

* Margaret G. Fullerton, assistant in the library from 1938 to 1942; reference librarian from 1942 to 1944.

library of some 150 volumes" had been secured for the members of the institution. The Rev. Erastus Ripley, professor of ancient languages, and the first member of the teaching force, was also librarian until 1851. This practice, of having a member of the faculty assume the office of librarian, was followed until 1889, when the Rev. Joshua Chamberlain who was also a trustee, became the first full-time librarian, following the occupancy of Goodnow Hall.

During the period that the College was at Davenport, the Rev. Henry L. Bullen, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, was in charge of the library from 1851 to 1858, David S. Sheldon, professor of chemistry and natural science, in 1858-1859, and Quincy Gilmore for part of the year 1858 and again in 1860. The collection of books grew from its original 150 volumes to 1,800, plus 500 volumes of the Chrestomathian Society. This society, as well as those that were organized later, maintained its own library for many years, and these collections were listed separately in the college catalogues until 1890, when they were incorporated in the main library. After 1890, the Chrestomathians used their book fund to purchase books in the field of political science, while the Grinnell Institute specialized in American history. These funds are a part of the book fund today.

The catalogue for 1861, following the College's removal to Grinnell, lists the number of books as 2,500, with the Rev. Julius A. Reed, acting principal of the Preparatory and English departments, as librarian. He served until 1863, when Carl W. Von Coelln, professor of chemistry, natural science, mathematics, and natural philosophy, took charge, serving until 1865, when the collection had grown to 3,000 volumes.

During this period a library fund was begun; the catalogue for 1863-1864 states that "the income of the library fund will enable the trustees to make valuable additions to the library annually and it is expected that friends of the Institution will continue to donate works of permanent interest." These "friends of the Institution" have played a major part in the development of the library, for their gifts of books and money have been an indispensable and invaluable contribution to its enrichment since its beginnings in 1849.

The Rev. S. Jay Buck, principal of the Preparatory and English departments, was librarian from 1865 to 1870, and the collection increased to 4,000 volumes. For the academic year 1870-1871 George

Henry Lewis was principal of the Preparatory and English departments and was in charge of the library, followed by John Avery, Carter professor of Greek language and literature, who served for a year. It was during this year that a reading room was established for the first time. The catalogue states that "the young gentlemen of the College, with the assistance of the Faculty and other friends, established in the Fall Term a Reading Room, which occupies Rooms No. 9 and 10, East College, and is supplied with 40 or 50 periodicals and newspapers. It is open to all subscribers from 1 to 7 p.m. daily, except Sundays."

Richard W. Swan, Benedict professor of Latin language and literature and associate principal of the Academy, was the next faculty member to serve as librarian. He continued for a ten-year period, which included the disastrous year of the cyclone. This calamity, which struck so devastatingly at the College, revealed again very forcefully the role that the friends of the library played in its preservation and growth. The catalogue for 1882-1883 claims 6,450 volumes for the library, "including those damaged by the cyclone," and lists the many gifts received in response to the crisis. It also mentions the fact that the society libraries were burned in the destruction of Central Building, but that new collections had been started. The response of friends is even more evident in the statement of the following year, when S. G. Barnes, Ames professor of English language, literature, and rhetoric, was in charge, for the number had by then grown to 10,000.

It is also evident that the problem of caring for and administering the library had become acute, in the comment that "so much time is required for the proper care of a library, that until the friends of the college endow the Librarian's chair, and thus furnish her with one who can give his undivided attention to it, the work must be slowly and imperfectly done by some member of the faculty sufficiently occupied already with the duties of his own chair."

This need was not provided for immediately, however, and Henry K. Edson, Iowa professor of the theory and practice of teaching, held the office from 1885 to 1887; Professor O. F. Emerson, '82, principal of the Academy, in 1887-1888, with Miss Carrie M. Edson listed as assistant librarian from 1887 to 1889.

It was at this time that E. A. Goodnow, of Worcester, Massachusetts, made a gift of \$10,000 for a library and observatory building.

It was completed in 1886, and occupied in 1887. A description states that it "has a high hall with galleries for 50,000 volumes, besides a spacious reading room, two apartments for art, and a tower for an astronomical observatory." With this provision of a library building, a new era was begun, and a full-time librarian placed in charge — the Rev. Joshua M. Chamberlain, a trustee of the College. With a collection of 20,000 books, the need for provision of an adequate classification system and card index had become imperative.

In the librarian's report for 1892, Mr. Chamberlain stated that

. . . the Faculty are making inquiries as to methods and expense of making a card catalogue of the Library at the least cost possible, by their own and students' voluntary labor. It seems desirable to encourage the effort to the extent of purchasing the material necessary and the employment of an expert assistant for a short time as an instructor and to inaugurate the work. It is inevitable that we must have a catalogue soon at a large outlay unless some voluntary labor can be secured. This comes to us from the right source and in the right way — a voluntary proposal from the Faculty, each one in his department of study.

The Dewey decimal classification was adopted, and the card catalogue begun. During this time a special effort was also made to add to and fill out the periodical sets.

Chamberlain served until 1896, and was followed by Harley H. Stipp, '96, who served until 1898. The separate libraries in the science departments were established at this time, as well as the School of Music Library. In 1898-1899, Miss Cora W. Hastings, a Bates graduate, was librarian. Matthew Hale Douglass, '95, an Iowa College graduate with additional library training, served from 1899 to 1908.

The catalogue for 1899-1900 reveals that the library was for the first time "open four evenings a week, also, electric lights having been added during the year." At this time the library contained over 26,000 books and 100 periodicals. This was a most significant period in the expansion of the library. The present building was erected in 1904, and a staff of assistants employed. The catalogue for 1903-1904 contains the following information about the new building:

Goodnow Hall, which has been used as the library building for the past 19 years . . . has served its purpose admirably in the past, but has now been outgrown. Through the beneficence of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who has contributed \$50,000 for the purpose, a substantial, modern library building will be erected, during the summer of 1904. The new building will provide large periodical and general reference reading rooms, a stack room to accom-

modate 100,000 volumes, rooms for cataloguers and librarian, for art and other special collections; for seminar, conversation and conference purposes, adequate cloak and store rooms; and also, four large rooms to be used temporarily for recitations. As a condition of the gift, which the trustees have accepted, \$5,000 a year will be expended in support of the library.

This gift of Carnegie was at the suggestion of Dr. Albert Shaw, '79.

The building was occupied in April, 1905, and a canvass was launched for the endowment fund. As was stated in the catalogue for 1904-1905, the library had until this time "been largely dependent upon the generosity of its friends," but now, with the new building and the consequent expansion of the library program, the need of an adequate permanent fund for its support was obvious, and a continuing campaign was made to build it during the following years. During his administration Douglass inaugurated an apprentice class for students interested in library work, and thus began the system of employing student assistants which has been intermittently in use ever since.

In 1908, L. L. Dickerson, of Oklahoma State College and the New York State Library, took over the duties of librarian. He remained until 1917, when he was granted leave of absence to enter war work. During his administration the size of the library staff increased to four, and the special collection of Grinnell College and Iowa historical material was organized under a classification system of its own.

The need of more funds for books was being increasingly felt, as an excerpt from Dickerson's report for 1912 indicates:

The income from book funds is gradually increasing. However, this is not large enough to provide for the ordinary growth of the library and build working collections for recently organized courses. We should make arrangements as early as possible for increasing the permanent endowment for books. The great number of new books appearing annually, giving expression as they do to the most recent investigations, afford a source from which we should buy extensively in order to keep abreast with the times.

The fund was increased over a period of years, and the number of volumes soon passed 50,000. Miss Isabelle Clark, of Western Reserve University, who had joined the staff in 1916, was made acting librarian during Dickerson's leave, and in 1917 was appointed librarian.

In 1919 the building was for the first time devoted entirely to library use. The administration offices had been moved to Chicago (now Magoun) Hall in 1913, but it was not until after the comple-

tion of Alumni Recitation Hall in 1917 that all recitation rooms were removed from the library building. The first floor has since been converted into reading rooms and offices. The Iowa College (Grinnell) Collection and the newspapers and public documents are housed in the basement. In 1921 the Carnegie Corporation gave \$50,000 for the endowment of the library. In 1931 the library received a grant of \$15,000 from the Carnegie Corporation for the purchase of new books, in payments of \$3,000 annually for five years.

In 1929 Miss Clark was given a year's leave of absence to organize the library of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Hawaii. During this year Gretta M. Smith, '11, was in charge, and established the Mabel M. Smith memorial rental collection of books in current fiction and nonfiction. In the fall of 1938 individual study desks were installed in the south end of the first floor. Many books of current interest, such as novels, poetry, plays, and biography, had been moved to open shelves on this floor to make them more accessible.

One of the interesting events in the recent history of the library was the accessioning of the 100,000th volume at the commencement in 1935. A well-bound volume of Merezhkovsky's *The Forerunner*, on the life and times of Leonardo da Vinci, bearing the accession number 100,000, was adorned with the signatures of distinguished guests, including the Chinese Minister, Dr. Sao-ke Alfred Sze, who was the commencement speaker, and who had just received an honorary degree, as had Chester C. Davis, '11, Harry L. Hopkins, '12, and Ervine P. Inglis, '16.

At present the library has about 110,000 volumes. More than 450 American and foreign periodicals are received, and there is an extensive collection of government documents, of which the library is an official depository. There is also a collection of several thousand photographs and slides that are used as teaching aids in the various departments.

Under normal conditions, before the war cut down student enrollment, the library circulated about 60,000 volumes a year, or an average of more than eighty books per student. In 1943-1944, while the men in the Army Specialized Training Program were on the campus, extensive use was made of the library. Several hundred army books were placed on special reserve, and the library's own resources were used for study, reference, and research.



☆ XXIII ☆

Student Publications

By CHARMAYNE WILKE *

GRINNELL College's first venture into student journalism came in 1871, just twenty-five years after the founding of the College itself, when, on August 23, the Grinnell *Herald* carried the first Iowa College *News Letter*. Occupying two columns of the newspaper, this first publication, conducted by members of Iowa College, was written by President Magoun, members of the faculty, and students. Termed "a very interesting department of the local paper," the *News Letter* discussed theology, science, and philosophy.

* Charmayne Wilke, '52, assistant to the director of public relations.

In 1873 faculty permission to publish the Iowa College *News Letter* as a separate paper was granted, and in the first issue in July, 1873, the front page carried the message: "The *News Letter* is published the first of each month during the College year, under the authority of the Trustees of Iowa College, to give reliable information regarding college matters to members of the Alumni Association and the friends of the institution who otherwise would have no regular source of supply." The four-page paper, with three columns on a page, carried faculty and alumni notes and a "News of the College" section. One item in the December 1, 1903, issue, for example, was a list of the estimated expenses for the college student: Tuition — \$55; laboratory fees — \$7 to \$14; room rent, average — \$45; board, average — \$100; textbooks, average — \$17; laundry — \$15. Early issues carried no ads, but did use pictures occasionally. Full reports of commencement activities, including texts of all speeches, were given in the early years. For seven years the *News Letter* was issued monthly during the college year. In September, 1882, the paper increased its number of pages and in 1882-1883 was published every third Saturday. It became a monthly again in the fall of 1883, and remained so until January, 1889, when it was again published every three weeks. Becoming a bi-weekly in September, 1889, it was published every other week until its merger in September, 1890, with the *Pulse*.

February 2, 1889, marked the first appearance of the *Pulse*, which "pulsated fortnightly during the college year." The first issue of ten pages carried this announcement for students, faculty, trustees, alumni, and friends of Iowa College:

Greetings: Behold the PULSE! It has come; and, the Fates consenting, it has come to stay.

We extend our greetings to the students first because we are *of* the students and *for* the students; to the faculty because the interests of the students are also the interests of the faculty; to the trustees, alumni, and other friends because we believe that the strength of the college to-day is due largely to their devotion and loyalty.

We propose to be absolutely independent of all clique, society, or class influences. Nonpartisanship shall be our watchword. Whatever we do, we shall do conscientiously. We are not anxious to sneer at the preps or to stamp on the faculty, but, as persons who are deeply interested, we claim the right to criticize anything or everything pertaining to college methods. . . .

The *Pulse* invites contributions, especially from the students. The day

for filling up with "heavy" articles, essays, and prize orations has passed. This is to be a college *newspaper*. Correspondence, short stories, articles upon subjects in which you are interested, will always find a place. . . .

One point we wish to emphasize particularly. This paper is to be entirely independent. No factional spirit will ever be allowed to predominate. All interested are seeking to make a paper worthy of the front rank in college journalism — a true exponent of Iowa College. We mean to make it live, interesting and "up to the times."

The two-column paper was published every other Saturday, but the first issue was three days late in reaching the newsstands. Editors had this explanation: "The second issue will appear Feb. 16th. Our Chicago photo-engravers missed connections, thus delaying this issue three days. Henceforth, the paper will come out regularly every other Saturday of the collegiate year. Eleven numbers will be issued this year, including an elaborate one for Commencement." Under topical headings that remained unchanged from week to week (there were no headlines as they are known today), the *Pulse* contained standard columns. Typical were "The College World," sports, and personals. A section devoted to "Pulsations" contained miscellaneous information on clubs and societies, satirical comment on the electric doorbell recently installed in the cottage, and questions for a debate on campus social events. Under the "Our Exchanges" column, the first *Pulse* had little to offer, but the editors added that they expected "to have a regular column for other college journals." Later an "Alumni Notes" column was also added. Local advertising sold for ten cents a line; among early advertisers were Joe Morris, The Tailor; Dr. J. T. Everett, Physician and Surgeon; and White Elephant Restaurant and Lunch Counter. A special edition dated May 3, 1889, at 4:30 a.m. carried the results of the Inter-State Oratorical Contest and the *Pulse's* first headline: "THE INTER-STATE — Ohio First! Wisconsin Second! Indiana Third!"

During 1889-1890 when the *Pulse* and the *News Letter* were being published on alternate Saturdays, Iowa College had, in effect, a weekly paper. Unable to continue separately for financial reasons, the two papers merged in September, 1890, to form the *Unit*, whose name signified the union. Published bi-weekly, the *Unit's* first issue appeared on September 10, 1890, in an extra edition. It was a two-column paper, and, like its predecessors, the *Unit* carried no headlines. Editorials were usually found on the first page. "De Alumnis,"

"Other Colleges," "Sports," "Personals," "Units," and "Exchanges" were weekly columns which were supplemented with poems, essays, and other student literary efforts.

In its first regular issue on September 20, 1890, the *Unit's* editors said:

Two things we wish to emphasize. The *Unit* is *one* paper. It is *not* a combination of two papers with conflicting interests and divided leadership. The old papers are gone, not buried but transformed, unified; another takes their place, a *Unit*, undivided, indivisible. Let it be understood once for all that the *Unit* is neither *News Letter* nor *Pulse* nor a piece of each.

The *Unit* is *not* a new paper, though it has a new name. It is a continuation of existence in a higher form. The spirit of past journalism lives on, in and through it. It has behind it all the years of steady, persevering, even brilliant, work of the *News Letter*. It is inspired by the fiery energy and burning enthusiasm of the *Pulse*. The objects of the old papers were in no point incompatible, nor will the *Unit* fail in aught to fulfill them. We therefore come before Iowa College, its alumni and friends, declaring that the *Unit* is no new departure. It is an outgrowth of the past moulded by the circumstances of the present, combining all the traditions and inspired by all the spirit of past college papers, with all the bad, as we hope, eliminated.

Like all college newspapers, the *Unit* was at times somewhat censorious of student behavior. On March 5, 1892, an editorial read:

Attention ought to be called by some means to the fact that the noise in the corridors of Chicago Hall is growing steadily worse. At times it would seem that there is no recognition of the fact that it is a recitation building. Attention has already been called to the confusion in the building from one o'clock until two. But, besides this, usually during the last five minutes of a recitation it is almost impossible to hear a word that is being said in a recitation room. A few years ago professors would not attempt to hear recitations in such a racket, but somehow the problem of quiet in Chicago Hall seems to have been given up in despair.

In the fall of 1892 the *Unit*, which from 1890 to 1894 was the only student newspaper, became a weekly. Announcing the change in the September 17 issue, the editors said:

The *Unit* has assumed new responsibilities this year in promising to appear weekly. This will incur more labor, and necessitate more hastily written articles with less time for thought; and these two unavoidable features of a weekly will give more just cause for *just* criticism. The policy of the management for this year will be very similar to that pursued by the *Unit* as a semi-monthly — conservative; but yet it reserves the right of free expression and criticism, and whatever the sentiments expressed or criticisms given they will

be honest, frank, impartial and unprejudiced from a student's standpoint. Mistakes will be made; sometimes through carelessness, sometimes through ignorance. We cannot ask you to overlook or forgive these errors, since carelessness is unpardonable and ignorance ought to be enlightened before making a display, but we *do* ask you to allow us the privilege of correcting any mistake; and of making reparation to anyone for unjust criticism. The *Unit's* ambition is to be truthful and instructive; and to shed a newsy luster of pleasure over the lonely hours that sometimes come to students and alumni away from home.

Another change, announced the next week in the September 24 issue, indicated that the last issue of each month would be a literary number with "the best literary and poetry contributions collected during the month being published in that issue."

The idea of a semi-weekly paper had for some time interested a group of Iowa College students. On September 12, 1894, two years after the *Unit* became a weekly, the first semi-weekly, *Scarlet and Black*, appeared. For a year the *Unit* and the *Scarlet and Black* were both published. However, financial difficulties again called for a change, and in September, 1895, the *Unit* became a literary journal and continued as such until 1907. The editors of the *Scarlet and Black* announced their program in the first issue:

The main effort of this publication is fully to represent the growing interests of the College among many lines. Prominent among these are its athletic and society interests which reach out to include nearly the entire number of students. A few years ago a bi-weekly paper was sufficient, then a weekly periodical supplied the need, now a semi-weekly is not only necessary but is demanded. What better proves and represents the growth of the institution whose colors form our name than the mere fact. We wish to make *Scarlet and Black* truly a students' paper.

Published every Wednesday and Saturday, the *Scarlet and Black* still carried only label headlines, although the size was increased to four columns. The paper, usually four pages, carried notices of meetings, alumni notes, editorials, and other campus news, but few pictures.

The *Scarlet and Black* in its first years, as is the policy of the paper at the present time, carried mainly local news. In 1897 there was some criticism of this policy, and the editors replied:

Scarlet and Black has been quite severely criticized by some of our exchanges and also by some Grinnell graduates, for publishing only matters of local interest to the exclusion of more general affairs. . . . To us it has seemed that the proper sphere of college journalism is the college — first alma

mater and then other colleges. We have not tried to compete with metropolitan dailies; we have not printed telegraphic news nor written editorials on New York politics, nor discussed the Hawaiian question. . . . We have considered that if anyone wanted such news, the daily newspaper was the place to get it and not in a college publication.

The first banner headline in the *Scarlet and Black* was printed on Saturday, May 11, 1901. It read "May Festival Monday, Tuesday" but did not lead into a story. "WE BEAT CORNELL" led, strange as it may seem, into an ad, which went on: "This is one more thankful victory. Why? Because our boys worked, fought and earned every inch. This is the victory we have won in Honest Jewelry, College Emblems, stationery, etc., etc. H. P. PROCTOR, OLD RELIABLE JEWELER."

