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STANFORD UNIVERSITY
THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

Leland Stanford

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

ORRIN LESLIE ELLIOTT
Registrar of the University
1891-1925

STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
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LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
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THE BAKER AND TAYLOR COMPANY
55 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

MARTINUS NIJHOFF
9 LANGE VOORHOUT, THE HAGUE

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TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, SENDAI

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"The Children of California Shall Be Our Children"

FOREWORD

Biographies are intriguing human documents. We like to have the record tell us of a great man's ancestors, his old home, his childhood, and then his career. Universities are living units. To have one born in our midst and to watch its struggles and its growth and career has been the opportunity of the passing generation. Stanford University has spent its life in the open, under public and private inspection. Nearly everyone knows some things about it that are true and a good deal that is not.

Dr. Orrin Leslie Elliott came to Stanford when it started its educational work. He has lived with it ever since, and knows all about its first faltering steps, its childhood diseases and accidents, and the background of its astounding growth and success. He has written the story for us as a labor of love and with that keen sense of values that makes a true historian.

As a story, regardless of the persons involved, it is a romance of our Western civilization that carries its own interest in every chapter. What he has written will help us all to understand Stanford better and to know about universities. As the outstanding hope of the human family we need to know as much as we can in order to do our share in keeping our universities alive and growing, and in providing through them a free zone for the fullest possible blooming of the human intellect and spirit.

RAY LYMAN WILBUR

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Although Stanford University has now entered upon its forty-sixth year, this book properly comes to an end with the completion of the first quarter-century of its existence. These twenty-five years, covering the presidencies of Dr. Jordan and Dr. Branner, bring to a close what may not inappropriately be termed the heroic age of the University—whose course of development and significant events are now far enough in the past to be seen in fair perspective. Among the characteristics which an intimate history, such as is here attempted, should be expected to bring into relief are the following: The farsighted, unselfish, and nobly generous purpose of Mr. and Mrs. Stanford in the creation of a memorial foundation devoted singly to the public good; the inspiring personality and daring leadership of Dr. Jordan in realizing the educational opportunities of the Founders' design and in guiding the destinies of the University through dark days and bright; the courage and steadfastness of Mrs. Stanford in very trying times and circumstances; the day-by-day problems and the larger crises in the onflowing life of the University; above all, the Stanford loyalties and the lightheartedness and joyousness which characterized the life of the community, students and faculty, whatever the day might bring forth.

Stanford men and women who have lived through some or all of these early years will not fail to recall countless instances which confirm, or interpret, or supplement what is here recorded. And to Stanford folk of all times may there not come a deeper realization of the price that was paid for the great inheritance which is theirs.

The administration of President Wilbur, happily not yet completed, comes within the scope of this book only in the way of a brief enumeration of the more significant developments of an era of great expansion and unexampled growth.

Grateful acknowledgment is due to many individuals who have been of assistance to the author in various ways. Special mention may be made as follows: To Mr. Emory E. Smith, one-time member of the academic staff and author of a forthcoming book on the Stanford Farm, for free use of his own extensive collection of documents, especially the letters of General Walker and Mr. Olmsted here printed in full in the Appendix; to Judge George E. Crothers for valuable personal and official papers and for full and courteous replies to many questionings; to Professor George L. Burr, of Cornell University, for the use of unpublished material from President White's correspondence and diary notes, and for his own recollections of the Stanfords' historic visit to Cornell in 1891; to Dane and Herbert Coolidge for detailed reminiscences of the Stanford "Camp"; to Mrs. Branner for access to Dr. Branner's papers and correspondence; to Mrs. Jordan for friendly interest and co-operation; to Miss Bertha Berner for facts and points of view, supplementing her own printed book, bearing upon Mrs. Stanford's relations to University affairs; to President Wilbur for encouragement and furtherance of this project in many ways, and for placing at the writer's disposal official documents, papers, and the correspondence files of the University.

O. L. Elliott

Stanford University, California
March 8, 1937

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I. FOUNDING A UNIVERSITY

PLANS AND BEGINNINGS

The first intimations of Mr. Stanford's purpose to found and endow an educational institution on the Pacific Coast reached the public in the early summer of 1884. Leland Stanford was then sixty years of age, the possessor of vast wealth, and at the height of his power and influence in the West. He had come to California as a young man of twenty-eight without fortune or friends. By industry, sound judgment, and indomitable energy he had pushed steadily ahead, finally, with other bold spirits, seizing and making real an opportunity, the building of the Central Pacific Railway, which led in the end to an almost unbelievably dazzling success. High honors and the exercise of great powers furnish an inevitable target for criticism, deserved or undeserved, and this ordeal Mr. Stanford did not escape; but through all the vicissitudes of an active career, at times under bitter attack, he retained, to a remarkable degree, the respect and affection of the people of the state.

"In spite of the isolations of great wealth, and the antagonisms that had grown up about the railroad," writes a discriminating critic, "Mr. Stanford had kept a good deal in touch with the people; he had been a friendly man among the argonauts, and had kept these early friendships in the main; he had been war governor, and was remembered by the men of that critical era for conspicuous and efficient patriotism; he had always been held the chief power in the building of the transcontinental road, an achievement hailed at the time with a popular enthusiasm that fairly crowned the men who accomplished it; and later he had still seemed to care for the good will of the people more than is usual among men of so great wealth. He had been approachable in behalf of the higher public interests,—educational, and literary, and scientific. He was regarded as the foremost citizen of the state; his happy and dignified domestic life pleased the public—as it always pleases them in their eminent men,—and there is no doubt that they were prepared to feel a warmer interest in his personal joys and sorrows than in those of any other of our very rich men."[1]

Like so many others in pioneer mining days, Leland Stanford came to California to seek his fortune. His coming at all was quite accidental. Born and raised on a farm in eastern New York, near Albany, he had the usual training and experience of a country boy. His father combined to a certain extent innkeeping with farming, and intermittently followed as well the calling of a contractor. Young Leland's outlook was therefore larger and more varied than that of country boys generally, and he made the most of the opportunities that came his way. It was a sort of family council that assigned him to a professional career. Accordingly at the age of seventeen he left home in search of that preliminary training which the schools of the neighborhood could not provide. Four years, with some interruptions, were spent in school work, first at the Clinton Liberal Institute, and finally at Cazenovia Seminary. Then, at the age of twenty-one, he entered the law office of Wheaton, Doolittle, and Hadley, in Albany, and after the customary three years' apprenticeship was admitted to the bar. To establish himself in his profession he turned to the West, and in October 1848 hung out his shingle in Port Washington, a promising frontier town in Wisconsin. Port Washington did not become a rival of Chicago as its promoters confidently expected; but at the end of four years young Stanford had built up a respectable law practice and was becoming identified with the politics and civic affairs of the county.

At this juncture a disastrous fire in Port Washington destroyed his office together with his valuable law library, the best in that part of the state. This was in 1852, at a time when the gold excitement in California was at its height. Already his five brothers were either in California or on their way to the Golden West. He had previously been urged to join them, and the Port Washington disaster was the turning point in his plans. In 1850 he had married Jane Lathrop, daughter of an Albany merchant. Leaving his wife now with her parents in Albany, he started for

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[1] Millicent W. Shinn in *Overland Monthly*, October 1891.

California, by way of the Isthmus, in June 1852. His brothers had gone into merchandising in the mining regions and had established a number of stores dealing mainly with miners' supplies. He joined them, first at Cold Springs and then at Michigan Bluff. The latter place, where he remained more than two years, had all the crudeness and roughness of a hastily improvised mining town. But his affairs had so prospered, partly through his mining ventures, that in 1855 he was able to buy out the Sacramento store of Stanford Brothers and set up in business for himself. He now returned to Albany for his wife, and they set up housekeeping in the growing city of Sacramento. Five years later he had accumulated what seemed to him an ample fortune—a full quarter of a million dollars—and half formed a resolution to return to the East and settle down in the city of Albany.

But his roots were struck too deep in California soil. His interest in politics and civic matters had always been keen. In Port Washington he had been put forward for the office of district attorney, on the minority ticket. At Michigan Bluff he had served as justice of the peace. In Sacramento he became the most active of a small group in organizing the Republican party in California, and was made the candidate of the party—for State Treasurer in 1857, for Governor in 1859. There had been no chance of election for either of these offices; but the party was making progress. In 1860 he stumped the state for Lincoln. Owing to the split in the Democratic party and to the vigorous campaign waged by the Republicans, the Lincoln electors were chosen by a slim plurality. Mr. Stanford had been selected as a delegate to the Republican National Convention which nominated Lincoln, but for business reasons he was unable to attend. After the election he went East with Mrs. Stanford and spent some time in Washington advising the new administration in regard to California affairs.

The resolution to make Albany his home was still in his mind. The farm near Schenectady where he had been brought up still belonged to his people, and Mrs. Stanford's family lived in Albany. There was a house in the city which, as a boy, he had thought the handsomest in the world, and in his dreams of possible wealth, he was always the possessor of that house. On his arrival in Albany he had the experience common to all who return home after an absence of years. The farm looked insignificant after the ranches of California. The Sherman Homestead, though less imposing than formerly, was undoubtedly charming, but could not compensate for the general disappointment in all else. It did not take Mr. and Mrs. Stanford long to discover that although they were at home they were homesick. Then stirring news came from California. The mails brought the news that he was being proposed as a candidate for Governor, and a private letter from his brother intimated that he could get the nomination if he wished to make a fight for it, and that if nominated he would be elected. Before this letter reached him he had decided to return. To his brother he wrote: "I served my party all through its minority, and since it obtained power I have endeavored to serve the country by having the federal patronage worthily distributed in California. I wanted to see the pledge redeemed that I had so often given to the people, that with a Republican administration we should have reform. And now having done all that I could in furtherance of the public good, while I hope that I shall ever be willing to serve my country, I shall be glad to retire from the active part I have taken in politics for the past few years."[2]

Leland Stanford was nominated for Governor of California in June 1861; this time he was elected by a substantial plurality, and with him the whole Republican ticket. This was the decisive political battle which determined that California was to stay in the Union rather than follow the South or perhaps set up as an independent republic. Much, however, remained to be done to cement the loyalty of the people and to insure the steady support of California for the Union cause. No war governor had a more delicate task to perform. So firm, watchful, conciliatory, and tactful was Governor Stanford's administration that California did her full share, and more, toward the preservation of the Union. In other ways the administration was constructive and forward looking, deservedly adding to the influence and reputation of its governor.

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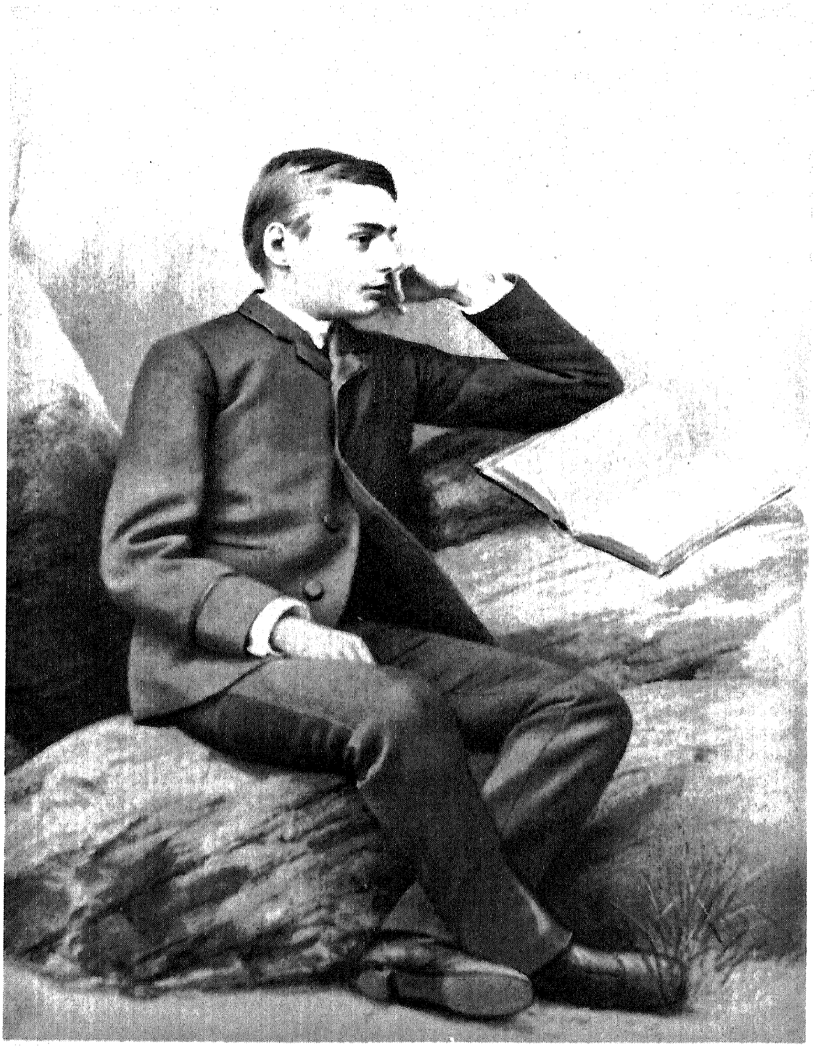
[2] Quoted by Herbert C. Nash in Stanford *Sequoia*, September 4, 1893.

The building of the Central Pacific Railroad was a far more formidable undertaking. It is difficult, after this lapse of time, to comprehend the almost insurmountable obstacles that confronted the four men who carried through this great project. It had been talked of for years. Every legislature passed resolutions, conventions were held, and many appeals were placed before Congress. There was a stretch of two thousand miles of uninhabited country between California and the settled portion of the country east of the Mississippi River. California was from three to six weeks distant from the East by ocean travel and, before 1860, equally distant overland. Letter postage by the fast Pony Express was at first five dollars per half-ounce and only reduced to one dollar in 1861. Freight transportation was a matter of months. If California was to become an integral part of the Republic, or be given a chance to develop its great resources, rail communication seemed absolutely essential. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Congress finally became interested, and by the Act of 1862, liberalized in 1864, made generous loans and gifts of land to both the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific companies. But the main sums had to be supplied by the companies themselves. In California there was almost complete skepticism as to the practicability of a railroad over the Sierra. Capital generally would have nothing to do with so wild a scheme. Business men, particularly in San Francisco, had well-established trade routes by water, were making good profits, and preferred to let well enough alone. Besides, there was strenuous and bitter opposition from the wagon-truck companies which were already monopolizing the profitable trade with Nevada. And none of the money voted by the national government was available until the first forty miles of road had been constructed.

It was no mere chance that made Governor Stanford president of the Central Pacific Company. There was, of course, the prestige of his name. But his business sagacity and recognized qualities of leadership were of more importance. The four Sacramento business men who adventured upon this enterprise were all remarkable men, exceptionally fitted for the team work that was indispensable. It was a grilling experience for all of them, and for a long time with hardly an even chance of coming out prospective millionaires instead of bankrupts in fortune and reputation. Leland Stanford perhaps stands out among the four as the one who never lost courage, never admitted defeat, and never faltered in his determination.

The driving of the Golden Spike at Promontory, Utah, on May 10, 1869, thus uniting the West with the East, was hailed in California as one of the notable events in its history, and Governor Stanford everywhere was acclaimed as the leader whose genius had made possible this great consummation. For Mr. Stanford and the Company it was but the beginning of building operations which spread a network of railroads over the state and created one of the great railway systems of the country. Millions came to the builders and many more millions to the state. To Mr. Stanford the establishment of new industries, the opening of rich lands to settlement, and the general prosperity of California afforded far more satisfaction than the mere wealth that was his. Always keenly interested in agriculture, he invested largely in farm lands and was foremost in furthering improved methods and processes. In particular, he conducted viticulture and the breeding of fine horses as real experiments which became notable throughout the country.

The Stanfords had one child, a youth of promise, to whom at fifteen, unspoiled and eager, life seemed to be disclosing its richest hopes and possibilities. A wholesome, happy lad, tall for his age and slender, he possessed an alert mind and an insatiable curiosity about everything that came within the range of his interest and experience. He loved especially the life on the Palo Alto ranch, with his horses and dogs, where he made friends with all the farm and household workers and was himself a favorite with everyone. He must know all about the machinery which he saw in use—how it was made, how it operated. In the home he was encouraged to take a full part in the



Leland Stanford, Jr.

common life and conversation, and to expect to have his opinions and judgments treated with seriousness. This did not make him vain or boastful, but thoughtful and careful in reaching conclusions. He learned to speak French as fluently as English, and in the visits to Europe this gave him many contacts he would not otherwise have had. The passion for collecting, common to all boys, was with him guided toward art and archaeology, of which he became an apt pupil. He had already formed a plan of a museum which he wanted sometime to establish in San Francisco and which he thought of as something that would afford pleasure and instruction to the many who did not have his own advantages of travel and study. These were boyish purposes and enthusiasms; but all his thoughts about the great fortune that some day might be his were bound up with the idea of sharing.

As he grew toward manhood the hopes and plans of the parents centered more and more about this youth, so richly endowed, so thoughtful of others, and so responsive to the love and affection bestowed upon him. "God made him all that the fondest parents could desire," his mother said. This was not altogether just a fond parent's partiality, for wherever the lad went his engaging frankness, his active, well-stored mind, and his manly quality attracted marked attention and respect. "Both of us have a vivid remembrance of your dear and noble boy as we saw him at Nice [in 1880]," wrote Andrew D. White. "I remember especially being struck by his manliness and his simple, substantial, thoughtful character which was already definitely formed in him. You may well imagine then that the sad news from Florence brought a pang to both of us, ... As for myself, accustomed to prize above all things on earth a promising young man, regarding such young men as the real treasures of the country, compared to which all the rest is as nothing, I felt an additional sense of disappointment, very deep indeed, for I had often thought of your son as a youth who would be powerful for good in whatever part of the country he should live."[8] "He and I were old friends," wrote Captain

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[8] Andrew D. White to Mr. and Mrs. Stanford, May 19, 1884.

N. T. Smith, "friends in infancy and childhood; and the hours of companionship we have passed together, boy and man, developed a confidence and love which will ever be dear to the cherished memories of my heart. He was fast growing into the ideal of what a man should be, and to my love for the boy was added my admiration of the coming man."[4]

> Writing to Mrs. Stanford years later (February 13, 1903), ex-President White said: "I have just returned from a week at Nice, and while there I went to the Hotel des Anglais, entered the dining room, and quietly brought back the scene when I first made your acquaintance and that of your beautiful and noble son. I marked the very spot at the table where I saw him and talked with him as he sat with an American flag before him. I thought much upon the interview and upon your history since that time. You and Governor Stanford have erected to him the noblest monument ever dedicated by parents to a child; in my opinion the most beautiful and the most far-reaching in good."

In May 1883 the Stanfords left New York on their second voyage to Europe. This trip was taken on the advice of their physician, both Mr. and Mrs. Stanford being far from well. Two months were spent in London, where Mrs. Stanford was seriously ill. Paris was headquarters for the next three months, with excursions to other parts of France and into Germany. All of these journeys and places were of the keenest interest to young Leland. In Paris he plunged into archaeological studies, came in contact with many artists and collectors, and added largely to his own museum treasures. In November more extensive journeys were begun which took them, by slow stages, through France into Italy, to Genoa, Venice, Vienna (where Christmas was spent), down the Danube, and then to Constantinople and Athens, reaching the latter place about the middle of January; and so through Brindisi to Naples, and thence to Rome. In Athens the boy was slightly indisposed, in Naples more so, and by the time Rome was reached his condition had become somewhat alarming. After a very short stay in Rome they pushed on to Florence, where the trouble was diagnosed as a mild attack of typhoid fever, the germs of which were supposed to have been acquired at Constantinople.

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[4] N. T. Smith to Mr. and Mrs. Stanford, October 26, 1884. Captain Smith was Mr. Stanford's first partner in the mining days (at Cold Springs), later Treasurer of the Southern Pacific Company, and a close friend of the family.

Writing from Florence on February 25, 1884, Mrs. Stanford said: "We came here from Rome with our darling boy quite ill. He had complained while we were at Athens, and again at Naples he was sick enough to be in bed for a few days. We hastened from this unhealthy city to Rome. He appeared for a few days better, but I doubted the propriety of staying in this city and persuaded Mr. Stanford to allow me to come on here—and had I delayed coming one day he could not have been moved. As it was we had to bring him in a saloon car with a bed in it. A physician met me at the Hotel and took charge of him immediately, and after two days pronounced the illness a mild case of typhoid fever. We have been here five days and Leland is really at the highest point. The doctor thinks he will be confined for four weeks, even under the most favorable circumstances."

The disease took its usual course, and at the end of three weeks the crisis seemed to have passed and Mr. Stanford received the congratulations of the physician on the favorable outcome. But the very next day there was a sharp relapse, and in spite of all that medical skill could do death came on the following morning, March 13, 1884, a few weeks before Leland's sixteenth birthday.

In the agonizing grief which overwhelmed the parents their thoughts turned for relief to some form of memorial through which the wealth and devotion to have been lavished upon their son might be dedicated to the service of humanity. In a dream, or vision, at the end of the long weary night on which the boy passed away, Mr. Stanford seemed to feel his presence beside him and to hear him say, "Father, do not say that you have nothing to live for . . . . Live for humanity."

This is the version given by "Gath" (George Alfred Townsend) in the *Cincinnati Inquirer* of October 21, 1887, following an interview with Mr. Stanford at Menlo Park; and again, by Lavinia Hart, in the *New York World* of November 9, 1899, reporting a conversation with Mrs. Stanford. "Gath" repeated the incident at various times, varying the phraseology somewhat—particularly in the *New York World* of February 1, 1891, and in the New York *Commercial Advertiser* of June 27, 1893. In the latter version, six years after the interview, "Gath" recalls sitting with the Stanfords on their porch before and after dinner: ". . . . I turned to [Mrs. Stanford] in the Governor's presence and asked her if she had been entirely favorable to her husband giving away such a great portion of his estate to a college. She answered, 'I not only have had no opposition to Gov. Stanford's endowment, but I have been all along encouraging him to carry out his views. Before he had resolved to found this college, I was afraid that Gov. Stanford would lose his mind or his life, so much was he afflicted by the death of our son. I wish,' she added, 'that Gov. Stanford would tell you how this idea of the college came to him.'

"The large, heavy leonine man hesitated at this suggestion, but he finally told an interesting story to the effect that when his son died in a foreign land . . . . he was almost worn out with nursing the boy, and having seen his dear mold lose the light of life and pass into the hands of the undertakers, who stretched it out in the next chamber, he fell upon a sofa or lounge or something and passed into a state of exhaustion. During this mingled lethargy and apathy he dreamed that he said, or he said, as he shifted his position with a groan, 'I have now nothing to live for.' In his sleep, or dream, or whatever it was, he thought he heard the voice of his son at the folding door from the room where he lay dead. It seemed very natural for him to hear the son say, 'Papa, do not say that. You have a great deal to live for. Live for humanity.'

"Mrs. Stanford then remarked that the Governor had told her of this vision or visit, and she said that from the time he roused up he seemed to be a different being. The image and admonition of his son set his mind to work to comprehend what he could do for those whom his son had petitioned for. In the course of time the idea of a popular university shaped itself in his mind."

The Rev. F. Ward Denys has another version, in which the boy is quoted as saying, "Father, I want you to build a university for the benefit of poor young men, so that they can have the same advantages the rich have." This version has other embellishments. Mr. Denys was at the time Chaplain of the American Church in Florence and was, he relates, called to the Hotel de la Paix, where the Stanfords were staying, on the morning of the boy's death. The interview with him is reported in the *Baltimore American*, March 3, 1905. The incident is also repeated in a letter to Mrs. Barrett Learned, in 1921.

In his very first meeting with Dr. Jordan, Mr. Stanford told of waking from the troubled sleep into which he had fallen, on the morning of his son's death, with these words on his lips, "The children of California shall be my children." This simpler version was repeated on other occasions.

Dr. Jordan was struck by Mr. Stanford's use of this expression, and a few weeks later (April 11, 1891) wrote as follows: "I heard you use [the following] sentence, and it occurs to me, if it should meet your pleasure and that of Mrs. Stanford, that it would make a good motto for the California University: 'The Children of California shall be our children.'" The incident is given in Dr. Jordan's Commencement Address in 1901.

On the back of the printed leaflet containing the remarks of the Rev. Horatio Stebbins at the funeral of Mr. Stanford, June 24, 1893, the following quotation, presumably from some letter or statement of Mr. Stanford, is given: "The children of California shall be our children. It is our hope to found a university where all may have a chance to secure an education such as we intended our son to have."

In the Grant of Endowment establishing the Leland Stanford Junior University, made public November 14, 1885, it is stated that "the idea of establishing an institution of this kind for the benefit of mankind came directly and largely from our son and only child, Leland." To what extent, if any, this carries back to the experience in Florence cannot be determined. The idea of devoting some portion of his wealth to public use had been in the mind of Mr. Stanford before the death of his son, and an educational foundation must have been one of the projects thought of. In 1882 he had been appointed a Regent of the University of California, and his connection with the Board, brief as it was, must have given particular direction to an interest in educational matters he had felt all his life.

This was an interim appointment needing confirmation by the succeeding legislature. The new legislature (as well as the new Governor) proved to be Democratic, and to avoid embarrassing the party, which evidently wanted a partisan appointment, Mr. Stanford had his name withdrawn. Meantime he had sat once, perhaps twice, in Board meetings. The incident is given in detail in G. T. Clark's *Leland Stanford*, p. 397.

Senator Vest quotes Mr. Stanford as saying that he had hesitated long between devoting his fortune to a vast hospital or to a university.[5] This may have referred to, or included, a time prior to the son's death. For after that event the decision in favor of some form of educational foundation was speedily reached, though the scope of the foundation was at first but vaguely conceived.[6]

On the way back to America a short stay was made in Paris, where the casket containing the remains of the deceased son was placed in the mortuary chapel of the American Church in the Rue de Berri. The pastor of the church, the Rev. Augustus F. Beard, reports Mr. Stanford as saying: "I was thinking, since I could do no more for my boy, I might do something for other people's boys in Leland's name. I was thinking I might start a school or institution for civil and mechanical engineers on my grounds in Palo Alto. What would you think of that?" "That is fine," Mr. Beard responded, "but could you not enlarge upon that and make it broadly an educational institution of larger scope, with applied science as an annex or department, giving a larger fitness for life and for the work?" "Do you know any such institution?" "I replied that I did, and said, 'For example, there is Cornell University. You must know Andrew D. White. He is an educator such as you should see and confer with, and Cornell is the type of an institution you would wish to visit. Be sure and see President White and Cornell when you return.' "[7]

The Stanfords returned to America in May but were detained in the East, on railroad business, until November. Meanwhile visits were made to various educational institutions, including Cornell, Yale, Harvard, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and perhaps others.

Entries in President White's diaries (unpublished) are interesting in connection particularly with Mr. Stanford's visit to Cornell:

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[5] *Senate Memorial Addresses upon the Life and Character of Leland Stanford*, Washington, D.C., 1893.

[6] In 1899 Mrs. Stanford is quoted as saying: "The first thought of the University came to us in March, 1884, the month our dear boy left us."—Interview in the *New York Sun*, February 12, 1899.

[7] Letter from Augustus F. Beard to R. L. Wilbur, December 31, 1928. Here condensed, but printed in full in G. T. Clark's *Leland Stanford*, p. 385.

> Thursday, June 26, 1884 [Mr. White was then in New Haven attending the Yale Commencement]: "Engaged to lunch and dine with Gov. Stanford at Prof. Marsh's."
>
> Friday, July 4, 1884: "Gov. Stanford and wife arrived in evening [at Ithaca]. He is a very strong man, terribly cut down by death of his 16 year son. So is his wife. They only wish now to devote his colossal fortune to some memorial of the youth."
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> Saturday, July 5, 1884: "All day about the University with Gov. Stanford. In evening party of professors, and Corson read to us. Later unfolded to Gov. S. my plan of Fellowships, which seemed to interest him."
>
> Sunday, July 6, 1884: "In morning the Stanfords took cars for Cazenovia. She could not stay longer away from her son's coffin."
>
> Monday, July 7, 1884: "In morning early at draft of Deed of Gift for Gov. Stanford. Also letters to him and others." [This refers to President White's scheme of endowing fellowships in a number of the leading universities throughout the country, which he had suggested to Mr. Stanford as perhaps preferable to the establishment of a new university in California.]