In 1910 the *Scarlet and Black* began to take on the semblance of a modern newspaper. The return of James Norman Hall of the class of 1910 to the campus in 1919 was heralded by the Wednesday, March 19 issue of the *Scarlet and Black* with these headlines: "Capt. James Norman Hall Returns to Grinnell — Famous Airman Tells Experiences in German Prison Camps During Closing Days of Great World War — Speaks to Largest Audience of Year in Chapel Tuesday Morning — Says Germans Treated Aviation Officers with Utmost Courtesy — Anxious to Get Back Into 'Civvies.'"

On April 9, 1943, the *Scarlet and Black* became a weekly paper, and it has continued to be published weekly since that time. Presently it is of tabloid size, five columns wide, varies from four to twelve pages, and carries campus news, several pictures, editorials, and occasional cartoons.

Indication that campus problems were similar in 1890 and in the present day is found in the comparison of two editorials. In 1890 the *Scarlet and Black* reported, "Some time ago there was a mass meeting held in the interest of systematic yelling. If there was any fruit borne by the enthusiasm there manifested, it has not been very apparent." On October 20, 1950, a *Scarlet and Black* editorial said, "What happens to the community noisemakers when they get to a football game? . . . Perhaps they seem loud only in the isolated quiet of a place where silence is the rule. Whatever the case may be, the lusty-voiced are conspicuous by their absence at football games."

After the demise of the literary journal, the *Unit*, in 1907, there was a hiatus until June, 1916, when the first issue of the forty-page

Grinnell Magazine appeared. Issued five times a year, the magazine was published until the spring of 1918. A typical table of contents is that found in the November, 1917, issue: "From Shanghai to Grinnell," "The Haunted Isle," "When Adam Delved and Eve Span Who Was Then the Gentleman?" "The Vesper Hour," "The King's Throne," "A Father to His Son in College," "The Oil of Lebanon," "Bits of Humor."

Verse and Fiction, "a monthly record of creative writing," took over the literary spot in October, 1921, and continued for three years until June, 1924. Published by the department of English, it contained poems, short stories, plays, and essays, and usually ran about eight pages. Similar in content and form were *Junto*, four issues of which appeared during 1924 and 1925, and the *Tanager*, a quarterly literary review, published from 1925 to 1948.

Arena, the "magazine of ideas," made its first appearance in the fall of 1950. A quarterly magazine, it is literary in nature, but contains some humorous articles and occasional cartoons, with student, faculty, and guest contributors. Among guest writers for the magazine was the late James Norman Hall. In the Commencement, 1951, issue an article by Janet Reinke, '52, "Colleges in War," dealing with the problem of the draft and its effect on America's colleges and national culture, won for *Arena* the first-place award in nonfiction writing of the division of the 1951 student magazine contest presented by Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic fraternity.

Humor magazines on the Grinnell campus have been relatively short-lived. The most successful was the first, *Malteaser*, published by Sigma Delta Chi, which made its appearance in 1919 and lasted until 1936. Issued six times a year, the magazine called itself the "Judge of Mid-Western Wit" and the "Old Cat," and printed the daring jokes of the Roaring Twenties: "Flapping Flora says: It's not how much you love 'em, but — how often." — "It was announced in one of our leading magazines that 'Knee-length skirts had reduced street-car accidents 50 per cent.' Wouldn't it be nice if accidents could be prevented entirely?" The April, 1933, issue satirized the *Scarlet and Black*, labeling it the "Garnet and Sable."

Malteaser was followed in 1947 by *Zephyr*. Although primarily a humor magazine, *Zephyr* in October, 1948, also took over the literary functions of *Tanager*. The Commencement, 1949, issue followed *Life* magazine's example and contained a section on High,

Upper Middle, Middle, Low, and No-Brows, all with campus connotations. The *Zephyr* changed to a smaller size in the fall of 1949, but the ill-fated magazine changed editorial hands twice that year and was abandoned with the February, 1950, issue. Since then Grinnell has had no humor magazine.

The first yearbook, the *Cyclone*, was published at the College in May, 1889, with the following greeting from the editors:

Friends, greeting. The first annual ever issued by Iowa College students is before you, to meet either your approbation, censure, or indifference. The first would please us, the second meet our expectation, but the third we have done our best to prevent. We have not tried to be wise or funny or even original, but simply to present a picture of college life from a student's standpoint. No doubt the picture is not an exact portrait, no doubt our camera was often out of focus, yet we tried to be just. And if the *Cyclone* shall blow some bright remembrance of college life to any dark corner or shall cause a single smile where only frowns are wont to be seen, then our weeks of labor will be well repaid.

Perhaps you think that the *Cyclone* is misnamed. For its object is not to destroy but to build. But remember, kind friends, that once before a cyclone struck you, and in a moment all was destruction and sorrow, but out of those ruins of seven years ago our college rose to a new life of usefulness and honor, until to-day we feel that it is stronger for having passed through the storm. So may it not be that any idols of yours which are shaken by our rude blasts may be dispensed with and newer and better ones take their places?

Cyclones have varied considerably since the first one in 1889. Noticeable changes occur in the use of pictures. In the early years of the *Cyclone* its contents were largely written material, but the *Cyclone* has since come to be a pictorial review of the college year. Of primary interest to those whose years in college it represents, it recalls events which will be remembered, perhaps with nostalgia, years after college graduation. Exceptions in the long line of *Cyclones* include "The Professor's Discovery," a play written and presented by the class of 1897 and published as the 1896 annual; "On a Western Campus," stories and sketches of undergraduate life published by the class of 1898; the "Blue Book" in 1899; the "Imp" in 1900; and an annual published under the "Zephyr" title in 1937.

The campus publications of 1953 include *Scarlet and Black*, the weekly newspaper; *Arena*, the quarterly literary magazine; *Cyclone*, the yearbook; and *Alumni Scarlet and Black*. Except for the latter,

which is published by the College, these periodicals are issued by the Board of Publications, which elects all editors and business managers from applicants for the positions. The Board consists of student editors and business managers, two faculty-appointed representatives, and the director of public relations. There is, however, no censorship of any student publication. Grinnell's various publications over the years total fifteen. Changes in style, number, and purpose have occurred throughout the eighty-two years of Grinnell College's journalistic history and will undoubtedly continue to follow this pattern as future generations of Grinnellians take over the reins.



☆ XXIV ☆

The Theatre

By KENT ANDREWS *

FROM its beginnings, Grinnell College has always recognized that public performance should go hand in hand with academic preparation and procedure. The earliest records show that elocution was required of all students, along with the classical and scientific studies. Too, the literary values of the literature of the theatre have been stressed from the first. Iowa College's first catalogue, issued in 1850-1851, stated that elocution would be taught to beginners from Caldwell's *Manual*

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of *Elocution*, and the study of Greek tragedies would be undertaken in the third year of the course of study for each student.

It was not until 1862, after Iowa College had merged with Grinnell University, that "declamations and extemporaneous discussions" were required weekly. This declamatory practice continued until after the turn of the century. In 1865-1866, Kidd's *Elocution* was added to the course of study in the English and normal departments, and in 1867, Kidd's *Elocution* was made mandatory for all other courses of study.

Several prizes were offered for excellence in declamation — some dramatic, some humorous, some oratorical. The most important of these was the Hyde Prize, first offered in 1866. This prize was awarded each year until 1938, except for the cyclone year. A Cooper Prize for reading was offered in 1868. In 1874 and 1875 the Rev. S. L. Herrick announced a prize for "distinctness and naturalness of delivery in reading." In 1880 there was a special elocution prize offered at commencement as a part of the regular exercises. Another similar prize was offered in 1889.

The study of aesthetics was added to the curriculum in 1872, and in 1873 a regular instructor in elocution joined the staff. Studies in Shakespeare were also added to the curriculum in that year. By 1880 the regular elocution instructor was transferred to the ladies' course, but "Exercises in Declamation and Essays are required of all students, once in three weeks in the Academy and English Departments, somewhat oftener in the higher departments, where private rehearsals precede the Declamation. Occasional exercises are devoted to elocutionary drill. Once a term, public exercises are held, for which original productions, prepared with special care, are required."

A second instructor for elocutionary drill and declamation was engaged in 1884. By 1887 lectures on Shakespearian tragedies were delivered to the entire student body. The first record of presentation of scenes from plays is found in a college publication of 1889. These scenes were from Greek plays in translation and were given by students of Iowa College to "secure funds to aid in the excavation of Delphi."

The popularity of elocutionary studies made greater demands on the instructors at Iowa College. In addition to the regular instructors in elocution, staff members in other departments were called upon to aid in the study. In 1890 a formal department of elocution and

expression was established using a *New Delsarte System* of training.

The *Electra* of Sophocles, the first completely staged Greek play on the prairies, was presented on June 10, 1892. It was produced by the members of two literary societies, one composed of young men, the other of young women, and it was directed by Miss Siveri Ringheim, "Instructor in Elocution and Physical Culture." It is interesting to find that the late Frederick Darby, who has contributed so much to the growth of Grinnell College, was a member of the cast of this first big production of a Greek play west of the Mississippi.

The student publication, the *Unit* (predecessor of the *Scarlet and Black*) of May 23, 1891, reports that "A week ago last Wednesday about a score of students met at the cottage and organized a dramatic club. It intends to give several plays soon and will no doubt become an interesting factor in our college life." But the public and the administration of Iowa College in the "gay '90's" regarded "play-acting" with a skeptical eye. The dramatic club ceased to exist without producing a play. This attitude prevailed for most of the decade, though theatre-minded students continued to give occasional performances. An editorial in the *Scarlet and Black* of May 23, 1896, comments that "When the *Merchant of Venice* was presented by the Class of '96 a year ago, there were some loyal supporters of Iowa College in Grinnell and out, who would not sanction a theatrical performance given under her auspices. Many would not attend because 'they never went to the theatre!'" But, the same editorial adds, "As to the moral influence of the stage, it is noticeable that the Junior plays of '96 and '97 were both managed by successive presidents of the Y.M.C.A.; that many of the leading roles were taken by the most active workers of the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.; and that for years the moral tone of the college has not been so high nor the spiritual life of the Christian organization so intense as is true today."

The persuasion of the *Scarlet and Black* must have been successful because in 1899 there was formed the Iowa College Dramatic Club, dedicated to "the serious study and occasional production of contemporary drama." The Club's first production, *Sweet Lavender*, by Arthur W. Pinero, was given on Saturday, January 13, 1900, in the old chapel, and was reportedly "attended by a well-pleased audience of 175 invited guests including members of the faculty and those interested in the study of the drama." A. L. Frisbie, later editor of the Grinnell *Herald-Register*, was one of the fifteen charter members.

Miss Glenna Smith, "Instructor in Oratory and assistant in English," was praised highly in the *Scarlet and Black* for her "coaching" of the senior play, *As You Like It*, and the 1901 class play, *The Rivals*. Miss Smith was in charge of the orations and addresses in connection with the required English course, the oratorical contests, the inter-collegiate debates, and the contestants for the Hyde Prizes.

The college catalogue for 1903-1904 lists three elective courses in public speaking and debate, taught by J. P. Ryan, who became the official director for campus plays. Meanwhile, the Dramatic Club was losing some of the fervor with which it had started; it met occasionally as a study group, but produced no plays. The *Scarlet and Black* of September 29, 1906, announces the "Reorganization of the Dramatic Club," and mentions as leaders of the movement Professor Ryan and Harry L. Beyer, '08, who later became a trustee of the College.

The new club limited its membership to twenty students, ten men and ten women. It held try-outs each year to fill the vacancies. They presented at least one play a year and on occasion brought famous acting companies to Grinnell. The Club was dedicated to the progressive study and production of all types of plays and to the creation of an interest in the drama as an art.

While still a member of the English department, and later as chairman of the public speaking department, Professor Ryan offered college credit courses in dramatic art. Later, when the growing popularity of the speech classes demanded all of Professor Ryan's time, a course in "Dramatic Writing and Production" supplemented those in dramatic literature in the English department. The catalogue of 1921 describes the purpose of the course: "to prepare students for work in community drama [including the coaching of high school plays]; offering a laboratory study in playwriting and the art of the theatre."

Mrs. Hallie Flanagan Davis, professor of drama and director of the Smith College Theatre, is a former student-member of the Dramatic Club. Over a period of several years she organized the dramatic program, which remained substantially the same until 1942. Her work as an instructor at Grinnell, from 1922 to 1929, included developing courses in creative drama and organizing the students in playwriting and production courses into "The Experimental Theatre."

Mrs. Davis felt that the limited membership of the Dramatic Club and its "social significance" excluded too many students who wished to participate in dramatic activities. In the mid-twenties, the Dramatic Council was created by President Main "to formulate a policy for student dramatics." The members of the Council included the instructor in drama, the deans of men and women, two members from the Dramatic Club, and two members from the Experimental Theatre. The Dramatic Council organized dramatic activities so that the Dramatic Club produced the fall and commencement plays, while the Experimental Theatre gave various programs including the try-outs of original plays written in the playwriting classes.

In 1928, when Mrs. Sara Sherman Pryor came to Grinnell College from the Baker "47 Workshop" at Yale University, courses in elementary and advanced production, drama survey, and playwriting were a well-established part of the elective courses in English composition and literature. By 1930 courses in acting and advanced playwriting were offered, and a "minor" in theatre was approved by the faculty. In 1931, at the request of President Main, art and dramatic art were given major department status in the college curriculum with requirements stated in the catalogue. During Mrs. Pryor's tenure at Grinnell College the department attained national recognition because of the theatrical work done on the campus.

The Grinnell Players, the dramatic organization of today, was formed in 1932, after the disbanding of the old Dramatic Club. The 1935 *Cyclone* describes the aims, at that time, of both the Players and the department of dramatic art:

To give for entertainment such plays as O'Neill's *Emperor Jones*, Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, groups of the medieval Mysteries, Erskine's *The First Mrs. Fraser*, Milne's *The Perfect Alibi*, Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado*, or even *Ten Nights in a Barroom*, as a worthy but secondary purpose. . . . Its immediate purpose is educational — to prepare students for teaching, for other types of community work in the theatre arts, or for later professional training and experience. Its ultimate aim is to make Grinnell College an important center for creative drama.

After Dr. Stevens was named president of the College, the departments of dramatic art and speech were merged for two reasons: first, unifying the two would lend strength and vigor to the program; and second, the unification would lend itself more readily to the divisional structure of the curriculum.

Since 1943 the dramatic activities have continued in the tradition established over the years. The College has produced a wide variety of plays, ranging from the classic Greek to current Broadway releases. Attempts have been made to include as many students as possible in dramatic activities. As much stress is laid on the extracurricular as on the curricular program. Although the prime aim of the department is not to train for the professional stage, some Grinnell graduates have been successful on Broadway. A recent example is Jennie Egan (Ann Jacobsen, '48), who was appearing in Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* during the spring of 1953.

In 1951 a summer theatre for the training of outstanding students was established in the Iowa Great Lakes region at Okoboji. This theatre placed students in a professional situation, which gave them invaluable experience. In addition, the theatre proved an asset to the community, as well as extending the influence of Grinnell College.

Prompted by the desire of President Stevens, the departments of music and speech have inaugurated an "Opera Workshop." The results have been such as to make this program an integral part of the college activities of the future.

The renaissance in theatre that occurred in the United States in the twenties was paralleled by the theatrical growth and development at Grinnell College. The College is confident that its theatrical program will continue to serve the dual purpose of widening the experience of the individual and training future leaders and educators.



☆ XXV ☆

Grinnell's Plan for College Living

By EVELYN GARDNER *

Our dormitories are an expression in brick and mortar of the Grinnell ideal. They are a perpetual challenge to incarnate these ideals.

PRESIDENT JOHN HANSON THOMAS MAIN
Chapel Address, April 11, 1928

THE development of Grinnell's internationally known pattern of student housing has been one of the College's chief concerns during the second fifty years of its history. During the early years at Davenport and the first years at Grinnell the housing of students presented no real problems. The small enrollment of the College in early days could be comfortably accommodated in the homes of the hospitable citizens of Davenport and of Grinnell. However, in their

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definition of aims and plans founders of the College dreamed of developing on the campus a democratic student community.

Testimony to this dream is expressed in the last public address given by Dr. George Frederic Magoun, the first president of Iowa College. Dr. Magoun died in January, 1896. At the preceding commencement in June, 1895, he addressed the Alumni Association of the College at their annual meeting held in the Stone Church at Grinnell. Reviewing his early recollections of the organization of the College from the year 1844, Dr. Magoun summarized the achievements of its trustees over a period of fifty years. He quoted a statement made in January, 1855, by the founders of Grinnell College. Their aim was "to promote the educational, social, moral and religious interests of this place known as Grinnell, Poweshiek County, Iowa . . . by the creation of an institution to include a college, a female seminary, and a teacher and preparatory department." He described the cautious enrollment of the first women students. Particularly significant is his conclusion that the lady students had never been housed so that adequate dormitory life could be developed.

I found the College cramped, burdened, struggling; but its faculty of six were proceeding loyally, steadily, and hopefully on the lines laid down at Davenport. The slight change of sky had brought no change of mind. In no respect had the standard been lowered. In one advance initiated in the last two Davenport years had been completed. When certain worthy parents petitioned that their daughters might attend our Freshman and Sophomore recitations with the young men with whom they had graduated from the City High School, to be no otherwise under Faculty government than in the class room, we granted it; the Faculty approving, though the size of classes would be increased — and their pleasantness; all the students, young men, opposing — one included who has since won high rank at the head of mixed schools — and but two Trustees advocating it (Dr. Robbins and myself), with one other who was the father of one of the young ladies in question. We acted practically, without any theory, and never inquired if our friends here had one when they surrendered all their educational assets and plans to us on condition that the new Ladies' Department "in its domestic arrangements and literary character be modelled after the Mt. Holyoke institution at South Hadley, Mass." The "domestic" part of this compact has never been complied with because the lady students have never been so housed that it could be.¹⁷⁵

During the years from 1870 to 1888 about twenty of the women students were accommodated in the Ladies Boarding Hall under the supervision of the lady principal. This hall was a large frame house,

one block south of the campus. It was operated as a dormitory at least until 1888. During the 1870's a few of the men students were accommodated in rooms on the third floor of West Hall, where each paid \$5.00 rent every term. West Hall was destroyed in the cyclone of 1882.

In 1888 the College received a valuable gift from the Rev. Joshua M. Chamberlain — an extensive property to the east of the M. & St. L. railroad tracks. Through the gift of \$5,000 by E. A. Goodnow of Worcester, Massachusetts, a substantial brick dormitory was built in Chamberlain Park. Mr. Goodnow asked that this building should bear the name of Mary Grinnell Mears, daughter of the founder of the town and wife of the Rev. D. O. Mears of Worcester, Massachusetts. This building became Grinnell's first real dormitory for women, housing in 1888 twenty-eight girls; later it was enlarged to accommodate fifty students in dormitory rooms and one hundred in the coeducational dining room, which was included in the new north wing added a few years later. The advantages of dormitory life became apparent so quickly that the years from 1906 until 1916 were devoted to consistent efforts, under the leadership of President John H. T. Main, for the development of a thoroughly adequate scheme of housing both for men and for women students. This campaign culminated from 1915 to 1917 in the opening of the Men's Dormitories and the Women's Quadrangle.

Many persons contributed to the definition of the social philosophy that inspired this building program. Early in the 1890's a realistic social and recreational program had been organized even with the limited facilities available. Significant encouragement had been given by the building of the Rand Gymnasium for women in 1897 and the new "old" men's gymnasium, which was completed in 1899. A comprehensive description of college life in the late 1890's was written by two women members of the faculty, Helen B. Morris and Emeline B. Bartlett, for the May, 1898, issue of *The Midland Monthly*, published in Des Moines. This article was accompanied by now invaluable photographs of Mears Cottage, the central campus, including Goodnow Hall, the Administration Building (then called Chicago Hall), Blair Hall, and the Music Building, as well as the new, deservedly admired, Rand Gymnasium. The social philosophy expressed in this article is remarkably close to the statements of social purpose given prominence in the 1952 edition of the college catalogue. Mid-twen-

tieth century students may find the language of this description quaint, but its philosophy still permeates Grinnell's dormitory and social programs.

It is only an institution alive to what the truest meaning of education is, that opens legitimate avenues for its students to gain from mutual intercourse the benefits which can never be reaped from book lore alone. This is a fact which Iowa College has had in mind from the commencement of its existence, the ever present influence which is exerted over its students that the broadest life is the life lived for and with their fellow-beings. . . .

But coeducation is not the only side to a girl's life in Grinnell. Living in little groups of six or seven around the town, there is opportunity for many a spread or fudge party, for which no chaperon, or permission of the faculty is necessary. From these houses the girls assemble for their meals in clubs of twenty or thirty which serve as a bureau of exchange for bits of news, where each one finds out "who is going with which," to the next party or lecture, who has been the recipient of the last box of flowers, etc. But this way of living in one place and boarding in another has its disadvantages. Even a tempting supper loses its attraction when the price to be paid for it is a walk of three or four blocks in a blinding storm, and, going to eight o'clock recitations, one frequently meets a pitcher and a mysterious bundle being carried to some room-mate who prefers an extra half hour sleep to exercise at that early hour.

But this difficulty has been partially done away with by the one college dormitory, "the Mary Grinnell Mears Cottage." This pretty brick cottage which is on the part of the college property given by the late Rev. Joshua M. Chamberlain, for so many years a trustee of the institution, offers a home for twenty-eight girls.¹⁷⁶

Between 1895 and 1915 the enrollment of the College grew from 475 to 800. Except for the fifty students housed in Mears Cottage, all others were living in Grinnell homes, in friendly groups ranging from six to twenty. The many large homes still standing on Park, Broad, and Main streets, west of the campus, as well as in the blocks immediately south of Highway 6, give testimony to the cooperation of Grinnell citizens in the problem of housing students in these years of rapid expansion. By November, 1915, the College was ready to invite distinguished educators from all parts of the country to join in its proud dedication of the Women's Quadrangle. The next two years, 1916-1917, saw the opening of the first six men's halls in their quadrangle on the north campus.

This ambitious building program represented the investment of at least a million dollars. Most of it was contributed through the

generosity of alumni and friends of the College in a prolonged financial campaign under the leadership of President Main. The cost of the Women's Quadrangle has been estimated at \$339,500. Its replacement value in the 1950's would be at least a million dollars. The Men's Dormitories cost \$368,800. They, too, could not be replaced for less than a million dollars. The per capita cost of the investment for each student was at least one thousand dollars at the time of building. The architects were Proudfoot, Bird, and Rawson, of Des Moines, Iowa. The contractors were the Bailey-Marsh Construction Company of Minneapolis.

The educational significance of this double plan for college housing was recognized at the dedication of the Women's Quadrangle in November, 1915, when the Association of Colleges of the Interior (the forerunner of the present Midwest College Conference) met at Grinnell to compliment President Main's achievement. The *Des Moines Register and Leader* in its Sunday edition, November 21, 1915, gave appropriate attention to this significant dedication. The week-end ceremonies began with the conference sessions of the college presidents, further distinguished by a special lecture and a reading of his poems by the English poet, Alfred Noyes. Dr. William F. Slocum, president of Colorado College, presented the key address in Herrick Chapel on the subject of "Women in Coeducational Colleges." "The coeducational college makes for the purest democracy," he said, "for we do not get the best democracy in college without the stimulus of men upon women and the stimulus of women upon men."

The *Des Moines Register* gave an interesting account of the dedicatory ceremony:

The impressive ceremony of the kindling of the fires in each of the six cottages, symbolic of the ancient mythology which typified the home by the hearth, came at the close of a day of formal exercises held in conjunction with the annual conference of the Association of Colleges of the Interior.

The new dormitories, which have been opened before to the girl students who are required by a new ruling of the college to make them a communistic home center, are said by prominent educators to be unsurpassed anywhere in the United States in point of completeness, comfort, safety, and elegance of equipment, and the exercises last night were a tribute to the sentiment with which the new home is already regarded by the college and the traditions which have already begun to grow up about it.¹⁷⁷

Further encouraging testimony to the success of Grinnell's housing program was given in 1934 by the American Association of Univer-

sity Women in a national survey under the title, "Housing College Students." The Grinnell plan was among those especially recommended. In a written statement, President Main summarized this plan:

The objectives of the Grinnell College housing plan are: to provide a distinct and fruitful educational element in college life, epitomizing practically the life that all must live as citizens in the larger world; to create a house fellowship which is projected naturally into community fellowship; to foster a spirit of loyalty and democracy; to develop the consciousness of community responsibility.

In the houses the meaning is learned of cooperation for the common good; an appreciation is gained of the ordinary courtesies that have value in the social world; an understanding is acquired of the principles of democracy. Therefore the student should find the step from college into world life not a difficult readjustment, but a natural developing process.

As an integral part of its educational program Grinnell College began in 1914 the construction of two groups of residence houses — one group for women on the east campus and another group for men on the north campus. Each group is composed of relatively small houses, each accommodating a maximum of fifty students. The houses are connected by a cloister leading to a central house or community center.

The community center for women was finished in 1915 and has fitted into the educational plan admirably. It is beautiful architecturally, and ample in its proportions. It includes a dining room for four hundred, drawing room and parlors, offices, a suite for the Dean of Women, a little theatre; in addition it has dormitory facilities for the regular quota of students.

The building plan as originally conceived was based on the belief that the living accommodations for women should be complete in themselves and should afford, so far as independence and leadership in social and community life are concerned, every facility that is provided in the best colleges for women. The six units in use since 1915, built as a composite structure by the use of the connecting cloister, have illustrated the idea in every detail and have demonstrated its unique educational value.

Precisely the same plan has been followed in building the six units now in use by men. The results have been equally satisfactory.

From 1917 until 1941 the two dormitory systems continued to demonstrate their adequacy and their significant influence on the patterns of student government and social life. The Women's Quadrangle, however, had one marked advantage over the men's dormitory plan. Its central building, named Main Hall in honor of President Main, included facilities for meetings of all students from the six individual dormitories in the quadrangle system. The beautiful drawing room, the inspiring Gothic dining room, and the Little Theatre

have encouraged a closely unified program of student government and of group recreation throughout the years since the Quadrangle was designed. The original plans for the Men's Dormitories provided for a similar central building. However, the construction of this building was delayed until the generosity of the Cowles Foundation made it possible in 1941. It now provides a capacious central lounge available to all men students and their guests. The large modern men's dining room, which can be readily converted into a ballroom, accommodates as many as 600 persons. Ironically, this building was first occupied by a unit of the Officer's Candidate School which was assigned to the College in 1942; Cowles Hall was not available for civilian use until 1945, when the military units were withdrawn and veterans returned to continue their interrupted educational careers. A further addition to the Men's Dormitories was built in 1950-1951 through the generosity of the Younker Endowment. This hall includes another large reception area, recreational equipment serving the whole College, and an infirmary for men students — facilities which increase in valuable ways the services which the College tries to provide for its students.

The only addition to the Women's Quadrangle since 1915 has been the seventh of its dormitories, built in 1947-1948, the modern hall at the end of the Quadrangle, named for Dr. David N. and Francelia Spitzer Loose. Built during the administration of President Samuel Nowell Stevens, Cowles Hall, Younker Hall, and Loose Hall have added residence space for 250 students, so that the College is now equipped to accommodate comfortably 900 students (450 women and 450 men) in well appointed and handsome dormitories.

The achievement of this building program has been called "The Triumph of the Dormitories" by a Marshalltown alumnus, D. W. Norris '96:

Grinnell's dormitories are at once the pride and crowning triumph of its architectural scheme. None can enter them and see the beautiful, simple, cultural effect of a college home environment without acknowledging his admiration for the management that had the vision to conceive or the courage to achieve such an accomplishment.

The back attic rooms of my day with their unkempt and unmade cots and the unregulated habits of their young men are gone. The olden boarding club and its tragic struggle with the economic problem of something for nothing has been replaced with the modern community dining hall. Grinnell has made place for democracy in its dormitories. Its students need not be

"Rushed" for fraternity memberships in order that the fraternity may live. The tendency toward exclusiveness, social cliques, student aristocracy of wealth or an accentuation of group pride is missing from the one great family of all students at Grinnell.

The undoubted influence of architectural patterns on group living, anticipated by President Main, has been demonstrated clearly in the evolution of student government and social life at Grinnell College. Each dormitory has developed self-government through a house council, which in turn has become part of a unifying central governing council, for men under the leadership of the Council of House Presidents, and for women under the leadership of the Women's League Board. This combination of efficiency in organization and adequate individualizing of student problems seems to have been achieved by the distribution of Grinnell students in house groups of approximately fifty, all to be unified under the leadership of the senior executive officers who have united to form the Central Committee of the Student Council. In a chapel address in 1928, Dr. Main summarized the strength of the Grinnell pattern by saying, "The whole question of college government is solved when the house governments are satisfactory. The government must be a system of sympathetic personal relationship."

Democracy in Grinnell's dormitories has consistently been protected by the insistence on the ban against fraternities, as well as by the continuing policy of a single charge for all types of dormitory rooms without differentiation because of size or location. Through their unity and appropriateness of design, the residence halls are the realization of the social ideals envisioned by Grinnell's leaders fifty years ago.

Part Five

Epilogue



Epilogue

1946-1952

By SAMUEL N. STEVENS

THE YEARS immediately following the war were for the colleges of the nation a period of adjustment, when old problems, temporarily pushed into the background, had once again to be faced and to be solved along with many perplexing new ones which had arisen. For Grinnell College these problems were of three kinds: rebuilding and expanding the campus; adapting to a large veteran population without losing its character as a small college or diminishing the quality of education offered; rebuilding the faculty, a project started at the beginning of the war and temporarily shelved.

Plans for rebuilding and expanding the campus were re-examined

by the trustees in 1946, at which time it was decided that an attempt should be made to complete as rapidly as possible those dormitory units which would enable the College to house 550 men and 450 women on the campus. A final unit for the Women's Quadrangle was needed. Dr. David Loose of Maquoketa, Iowa, a pioneer physician in the state, contributed funds in memory of his wife. While not meeting the entire costs of the structure, his contribution made the construction financially feasible. Loose Hall was built. It was, and still is, a nearly ideal dormitory for women, setting a new standard of functional excellence that has been studied and copied by dormitory planners in many other institutions of higher learning.

One of the conditions of the Younker Trust, mentioned already by Dr. Nollen, was that a fund should be accumulated with which to erect a men's double dormitory unit. In 1949 sufficient funds were on hand to begin construction, and by the second semester of the school year 1950-1951 the unit was occupied. Through the generosity of Dr. Loose and the Younker family, the College was able to complete its housing program quickly. We were then prepared to undertake other construction designed either to replace or to supplement existing educational facilities on the campus.

Grinnell College has always cherished the fact that it has placed spiritual and moral values at the center of its life. For many years there had been a strong desire to make the Chapel the most beautiful place on the campus, to improve its facilities so that there would be a physical representation of the spiritual aspirations of the faculty and students. With the assistance of money given by many alumni and friends the Chapel was extensively remodelled and beautified. A new Aeolian Skinner organ, complete with chimes and harp, was especially designed to meet the particular requirements for this type of music in the college community. The organ is recognized by competent organists as one of the finest instruments of its kind in the Middle West. The hopes of many years were richly fulfilled when in the spring of 1949 Herrick Chapel was rededicated. In 1952, Professor Arthur J. Jones and his son, both graduates of the College, gave the College a set of carillon chimes in memory of Ethel L. Jones. This added facility for the creation of beauty through music placed the crowning touch on the Chapel reconstruction.

Grinnell has its roots in the deep spiritual commitment of the Iowa Band. Through the changing life of more than a century, with all

of the social pressure for secularism in our society, the College has continued to hold undeviatingly to these basic commitments which are Christian in purpose and intention. With the Chapel, a proud symbol of our faith, as the point of reference for all our values, we remain true to the tradition that made our life possible.

A science building had long been dreamed of and hoped for. In spite of physical limitations, the College had maintained a distinguished record for giving basic scientific instruction to men and women who later attained great distinction as scientists. In recent studies Grinnell ranked among the first fifty colleges and universities in the United States as a center of scientific education. The trustees were convinced that such notable achievement under difficult circumstances should at last be rewarded. After a period of most intensive study and investigation a basic plan for the education of scientists was established and a physical structure was designed. The new Hall of Science at Grinnell College, representing a financial investment of nearly a million dollars, is now in use. Every trustee made a financial contribution. John Frederick Darby, a life trustee of the College, contributed nearly 40 per cent of the final cost. This building was occupied in the first semester of the school year 1952-1953 and on March 13 and 14, 1953, was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. Scientists from universities, colleges, and industries from many parts of the country honored the College by their presence on this occasion. A bright, expanding future in science lies ahead for Grinnell. The challenge of better and more adequate facilities will be met with courage and enthusiasm by a competent staff of young, devoted men, who have committed themselves to a professional life that combines both teaching and research.

The essence of the plan for science education is to be found in the program of undergraduate research, which all majors will undertake under the supervision of the faculty and research staff. To know the discipline of science and to have the opportunity to do significant research within the range of student competence will accelerate the professional growth of men and women. We may well expect that these graduates will be in great demand by graduate schools, professional institutions, government, business, and industry. The existence of this program as it has become generally known has attracted support in the form of grants for research and for scholarships from both government and industry.

While it would be a serious mistake for our work in science to overshadow all other educational activities of the College and thus to divert us from the major purpose of humane learning, it is safe to say that the presence of an expanding staff and more than adequate facilities in science will become a challenge to all other divisions of the College to raise their sights and to engage in parallel professional activities. The strengthening of our work in science will raise the whole College to a more vigorous intellectual life and to new heights of educational performance.

Several large projects must yet be undertaken and completed before the campus will be thoroughly modern and adequate. The library must either be replaced or enlarged. Facilities for fine arts work, for which the College has been recognized for many years, must be improved. A student center is needed, and the administrative departments require modern housing. Finally, if the women of our campus are not to be neglected, there will have to be a new women's gymnasium to replace the old and inadequate women's physical education quarters.

To the completion of these physical plans for an ideal college environment the trustees and the administration are now addressing themselves. Studies are being made, plans are being tentatively formed, and it is expected that the necessary capital will be found. To make any predictions as to when this program will finally be completed would be unwise. Suffice it to say that we view the future with optimism and are reasonably certain that the rest of these dreams will become realities before many years have been added to our College history.*

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Enrollments in institutions of higher learning have doubled each decade since 1900. Most of the increase has been channeled into state-supported colleges and universities and into junior colleges. Privately endowed colleges and universities, during the first four decades of the twentieth century, experienced a much slower increment of student registration. In spite of this fact, more than half of all the men and women enrolled in institutions of higher learning in 1940 were to be found in colleges like Grinnell and in privately

* While this book was in press, Grinnell College became the recipient of \$5,000,000, a major portion of the estate of John Frederick Darby, life trustee of the College and frequent benefactor, who died February 28, 1953.

endowed universities. When in 1946 the flood tide of veterans returned from World War II, the total national enrollment again doubled that of 1940. The question which Grinnell had to face was whether to accept a double load, thereby radically changing both the nature of campus life and the quality of instruction, or whether to take a more conservative position. This involved much more than our institutional convenience. Implicit in it was the basic problem all privately endowed education had to face. As institutions responsible for the public welfare, we had to re-evaluate our historic position. The privately endowed college or university had always maintained discriminating standards for admission. It had emphasized the conception of education as one of the environmental factors in the intellectual, social, and spiritual growth of young people. It had taken the position that the student's supreme loyalty was to the college as a whole and not to any smaller social or academic segment of it. It had placed emphasis on the individual, and all of the educational processes had been judged by the effectiveness with which they had contributed to the growth of each student. Classes and laboratories were only instruments contributing to the totality of the educational experience. Courses were means, not ends. The conditions for graduation were more than the sum total of course credit.

The administrations of small colleges throughout the country were clearly aware that the demands of veterans for higher education had to be met. Some compromise with size, with administrative procedures, and with admissions standards had to be made. This decision commonly accepted by all administrators and boards of trustees was made operationally effective in many different ways. Grinnell College chose the following compromise. Standards for admission were rigidly held. The faculty was expanded. About 30 per cent more students than had ever enrolled in prewar years were accepted. At the peak of veterans' enrollment nearly 1,200 students were in attendance. Because the men and women attending the College in those years had been carefully selected and because the veterans themselves were more mature and were highly motivated, the experience was uniformly satisfactory. Attrition rates were normal. The level of educational attainment as measured by Graduate Record examinations was raised. Social problems were no more serious than those encountered in normal, peacetime years. At the end of these years the College administration was convinced that the national investment in the education

of veterans was one of the wisest uses of federal money that had ever been made.

Any thoughtful student of population statistics is aware of the fact that during the middle of the depression there was a significant decline in the birth rate. A natural deduction from this body of facts is that from 1949 to 1955 there would be a smaller number of young men and women graduating from the high schools and entering our colleges and universities. Just as it was inevitable that the flood tide of veterans would pass, leaving a serious vacuum behind it, so also it was equally obvious that the succeeding generation of fewer young men and women would not fill it. The failure of educators generally to recognize these facts and administratively to anticipate them is difficult to understand. However, even if they had foreseen these particular circumstances there would have been no way for responsible college officials to have evaluated realistically the impact of post-war inflation on educational costs. Furthermore, educational institutions are somewhat lacking in adaptability. Commitments sometimes have to be made for extended periods of years. Administrative overhead is not subject to wide fluctuations, and the maintenance of physical properties is a trust that cannot be ignored even though there may be a declining student enrollment.

By 1950 the conditions previously described were affecting the life of all privately endowed educational institutions and were creating severe problems for Grinnell. Newspapers and magazines carried articles about "The Fate of the Liberal Arts College." Large deficits which were not subject to assimilation by current gifts appeared on the balance sheets. Although tuition charges and the costs for board and room had been steadily increasing during the previous five years, gains in income from these sources were not sufficient to offset the effects of inflation; furthermore, the increased charges began to jeopardize enrollments. The fear of pricing ourselves out of the educational market in competition with the publicly supported institutions, which could depend upon special tax appropriations to meet unusual expenses, was a real one. It still is a source of grave concern to those who believe in the validity of a double system of higher education in the United States. New and more productive sources of income had to be found. Grinnell College, along with many other institutions, began to seek out industry and business as sources of charitable gifts for educational purposes. Thoughtful industrial and

business leaders, such as Frank Abrams of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and Henry Ford of the Ford Motor Company, sought to influence their associates in the industrial and business world to consider seriously the need of the colleges. Many colleges combined into state and regional foundations in order more effectively to establish a new pattern of giving by American industry. Grinnell College took the leadership in helping to organize the Iowa College Foundation, and, with seventeen other privately endowed four-year colleges in the state, made its first approach to Iowa industrial institutions in the fall of 1952.