An account of the Stanfords' visit to Harvard that same summer is given in a letter from President Eliot to Dr. Jordan, dated June 26, 1919. The letter reads as follows:

"The interview that I had with Mr. and Mrs. Stanford occurred before they had apparently made up their minds as to the nature of the monument to their son. They discussed with me several projects. One was a university to be placed at Palo Alto as near as possible to a tree under which their son had once eaten luncheon. Another was a large institution to be situated at San Francisco and to combine a museum with a large hall in which free public lectures in considerable variety should be given. The third was a technical school which should cover civil, mechanical, and mining engineering, at a place where water power was obtainable. They asked which of these projects seemed to me the most desirable as a monument. I answered, a university. Mrs. Stanford then asked how much a university would cost them in addition to land and buildings. It was then that I replied that a free university, that is, a university which should make no charge for tuition, ought not to be attempted with an endowment smaller than five million dollars. A silence followed, and Mrs. Stanford looked grave; but after an appreciable interval Mr. Stanford said with a smile, 'Well, Jane, we could manage that, couldn't we?' And Mrs. Stanford nodded. There followed some discussion as to the cost of the other two projects they had in mind, during which I expressed the opinion that the university would prove to be the most expensive of the three to maintain properly. One impression left on my mind at the time was that Mr. Stanford really had two objects in view. He wanted to build a monument to his dead boy; but he also wanted to do something which would interest his wife for the rest of her life and give her solid satisfaction. The latter motive seemed to me the strongest in him. I thought too that she had done much more thinking on the subject than he had. Altogether it was for me a very interesting interview. I never had a subsequent conversation with either of them; but some correspondence passed between Mrs. Stanford and me, chiefly, I think, about the selection of the first Board of Trustees."

In these visits to educational institutions Mr. Stanford was genuinely seeking enlightenment and guidance as to what was desirable and practicable for him to undertake. The main outline of what he wished to do was probably more definitely fixed in his own mind, and more certainly held, than his modest demeanor, as he went from institution to institution, was likely to indicate. From the outset, and always, he thought of education in its practical aspect. As an executive and employer of labor he had seen too many university graduates who could find no satisfactory work to do because they had not been trained for a particular task. "I am founding this university," he said at a later time, "in the hope and belief that boys and girls can be educated into men and women prepared and willing to grapple successfully with the practicalities of life, and thus prove a blessing to themselves and to the world."[8] Also: "If

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[8] *San Francisco Call*, April 16, 1887.

I thought that the university at Palo Alto was going to be only like the others in our country, I should think I had made a mistake to establish a new one, and that I had better have given the money to some of the existing institutions."[9]

Mr. Stanford was a keen observer, quick to appreciate the solid values of the institutions he visited. Not only were his own ideas clarified, but his conception of what was included in the term "practical education" was greatly enlarged. If at first he seemed to emphasize a training that would hardly go beyond that of the trade school, his thought and purpose broadened until they came to embrace the whole educational process from kindergarten to the highest range of investigation and research.

From this time on, the public was kept informed of Mr. Stanford's plans through official documents and statements occasionally issued and by reports and interviews furnished by the press. These latter represented more or less offhand statements, not always accurately reported at that, but, on the whole, giving a fairly trustworthy account of the progressive development of Mr. Stanford's ideas and purposes. Even before the return to America the Paris correspondent of the *Philadelphia Telegraph* had written (April 1884): "I hear that Governor Stanford has announced his intention of erecting a noble monument to his son in the shape of a college for young men, to be endowed by him and established in California." The *Spirit of the Times*, in its issue of May 17, 1884, had learned that "Governor Stanford has determined to erect a magnificent college building in this State for the education of the sons of workingmen. The edifice is to be in memory of his dead boy." Frank Pixley, editor of the *Argonaut* and an old friend of Mr. Stanford, was in the East during the summer. A summary of his talks with Mr. Stanford, printed in the *Argonaut* of June 21, 1884, gave the first definite and connected account of the plan as it then lay in Mr. Stanford's mind. The *Argonaut* said:

"Governor Stanford has plans for the establishment of a school for boys and girls at Menlo, where practical education will be afforded in order to fit pupils for the scramble for life. It will be a practical education rather than one upon the higher plane of learning. The plan is not yet matured, but it is sufficiently developed for Governor Stanford to speek freely of it as an important life work to which he shall devote much of his time and fortune. Using his own expression, he desires to administer upon his own estate during his own lifetime, for the public good. This school will educate boys and girls in such practical industries as will enable them to go out into the world equipped for useful labor, with such knowledge as will be of service to them in the battle for bread."

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[9] Interview in *New York Evangelist*, February 19, 1891.

The *Alta California* for January 21, 1885, found Mr. Stanford reticent concerning his plans, presumably because of the senatorial contest then pending, but learned from "a reliable source"[10] that "in its equipment this university will compare favorably with the best at present existing in the world. It is not intended to rank with State institutions of that class, but to be far reaching in its influences and to attract to its halls students from all portions of the Union. Colleges for young men and young women will also be founded . . . . as tributaries to the university; and high schools for girls and boys . . . . , as tributaries to the colleges. All of these institutions will be located at Palo Alto. . . . . The carrying out of these plans will require the expenditure of an enormous amount of money, and it is said that arrangements have already been made, or are nearly complete, for placing the necessary sum in the hands of the trustees." *Alta California* also learned that in fulfilling the wishes of his son Mr. Stanford would build and equip a public museum in San Francisco and, in addition, an institution similar in almost every respect to the Cooper Institute of New York, devoted to the advancement of science and art, with evening courses for mechanics and youths in the application of science to the business of life, a school of design, a polytechnic school, galleries of art, collections of models of inventions, etc.

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[10] Presumably Creed Haymond, who from this time on furnished the press with much of the information printed about the proposed university.

In an interview in the *San Francisco Examiner*, April 28, 1887, Mr. Stanford is quoted as saying: "The university will have the usual departments of the ordinary seminaries of learning. I may mention as a sort of specialty, an agricultural department, in which I have great hopes. There are seven thousand acres at Palo Alto, and therefore there is an ample field for experimental agricultural work . . . . There will not be a museum of fine arts attached directly to the university. Mrs. Stanford and myself have determined to locate this in San Francisco. We are especially in need of art culture and a love for the beautiful in nature and in life. Now we are a material race, prizing what we own; only prizing it because we own it. We should be able to enjoy our beautiful scenery and our public buildings when we shall have them worthy of admiration, just as much as if it were all our property."

Somewhat later Mr. Stanford was quoted (newspaper and date not identified) as follows: "I design that the amplest provision shall be made for all the branches of what is known as a liberal education, and every facility given for the prosecution of all professional studies. But the astronomer can't explore the heavens without bread and butter, and it is my hope that the university may afford to both sexes an opportunity for technical education which will enable every student to earn a living and something more than a living. The machine shops are to be used as educators, not as money-makers. Every useful art is to be taught: the arts of making shoes and clothes, of printing, carving, telegraphy, stenography, no less but rather more than the arts of music and painting and sculpture, for which every advantage that money can buy will be given. It is our intention to provide primarily for the masses. The rich can take care of themselves, but will always be welcome here . . . . The institution is to be an example of economy, but not of stinginess or meanness, and will put the highest education within the reach of all."

Again he said (Paris correspondent of *New York World*, October 15, 1892): "I have been impressed with the fact that of all the young men who come to me with letters of introduction from friends in the East, the most helpless class are college young men. They come from those I would like to oblige. They are generally prepossessing in appearance and of good stock, but when they seek employment, and I ask them what they can do, all they can say is 'anything.' They have no definite technical knowledge of anything. They have no specific aim, no definite purpose. It is to overcome that condition, to give an education which shall not have that result, which I hope will be the aim of this University. Its equipment and faculty I desire shall be second to none in the world. Its capacity to give a practical not a theoretical education ought to be accordingly foremost."

The Rev. J. C. Holbrook, of Stockton, interviewing Mr. Stanford, quoted him as saying: "I want, as far as possible, to have every useful calling taught and as near practical as may be, and I want particularly that females shall have equal advantages with males, and to have open to them every employment suitable to their sex. The University will be open to the poor as well as the rich, and I hope to bring the cost of living, with an abundance of good wholesome food, and a variety, so low that people of very moderate means can there obtain an education. There will be all grades of instruction, and I hope to have the instruction on such a scale that not only will we have here post-graduates of other colleges, but men of science and men prosecuting original investigations from all over the world. . . . . I desire that the students shall be made to appreciate the evils of intemperance and its economic consequences, and I want the instruction to deal particularly with the welfare of the masses."

Mr. Stanford's desire to found a university that was different from others and that emphasized the practical in education, was very genuine, but not unique. Ezra Cornell's idea, for example, in founding Cornell University, had been expressed in almost identical terms.

"In the summer of 1863 [Mr. Cornell] was seriously ill for several months. As he recovered he said to his physician, 'When I am able to go out, I want you to bring your carriage and take me upon the hill . . . . I have accumulated money, and I am going to spend it while I live.' . . . . He spoke with the greatest enthusiasm of his determination to build an institution for poor young men; he wished an institution different from the ordinary college, where poor boys could acquire an education. He did not desire an entrance examination, but that they should study whatever they were inclined to." (Hewitt's *History of Cornell*, Vol. I, pp. 74–75.)

To an inquiry from a *Bulletin* reporter, Mr. Stanford said (*San Francisco Bulletin*, July 22, 1889): "Certainly there will be a charge for tuition. I do not believe that any one should have something for nothing. It is one of the first objects of the school to teach that labor is respectable and honorable, and that idleness is not."

Returning to California in November 1884 Mr. Stanford promptly took steps to get his plan under way. The first necessity, in view of the uncertainties of the common law regarding trust foundations, seemed to be an enactment by the legislature specially authorizing the founding of institutions under the conditions and for the purposes Mr. Stanford had in mind. This statute, known as the Endowment Act, was drawn by Mr. Stanford and his confidential attorney, Creed Haymond. It passed unanimously in the Senate and with only four opposing votes in the Assembly, and was signed by the Governor on Mr. Stanford's sixty-first birthday, March 9, 1885. Although general in form, the act had been framed solely with Mr. Stanford's plan in view. It now remained to work out the details, and to this task Mr. Stanford gave immediate attention.

In his visits to Eastern institutions Mr. Stanford had been particularly impressed by the work being done at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and by the qualities and personality of its distinguished president, General Francis A. Walker. Very quickly Mr. Stanford came to the conclusion that here was the man to preside over the new institution, and he made every effort to induce General Walker to give favorable consideration to this proposal. For various reasons General Walker was unable to entertain the offer, but he did enter heartily and sympathetically into Mr. Stanford's plans. Possibly his advice and assistance were sought in the initial steps outlining the scope of the proposed university. At any rate he was able to render some direct service to Mr. Stanford at this time and was given an urgent invitation to visit California during the summer for a more extended conference.[11]

Alta California, August 30, 1885, noted the arrival of General Walker in California, and added: "It is reported that the object of his visit is to consult with Senator Stanford concerning the important educational enterprise with which the latter is to connect his name as founder. If this is really the occasion of General Walker's visit, Senator Stanford should be congratulated upon the choice of so able an adviser; and if he could induce General Walker permanently to connect himself with the proposed college it would be a cause for further congratulation."[12] In a letter to Mrs. Alfred Marshall, dated October 3, 1885, General Walker wrote: "An old engagement carried me off on the 20th of August to California. We [F. A. W. and Mrs. W.] were the guests of Governor Stanford, who has it in view to found a new university on that Coast, and wished to confer with me about it. The Stanfords are immensely wealthy, and having lost their only child, have turned their thoughts to applying what would have been *his* fortune to educational uses." General Walker's biographer added: "On the visit to California, referred to in the letter of Mrs. Marshall, Senator Stanford was most solicitous that General Walker should accept, at a salary several times what he was receiving at Boston, the presidency of the projected university. Although the Californian urged

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[11] On April 25, 1885, General Walker wrote to Mr. Stanford (then in New York): "Accept my thanks for your letter of yesterday with the very handsome check which your liberality prompted you to enclose. I had the pleasure of telegraphing you yesterday that I should be back in the United States and ready to start for California August 20th."

[12] *Alta California* assumes that the site of the proposed college has not been definitely fixed, and cogitates upon various rumors which are afloat. Mr. Stanford had been buying land near Calistoga, which leads to the supposition that this location is being seriously considered. The editor thinks this would be an unwise choice and feels that the logical place is San Francisco. In the *Stanford Illustrated Review* for February 1927, Archie Rice, '95, has conjured up other mythical might-have-beens, one near Martinez, the other along Deer Creek on the Vina Estate in Tehama County. In a letter to the editor of the *Albany Journal*, dated August 15, 1891, Mr. Stanford wrote: "I do not remember ever to have had under consideration any other place but Palo Alto for the location of the University."

'seven excellent reasons,' meaning the seven Walker children, for his coming to Palo Alto, Walker not only realized that neither he nor his could be happy in an environment so different, but felt the necessity of carrying his work at the Institute much further forward. He therefore promptly declined Senator Stanford's generous offer."[13]

Of the other matters under discussion at this time there is no record. But by November 1885 Mr. Stanford was ready to act. The Grant of Endowment establishing the University, providing its endowment, defining its scope and organization, naming the trustees, and formulating their powers and duties, was duly executed on the eleventh of the month. Three days later, November 14, 1885, the Trustees named in the Grant were called together to receive the deed of trust and to perfect the formal organization of the Board. Horace Davis, one of the original trustees, has described the occasion in the following words: "We had been invited to meet the Governor and Mrs. Stanford at their home in San Francisco. They received us in the library without pomp or parade. The Trustees were all present except Judge Field and Judge Deady, who were detained by official duties. There were present also a few of the Governor's official household. The Grant of Endowment was read. Governor Stanford followed its reading with a brief address explaining their purposes in the Grant. Mrs. Stanford expressed her cordial sympathy with the plan. The deed was formally delivered to the trustees, who subscribed to their acceptance of the solemn duty—and the University was founded! I have witnessed many ceremonies and pageants in my life, but no event is more deeply engraven on my memory than this simple transfer."[14] The formal organization of the Board of Trustees was completed by the election of Judge Sawyer as President and Herbert C. Nash as Secretary.

The Grant of Endowment—the charter of the University—

[13] J. P. Munroe's *Life of Francis Amasa Walker*, pp. 307, 309.

[14] "The Meaning of the University," Founders' Day Address, 1894. According to the official minutes two other trustees, John F. Miller and James McM. Shafter, were also absent from this first meeting.

was drawn with breadth and liberality. It emphasized the practical nature of the educational system which the Trustees were enjoined to set up. Lowell had once defined a university as "a place where nothing that is useful is taught." Mr. Stanford's idea might rather be stated as of "a place where nothing that is *not* useful is taught." Its object was "to qualify students for personal success and direct usefulness in life," its purposes were "to promote the public welfare by exercising an influence in behalf of humanity and civilization, teaching the blessings of liberty regulated by law, and inculcating love and reverence for the great principles of government as derived from the inalienable rights of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In pursuance of this object and these purposes the Trustees were directed "to establish and maintain . . . . an educational system which will, if followed, fit the graduate for some useful pursuit," and, while prohibiting sectarian instruction, "to have taught in the university the immortality of the soul, the existence of an all-wise and benevolent Creator, and that obedience to His laws is the highest duty of man." Furthermore, the Trustees shall "have taught in the university the right and advantages of association and co-operation."

If so much emphasis upon the practical nature of the education prescribed seems unduly restrictive, correction is found in the boldness and sweep with which the scope of the university as a whole is set forth: "We, Leland Stanford and Jane Lathrop Stanford, husband and wife, grantors, desiring to promote the public welfare by founding, endowing, and having maintained . . . . a university for both sexes, with the colleges, schools, seminaries of learning, mechanical institutes, museums, galleries of art, and all other things necessary and appropriate to a university of high degree, do hereby grant," etc. "Its nature, that of a university, with such seminaries of learning as shall make it of the highest grade, including mechanical institutes, museums, galleries of art, laboratories and conservatories, together with all things necessary for the study of agriculture in all its branches, and for mechanical training, and the studies and exercises directed to the cultivation and enlargement of the mind."

To insure the solid character of the work to be undertaken it shall be the duty of the Trustees "to fix the salaries of the president, professors, and teachers . . . . at such rates as will secure to the University the services of men of the very highest attainments."

To provide against a too narrow interpretation of the particular provisions of the Founding Grant, the following disclaimer was added: "This grant, and all grants and devises hereafter made by the grantors, or either of them, for endowing and maintaining the institution hereby founded, shall be liberally construed, and always with a view to effect the objects and promote the purposes of the grantors as herein expressed." And in his address to the Trustees immediately following the reading of the Grant of Endowment Mr. Stanford further stated: "The articles of endowment are intended to be in the nature of a constitution for the government and guidance of the Board of Trustees, in a general manner, not in detail."

Two unique and exceptional provisions of the charter were: (1) the reservation to the grantors during their lives, or the life of either of them, of the right to alter, amend, or modify the terms and conditions of the grant in respect to the nature, object, and purposes of the institution and the powers and duties of the Trustees; and, (2) the reservation to the grantors, during their lives, of the right to exercise all the functions, powers, and duties of the Trustees.

Soon after the Grant of Endowment had been made public Mr. Stanford left for Washington to attend the first regular session of Congress following his election to the Senate. He was reported as saying that he "intended to devote his leisure time in Washington to exploring the college field for teachers and architects."[16] No record remains of Mr. Stanford's activities at this time. One tangible result was the definite selection, on General Walker's recommendation, of Frederick Law Olmsted as landscape architect, and an engagement with both General Walker and Mr. Olmsted for an extended conference at Palo

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[16] *San Francisco Call*, November 15, 1885.

Alto after the former's return from Europe in the summer of 1886.

The Stanfords returned to California on the 15th of August, 1886,[16] and General Walker and Mr. Olmsted arrived shortly afterward. General Walker remained until the 17th of September, Mr. Olmsted until October. During this time, the general plan of university buildings, their location, the layout of the grounds, the beginning of actual construction, and the progressive development of the educational scheme, were considered at length.[17] When General Walker left California it was with the understanding that his detailed suggestions and recommendations would be presented in written form upon Mr. Stanford's return to Washington in December. Similarly Mr. Olmsted was to submit plans for laying out and developing the University grounds. The immediate problem, that of determining the precise location of the buildings, was finally settled before Mr. Olmsted's return to the East. Mr. Olmsted had perceived at once the advantage, from the architect's point of view, of a commanding site on the foothills, and had strongly urged this view upon Mr. Stanford. Several possibilities were pointed out, but particularly the rounded hill to the south on the former Coutts ranch. "This site," writes the *Bulletin* correspondent, "was discussed by the Senator, General Walker, and Mrs. Walker last evening. . . . . No decision has been reached."[18] However, the site favored by Mr. Stanford, and the one finally chosen, was a part of the Palo Alto farm over which the son had roamed on horseback and which was closely associated with his boyish activities. The extra expense involved in the hillsite was also a factor in the decision.[19]

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[16] *San Francisco Argonaut*, August 22, 1886.

[17] The *Bulletin* correspondent understood that General Walker had gone to Europe during the summer, at Mr. Stanford's instance, "to view educational buildings at all the older seats of learning," and that he had inspected "the oldest and most durable buildings in Europe."—*San Francisco Bulletin*, Oct. 4, 1886.

[18] *San Francisco Bulletin*, September 18, 1886.

[19] In the *Life and Works of F. L. Olmsted*, Vol. I, under "Chronological and Biographical Notes, September 29, 1886," is this entry: "Site settled at last for the new university at Palo Alto."

The report which General Walker had undertaken to prepare was made in the form of a letter to Mr. Stanford, dated November 30, 1886.[20] It was a document of great importance in shaping the final plans for the University. It crystallized the ideas and schemes that had been talked over at Palo Alto, presenting them with General Walker's cogent reasons for particular features which may have been left undetermined in their conferences. It dealt with the type of buildings most desirable, their arrangement in quadrangle form (apparently Mr. Olmsted's proposal), the number needed to accommodate the first six hundred students, and the order in which they should be erected. It recommended one-story buildings, in three standard sizes, and definitely indicated the uses to which the first thirteen buildings should be put. As not all of these were likely to be needed at once, six were proposed for immediate construction. "For every purpose of a school building," General Walker wrote, "one-story buildings are to be preferred. Mr. Olmsted and myself are fully agreed that with proper architectural treatment buildings of this character, made of massive rough stone, connected by an arcade, may be made singularly effective and picturesque upon the plain of Menlo."

The quadrangle arrangement with the connecting arcade, seems to have been the suggestion of Mr. Olmsted. General Walker says: "Assuming . . . . that the six buildings . . . . are to be erected in the first instance, it may be supposed that they will all be placed on one of the long sides of the quadrangle proposed to be laid out by Mr. Olmsted . . . . I understand that Mr. Olmsted's plan provided for a second quadrangle, around which could be built up a second system of buildings, should the growth of the university be such as to demand it."

The special commendation of one-story buildings, quoted in the text, was probably inserted at the suggestion of Mr. Olmsted, who had written to General Walker under date of November 7, 1886: "I return your draught . . . . I think also, as I suggested yesterday, as this document may be read by the Trustees or others who did not have your argument for one-story buildings, and the proposition is so bold a departure from custom and ruling tastes, that a few lines to sustain would add to its value."

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[20] See Appendix 3, p. 587, below.

"As regards the housing of the students of the University," General Walker continued, "I would most earnestly and emphatically recommend the introduction of the cottage system for all the girls and young women who have to find their homes outside of families. Even for the young men, I believe the same system will be found the most advantageous. Should the increased expense of board in cottages containing from fifteen to twenty-five students be regarded as an important objection to this system, I would still suggest the erection of cottages, for dormitory purposes, around small parks, with a common kitchen and dining room."

General Walker recapitulated, in very clear form, Mr. Stanford's educational ideas and plans as they had been given expression in the very intimate conferences at Palo Alto. "I understand it to be your purpose," he said in this letter, "to create a college, both of the useful and of the liberal arts, to be open alike to young men and to young women. I use the word 'college' in the ordinary American sense. Above this, I understand that you desire to erect an institution which shall give thorough instruction and ample opportunities for research and investigation to advanced students, graduates of the Menlo Park college, or otherwise. Below the college, again, I understand it to be your purpose to create a preparatory school, which shall cover the ground usually occupied by the so-called Academy or Seminary of the Eastern States, which shall take students from the grammar schools, on the one hand, and deliver them to the college, on the other hand, properly fitted for its work. To this preparatory school, as to the college and to the higher parts of the university, it is, as I understand it, your expectation that students will come from a distance, attracted by the facilities for education here offered. Below the preparatory school, again, I understand that it is your purpose to build up, in time, a series of primary and grammar schools which shall be adequate to the educational needs of the population which may gather about the university. It is to be presumed that to these last indicated schools pupils will not come from a distance, except only in case of children in families removing to Menlo Park for the advantages to be derived from the higher schools."

With this outline in mind General Walker proceeded to advise as to the order in which the various parts should be taken up and their relative importance in the general scheme: "Respecting the time of the establishment of the several parts of the university thus indicated, I would recommend that only the college, so-called, be now undertaken; and that this be only open, in the first-instance, to young men. This will offer a comparatively simple problem which can be dealt with to the highest advantage by yourself and the trustees of the university, and by whomever may be selected as its president. The experience gained during the first two or three years in the college for young men, will be of sufficient value to the women's side of the college, ... to more than compensate for the slight delay thus occasioned.

"Starting thus, with the college for young men, I would recommend that there be no formal inauguration of proper university work, as that term is understood at Cambridge, New Haven, and Baltimore; but that the development of such work be left to follow gradually and insensibly from the interest of professors and assistants in the college proper. To this end I would urge that the teaching staff of the college should be constituted on the most liberal scheme, far in excess of the needs of undergraduate instruction. If the chairs of instruction in the college are filled by earnest, ambitious, and progressive young men, who have laboratories and apparatus at their command, and are not weighted down and over-burdened by the necessities of undergraduate teaching, university work will begin of itself spontaneously and indefeasibly."

At almost the same time Mr. Olmsted was writing (November 27, 1886) to Mr. Stanford acknowledging the receipt of the topographic map of the grounds about the proposed university, and discussing various aspects of the problem before him. "This problem, I take to be the devising of a plan that, spreading from a nucleus such as General Walker proposes, shall not only show how additions may from time to time be made to the primary building scheme that he defines, but how several series of buildings may be arranged, the buildings of each series radiating connectedly from the common center of the primary buildings." A very special problem Mr. Olmsted found in the difference of climate between California and the East: Turf would have to be dispensed with, and buildings should therefore be much more compact than in other climates. "If the principal buildings of the university could have been placed near the edge of an elevated table land, commanding a fine characteristic California distance, an advantage might, with proper study, have been gained that would at once be felt to more than compensate for any shortcomings from standards of taste of the sort that I have indicated. Considerations, the wisdom of which I do not question, having determined such a situation to be inexpedient, something is desirable to be devised, appropriate to the circumstances, through which, when the university is born into the world, it may be saved from bearing on its face an expression of hard materialism and 'gradgrind' practicality. This under General Walker's advice cannot come from any stately beauty of the buildings, any picturesqueness in the manner of their disposition, or any gardening or landscape appendages. It must be a matter of Art. It must have scholarly dignity. It must not be ostentatiously costly, and it must be unobtrusively incidental to a means of a manifestly useful purpose."

Mr. Stanford had already approved the general plan of construction outlined by General Walker and Mr. Olmsted, and he now felt ready to begin the actual work of building. Heretofore in the correspondence with General Walker and Mr. Olmsted there has been no mention of an architect. The matter, however, must have been under serious consideration, and a selection could not be longer delayed. After their return to Washington, and presumably during the Christmas holidays, the Stanfords were the guests of General Walker in Boston; and it is probable that at this time, again on General Walker's recommendation, choice was made of the then recently organized Boston firm of Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge.

H. H. Richardson, the most eminent American architect of his time, died in March 1886. A month later three members of his firm, including Richardson's son-in-law (Shepley), organized the new firm of Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge, and succeeded to most of the Richardson business. This close connection with Mr. Richardson no doubt accounts for one of the most persistent myths connected with the architectural construction of the University. Although it was repeatedly pointed out that Mr. Richardson had nothing to do with the Stanford plans, that he had never met Mr. Stanford, and that his death (preceded by a long illness) occurred before the task of selecting an architect had been seriously taken up, the story would not down. Even Mrs. Stanford was confused. Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge, writing to Dr. Jordan, January 13, 1913, said: "We know that Mrs. Stanford during her lifetime sometimes spoke of Mr. Richardson in connection with the designing of the original buildings, but as it pleased her to do so and did not trouble us we never took the pains to correct it. We are sure, however, that Mr. Richardson had no knowledge of the matter whatever."

After the organization of the firm Mr. Coolidge had started on a journey to the West, partly for pleasure, partly to see what business might be secured for the new firm. On this trip Mr. Coolidge interviewed Mr. Stanford in San Francisco and proffered a request that his firm be considered when the time came for choosing an architect. He had no connection with the Walker-Olmsted party, but, as the Stanfords did not return to California until the middle of August, his visit must have preceded the arrival of General Walker and Mr. Olmsted by a very few days only. Mr. Coolidge's mother was a cousin of General Walker, and it is not improbable that he had been informally consulted by both General Walker and Mr. Olmsted before the firm had been selected as architects for the new university. The actual task of drawing up the plans was now entrusted to Charles Allerton Coolidge, the youngest member of the firm, then twenty-eight years of age and just on the threshold of a distinguished career. In working out his plans for Stanford, Mr. Coolidge had before him the general outlines of the Walker-Olmsted scheme—the quadrangle form, with its thirteen one-story buildings surrounding an open court and with connecting arcades, the general arrangement of grounds with its provision for future extensions, the disposition of other buildings, and the general layout. When a few years ago Professor Elmore, then in Boston, said to Mr. Coolidge that he might write something about his work at Stanford, the reply was: "Say it was the work of a young man who put his heart into it and who thought he had an inspiration."

The result was a really great achievement. President White of Cornell, a devoted student of architecture, familiar with universities in America and abroad, pronounced the Stanford buildings the most beautiful college architecture in America. It was the first attempt anywhere to adapt the Mission architecture to educational use. The long, low adobe buildings, with wide colonnades, and the open court, a native outgrowth of the Moorish and Romanesque, were here reproduced on an imposing scale, with added beauty and in harmony with the simplicity and repose of the original conception.

The buildings actually constructed by Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge were those of the Inner Quadrangle (except the Church), Encina Hall, and the three small Engineering buildings with which the University began. But the Outer Quadrangle was Mr. Coolidge's conception, and the plans for it and for the Church were drawn by him and carried out later, with modifications, by other architects.

The preliminary problems having been disposed of, Mr. Stanford was most anxious to see the actual work of construction under way. During the session of Congress he kept in touch with the architects as closely as possible, and immediately after the adjournment of that body, in March 1887, returned to California and waited impatiently for the plans which were expected to arrive from Boston. To a *Call* reporter Mr. Stanford said (April 16, 1887): "My heart and mind are both full of the subject, and I am leaving nothing undone within my power to hasten the erection of the necessary buildings and opening of the University. Since my return I have set a body of men in search of the proper kinds of stone to be used in the foundations and walls of the buildings. The search so far has been confined to the university ranch; and there is good reason to believe that the kinds needed can be found in it. A basaltic rock has already been found which will answer very well for foundations and the side walls, but I want an ornamental stone for the front wall and cornices. A sandstone has been found, were it not that it is too soft. But several places are known within easy distance where such kinds of stone as are needed can be procured. I expect to have seven buildings erected during this year. They will all be Moorish in style. Seven other buildings will be erected hereafter as they are needed. I do not intend to have any unused and empty buildings on the premises . . . . I am exceedingly anxious to have the work progress rapidly and without delay, for I want to see the fruit of my labors while I live."

At the same time Mr. Olmsted was writing (April 17, 1887) from Boston:

"The plans prepared since you were here by Messrs. Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge, in connection with ourselves, were shipped last night, addressed to your care. Mr. Coolidge leaves to-night and will be accompanied from Chicago by Mr. Rutan. Mr. Rutan is the oldest member of the firm and was for many years Mr. Richardson's principal Superintendent of Construction. In our last conversation it appeared not unlikely that, if satisfied with the plans, you would be disposed to enter upon building operations this year. If after such review of what you provisionally approved, as will now be practicable, you should conclude to begin work before next spring, it will, I suppose, be best to set about grading operations before the grounds shall be deeply baked by the summer's heat. We have, therefore, wished to present the plans in such a manner that you and Mrs. Stanford could obtain a more realizing sense of what might be expected in following it out, and have thought it best that you should have the benefit of Mr. Rutan's experience, as well as Mr. Coolidge's, in determining such questions as that of the choice of stone for walls not facing toward the plaza. There are many questions of detail also that should be carefully reviewed under your own scrutiny and with better knowledge of soil and climate than we may possess. It is not unlikely that in view of these some adjustment of details may be desirable, and we have thought it better that any such should be made at once on the ground by Messrs. Rutan and Coolidge. We have been over the plans very carefully with them, and especially upon questions of grade they will be able to present our views and the reasons for them. This is a matter requiring more consideration than you have probably supposed."

Messrs. Rutan and Coolidge arrived in San Francisco on April 26, and immediately went over the plans with Mr. Stanford. How the actual building operations were started is graphically recalled by Mr. Coolidge in a letter dated December 27, 1927: "When I arrived with the preliminary sketches of the layout of the scheme for the buildings, Governor Stanford said, 'Fine; and we will begin the buildings the first of next week.' Knowing Governor Stanford the way I did, I knew it would be useless for me to tell him that I ought to go back East and take six months to a year to prepare the drawings properly. So what I did was to go to San Francisco and order a spade and a brass band immediately, erect the proper paraphernalia for turning the first spadeful of earth. The result was that I had no draughtsman, and I was assigned quarters at Coutts' Ranch where the racing horses were trained, and had a little building where I made the preliminary sketch for the first quadrangle. The only person I had to assist me was the engineer whom the Governor had on his place, and his assistant, who, of course, laid out the lines of the buildings."

Probably, judging from Mr. Olmsted's description, the drawings were not quite as embryonic as in retrospect they seemed to Mr. Coolidge. At any rate Mr. Stanford had his way, and the day chosen for the ceremony of laying the cornerstone was the 14th of May, 1887. To Mr. and Mrs. Stanford this was an event of profound significance. It was the nineteenth anniversary of the birth of the son whose monument they were building. It was the second milestone in the great undertaking, the beginning and seal of the visible university to which their lives and fortune were consecrated. The exercises, simple in character but rich in emotional experience, consisted of a prayer of dedication by one of the Trustees, the Rev. Horatio Stebbins, an address by another of the Trustees, Judge Lorenzo Sawyer, a hymn sung by a chorus from the Menlo Park Presbyterian Church, the reading of the Nineteenth Psalm, and the sealing of the cornerstone by Mr. Stanford. "It is fit," the orator said, "that the corner stone of this edifice should be laid on the anniversary of the birth of him who, while yet a mere youth, first suggested the founding of a university. . . . . The ways of Providence are inscrutable. Under divine guidance, his special mission on earth may have been to wake and set in motion those slumbering sentiments and moral forces which have so grandly responded to the impetus given, by devoting so large a portion of your acquisitions and the remainder of your lives to the realization of the objects thus suggested. If so, his mission has been nobly performed, and it is fit that both his name and the names of those who have executed his behests should be enrolled high upon the scroll of fame, and of the benefactors of the human race."

Following the laying of the cornerstone, building operations were energetically pushed forward. A month later more than a hundred men were at work on the foundations, with many more expected when stonecutters and masons were ready to begin. For the moment Mr. Stanford thought it might be possible to receive students the following spring. This was too optimistic an outlook under the most favorable circumstances. As it turned out, there were many minor problems to be settled, and, as the work proceeded, various changes in details desired by Mr. Stanford caused delays. A letter from Mr. Olmsted dated April 12, 1888, explains the nature of some of these delays:

"Since you first asked our counsel in regard to the general plan of the university premises, your views of what it would be desirable to include in this plan and of the character of the arrangements to be made have in certain particulars been under gradual development. Since you decided against our several suggestions for locating the university on higher ground we have made three plans, with each of which you have for the time being been satisfied. It appeared last fall that since the last was submitted a further development of your views had occurred making another study desirable, and Mr. Coolidge, who was with you on the ground after we were, advised us on his return to the East that you had changed your mind in the interval as to certain points which we had considered settled. Since then we have given much consideration to the question how much the needed revision of the plan could be so managed as to reconcile the original leading ideas of it with your later views. It has been difficult to do this to a degree satisfactory to ourselves, the more so because we could not feel that we fully understood, or were in complete sympathy with, the inclinations of your judgment. Hence, we have been slow in maturing new drawings.

"After making several trial sketches, however, and after numerous conferences with Messrs. Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge, they and we are now engaged upon a series of drawings which it is expected will be complete and ready for submission to you before the end of the month. These will include one showing a considerable variation from the original general plan and an extension of it to include on one side an arboretum and several acres of forest plantations on the foothills, and on the other, an avenue to a proposed railway station."

Further developments and changes are indicated in the memorandum from Mr. Stanford dated December 4, 1888, and in later letters. The memorandum reads:

"It is desired to establish at Palo Alto an Arboretum on a much larger scale than has been contemplated in the plans heretofore proposed, so that what in those plans has been designated 'the university Forest' will be combined with what was designated 'the Arboretum.' In this enlarged Arboretum it is desired that there shall be exhibited to advantage all the trees and woody plants of the world that may be expected to grow to mature natural forms under the climatic and other conditions of the locality. Of those likely to thrive and attain a perfect natural development, as if at home under the local circumstances, and of those likely to be especially valuable to the people of the Pacific Slope, either in the arts or as elements of landscape scenery, there are to be considerable numbers of each kind, and it is desired that these shall be exhibited not only singly and in small clusters but in masses and otherwise as will make them instructive. In the distribution of trees upon the ground, the purpose of making the locality agreeable and interesting as a resort for healthful recreation is also to be had prominently in mind. To this end roads are to be laid out through it from which not only the trees are to be seen to advantage, but by which visitors will be led by convenient roads to eminences from which the best distant views will be commanded and kept open."

Writing to Mr. Stanford March 26, 1889, Mr. Olmsted said: "I do very much hope that you will manage to spend two or three days with Boston as headquarters next week, and that you will not leave before Thursday. It seems to me important that you should see Professor Sargent and the beginning of the Harvard Arboretum . . . . The Arboretum is a big problem and it is very desirable that you understand it and settle upon some general matters of what shall be aimed at. To realize the purpose that you have expressed to me it will be necessary to occupy much more ground than you had in view in our last conversation."

"I was informed by Governor Stanford," wrote Mr. Douglas, June 10, 1889, "that the plans for the arboretum did not suit him, and that he was not going to have the hills covered with trees."

Mr. Stanford's long absences in Washington always meant a slowing down of construction. His business representative in San Francisco was in frequent disagreement with architects and builders, and on numerous occasions operations were quite completely blocked. The opening of the University, tentatively set for May 14, 1889, had again to be postponed. On this date six buildings were already completed, the seventh was well under way, and three hundred workmen were employed. By this time the cottage plan of housing students had been abandoned, and a dormitory for men, to accommodate four hundred students, had been substituted. This dormitory it would take a year to build, and the opening date was now set forward to the autumn of 1890.

"In reply to your various questions," Mr. Stanford's secretary wrote (September 5, 1889), "I beg to state that the Leland Stanford Junior University will be opened for the reception of students in the fall of 1890. The probable expense per month has not been calculated, and will not be until the professors are appointed."

The plan of Encina Hall was suggested to Mr. Stanford by a hotel on Lake Silva Plana, Austria [see Miss Berner's *Mrs. Leland Stanford*, pp. 76–77]. Writing to Mr. Stanford on April 12, 1889, Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge say: "We have sent to Menlo the plans for the excavation of the dormitory in its new site as agreed upon last. This site is in the northwestern end of the second quadrangle" [the location of the present Art Gallery].

In July 1889 the main buildings were reported as ready to be partitioned into classrooms,[21] but it was more than a year and a half before this was done. The *Argonaut* of December 1, 1890, notes that a committee of Berkeley professors had just been counseling with Governor Stanford in reference to the subdivision of the buildings into classrooms, halls, and auditorium. Eventually the resident representative of Messrs. Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge, Mr. Charles D. Austin, made the division, exercising his own judgment but having in mind the general arrangement of rooms in buildings of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Mr. Codman, of the firm of Olmsted Brothers, writes from San Francisco rather pessimistically under date of October 10, 1889: "When I came out here I had hoped to be able to start things along and get everything in such a condition that the place could be opened next fall . . . . Governor Stanford really has nothing in the way of organization started yet and no definite plans as to what he is going to teach! This can't be worked up in a day, and unless he begins pretty soon he can't possibly be ready."

For reasons of health Mr. Stanford spent the summer of 1890 in Europe, and this meant further delays. More important still, neither president nor faculty had yet been chosen. Once more the date of opening was postponed, and was now set for the autumn of 1891.

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[21] *San Francisco Bulletin*, July 22, 1889.

CHOOSING A PRESIDENT

One of the matters which gave Mr. Stanford most concern was the choice of a president for the new university. From their first acquaintance General Walker had seemed to him the ideal man for the position. Mr. Stanford would allow no question of salary to stand in the way of acceptance, and for a time cherished a lingering hope that General Walker might be induced to change his mind. Just before the laying of the cornerstone Mr. Stanford is quoted as saying: "I think I have found the man possessed of learning, experience, and executive ability who can successfully guide and control the educational interests of the University."[1] A little later he is evidently thinking of a substitute choice, and is asking advice: "As for President, I find it one of the most difficult things to secure a man in every way qualified for the position, and who would be willing to accept the situation, as it is one of hard work and grave responsibility. I am now corresponding with General Walker of Boston, who has charge of a school of seven hundred students."[2] A year later: "General Francis A. Walker . . . . would be a capital man for the position; but then he is unwilling to leave his present position while the Institute is in debt." In April 1889 he tells a newspaper reporter: "I have been looking around for a man for the presidency. The man I want is hard to find. I want a man of good business and executive ability as well as a scholar. The scholars are plentiful enough, but the executive ability is scarce. I have not settled on anybody yet, and I don't know whom I shall get; but if I cannot combine these two qualifications I will get a business man, or I will take the presidency myself until I can get a suitable man."[3] Almost two years later, it is still not possible to report much progress: "I have less confidence about getting the right man now than I had when I first started out. I then thought a larger salary than is usually paid would bring the man, but I find that congenial surroundings are of more consequence to these men than salary. A literary man finds his greatest comfort in his library and social surroundings, and is happy in them."[4]

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[1] *San Francisco Call*, April 16, 1887.

[2] Interview at San Fernando, newspaper unidentified, June 1, 1887.

[3] *San Francisco Examiner*, April 17, 1889.

By March 1891 the fifteen buildings completed, or under construction, were so nearly ready for use that no doubt remained as to the feasibility of opening the University in the autumn. But the selection of a president and faculty, with the necessary preliminary organization, must precede that event. Accordingly, as soon as Congress adjourned in March, Mr. Stanford set out determined to make this quest his immediate concern and not to rest until it had been brought to a successful conclusion. An appointment was arranged with President Gilman of Johns Hopkins, and as his guests the Stanfords spent a day in Baltimore, meeting there a number of the leading men of the University. There is no record of the possible candidates that were talked over or brought in some way to Mr. Stanford's attention, except that one of the men favorably mentioned by President Gilman was the then President of Indiana University.

From Baltimore Mr. Stanford proceeded to New York, where he had an important business engagement; and from New York to Ithaca, reaching the latter place on the evening of March 18. The following day was spent, under the guidance of ex-President White, in viewing the departments, equipment, and workings of Cornell University. The problem of securing a head for the new university was of course uppermost in Mr. Stanford's mind, and President White, in whom Mr. Stanford had great confidence, was pressed to take the position. This proposal Mr. White could not entertain. Asked if he knew of any suitable person, he answered: "Go to the University of Indiana; there you will find the president, an old student of mine, David Starr Jordan, one of the leading scientific men of the country, possessed of a most charming power of literary expression, with a remarkable ability in organization, and blessed with good sound sense. Call him."[5]

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[4] *New York Evangelist*, February 19, 1891.

[5] Andrew D. White, *Autobiography*, Vol. II, p. 447.

In President White's Diary (unpublished), under date of March 19, 1891, is the following entry: "Gov. and Mrs. Stanford with us thro day. Showed them buildings, etc. Party of professors to lunch with them. They left for Indianapolis in evening. Gov's purposes for his State University very noble. Both he and his wife urged me to take the Presidency of it. I declined and recommended strongly my old student Jordan, Presd't of Indiana State University. Gov. S. is said to intend to give, or to have given, many millions to the University, but he made no exact statement to me regarding endowment."

In this connection, Professor George L. Burr, of Cornell University, writes, under date of January 26, 1933: "I well remember that day of the Stanfords' visit. For some reason I was that morning at President White's. I went up, I think, at ten, directly after my class, and found the Stanfords there. I must have been busy at something for Mr. White, for I was still there when he came in from showing them about the grounds, and taking me aside told me 'They want me for president of their university, and tell me, if I cannot accept, I must name them for the place some Cornell man: who is there to name?' Of course I thought of Jordan first of all, as doubtless Mr. White had already done; but I remember that I named two others, one of them already in a presidency as was Jordan . . . . I was not of the lunch party, but Mr. White arranged to see me again, later in the day, to discuss the matter, and I set myself at further inquiry. When I saw him again I doubtless spoke more of Jordan, but I think he would have named Jordan anyhow. He, too, had doubtless consulted others."

Writing to Dr. Jordan, under date of February 28, 1912, concerning a legendary account of this historic occasion which had got into print, President White gives other interesting details: "I am at a loss to know how this legend as to my being willing to take the presidency of Stanford got into being. . . . . Never for a moment did I convey the idea, either to Senator or Mrs. Stanford, that I would under any circumstances whatever accept the presidency of Stanford University. On the contrary my final expression was that 'not for all the wealth of the Pacific Coast would I go through the wear and tear of again seeking to establish another university whether on the Pacific Coast or elsewhere . . . . The simple fact is that immediately after absolutely refusing to take another University presidency, I told Senator Stanford that there was just one man whom I could recommend to him, and advised him to start his private car for the site of the University of Indiana, find you, and not take 'no' for an answer. At this Mrs. Stanford insisted that she must know all about your wife, who she was, and what manner of woman she was. At this I sent for Mrs. Comstock, who came in and said all sorts of the kindest things regarding Mrs.

Jordan, speaking of her in such terms that Mrs. Stanford became as eager to go to the Indiana University as the Governor was. The only reason why I did not myself glorify Mrs. Jordan was that I did not clearly remember her, but I assure you that Mrs. Comstock made up for all my shortcomings in this respect."

So convincing to the Stanfords were the statements and recommendations concerning Dr. Jordan that the Stanford car was headed for Indiana that same evening. Bloomington, the seat of the University, was reached Saturday afternoon, March 21. Dr. Jordan was absent from home taking part in the dedicatory exercises of the new Science Hall at the University of Illinois.[6] Early Sunday morning, he was told that Senator Stanford was at the National Hotel and wished to see him. An interview followed, and the result was an offer by Mr. Stanford and acceptance by Dr. Jordan of the presidency of the Leland Stanford Junior University.[7]

To a reporter, upon his return to California, Mr. Stanford said: "A thing that I feel very well satisfied about is the selection of David Starr Jordan as President of the University. I have been considering the selection [of a president] for a very long time, and I believe I have made no mistake. I consulted with President Andrew D. White of Cornell and with President Gilman of Johns Hopkins, and both of them testified to the ability and excellent qualifications of Professor Jordan. I might have found a more famous educator, but I desired a comparatively young man who would grow up with the University .... My interview with President Jordan was so satisfactory that I at once tendered him the position .... The University will be opened, at least for the freshman class, by October. Of course in time the University will be complete from the kindergarten to the post graduate course, but that can only be after a village has grown up around the University."[8]

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[6] And where, curiously enough, he was declaring that the future was to be with the state universities, and wondering if private munificence had not been a hindrance to the progress of education!

[7] "I never met Senator Stanford until last Sunday, and the proposition involving the presidency of the University was made within ten minutes after I first saw him."—Interview with Dr. Jordan, in the *Indianapolis Journal*, March 29, 1891.

In his autobiography, *The Days of a Man*, Dr. Jordan recalls his own impressions of this first meeting: "My first impressions of Leland Stanford were extremely favorable, for even on slight acquaintance he revealed an unusually attractive personality. His errand he explained directly and clearly. He hoped to develop in California a university of the highest order, a center of invention and research, where students should be trained for 'usefulness in life.' His educational ideas, it appeared, corresponded very closely with my own . . . . After a short consultation with Mrs. Jordan, I decided with some enthusiasm to accept Mr. Stanford's offer, in spite of two apparent risks. As to the first, California was the most individualistic of the States, and still rife with discordant elements. Secondly, the new institution was to be 'personally conducted,' its sole trustee a business man who was, moreover, active in political life. But the possibilities were so challenging to one of my temperament that I could not decline."[9]

David Starr Jordan was at that time just forty years of age, and at the height of his powers. Born on a farm in western New York, of vigorous temperament, alert to all the manifestations of outdoor life, he could have lived in no environment better suited to develop his self-reliance, his independence in action, and his confidence in his own resources and powers. His parents were well-to-do, but with no surplus of worldly goods; and when he came to college age he expected, as a matter of course, to make his own way. Cornell University, then just opening, was offering free scholarships in each Assembly District in the state and at the same time emphasizing the opportunities that would exist at the University in the way of remunerative employment for needy students. These considerations turned young Jordan's thoughts from Yale to Cornell, and he became a member of Cornell's pioneer class. In college he joined a group of impecunious youths who dignified their informal club with the euphonious name of "The Struggle for Existence." Independent, witty, scornful of "society" and of the man with "too good clothes," young Jordan was a leader in his set as well as a student of marked excellence. "There was a strong individuality in him in those days; and looking backward through the deep shadows and strong lights of the lapsed years, the chief element now in the recollection is a sense of exhilaration as when one has walked in the cool air under the morning star."[10] He had learned enough botany before coming to college to qualify, in his sophomore year, as a collector of specimens for the laboratory, and in his junior year as an instructor in the department. Matriculating in the middle of Cornell's first year, he not only made up the work that had been missed, but, counting up his credits at graduation time, persuaded the astonished faculty that he had done the equivalent of an additional year's work and was entitled to the Master's instead of the Bachelor's degree.

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[8] *San Francisco Examiner*, March 29, 1891.

[9] David Starr Jordan, *The Days of a Man*, Vol. I, pp. 354–55.

> "When I entered Cornell as a freshman, a large percentage of the students were working at fifteen cents an hour . . . . I came without much money, and my first experience was that of lathing a house on Lynn Street. Next I dug potatoes back of where President White's house stands, and then husked corn. In the spring of '69 I waited on table at Cascadilla for my board. I detested this work so much that every job since has been relatively pleasant. Then I received the job of sweeping out the Chemistry and Botany building . . . . In my sophomore year I was made assistant in Botany with the duty of selecting plants for the classes, and in my junior year, when the title of 'instructor' was first invented, I was made Instructor in Botany, which I held two years and which enabled me to pay all my college expenses."[11]

Out of college at twenty-one, young Jordan could have retained his instructorship in the University. But the spirit of adventure and the desire to try himself out in a larger field (as well as the lure of a larger salary) led him to accept a "professorship" in a small Illinois college. His "chair" embraced everything that could be counted under the name "science," together with modern languages, a bit of political economy, evidences of Christianity, and anything else that came handy. This was the beginning for him of a number of years of itinerant teaching, at Lombard University, Appleton Institute, Indianapolis High School, and Butler College. The teaching, exhausting enough for the ordinary person, was quite overshadowed by the extent and range of his own individual and special tasks. For during these years, and those following at Indiana University, he accomplished an almost incredible amount of investigation and research. His original bent had been toward botany; but the summer with Agassiz, at Penikese, immediately following the year at Lombard, had turned his attention, quite accidentally, to the study of fishes. It was as an ichthyologist that he made his chief contribution to science, achieving deserved eminence in that field. During these years he worked through many of the rivers of the Middle West and South, and the waters of the Pacific Coast from San Diego to Seattle. He became regularly attached to the United States Fish Commission, and his publications on ichthyology were numerous and important.

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[10] W. R. Dudley in *Delta Upsilon Quarterly*, May 1891.

[11] Dr. Jordan, in *Cornell Era*, November 2, 1911.

In 1879 he was made Professor of Zoölogy at Indiana University. Here he was able, without fuss or feathers, to revolutionize his own department, drawing about him a group of eager students imbued with his own ideas of getting at nature first-hand; and then, as high-school teachers and in other positions, spreading these ideas throughout the state. The position of university president he did not seek or desire, but, the task being laid upon him, in 1885, he took up the work with characteristic energy and effectiveness. In co-operation with the younger men in the faculty he proceeded to effect the modernization of the whole University, with such success that at the end of six years Indiana was well on its way toward a place among the leading state universities.

It had been the happy experience of Dr. Jordan to be a student at Cornell in its pioneer period when the influence of Andrew D. White was all-pervasive. President White was modern in the same way that President Eliot was modern; but, starting on a new foundation, he had not had to contend with the heavy weight of tradition which had slowed down the Harvard advance. Mr. Cornell had thought of a university different from all others, practical in its nature, and especially providing opportunities for poor boys. In President White's hands this did not mean a trade school, but an institution freed from the inhibitions, restrictions, and narrow grooves of traditional scholasticism.

> The characteristic features emphasized by President White included (1) a partially non-resident faculty; (2) complete liberty on the part of the student in the choice of studies ("The idea of doing the student's mind some vague general good by studies which do not interest him does not prevail"); (3) the prominence given to studies which should be practically useful; (4) absence of a daily marking system.

Dr. Jordan was constitutionally impatient of artificialities of all kinds. His Cornell training and the freer atmosphere of the West confirmed his independence of view, and he was ready for any innovation which promised to make the work of the University more vital and more really a preparation for the duties and responsibilities of life. He was suspicious of organization and indifferent to methodologies. Throughout the educational process from top to bottom he was always visioning the teacher as free to develop and use his own methods and the student as free to find and follow his own pathway in and through the courts of learning, teacher and student working together as comrades in arms. "The value of a teacher," he affirmed, "decreases with the increase of the square of the distance from the student." As executive and administrator Dr. Jordan had to face the same problems which confronted other executives. There were the same human nature to work with, the same inhibitions and superstitions to work against, the same inertias to overcome. But in the presence of these problems Dr. Jordan was apt to find an inspired saying of Emerson or of Agassiz more revealing, more helpful, than any of the formulations of the pedants.

The generation immediately preceding Dr. Jordan's active work as an educator was concerned largely with changes in the curriculum. The American college had been formed upon the English model. For a long period of time Aristotle and Euclid had stood for about all that was essential in the education of gentlemen. With the Renaissance came the enrichment of the curriculum through the addition of the classical languages and literatures. And this revised curriculum seemed all-sufficient even after Greek and Latin had come to be taught only as dead languages and with the literatures almost lost sight of. The long struggle to widen this curriculum—to secure a place for modern languages, science, history, and the more practical subjects—had been essentially won by the year 1869, the year when Dr. Jordan entered Cornell as a freshman. But then, and for a long time afterward, the victory was a barren one so far as most of the colleges were concerned. "The fiercest conflicts of the average American college," Dr. Jordan once remarked, "have not been with the black giant Ignorance, but with the traditional wolf at the door." In other words, really to widen the curriculum meant more buildings, more teachers, more equipment; and these things came very slowly. But, since the new subjects in some form could not be denied, they were at first chopped into small bits, a term of this, a term of that, so far as the sciences and history were concerned, with a great shortage of trained teachers. And the modern languages were being taught, to a large extent, as if they too were dead.

When Dr. Jordan became president at Indiana the number of college students was barely one hundred and thirty-five, with a preparatory department somewhat larger. "Up to 1885," Dr. Jordan says, in his autobiography, "I had given a few scientific lectures to general audiences, but no public addresses of other character beyond the occasional reading of an essay on some special occasion. It became at once evident that I must make the people of Indiana realize that the State University belonged to them. Accordingly I soon prepared a lecture on the Value of the Higher Education, which I gave at teachers' institutes in practically all of the ninety-two counties of the State."

Of course, Dr. Jordan had more in mind than establishing the "ownership" of the State University. It was an address to young people, "a plea as strong as I knew how to make it, for higher education, for more thorough preparation for the duties of life." This address, first printed in 1888, is as clear an example as can be found anywhere of Dr. Jordan's method of argument. In fact, he did not argue or bother to proceed by logical steps. There was a succession of bold epigrammatic statements with a wealth of illustration; but the qualifying phrases must be supplied by the hearer. In this address are many of Dr. Jordan's most trenchant aphorisms: "You cannot fasten a two-thousand dollar education to a fifty-cent boy"; "The world stands aside to let any man pass who knows whither he is going"; "The whole of your life must be spent in your own company, and only the educated man is good company for himself"; and many others.

"For the fool, the dude, and the shirk," he said, "the college can do nothing. Indeed, it will not of itself do anything for anyone; but a well spent college life is one of the greatest helps to all good things." "Almost every college has at least one great teacher. To come into contact with such a man is worth ten years of your life." "The college intensifies the individuality of a man. True the colleges have tried, and some are still trying, to enforce uniformity of study. But the individuality of the student breaks through the cast-iron curriculum." "The world owes no man a living, and he who would live in the world must do something for which the world is willing to pay. But you cannot measure a man's success by the amount of taxes he pays." "It is the noblest mission of Higher Education to fill the mind of youth with noble ideals of manhood, of work, of life. It should help him to believe that love and friendship and faith and devotion are things that really exist, and are embodied in men and women."

In "The Evolution of the College Curriculum," and other Indiana addresses, Dr. Jordan said: "The theory arose that a college is not a place for thorough work of any sort. The desire of the student to know some one thing well was characterized as 'undue specialization.' The value of persistent study was never made known to the student. There was the constant implication that when, after a few weeks, a study is dropped, it is thereby completed—as though any subject could be completed in a col-

President David Starr Jordan
(1891)

lege course!" The ideal college, in Dr. Jordan's view, was one in which all the subjects were taught with equal thoroughness. The student should be encouraged to follow his bent, and keep following it. The idler should be eliminated in some orderly manner, but otherwise disregarded. No student should be encouraged to go out of his way for the sake of a degree. "In an ideal condition of things, the student's work ought not to be estimated at all. Marks and terms are clumsy devices, more suitable for measuring cordwood than culture. It is true, no doubt, that the hope of a degree coaxes some men to stay in college longer than they otherwise would. This seems a good thing—but is it? It is putting a cheap price on culture to induce the student to take it, not because he wants it, but because he wants something else. If a student's work is perfunctory the sooner he leaves it for something real the better."

Dr. Jordan at forty was not indeed the "famous educator" which the public might have supposed would be placed at the head of the most richly endowed university in the land. In his own particular feld of science he was already recognized as of the elect, and his writings were being quoted as authoritative. Outside he was rapidly becoming known through the charm of his literary expression, his gift of persuasive speech, his vigorous leadership in dealing with educational problems, and his striking success as a college executive. His further advancement in position, in influence, and in "fame" was one of the things that could be most surely predicated. His call to the Stanford presidency he accepted, not as a crowning honor, but as a challenge, an opportunity for the exercise of all his creative powers.