This history of the general economic dilemma facing higher education is recounted here because in a very real sense it is also the history of Grinnell College. The success of this effort to secure additional sources of financial support will determine whether or not privately endowed education will continue to serve the needs of a free democratic society, or whether it will become an instrument of economic privilege and be available only to those young men and women whose parents possess great wealth. No more important problem faces our American economy today, for leadership is more likely to emerge from small units than from large ones. The need for critical and enlightened direction can be met best if the hundreds of small colleges and privately endowed universities in our country find satisfactory ways of keeping their heritage alive and serving the oncoming generations with the same spirit and intention which made them the carriers of the most precious aspects of political, intellectual, and social freedom in the past.

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The greatness of Grinnell in the past hundred years has been due to one fact more than any other. The college has challenged many great men to commit themselves to its way of life. Great teachers make a great college. Without them buildings, riches, and prosperity are futile and sterile. With great teachers, students grow in vision, insight, and power, in spite of poor buildings, limited equipment, and small endowments. Men build men. Money does not. Land cannot. Buildings have no power to add to the spiritual and intellectual stature of a human being.

The discovery of potentially great men, willing to make teaching a way of life, is the major task of every college president today. It is not an easy one. Several factors are at work to reduce the effectiveness

of our educational institutions. In the first place, as knowledge becomes more specialized, men's minds, as they seek to master it, become narrower in range and perspective. Therefore the law of diminishing returns constantly operates in the academic world. When men know more and more about less and less, we can expect that admiration for and commitment to broad humane learning will correspondingly decrease.

In the second place, our society seems to require at most operational levels an ever higher degree of technical proficiency. This places a premium upon vocational education as a preparation for life work and depreciates education as a general experience in preparation for living.

In the third place, since there are not enough potentially great men to go around, colleges and universities are in economic competition with the government, with industry and business for the best men and the best minds. In such a competition the educational institutions are bound to be the losers. In the long run, even those institutions which temporarily benefit from the ability to give larger economic rewards to gifted men also lose, even when it appears they have won. The reason for this is obvious. Unless colleges and universities can keep the ablest men with the best learning and the wisest perspective in the classroom and laboratory, the quality of the educational product will consistently decline. Business and industrial institutions will find themselves impoverished because they have devoured those human resources which over the years could have produced the best for them. When a great chemist leaves the classroom laboratory and goes into the industrial laboratory, he may make great contributions to our contemporary problems, but he ceases to duplicate himself year after year in other promising young men who, as a result of his wise guidance, may have the potential ability to be even greater than he is. The history of the faculty of Grinnell College since 1946 reflects the struggle to retain for teaching men who have economic worth to other institutions. However, young men of great promise have gradually been added to the faculty. In spite of alluring offers they have continued to teach. While salaries have increased nearly 100 per cent since 1940, they are not comparable to the financial rewards to be found in government and in industry.

Grinnell College is committed to a firm policy in regard to its faculty. We believe that there must be a full-time teaching faculty

of fully prepared men and women large enough to maintain a student-faculty ratio of ten or eleven to one. We believe that teaching loads should be small enough to encourage members of the faculty to devote large blocks of time to the interests and needs of individual students. We believe that the research interests of the faculty should be nourished by releasing teaching time for research purposes. We believe that the evaluation of professional achievement, on the basis of which advancement in rank and salary depends, should include teaching performance, scholarly productivity, and capacity to contribute significantly to the enrichment of our corporate life. We believe that character in the teacher is as important as technical knowledge of subject matter, but should not be thought of as a substitute for the latter. We believe that the faculty should be paid the largest possible salaries consistent with our economic capacity to make commitments and keep them. This policy, which has been systematically followed during the last six years, already is justifying itself. More than a dozen first-class books and several score of research articles and critical essays have been written. Each year during this period at least one member of the faculty has enjoyed a sabbatical leave or has been released from duties to accept some outstanding fellowship award. Every member of the faculty who has not yet completed his doctorate has made significant progress toward this goal. Students have been encouraged to carry on research and to write for publication, and many of them have as undergraduates enjoyed the satisfying experience of reading papers before the Academy of Science and other professional groups, as well as seeing their names in print in respected publications in their chosen fields.

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Someone has said that "our past flames at us from afar, and what we have been makes us what we are." The future of Grinnell is dependent on three things: the validity of our educational mission; the success with which we are able to influence young men in teaching at Grinnell as a way of life; the success which the president and the Board of Trustees may experience in undergirding our purposes and our people with adequate financial support.

Thoughtful men and women everywhere, in government, in business, and in our general society are rediscovering the critical necessity for humane learning. We are all discovering that knowledge is not enough. There must also be wisdom, deep social concern, and bright

ideals. Leadership for our great social and political institutions will not be derived from men whose narrow technical training has caused them to lose the common touch, or the capacity to make sweeping generalizations that are intuitively correct. We have also learned the bitter lesson that there is a realm of the spirit which men can neglect only at the peril of their lives, their honor, and their fortune. So it would seem that there is a new and imperative validity to the mission of the liberal arts college and Grinnell. To meet the demands of our second objective requires an act of faith, as well as a better than average capacity to take young men up onto high mountains and to show them some of the glories of the life of Academe.

The third factor which looms so large in the minds of many is, in my opinion, the one most easily solved. What we have been able to achieve in this period of time has been equalled or surpassed by many other institutions. Our own future is bright because of an ever increasing number of men and women who see the College as an instrument which they may creatively use for the protection of their own treasure and for the projection of their lives through their money into the lives of generations still unborn.

Grinnell faces the future, humbled by her past, proud of her present achievement, committed to a continuance of all those things which are beautiful, true, just, and of good report.

Appendices



Appendix A

Members of the Iowa Band

EPHRAIM ADAMS, born February 15, 1818, at New Ipswich, New Hampshire, studied at Appleton Academy and Phillips Andover, and was one of over forty students who withdrew because they were forbidden to form an antislavery society, abolitionism being then highly unpopular in both the Academy and the Seminary. Graduated from Dartmouth in 1839, he taught a year at Petersburg Classical Institute in Virginia before entering Andover. He was pastor at Mount Pleasant one year, at Davenport eleven years, at Decorah fourteen, at

Eldora six, meanwhile acting as field agent for the College for two years and as superintendent of home missions for ten years. He died at Waterloo in 1907, aged eighty-nine. "So passed from our sight," wrote his successor as superintendent, Dr. T. O. Douglass, "one of our very best men, 'an Israelite indeed,' a man almost without a blemish. He was a brother to us all. He showed us how to be ministers and how to be men. He rebuked our fever and our unchristian ambition. He was a forceful man in the counsels of our church life. For years, though he was the personification of modesty, he was the real leader of the Congregational hosts of Iowa. Iowa has never had a more useful citizen."

HARVEY ADAMS, born at Alstead, New Hampshire, January 16, 1809, came late to Montpelier Academy, was graduated from the University of Vermont in 1839, spent one year at Andover, taught a year at Medway, Massachusetts, then returned to Andover to complete his theological course. He was ordained at Franklin, Massachusetts, September 27, 1843. He preached at Farmington, 1843 to 1860, and again 1863 to 1866. He pioneered for some years in far western Iowa, and spent his last years at New Hampton, where he died in 1896.

Ebenezer Alden, Jr., was born at Randolph, Massachusetts, August 10, 1819, a descendant of John and Priscilla Alden (as was also Daniel Lane), and came from Randolph Academy to Amherst College, where he was graduated in 1839. After preaching for five years at Solon and Tipton he returned East to be the pastor of Daniel Webster's church at Marshfield, Massachusetts, and died there in 1889.

JAMES JEREMIAH HILL was born May 29, 1815, at Phippsburg, Maine, son of Judge Mark Langdon Hill, who served a brief term as United States Senator from Maine. Educated at Bath and North Bridgton academies, he was graduated from Bowdoin in 1838 and spent a year in teaching and in tract society work before entering Andover. He was ordained at Phippsburg, April 30, 1844. His preaching service covered a wide area of northernmost Iowa, Illinois, and Minnesota. In his later years he supplied churches near Grinnell, where he died in 1870, a year before the graduation of his two sons, who became prominent as trustees and benefactors of the College.

HORACE HUTCHINSON, born at Sutton, Massachusetts, August 10, 1817, was Alden's classmate at Amherst, and was a tutor at Hopkins Academy in Hadley before entering Andover. His pastorate at Bur-

lington lasted but three years; he died of consumption at age twenty-eight in 1846. He was succeeded by William Salter.

DANIEL LANE, born at Leeds, Maine, March 10, 1813, was Hill's classmate at Bridgton Academy and Bowdoin, and taught English and modern languages at North Yarmouth Academy before coming to Andover. After ten years of preaching and teaching at Keosauqua, he was the second member of the Iowa College faculty, 1853 to 1858. After the removal of the College to Grinnell, he continued teaching at Davenport for four years, preached at Eddyville and Belle Plaine ten years, then acted as field agent for the College for six years. The last seven years of his retirement he lived at Freeport, Maine, where he died in 1890.

ERASTUS RIPLEY was born March 15, 1815, at South Coventry, Connecticut, graduated from Union College in 1840, and came to Andover after a year at Union Seminary, New York. He remained at Andover for a year after graduation as "Abbott Resident" and was ordained at Bentonsport, Iowa, April 3, 1845. He preached four years at Bentonsport, was the first professor of the new Iowa College, 1848 to 1858, and taught later in the East. He died in 1870.

ALDEN BURRILL ROBBINS was born February 18, 1817, at Salem, Massachusetts, and was a classmate of Alden and Hutchinson at Amherst. Like Hutchinson he taught at Hopkins Academy, then was principal of Pawtucket Academy, and like Ripley studied a year at Union Seminary before transferring to Andover. He was ordained at Salem, September 20, 1843. He had but one charge at Bloomington (later Muscatine), from 1843 to 1891, and remained there as emeritus until his death in 1896. He was president of the Iowa College trustees from 1847 to 1864.

WILLIAM SALTER was born November 17, 1821, in Brooklyn, New York. He studied Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic at private schools, was graduated from New York University in 1840, and studied two years at Union Seminary and one year at Andover. After three years' pastorate at Maquoketa and Andrew, he came to Burlington just before Hutchinson died in 1846. His pastorate of sixty-four years exceeded in length that of any other missionary in the West. He was the last of the Band to die, August 15, 1910, in his eighty-ninth year. He was poet and historian as well as preacher and pastor, author of *Life of James W. Grimes*, of *Life of Joseph Pickett, of Iowa: The First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase*, and of a book of essays, *Sixty Years*. It was a fitting tribute to this Christian patriarch

when the mayor of Burlington and the president of the Commercial Exchange joined in requesting that all places of business in the city remain closed during the funeral of William Salter.

BENJAMIN ADAMS SPAULDING was born January 20, 1815, at Billerica, Massachusetts. From Phillips Academy he entered Yale for the year 1836-1837, and was graduated from Harvard in 1840. After eighteen years' service at Ottumwa and thirty other places, some of them one hundred miles apart, ill health sent him to Wisconsin, where he died in 1867.

EDWIN BELA TURNER was born October 2, 1812, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and lived later at Kinderhook, New York, and Godfrey, Illinois. He was graduated from Illinois College in 1840. After eleven years' service at Cascade and Colesburg, failing health took him back to Illinois. He was Home Missionary Superintendent for Missouri for twelve years, then went East, and died in 1895.



Appendix B

So Many Yesterdays

REMINISCENCES OF AN OCTOGENARIAN

JOHN SCHOLTE NOLLEN

Family Background

IT HAS been said that one needs to be specially careful in the selection of one's grandparents. In this case, my grandfathers dictated at least a modicum of intellectual and spiritual interest, for one was a teacher, the other a preacher. Yet they transmitted also a certain bent toward the practical, for one was the son of a village innkeeper, the other of a small manufacturer in a large city. Since they both journeyed from ancestral homes to a far country, they may have bequeathed a love of travel and mundane as well as spiritual adventure. As for my

grandmothers, one was visibly wedded to the finer things of life, the other a tireless worker whose fingers made useful but also beautiful things. It seems to me I could not have chosen better.

Salvador Dali was probably spoofing when he claimed to have distinct prenatal memories. I am skeptical even when others pretend to remember things that happened to them in very early infancy. I believe they actually recall only what parents have told them in later years. My earliest "memories," though quite definite, are of this derivative type. This only do I know, that my older brother Henry, who later became my best and most generous friend, did not greet my first appearance with fraternal joy. When I was born, January 15, 1869, he was somewhat over two years old, and as the first-born had enjoyed a pleasant monopoly of parental attention. Now he sat in his high chair with flaming cheeks and kept muttering *Stoute Mama, stoute Mama* (*stoute* is Dutch for "naughty"). Twice he attempted a more vigorous protest, coming to the bed where I lay by Mother, first with a tin cup full of water, then with a stick of firewood, intending to dispose summarily of the rival for her affection and care. Later, however, he became reconciled, and assumed brotherly functions by trundling my perambulator. When a kind lady stopped to look at baby and said "What a pretty little girl," Henry corrected her: "Yes, but this little girl is a little boy." In part because the little photograph still exists, I do remember my first picture-taking, when I was about three; I can recall my disappointment when the blue binding on the gray flannel suit, which Mother had made for me, came out white instead of blue in the photograph. After that, when I was five, I remember Henry's taking me by the hand and leaving me in the kindly care of Miss Pratt at my first school, after I had already learned to read at home. Why I was then transferred to the care of a Mr. Lubberden, in a little detached school building near home, I cannot say. It was there that I had my one and only school fight, but it left no scars: the name of the small boy who was my opponent, the reason for the contention, and its outcome have alike vanished into the vague. Of childhood playmates, aside from young relatives, I have no recollection whatever. School equipment and techniques were still quite primitive, typified by the unhygienic use of slates and slate pencils for our written exercises. One pioneer custom I found especially agreeable — the spelling-down, when the school was divided into halves, lined up along opposite walls, and hotly contested competitive spelling followed. I happened to display considerable skill in this exhilaratory exercise; my heredity had given me language-sense.

Our childhood home is quite clear in my mind; it still exists, but no more recent visit is needed to make all its details a vivid memory. My parents made it their home on the day of their marriage in 1864, and there they celebrated their golden wedding anniversary, shortly before my father's death. The house had been built by my Uncle Gerard as an artist's studio with a bedroom attached. The studio became and remained our living room, and as the family grew, my father had successive additions built at the rear, so that the house had the structure of a tapeworm. It had no proper basement, and no attic; a small cellar with dirt floors served only for storage. The house was heated by stoves, first wood, then coal (the "boys' room," where Henry and I slept, had no stove), and lighted by kerosene lamps; in very cold weather, "pigs" with hot water took the chill off our beds; no bathroom, no plumbing, a cistern behind the house for "soft water," a well in front, remote from contamination, for drinking and cooking water, carried in by the bucketful — with problems of defrosting in winter. The day of processed and packaged foods and refrigeration was not yet, and all the culinary processes were carried on in the house: green coffee roasted in the oven and ground in a hand mill; bread and cake baked and ice cream prepared and frozen and tea blended at home; great crocks of vegetables in brine put up for the winter. There were pitchers and washbowls, with occasional baths in wooden washtubs hauled in for the purpose. A "privy," defined as "a place of retirement for defecation," of course unheated, in the back yard. In short, it was the simple life under ordinary pioneer conditions, without even a thought of the conveniences and gadgets that complicate and clutter modern living. Much later, even before the town acquired a water and sewer system, our old house too was supplied with plumbing when Father had a bathroom and pumping system installed.

I have quite definite impressions of my two grandfathers, whom I never saw, but whose portraits and careers are familiar. My paternal grandfather, Hendrik Nollen, probably of French Huguenot descent, was born in 1798, the son of a farmer-innkeeper, in the Netherlands. When he was a child, he burned his right hand by falling into a fire made to heat a cartwheel tire, so that he could not do manual labor, and hence was deflected to a sedentary and more or less intellectual career. He became schoolmaster and sexton in the village of Didam, in the province of Gelderland, near Arnhem, and played the organ in the village church. The economic depression in Holland a century ago, and the desire for wider opportunities for his seven children, led

him to emigrate to the United States in 1854. It was natural that he should seek settlement in a Dutch colony then recently established at Pella, Iowa, where even his limited supply of guilders would buy an acreage that seemed lordly to European eyes. Grandfather was thinking, naturally enough, of the fine estates of Holland, on which baronial proprietors lived in aristocratic ease on lands tilled by peasant retainers, and he seems to have dreamed of such a life of lucrative leisure on his American domain. Unfortunately, he found on arrival in his Eldorado that there were no peasant retainers in Iowa, that every land proprietor had to till his own soil and literally earn his bread in the sweat of his face. The result was that his youngest son Herman became an American farmer, his one surviving daughter Zwaantje married a farmer, and the other three sons gradually established themselves in the growing town of Pella: my father eventually became a bank cashier, Uncle Henry a notary and clerk in a law office, while Uncle Gerard tried to exercise his skill as an artist, painting landscapes and portraits, and giving lessons.

The town of Pella had been founded in 1847 by my maternal grandfather, the Reverend Hendrik Peter Scholte, who was a Hollander of the more versatile and enterprising type. He was born in 1805, the older son of a box manufacturer in Amsterdam, of Hanoverian descent; his mother was the daughter of a broker; his parents were Lutherans. His father's death, when he was sixteen, left him in charge of the family affairs, but when his mother and only brother died a few years later, he disposed of the business to continue his interrupted education at Amsterdam and the University of Leyden. He was one of the student volunteers who took part in the "ten days' campaign" against Belgium, when that country won its independence from the Netherlands in 1830. For this participation in a bloodless defeat, each of the embattled students received a huge gold medal as a souvenir from a patriotic old lady. A missionary from the United States persuaded young Scholte to prepare for the Christian ministry. Having completed the theological course at Leyden, he began his ministry at the age of twenty-six, serving two villages in North Brabant. With him went his bride, Sara Maria Brandt, daughter of a sugar refiner in Amsterdam for whom his father had manufactured shipping cases. He soon became one of the leaders in a conservative revolt against the excessive liberalism and secularism of the established church. As nonconformists, he and his people were harried and persecuted; Scholte was suspended and excommunicated by the State Church and even imprisoned for preaching in defiance of state au-

thority. Like new Pilgrims, in search of a land where they might worship according to the dictates of conscience, he and his followers disposed of their property and sailed for the promised land, uncertain of their exact destination, though aiming in general at settlement in Illinois or the new state of Iowa. At this time he was serving a "free" church in the city of Utrecht. His own spirit of independence and his unwillingness to accept any but Biblical authority had led to his suspension by the synod of the nonconformist association of churches which had broken away from the State Church. To this action, as to the earlier action of the established church, neither he nor his congregation in Utrecht paid the least attention. They were secure in their loyalty to a higher law.