CHOOSING A FACULTY

Dr. Jordan was offered the presidency of Stanford University on Sunday morning March 22, 1891. The Stanfords remained in Bloomington until eleven o'clock the following day, when they left for California. During that time Dr. Jordan had put the main conclusions of their talk into a formal written statement for Mr. Stanford's approval, as follows:

> "Before the selection of the faculty I should like your assent to the following propositions, if they should meet your approval:
>
> "1. To begin the work of the university with the freshman year, making provision for students who enter in advance, but excluding—until the elementary schools are founded—all below that grade.
>
> "2. That the two great lines of work, the Liberal Arts and Sciences, on the one hand, and the Applied Sciences (Mechanic Arts, Engineering, etc.) be both provided for from the first—the two to be kept in close relation and, so far as may be, to be equally fostered. The Liberal Arts will demand more teachers, the Applied Sciences more extensive apparatus.
>
> "3. That each professor be supplied as soon as may be with the books, apparatus, or machinery which he needs for instruction or for research, care being taken in all cases to prevent any accumulation of 'dead stock.'
>
> "4. That provision be made for the publication of the results of any important research on the part of professors or advanced students. Such papers may be issued from time to time as 'Memoirs of the Leland Stanford Junior University.' "

Dr. Jordan's understanding of the conditions under which the work was to be taken up was expressed more informally in a letter (March 27, 1891) to Andrew D. White: "In the matter of the funds for current uses Mr. Stanford's assurances have been entirely satisfactory . . . . He says that I can have, so long as he lives, all the money I can *use*. He wants me to pay no inflated or lavish salaries, but to get, at whatever necessary cost, the best service for my purposes. He wants to get no 'dead stock' and no ornamental or idle professors, but a working force and all they need for work. From his point of view he cannot be more explicit, as he does not know whether at first I can use fifty thousand dollars a year or two hundred thousand, and much depends on the yet wholly unknown question—the number of students."

Some limit, however, had to be fixed, at least provisionally. With his first list of appointments (April 8, 1891) Dr. Jordan outlined a possible full program of departments and subjects for the future university, and inquired how far it was best to proceed at the time. Mr. Stanford, looking over this formidable list, replied (April 13, 1891): "I suggest that for the present some of the different branches might be consolidated under the management of a single man, as we cannot be fairly prepared to take care of the number of students necessary to give reasonable employment to so large a number of professors as you suggest. My idea is that fifteen professors and teachers ought to be sufficient to open with."[1]

In selecting a faculty, Dr. Jordan was turning to a familiar and always congenial task. Under his stewardship Indiana had become a sort of recruiting station for trying out young men. Every year he had gone about among the more outstanding universities looking for promising material for Indiana professorships—with such success that he had not been able to retain very long the young men thus chosen, for Indiana salaries were low and more prosperous executives were watching. In 1887 Dr. Jordan had been made a trustee of Cornell University, and this had brought him semiannually to Ithaca and in close contact with problems of administration there. Frequent journeyings to Baltimore, Washington, New Haven, Cambridge, and elsewhere not only had made him acquainted with the younger scholars but had given many occasions for meeting heads of departments and men of prominence in educational and scientific circles.

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[1] So fifteen it was; although Dr. Jordan felt that he could stretch the number by not counting the librarian, the registrar, or the foreman of the woodworking shop as "teachers."

The number "fifteen" was probably the original suggestion of Dr. Jordan. At least the *Indianapolis Journal* of March 29, 1891, reports him as saying there would be about fifteen teachers and perhaps from two hundred to two hundred and fifty students.

Dr. Jordan was quite aware of the value of having "men of the very highest attainments" in the new faculty, and he may at first have turned hopefully toward the group of eminent scholars and successful teachers whose presence would give the new institution an immediate standing and a prestige it might otherwise be long in acquiring. This was the plan President Harper was to follow out a year later in inaugurating the new University of Chicago. Among the older men whom Dr. Jordan approached, some might possibly have accepted the call had the scale of salaries been higher. That most of them could not be stirred from their comfortable moorings was a foregone conclusion. Certainly none of them did accept, and Dr. Jordan turned confidently to the younger men, with whose record or promise he was more or less familiar. "I am making some headway," he wrote (March 30, 1891). "If my slate is not broken, we shall have a set of young men such as has never before been gathered together in America." And on April 8: "I have had some correspondence with men who have already made their fame and their fortune in Eastern Colleges. I find that most of them are not willing to leave their present positions at any salary which would not be simple extravagance. They are unwilling to take any of the risks of pioneer work unless heavily paid for it. But rising young men who will grow for twenty years to come, and some of whom are sure to be famous, are greatly attracted by the prospects of the University, and among these I can take almost any one I choose." Yet even with some of the most coveted of the younger men all that Dr. Jordan succeeded in doing was to win for them prompt promotion in rank and salary at their own institutions. Writing to Mr. Stanford under date of April 17, 1891, ex-President White said: "We have occasion to know of [Dr. Jordan's] keenness of vision here, since he has selected the very men we cannot afford to lose; and I may say to you that we shall struggle hard to keep them. In fact, night before last I sat up with our Executive Committee until a very late hour, taking measures to retain some of the gentlemen whom we feel that we should not lose."

Dr. Jordan arranged, for his own guidance, a salary scale intended to be appreciably higher than the prevailing rates in the leading universities of the country.[2] Adopting the gradations commonly used, he put down the normal salary for the full professor as $4,000; for the associate professor, $3,000 to $3,500; for the assistant professor, $2,000 to $2,500; for the instructor, $1,000, with the possibility of paying more in the upper grades when necessary. As a matter of fact, numerous offers were tendered at $5,000 and only two at $4,000. Dr. Jordan defined an "associate professor" as one fit to head a department but younger than a professor and willing to come for from $3,000 to $3,500. This class actually formed the great majority in the first Stanford faculty, except that before the list was published the President decided to give all department heads the title of "professor."[3]

A few days after his appointment Dr. Jordan, who had been quoted as saying that the University would begin in October with about fifteen teachers, had added: "I think, though it is a mere guess, that we shall open with two hundred to two hundred and fifty students. The faculty for the most part will be men from thirty to forty years old .... A feature of the institution will be that of non-resident lecturers. Any distinguished man from any country who can be induced, for any reasonable sum, to come, is likely to receive a call. This will be made prominent in the work of the University, and every year."[4] On March 31 Dr. Jordan wrote to Mr. Stanford: "I have been very busy since you left considering possible members of our faculty. I have made some selections which I will announce to you before many days, and others to whom I have written will be heard from soon. It is evident that however modest we may wish to make the opening of the university it will be a large school from the start. No university ever received half the advertising in the American newspapers which we have had last week. The whole educational world of the East seems to be stirred up by it, and this interest will not diminish when the faculty is announced. We shall have more students than you had counted on at first, and the corps of teachers must be large enough to meet emergencies, for it must be a cardinal principle, I think, that no one shall leave Palo Alto unsatisfied." On April 8 he wrote: "There will be a considerable number of students from the Mississippi Valley, especially if the rates of tuition are made low . . . . Apparently there will be students in all the college classes and a respectable graduating class for the first year . . . . While the great majority of the students will be freshmen, it would be very unwise to provide for this class only, for the presence of more advanced classes and of investigators in different branches will give the greatest stimulus to the lower classes and will serve to form a favorable popular opinion in California. The professors ought to be much in demand for lectures and similar purposes in San Francisco and other cities. In choosing the members of the first faculty I have had in mind not only high scholarship and ability to teach, but the qualities of fidelity and energy which are so essential in properly starting the work of the University."

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[2] In one of his newspaper interviews, in 1888, Mr. Stanford is quoted as saying: "The professors shall have at least a little more than is paid by any other university in America. Among them shall be some very eminent men, though I think it desirable that the faculty embrace many young men."

[3] But without corresponding change in salary. Because of financial difficulties following the death of Mr. Stanford and other complications, this range ($3,000 to $3,500) came to be standard pay for new appointments to the rank of full professor. It was many years before salaries generally were lifted to the original scale.

[4] This notably successful feature had been introduced at Cornell at the very beginning of that university. Mr. Stanford was pleased to have ex-President White and one or two others placed on such a list, but demurred at any considerable use of the plan. After the financial setback of 1893, the practice necessarily fell into disuse.

The first person to receive an offer of a professorship was Dr. John Casper Branner, a fellow student of Cornell days, at the time Professor of Geology at Indiana University but absent on leave as State Geologist of Arkansas. About ready to take up teaching again, Dr. Branner was considering a call from another university at a considerable advance in salary. Dr. Jordan must act quickly. On March 23, the day on which he formally accepted the Stanford presidency, Dr. Jordan wrote: "I have resigned my present position to accept the presidency of the Leland Stanford Junior University . . . . I expect to nominate you for the Chair of Geology." "I would rather work under you as President than any other man alive," Dr. Branner replied. "There is no one with whom I can more cordially co-operate, for whose success I can more heartily and more unselfishly labor." Dr. Branner demurred, however, at the salary offered, and wished to be assured that he would share in any upward turn of the salary scale. Dr. Jordan promptly acceded to the higher salary suggested, but added: "The second point I cannot meet, for we have adopted the policy of making no binding promises for the future and to make no man's salary a precedent for raising or limiting the salaries of others. While most of the professors will be chosen at $4,000 we may wish to pay larger sums in isolated cases for men of world-wide reputation, or for men who can bring with them, at once, a large body of graduate students."

The first report of faculty selections was sent to Mr. Stanford on April 8. This enumerated the appointments already made, with a very informal jotting of departments or fields of study presumably to be finally included in the work of the University.

The following ten appointments had been made and acceptances received:

Andrew Dickson White, Non-Resident Professor of History.
Horace Bigelow Gale, Professor of Mechanical Engineering.
Charles David Marx, Professor of Civil Engineering.
Joseph Swain, Associate Professor of Mathematics.
Fernando Sanford, Associate Professor of Physics.
Douglas Houghton Campbell, Associate Professor of Botany.
Charles Henry Gilbert, Associate Professor of Zoölogy.
Oliver Peebles Jenkins, Associate Professor of Physiology.
Orrin Leslie Elliott, Secretary and Registrar.

Offers had been declined in Pure Mathematics and in Chemistry.

No selections as yet in English, Spanish, Freehand Drawing, the Library, Gymnasium, Music, Art, American History, Social and Municipal Institutions, Military Tactics, Telegraphy.

Needed in a year or two: Agriculture, Agricultural Chemistry, Horticulture and Viticulture, Veterinary Surgery, Forestry and Economic Botany, Entomology and Economic Zoölogy, Mining Engineering, Mineralogy, Metallurgy, Psychology, Ethics, Oratory.

On April 9 Dr. Jordan wrote: "It is necessary in the case of some of the men I have chosen to reach an immediate decision. The colleges in which they are now engaged wish to be able to look for their successors, and it will not be agreeable to them to resign before their appointments with us are confirmed. I would therefore ask your approval by telegraph (should the appointments seem satisfactory to you) of the selection of the following persons on the terms indicated in the previous letter: President White, Professors Gale, Marx, Jenks, Sanford, Swain, Jenkins, Campbell, and Mr. Elliott."

Of this first list of nine men, one (Jenks) did not accept. Of the remaining eight (seven, omitting ex-President White), five served the University continuously until retirement on the Emeritus list.

During the latter part of April Dr. and Mrs. Jordan made a hurried trip to California to view the University buildings and surroundings and to talk over various matters of detail with the Stanfords. While there the plan to charge a small tuition fee was abandoned. On April 8, Dr. Jordan had written from Bloomington: "In view of the fact that tuition in the University of California is entirely free, I shall be in favor of making the tuition fees very moderate so that no worthy student shall be excluded because of them." According to a dispatch from San Francisco to the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, dated April 30, 1891, Senator Stanford had been so much impressed with the criticisms made on the charge for tuition that he had determined to make the University free to all students. "This course," the dispatch gratuitously added, "will necessitate a reduction in other directions, as the maintenance fund is very low. Hence, instead of starting out with a corps of thirty professors, only fifteen will be engaged. None of these except the President will receive large salaries. In fact, the failure to secure men of first-class ability was due solely to the refusal of Stanford to pay the salaries demanded . . . . The result is that the faculty is composed mainly of comparatively unknown men from Indiana."

Dr. Jordan's report was enthusiastic. Writing to Dr. Branner under date of May 1, he said: "I have just returned from California, and I find the prospect in every way even more attractive than I had at first imagined. But there is a vast amount of preliminary work to be done and the opening next fall will be on a small scale and tentative in character. Tuition will be absolutely free. Good board will be furnished in [Encina Hall]—the best equipped dormitory in the country, electric lights, hot and cold water in every room, baths, and all modern improvements—for $4.50 a week. We shall be glad to welcome students from every quarter of the globe, and I imagine that before many years we shall draw very largely from the Mississippi Valley. No more beautiful site for a university exists in the world: the campus of eighty-three hundred acres, an arboretum of fifty thousand trees, and $1,250,000 already spent on buildings."

The first appointments having been definitely made, and other offers being under consideration, Dr. Jordan took a more leisurely survey, but wasting no time. From Boston, under date of May 17, he writes Dr. Branner: "I am off on a still hunt for professors, but find my best hunting grounds about Cornell. In the Back Bay, where I am now, are men whom nothing would induce to go west of Springfield and men whose regret of their lives is that they were born outside of Boston . . . . Harper, Chamberlin, and Dwight are all here in search of victims. This is to be a great year of change. Cornell is mightily interested, but the Board are afraid of the lightning and have rods put up all around." Likewise to Mr. Stanford on the same date: "I have now positively engaged twelve of the fifteen teachers with whom we are to begin. I have chosen the other three and await their decision. Have also engaged two or three more to begin work in 1892." On June 1 he wrote further: "You will note that fourteen teachers are engaged at the beginning of the year. This excludes Dr. Elliott, the Librarian, and the foreman of the woodworking shop. I have arranged with the non-resident professors and lecturers to come or not the first year as we may later decide. Dr. Stillman is to come at Christmas and Dr. Branner whenever he may be needed. I have also found a few young men who can be had on short notice, in case the work in their respective departments becomes too heavy for the professors."

The first appointments to the Stanford faculty, listed in *Circular No. 4*, issued in June 1891, included twenty-five names. In this list Professor H. A. Todd was scheduled to appear at the beginning of the second semester, in February. Later the date was changed to October. This completed, according to Dr. Jordan's way of reckoning, the "fifteen professors and teachers" originally proposed by Mr. Stanford. The "fifteen," arranged in order of rank and roughly according to date of appointment, were as follows:

George Elliott Howard, A.B., A.M. (Nebraska), American History and the History of Institutions.
Oliver Peebles Jenkins, A.B. (Moore's Hill), Ph.D. (Indiana), Physiology and Histology.
Melville Best Anderson, A.M. (Butler), English Literature.
Fernando Sanford, B.S., M.S. (Carthage), Physics.
Henry Alfred Todd, A.B. (Princeton), Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins), Romance Languages.
Charles David Marx, B.C.E. (Cornell), C.E. (Karlsruhe Polytechnicum), Civil Engineering.
Joseph Swain, B.L., M.S. (Indiana), Mathematics.
Ernest Mondell Pease, A.B., A.M. (Colorado), Latin Language and Literature.
Horace Bigelow Gale, M.E. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Mechanical Engineering.
Charles Henry Gilbert, B.S. (Butler), Ph.D. (Indiana), Vertebrate Zoölogy.
Douglas Houghton Campbell, Ph.B., Ph.M. (Michigan), Cryptogamic Botany.
Earl Barnes, A.B. (Indiana), M.S. (Cornell), History and Art of Education.
James Owen Griffin (Pennsylvania State Normal), German.
George Mann Richardson, A.C. (Lehigh), Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins), Inorganic Chemistry.
Arthur Gordon Laird, A.B. (Dalhousie), Ph.D. (Cornell), Greek.

The first twelve named were of the rank of professor. Mr. Griffin and Dr. Richardson were assistant professors, Dr. Laird, instructor. Others on the beginning staff were

Edwin Hamlin Woodruff, LL.B. (Cornell), Librarian.
Orrin Leslie Elliott, Ph.B., Ph.D. (Cornell), President's Secretary and Registrar, and Acting Instructor in Economics.
Louis Alexander Buchanan, Foreman of the Woodworking Shop.

Scheduled to begin work in September 1892 (later changed to February 1892), was

John Casper Branner, B.S. (Cornell), Ph.D. (Indiana), Geology.

and to begin in January 1892:

John Maxson Stillman, Ph.B., Ph.D. (California), Industrial and Organic Chemistry.

Four additional names were those of non-resident professors or lecturers, scheduled to give longer or shorter courses during the second semester, as follows:

Andrew Dickson White, A.B. (Yale), Ph.D. (Jena), LL.D. (Michigan, Cornell, and Yale), L.H.D. (Columbia), European History.
John Henry Comstock, B.S. (Cornell), Entomology.
Daniel Kirkwood, A.M. (Washington College), LL.D. (Pennsylvania), Astronomy.
Jacob Gould Schurman, A.B. (London), D.Sc. (Edinburgh), Ethics.

(In the first annual *Register* published in June 1892, Mr. Comstock was listed as "professor" instead of "non-resident professor," and for a decade he was in residence most of the years during January, February, and March, using his vacation terms at Cornell for this purpose.)

The twenty-fifth name was that of President David Starr Jordan, who, of course, headed the list.

The first member of the staff to be placed on the Stanford payroll was Dr. Elliott, whose work as Secretary and Registrar began (in Bloomington, Indiana) on April 15, 1891. The salary of Dr. Jordan, who retained his Indiana presidency until the June Commencement, was made to begin May 20, 1891.

Of the twenty appointees to the regular staff, under the "fifteen" compact, two, Anderson and Branner, had been fellow students with Dr. Jordan at Cornell. Five, Branner, Elliott, Laird, Marx, and Woodruff, were Cornell graduates; two, Elliott and Griffin, were taken from the Cornell faculty; five, Barnes, Branner, Campbell, Gilbert, and Swain, were from the Indiana faculty (Branner also serving as State Geologist of Arkansas); one, Buchanan, was from engineering work in St. Louis; one, Gale, was from Washington University, St. Louis; one, Howard, was from the Nebraska faculty; one, Jenkins, was from the De Pauw faculty; one, Laird, was completing his

Ph.D. course at Cornell; one, Marx, was from the Wisconsin faculty; one, Sanford, was from the Lake Forest faculty; one, Stillman, was from the Boston and American Sugar Refining Company; and one, Todd, was from the Johns Hopkins faculty.

Two selections, Gale and Stillman, were made on the initiative of Mr. Stanford. Some time before a president had been appointed General Walker had been asked to recommend a suitable person to head the Department of Mechanical Engineering, and had mentioned Gale for the place. Stillman was the son of Mr. Stanford's long-time family physician. In both cases Mr. Stanford suggested that Dr. Jordan look up these men and if found satisfactory he would be pleased to have them given places on the new faculty.

The men chosen with whose work Dr. Jordan was personally acquainted were Anderson, Barnes, Branner, Campbell, Gilbert, Jenkins, and Swain. His own favorable impression of the others, on slight acquaintance, was confirmed by the testimony of friends and trusted advisers. Six of the new faculty, Howard, Branner, Jenkins, Anderson, Sanford, and Griffin, were about Dr. Jordan's own age—in the late thirties or early forties; the majority were in the neighborhood of thirty.

When it became evident that the number of students was to be considerably larger than had been anticipated, Dr. Jordan did not wait for any exact figures. He began at once to select such additional instructors as were likely to be needed, some as temporary, some as permanent appointees. A few were men with whose qualifications he was already familiar, but mostly they were persons recommended by the staff already chosen and needed to meet the immediate needs of the various departments concerned. Of the fifteen thus named, one was given the rank of "professor," three that of "assistant professor," ten that of "instructor" or "acting instructor," and one that of "non-resident lecturer." Listed in order of rank and roughly according to date of appointment, they were as follows:

Thomas Denison Wood, A.B., and A.M. (Oberlin), M.D. (College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York), Physical Training and Hygiene.

George Holmes Bryant, B.S. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Mechanical Engineering and Superintendent of Shops.
Edward Howard Griggs, A.B., A.M. (Indiana), Ethics and English.
Martin Wright Sampson, A.B. (Cincinnati), English.
William Howard Miller, A.B. (Johns Hopkins), Mathematics.
John Anthony Miller, A.B. (Indiana), Mathematics.
Ellen Louise Lowell (Sargent's Normal School of Physical Culture), Physical Training.
Bolton Coit Brown, B.P., and M.P. (Syracuse), Freehand Drawing.
Samuel Jacques Brun, B. ès S. (Montpellier), French.
Alphonso Gerald Newcomer, A.B. (Michigan), A.M. (Cornell), Art of Writing.
Charles Ellwood Cox, A.B. (Haverford), Mathematics.
Edward Thomas Adams (Mechanic and Pattern Maker), Drawing.
Elsa Lovina Ames (Syracuse), Drawing.
Ludwig Heinrich Grau, Ph.D. (Munich), German and Latin.
Emory Evans Smith (non-resident lecturer), Horticulture.

Of the twenty-one members of the regular staff first appointed (including the President), and listed in *Circular No. 4* (printed early in June), eleven (Jordan, Anderson, Branner, Campbell, Elliott, Gilbert, Griffin, Jenkins, Marx, Sanford, and Stillman) were destined to serve the University continuously until the emeritus age was reached, and one (Richardson) died in service. Of the fourteen additional members of the regular staff, appointed after June 1, and gathered together in anticipation of increased enrollment, not one reached the emeritus age, although one appointed as assistant professor (Griggs) and two as instructors (Brown and Newcomer) were afterward advanced to the rank of "professor." Two (W. H. Miller and Newcomer) died in service.

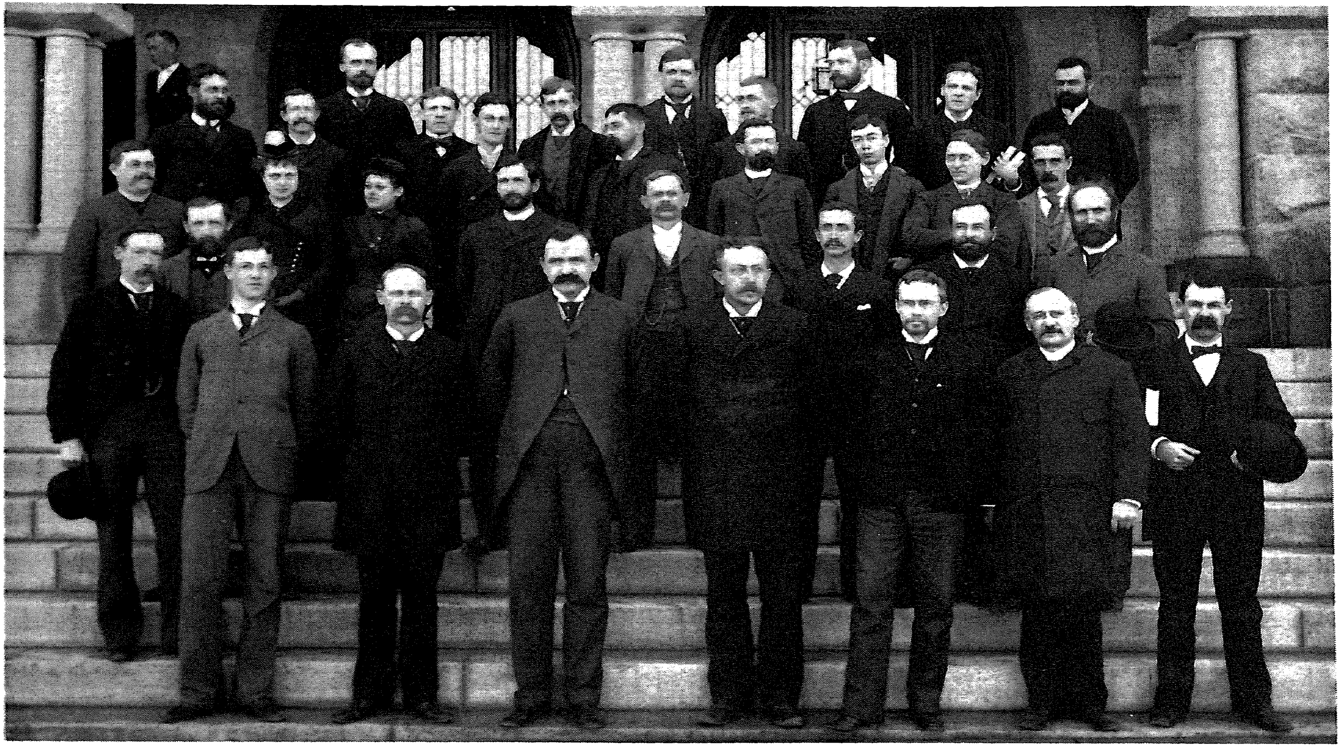
Among those who declined appointments for the first or second year were the following: In Greek, Rufus B. Richardson, of Bowdoin; in German, Horatio S. White, of Cornell; in Philosophy, Josiah Royce, of Harvard, Jacob G. Schurman, of Cornell, and William J. Bryan, of Indiana; in Ethics, John H. Finley, of Knox, and William DeWitt Hyde, of Bowdoin; in Bible History and Literature, John R. Mott, of the International Y.M.C.A.; in Economics, Frank W. Taussig, of Harvard, Jeremiah W. Jenks, of Cornell, and Henry Carter

Adams, of Michigan; in History, George L. Burr, of Cornell, and Albert B. Hart, of Harvard; in Social Science, Edward Cummings, of Harvard; in Chemistry, Ira Remsen, of Johns Hopkins; in Mathematics, Fabian Franklin, of Johns Hopkins, and Irving P. Church, of Cornell; and in Morphology and Embryology, Charles O. Whitman, of Clark.

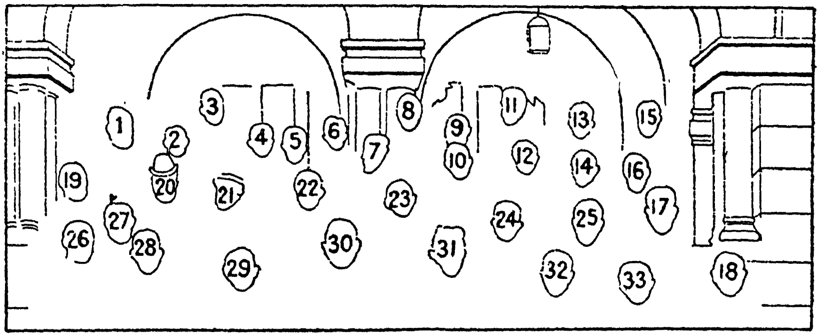
Dr. Jordan's rapidity of movement, after a given situation had developed, was rather startling to Mr. Stanford's slow-moving San Francisco office. In order to get late appointees on the first payroll, the names were sent directly to the Business Office without the formal written approval of Mr. Stanford attached thereto. This approval was of course essential as a matter of bookkeeping, but it called out the following perturbed letter as well (October 20, 1891): "Dear Governor: I refer the enclosed to you for your information. Were you aware that all these appointments are being made?"

The faculty as completed for the first year's work did not cover at all thoroughly the fields of study actually undertaken. It was based on the fact that most of the students would be of freshman rank, and that the demand for advanced courses would be small. In looking ahead to the second year's work the first need would be to equip as adequately as possible the departments already established, and then to get under way certain allied departments projected for the first year but postponed when available men could not be immediately found. The President's task therefore was a continuation of what he had begun the first year and creative in the same sense. Not all the men called could be detached from their old moorings, and some department postponements were still necessary. The men who responded to Dr. Jordan's call at this time could quite properly be considered as members of the first faculty, although missing the incomparable thrill of the initial pioneer beginnings.

On the following page a small sketch carries a numbered key, listing the names of the members of the first faculty, who are shown in a group picture, from an early photograph, facing that page.



The first Faculty of the University, taken during the second semester of 1891–92
Key on opposite page



1. Louis Alexander Buchanan
2. Charles Henry Gilbert
3. Thomas Denison Wood
4. Edwin Hamlin Woodruff
5. Martin Wright Sampson
6. William Howard Miller
7. Douglas Houghton Campbell
8. Fernando Sanford
9. George Holmes Bryant
10. James Owen Griffin
11. Horace Bigelow Gale
12. Alphonso Gerald Newcomer
13. Edward Howard Griggs
14. Charles Ellwood Cox
15. Samuel Jacques Brun
16. Edward Thomas Adams
17. Charles David Marx
18. Melville Best Anderson
19. Orrin Leslie Elliott
20. Elsa Lovina Ames
21. Ellen Louise Lowell
22. Ernest Mondell Pease
23. John Henry Comstock
24. Oliver Peebles Jenkins
25. George Mann Richardson
26. John Maxson Stillman
27. Bolton Coit Brown
28. Arthur Gordon Laird
29. George Elliott Howard
30. Joseph Swain
31. David Starr Jordan
32. Henry Alfred Todd
33. Ludwig Heinrich Grau

Absent from the picture: John Casper Branner, Earl Barnes, John Anthony Miller, Willis Grant Johnson.

(Edward Thomas Adams and Willis Grant Johnson were student assistants in Mechanical Engineering and Entomology respectively.)