In the spring of 1847 some eight hundred men, women, and children sailed from Rotterdam in four sailing vessels, for Baltimore, and arrived there after eight weeks on the Atlantic. In order to prepare the way in the new land, Dominie Scholte and his family proceeded more rapidly by steamer from Liverpool to Boston, going thence to Albany, New York, and Washington, finding everywhere the most generous reception and full information about the availability of government lands, open for settlement at \$1.25 an acre. Conditions of travel to the Midwest were still somewhat complicated. When the colony arrived in Baltimore, the travelers went by rail to Columbia, Pennsylvania, by canal to Hollidaysburg, by switchback railway over the mountains to Johnstown, again by canal to Pittsburgh, finally by river boat on the Ohio and Mississippi to St. Louis, where they joined the few members of the company who had come some months earlier to gather information. This distance, now covered by air in three hours, then required several weeks of travel. From St. Louis the Dominie and a small group of his parishioners traveled to Iowa to spy out the land, and guided by a Baptist circuit-rider, they selected a location in Marion County, on the divide between the Des Moines and Skunk rivers. Here they established the town of Pella, named after the city across the Jordan, where, according to Eusebius (as the Dominie alone knew) the early Christians had sought refuge from the anarchy preceding the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. So Pella was founded with the motto *In Deo Spes Nostra et Refugium*: "In God is our hope and our refuge." The streets on its original plat bore the names of stages in the Christian pilgrimage: Entrance, Inquiring, Perseverance, Reformation, Gratitude, Experience, Patience, Confidence, Expectation, Accomplishment, and finally End Avenue, leading to a plot marked "Grave Yard." The names of these

early Dutch pioneers must have seemed to older settlers as outlandish as their old garb and wooden shoes. There were such jawbreakers as Michmershuizen, Vanderroovaart, Muelenbrugge, Vanspanckeren, and odd monickers like Bos, Kraai, Monster, Dikker, Slob, Kars, Kegel, 't Lam, van Os, Pas, Popesyn, Zwank, Stubenrauch, and Niemand-sverdriet ("Nobody's grief").

Though possessing only moderate wealth, Dominie Scholte was the richest man in the colony. He gave the new town a public park, land for its schools, a campus for the local college, later a town lot for each citizen enlisting in the Civil War. He also set apart a lot, facing the park, for the church of which he remained the minister. This led to the first of a number of schisms in the religious life of the colony. A commercial traveler who visited the new community and was shown the town plat, told the Dominie that it was a mistake to build a church facing the town square, which was certain to be surrounded by business houses. When Mr. Scholte therefore took back the lot in question and substituted a lot for the church in the prospective residential section, his Consistory made violent objection, alleging that he had laid profane hands on the Lord's property. As a result of stubborn disagreement, the Consistory excommunicated the Dominie, and the controversy split the church in two: half of the faithful supported the Consistory, the other half followed their pastor, who then built them a church in which he continued to minister to them.

Another problem in ecclesiastical ethics was settled more amicably. One day the Dominie was surprised by a week-day visit from his elders and deacons. After an embarrassed silence, an elder explained: "Dominie, the Consistory has considered this matter carefully and prayerfully, and we have come to the conclusion that it is not proper for a minister of the Gospel to have such a beautiful wife as yours. According to the flesh, I might like to have her myself, but one must not be subject to the flesh, and this is especially true for a minister." The Dominie pondered a moment, looked over his glasses at the visitors, and replied: "Brethren, will you advise me further in this important matter? What shall I do with her, shall I drown her, or poison her?" The brethren evidently had not thought that far, and so the interview ended with a solemn leave-taking.

Though never wealthy, according to American standards, Grandfather Scholte managed to live in some style. His house was quite the largest in town, his library by far the richest, his garden a private park. He kept a carriage and pair, with a coachman who was retainer rather than servant. When the family were driving along the river,

there was admiring comment on the beauty of a wooded farmstead up on the bluffs overlooking the stream. Hearing the conversation, the coachman turned to Mr. Scholte and said: "*Ja, Dominee, het is weleen mooi koetje, maar het geeft geen melk*" — "Yes, Dominie, it is a nice little cow, but it gives no milk."

Dominie Scholte's was never a one-track mind. He was a scholarly theologian and a preacher of such power that he could hold a congregation for two solid hours of pulpit oratory. But he had the versatility of the true pioneer, and his restless spirit reached out in all directions. He was gentleman farmer; builder of sawmills, brick kilns, and lime kilns; land agent, notary, broker, banker, contractor, dealer in farm implements, attorney, editor and publisher of a weekly newspaper, school inspector, justice of the peace, and college board president. In all this manifold activity he lacked the acquisitive urge of many of his parishioners, and he contrived not to amass the great wealth that a rich new country might have poured into his coffers. He remained a conservative in theology, but in all other matters he was forward-looking. He insisted that the local school must be conducted in English, not in Dutch, and his newspaper was printed in English. His political interest led to his appointment as a delegate at large from Iowa to the Chicago convention that nominated Lincoln for the Presidency; moreover, he was one of the vice presidents of the Convention, as representing the new citizens of foreign birth whom Lincoln's managers had the foresight to cultivate.

The "beautiful wife," object of the Consistory's solicitude, was Dominie Scholte's second. His first wife, my grandmother, had died in Holland shortly after the birth of my mother, who was her third daughter. Judging by a miniature painting of her, my grandmother must have been a girl of rare beauty; in fact, she was said to have been the belle of Amsterdam. The second wife, whom we children all called "Grandma," was a woman of great charm and fine culture; my father used to say that she was about the only person in town with whom one could carry on an intelligent conversation. She was musical and artistic, she had studied in Paris and spoke French as well as Dutch and English, and she loved beautiful things; the walls of the big house are still covered with her amateur paintings. In her day, in the fashion of the time, the house was crammed with bric-a-brac, amid which we children had to thread our way circumspectly. In the raw new West she was somewhat like an orchid in a weed patch; she missed the sort of social life to which she had been accustomed in Europe, and she had a temper! Occasionally passers-by would remark

"The Queen of Pella rages." But to us of the third generation she was always grandmotherly kind, though also unmistakably *grande dame*.

My grandmother Nollen, on the other hand, was unmistakably bourgeois. She was a good Dutch *buisvrouw*, completely unpretentious, never idle, limited to her native language (after forty years in this country her entire English vocabulary was "You well?"), her knitting needles flying whenever she was free from other tasks. She was an artist at knitting, for she not only kept her four sons provided with woolen and cotton socks and leggings, but also contrived the most astonishing fabrics, such as bedspreads, with original designs. She always sat with a straight back on a straight chair, up to the age of ninety, when she succumbed to pneumonia resulting from a cold caught by getting up to make a fire on a bitterly cold day when the maid was late. We called her *Moetjes*, which might be interpreted as "Little Mother."

I never knew either grandfather personally, both having died before I was born; but the two grandmothers were fixed stars in our firmament. One of them gave us children a new "Grandpa." When "Grandma" Scholte was in her late forties she was still a charming woman, and a handsome and debonair young Detroitier named Robert R. Beard, half her age, fell in love with the rich Dutch widow and married her. He had blue-black hair and moustache, a fair singing voice, dressed well, used discreet perfume, and played the guitar divinely. We children, who called him "Grandpa," though he was younger than my mother, used to tease him to play "Sevastopol," a composition inspired by the Crimean War, in which, while the strings vibrated to martial music, Mr. Beard pounded the guitar case with his palm to simulate the boom of cannon. It was thrilling! Mr. Beard was interested in sports, especially baseball, billiards, and tennis; he had a billiard room installed in the big house and a tennis court laid out in the garden. He could always beat us youngsters at billiards, but we could match him at tennis, and after a hot match he would bring out all the luscious chilled melon we could stow away. When we were flying kites, he appeared, his pockets bulging with twine, and supplied us with all the string our kites could carry. He gave us our first real bows and arrows, which were vastly more exciting than our homemade game of "cladders," which consisted of flipping wads of clay off the end of willow switches.

In later life Mr. Beard became interested in astronomy and had an observatory built for his own very amateur study of the stars and planets. Also in later life he was converted to the pietistic religion of

the Plymouth Brethren and even devoted himself to lay preaching, always in a curiously strained, unnatural tone of voice, which no doubt seemed to him more fitting for the high argument than natural tones would be. He used to talk rather vaguely as if he repented things he had done as a gay blade in his youth, but without ever giving us any of the pertinent details, which might have added verisimilitude to a "bald and unconvincing narrative," as KoKo would say. When "Grandma" died, he remained a widower for some years, then married our cousin Kate Keables, and we used to crack that Kate had become her own grandmother, with the further complication that she now became the stepmother-in-law of her cousin Leonora Keables, who had married our half-uncle Henry Scholte, thus becoming Kate's half-aunt. Meanwhile our "Grandpa" Beard had been suddenly metamorphosed into "Cousin Bob," a title more to his liking. Unfortunately for future delvers into the records of the past, Mr. Beard had no feeling for the value of historical documents, and he burned up a mass of Grandfather Scholte's correspondence and other precious material referring to Grandfather's contacts with Abraham Lincoln and other prominent men of the time.

In my boyhood the disposition of the family was as follows: Grandmother Nollen was keeping house for two sons in an apartment over the Pella National Bank; Uncle Henry (*Oom Hein*), bachelor, who worked in Uncle Peter's law office and was volunteer organist at the Second Reformed Church, and Uncle Gerard (who hated being called Gerrit), artist and widower, whose wife had died in childbirth, leaving him solitary and a mildly eccentric spirit. My father was cashier of the bank; he and Mother and we five children (two others had died in infancy) lived in a simple cottage near by. *Tante Zwaantje* ("Swanette"), Father's only sister, lived on a farm near town with her husband, Cornelius Welle, and four children. Uncle Herman, the youngest Nollen brother, lived on the original family farm, three miles from town, with *Tante Dirkje* and four children. My mother's oldest sister Sara had married Dr. B. F. Keables, Civil War veteran and leading physician in town; they had five children. Her other sister Maria had married attorney Pierre Henri Bousquet (Uncle Peter, or *Oom Piet Hein*); she died when their two daughters were small children; he later married Emma Thompson, his "American wife," and they had one daughter. "Grandma" Scholte and her second husband R. R. Beard lived in the big house to which her older son Henry P. Scholte had added an apartment for himself and Aunt Nora to whom three children were born. Her younger son David Scholte and

Aunt Marie lived in a cottage near ours; no children. It was an interesting and varied family connection, all living within easy reach, and when my mother invited all the tribe and its tributaries to our house for my father's birthday, we assembled about sixty souls.

My uncles were definitely individual types, and their always amicable relations were no doubt due to their respect for each other's idiosyncrasies. Of Father's brothers, we saw comparatively little of the youngest, Herman, the farmer; a quiet, modest, kindly man, his intellectual and aesthetic interests were kept in abeyance by hard manual labor. We saw more of the other brothers, Henry and Gerard. *Oom Hein*, as we called this Uncle Henry, was an old bachelor and worked in the law office adjacent to the bank. He was always on hand to play the organ at the Second Reformed Church, and it was his unflinching custom to pay us a call after the service, before going home to Sunday dinner. One day he came as usual, but confessed that he had not attended the Union Thanksgiving Service at the Baptist Church, for which he produced the alibi: "You've got to draw the line somewhere, and I draw it at a church with a tank in it." This was probably a distant echo of the old Dutch Calvinist hostility to the Anabaptist movement and the vagaries connected with it. *Oom Hein* was always most explicit in his opinions. When the classic beauty of the famous Lily Langtry (patronized by the Prince of Wales) was being celebrated, he snorted, "Greek profile! As Greek as an old shoe!" His favorite expression for anything he disliked was "Allemaal popcock," which shows how the American vernacular was infiltrating into Dutch. My father, on the other hand, kept his many languages distinct. He was averse to the use of slang, and the Dutch that he wrote in numberless articles for *De Volksvriend*, published at Orange City, was pure Dutch. And though he was indulgent to the liberties taken by literary humorists, I never heard him tell a story or make a remark that was in the least off-color.

Father's artist brother Gerard (commonly called *De Schilder*, "The Painter") never won the success to which his talent might have entitled him. His experiment as a photographer in Keokuk proved only his lack of practical business sense, and even though he was a minor Ruysdael as a landscapist, and better than most of his contemporaries at portraiture, there was naturally little market for his work or for his skill as a teacher of painting in rural Pella. He was quite lacking in the enterprise that could have gained him fame in a city in competition with other artists. Like my father, whose light also was hidden under the Pella bushel, Uncle Gerard preferred to "let well-

enough alone." It must have been the Scholte blood that urged my generation to seek wider fields and more adventurous living. Father was quite disturbed at my abandoning a nice safe teaching job in a state university for a relatively precarious college presidency.

There were two family tales about Uncle Gerard when he was a small boy. His oldest brother (my father) was a frugal lad who kept a penny bank in which he deposited the coppers that came his way. Once, when there had been a *Kermes* (fair) at Didam, he happened to look at his bank, and to his disgust found it empty. Suspecting his small brother, he exacted a confession of the theft, and little Gerard said tearfully: *Ik heb het allemaal op de paardjes verreden* ("I rode it all up on the little horses," i.e., the merry-go-round). On another occasion, his mother had been baking, and sent him with a basket of *poffertjes* (fritters) as a present to a friend *Frankoom* (Uncle Frank) at the farther end of the village. As he went, little Gerrit lifted the doily to look at the tempting contents, and yielded to temptation. Finally he arrived at his destination and made his little speech. When *Frankoom* removed the doily, there was just one little *poffertje* left in the bottom of the basket. So he said to his small visitor, *Wel, mannetje, zit je nu maar op dat stoeletje en eet je dat poffertje ook op* ("Well, my little man, just sit down on this stool and eat this *poffertje* too"), and so little Gerrit obediently disposed of the last fritter.

Mother's half-brothers, too, were quite distinct personalities. Uncle Henry Scholte always came to our house for morning coffee, and brought with him the dramatic spice for the occasion. We youngsters hung on his words, for he was a capital raconteur of the small events of the village. We thought he might have been a great actor; he looked very much like Joe Jefferson and had much of Jefferson's homely talent for characterization. But when he set pen to paper his style was dry and wooden. It was only the special technique of the spoken word that he handled with the mastery of a virtuoso. Uncle Henry was a good Christian of the fundamentalist type, in later years one of the leaders among the Plymouth Brethren, but his piety was relieved by more than a mere touch of the old Adam, inherent in the Scholte blood. My father, who was not too squeamish, was rather shocked at the collection of pin-up pictures of pretty actresses, somewhat in dishabille, over Uncle Henry's assistant cashier's desk at the bank, and Henry used to joke, with a sly grin, about looking out the window whenever feminine beauty was passing, especially when there were muddy crossings and lifted skirts; or about patronizing shops with "lady barbers" when he went to the city. Of course we

knew that he liked to draw the long bow for the sake of conversational effect. He had played the flute and acquired a bit of skill in tap-dancing in his youth, and even in later years would occasionally throw a clog-step. He could make a wry joke even of the occasional lumbago that tormented him. He was a most engaging personality, and my mother's favorite among the uncles. Of course he warmly reciprocated her sisterly affection.

Mother's other half-brother, Uncle David Scholte, was a very handsome man and had a fine tenor voice, which he exercised with a strong vibrato on the popular ditties of the day, such as "When the corn is waving, Annie dear." He was his mother's favorite son, and she had spoiled him by assuring him that he would always be cared for; so he had acquired some harmlessly expensive tastes, but no earning capacity. Not successful in his sporadic attempts at business, he supplied an alibi for idleness by a quasi-invalid life. He might be said to have enjoyed ill health; he would say plaintively, "And then they expect a man to work!" When the family income ran low, after the division of the paternal estate, he and Aunt Marie moved to the Far West, where she kept the pot boiling by taking in boarders. She was a good soldier and continued, without audible complaint, to supply David with the little personal luxuries to which he had always been accustomed.

Of our uncles-by-marriage, we saw least of Uncle Neal (Cornelius Welle), who had married Father's only sister Zwaantje — she a hard-working farmer's wife, absorbed in housework and family. He was a short, balding, heavy-set Hollander, laconic, industrious, limited in his interests, of ordinary bourgeois type. However, our visits to his farm, or to Uncle Herman's, were red-letter days for us youngsters. Uncle Frank Keables, the doctor, who had married my mother's oldest sister Sara, was an "American" who had been a surgeon in the Civil War, and he and his brother (Aunt Nora's father) had settled in Pella to carry on their medical professions. He was a bluff and hearty man, a good practitioner, not overly intellectual. His frankly expressed theory that "boys should be allowed to sow their wild oats" — which he himself had probably not done — was not too good advice for his own sons. The money he earned in his practice melted away in the attempt to multiply it by investing in gold-mining stock; he was one of the numberless suckers whom clever and unscrupulous operators, among them a later Senator from Colorado, succeeded in fleecing by dishonest manipulation.

Uncle Peter (Pierre Henri Bousquet) was a notable figure, whose

eccentricities his mother had attributed to her marrying her own cousin — but this cousin himself, named Abraham Everardus Dudok Bousquet, had been queer in his own right. Uncle Peter (*Oom Piet Hein*) was a large man with fat jowls and light blue eyes, the backs of his hands like pincushions, his feet like wedges set down flat in walking, toeing out at a wide angle. His thick lips were always in motion, though he was chewing nothing but the cud of reflection. He attended all funerals and weddings within reach. This same piety led him to invite the young suitor for a daughter's hand to prayer on the subject. Needless to say, the young man promptly joined. Like Uncle Frank, Uncle Peter, too, had financial ambitions beyond the scope of his local law business, and he lost heavily by investing in far-distant enterprises. His younger brother, whom we children called "Uncle Herman," shared the family eccentricity. He owned a cluttered and untidy hardware store, and used to say, "The time when a man becomes really eloquent is when he has to sell a stove." To him bicycling (in which he did not indulge) was "the poetry of motion." Quite often his aesthetic sense was tempered by practicality, as in his remark that, "I can't enjoy a landscape when I know that the man who owns the farm owes me fifty dollars." Also his idea of "sublimity" was a water tank on stilts.

Anent the "American wife," the early Dutch residents of Pella and vicinity looked with scant favor upon marriage outside the Holland community, and their expression *Amerikaansche vrouw* was less than complimentary. They expressed their estimate of such outlanders in the dictum, *De Amerikaansche vrouwen zitten den beelen dag in een jutterstoel te jutteren* — "American wives sit all day rocking in a rocking-chair." This type of furniture seems to have been an American invention, unknown in Europe. Uncle David's American wife, Aunt Marie, was no rocking-chair addict; she had the reputation of being a meticulous housekeeper and also a rather severe critic of others' shortcomings, which she would judge with acid comment, always adding, "I say it in love, dear." When Aunt Nora, at a very early age, married Uncle Henry Scholte, she was naturally a bit on edge when Aunt Marie made her a sisterly visit, without unpleasant incident until Marie flipped her handkerchief over the top of the door and found dust there. Aunt Nora, Uncle Henry Scholte's wife, had been a great beauty in her early years — she too was an "American wife" — but no doubt she enjoyed her old age even more than her youth. After both her husband and her mother died, she remarked that she was now free for the first time since her marriage at

eighteen. She was indeed free to travel, to drive her car, to paint landscapes (she had taken lessons from Uncle Gerard), to write about her mother-in-law, to enjoy the homage of younger people to her as a dowager still impressive in her silk and real lace—a species of midwestern *grande dame*. She enjoyed exhibiting the Scholte relics in the big house when strangers came to the annual tulip festival in Pella. She was the first collector of antiques in Pella, and her display of old Dutch oddities and relics of pioneer days, from candle molds to duelling pistols (left by a German aunt who had come to the colony in the early days), became the nucleus of the Historical Museum later established in the town.

Pella

During my boyhood Pella was a village of 2,000 to 2,500 souls, located on the watershed between the Des Moines and Skunk rivers, in the midst of a thriving farm population, largely Dutch. The stream of immigration from Holland had continued through the years, and not only the town but the countryside for many miles about was inhabited by Hollanders whose frugal industry had created a high degree of well-being. Life was simple and leisurely. None of the expensive and often cumbersome gadgets that now clutter our existence had yet been invented or developed. We had no telephone, no gas or electric light or power, no typewriters, no water system, no furnace heat, no movies. Nor had we even dreamed of such miracles as the automobile, the airplane, the phonograph, radio, “canned music,” radar, atomic fission (to us “atom” still meant “indivisible”), psychoanalysis, television, or a host of commonplaces of today. There were no electric sweepers or other electric appliances, no dry-cleaning establishments, no beauty parlors. Our houses were heated by stoves, the fuel wood, later coal, and lighted by kerosene lamps, which needed to be cleaned and refilled daily. In the spring the unpaved town streets as well as the country roads were deep in mud. Even though we had wooden sidewalks, we sometimes lost our rubbers on the muddy crossings. The safety bicycle was new and not in common use. Farmers had horses for work, of course, not for pleasure; the saddle horse and the “buggy” were still rare. In town only physicians and a few of the richer citizens kept horses. In the absence of running water we had no bathroom, and one does not remember with pleasure the sanitary inconvenience in the backyard, too hot in summer and cruelly cold in winter. There was nothing hectic about business life; merchant or banker could knock off from work in office or store for morning coffee or afternoon tea at home. There was a one-track

railway connecting Pella with Keokuk southeastward and with Des Moines northwestward, the "K. & D. M." or Des Moines Valley Railroad, later merged into the Rock Island system.

Like the Athenians in Paul's day, the people in and about Pella were "from every point of view extremely religious," worshipping at many altars. There were thirteen churches in town, most of them struggling affairs. Some of them, such as Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian, came in with the moderate influx of "American" residents attracted by the College; the small Catholic chapel owed its origin to the Irish railway builders who were in town when Pella had been the temporary terminus of the K. & D. M. Schisms, caused by the dour stubbornness of the opinionated Dutch mind, had multiplied since the first division in Dominie Scholte's day. Thus we had the First, the Second, the Third, the Fourth Reformed Church. There were also splinter groups like the Plymouth Brethren and an odd conventicle of "Soul Sleepers" or Psychopannachists. The classic expression of the sectarian spirit came from an elder of a small group that modestly called itself "The True Reformed Church" and held its services in a member's house. As the dribble of the "True Reformed" was approaching the multitude issuing from the First Church, this elder was heard to say to a crony: "Yes, it is always so: the kingdom of Satan is more numerous than the kingdom of God." Whatever their particular denomination or number, these Dutch church-goers could absorb plenty of punishment: a two-hour sermon in the morning, another in the afternoon, with coffee served in the interim. Until the American influence brought the singing of hymns, as well as sermons in English, only psalms were used in the Dutch service; the musical setting, all in full and half notes, was strangely impressive when sung with lingering emphasis by a large and fervently devout congregation. These good people were enormously impressed by the erudition of their preacher, and when he spoke with eloquence on "The Equilibrium and Equipoise of the Soul," as the learned Dr. Winter did, there were admiring comments by pious hearers who had not the foggiest notion what it was all about.

Our English-speaking Second Reformed Church was served, in my boyhood, by a succession of ministers, most of whom were less than inspiring, and it was always possible for us to pursue our own reflections while the minister was prosing. During any interregnum our leading elder (Dutch, of course) would read us sermons from a printed collection, but he composed his own long prayer, which always began, "Lord, we deign to come unto Thee," which seemed to

us literate members a fine piece of condescension on his part. This elder also conducted what he called the "cathekethical class" for the instruction of the young. One of my most painful recollections is a series of twelve sermons on baptism, fortified by a dozen texts from both Testaments, by which our little preacher proved to his own satisfaction that sprinkling was really more orthodox than immersion; our minister was inspired to this effort by fear lest some of his young people succumb to the lure of the local Baptist church. At another time an eager homily on Sin by a very young preacher of candid countenance prompted my sister-in-law to say, "I don't believe the dear boy would recognize Sin if he met it in the street."

The educational needs of the community were supplied by "Central University," founded by the Baptists of Iowa in 1853, and by a system of public schools from primary through high school. The "University" (later called "College") had been brought to Pella largely through the interest of Dominie Scholte, who gave generously, as did other Hollanders, to secure this institution for the new town. For many years, however, relatively few of the students came from the immediate community, while the higher education offered under Baptist auspices brought some American families to the town. The "University" never received much financial support from the denomination which founded it. In my day it was still struggling for survival, and it was not until many years later, when it was taken over by the Dutch Reformed people, that it began to grow and prosper. The public schools at that time were neither better nor worse than those in other midwestern villages, which means that they were distinctly inferior to European schools. School teaching then was not so much a career as a stop-gap for young women on the way to matrimony.

Social life and entertainment were primitively simple. There was no dancing or card playing in our circle, and convivial drinking was unknown; our beverages were tea, coffee, and chocolate, or pink lemonade when the circus came to town. Here, however, I must enter a caveat. At New Year's, and occasionally for a birthday celebration, there would be a festal *advocate borreltje*, "lawyer's dram" or egg-nog, and until the prohibition law came along Mother had a small supply of homemade wine, used occasionally, in diminutive glasses, as a nightcap, with a small cookie. Young people had parties, at which most of the games were spiced with innocent osculation. We had coasting, ice-skating on a mill pond, occasionally roller-skating, picnics, or days in the country at farm houses, stowing away mountains

of food. Swimming, in Thunder Creek or the Des Moines or Skunk River, was less common; the rivers were treacherous and sometimes claimed incautious victims. Buggy rides and sleigh rides depended on the resources of the local livery stables, for few families kept horses. There was an "Opera House" in town, a rather shabby hall where occasional lectures, concerts, and even dramatic performances were available, either by local talent or by companies that played one-night stands in the sticks: "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Ten Nights in a Bar Room," "East Lynne," and such. Lyceum lectures, later known as "Chautauquas," were an established custom; the most popular performers were the purveyors of travelogues, especially the explorer, Paul DuChaillu. In addition to infrequent recitals by visiting artists, such as Blind Tom, the Negro pianist, we had concerts by Cox's Light Infantry Band, which owed its excellence and a rather wide reputation to the patronage of Murray Cox, the local station agent. The dress uniforms worn by these musicians were most impressive: brown velvet coats with gilt and blue trimming, white corduroy breeches, leather puttees, black hats with long white plumes. Young people, and some of their elders, used to parade around the square while listening to the music; a favorite number was a medley of tunes listed as "Potpourri by the Band," the pronunciation of which no Frenchman would have recognized. Murray Cox was not above punning about the program, announcing the next number as a "seem funny."

The Pella National Bank, one of the many institutions originated by Dominie Scholte, was really a family institution. My father was cashier for fifty years, my half-uncle Henry Scholte was assistant cashier (later cashier when Father retired), "Grandpa" Beard was president, Uncle Peter Bousquet was a director. Its monopoly was broken when rival interests started another bank, which they brashly named "First National," but this venture came to a tragic end when its president committed suicide after consuming the assets and much of the deposits in bucket-shop speculations. In later years the old Pella National saw still other rivals rise and fall.

Manufacturing enterprises were few and modest. Farm wagons, brick and tile, furniture, flour, bakery goods, bologna, and wooden shoes were the principal products. It was not until much later that more important industries were established, such as the manufacturing on a large scale of threshing units, window screens, and venetian blinds. The Dutch were hearty eaters, and some of their favorite comestibles gained wide popularity: Pella bologna and *beschuit* (rusks), cummin cheese, and a variety of bakery wares, with names

puzzling to outsiders — *sinterniklaas*, *tullebant*, *kletskopjes*, *krakelingen*, *krentebroodjes*, *vetbollen*, *soesen*, *flensjes*, *wafelen*, with cinnamon a common condiment. The *sinterniklaas* was the most characteristic specialty, a sort of hard ginger cookie moulded in animal or human form, particularly appropriate to St. Nicholas' Day, December 6 (in Holland not confused with Christmas), when the generous Saint appears with his servants to bring presents for good children, switches for bad ones, if any.

In my day the local gardeners still peddled their vegetables on wheelbarrows from house to house, huckster fashion. In general, business had become fairly specialized: there were groceries, clothing establishments, shoe shops, drugstores (which still sold drugs), jewelers, hardware and furniture stores, bakeries, photographic studios, blacksmith shops, lumber yards. It was still the custom of farmers to barter butter and eggs for store goods, but we had a creamery, and could look back with amusement at the first advertisement of the store opened in 1853, which listed, among other items for sale: "Tar, Ink, Washboards, Buckets, Liquor and Wines, Window Glass, Sugar and Molasses, Whiskey by the Barrell, Coffee, Rice, Candles, Chewing and Smoking Tobacco, Nails, Spices, Powder and Shot, Mackerel, Nutmegs, Soap, Umbrellas, Tubs, Cigars, Lampblack, White Lead, Sugar (loaf, crusted and brown), Candy, Ginger, Salt, Chocolate, Blacking, Flasks, Stove Pipe, Clay Pipes, Cordage, Liniment." In that early day, all the items of such a stock had to be carried 120 miles by wagon over dirt roads or across a trackless prairie.

In my boyhood the dollar was still full-bodied, in contrast with the emaciated unit of this day. A dollar then commanded an interest rate of 10 per cent. One dollar bought a man's labor for a ten-hour day, or a woman's for two or three days, ten pounds of meat, twenty loaves of bread, four chickens, or four haircuts; a good pair of shoes cost three dollars; a man's suit, twenty; a good house, two thousand. Salaries were in proportion: a college professorship drew a stipend of about one thousand dollars.

Partisan politics were still marked by a somewhat primitive virulence. Memories of the Civil War were still vivid, and patriots did not hesitate to wave the bloody shirt; veterans were exhorted to "vote as they shot," which meant the Republican ticket. However, the majority of the Dutch, unlike Dominie Scholte, were Democrats, due to the early identification of the Republicans with the former Know-Nothing movement, directed against foreigners. The attitude of many voters was expressed by a Dutch carpenter with whom my father, naturally

a sound money man, was arguing the necessity of opposing the free silver heresy. Said the carpenter: "Mr. Nollen, I don't bother much about politics. I put a Democratic ticket in the box and leave the rest to God." My father, though a pious man, thought that was a severe test of divine omnipotence.

Presidential campaigns were more picturesque then than in this more sophisticated day. We had torchlight parades, and for us small boys there was excitement in marching, clad in cheap soldier caps and oilcloth capes, carrying flaming torches, and yelling for our party. The great political orator of that day was Jonathan P. Dolliver, later a leading member of the United States Senate. He was the son of a Methodist circuit-rider in West Virginia; he had gone through grinding poverty after coming to Iowa as a young lawyer, and had leaped into national fame by a political speech, much as young William Jennings Bryan later electrified his party with his Cross of Gold oration. The only thing I can remember of Dolliver's speech at Pella is his Shakespearian quotation, ridiculing the opposition as those who "crook the pregnant hinges of the knee, where thrift may follow fawning." Hamlet making votes for the G. O. P.! That was something new in American stump-speaking.

The Family at Home

On the material side, life in our tape-worm cottage was reduced to simple terms, and since Father's salary as cashier never went beyond eighteen hundred dollars (which, however, were still dollars and not the attenuated units of this day), expenses for a family of seven souls needed to be kept down to a minimum consistent with decent living. Labor being cheap, we did have the occasional help of a kitchen mechanic, always an untrained farm girl. One of these temporary helpers well expressed the insensitiveness of the breed; she had just taken out a tray loaded with my mother's best china when we heard a great crash, and Clientje poked her head in at the door and said cheerily "I broke the whole durn pan" (Dutch *pan* is equivalent to "caboodle"). For masculine jobs we could count on the assistance of Hendrik Blom, an old man-of-all-work who also pumped the bellows for the organ at the First Church, priding himself on his skill in "pumping by note," by following the psalm-book. Blom was a character, an odd mixture of the deference shown to higher-ups by the typical old-fashioned servant and the self-regard of a respectable citizen. When he worked for us, he was always invited to join the family at morning coffee, where he was quite at home. When his

young grandson was working at the "American" house next door, where there was no coffee-time, Blom called him over the fence to join us at our table, and when the boy was hesitant about reaching for the cakes, the old man said: "*Help dezelve, Wouter, 'tis vrij Amerika*" ("Help yourself, Walter, this is free America"). It was indeed a land of boundless opportunity for the immigrant, and many a man who had come from penury in Holland to plenty in Iowa could speak with feeling of his family's escape from the *zwarte brood*, the "black bread" of the Old Country.

My father, John Nollen, was definitely the head of the house, European style, but he felt the responsibility more than he enjoyed the privilege of this unquestioned authority. Nor did he need to assert it. He never laid his hand on a child in punishment: his word was law and did not require even a frown to support it. In this my mother fully seconded him, and the household revolved always about his desires, which, to be sure, were modest enough. His only personal extravagance was his polyglot library, which became by far the best private collection in town. When he was a small child, he had been taught to smoke by relatives with a distorted sense of humor. In middle life he discontinued this habit as expensive and unnecessary; he had no other indulgences.

Father was tall (six feet plus) and uncommonly thin. Though his health was never robust, by a careful regimen he lived to be eighty-six with a mind quite unaffected by the infirmities of age. His firm mouth and heavy eyebrows and piercing far-sighted eyes, looking through old-style spectacles, gave him a somewhat forbidding aspect, while long hair and a scraggy Horace Greeley fringe of beard made him look provincial. His flat voice lacked the resonance needed to be an effective public speaker, though in conversation he was eminent. His physical aspect gave little hint of his intellectual powers. Essentially self-taught, having had only a common-school education in Holland, he had succeeded by his own efforts in acquiring an extraordinary fund of knowledge and cultivating an intelligence as clear and far-reaching as any I have encountered among the great scholars of two continents. Thus he had mastered all the mathematics known in his day, later teaching this subject at a *gymnasium* (secondary school) in Holland. His natural capacity for mathematics may appear from the fact that when in his boyhood a book on geometry fell into his hands, he read it through as if it were a novel, fascinated by its logical consistency. Without instruction or laboratory experience, he familiarized himself with modern science, especially chemistry,

physics, and astronomy. He entertained himself by calculating eclipses for the longitude of Pella, using the successive volumes of the *American Ephemeris*, one of his bookish extravagances. His native tongue was Dutch, but he became proficient in English, French, and German and read Latin and Greek more fluently than the professors who taught the classics at the local college. It was a nine-days' wonder to the customers of the bank to find the cashier engrossed in Homer or Plato when business was slack. He taught himself to play the piano, and I remember falling asleep at night, when I was a child, to an accompaniment of Beethoven or Chopin. Not only did he have a wide historical background, but a solid practical grounding in economics. The one discipline that was foreign to his interest was metaphysics, which he called "a science of sprained minds"; but he found Plato's dialogues fascinating. His omnivorous curiosity led him to purchase the *scholia* of the Greek authors, so that he might know what the Alexandrian critics had to say when the "dead languages" were still alive. So, too, he followed up source material on the early development of the Christian Church. He had never attended a university, but he *was* a university. Since he had been a teacher in Holland, and was really a born educator, it would have been natural for him to use this talent when he came with his family to Iowa. Unfortunately there was no outlet for his pedagogical gift in this new country; so he occupied himself by working on Mr. Scholte's *Pella Gazette*, in Mr. Scholte's express office, then in Mr. Scholte's bank, and playing the organ in Mr. Scholte's church. He also became Mr. Scholte's son-in-law. He was mayor of Pella, 1859-1864, for some years justice of the peace, president of the school board, and a member of the board of trustees of "Central University."

Father's powerful and active mind was not matched by physical strength or skill. He gave no evidence of mechanical ability. I never saw him handle a tool or an implement, whether hammer, hatchet, screwdriver, rake, or sickle; and games, such as tennis, baseball, or billiards, or even the prevalent croquet, had no part in his life. Except when wet weather made roads and woods impassable, he took his regular exercise in long walks in the country, accompanied by his unbeautiful mongrel dog, Trust, who also preferred the wider outdoors. When they left the house, the dog walked with his master up to a certain corner. If Father continued in the same direction, that meant a country walk, and Trust went on with him; a turn to the right meant staying on town sidewalks, and then the dog turned tail and came back home with an expression of boredom on his homely

countenance. This reminds me of Uncle Peter's amusement at Mother's remark that children were not naughty but merely bored; he used to call us *de familie die zich vervelt*: "the family that suffers from ennui." On one of our walks in town we found at the railway station a box-car that the Rock Island was sending along its lines to "make rain" during a dry summer. There was a thin wisp of vapor issuing from a pipe through the roof, and when Father, always curious, asked the man in charge what he was cooking, he looked mysterious and whispered, "Electricity!" To some of the pious farmers in the vicinity this affair was no joke. They turned their rainwater barrels upside down to avoid catching any of the "devil's water."

Father took no pride at all in his personal appearance. He used to say that a man who amounted to anything put fine clothes on his coachman, not on his own back. Of course that was just a manner of speaking, for there was neither coachman nor coach in our life. Preferring comfort to display, he wore his old clothes until finally Mother took him by the ear and made him get a new hand-me-down suit. For years he wore an old gray shawl, a la Lincoln, instead of an overcoat, and to combat the cold of the bank floor, he always wore wooden shoes while working as cashier; when he put on leather shoes to go out, he left the *klompen* on the back of the stove to keep them warm. Wooden shoes and Greek classics seemed an odd combination to some of his friends, but no one ever ventured to indulge in flip-pant comment on the subject. However, though severity seemed to be his hall-mark, he had a most affectionate and compassionate heart and a ready response to the humor of great masters such as Aristophanes, Molière, Heine, and Fielding; he only smiled when Mother condemned *Tom Jones* as "nasty." Care about his diet and daily outdoor exercise had much to do with Father's longevity: add to these his determination to leave business cares behind him when he came home from the bank. It was a principle with him that business should never be discussed at home. So he turned his mind resolutely to interests remote from the daily grind. He was an unwearied and omnivorous reader, and for many years wrote weekly articles for a Dutch paper on any subject that happened to engage his attention, all the way from Genesis to relativity. He also tried his hand at verse, and had a long poem privately printed: its title was *The Specter of the Brocken*, no doubt suggested to him by Heine's *Harzreise*. His literary tastes were catholic, but also quite personal. English poetry never appealed to him, and even Shakespeare he deprecated as "stilted" in style, which reminds one of Tolstoy's hatred of Shakespeare. For a

similar reason, Vergil seemed to him far inferior to Homer, in whom he found new beauties at every rereading.