Additions to the faculty of the rank of instructor or above, for the second year, were the following:

Albert William Smith, B.M.E., M.M.E. (Cornell), Mechanical Engineering (in place of Professor Gale, resigned).
Ewald Flügel, Ph.D. (Leipzig), English Philology.
Charles Benjamin Wing, C.E. (Cornell), Structural Engineering.
Frank Angell, B.S. (Vermont), Ph.D. (Leipzig), Psychology.
Leander Miller Hoskins, B.C.E., B.S., M.S., C.E. (Wisconsin), Applied Mechanics.
Joseph Shillington Oyster (West Point Military Academy), Military Science and Tactics.

Robert Edgar Allardice, A.M. (Edinburgh), Mathematics.
Amos Griswold Warner, B.L. (Nebraska), Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins), Economics.
William Russell Dudley, B.S., M.S. (Cornell), Botany.
Augustus Taber Murray, A.B. (Haverford), Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins), Greek.
Albert Pruden Carman, A.B., D.Sc. (Princeton), Electricity.
Lionel Remond Lenox, Ph.B. (Columbia), Chemistry.
Julius Goebel, Ph.D. (Tübingen), Germanic Literature and Philology.
Walter Miller, A.M. (Michigan), Latin and Archaeology.
Arley Barthlow Show, A.B., A.M. (Doane), B.D. (Andover), European History.
William Henry Hudson, English.
Mary Sheldon Barnes, A.B. (Michigan), History.
William Joseph Hussey, B.S. (Michigan), Astronomy and Mathematics.
Henry Burrowes Lathrop, A.B. (Harvard), English.
James Perrin Smith, A.M. (Vanderbilt), Ph.D. (Göttingen), Mineralogy and Paleontology.
Frederick Converse Clark, A.B., Ph.D. (Michigan), Economics.
Merritt Eugene Taylor, B.S., M.S. (Northwestern), Physics.
Arthur Bridgman Clark, B.Ar., M.Ar. (Syracuse), Drawing and Architectural Draughting.
Walter Orlando Black, B.S., M.S. (Knox), Physical Training.
Frank Mace McFarland, Ph.B. (De Pauw), Histology.
Herman De Clercq Stearns, A.B. (Stanford), Physics.
George Clinton Price, B.S. (De Pauw), Zoölogy.
Daniel William Murphy, A.B. (Stanford), Physics.
Charles Wilson Greene, A.B. (Stanford), Physiology.

Of these twenty-nine additions to the regular staff, ten reached the emeritus rank and five died in service.

When Dr. Jordan rested from his appointment labors, so far as the second year was concerned, the faculty was still not complete nor was it exactly "balanced." It was a good working body, and it put Stanford alongside the leading universities of the country with staff and equipment adequate to the work it was undertaking to do. The addition of desired departments, the development and strengthening of existing departments, and the building up of facilities and equipment, with no financial difficulties to be anticipated, could now be taken up with every prospect, so it seemed, of continuous and solid growth.

THE MAJOR-SUBJECT SYSTEM

That form of curriculum-making known as the major-subject system was perhaps Stanford University's most distinctive contribution to the clarification of educational procedure. It involved a full recognition of the student's right to choose his own line and course of study. This choice implied a definite scholastic goal, and, the choice once made, the University undertook to supply the personal guidance and direction necessary to an orderly progression toward its realization. It provided a definite content of education in some particular study or field of study, freely chosen by the student and, once chosen, to be continued throughout the four undergraduate years. It was the elective system safeguarded in a way to emphasize the independence, initiative, and responsibility of the student but informing it with purpose and the sense of partnership in a worthwhile undertaking. It attracted to Stanford University more than a normal proportion of free spirits to whom the routine of mass education might have been dull and uninspiring but whose eager response to the stimulus of self-directed opportunity carried them far and exerted a leavening influence throughout the entire student body. The major-subject system was essentially Dr. Jordan's contribution to educational method, and it was Dr. Jordan's own freedom from pedagogical fears and cautions that gave to its operation the sense of an exhilarating adventure.

When Dr. Jordan assumed the presidency of Indiana University, in 1885, the problem of the college curriculum had long agitated the academic world. The American college, patterned after its English model, had begun by providing just enough studies to fill the four years traditionally allotted to the college course. Indeed, there were no other studies deemed necessary or important for attaining the full object of the college, which was conceived to be the discipline and enlargement of the mind. The hierarchy of studies deemed sufficient for this end included the ancient classical languages, mathematics, and an elementary survey of the general field of philosophy. There was no reason for a change and no room for enlargement. The college graduate was expected to find his place in one of the learned professions, or in the higher avenues of trade and industry. But it was not the business of the college to be concerned with special or technical training for any of these callings. The college graduate read law in the lawyer's office, or accompanied the doctor on his professional rounds, or apprenticed himself in one way or another to the calling he wished to practice.

In time, however, other subjects—modern languages, literature, history, the physical and natural sciences—came knocking at the college doors, demanding admission, not indeed in the guise of vocational subjects, but as worthy cultural studies. They were not welcomed; but slowly and unwillingly the doors were made to open. Beginnings were made at Harvard when George Ticknor, who had studied in Continental Europe, became professor of French, Spanish, and belles lettres in 1819. But so strenuous was the opposition from president, professors, and students that little was accomplished during Ticknor's term of service except the addition of certain options in his own department.

As late as 1853–54 the following statement appeared in the *Harvard Register:* "All the studies of the freshman and sophomore years are *required* of each student. The same is true of all the studies of the junior and senior years, excepting the ancient and modern languages and mathematics. These during the last two years of the college course are *elective;* that is to say, as no student, during those years, has time to attend to more than two of them, in addition to the required studies, he is allowed to elect the two which he and his parent or guardian prefer."

As soon as more studies were admitted to the curriculum than could be conveniently covered by any one student in the allotted four years, some election, or selection, had to be made. Before the student could be permitted to take any part in this selection—and then a very restricted part—it was necessary to determine the important question as to what studies are essential to a liberal education and therefore necessarily to be retained in every study program—an ideal subject for abstract speculation. For a long time nothing was allowed to displace the ancient classical languages and the mathematics of the first two years. If the newer subjects were to find a place anywhere it must be in the junior and senior years; and as it was thought necessary to retain some part of the classical prescription for these years also, the space assigned to the newer subjects was small. Only a smattering of any one could be provided for, and the result was far from satisfactory. Relief came through the gradual emergence of a new theory, namely, that there are diversities of gifts and tastes which may rightly be regarded, that the absolutely fundamental studies are fewer and the list of culture studies larger than had been supposed, and that these diversities of gifts and tastes are capable of classification and can be properly and sufficiently well accommodated by a reasonable number of fundamental types of education. Various group-curricula were thus developed, in each of which the first two years were prescribed, but with a more or less different prescription for each group. In the last two years, through a progressive multiplication of groups, every subject which broke through the barriers might somewhere be accommodated. A differently labeled degree was devised for each group, none of these new degrees, however, being accorded quite the rank or dignity of the traditional Bachelor of Arts.

The University of Virginia, under the influence of Jefferson, was the first to depart radically from the New England tradition. In a letter to George Ticknor, dated June 16, 1823, Jefferson wrote: "I am not fully informed of the practices at Harvard, but there is one from which we shall certainly vary, although it has been copied, I believe, by nearly every college and academy in the United States. That is, the holding the students all to one prescribed course of reading and disallowing exclusive application to those branches only which are to qualify them for the particular vocations to which they are destined. We shall, on the contrary, allow them uncontrolled choice in the lectures they shall choose to attend, and require elementary qualification only and sufficient age. Our institution will proceed on the principle of doing all the good it can, without consulting its own pride or ambition; of letting every one come and listen to whatever he thinks may improve the condition of his mind."

In practice Jefferson's idea underwent a good deal of faculty modification. Completion of one or more of the homogeneous "groups" did not lead to a "titled" degree; and when the Bachelor's degree became the goal of the mass of undergraduates, the requirements for the degree were hardly less precise than those of Harvard. Yet President Wayland of Brown University returned from a visit to the University of Virginia in 1845, wishing the various courses at Brown could be "so arranged that, in so far as is practicable, every student might study what he chose, all that he chose, and nothing but what he chose."

At the opening of Cornell University, in 1868, President White tried again to provide complete freedom for any student who knew, or thought he knew, the studies he wished to pursue. A number of group curricula were arranged in the usual fashion, with the following explanation and significant addition: "Several courses, carefully arranged, are presented, and the student, aided by friends and instructors, can make his selection among them; he may also, from among the various branches pursued at the University form for himself an entirely independent course; or, he is permitted, upon proper representation to the faculty, to devote himself, as a special student, to a single department of study. These elective studies are intended to give the student full and entire freedom in the election of his studies—a freedom every way equal to that which prevails in the universities of Continental Europe. This enables him, while acquiring a general culture, to devote more time to those particular subjects that are likely to be of special use to him in the profession or business he intends to pursue . . . . Students in elective courses are, like those in the general courses, entitled to a baccalaureate degree whenever they shall have spent the requisite time at the University and passed the proper number of trimestrial examinations."[1]

Apparently not many Cornell students of that day were ready for such absolute freedom of election, and the experiment seems from the first to have been doubtfully regarded by the faculty. In the *Register* for 1875–76 the provision is practically bowed out in the following statement: "Experience has abundantly confirmed, what in fact was obvious at first, that it is best for each student who expects to graduate at all, to take the course leading to the degree he seeks and pursue it as laid down in the *Register*. But very few of those who attempt an optional course succeed in graduating in any course."

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[1] *Cornell University Register* for 1868–69, pp. 28, 50–51.

The elective system had its most complete exemplification under President Eliot of Harvard, who took up his executive work in 1869.[2] President Eliot did not propose merely an optional elective choice. No prearranged pattern, he held, no matter how many patterns might be devised, would fit any given student, and no college course could be wisely arranged for any particular individual without taking into account that individual's school studies, his purpose in life, his inheritances, and his tastes. As for the so-called fundamental studies, "the endeavor should be made to direct education from the beginning to those things which the boy or youth can do best, and never to the things he cannot do." "The difficulty of making prescribed or recommended groups is that there are altogether more things which are fitted for a youth who is going to be a lawyer than he can possibly study; and so with the youth who is going to be a physician or surgeon. The choice is too rich, and no agreement can be reached as to what particular few courses such as the individual can take shall be recommended to him." "To direct a hundred boys upon the same course of study for four years is a careless, lazy, unintelligent, unconscientious method of dealing with them. I am willing, and the faculty is willing, to take any amount of trouble to advise and direct the individual boy; but I will not lay out any uniform course for boys by the hundred, or even by the score."

Few if any institutions followed the Harvard system *in extenso*, but the Harvard example exercised a liberalizing influence in all of them. The difficulty was one not so much of theory, as of administration. The immense difficulty was that of

[2] There was never a quite absolute freedom of election at Harvard, but it was so nearly absolute that the few required studies may be disregarded.

bringing the inexperienced student and the faculty adviser into an understanding relation to the problem at the time when wise advice was needed.

Dr. Jordan was predisposed by training and experience to take the liberal view. He had himself followed one of the regular curricula at Cornell, but it was the Natural History group and he had found time enough for additional and outside studies of his own choosing. In his *Evolution of the College Curriculum*, printed soon after he became president at Indiana, the whole situation was explored and his own position made clear. "Any pre-arranged course of study," he declared, "is an affront to the mind of the real student." "Culture is an elusive thing, and the machinery which will secure it for one person may have no such effect on some other person. It does not consist in the knowledge of any particular subject or set of subjects; nor is it the result of any order or method by which such studies are taken. Its central quality is growth. True breadth of culture comes from breadth of life." Regarding the charge that freedom of election permits too much scattering, he said: "The very fact of choice is in itself an education. It is better to choose wrong sometimes, than to be arbitrarily directed to the best selection." He had no patience, however, with the smattering of subjects prepared for the student in the old patchwork curricula—a slight knowledge of many things, accompanied by thoroughness in nothing, and where the desire to know some one thing well was characterized as "undue specialization."

The first reform accomplished at Indiana was the elimination of the heterogenous complex of degrees that had gradually evolved in the American college. One degree only, that of Bachelor of Arts, was now to be conferred, whatever the course of study completed. The next innovation was a provision that every student should pursue some one subject, or field of study, for at least two years. A step or two more, and the faculty-prescribed curricula at Indiana, except for the freshman year, disappeared entirely. The plan set up was preceded by a statement of principles, an apologia, which read as follows: "(1) No two minds are alike, and different minds require different discipline; hence after the completion of certain studies deemed essential to all cultures great freedom in the choice of studies should be granted. (2) Thorough study of any subject is conducive to mental discipline; hence all departments should be placed on the same footing. (3) The beginnings of any study are easy compared with the difficulties the student meets after going beyond the mere elements of the subject; hence a better mental training can be obtained from the study of one subject for several years than from the study of a number for a short period each."

The Indiana plan left the freshman year undisturbed, with its prescribed routine of English, mathematics, science, and on foreign language. At the beginning of the second year the student would choose as a specialty some one of his freshman subjects, in which a four years' course was programmed. The head of the department would thereupon guide the work of the student in this major subject to the extent of not more than "six terms of daily recitation." The remainder of his work the student might elect from any department in the University.

The feature of this scheme which particularly appealed to Dr. Jordan was the intimate relation set up between student and professor. In this feeling he was harking back especially to his own memorable summer with Agassiz at Penikese. The comradery which had existed at Penikese Dr. Jordan made paramount in his own teaching and investigation. Every bit of artificiality in the relation between teacher and pupil was exorcised, not by any descent to a lower common level, but through the pupil's aroused effort to reach the same height as the teacher in resolute purpose, intellectual integrity, and moral stability.

In transferring the Indiana plan to Stanford Dr. Jordan reformulated its provisions for *Circular No. 3,* the first printed announcement of the University. One bold, idealistic change was made. The "certain studies deemed essential to all cultures," a concession to the conservatism of an older community, was swept aside, and the relation between student and major professor was established immediately upon matriculation in the University. "There will be no general curriculum of any sort," the announcement said. "The unit of organization in the University will be the professorship. Each professor will arrange the studies in his own department in such order as may seem to him best. The courses thus arranged will constitute the major subjects of students in the department in question, and any part of these courses may be taken as minor subjects or as electives by students in other departments." Still, Dr. Jordan did not go so far as to discard altogether the traditional first-year subjects. These—algebra, solid geometry, trigonometry, English, and a foreign language—if not offered for entrance, must be taken sometime before graduation. After the opening of the University, however, when the general plan was brought before the Stanford faculty for approval, that body, entranced by the simplicity and freedom of the general scheme, promptly struck out all prescribed subjects, with the exception of English, and also the degree of Bachelor of Science, which Dr. Jordan had proposed for engineering graduates.[8] As formally adopted by the faculty in December 1891 the Stanford major-subject system read as follows:

"The degree of Bachelor of Arts will be granted to students who have satisfactorily completed the equivalent of four years work of fifteen hours of lecture or recitation weekly.

"It is further provided that each student shall select as his major subject or specialty the work of some one professor. This professor shall have the authority to require such student to complete this major subject, and also as minor subjects such work in other departments as the professor may regard as desirable collateral work. Such major and minor subjects taken together will not exceed the equivalent of five recitations per week, or one-third of the student's time for the four years of undergraduate work. It is also provided that each candidate must take, before graduation, course I in English (Art of Writing).

"With these exceptions all the undergraduate work in all the courses will be elective. The student may freely choose for such elective work any subject taught in the university which his previous studies have prepared him to undertake.

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[8] There had been no engineering department at Indiana.

"The professor in charge of the major subject of any student is expected to act as adviser to the student in educational matters, and the recommendation of such professor is necessary to graduation."

The last paragraph, not in the Jordan formulation, but added by the faculty, provided the modus operandi for the actual functioning of the major-subject system. That faculty experience and advice would be an important element in determining the student's choices throughout was understood; and the fact that the major professor's recommendation would be necessary for graduation was assumed to be sufficient notice to the student to keep himself informed of major and minor requirements. But, because misunderstandings did occur, it was presently found necessary to provide for the major professor's written approval of the study lists, semester by semester.

General plans are usually made with the ideal student in mind—the youth growing to man's estate whose purpose is assumed to be as definite and exclusive as is required to win success in any worth-while professional field. There are probably enough real students to warrant planning to this end; and it is they who justify the lavish gifts and expenditures for higher education. Their presence and their example are indispensable. For while it is too much to expect that the University may be relieved entirely of the task of transforming irresponsible boys and girls into men and women, it is a task which can be accomplished only through the maintenance, on the part of the faculty, of unflinching standards, and the dominance, within the student body, of the scholarly atmosphere and the spirit of scholarly achievement. For the deliberate idler and trifler, the student who wants only the fun and play and who will shirk whenever he can, the major-subject system could not be expected to afford any advantage over any other system.

> "The Institute of Technology," President Francis A. Walker once wrote, "is not a place for boys to play, but for men to work. This is the point we start from. We expect those who come to us asking for

our degree, to take up the work of their lives then and there, definitely and seriously, and to labor thereafter as they will have to do in business if they are to succeed. This is perhaps asking a great deal, but it is just what this school exists for."[4]

The major-subject system, as devised by Dr. Jordan, did not concern itself merely with the student and his curriculum. The professorship as the unit of organization and the autonomous department freed from faculty control marked its most significant advance. The first of these could not be strictly maintained as the faculty increased in numbers, and presently the student elected as a major subject the work, not of some one professor, but of some one department. The professorship as the unit of organization in graduate work was easier to maintain, although in time it was necessary to recognize the growing influence and authority of the Committee on Graduate Study.

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[4] J. P. Munroe's *Life of Francis Amasa Walker*, p. 288.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE PUBLIC

The announcement of Mr. Stanford's proposal to found a university in California was received with varying emotions ranging from enthusiastic appreciation to ridicule, depreciation, and denunciation. The magnitude of the proposed undertaking was such as to arrest the attention of even that large class of persons who are not usually interested in matters academic. No such princely gift to education had ever been made by any single giver, or indeed by any group of philanthropists. The "university," as projected by Mr. Stanford, was to comprehend the whole range of education from kindergarten to the highest reach of graduate study. Starting with little more than the trade school idea Mr. Stanford's vision had expanded until it included the classics, the humanities, the sciences, the professions, the fine arts, together with "all other things necessary and appropriate to a university of high degree." This was a conception large enough to fire popular imagination and to call forth the plaudits of the public. "During the last year has been made public the announcement of Governor Stanford's splendid university plan which may be said without exaggeration to promise, if carried out according to the wisest judgment and by the wisest hands, a greater benefit to this Coast than any other one incident that has ever befallen it. Years ago when the State went wild with enthusiasm over the completion of the first transcontinental railway, people looked with wonder, almost awe, on the gift that the genius of this man, with a few others, had given to the State. Yet how few years were required to dash with rue that gratitude, that enthusiasm and mutual cordiality! How marked with political complications, class-hostilities, jealousies, suspicion, has that achievement—the crown of an able man's younger and most hopeful years—become! And how fair and perfect and fruitful of all peace and good will may be this future achievement, born of a peculiarly pathetic private loss, transmuted into a public good!"[1] "It is hard to express adequately what a man becomes by such an act. Mr. Stanford was already, take it all in all, the foremost citizen of the State; but by the completion of the present endowment he will become so to an extent that it is almost impossible to find paralleled in modern times."[2]

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[1] *Overland Monthly*, January 1885.

Eastern newspaper comment was of a more detached character; but the magnitude of the gift and the possibilities of development with an endowment of twenty millions—more than three times as large as that of the wealthiest existing university (Columbia) and four times as large as the Harvard endowment—was fully recognized. "The foundation of an institution of learning so munificently endowed would be a great event in any country. The enormous sum given by its founder should, if wisely expended, create a university whose fame will not be confined to America."[3] Scholars and educators Mr. Stanford generally found sympathetic and helpful, though some might question the wisdom of the plan itself; and some there were who could not conceive of the creation of a real university in so remote and primitive a region as California was thought to be. "It is announced," remarked the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, "that Senator Stanford has made a will leaving twenty millions of dollars to the 'university' which he has established in California. We hope that the statement is untrue. If it be true, we hope that Senator Stanford will burn the will that proposes a waste of fifteen million dollars . . . . Until a state has passed through the high school period, until it has had many years of the college period, it has no use for a university, and a university can be of no value to it . . . . To attempt to create a great university Aladdin-like out of nothing but money is as useless as would be the building of a great summer hotel in Central Africa, or an institution for the relief of destitute ship-captains in the mountains of Switzerland. At present Stanford's great wealth can only be used to erect an empty shell and to commemorate a rich man's folly."

Nor was California's response entirely unanimous. There were those who could see no good thing coming from out the shadow of the Pacific railroads. Personal and political opponents were accustomed to attribute selfish, even sinister, motives to everything that Mr. Stanford did. In this new undertaking, they said, he was just erecting a monument to himself; or he was attempting to injure the State University out of a spirit of revenge. This latter charge had a good deal of currency in California and persisted even after Mr. Stanford's death.[4] For this there was no basis of fact whatever. Even if Mr. Stanford had felt resentment toward the legislature for not confirming his appointment as regent, which he did not, the State University was in no way involved.[5] His feelings were always of the friendliest, and he rejoiced when it was demonstrated that the establishment of Stanford University was aiding and not retarding the growth and development of the State University. Had his appointment as regent been confirmed he might possibly have become so deeply interested in its welfare as to have changed materially the disposition of his own estate. Probably not. Certainly his brief experience with the Board of Regents served to reinforce a natural desire to work out his educational ideas unhindered and to "administer upon his own estate."

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[2] *Overland Monthly*, December 1885.

[3] *New York Times*; quoted in G. T. Clark's *Leland Stanford*, p. 394.

"Mr. Stanford was to a certain extent influenced to form a separate institution, as he told me several times, from his experience on the Board of Trustees of the [University of California]; for instance, when President Reid asked the Board for an assistant professor of Latin at about fifteen hundred dollars, the Board haggled over it all day because there was in Berkeley a man who offered to take the place for a thousand dollars, and he had some pull with some one of the Regents. [Mr. Stanford] decided to put his money where that kind of methods at least was not effective." (Dr. Jordan to Professor Branner, November 1, 1904.) A similar explanation is made by Dr. Jordan in a letter to President Martin Kellogg, dated June 18, 1894.

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[4] Charges made by Congressman Geary before the House Committee on Pacific Railroads, June 11, 1894.

[5] "The *Overland* chances to know, by the very best of all evidence—that of eye and ear—how eager partisans of Governor Stanford the University people were; how great the disappointment and indignation when they failed to obtain him as regent; how hot the comments of the young men and how grave the regrets of the elder men."—Millicent Shinn in *Overland Monthly*, January 1886.

As was natural there was the keenest interest in the developments at Palo Alto among the members and friends of the State University. There was generous appreciation of Mr. Stanford's gift, and a disposition to look forward to the new institution as so much added to the resources and educational assets of the state. As was also natural, some doubts and fears were expressed, and even those most favorably disposed wondered a little as to the possible effect upon the fortunes of the State University. The attitude of the legislature had not been cordial toward higher education, and the development at Berkeley had proceeded under many handicaps. During its existence of twenty-three years (1868–1891) there had been seven presidents, and except for the two years of President Gilman's incumbency no really strong hand had been in control. Though progress had been slow, it was real, and its faculty prided itself upon the solid, substantial qualities of the University. The state high-school system, once almost completely wrecked by the legislature, had been slowly rebuilt. There were only four hundred and fifty students in the colleges at Berkeley, and in all the California schools not more than one hundred and fifty could be prepared for admission each year. Would the dash and vigor, the boom period of the new university cripple the older, more conservative institution? Would it break down the system of accredited schools? Would it let down the bars so carefully placed by the State University? At a reception tendered to the Stanford faculty in September 1891, just before the opening of the University, these facts and fears were freely and solemnly pointed out, by way of warning, in one of the after-dinner speeches. If Stanford maintained the same standards as the State University it would mean a division of the four hundred and fifty college students between the two institutions; while a lowered standard at Palo Alto would be fatal to higher education generally in the state.[6]

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[6] See *The Days of a Man*, Vol. I, pp. 394–95. Some of those who took this dilemma seriously thought the two institutions might be saved from interference by differentiation. One interesting suggestion was that if Stanford proved to be covering the undergraduate ground well, the State University could concentrate on graduate work (*Overland Monthly*, January 1886).

While this lugubrious dilemma was strictly hypothetical, such misgivings as it represented had not been greatly allayed by Mr. Stanford's choice of a president and the first appointments to the new faculty. The president, it was said, was a "new man," a type of the Western small college executive, a scientist, and likely to have a far different attitude from that of the cultured product of the Eastern college system. The new faculty showed only unfamiliar names and mostly the product of Middle-Western schools. Some relief was felt when the first authoritative bulletins (*Circulars 3* and *4*) were published. The beginnings at least were to be modest, to be concerned with a single phase of the elaborate plan which had been so much emphasized in the press, and the actual studies outlined did not vary from the current academic pattern. It looked like the conventional college curriculum. There were others who did not hesitate to voice an ill-concealed jealousy and more or less malicious disparagement of the situation as it was developing. "It is now well known," affirmed the *Golden Gate Catholic*, under date of July 11, 1891, "that the Stanford University, which is just on the eve of its opening, is proving itself to be one of the great shams of the age. From the great flourish of trumpets that greeted the announcement of its founding the public were led to believe that it was to be a university with a large first-class faculty. Subsequent events prove otherwise. The vast endowment is to be used niggardly, and but a mere corporal's guard of professors are to be hired, and these for appearance's sake only . . . . And the pay of this staff, we believe, is in the majority of cases to be nothing worth considering."

No resident of California had been invited to become a member of the original faculty, although one of the most esteemed graduates of the State University (Dr. Stillman), then living in Boston, was made its first professor of chemistry and another (Josiah Royce) had been urged to occupy the chair of philosophy. Dr. Jordan was inclined to be apologetic for this seeming neglect of California scholars, but his acquaintance with university men, he said, did not lie in that direction. Some resentment was expressed by a few disappointed applicants and for a time there were small attempts to belittle what was being done and to arouse suspicion and distrust in the minds of the founders. But the response of the state from the first, and especially when Dr. Jordan had begun to "swing 'round the circle," was overwhelmingly favorable. From the world of scholarship, reticent as was its wont, the University could expect the most friendly interest and, following the reports of President White, President Gilman, President Eliot, and the university professors who came to see and listen during the first year, a cordial welcome into the inner circle of American universities. The tribute of Charles Howard Shinn, loyal son of the State University, reflects the general judgment of the university public after two years' observation of what Stanford was doing and had done:

"The State University has been gaining in wealth and influence these many years, but the greatest gain that has come to it is due to the establishment of its young coadjutor in the field of higher education, the Leland Stanford Junior University. The good will already made manifest between the faculties of the two institutions, and the healthy, honest rivalry between the students, have raised the standard everywhere. The friends of the older institution feel that their hands have been strengthened by the vigorous university at Palo Alto, and it has been said, with much truth, that if Senator Stanford had chosen to endow the State University with his millions, he would have helped it less than he has done by establishing a sister university, upon a sufficiently different foundation, to aid, support, and encourage the entire educational system of California."

UNDER WAY

The faculty of the new university began to assemble at Palo Alto in June 1891. The first to arrive (June 26) were the President (Dr. Jordan), the Registrar (Dr. Elliott), and the Assistant Professor of Chemistry (Dr. Richardson). The stenographer (Mr. Batchelder), a Cornell sophomore, put in an appearance on the first of July. The Professor of Mechanical Engineering (Mr. Gale) arrived July 14, the Librarian (Mr. Woodruff) the last week in July, the Professor of Mathematics (Mr. Swain) and the Professor of English (Mr. Anderson) sometime in August. With September the influx became more rapid.

With each new arrival the pressing question was that of immediate living quarters. By prearrangement the President had been assigned to Escondite Cottage (so named by Dr. Jordan), the former chalet of the mysterious Frenchman, Peter Coutts. The Richardsons had secured for the summer a cottage at Menlo Park belonging to Mrs. Stanford and already rented for the coming academic year to Dr. Gilbert of the Zoölogy Department. For other arrivals the problem was not so easily solved. Originally it had been thought that the first-year faculty might be accommodated in Encina Hall, the men's dormitory. But Encina would not be ready for occupancy until October; and even before the first arrivals it had been decided that for faculty families this proposed arrangement was not feasible. Plans had been hastily drawn for a group of cottages along the future Alvarado Row, and their actual construction was begun early in July. These cottages, however, could not be completed until late in September. Meanwhile there were two small-town hotels in Menlo Park, one very limited in its accommodations, and the other ample only by reason of its flea-infested cottage annexes.

Fortunately for the homeless newcomers, two young college women had been lured from the East by the siren voice of the President for the purpose of setting up a girls' preparatory school in the neighborhood of the University. Arriving on the first of August they found the only building available to be the Coon house (later renamed Adelante Villa), an unoccupied, falling-to-pieces, reputedly ghost-haunted farmhouse on the Stanford estate two miles farther up the San Francisquito Creek. While waiting for pupils to materialize these young women[1] seized the immediate opportunity and set up a boarding-house for the summer. This provided a haven of refuge for stray members of the faculty and for some few prospective students who drifted in before the opening of the University. Among these latter came Herbert Hoover, from Portland, Oregon, selected by fate as the first Stanford graduate to become President of the United States, but just then intent only on brushing up certain studies for the September entrance examinations and incidentally earning some of his expenses by serving the Adelante School.[2]

To the Argonautic band of invaders California was something of an unknown land. And the time of arrival was midsummer, in the country, and under a blazing California sky. The brown fields and hills, bristling with "stickers," to be followed later by interminable stretches of tar weed, did not invite to rambles among the hills or by dusty roads to the mountain tops. Only the President, with team and surrey, ventured over the mountains into the deep Redwood forests along the streams of the La Honda and Santa Cruz regions and so on to the ocean and its fascinating beaches. A road had been cut through the Arboretum to the prospective town of Palo Alto (then known as University Park); but this road was not yet graveled, and the deep dust and frequent pit-holes made it almost impassable. There was as yet no town at the Palo Alto end of the road, only a shelter before which an occasional railway train might stop on signal. Menlo Park was railway station, as well as post, telegraph, and express office, for the University. Mayfield, nearer the Quadrangle, was without living accommodations for faculty or students and still incredulous about any beginning at all of the University and wholly unsuspecting that the town itself was destined to become the temporary emporium of faculty and student trade and the long-time magnet for student offside (and perchance off-color) hilarities. Both Menlo and Mayfield were saloon-ridden, rather sordid-appearing villages, Menlo, indeed, surrounded by fine estates and pretentious residences of San Francisco millionaires. San Francisco itself was but thirty miles away, a city of perpetual delight to Argonautic adventurers. Here one might learn the customs of the country, acquire facility in reckoning by the "bit," and feel the scorn of merchants for the humble penny, a coin tolerated only by post-office officials.

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[1] Eleanor Brooks Pearson and Lucy H. Fletcher. Miss Pearson was later to become Assistant Professor of English in the University; Miss Fletcher became the wife of Professor Bolton C. Brown of the University.

[2] Enthusiastic Andrew P. Hill of San Jose, who took the official photographs of the Opening Day exercises (October 1, 1891), wrote Mrs. Stanford a few days later: "I expect to vote for a President of these United States who carried a sheepskin from the Stanford Junior University, and I wish with all my heart you and the Governor may live to see the same."

It was a summer crowded with activity. Besides road making and the construction of cottages for the faculty, much necessary work remained to be done to bring the University buildings to completion before the Opening Day. At the time of the first faculty arrivals the concrete walls of Roble were just beginning to show above the ground level, and the Museum was hardly further advanced. The interior finishing work in Encina and the quadrangle buildings was far from complete. Of the scores of workmen, some were living in barracks back of the Engineering buildings, later the picturesque student quarters famous in Stanford history as "The Camp." Others were transported daily from Menlo Park and Mayfield in large open busses furnished by the "hotel" boarding-houses. Faculty men having no similar, or other, means of transportation trudged the two dusty miles from Menlo, or from Adelante, to their respective office quarters in the Quadrangle—and were familiarly dubbed the "tramp professors." All brought lunches, even the President, and ate them together seated on the curb of the side arcade next to the Administration Building (the present German Building), monarchs, for the time being, of all they surveyed.

The first University offices had been set up in the brick building near Escondite, the former library of Peter Coutts. Here also early in July were held the first entrance examinations. By the middle of the month the Administration Building in the Quadrangle was made ready, and here for the summer were assembled the offices of President, Registrar, and Librarian, with desks also for such later arrivals as desired them. A corner was even found for the proprietors of the new Adelante School where prospective pupils with their fathers and mothers might be interviewed.

Immediately upon his arrival in California a reception was tendered to Dr. Jordan, and such of his staff as were available, by William T. Reid, headmaster of the Belmont School and former President of the University of California. To this gathering were also invited such members of the Berkeley faculty as could be reached in vacation time and various secondary schoolmen in the Bay region. The date was July 3, and the gathering was held on the attractive grounds of the school, with about forty guests present. It was a happy introduction to California and brought out the cordial spirit and friendly welcome of the craft. Following this reception Dr. Jordan left for the southern part of the state ostensibly to conduct some of the entrance examinations scheduled for Southern California, more particularly to extend his acquaintance with that part of the state and to come into personal touch with schoolmen and prospective students.

Mr. and Mrs. Stanford spent the entire summer in Palo Alto. They were of course interested in everything that was being done and were most cordial and helpful to the newcomers. "Some more of this Aladdin business" was a favorite remark of Dr. Jordan as the lamp was rubbed and more genii appeared. The Stanfords made their first call on Dr. and Mrs. Jordan at Escondite the evening of their arrival (June 26). One who was present and listened to the conversation wrote in a letter to the home folks: "They sat on the porch with us, and I thought them very kind-hearted, unpretentious people. They were full of pleasure and enthusiasm in all this work which they are putting through, and they were as cordial and friendly to us all as possible. I liked Senator Stanford especially well. He is quiet and so kindly in his manner and has a good face." Later: "We called at the Stanfords' last night. Mrs. Stanford reminds me of ———. She has the same executive ability (with more to exercise it on) and the same warm-hearted interest in people, a similar freakishness on occasion, and even similar little ways with you. They are both very genuine without a particle of affectation—just as frank and simple as though they did not have an income of a million a year."

Interviewing Mr. Stanford in Paris a year later the *New York World* correspondent writes of him: "He is sixty-eight years old and places no great faith in robust health any more. He wants enough to enable him to judiciously spend his money before he dies . . . . His heavy, melodious voice greeted your correspondent. His face, even with its short gray beard, heavy hanging eyebrows, and full of sternness and determination, is yet kindly, and his grayish blue eyes watch with keen interest that enlivens the listener, the effect of what he says. The man is strong in speech and natural physique. Words slip easily from his tongue; not flowery, but like the man's appearance, plain and practical."[8]

Dr. Jordan was in his element, and bubbling over with energy and enthusiasm. Each day's task and each new development was challenge and stimulus, and continually there was the joy of seeing the great undertaking actually taking shape in his hands. But it was not all magic, even during that first summer. There were many puzzling questions to be settled. They were not planning for an institution already well established whose needs could be accurately described. How much was it wise or expedient to undertake at the time? Mr. Stanford desired and expected only a modest beginning with no accumulation of materials or equipment or staff beyond probable demand. Details would be willingly entrusted to Dr. Jordan, but Mr. Stanford must exercise his own judgment when important decisions were to be made. Some departments—agriculture, for example, very much emphasized in the charter, but expensive even in its beginnings—had better wait. The Librarian's natural desire to lay a broad foundation in the purchase of important bibliographical works was met by the dictum that as a nucleus Mr. Stanford thought a library "such as a gentleman would have for his own use, to cost four or five thousand dollars," would be sufficient. Adequate equipment, which department heads quite naturally were counting on, had to conform to Mr. Stanford's conception of what a modest beginning would require. Occasional differences of viewpoint like these disturbed Dr. Jordan not in the least; "we will educate Mr. Stanford," was his remark to the Librarian, as he passed on to something else. No shadow larger than a man's hand could be discerned anywhere on the horizon, except perhaps in the extreme reluctance with which the Business Office in San Francisco conceded even the modest scale of expenditure.

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[8] *San Francisco Examiner*, October 16, 1892.

The pioneer faculty was actually meeting pioneering conditions, not merely in the way of living accommodations, tools, and supplies, but also in certain situations less easily corrected. But let it not be supposed that any of the romance of early Stanford was thereby dissipated. Rather it was enhanced. Moments of homesickness there must have been, with longings for the green fields and purling brooks left behind. California was friendly, but none the less and naturally critical; and the little band of Argonauts were experiencing what the psychologists speak of as "the feeling of being stared at." These were after all but passing shadows, if shadows at all. The Argonauts were not looking for any particular lap of luxury. They expected pioneering and were quite ready for it. When they finally got together as a faculty it would be found that, although their antecedents and outlooks were different, ranging from conservative to radical, all were ready for new departures. They were under the spell of Dr. Jordan's inspiring, irresistible leadership; and no obstacle, expected or unexpected, could daunt the President. "It is difficult," Dr. Jordan said years later, "to recapture the first fine, careless rapture of our work at Stanford." "A handful of young idealists, with much less wisdom, I dare say, than enthusiasm,—we had come from a distance to a half-discovered country already vaguely known to us through Irving and Dana and Bayard Taylor and Bret Harte and the glowing prophecies of our Joshua . . . . We did not mind the primitive conditions of our material existence, and accepted without a murmur the penury of books and apparatus, for poetry was in the air we breathed, hope was in every heart, and the presiding spirit of Freedom prompted us to dare greatly."[4]

Early in the summer Dr. Jordan began to go out among the people of the state. Everywhere he was a striking figure. He did not say the conventional things. He repeated the talks he had given in Indiana; but however often repeated they always seemed fresh-minted. There was a pungent directness, a finality of expression, a succession of startling phrases which captured the imagination. At the University a stream of visitors continually found their way to the Administration Building. Dr. Jordan took them all into his confidence, met them at once on the common level where all barriers of tradition are brushed aside. Prospective students came to see what the University looked like and what promise, if any, it might hold for them. Always they went away under the spell. A near neighbor, the University of the Pacific, had experienced a serious internal disturbance in the spring of the year, with an explosion that had forced the retirement of certain teachers and left a disgruntled student body. Gradually these students found their way to the Quadrangle and were irresistibly drawn into the Stanford group. With them came also two of the teachers, one of whom, Dr. Thoburn, was to find his place almost at once among the most valued and best loved of the faculty group.

On the first day of October 1891 the breath of life was breathed into the fashioned clay. More than four hundred students appeared for registration on this opening day. The event of the occasion was the ceremony of dedication, which was held in the open court of the Inner Quadrangle. A stand for the speakers had been erected in front of the Spanish arch at the west end of the court, and the surrounding arches were profusely decorated with California's choicest flowers and shrubs. The western half of the court was filled with a great gathering of people from far and near. Here Mr. Stanford for the Founders, Judge Shafter for the Trustees, President Kellogg for the State University, and President Jordan gave appropriate expression to the feelings which the occasion called forth and to the aims and anticipations and hopes for the development of the institution for which such long and costly preparation had been made.

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[4] Professor Melville B. Anderson at Founders' Day Dinner, 1914.—*Stanford Alumnus*, December 1914.

"For Mrs. Stanford and myself," Mr. Stanford said, "this ceremony marks an epoch in our lives, for we see in part the realization of the hopes and efforts of years. We do not believe there can be superfluous education. Whether in the discharge of responsible or humble duties, the knowledge man has acquired through education will be not only of practical assistance to him, but a factor in his personal happiness and a joy forever." "The immediate object of this institution is the personal benefit and advancement of the students, but we look beyond to the influence it will exert on the general welfare of humanity." "We have decided to start this institution with the college course of study beginning with the freshman year. In time we hope to extend its scope from the kindergarten through the high school to the university course, and afford opportunities for improvement and investigation to postgraduates and specialists." "It is our hope that the young women and the young men who graduate from Palo Alto shall not only be scholars, but shall have a sound practical idea of commonplace, everyday matters, a self-reliance that will fit them, in case of emergency, to earn their own livelihood in a humble as well as an exalted sphere. Added to this we wish them to go out into the world with a lofty sense of man's and woman's responsibilities on earth in accordance with the highest teachings of morality and religion." "You, students, are the most important factor in the university. It is for your benefit that it has been established. To you our hearts go out especially, and in each individual student we feel a parental interest. All that we can do for you is to place the opportunities within your reach. Remember that life is, above all, practical; that you are here to fit yourselves for a useful career; also, that learning should not only make you wise in the arts and sciences, but should fully develop your moral and religious natures."

Felicitously and in words of generous appreciation President Kellogg brought the greetings and good wishes of the University of California. "The professors of our own institution welcome this addition to the forces of education in California." "The older workers in the field cannot but give a hearty greeting to their new coadjutors. They feel a stronger confidence that California is not to fall below its splendid possibilities, that it is not to fail in its mission of enlightenment to the great empires of the Pacific Ocean." "To-day we see the birth of a university which unites the memory of the departed with the vigilant supervision of the living. To the living we offer our congratulations; for the lamented dead we are sure there is raised a worthy and enduring monument."

It was for Dr. Jordan to speak directly of the task and the equipment and of the ideals and possibilities which inspired those who this day, teachers and students, set forth to fulfill the trust committed to them: "It is the personal contact of young men and women with scholars and investigators which constitutes the life of the University. Ours is the youngest of the universities, but it is heir to the wisdom of all the ages. It is ours at the beginning to give to the University its form, its tendencies, its customs. The power of precedent will cause to be repeated over and over again everything that we do—our errors as well as our wisdom. We hope to give to our students the priceless legacy of the educated man, the power of knowing what really is. Every influence which goes out from these halls should emphasize the value of truth. Strong men make universities strong. A great man never fails to leave a great mark on every youth with whom he comes in contact. The real purpose of the university organization is to produce a university atmosphere."

"The student has no need for luxury," he said. "Plain living has ever gone with high thinking. But grace and fitness have an educative power too often forgotten in this utilitarian age. These long corridors with their stately pillars, these circles of waving palms, will have their part in the student's training as surely as the chemical laboratory or the seminary room." "The University has its origin in the shadow of a great sorrow, and its purpose is the wish to satisfy for the coming generation the hunger and thirst after knowledge—that undying curiosity which is the best gift of God to man. The influence of the boy, to the nobility of whose short life the Leland Stanford Junior University is a tribute and a remembrance, will never be lost in our country." "The Golden Age of California begins when its gold is used for purposes like this. From such deeds must rise the new California of the coming century, no longer the California of the gold seeker and the adventurer, but the abode of high-minded men and women, trained in the wisdom of the ages, and imbued with the love of nature, the love of man, and the love of God. And bright indeed will be the future of our State if, in the usefulness of the University, every hope and prayer of the founders shall be realized."

On the morrow (October 2) there was the usual routine of any beginning semester anywhere. Classes met and were enrolled, and tasks were set for the following day or days. All of the nineteen departments were manned, and in all of them major students were enrolled. Four students registered major preferences in not yet existing but supposedly prospective departments —two in architecture, one in agriculture, and one in drawing.[5] In these beginning days there were no observable halos floating about the heads of either faculty or students. There was no magical virtue in the untried major-subject system, no promised exemption from the hard spade work necessary to vitalize the relation between instructor and student. President Eliot had discovered not that the student was wiser than the professor, but that a curriculum made up *in abstracto*, so to speak, was useful only for the abstract student—and there was no such student. Stanford was attempting to furnish a method, a means, by which the student might be led, with the least possible delay, to discover for himself a task of compelling interest, with a vision of something concretely worth while at the end of the trail. To the student who chose his task blindly, with no pronounced interest in any particular subject, one combination of subjects was probably as good as any other. Even in such a case the necessity of thinking in terms of a definite, concrete goal to be attained seemed the most likely way to develop purpose and scholarly ambition.

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[5] One in architecture transferred promptly to English and finally graduated in physiology; the one in agriculture transferred to economics and graduated as a pre-legal major. The other two dropped out too soon to be absorbed in other departments.

The student who knew what he wanted would find at Stanford no barriers placed in his way. He could set about his main task immediately, a task that was to become more absorbing with each forward step. There were many such students in the first Stanford classes, and the University appeal was instant and stimulating to a high degree. Many things were lacking. Necessary supplies, in numerous instances, could not be obtained in advance of the actual opening of the University. Delays were not infrequent. That microscopes were long in arriving, that books, drawing tables, and other supplies must be ordered from the East—none of these things were allowed to dampen the ardor of teacher or student. The romance of new beginnings, the high standards set up at the very outset, the universal feeling of comradeship, and the pervading optimism of Dr. Jordan triumphed over all difficulties and made the work of this first year noteworthy in the history of the University.

In the early summer of 1892 the Stanfords went directly from Washington to Europe, in the interest of Mr. Stanford's health, and were not present at the first Commencement. From Aix-les-Bains Mrs. Stanford wrote to Dr. and Mrs. Jordan, July 13, 1892: "Ever since the accounts of the first Commencement at dear Palo Alto reached us I have had it on my mind to write you. I want you to know we are deeply interested in all and everything pertaining to the success of the undertaking so dear to our hearts. We received a pamphlet containing the order of exercises and other interesting data . . . . Wonders have been accomplished in so short a time. Even our fondest hopes have been more than realized. As we look over the field now, our minds more quieted and our anxieties and fears less, it seems wonderful things have worked so smoothly. I feel that the Doctor is a tower of strength. When we look back to this time last year, how much there was to do, and then to be ready to care for five hundred when we thought two hundred and fifty would be a goodly number to start with, we should all feel satisfied and be thankful for the help all have received from the unseen power who is ever ready and willing to aid his children on earth."

"It is no wonder"—to quote again from Professor Anderson's reminiscent talk in 1914—"that to unsympathetic visitors our plight and some of our performances should have appeared grotesque. So it did not appear, however, to the good people of the state at large, nor did it appear so to the increasing body of students. When after the first weeding we farmer professors got down to dogged labor in the fields of culture, we found co-workers in many serious-minded young people who appeared only too happy to endure with us the burden and heat of the day. The field we worked extended far beyond the limits of the 'Stanford Farm.' Our gospellers went out, carrying neither purse nor scrip, to all the world west of the mountains, finding people everywhere hungry and thirsty for the word. This was a new enterprise out here. Whenever a Stanford professor spoke, young men and young women were fired with a desire to seek this new fountain of life."

THE PIONEERS

The students who came together on that natal day of the University, October 1, 1891, did not differ superficially from other groups assembling on other campuses throughout the land. Two-thirds of the new student body were residents of California, and most of these had gravitated to Stanford in a more or less routine way. Yet there were differences. Many could give reasons for their choice that would appeal only to the daring and resourceful of any group. A third of the more than five hundred students were from outside of California. They had trekked across the country not exactly because they expected to find better or more complete facilities than nearer home, but stirred by the spirit of adventure and enamored of the romance of new beginnings. Some were following a favorite teacher, and with him looking into a freer world with larger opportunities in prospect. Some who had not supposed that college halls could ever open to them had been arrested by the amplitude of Mr. Stanford's far-heralded plans, providing educational opportunities for everybody, from the kindergarten up! Somewhere, surely, whatever their previous training, or lack of training, they could fit into that scheme. Finally, the call had come to many an impecunious but ambitious youth who argued that in the midst of such lavish expenditures and unlimited resources would be found he knew not what opportunities for overcoming hardships and meeting the bills of four wonderful years of a college course.

With all this fine material surging into the Registration Office there would, of course, be some driftwood. Some were good enough material but unprepared scholastically, mostly through no fault of their own or of anyone else. Sometimes it was the parent who had developed the fixed idea that his son must be a member of the first Stanford class whatever his stage of preparation. Some were unprepared for the necessary discipline and exactions of a college course. Some, intellectually keen enough, were proper candidates for the reform school, though reformation of any sort was the last thing had in mind.

Reporting the first entrance examinations held in Los Angeles (July 7, 1891) Dr. Richardson wrote: "Twelve boys and one girl took the examinations this morning. Some of my thirteen are very poorly prepared, I fear. Have had a great many callers. Some fond parents wish us to take their eight-year-old children and 'learn 'em everything'!"

Did this motley group in considerable numbers crash the gates and go to swell the list that, to the skeptical public, seemed so unbelievably large? Many were inclined to think so. The University of California, after years of slow though solid growth, was reaching this same year, at Berkeley, an enrollment of 520. Stanford's total was 559. The editor of the *Overland Monthly*, a most friendly critic, noted the disquieting fact that Stanford was admitting students from accredited schools of other states, and *ad eundem* from their colleges and universities. The direct question had been put to both Berkeley and Stanford, "Would you give such-and-such a student the same standing as at Iowa College?" The Berkeley Dean answered "No," Dr. Jordan "Yes." Doubtless, commented the editor, Dr. Jordan knew Iowa College better than did the Berkeley Dean; but it opened a wide door. The editor had other fears, having heard certain high-school boys tell of youths going to Stanford from their school because unable to meet the Berkeley requirements, and of others lacking a year of graduation who were able to pass the Stanford examinations. "I should really like very much, for my own satisfaction, to study your examinations and methods of crediting—but it would be foolish to base any opinion on those of this year, which must necessarily be tentative. Such criticisms as these afloat in the high schools will amount to nothing whatever if they are distinctly stopped off next year."[1]

A critic not so friendly, but deliciously solemn, wrote, in the *San Francisco Report* of November 24, 1891: "The Stanford Jr. University has no entrance examinations; while those at the State University are quite exacting . . . . There are no regular courses at Palo Alto. A student merely answers a few questions, similar to those put to civil service applicants, and then indicates what sort of an education he desires. If he intends to be an engineer or follow a mechanical life, the professor prescribes the books to be bought. This is done in all cases."

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[1] Millicent W. Shinn to Dr. Jordan, October 16, 1891.

A young Harvard graduate, instructor in a neighboring institution, who visited Stanford in the summer of 1892, inquired very particularly about the Stanford admissions: "Of course," he said, "you cannot have this number of actual college students."

In 1893, two years after the opening of the University, it occurred to a certain Harvard junior, who had never been outside of New England, that it might be a good thing to take his senior year at Stanford—as far removed as possible from his home environment. When he mentioned this idea to one of his professors the reply was, "Well, the institution has no past and is not likely to have any future." But when he went to Dean Briggs, the latter "jumped right out of his chair." "Go," he said. "Go by all means—even if you have to walk!"

That the gates had been let down and the student ranks at Stanford swollen with poorly prepared youths who could not have gained admission at any university of standing was a favorite theme with various critics and observers, and furnished a gibe which rival student groups did not hesitate to use. An athletic agreement between the football managers of Stanford and the University of California once had a clause deftly slipped into the Stanford section ruling out "such preparatory students as might be enrolled in the University."

As a matter of fact, if there was some reason to question the resistance strength of the Stanford entrance gates there was also little occasion for alarm. The normal Stanford constituency was and would continue to be a wide one, and until experience could be accumulated entrance credentials must be taken to some extent on trust. This fact naturally made the University cautious and disposed to sift high-school records with a good deal of care. On the other hand, admission to the pioneer class had been made officially easy in two ways. Although the published requirements for full undergraduate standing were similar to those of the University of California—which compared, on even terms, with those of Eastern colleges and universities—Dr. Jordan had provided that candidates might enter on fulfilling the requirements of the first group only, deferring examination in the other subjects for a year. This after all was about what was required for admission as a "limited" student at California.

But another and wider entrance gate had been provided and quite innocently left ajar and unguarded. A provision for "special students" in the Berkeley requirements read as follows: "Students who are mature—usually such as have attained their majority—and who wish to pursue some one study and its related branches, may be permitted to do so by making application through the Recorder of the Faculties." In rephrasing this for the Stanford announcement Dr. Jordan omitted the implied qualification of "maturity," but added the supposedly stricter requirement of "approval by the professor under whom the specialty was to be taken." "Students of mature age," the Stanford provision ran, "who are not candidates for a degree, and who wish to pursue some one study and its related branches, may be permitted to do so without having passed the usual entrance examinations (excepting that in the English language), on the recommendation of the professor under whom the specialty is to be taken."

How this provision worked was set forth reminiscently and not too seriously in a later issue of the Stanford *Quad* (Volume IV): "The thirst for education had developed in unexpected quarters and persons of widely varied qualifications pressed forward to get some droppings of the new education. The improvised entrance requirements fairly sifted the general mass of applicants and kept most of the unfit away from Palo Alto altogether. But when a determined remnant surged past the regular requirements, demanding admission as special students, most of the professors struck their colors at once. It has now become a fixed tradition that of all those who had the courage to make the assault not one was so far down in the scale of preparation as to fail to obtain the indorsement of some good-natured professor. And in those halcyon days there were no committees to revise the action of the major professor."

An examination of the actual records of that first year's matriculates may serve to correct some misleading inferences current at one time or another. The showing made reflects not only the good quality of the general body of students but the standard of high scholarship set up from the beginning and

Interior of Quadrangle Stan. Jr. University

Inner Quadrangle (September, 1891)

Executive offices of the University during the summer of 1891, at present (1937) occupied by the Department of Germanic Languages

maintained throughout the succeeding years. The suspicion harbored by the public, and by some Stanford folk as well, so far as it concerned the group of special students, may have had considerable justification; yet from this group were to come some Stanford graduates whom the University would not willingly spare from its honor roll.

Of the five hundred and twenty registrations at the University of California in 1891–92, seventy-six were special students; of Stanford's five hundred and fifty-nine, one hundred and forty-seven were special students. Fifteen Stanford specials, so listed because of incomplete records at the time of matriculation, afterward received regular or advanced standing; ten of the fifteen were granted the Bachelor's degree in due time. Of the remaining one hundred and thirty-two special students, twenty-three, or 16.6 per cent, were eventually graduated; seventeen made no record whatever, withdrawing before the end of the first semester; twenty-nine were "disqualified" because of failure in their studies. Of these one hundred and thirty-two special students, seventy-six were below the age of twenty-one, forty-one below twenty. One special student was but fifteen years of age, and six were only sixteen. Of the forty-two special students in engineering, eleven had preparatory mathematics to make up, and fourteen, during their first semester, did not pursue any scheduled studies except woodworking and drawing.

The number admitted to first-year (freshman) standing was two hundred and fifty-five. Of these one hundred and thirty-three (52.1 per cent) were graduated—a fairly average proportion. Or, if one adds the eleven special students afterward given freshman standing (of whom ten were granted degrees), the number of freshmen matriculates becomes two hundred and sixty-six of whom one hundred and forty-three (53.7 per cent) were graduated. Nine withdrew before any record had been made, and twenty-eight were eliminated because of poor scholarship (twenty-one by the end of the third semester). Again a favorable showing.

The number of students at first admitted to advanced undergraduate standing was one hundred and sixteen or, counting the four afterward transferred from the special student list, one hundred and twenty. Of the one hundred and sixteen, forty-three were from the University of the Pacific, seventeen from Indiana University, and nine from the University of California. Ninety-three of the one hundred and twenty (77.5 per cent) were duly granted degrees. Only two were eliminated because of scholarship deficiencies.

The thirty-seven admitted to graduate standing were a less stable lot. Ten were Indiana University graduates. However, of the thirty-seven, fifteen went on to take advanced degrees, and one was granted the Bachelor's degree. Seven have no recorded credits.

In the qualities of originality, resourcefulness, wit, and dash "the Pioneers" have probably never been surpassed by any later classes. It was not the fabled Golden Age of the University, but it was its springtime and there could not be again the same upswing of new life and unimpeded growth. In reminiscent mood, thirty years later, Dr. Jordan spoke of this "group of brave youths who chose, whatever the hardship, a new university, fresh and picturesque, without encumbering traditions, and in which all finger posts pointed forward." "You, students," Mr. Stanford said on the opening day, "are the most important factor in the University." To be fitted for future tasks and responsibilities—yes, but as molders also, in ways they could not always see, of the inner life and spirit of the University.

These five hundred and fifty-nine men and women who made up the first student body found a practically free field for the development of those attitudes, conventions, and activities which make up so much of the framework of college life. There was no body of alumni whose influence reached backward to point the way and to initiate the worship of sacred traditions. There were no sophisticated upperclassmen who could enforce the only authentic Stanford way of doing things. These new Stanford students found themselves in the free, open spaces in an intensely rural environment. There were here, for example, none of the distractions or inhibitions of a sophisticated social aristocracy. Dr. Jordan was a constant reminder that the winds of freedom were blowing. The faculty, young and forward-looking, was itself rejoicing in a new-found freedom from the restraints of academic tradition. The time, the place, the architecture, the surroundings, the newness and crudeness incident to a pioneer undertaking were all, in their way, sources of inspiration and incentives to independent thinking and doing.

Of course, this did not mean anything very revolutionary. Human nature is much the same everywhere. These Stanford young people had the background of home and school training and were held within certain grooves by invisible barriers of custom and heredity. Besides, the quarter of the whole number who were transfers from other colleges brought with them the folkways of the institutions from which they came. Although a third of these transfers were from a single small college, yet in all twenty-five colleges and universities were represented. The very pronounced traditions of any one were likely to be canceled by the equally pronounced traditions of others. All were in the melting pot together. Naturally the more experienced academicians took the lead, or tried to take it—to a certain extent were expected and permitted to do so. But the freshmen, outnumbering all the other classes put together, regarded themselves, from the first, as the real pioneers and makers of traditions and had no mind to be very much lorded over or told what to do.