Mother, fourteen years his junior, was a helpmeet for her husband. She too was self-taught, but not in universal knowledge: her schooling was limited to the most elementary classes of a pioneer village school, but she learned by contact with people and by assiduous study of the Bible, much of which she knew by heart. She remembered, from her school days, the occasion when she was chosen to go to the basement of the little village school to declaim Watts's hymn "Hark from the tomb a doleful sound," while another pupil above recited something about heaven and the angels. This procedure was varied when a small boy was in the basement declaiming, "How dismal is the tomb," while little Mary Scholte above responded with "How lovely is the tomb." One might gather from this that the taste of the time ran to "mournful numbers." Like her learned father, Dominie Scholte, Mother was a consistent conservative in her theology, while Father, scientifically minded, was liberal, but this difference in attitude never caused the slightest rift in their half-century of wedded harmony. Father, too, was a pious Christian and his devout heart lived at ease with his liberal mind. We always had prayer and Bible reading at every meal, and on Sunday the entire family occupied a front pew at church. Father's humane kindness was in evidence here: he must have found it irksome to suffer under the intellectually mediocre, not to say stupid, ministrations of our callow pulpiteers, but I never heard him indulge in criticism of their jejune offerings.

People in town had great respect for Father, but there was something formal or remote about his bearing that discouraged anything like familiarity. He was distantly polite, especially to women, and Mother told with amusement that, after she was engaged to marry him, she heard another young woman remark that it was said "Mr. Nollen was a woman-hater." Nobody who knew Mother could help loving her. She was "Auntie Jo" to the whole town, especially to the children, and it was understood that anyone could drop in to her afternoon tea. Morning coffee was rather more a family function, with Uncle Henry Scholte as an unfailing guest. Born fourteen years later than Father, she outlived him exactly fourteen years, and so she too lived to be eighty-six, as if in a last assertion of family solidarity.

Mother and her five children all visited Pella at the time of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the town. She was a bit miffed at the slight recognition given in the proceedings to the real pioneers and founders, and at her father's now neglected park being

called "Beard's Grove." But she did not lose her sense of humor. As we stood in front of the big house, watching the midget motors dash around the square with young couples who had probably never heard of the pioneers, an old gentleman, who had come all the way from California to attend the festival, approached Mother and said: "I wonder whether you remember me. My name is Curtis." She replied, "Of course I couldn't forget you. You took me to my first party. When we came to the door you wanted to kiss me. When I held back, you said 'Why not? All the American girls do.' And I said 'Not much, I'm Dutch!'"

Boyhood and Schooling

My boyhood in Pella was singularly uneventful. Travel by slow train on our branch railway was uninviting, and trips were rare, even for the less than fifty miles to Des Moines. When my father attended the bankers' convention at Saratoga Springs, it was an event of the greatest moment to the family. In all our circle only one uncle attended the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. Once Henry and I went with Father on a business trip to Chicago, memorable for two facts: Father, having an almost morbid fear of fire, took a room on the first floor of the old Sherman House, at the vertiginous cost of five dollars for the three of us; and we attended a concert by the Symphony Orchestra, conducted by its creator, Theodore Thomas, in the old Exhibition Hall on the lake front in the midst of the Illinois Central tracks, so that the music was often interrupted by the blast of engine whistles and the rumble of switching freight trains. The hall was arranged in German beergarden style with small tables urgently suggesting the ordering of drinks, which was not for us. Chicago was still in the pioneer stage of its lusty development. Michigan Avenue, now lined with the most expensive shopping opportunities of the city, then offered a succession of odoriferous wooden livery stables, over whose sloping approaches a pedestrian climbed with precarious agility. There were other streets also where the level of the sidewalks changed frequently and abruptly from low to high, answering the exigencies of horse-borne freight service. The tracks of the Illinois Central barred access to the lake, and the days of the outer drive were still in the distant future.

In general, we stayed at home, getting an education with a modicum of entertainment. The latter was primitive in its simplicity. We had occasional parties in our small group of friends with games like post office, or clap-in-clap-out, or drop-the-handkerchief, and always welcome refreshments. There were infrequent performances at the Opera

House or the College, mostly recitals or lectures. There were buggy rides and sleigh rides in farm sleighs cushioned with straw or, in later adolescence, tucked under a buffalo robe with one's best girl in a "cutter" from the livery stable. There was skating on the millpond, now and then roller skating. Swimming was frowned upon in our family, so this use of Thunder Creek swimming hole was infrequent. Picnics on the river bank did permit company wading. When the bicycle came in, that was an exhilarating form of locomotion, dependent on the state of the roads, impassably muddy in wet weather. We had hazel nutting and walnut gathering, and long walks with Father through the woods near town, spiced with the discovery of ripe wild plums. There was kite flying, later billiards and tennis with "Grandpa" Beard. Quite early there were surreptitious adventures, such as four or five of us small boys meeting at an uncle's barn to consume canned peaches or "cove" oysters; once we raided our fathers' cigar boxes and lit up to smoke, but that experience was so lacking in the expected thrill that I have been off tobacco ever since. Of course corn silk was different; it did not induce nausea. One of the frequent excitements of my early youth was the insistent call of the fire bell in the middle of the night, when the small fry jumped into their clothes and rushed out in search of the thrilling sight. There must have been thirty such occasions during my boyhood. As it turned out the cause was not accidental, for the fire-bug was finally discovered to be a mentally unbalanced building contractor who set fires in order to make more work for himself. After he was sent to an insane asylum, the conflagrations ceased.

Henry and I cooperated in the chores that grew out of the simple life. We sawed and split wood for the stoves that warmed our rooms and cooked our food; we planted and weeded our flower garden — we were not tempted to compete with the local professionals in the raising of vegetables. We raked the yard, carried water from well and cistern, shovelled snow, repaired the fence, filled kerosene lamps and trimmed wicks, worked the ice cream freezer, looked after the younger children, picked apples from our orchard. We won a fret saw and silver plated napkin rings by selling subscriptions for the *Youth's Companion*.

The high points in our program of recreation came when we were invited to spend a day at Uncle Neal's or Uncle Herman's in the country. The spring wagon called for us after our breakfast at home, and as soon as we arrived at the farm house the day's festivities began with morning coffee, served with piles of waffles, deliciously inter-

larded with sugar and cinnamon, turban cake, and other delectables. Tante Zwaantje or Tante Dirkje had worked like slaves in preparation for the event, with such help as was available, cooking and baking and boiling and stewing and roasting, for the whole day was one long feast of good things, dispensed with lavish hospitality. After a leisurely walk over the farm yard, at noon we found the long dining-room table groaning with turkey and chicken and ham and potatoes with gravy and *bollen* (Dutch rolls) and sundry vegetables and pies and cake and jellies and coffee with real country cream. During the early afternoon a walk through the woods, returning to the house for three o'clock tea with trimmings such as "letters" with almond paste filling and other marvelous Dutch confections with untranslatable names. Then a rest in the shade, or a game of horse-shoes, and by that time supper was ready, another feast as bountiful as the noon meal. Finally, as a nightcap before driving home in the moonlight, a tiny glass of homemade wine and a cookie. For us youngsters with india-rubber stomachs, those days were dreams of pure delight, "linked sweetness long drawn out." My father, whose habits were most abstemious, did not indulge very freely in such superabundance. He used to wonder why reasoning people could not get together for pleasant converse without filling their stomachs with more food and drink than was good for them.

But schooling, that was right down Father's alley. He was a born pedagogue, and he had such a fund of learning to impart as only the great masters of knowledge could muster. When I was ten and Henry a bit over twelve, he took us out of school, which seemed to his European judgment inefficient and intolerably slow, and undertook our education himself. He gave us all his time outside of banking hours, assigning us plenty of studying to keep us busy while he was at the office. We had no vacations. He thought a summer without classes was a criminal waste of time; as for himself, he revelled in the torrid heat of an Iowa summer, which he found more stimulating than debilitating. As a teacher in the European tradition, Father was a somewhat stern taskmaster. He took great pains in imparting to us, not only the facts, but also the reasons why they were so. That was in harmony with his mathematician's habit of demonstrating, proving, and counter-checking to eliminate all chance of error. But when he had thus most patiently taught us something, he expected us to know and to remember. When our adolescent minds wandered, he would impatiently snatch off his skull cap and ejaculate: "*Ezels, hebben gij dat we'er vergeten!*" ("Asses, have you forgotten that

again!") He was, indeed, quite conscious of his own superior mentality and thinking of the hard and solitary way he had come to his education, he would say: "If I had the chance you boys have, I might have been a Humboldt!" — referring to the last man who had been able to master the whole range of human knowledge of his day. And that, we felt sure, was no idle boast. He considered American textbooks inferior to their European counterparts; so we studied mathematics from Dutch and English texts, the natural sciences from German monographs, history from French books. Thus, while acquiring a command of foreign languages, we used them in the mastering of other disciplines. Henry, having a mathematical bent, did not study ancient languages, but as I showed more linguistic interest, Father taught me Latin and Greek, as well as French and German; Dutch we had acquired in family conversation. English was our common medium of communication, and in English literature he allowed us to find our own way. In spite of our limited means he insisted on adequate educational equipment. So he bought a theodolite for surveying lessons and work in triangulation, a sextant with artificial horizon for astronomic measurements; also he invested in the *American Ephemeris*, so that we might learn to calculate eclipses and do other astronomical stunts. In the same way he encouraged us in physical culture by providing us with parallel bars and a horizontal bar, which we called our "acting pole" and on which we attempted to repeat the feats that we saw performed by circus acrobats. Father's educational interest was not confined to his two oldest. For the young children he prepared a series of primers, based on an original system of reading by syllables, rather than the conventional spelling method, thus anticipating later reform in school procedure; these primers Uncle Gerard printed for him in handsome bold-face calligraphy. The result of our intensive training was that Henry and I saved four or five years in the process of our schooling, and with a few additional courses at the local college (including required study of Mark Hopkins' *Evidences of Christianity* and Noah Porter's portentous *Human Intellect*) I was able to get my bachelor's degree at the age of sixteen. At that tender age I was also entrusted with secondary classes in physics and chemistry at the College, where I added some sporadic teaching in history, mathematics, and Greek.

After two years of this desultory pedagogy, I spent 1887-1888 at the State University of Iowa, where I had my first laboratory work in physics and chemistry (then my principal interests) and my first courses in philosophy and English literature, also my first experience

of military drill. My Sundays that year were hardly days of rest as, between church and college connections, I met six appointments regularly; two Sunday schools (one as student, one as teacher), two church services, Y. M. C. A., and Y. P. S. C. E. Religious dissipation! The University at that time was a very small college — my graduating class numbered thirty-six — with small law, medical, and dental schools loosely attached thereto; there was no graduate school. The primitiveness of professional requirements in that day may appear from the fact that the medical school had no entrance requirements, and its course consisted of two sessions of six months each; with this elementary equipment the young sawbones were let loose on the community. College life was practically featureless. There was no football, no baseball, no basketball, no orchestra or glee club; the band had purely military functions. As I was a “barb” (my family frowned upon “secret societies”) I had no fraternity social life. Literary societies were quite alive, and they furnished the only practice in public speaking; I was active in the Zetagathian Society, “seeking the good,” so to speak. The academic authorities assumed no responsibility for such cultural influences as music or drama, or even for a lecture course. My contact with the theater was limited to three memorable experiences: a performance of *Meg Merrilies* by the aging Janaushek (reduced from stardom to one-night stands), the appearance in *Caprice* of Minnie Maddern, then quite young, only much later famous as Mrs. Fiske, and *Julius Caesar* done by Booth and Barrett, this last at Cedar Rapids. When Forepaugh’s circus came to Iowa City, many classes at the University were excused for a quarter-hour to watch the parade, but we had to go on our own time to look at Diamond Dick and his band of Kickapoo Indians selling their wonder-working “Sagwa.” More serious events were a lecture on the race problem by the famous Negro orator, Blanche K. Bruce, and a political speech by our senior Senator, William B. Allison, of whom it was said that he would not commit himself in conversation as to whether shorn sheep seen from the train were shorn on *both* sides. I was privileged to attend the meetings of the Baconian Club at which professors read learned papers on scientific subjects. The laboratory sciences were at that time taught in the strongest departments of the University, with such really eminent specialists as Samuel Calvin in geology, Thomas H. Macbride in botany, and “Tuffy” Andrews in chemistry. I owe a special debt to Melville B. Anderson, then newly arrived as professor of English literature, later professor at Stanford and translator of Dante.

Conditions of living at the University were simple. Since there were no dormitories, I shared a room in a private house with a classmate, a room heated by a small stove in which we built a fire each morning in winter with wood purchased from a farmer. There was no running water, so our ablutions were limited to the ministrations of the aboriginal pitcher and bowl. Incidentally, we found the same archaic domestic arrangement at the home of a professor at Cedar Rapids, where we attended a Y.M.C.A. convention. The furnace was out of order there, and that night the thermometer registered 36 degrees below zero, the coldest weather I have ever known in Iowa. In the morning the water in the pitcher was frozen. We had a fair alibi that day for joining the great company of the unwashed. In that early day the dollar of our fathers was still worth about a dollar, and expenses were correspondingly moderate, compared with present standards. Tuition was covered by a scholarship; meals at a student boarding house cost \$2.75 a week; our room cost each of us \$4.00 a month; a cord of wood was priced at \$3.50.

It was toward the end of this year, 1887-1888, at Iowa City that a chance contact changed the course of my life. Professor Currier (Latin, later Dean), who had been my father's friend since his early pre-war college training at Pella, brought a young man to the laboratory to suggest my taking his place as tutor in an American-Swiss family in Cham, Switzerland, a post he himself had relinquished because of failing health. The opportunity for foreign study and travel seemed most alluring, and since I had no other prospects, I accepted the offer, thus transmitted, of Mr. David S. Page, assistant manager of the Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Company, to take charge of the education of his four children, whom he wished brought up as American citizens. Their mother was Swiss, but she spoke English, and the family had already spent some time in this country. Traveling expenses were to be paid; my salary would be \$500 to \$600 a year "and found," as I was to live with the family. (I found later that teachers' salaries in Switzerland at that time ran from \$240 to a top of \$600 annually. Half a century earlier, a brilliant teacher like Elizabeth Peabody was content with a salary of \$400, *without* board and room — in Boston. The Swiss income tax on my salary was thirty francs or six dollars, poll tax \$1.20.) So, July of 1888 saw me crossing the ocean for the first time, a foretaste of many other crossings, in the best Cunarder of the day, the old *Umbria*, which then held the time record for the trans-Atlantic passage; we took seven days from New York to Liverpool; a first-class cabin cost \$60, which may be com-

pared again with the cost of comparable accommodations in this inflationary period. Arrived in London, I was pleasantly entertained by the head of the Anglo-Swiss office there, and enjoyed three further dramatic treats: Sarah Bernhardt in *Camille*, Ada Rehan and John Drew in *The Taming of the Shrew*, and the *Mikado* done by the D'Oyly Carte Company. On the channel boat crossing to the continent, I met an English gentleman who proved to be a manufacturer of oriental specialties. He said his product, made in London, was shipped to the Far East, and sent back from there in Chinese or Japanese shipping-cases for the British and American market. I had heard much at home about the danger to American infant industries of competition by cheap oriental labor. This was my first experience of the reverse.*

* This autobiography was left unfinished at the time of Dr. Nollen's death on March 13, 1952.

Footnotes and Index



Footnotes

¹ Albert E. Dunning, *Congregationalists in America* (Boston, n.d.), 124ff, 143, 182ff, 202, 232. *Per contra*, the dominant Quakers of Pennsylvania resented the influx of poverty-stricken Scotch-Irish in the early 18th century. Harold W. Dodds, *John Witherspoon* (Newcomen Society, 1944), 18ff. Arminians preferred freedom of will to predestination and stressed the grace of God rather than His sovereignty.

² Dunning, *Congregationalists*, 259, 263.

³ *Ibid.*, 268.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 283ff.

⁵ Henry K. Rowe, *History of Andover Theological Seminary* (Newton, Mass., 1933); Dunning, *Congregationalists*, 286ff.

⁶ Rowe, *Andover*, 8, 49.

⁷ C. M. Fuess, *An Old New England School: A History of Phillips Academy, Andover* (Boston, 1917), 149; Rowe, *Andover*, 14, 18ff, 20ff.

⁸ Rowe, *Andover*, 167.

- ⁹ Poem, "The Poetaster," in *Passion Flowers* (Boston, 1854).
- ¹⁰ H. S. Commager, *Theodore Parker* (Boston, 1936), 50, 270ff; Frank H. Foster, *A Genetic History of the New England Theology* (Chicago, 1907), 197.
- ¹¹ Rowe, *Andover*, 2, 29, 33; Leon Howard, *The Connecticut Wits* (Chicago, 1943), 18.
- ¹² Dunning, *Congregationalists*, 335ff; Rowe, *Andover*, 104.
- ¹³ C. H. Rammelkamp, *Illinois College: A Centennial History, 1829-1929* (New Haven, 1928), 18ff; Dunning, *Congregationalists*, 335ff.
- ¹⁴ *Life and Labors of Rev. Reuben Gaylord* (Omaha, 1889), 82-4, 91.
- ¹⁵ Truman O. Douglass, *The Pilgrims of Iowa* (Boston, 1911), 21, 26-7, 40ff, 134. Professor L. F. Parker states that Mr. Reed came to Iowa at the personal invitation of Asa Turner. '99 *Junior Annual*, 11.
- ¹⁶ Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 134.
- ¹⁷ George F. Magoun, *The Past of Our College*, 31ff.
- ¹⁸ William Salter, *Iowa: The First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase* (Chicago, 1905), 55.
- ¹⁹ Cyrenus Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa* (Cedar Rapids, 1921), 42, 46.
- ²⁰ William J. Petersen, *Iowa: The Rivers of Her Valleys* (Iowa City, 1941), 35. With one-fiftieth of the area of the United States, Iowa is said to have one-fourth of the grade A arable land in the country. (*Report of National Resources Board*, 1935.)
- ²¹ Salter, *Iowa*, 127.
- ²² Irving B. Richman, *Ioway to Iowa* (Iowa City, 1931), 35, 80-81, 92, 149-50.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 58ff.
- ²⁴ Cyrenus Cole, *Iowa Through the Years* (Iowa City, 1940), 111-12; Jesse Macy, *Institutional Beginnings in a Western State* (Baltimore, 1884, Johns Hopkins Studies in History and Political Science, second series, Vol. VII), 7.
- ²⁵ Albert M. Lea, *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory; Particularly with Reference to the Iowa District, or Black Hawk Purchase* (Philadelphia, 1836), reprinted as *The Book That Gave Iowa Its Name* (Iowa City, 1935).
- ²⁶ Salter, *Iowa*, 237; Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States, 1830-1850* (New York, 1935), 255ff; B. F. Shambaugh, *The Constitutions of Iowa* (Iowa City, 1934), 118, 189, 218.
- ²⁷ *The Book That Gave Iowa Its Name*, 14; Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 23.
- ²⁸ Richman, *Ioway to Iowa*, 150-51; John C. Holbrook, *Recollections of a Nonagenarian* . . . (Boston, 1897), 63; Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 67.
- ²⁹ George F. Magoun, *Asa Turner, A Home Missionary Patriarch and His Times* (Boston, 1889), *passim*.
- ³⁰ Dunning, *Congregationalists*, 321ff.
- ³¹ Magoun, *Asa Turner*, 169. Pioneers have left records of the profusion of nature in

this new country. They tell of prairies and woods bright with sweet william, violets, buttercups, cowslips, bluebells, lady's slippers, columbine, and honeysuckle; rich with wild fruits such as cherries, plums, crabapples, grapes, raspberries, blackberries, gooseberries, May apples, and various nuts and succulent plants. *Grinnell Herald*, October 15, 1929; *Iowa: A Guide to the Hawkeye State* (New York, 1938), 13-19. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States, 1830-1850*, 256: "In season the wild flowers gave to the prairie an intense beauty — clothed and dashed with gold and azure, vermilion and orange, white and violet."