II. PROGRESS OF EVENTS

THE UNIVERSITY

The University had opened most auspiciously. With the largest collegiate enrollment in the Far West, with a wide range of instruction actually undertaken, an alert teaching force and a wide-awake student body, the Founders could feel that their dream had come true. It was only a beginning, though, and the whole University was on tiptoe to meet the expansion to which every sign pointed. The severe check which followed the death of Mr. Stanford and the financial difficulties of the next two decades necessarily modified the whole course of development. The high lights of these trying years were the self-sacrificing struggle of Mrs. Stanford to provide the means of existence, and the success of Dr. Jordan in maintaining esprit de corps and the high standards of scholarly work and accomplishment.

While growth thus became necessarily slow, and plans must be delayed again and again, no feeling of defeatism was allowed to gain a foothold. Dr. Jordan's ingenuity in difficult situations and his ability to inspire hope and courage, whatever drawbacks might be encountered, preserved and strengthened the forward-looking attitude of mind. Moreover, fundamental problems rarely appeared on the surface. University living and working was normal, and the day-by-day tasks were entered upon with eagerness and satisfaction. The growing needs were substantially met in one way or another, and no excellence in method or achievement seemed unattainable. The original scale of salaries had been generous for the time. Even with the ten per cent cut they did not fall below the general level of most institutions of higher learning; and the first few years at least were marked by an era of falling prices and lower costs of living.

As for the students, they had their own small complaints and grievances, but that the University stood in the forefront of progress and academic excellence they never doubted. Nor were these attitudes any kind of make-believe. The standards, the growth, the work accomplished were actual, and the enviable reputation of the University was abundantly deserved. The men whom Dr. Jordan had put in charge of the various departments did not look backward, and felt no temptation to compromise with expediency or to countenance any course of action that would lower the prestige already achieved.

Just the ordinary tasks of departmental organization and management, and the routine work of instruction, furnished a very full program. But the University was anxious to get other things started. With the two gymnasiums, additional cottages for the faculty, and the completion of the Museum provided for, further building operations were not thought to be pressing for the time being. It was vaguely understood that because of some temporary embarrassment in railroad matters and signs of disturbance in the business world Mr. Stanford was desirous of foregoing any large additional expenditure until the skies were brighter. One evidence of this perhaps was the fact that the engagement with the firm of Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge was allowed to lapse. At the same time Mr. Stanford proposed to take into his own employ the resident architect of the firm, Mr. Charles D. Austin. When, however, Mr. Austin decided to remain with the firm and return to Boston, Mr. Stanford was content to put such small construction projects as were immediately in prospect in the hands of Mr. Austin's assistant, Charles Edward Hodges. This action was not intended to be, nor was it thought by anyone to imply, any curtailment of expenses necessary to the reasonable and proper development of the University.

OUTSIDE LECTURES AND CONTACTS

One of the activities Dr. Jordan had very definitely in mind from the moment of his appointment was promptly set in motion. This was a larger contact with the state through individual lectures and talks by members of the faculty—at teachers' institutes and school commencements, before clubs and civic bodies, and more especially through extension courses in various important centers. These involved no expense to the University, nor were they undertaken as profit-making enterprises. In general, institutes, clubs, and extension centers were expected to provide an honorarium or fees sufficient to cover the expenses of the lecturers; but lecturers went out whether or no. These young scholars believed they had a message for the people of California, and were eager to respond to the invitations, which were never lacking. Dr. Jordan himself was foremost in this group. Extension courses were undertaken during the first year—by Professor Barnes, in Oakland and Santa Cruz, on experimental studies in educational psychology; by Professor Anderson, in San Francisco, on dramatists contemporary with Shakespeare; by Dr. Jordan, in San Jose, on evolution. These were thought-provoking courses, stirring up much interest, discussion, and even controversy. They were continued and extended for the next ten years, conducted also by Professors Branner, Cubberley, Duniway, Goebel, Griggs, Howard, Jenkins, Walter Miller, Ross, Thoburn, and others, covering a wide range of subjects.

A complementary feature was the series of popular Tuesday Evening Lectures at the University, participated in by members of the faculty but affording a forum especially for distinguished citizens from far and near—and there were many such—who visited the University and were glad to speak before a University audience. Among these early visitors were Professors H. S. White and George L. Burr, of Cornell, Rufus B. Richardson, of Dartmouth, President Eliot and Professor William James, of Harvard, John Fiske, John R. Mott, Jane Addams, the Rev. H. R. Haweis of London, Lieutenant Peary, Prince Wolkonsky, Joseph Le Conte, and Jenkin Lloyd Jones. With the increase of student and other activities this very successful series eventually declined in popular favor. In 1900 it became a fortnightly event, and in 1902 gave way entirely to the morning assemblies, to be restored later under the presidency of Dr. Wilbur.

The California *Occident*, commenting on the few outside addresses at Berkeley, remarked (October 1905): "Stanford has long set us an excellent example in this respect, but one which we obstinately refuse to follow. . . . . In the short time that University has been open this term scarcely a week has passed without an address by some noted lecturer. Meanwhile we have been peacefully dozing here, shaking our heads in solemn admiration of divers and sundry wicked youths who have been engaged in the unholy practice of unbooking the library." With the coming of President Wheeler this lack at Berkeley was promptly met.

No time was lost in also putting into operation the methods Dr. Jordan and the men he had chosen had found so fruitful in their own experience. The day-by-day work in class and laboratory was taken up by clubs and groups in each department. In field and week-end explorations, teachers and students together, nature was interrogated in a way to develop enthusiasm for the subject in hand and make learning more real. In the rich local history of the Pacific Coast there might be the actual tracing of explorers' routes, interviews with "survivors" and "oldest inhabitants," actual touch with social and economic conditions in San Francisco and elsewhere. Different departments had different ways of checking up on what was presented in books and lectures. In all the spirit of inquiry rather than of receptivity was stimulated and to a large extent made to permeate the work and outlook of the students.

A significant event of the second year was the organization (in September 1892) of the University Philological Association. With a great scarcity of books in the University library and long distances from outside available sources, the language teachers nevertheless, for themselves, set high up in the scale the standard of scholarship and research. Members were stimulated to the utmost exertion and personal sacrifice to maintain a level of investigation and output equal to that of the best institutions of the East. Under the guidance and scholarly work of Professors Anderson, Matzke, Flügel, Goebel, and others, the Philological Association did for pure scholarship in the University what the Science Association, established in 1894, did for investigation and research in other fields. These associations, and other like groups, were landmarks which helped to fix the status and influence of the University in the educational world.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

In accordance with the wishes of the Founders, voluntary morning chapel was established at the beginning, together with a church service on Sundays. The latter service was inaugurated October 4, 1891, with the Rev. Robert Mackenzie of San Francisco as the preacher. The University provided no honorarium for these services beyond railroad expenses and entertainment at the University. A special suite had been set aside in Encina Hall for clergymen and other distinguished visitors, although more often such persons would be guests in faculty homes. Laymen were not excluded, and faculty members were freely called upon to supplement the service rendered by invited clergymen. A small organ was furnished by Mrs. Stanford, and a voluntary faculty-student choir was brought together. A committee of the faculty made the necessary arrangements for supplies and services. A Chapel Union, formed in 1896, served to bring the community and the "church" into a more organic relationship and to provide a fund for meeting some of the necessary expenses. This special activity came to an end in 1903 with the completion and use of Memorial Church and the assumption of the entire management and financial support by Mrs. Stanford and the Trustees.

THE HOPKINS MARINE LABORATORY

One of the most important acquisitions of the first year of the University was that of a marine biological laboratory at Pacific Grove. The success of the biological stations at Naples, Woods Hole, and elsewhere impressed the Stanford faculty with the need and desirability of such a station on the Pacific Coast. Immediately upon the organization of the departments of Zoölogy and Physiology, Dr. Gilbert and Dr. Jenkins, on their own initiative, set about an examination of the possible sites on the Pacific Coast, and as a result fixed upon Pacific Grove as the best location for the study of marine biology. Because of the heavy initial expenses in starting the University it seemed best not to ask for any financial means or equipment the first year. As soon, however, as the project became known, the city of Pacific Grove appropriated three hundred dollars to further the enterprise. The Pacific Improvement Company added five hundred dollars and offered free use of a site for the Laboratory. Mr. Timothy Hopkins then came forward with a gift of one thousand dollars, and through his influence the Pacific Improvement Company increased the amount of land offered and made it a gift instead of a lease. With this support a suitable building was erected and equipped and a tank and gasoline pumping plant installed. In recognition of Mr. Hopkins' generosity, though against his protest, the name Hopkins Seaside Laboratory was adopted. The first session was held in the summer of 1892.

After this first year, because of the financial stringency, the Laboratory could not rely upon any University support other than the use of its library and apparatus during the summer months. The only sources of revenue were student fees and such gifts as might be received. A year after the opening a severe storm seriously damaged the building. Mr. Hopkins again came forward to bear the expense of repairs. A few years later, when the attendance had outgrown the capacity of the original building, Mr. Hopkins provided a second building, making at the same time a gift of five thousand dollars for the purchase of books on biological subjects.

The general purpose of the Laboratory was to supplement the regular courses of instruction in biology at the University; but more particularly to afford opportunity to advanced students for the study of marine plants and animals, for which Monterey Bay furnished unusual advantages. Three classes of students were specifically provided for: (1) investigators whose whole time would be given to research; (2) advanced students in biology; (3) those with but little previous training in biology. To the first class the opportunities of the Laboratory were offered free; the others were charged a fee of twenty-five dollars per session.

From the first the Laboratory was notably successful. Many prominent scientific men from Eastern institutions and a few from Europe were among those who took advantage of the opportunities it offered, and studies made at the Laboratory were published in many scientific journals both in America and in Europe. The period of expansion and more adequate financial support was to come later, under the presidency of Dr. Wilbur, at which time the Laboratory would receive its permanent name, The Hopkins Marine Station.

THE UNIVERSITY TOWN

When the University opened, the town of Palo Alto had hardly begun to be. It was not until 1887 that there was any thought of a settlement at this point. Mr. Stanford's first idea was that the University village would be located on that part of the estate nearest Mayfield. For various reasons a site entirely outside of the campus came to be preferred. Taking advantage of this change of plan Mr. Timothy Hopkins purchased a large tract of land from the Seale estate, plotted the townsite of Palo Alto (for a time called University Park), and placed it on the market. By the summer of 1891 the present University Avenue had been cut through the Arboretum to connect with the new town. A few ranch buildings were included in Mr. Hopkins' purchase, and at least one dwelling house was erected before 1890 and another in that year. A few more buildings were added in 1891. A shelter served as a railroad station for the few trains which would stop on signal. More buildings were ventured in 1892, including the Bank of Palo Alto, at the corner of the Circle and University Avenue, and Castilleja School (transferred from Adelante Villa by Miss Pearson and Miss Fletcher), located on Kingsley Avenue.

The real development of the town began in 1893. The *Sequoia* of May 3, 1893, reports Palo Alto as "humming with the boom," and notes that two doctors have erected and moved into a cottage, and that a drugstore will be built for their accommodation. The Presbyterian Church, first place of worship in the new town, was already completed. It was at this time that the faculty began to turn toward Palo Alto, particularly those who preferred to build and own their houses; and of course students crowded into all available places.

When it was definitely settled that the University station was to be Palo Alto, the question of transportation between campus and town assumed a good deal of importance. There was talk of an electric line from Palo Alto and another from Mayfield. A definite Mayfield proposition was turned over to Professor Gale for examination during the summer of 1891, and his report to Mr. Stanford was favorable. Franchises for a line from the Palo Alto station were also sought in 1891 and again in 1892. These applications did not meet with approval, nor was Mr. Stanford ready to construct electric lines of his own. Nothing came of any of these propositions except that one real estate firm, interested in College Terrace, made a ceremonious gesture by laying a single rail in the middle of the road on College Avenue.[1] The immediate needs of the University were met by the busses of Jasper Paulsen and others quickly added from both Mayfield and Palo Alto.

An epochal event in the history of Palo Alto was marked by an announcement of the Southern Pacific Company that after December 12, 1892, its local trains to San Francisco would start from Palo Alto instead of, as theretofore, from Menlo Park. The next step was to get a real railroad station. "Surveyors are at work," the *Sequoia* said, on November 9, 1892, "arranging the site for the new stone station at Palo Alto"—a rumor that has not ceased to be heard even after the lapse of more than forty years! (The present Palo Alto station dates from 1896.)

The town of Palo Alto was incorporated in April 1894, and in September of that year a private high school was organized under the principalship of Glanville Terrell, Stanford, '94, later and for many years professor of philosophy at the University of Kentucky. The growth of Palo Alto into a model university and residence city has been steady and uninterrupted.

MILITARY TRAINING

An attempt to graft on a voluntary course in military training at the beginning of the first year was made by Captain Harkins, a retired Civil War veteran living in Menlo Park. The University offered no objection, but voluntary military drill failed to attract the Stanford student. A more ambitious attempt the following year resulted, as it happened, in a temporary boom under Lieutenant Joseph S. Oyster, retired, son-in-law of Trustee Alfred L. Tubbs. The department was presented by Mr. Tubbs with a full set of band instruments, and this attracted a reasonable enrollment in band practice. In 1892 there were lectures to a few students, but no military drill was undertaken until a year later. Then, owing to a misunderstanding as to the amount of credit to be given for drill practice, the enrollment reached one hundred and twenty-five. When the error was corrected for the second semester, enrollment approached the zero point and the work was abandoned. Band practice continued through the semester, when it too lapsed for the time being.

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[1] The Mayfield line never materialized, and the first trolley car from Palo Alto to the campus was run October 7, 1909.

At the beginning of the Spanish War in 1898, a voluntary military organization was effected at the University and a considerable enlistment in the State Militia took place. On May 5, 1898, the men were given a great send-off as they went into encampment in San Francisco. In due time thirty-eight Stanford men were sent to the Philippines, two of whom were afterward killed in action. The *Sequoia* had grimly remarked at the time of enlistments: "War consists essentially in the killing of men. These men are all real men and when they are killed they stay dead. Their wives become widows, their children orphans. .... At best war is brutalizing. .... So when we see the boys whooping and laughing, eager to get into the first company and to the front, we fear they are prompted by enthusiasm and love for adventure rather than by pure patriotism."

One by-product of the Philippine adventure was that it set President Jordan to studying the causes and effects of war and started him on his later mission as an advocate of world peace.

CAMPUS SCHOOLS

In October 1892 a kindergarten was started in one of the Engineering buildings. This was secondarily a school for the accommodation of young children of the faculty, primarily an adjunct to the Department of Education. "As in other sciences," Professor Barnes explained, "a laboratory is an absolute necessity in the proper study of education." "It is in no way a preparatory school," he said; "and while it is under the immediate direction of Professor Barnes and Miss Schallenberger, it is taught by the most advanced students of the education department. One teacher presents drawings in order to study the development of form and proportion in children; another reading, in order to study the way in which children can be led to understand written symbols; a third forms a class of older students in reading to determine the sort of literature suitable for children of different ages. It is merely a laboratory for observing and recording the changes which take place in the development of children under the best influences education can devise." Beginning with its second year provision was made for children up to the age of twelve.[2]

Rather a modern proceeding, one would say. But the mothers of that day failed to appreciate its advantages and were up in arms against the "merely .... observing and recording" idea; and a considerable addition of old-time methods was found necessary. One of its patrons has pleasantly recalled impressions and facts of this early experimental school: "[Professor Barnes's] idea was that children to acquire knowledge should be perfectly free, and also, that it was unnecessary and foolish to spend precious time upon simple elementary work. The mind of the average child was so agile that it was tiresome drudgery to go step by step. The right way was to take a leap and land at the top. With his idea of freedom the children were in full sympathy. They pelted each other with their books and pounded the desks with their elbows. The room where the school was held was on the ground floor, and Knight Jordan, who was especially enterprising, placed a board from the ground to the window sill, and the children found it interesting to leap out of the window and slide down the board."[3]

Kindergartens and a full complement of secondary schools had been envisaged by Mr. Stanford in all his preliminary planning in connection with the University. After his death and the financial limitations of succeeding years, that idea never again came to the surface. The elementary school continued in the old Engineering Building until the accommodations became entirely inadequate and the expense to the patrons burdensome. As

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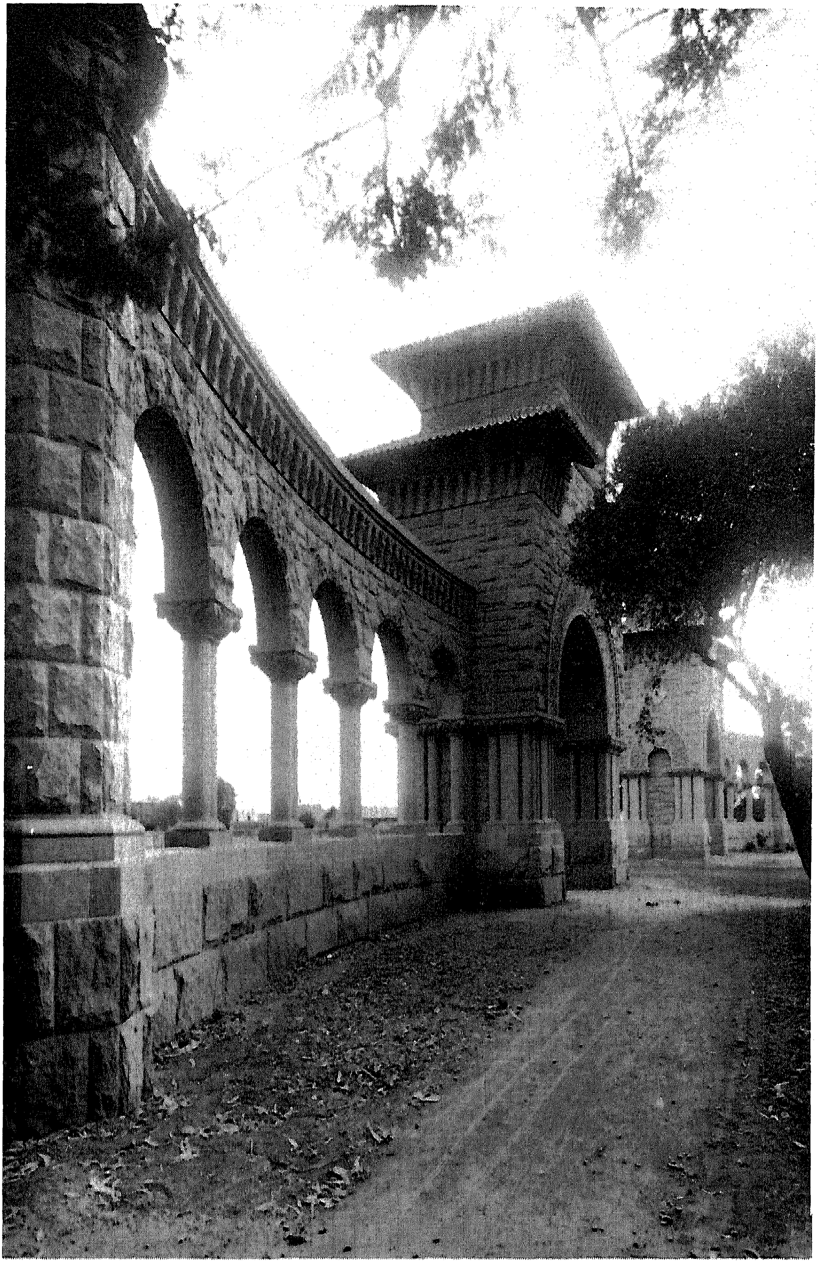
[2] *Daily Palo Alto*, October 19, 1893.

[3] "Early Days at Stanford," by Mrs. Branner (unpublished).



Entrance gates to the Campus before the earthquake

soon as it was found that there were children enough to form a separate public school, steps were taken to establish a Stanford district. This was not so easy. Mayfield was violently opposed to the separation, fearing a loss of public money. Mrs. Stanford was made to believe that it was a scheme to saddle the cost of education upon the taxable property of the University, and expressed her firm objection to the proposal. She yielded, however, to Judge Spencer's representation and advice and withdrew her opposition, only to renew it after Judge Spencer's death, when the old arguments were brought to bear upon her fears and suspicions. Finally, after long delays, Judge Leib was able to clear up misunderstandings, and in 1901 the new district was created by the Supervisors. This did not quite settle the matter, and the district almost lapsed because the University authorities would not allow the district to build a schoolhouse on the grounds nor rent any room or building to the school trustees. Fortunately this impasse was overcome in time, and Mrs. Stanford herself put up the first school building and gave it to the district.

UNITED STATES POST OFFICE

In May 1893 a post office was established at the University and housed in a small wooden building on the site of the future Memorial Church. Up to that time, the daily mail had been brought first from Menlo Park, then from Palo Alto, by private carrier and deposited in the two dormitories and at the Registrar's Office. From these distributing centers the waiting population was served in post-office fashion. In 1900 the post office was moved to a new building on Lasuen Street and years later was made a substation of the Palo Alto post office.

GROWTH AND READJUSTMENT

As the second year of the University came to a close, important additions to the staff for the following year were announced. Those considered essential to the work already undertaken and to meet the expected increase in registration included:

Henry Rushton Fairclough, from Toronto, Greek and Latin
John Charles Lounsbury Fish, from Cornell, Civil Engineering
Rufus Lot Green, from Indiana, Mathematics
Vernon Lyman Kellogg, from Cornell, Entomology
Charles Newton Little, from Nebraska, Mathematics
John Ernst Matzke, from Indiana, Romanic Languages
Clelia Duel Mosher, Hygiene and Physical Training
Margaret M. Schallenberger, San Jose State Normal, Education
Walter Robert Shaw, Botany
David Ellsworth Spencer, from Michigan, History
Wilbur Wilson Thoburn, Biology (Bionomics)
Margaret M. Wickham, from Cleveland College for Women, German
Stewart Woodford Young, from Cornell, Chemistry

Looking toward an actual extension of the field of instruction were

Nathan Abbott, from Northwestern, Law
Benjamin Harrison, Non-Resident Professor of Constitutional Law.

Mr. Stanford had secured President Harrison's acceptance of this appointment while he was still in the White House, announcement being made immediately after the inauguration of his successor at Washington.

Of these seventeen additions to the staff five reached the emeritus rank and three died in service.

It had been the general expectation that construction of the Outer Quadrangle would be begun in the summer of 1893. The final decision, however, was that a chemical laboratory was the building most needed and that this should be located outside the quadrangles. Plans were drawn and approved, bids opened, and contracts made ready for Mr. Stanford's signature. Plans were also under consideration for the development of a Department of Agriculture, specially stressed by Mr. Stanford in the Founding Grant. Nothing had been finally decided, however, and after Mr. Stanford's death it was necessary to lay all these plans aside. When construction was resumed in 1898, the

Chemistry Building was one of the first to be erected; but neither Mrs. Stanford nor the Trustees found it feasible at any later time to add the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Stanford had been far from well, in Washington, for a good part of the year 1892–93, and at times considerable alarm had been felt. But before returning to California in May his health had begun to improve. Late in March Mrs. Stanford had written of his being "so much better than he has been, although not able yet to walk off in his old vigor alone in the streets. But his brain is vigorous, he is cheerful, hopeful, and helps us all by being smiling and chatty, and I expect him to live many years."

On Commencement Day at the University, May 31, 1893, Mr. Stanford was noticeably feeble but in the days following seemed so much better that, in writing to friends, Mrs. Stanford was able to say (June 12, 1893): "A change has come for the better, and I am not deceiving myself, for all our friends see it. . . . . The results have made us both confident [that] in the future he will be well." His death, nine days later, was entirely unexpected and, as it turned out, unprepared for so far as the immediate needs of the University were concerned. The many readjustments that were made necessary included some reduction in the staff. Professors-elect Abbott and Kellogg were able to resume their former positions without embarrassment, and, with others of the regular staff, were given leaves of absence for the year. A few resignations also were accepted, among them that of Professor Joseph Swain, who had already been called to the presidency of Indiana University.

The third year of the University (1893–94), while marked by retrenchment, salary cuts, and a more sober outlook, witnessed little change in the regular routine of university work. The summer of 1893, the year of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, a large number of the faculty had spent in the East. When they returned in September there was no creaking of the machinery anywhere. There were now three full classes in the University and a total registration of 975, including 84 graduate students. The regular instructing staff had increased, since the first year, to four in Greek and Latin, three in German, three in Romanic Languages, five in English, one in Psychology, one in Ethics, two in Education, four in History, three in Economics and Sociology, one in Law, five in Mathematics, one in Astronomy, five in Physics, four in Chemistry, three in Botany, two in Hygiene and Physical Education, three in Physiology and Histology, three in Zoölogy, two in Geology, two in Drawing and Painting, four in Civil Engineering, three in Mechanical Engineering, and one in Electrical Engineering. There were also in addition various student assistants, paid by the hour.

Five years later, with four full classes and an enrollment of 1,153, including 94 in graduate standing, there had been added to the instructing body two in Greek and Latin, one in German, two in Romanic Languages, one in English, one in Philosophy, two in Mathematics, one in Chemistry, one in Hygiene and Physical Education, one in Physiology and Histology, one in Zoölogy, two in Geology, one in Drawing and Painting, and two in Electrical Engineering. Psychology, Education, History, Botany, Civil Engineering, and Mechanical Engineering were unchanged, while the staff had been decreased by one each in Physics, Astronomy, and Entomology. This total net increase of eighteen men had been added on a budget increase, over 1893–94, of fifteen thousand dollars! Fourteen of these eighteen appointees were to become permanent members of the staff, namely: in Botany, George James Peirce; in Civil Engineering, Charles Moser; in Education, Ellwood Patterson Cubberley; in Hygiene and Physical Education, Thomas Andrew Storey; in Latin, Jefferson Elmore; in Law, Clarke Butler Whittier; in Mathematics, Hans Frederik Blichfeldt; in Mechanical Engineering, Guido Hugo Marx; in Physics, Perley Ason Ross; in Physiology, Clara S. Stoltenberg and Ray Lyman Wilbur; in Romanic Languages, Oliver Martin Johnston; in Zoölogy, Harold Heath and John Otterbein Snyder. (Dr. Storey's continuous service dates from 1926; Dr. Wilbur's from 1909, Professor Whittier's from 1915.)

In spite of misfortunes and rumors of misfortune the curve of enrollment went steadily upward, from 559 the first year to 764 the second year, to 975 the third year, to 1,101 the fourth year. The four regular classes were now full, and a further increase, under existing circumstances, was hardly to be expected. As a matter of fact, there was a slight decrease for the next two years—1,069 the fifth year, 1,091 the sixth year. The next year, 1899–1900, showed a slight increase, which was checked again in 1900–1901; but after that occurred mainly a steady increase, reaching a total registration of 2,200 in 1915–16. Additions to the faculty continued to be made, until 1899–1900 without any increase in the President's budget, and necessitating very skillful balancing on the part of the President. The normal overturn brought new men into the faculty. This gave the appearance of an increasing staff without much substance behind it. Promotions were not infrequent, assistants becoming instructors, instructors assistant professors, and so on, but in many cases with little or no change in salaries.

The University suffered severe losses by the deaths of Professor Thoburn, in 1899, of Professor Warner in 1900, and of Professor Richardson in 1902. All were young men, predominantly of the Stanford type, and only at the beginning, as it seemed, of careers of distinguished usefulness. Dr. Thoburn had been a professor in the University of the Pacific, then pastor of the Methodist Church in Mayfield. From the first he was intimately in touch with the University, as a graduate student and as adviser and counselor of the many students who were attracted by his robust quality, his modest spirit, his understanding, and his positive faith. Joining the Stanford faculty in 1893, he made wider contacts and exerted a deeper influence. With his definite science background he was particularly fitted to be the helpful guide in meeting the spiritual and religious problems which the college period of readjustment brings to the youth.

Professor Warner, the first head of the Department of Economics, joined the faculty in 1893. Educated at Nebraska and Johns Hopkins, he came to Stanford after serving as Superintendent of Charities in Baltimore. No man in the faculty gave greater promise of wise leadership and distinguished usefulness. That his work had to be so soon interrupted and finally brought to a close by illness was one of the tragedies of early Stanford history.

One of Dr. Warner's activities was the installation and management of the "friendly woodyard" in Palo Alto, as a means of dealing with the tramp problem of the time. This project not only helped the local situation materially but furnished a valuable laboratory course for the students in social-science courses. One incident was rather revealing. After repeated requests to Palo Alto householders not to give food at the door, but to refer all vagrants to the woodyard, it occurred to Dr. Warner to test the value of these admonitions. Students disguised as tramps, going from house to house, discovered with how little trouble they could obtain all the food they asked for. Dr. Warner's last service to the University, when he was too ill to carry regular classes, was in 1897 when he gave a notable series of addresses on a high theme, "In Default of Demonstration."