⁸² Magoun, *Asa Turner*, 191.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 186. Malaria haunted the prairies, and no one then suspected *Anopheles*. A home missionary in Ohio wrote: "When the vegetation begins to decay and the north wind to blow, it rolls up the very quintessence of swamp miasma. In a village of 1,000 people I have counted rising of 500 sick at once. I have had 80 die within the bounds of my parish in one year." Rowe, *Andover*, 106.

⁸⁴ Julius A. Reed, *Reminiscences of Early Congregationalism in Iowa* (Grinnell, 1885), 6.

⁸⁵ Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 32; Ephraim Adams, *The Iowa Band* (rev. ed., Boston [1902]), 56.

⁸⁶ Magoun, *Asa Turner*, 218-19.

⁸⁷ Reed, *Reminiscences*, 10-11; Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 295ff.

⁸⁸ Reed, *Reminiscences*, 13.

⁸⁹ Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 32-3.

⁴⁰ *Life and Labors of Rev. Reuben Gaylord*, 98-9.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁴² Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 44-7; L. F. Parker, '99 *Junior Annual*, 12.

⁴³ Magoun, *Asa Turner*, 221.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 226.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 269-70; H. K. Edson, *Historical Sketch of Denmark Academy*.

⁴⁶ Magoun, *Asa Turner*, 243-4.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 269-70. The pioneers were fond of long Greek names, such as the "Catholepistemiad" for the University of Michigan. Turner, *The United States, 1830-1850*, 342.

⁴⁸ Magoun, *Asa Turner*, 225. For the Iowa Band, see Magoun, *Asa Turner*, 232ff; Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 51; William Salter, *The Old People's Psalm* (Burlington, 1895), 9ff; *General Catalogue of Andover Theological Seminary, 1843*. For brief biographies, see Appendix A.

⁴⁹ Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 3-5, 15.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 13; Magoun, *Asa Turner*, 226.

⁵² Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 55-6.

⁵³ Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 34-5. However, in 1842, there were only 42 ministers of all

denominations in the entire territory, and 2,133 professing Christians, or fewer than 4 per cent of the population. *Ibid.*, 54. The boisterous crudity of many pioneer preachers was offensive to delicate ears. Father Mazzuchelli, an Italian missionary in Dubuque, wrote of such preachers that they used "loud cries, prayers, exclamations, sobs, frenzies, trembling, sweats, contortions," that congregations "often broke out into violent weeping, cries and ejaculations, so as to drown the preacher's voice," and many became hysterical. Cole, *Iowa Through the Years*, 167.

⁵⁴ Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 33-4.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 15, 22, 24-6; Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 56.

⁵⁷ Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 56ff; Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 27ff; *Souvenir Booklet Commemorating the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Edwards Congregational Church*, Davenport, 22ff.

⁵⁸ Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 58.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 60, 69.

⁶² Cole, *Iowa Through the Years*, 169.

⁶³ Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 225, 229-30.

⁶⁴ Magoun, *Asa Turner*, 334-5.

⁶⁵ Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 71; Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 103.

⁶⁶ Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers of Iowa (1843), 17; Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 103-104.

⁶⁷ *Life and Labors of Rev. Reuben Gaylord*, 130; Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 105.

⁶⁸ *Life and Labors of Rev. Reuben Gaylord*, 130. The Wapsipinicon was then considered a navigable stream, which was an added attraction. Petersen, *Iowa: The Rivers of Her Valleys*, 111.

⁶⁹ Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 232-3. Copy of the report adopted by the Eastern group in *Record of Grinnell University*, 55ff. With regard to "peculiar privileges," no doubt the Eastern brethren had in mind the serious handicaps suffered by some colleges which offered "perpetual scholarships" to early donors, at prices absurdly insufficient to produce the necessary income. The *Catalogue of Iowa College for 1868-1869*, 23, proves that the trustees of "Iowa College" had not taken this advice to heart: "Some years since, when the College was located at Davenport, the Trustees authorized the sale of Scholarships for four, six, ten, and fifty years. They now authorize the sale of Scholarships for five, and twenty years." There were then extant one perpetual scholarship and twenty-six running from four to fifty years.

⁷⁰ Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 108.

⁷¹ Magoun, *Asa Turner*, 250; Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 84; James L. Hill, *The Gift of the Bottom Dollar* (pamphlet).

⁷² *Grinnell College Bulletin*, May, 1894, p. 5.

⁷³ Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 109.

⁷⁴ *Addresses and Discourse at the Inauguration of the Rev. George F. Magoun* (Chicago, 1865), 57-8. With the Harvard motto *Christo et Ecclesie* compare the Grinnell motto *Christo Duce*, adopted in 1854.

⁷⁵ Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 168; Harold U. Faulkner and Tyler Kepner, *America, Its History and People* (New York, 1934), 574.

⁷⁶ Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 109-111.

⁷⁷ Magoun, *The Past of Our College*, 14, 31. William Windsor called Professor Ripley "a born linguist, a fluent reader of Hebrew, Syriac, German, Greek and Latin." H. H. Belfield remembered him as an eloquent and inspiring preacher of commanding presence but winning manners. '99 *Junior Annual*, 35, 40.

⁷⁸ Magoun, *Past of Our College*, 14; '99 *Junior Annual*, 40; Leonard F. Parker, "Teachers in Iowa Before 1858" in *Historical Lectures Upon Early Leaders in the Professions . . .* (Iowa City, 1894), 34.

⁷⁹ There has been some question as to priority in the field of higher education beyond the Mississippi. Iowa Wesleyan College grew out of the Mount Pleasant Collegiate Institute, a preparatory school founded in 1843, incorporated in 1844, its building completed in 1846; it was closed 1850 to 1852. When James Harlan (later Senator from Iowa and Secretary of the Interior in Lincoln's second Cabinet) became president of the Institute in 1853, the standards were raised, a charter for "Iowa Wesleyan University" was secured in 1855, and the first baccalaureate degree was conferred upon one graduate in 1856. This was two years after the Windsor brothers were graduated from Iowa College, which was thus the first in this territory to give a completed college course. *History and Alumni Record of Iowa Wesleyan College* (Mount Pleasant, 1942), 16, 18-19, 21.

⁸⁰ Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 90; Magoun, *Asa Turner*, 216.

⁸¹ Information from Mr. H. H. Windsor, grandson of William. *Souvenir Booklet Commemorating the Hundredth Anniversary of the Edwards Congregational Church*, Davenport, 31ff.

⁸² N. Howe Parker, *Iowa As It Is in 1855 . . .* (Chicago, 1855), 250-51.

⁸³ Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 111; Magoun, *Addresses and Discourse*, 57, 58.

⁸⁴ It was purchased by Bishop H. W. Lee of the Episcopal Diocese and others for Griswold College. Magoun, *Addresses and Discourse*, 58.

⁸⁵ Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 111-12.

⁸⁶ Josiah Bushnell Grinnell, *Men and Events of Forty Years . . .* (Boston, 1891). The inaccuracies of this autobiography are corrected by Charles E. Payne, *Josiah Bushnell Grinnell* (Iowa City, 1938). See also *Dictionary of American Biography*, 8:4-5.

⁸⁷ *New England Magazine*, June, 1898. An *oekist* was a founder of a city. Edward Augustus Freeman was Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, author of *History of the Norman Conquest*, 15 vols., and *History of Sicily*.

⁸⁸ Grinnell, *Men and Events*, 28, 29. John Trumbull, while a tutor at Yale in 1772,

wrote his verse satire *The Progress of Dulness*. Joseph Dennie, before 1800, found Harvard a "sink of vice," a "temple of dulness," and a "roost of owls." Van Wyck Brooks, *The World of Washington Irving* (New York, 1944), 60.

⁸⁹ *Auburn Theological Seminary, General Biographical Catalogue 1818-1918*, 100; Grinnell, *Men and Events*, 47, 48.

⁹⁰ Grinnell, *Men and Events*, 51.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 55, 85.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 86.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 91; Payne, *Josiah Bushnell Grinnell*, 29.

⁹⁴ Grinnell, *Men and Events*, 87, 89.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 92; *Early History of Grinnell, Iowa, 1854-1874* (Grinnell, 1916), 4.

⁹⁶ Grinnell, *Men and Events*, 94, 96; Payne, *Josiah Bushnell Grinnell*, 41.

⁹⁷ *Early History of Grinnell*, 46, 48.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 34; Grinnell, *Men and Events*, 286.

⁹⁹ Payne, *Josiah Bushnell Grinnell*, 65, 69-70.

¹⁰⁰ *Early History of Grinnell*, 48-9.

¹⁰¹ Grinnell, *Men and Events*, 328; Magoun, *Addresses and Discourse*, 15. The removal of Iowa College from Davenport to Grinnell took place in 1859, but the formal merger of Iowa College and "Grinnell University" did not take place until 1865 at the inauguration ceremonies of the institution's first president, George E. Magoun.

¹⁰² *Early History of Grinnell*, 19. A circular dated January 1, 1856, advertising Grinnell University, Preparatory Department to open in April, names the faculty as follows: Rev. J. B. Grinnell, A.M., President, Professor of History, Rhetoric and Elocution; Rev. S. L. Herrick, A.B., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; Thomas Holyoke, M.D., Professor of Chemistry, Physiology and Agricultural Chemistry; Rev. Samuel Loomis, A.M., Professor of Ancient Languages, Mental and Moral Philosophy; Rev. Edward Cleveland, Principal of Teachers' and Preparatory Department. For the "Female Department": Principal, Mrs. A. J. Hamlin, Instructor in French, Painting and Drawing; Mrs. C. S. Wyatt, Instructor in Instrumental Music; Miss J. E. Loomis, Instructor in Rhetoric, English Composition, Botany and Geology; Miss L. Bixby, Instructor in English Branches; William Beaton, Instructor in Vocal Music.

¹⁰³ *Early History of Grinnell*, 19.

¹⁰⁴ Jacob A. Swisher, *Leonard Fletcher Parker* (Iowa City, 1927); J. Irving Manatt, in L. F. Parker, *History of Poweshiek County, Iowa* . . . (2 vols., Chicago, 1911), 2:9-12; *Grinnell Herald*, March 15, 1898; *Grinnell Review*, January, February, 1912.

¹⁰⁵ Swisher, *Leonard Fletcher Parker*, 46.

¹⁰⁶ *Grinnell Herald*, March 15, 1898.

¹⁰⁷ Swisher, *Leonard Fletcher Parker*, 65.

¹⁰⁸ L. F. Parker, *Sarah Candace (Pearse) Parker: A Memorial* (Grinnell, 1900); Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 285.

¹⁰⁹ *Early History of Grinnell*, 52, 53. Great preparations were made at Grinnell for the reception of the visiting committee. Payne, *Josiah Busbnell Grinnell*, 52-3.

¹¹⁰ Magoun, *The Past of Our College*, 18, 20. The dishonest treasurer's name is marked *remotus* in the Latin triennial catalogue of officers, etc., 1869.

¹¹¹ Adams, *The Iowa Band*, 116-17; *Grinnell Review*, January, 1907, 47.

¹¹² *Quinquennial Register of Iowa College, 1897*, 9-13.

¹¹³ D. L. Leonard, *The Story of Oberlin . . .* (Boston, 1898), 165.

¹¹⁴ Magoun, *The Past of Our College*, 23ff; L. F. Parker, *Higher Education in Iowa* (Washington, 1893), 179ff. The charter of Iowa College contemplated only "young men" as students.

¹¹⁵ *Early History of Grinnell*, 55. Biographies of Drs. Palmer, Blanchard, and Bushnell in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

¹¹⁶ Holbrook, *Recollections of a Nonagenarian*, 167-72.

¹¹⁷ Magoun, *The Past of Our College*, 21.

¹¹⁸ *General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1808-1908*; *Auburn Theological Seminary, General Biographical Catalogue, 1818-1918*, pp. 97ff. See Grinnell, *Men and Events*, 308-309, 387, for examples of H. W. Parker's poetry.

¹¹⁹ This is an evident exaggeration. Most Iowa farms at that time were quarter-sections (160 acres). See George F. Parker, *Iowa Pioneer Foundations* (2 vols., Iowa City, 1940), 1:125-7.

¹²⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography*, 12:202-203; Faculty Minutes, February 7, 1896; Reminiscences of F. I. Herriott (Ms.); *Souvenir Booklet Commemorating the Hundredth Anniversary of the Edwards Congregational Church*, Davenport, 29; *New England Magazine*, June, 1898. There is a bust of Dr. Magoun in the College Library.

¹²¹ *Grinnell and You*, May, 1934.

¹²² In his address, *The Past of Our College*, 32, Dr. Magoun did a bit of *amende honorable*: "Prof. Charles W. Clapp, seven years in the chair of Rhetoric, was a scholar in English Literature of the last generation rather than this, possessed of a clear, correct and agreeable diction, and a style of address that mated it well, a laborious and strong-purposed man, who hardly agreed with the college on the joint education of men and women." No doubt the word "strong-purposed" is the key to the presidential action so resented by Mr. Clapp's son.

¹²³ Minutes of the General Association of Congregational Churches and Ministers of the State of Iowa, 1888, pp. 31ff.

¹²⁴ Magoun could be adroit on occasion. Professor H. W. Norris remembers his story of a young woman, in the days of dress reform, who served notice that she would wear bloomers when she read her essay at commencement. Dr. Magoun quietly arranged to have the rostrum lined with shrubs and plants so that none of the audience would be aware of the daring costume worn by the young radical.

- ¹²⁶ Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 271.
- ¹²⁶ Grinnell *Herald*, March 15, 1898. L. F. Parker stated that Von Coelln came from the universities of Bonn and Berlin. D. W. Norris, '72, remembered him as a big, phlegmatic German whom Dr. Magoun did not like. '99 *Junior Annual*, 18, 55.
- ¹²⁷ Parker, *History of Poweshiek County*, 2:176-82.
- ¹²⁸ *Catalogue of Iowa College for 1883-1884*, 30.
- ¹²⁹ Magoun, *The Past of Our College*, 32ff. Memorial for Professor Crow, *Unit*, October 4, 1890.
- ¹³⁰ *Grinnell and You*, February, 1931. Reminiscences of F. I. Herriott (Ms.).
- ¹³¹ Magoun, *Asa Turner*, 270.
- ¹³² Grinnell, *Men and Events*, 351-2; S. H. Herrick, "The Grinnell Cyclone of June 17, 1882," *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 3:81-95 (July, 1897).
- ¹³³ Magoun, *The Past of Our College*, 37.
- ¹³⁴ *Catalogue of Iowa College for 1884-1885*, 49-56.
- ¹³⁵ Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 269-70.
- ¹³⁶ *Dictionary of American Biography*, 7:183-4; *General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.*; Reminiscences of F. I. Herriott (Ms.); *Scarlet and Black*, November 3, 1900; *Grinnell and You*, October, 1934; Isabel S. Gates, *The Life of George Augustus Gates* (Boston, 1915); Frank P. Brackett, "President George A. Gates. A Tribute," *Pomona College Quarterly Magazine*, January, 1913.
- ¹³⁷ Rowe, *Andover*, 159ff.
- ¹³⁸ Reminiscences of F. I. Herriott (Ms.)
- ¹³⁹ *Grinnell and You*, November, 1938.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20:83-4; *Quinquennial Register of Iowa College, 1897*, 84.
- ¹⁴¹ *Grinnell and You*, June-July, 1925. The Hendrixson Memorial Fund was established for the promotion of research in pure science.
- ¹⁴² For Professor Almy, see *Grinnell and You*, April, June, 1932.
- ¹⁴³ *Grinnell and You*, November, 1938.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Dictionary of American Biography*, 12:176-7; Katharine Macy Noyes (ed.), *Jesse Macy: An Autobiography* (Springfield, Ill., 1933); *Jesse Macy: Memorial Addresses and Tributes* (privately printed).
- ¹⁴⁵ Macy, *Autobiography*, 141.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 89.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Dictionary of American Biography*, 10:79-81.
- ¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8:594-5; *Souvenir Booklet Commemorating the Hundredth Anniversary of the*

First Congregational Church of Burlington, Iowa, 1938; Mitchell Pirie Briggs, *George D. Herron and the European Settlement* (Stanford University, 1932).

¹⁴⁹ *Grinnell and You*, November, 1927; May, June, 1933.

¹⁵⁰ *Grinnell and You*, October, 1937; *Scarlet and Black*, March 26, 1941.

¹⁵¹ *Who's Who in America; Scarlet and Black*, March 26, 1941.

¹⁵² *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21:537-8; E. R. Harlan, *A Narrative History of the People of Iowa* (5 vols., Chicago, 1931), 4:409; *New York Times*, April 23, 1931; *Grinnell and You*, April, June, 1931; *Baccalaureate Addresses* (Cedar Rapids, 1931).

¹⁵³ *President's Report* (1892), 13; *Grinnell and You*, April, 1933.

¹⁵⁴ Magoun pamphlet, *Iowa College* (1873), 14; *Gates's Report* (1898).

¹⁵⁵ *Grinnell and You*, March, 1922; February, 1930; March, 1937.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, March, 1915; March, 1922; February, 1930; March, 1937.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, April, 1931.

¹⁵⁸ *President's Report* (1898), 3ff; '99 *Junior Annual*, 217; Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 271ff.

¹⁵⁹ Harlan, *History of the People of Iowa*, 2:25ff.

¹⁶⁰ Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 214.

¹⁶¹ Harlan, *History of the People of Iowa*, 5:412.

¹⁶² *Annals of Iowa* (third series), 6:76-7 (April, 1903).

¹⁶³ *Grinnell and You*, February, 1937; Parker, *History of Poweshiek County*, 2:5.

¹⁶⁴ Cole, *Iowa Through the Years*, 422.

¹⁶⁵ Douglass, *Pilgrims of Iowa*, 247.

¹⁶⁶ *Pulse*, I:141.

¹⁶⁷ *Scarlet and Black*, IX, No. 43.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, XVI, No. 64.

¹⁶⁹ *News Letter*, October 12, 1889.

¹⁷⁰ '99 *Junior Annual*, 83ff; *Grinnell and You*, October, 1923; November, 1939. Football scores 1889 to 1928 in *Grinnell and You*, October, 1929.

¹⁷¹ *Grinnell and You*, March, 1935.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, June-July, 1924.

¹⁷³ *Scarlet and Black*, November 11, 1896.

¹⁷⁴ *Grinnell and You*, November, 1936.

¹⁷⁵ From an address by George Frederic Magoun to the Alumni Association of Iowa College, June 11, 1895.

¹⁷⁶ Helen B. Morris and Emeline B. Bartlett, "The Social Life of a Girl in Iowa College," *The Midland Monthly*, 9:449, 450 (May, 1898).

¹⁷⁷ *Des Moines Register and Leader*, Nov. 21, 1915.



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