Dr. Richardson was the first instructor in Chemistry in the University, having full charge of the department until the arrival of Professor Stillman in January 1892. A man pre-eminently of the Stanford type, an inspiring teacher, keenly interested in athletic sports, a companion and friend to hosts of students, he was a very vital force in all the moods and activities of the growing University.

Additional members of the staff appointed before 1916 who are still active, or who reached the emeritus rank, or who died in service are:

In Anatomy, Arthur William Meyer; in Bacteriology, Wilfred Hamilton Manwaring; in Botany, Leroy Abrams, Leonas Lancelot Burlingame, and James Ira Wilson McMurphy; in Chemistry, Edward Curtis Franklin, John Pearce Mitchell, William Henry Sloan, and Robert Eckles Swain. In Economics, Albert Conser Whitaker and Murray Shipley Wildman; in Education, Percy Erwin Davidson and Jesse Brundage Sears; in Electrical Engineering, Harris Joseph Ryan.

In English, Raymond Macdonald Alden, Lee Emerson Bassett, Margery Bailey, William Dinsmore Briggs, Elisabeth Lee Buckingham, William Henry Carruth, Henry David Gray, Howard Judson Hall, Arthur Garfield Kennedy, Edith Ronald Mirrielees, Theresa Peet Russell, Samuel Swayze Seward, Jr., and Everett Wallace Smith; in Entomology, Rennie Wilbur Doane, and Mary Isabel McCracken; in Geology, Cyrus Fisher Tolman, Austin Flint Rogers, and Bailey Willis; in German, Bruno Boezinger, William Alpha Cooper, and George Hempl; in Graphic Art, Chloe Lesley Starks; in Greek, Ernest Whitney Martin; in History, Ephraim Douglas Adams, Henry Lewin Cannon, Percy Alvin Martin, Yamato Ichihashi, Ralph Haswell Lutz, Edgar Eugene Robinson, and Payson Jackson Treat; in Hygiene and Physical Education, Henry Wilfred Maloney; in Latin, Benjamin Oliver Foster; in Law, Joseph Walter Bingham, Arthur Martin Cathcart, Charles Andrews Huston, Marion Rice Kirkwood, and William Brownlee Owens; in Mathematics, William Albert Manning, Halcott Cadwalader Moreno, and Sidney Dean Townley.

In Mechanical Engineering, William Frederick Durand, Charles N. Cross, Robert Henry Harcourt, Everett Parker Lesley, James Bennett Liggett, Theron J. Palmateer, Edward John Stanley, and Horatio Ward Stebbins; in Philosophy, Harold Chapman Brown, and Henry Waldgrave Stuart; in Physics, Joseph Grant Brown, Elmer Reginald Drew and Frederick J. Rogers; in Political Science, Burt Estes Howard and Victor J. West; in Physiology, James R. Slonaker and Frank W. Weymouth; in Psychology, John E. Coover, Lillien J. Martin, and Lewis Madison Terman; in Romanic Languages, Clifford Gilmore Allen, Aurelio Macedonia Espinosa, Albert Leon Guérard, Robert Edouard Pellissier, and Stanley Astredo Smith; in Zoölogy, Walter Kenrick Fisher, Edwin Chapin Starks, and Willis Horton Rich; in Administration, John Ezra McDowell; Librarian, George Thomas Clark; Chaplain, David Charles Gardner.

THE SUMMER LIAR

Summer vacations in early Stanford days seemed especially times of fears and fancies, with Dame Rumor and the Summer Liar working hand in hand. In 1892 the *San Francisco News*

Letter, gazing into its own large-sized crystal, saw what it took to be a trek of dissatisfied Stanford professors heading toward the East. They did not appear to be complaining about their salaries, but were feeling less comfortable than in their former jobs. The chief grievance was the hard work imposed upon them by the elective system. For, so the *News Letter* affirmed, by this system "any of the students may choose all of their studies, and the teacher who instructs them in their main study is supposed to coach them also in the others!"

But when it came to crystal gazing other news sheets were not to be outdone. A stiff rise in the price of room and board in the dormitories, proclaimed by the business management, disclosed this time the professors out visiting the parents of old students, explaining why prices had been raised and trying to induce them to send their children back for another year. As for new applicants for admission, as many as twenty-five could be made out!

In 1893 the fiction output began with the discovery that the University was not being run as Mr. Stanford wished it; and so strained were the relations between founder and president that Dr. Jordan's resignation was momentarily expected.

> So positive were these rumors, and so widely publicized, that some alarmed professors, on vacation, wrote anxiously for confirmation or disclaimer. When the direct question was put to Mr. Stanford, he said to a *Call* reporter (June 1, 1893): "I have never replied to a newspaper criticism in my life, but as this rumor might hurt Dr. Jordan here, I would say that the more I see of him and his work the more I appreciate him, and that I have never entertained for an instant any idea of severing our relations."

The government suit against the Stanford estate, begun in May 1894, was a particularly happy occasion for the Summer Liar. Before the suit was even announced it had been discovered in Los Angeles that several departments were to be discontinued and that a hundred students would transfer to Berkeley in the fall. The suit and the great railway strike were sufficient to cast all restraint aside. Surveying his work in Los Angeles, the Liar congratulated himself that the "Stanford epidemic" in that town had subsided. It had now been established that the University was to be closed, that its tuition would be a hundred dollars per semester, that its students were on their way to Berkeley, and finally that it was offering "admission and all sorts of advantages to get Bert Oliver away from Berkeley and the Reliance Club." To conclude his summer work with a little joke of his own, the Liar picked up in San Francisco some unfortunate and unbalanced scholar and foisted him upon the public as a Stanford professor, merrily ringing the changes until the poor old gentleman was carried off to the Napa Asylum.

Graduation week of the Pioneer Class, in May 1895, was made memorable by a reception to Trustees, faculty, and graduating class in the Stanford residence on Nob Hill in San Francisco. In expressing her gratitude and appreciation for the loyalty of the Pioneers, to the University and to herself, through the trying years since the death of her husband, Mrs. Stanford took the University far enough into her confidence to say that if the government suit should be decided against the estate, the University, as far as she could see, would have to close; and should the case be long in litigation the resources of the University would be much crippled. This was proof enough of what the Summer Liar had already suspected, and he proceeded to make the most of it: The funds of the University were exhausted and the president and professors about to decamp; after which, said the Liar, the buildings would be used for a "cannery."

A member of the faculty writing from Chicago, April 25, 1895, said:

"The *Inter Ocean* of this morning prints a dispatch from California saying that the Stanford University is in a precarious condition and the probabilities are that it will close its doors soon. It further says that the professors are making applications for other positions and some of them will not stay another year. I see many people who are interested and who ask me about such rumors as this and would like to be better informed. . . . . I had a talk with Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers not long ago and she told me that about this time last year many of the Stanford professors applied for positions in Eastern colleges. I doubted the statement in as respectful and mannerly a way as I could, and she gave me to understand that she did not make such statements unless she knew what she was talking about."

MID-YEAR DEGREES

A custom started in January 1894 (following the practice of the University of Chicago, begun a year earlier) was the mid-year conferring of degrees for those who had completed the required work at the end of the first semester. Degrees were voted by the University Council and confirmed by the Board of Trustees, but there were no public exercises connected with the event, "Commencement" as a ceremony of graduation coming only at the end of the traditional academic year in May or June.

MEN'S FACULTY CLUB

In 1907 the Men's Faculty Club effected a definite organization, and it was incorporated the following year. A clubhouse, built at the edge of the Arboretum and several times enlarged, with athletic grounds adjoining it, furnished a common meeting ground, with opportunities for sports and games outdoors and in, and cemented the interests and friendships of its members. More than any other one thing it has been the unifying force in the life of the faculty group. An independently organized body, the Faculty Forum, during its rather brief existence, was given the hospitality of the Club, and provided opportunity for the unofficial discussion of questions of academic concern.

A PROPOSED STANFORD ACADEMY

In 1898 the important announcement was made by Mrs. Stanford that eventually the Stanford residence in San Francisco would be given to the University for a Stanford Academy of History, Economics, and Social Science, to be used also as a University Extension Center. Professor George E. Howard of the History Department was tentatively named as Director of the Academy, which was to come into active existence upon the death of Mrs. Stanford. The lively expectations entertained as to its future usefulness to the University and to the state came to nought through the destruction of the house and its contents in the earthquake and fire of 1906.

NEW PRESIDENT AT BERKELEY

An event of great significance to the Coast, and of no less interest to Stanford, was the coming to the University of California of a new President, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, in 1899. After his retirement in 1919 Regent John A. Britton said of President Wheeler: "He has seen rise from a mere shell a living and moving thing of his own creation, expanding day by day till it had become the peer of any educational institution in the United States of America." This was not too high a tribute, although a pardonable depreciation of what had been previously accomplished; for the California of 1899 was much more than a mere shell. But the advance made under President Wheeler was hardly less than marvelous. With a free hand and administrative genius he was able to put the University in the forefront of educational progress on the Pacific Coast. Many of the things Dr. Jordan, under stubborn handicaps, had been able to accomplish only in outline were triumphantly inaugurated and vigorously carried forward at Berkeley. For the time being at least, and in many directions, California rather than Stanford became the educational pacemaker of the West.

SUMMER SESSIONS

Summer sessions, other than at the Hopkins Seaside Laboratory, by Stanford instructors under private management, were held in 1892, 1894, 1895, 1896, and 1897. Instructors were paid by student fees, but university credit was given for the completion of summer courses. After 1897 these summer sessions were omitted, and in 1899 formally abolished, to conform to the wishes of Mrs. Stanford. Private classes were attempted for a time at Pacific Grove, although not under the University name; but these also proved objectionable. In an amendment to the Founding Grant, dated May 31, 1899, it was provided that no summer school should be established or maintained at the University or have the use of the University name. This amendment was revoked on October 3, 1902, to permit regular courses in the summer months if approved by the Trustees and under the exclusive control of the University authorities. In

1903 Mrs. Stanford herself suggested the establishment of a summer school, or assembly, with courses mainly or entirely given by distinguished men from the East.

THE UNIVERSITY WATER SUPPLY

The Searsville reservoir, jointly controlled by Mr. Stanford and the Spring Valley Water Company, had been expected to supply the water needs of the University. Upon trial, however, Searsville water was found to be unfit for domestic use, partly owing to its rank odor from decaying vegetable matter in the reservoir and partly because of the muddy deposit stirred up in the rainy season. For drinking purposes recourse was had to deep wells on the estate. From one tank between Encina and Alvarado Row a pipe was laid to the Alvarado sidewalk. To the hydrant erected at this point residents of Alvarado and Salvatierra came with pitchers and buckets in truly pastoral fashion. Presently this well gave out and water was hauled from the Arboretum and deposited in barrels along the alley. Meantime Searsville water remained the only supply for baths for a whole decade. Finally, after various tentative and ineffectual attempts to purify the Searsville supply, Mrs. Stanford turned the problem over to Judge Leib of San Jose. The solution was found by sinking four deep wells near the highway above Mayfield, establishing a reservoir on San Juan Hill, and installing an entirely new distributing system on the campus. The work was completed and the system put in operation in 1901, although barreled drinking water for Encina and Roble gymnasiums was continued until 1910.

TELEPHONES AND LIGHTING

At the opening of the University insuperable objections were found to the placing of telephones in the President's Office and in Encina Hall. To Dr. Jordan the business management explained (September 10, 1891): "The telephone would be used by the different professors and pupils, and for a switch to San Francisco it would cost forty cents. . . . . If you wished a telephone in your office and could put someone in to collect for all the switching and keep a book account, I do not think the Governor would hesitate to place one there. . . . . The telephones are not rented in this State as they are in the East, where you can rent one and have all the switching you desire for nothing. . . . . Mr. Jacobi, Superintendent of the Telephone Company, informs me if you will provide a room for him, he will put in a telephone and open a public office."

In 1893 a pay telephone was placed in the post-office building, but removed two years later. In 1893 Western Union closed its branch office at the University. The service had been unremunerative and under the circumstances the company did not care to pay the rent charged by the University. When the Business Office moved to the campus in 1902, with its telephone service installed, requests for a telephone were renewed by President Jordan and from Encina Hall. Dr. Jordan asked especially for a local system connecting the President's Office with the principal University buildings. Mrs. Stanford objected, however, to wiring the Quadrangle for this purpose, and nothing was done. Other requests were sent in from time to time, and finally in 1906 the Board of Trustees acted favorably and a plan was worked out for an interdepartmental telephone service. In January 1907 the matter of the installation of the telephone system was referred to Trustees Lathrop and Hopkins with power to act. In March this committee resigned and a new one was appointed. Finally, to relieve the Business Office from the embarrassment of answering calls from prospective students and others, a telephone was installed in the Registrar's Office. The President had to wait another year. In 1909 a few additional telephones were installed in administrative offices, and in another year or two the interdepartmental system was in full operation.

Electric lighting was in use in the University buildings and halls from the beginning. The cottages built by the University had been wired for electricity, but it was not generally used until some years later, when meters were installed. No provision had been made, however, for street lighting. Travel to Palo Alto on dark nights was difficult and in the bicycle age, with no headlights required, rather dangerous. Many complaints were made, but it was not until 1906 that action was taken by the Trustees and not until 1909 that street lights on the Avenue were in operation.

Meantime oil lamps had been placed along the campus streets and the cheerful lamplighter with his ladder was a familiar sight until 1914, when electricity was substituted.

TEACHERS' BUREAU

In 1900 a Teachers' Bureau was instituted under the direction of the Department of Education. Two years later the service was enlarged and attached to the Registrar's Office. Under the capable management of Susan B. Bristol, '97, the work was organized and efficiently carried on until, in 1916, there was a still further enlargement and the whole service was transferred to the President's Office.

RESIDENCE SITES

Until 1900 residences on the campus, with the exception of the Stanford home, the President's house, and the original Escondite Cottage, were confined to Alvarado, Salvatierra, and Lasuen streets. The first dwelling to be erected on the hills beyond the Quadrangles was the residence of Mr. Charles G. Lathrop, Treasurer and Business Manager of the University, on the commanding bluff above Lagunita; this was completed in 1900. It was followed closely by the Cooksey house on San Juan Hill. On this latter tract Professors Durand and Ryan built in 1906, and in 1908 the San Juan subdivision was fully opened to the faculty. This tract and its immediate neighborhood has continued to be the most attractive residence site in the vicinity of the University and one almost exclusively reserved for members of the University. The Board of Trustees early interested itself in the matter of housing accommodations on the campus, and acting upon a detailed report prepared by Professor Branner in 1906 erected a number of houses for rent on Alvarado and Salvatierra streets. A change of policy since that time has resulted in the sale of University-built cottages to faculty members and in generous loans to prospective faculty builders on very favorable terms.

In 1904 a half-dozen members of the University bought property in the so-called Bellevue tract on University Heights, thus starting a colony. The entire tract was later bought by the Sharon estate, and the colony was abandoned.

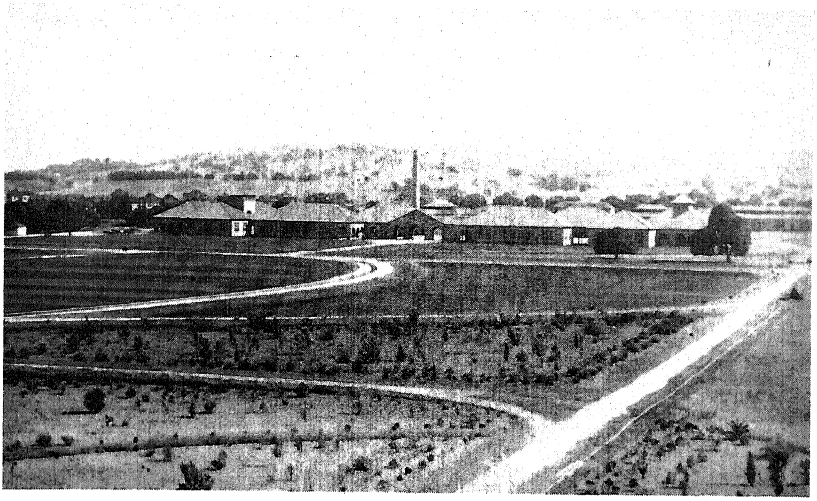
THE LIBRARY

At the opening of the University, in 1891, the Library was assigned to one of the larger buildings of the Inner Quadrangle group, since occupied by the Law School. It began with a shelf capacity of eighteen thousand volumes (increased to forty thousand by 1898). On October 1, 1891, the Library contained about three thousand books, hastily collected and urgently needed in connection with the work of the first year. During the year another three thousand were added by purchase, and two thousand more by gift from Mr. Timothy Hopkins, forming the nucleus of the Hopkins Railway Library. Seven thousand volumes were added the second year.

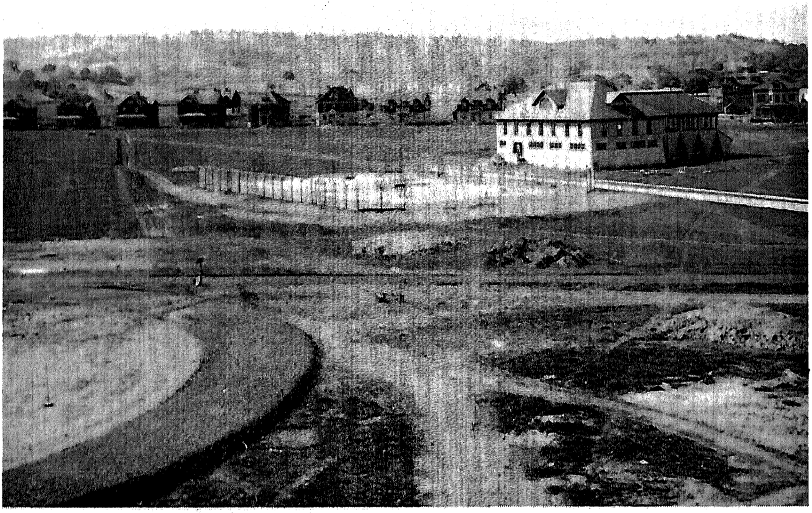
After the second year the financial stringency prevented any rapid development of the Library. With generous gifts from many sources and the use of such sums as could be spared from the restricted budget, a steady increase was maintained, which for the next dozen years averaged about fifty-five hundred volumes per year. Mr. Hopkins added continually to the Railway collection, in addition to his gift, in 1893, of more than five thousand dollars for the purchase of works on biology. In 1895 the valuable Hildebrand Library, consisting of about four thousand volumes and a thousand pamphlets, on German philology and early literature, was acquired, chiefly through the exertions of Professor Goebel of the German Department. The cost of this library, some fifty-five hundred dollars, was a large sum, considering that no money was available from University funds and that Mrs. Stanford was exceedingly sensitive about any approach directly or indirectly to the Trustees. The debt thus incurred was finally wiped out in 1897 by means of a very successful Kirmess, held in the Museum under the skillful management of Librarian Nash and Mrs. Jordan.

Other valuable gifts during the period of stress included about three thousand books on Australasia, from Mr. Thomas Welton Stanford; Dr. Jordan's library on ichthyology; one thousand dollars from Hon. James D. Phelan for the purchase of works on political economy; one thousand dollars from Mr. Herbert Hoover for works on Australia and the Far East, and other special collections; and contributions and books from Deane P. Mitchell, '96, Mr. Charles G. Lathrop, Mr. John T. Doyle, Hon. Horace Davis, and many others. A substantial beginning of the Law Library was provided by the acquisition by purchase and gift of the libraries of Supreme Court Justice Stephen J. Field, Judge Lorenzo Sawyer, and Judge Francis E. Spencer. In 1902 the Library secured by purchase the chemical library of Professor George M. Richardson, deceased. A little earlier, through the efforts of Professor Howard, Mrs. Stanford obtained by purchase a valuable series of the British Parliamentary documents consisting of about thirty-five hundred unbound volumes. In 1910 the Library purchased the valuable collection of Mr. John R. Jarboe, consisting of about twelve hundred and fifty books on the French Revolution. In the same year was purchased the botanical library of Professor William R. Dudley, deceased; and in 1914 the extensive private libraries of President John Casper Branner, on geology, and of Professor Ewald Flügel, deceased, on English philology.

In 1899 Mrs. Stanford transferred her collection of jewels to the Board of Trustees to insure the construction of Memorial Church. However, the Church was completed during Mrs. Stanford's lifetime without needing to make use of the jewels. Accordingly, in February 1905, Mrs. Stanford requested the Trustees, upon selling the jewels, to establish the Jewel Fund, "the income therefrom to be used exclusively for the purchase of books and other publications." In 1908, "in order to carry out said plan of Mrs. Stanford and to establish and maintain an adequate library fund and to perform the promise made by this Board to her," the sum of $500,000 was set aside to be



Inner Quadrangle (1891) looking toward the foothills



From Encina to the foothills; ten faculty houses completed

known as the "Jewel Fund." This made immediately and continuously available the sum of about twenty thousand dollars per year. A Jewel Fund bookplate, designed by Mr. E. H. Blashfield, was acquired by the Trustees in 1910. In addition to the income of the Jewel Fund, special appropriations for the purchase of important sets of serial publications in the sciences, engineering, history, literature, languages, etc., and for other special collections, were made from time to time.

With the acquirement of the Levi Cooper Lane Medical Library Trust in 1910 (in connection with the transfer of the Cooper Medical College to the University) there was added to the University libraries a total of about thirty thousand volumes. Special contributions included ten thousand dollars from Dr. Adolph Barkan, five thousand dollars from the Henry L. Dodge Memorial Fund, twenty-five hundred dollars each from Mr. J. Henry Meyer, Mr. Antoine Borel, and E. W. Coleman, about two thousand dollars from the Henry Gibbons Memorial Fund, and the library of one thousand volumes of Drs. G. C. and S. E. Simmons.

After regaining control of the Stanford properties, in 1898, one of Mrs. Stanford's first undertakings, in her new building program, was the construction of the Thomas Welton Stanford Library, the first building to be erected in the Outer Quadrangle group. At the laying of the cornerstone, November 2, 1898, addresses were made by Librarian Nash, Professor Anderson of the English Department, and Professor Howard of the History Department. The building was completed in January 1900 and dedicated on January 11, with a historical sketch by the Librarian and appropriate addresses by Professor Howard, President Wheeler of the University of California, and Rev. Horatio Stebbins of the Board of Trustees. On January 19, while morning classes were generally omitted, the Associate Librarian, Mr. Babine, with the help of about two hundred and fifty student volunteers, transferred the whole of the working library from the old building to the new in an hour and a quarter's time. By noon the entire library of forty-five thousand volumes (not including the Law Library, which was housed elsewhere) was in the new quarters and by the close of the day properly arranged on the library shelves.

The Thomas Welton Stanford Library had been located as planned in the original drawings of Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge. While adequate for all immediate needs (it was actually in use for nineteen years), the building was not fireproof and could not be easily enlarged. It was evident that larger space and more adequate facilities would in time be found essential. When Mrs. Stanford realized this fact, having practically completed her building program, which included the whole of the Outer Quadrangle, the Church, and the Chemistry and Engineering buildings, she felt a desire to provide during her lifetime complete and adequate and fireproof accommodations for the library as it existed and for its future growth. A site was chosen in front of the Quadrangles, to the east of the oval, and balancing the Chemistry Building on the west. Work was begun on June 20, 1904, and all the contracts for its completion were signed before Mrs. Stanford's death the following year. The building was to comprise three stories and basement, with a frontage of 304 feet and a width through the circular stacks of 200 feet. By July 1905 it was pronounced practically complete; but on examination the Trustees were convinced that it was not adequately fireproofed, and extensive changes were ordered. Criticism of the internal arrangements subsequently brought forth a proposal for a commission of library experts to suggest such changes as might seem imperative. At this stage of the proceedings came the earthquake of April 18, 1906, in which the building was completely wrecked.

By 1913 the congestion in the Thomas Welton Stanford Library had become embarrassing and the need of fireproof protection for its valuable collections more pressing than ever. Accordingly the Trustees decided to replace at once the building destroyed in the earthquake, but on a new and more convenient site and with new plans. Librarian George T. Clark was delegated to visit the principal libraries of the East and to outline general plans and requirements for the architects. Details were carefully worked out and plans satisfactory to librarian, architects, and Trustees were approved on October 27, 1916. The work of construction was begun in July 1917. Some delay was occasioned by the war, but the Library was completed and occupied in July 1919.

The first Librarian of the University was Edwin Hamlin Woodruff, a Cornell graduate, former cataloguer in the Cornell Library and instructor in English, and at the time of his appointment librarian of the Willard Fiske private library in Florence, Italy. Mr. Woodruff, genial, witty, tactful, executive, entered upon his work in the same spirit of enthusiasm which pervaded all the departments of the University and was exceptionally qualified to lay foundations of the most solid character. Owing to pioneer conditions and financial difficulties progress was necessarily slow. At the end of the second year the Library staff consisted of the Librarian and two student assistants. In 1896 Mr. Woodruff, then on leave of absence, accepted a call to the Cornell Law School, and was succeeded by Herbert Charles Nash, former tutor of Leland Stanford, Jr., and former private secretary to Mr. Stanford. Mr. Nash, not a trained librarian, was invaluable for his executive abilities and personal services to the Library and to the University. Mr. Frederick J. Teggart, Stanford, '94, was Assistant Librarian from 1894 to 1898. In 1898 Mr. Alexis V. Babine, a Cornell graduate, and at the time librarian at Indiana University, was made Associate Librarian. In 1901, upon his resignation to take a place in the Congressional Library at Washington, he was succeeded by Melvin G. Dodge, former librarian of Hamilton College. Upon the death of Mr. Nash in 1902 Mr. Dodge became Acting Librarian, which position he held until 1907, when George Thomas Clark, then librarian of the San Francisco Public Library, was given a permanent appointment as Librarian (title later changed to "Director of University Libraries"). Under Mr. Clark the real development of the Library began, with most gratifying progress as funds increased and with adequate housing, a trained staff, and the growth and completion of many important collections. Other members of the staff who have been the heads of important divisions and given effective service in the organization and management of the Library include the following: John Edward Goodwin, Assistant Librarian, 1905–12; Elizabeth Hadden, Chief, Order Division, since 1901; Alice Newman Hays, Reference Librarian, since 1901; Sydney Bancroft Mitchell, Head of Order Department, 1908–11; Charles V. Park, Assistant Librarian, 1909–31; Minna Stillman, Document Librarian, since 1912; and Helen Binninger Sutliff, Chief Cataloguer and Associate Librarian, 1904–33.

The number of volumes in the University Library at the close of the year 1915–16 was 234,547, or, counting the 41,704 volumes in the Lane Medical Library, a total of 276,251.

THE FIVE-HUNDRED LIMIT

One of the duties of the Trustees, as defined in the Founding Grant, is "to afford equal facilities and give equal advantages in the University to both sexes." At the first meeting of the Board of Trustees, on November 14, 1885, in explanation of this provision of the charter, Mr. Stanford said: "We deem it of the first importance that the education of both sexes shall be equally full and complete, varied only as nature dictates. The rights of one sex, political or otherwise, are the same as those of the other sex, and this equality of rights ought to be fully recognized." This point of view had been further emphasized in a statement quoted in the *San Francisco Examiner* of October 20, 1889: "I deem it especially important that the education of the female should be equal to that of the male, and I am inclined to think that if the education of either is neglected, it had better be that of the man than the woman, because if the mother is well educated she insensibly imparts it to the child."

In Mrs. Stanford's mind the institution they were planning was to be so distinctively a memorial to their son that the inclusion of women in the student body may not at first have seemed consistent with that purpose. The matter once settled, her welcome to the women students and her pride in their successes were hearty and sincere. Among the buildings first planned were the two dormitories, Encina and Roble, the latter to be a duplicate of the former, in size and in location with reference to the Quadrangle, thus conforming, even in minute detail, to the idea of equality in Mr. Stanford's mind.

During the first year of the University approximately a fourth of the students were women, three-fourths men. Perhaps to Mrs. Stanford this may have seemed about the normal division, indicating the preponderance of men appropriate to the special memorial idea of the institution. At any rate, she "watched with interest the large growth in the attendance of female students." Her attention may have been called specially to this increase by the remarks of a member of the Pioneer Class at the annual Memorial Day exercises held on the birthday of Leland Stanford, Junior, May 14, 1895. While praising coeducation at Stanford, Mr. Donald went on to say: "For every one hundred men there were thirty-three women the first year. This year there are fifty-one women for every one hundred men. This is a startling increase. The most logical assumption is that Stanford is better suited for ladies than other colleges. This would seem to point to the possibility that within twenty years Stanford may become the Vassar of the Pacific Coast."[4]

The unwelcome possibility that women might sometime predominate in numbers was echoed in various quarters. After California's series of athletic victories in 1898, an alibi was sought, by despondent students and alumni, in the presence in the University of so many women—women so attractive that too many men turned to "queening" rather than to hard athletic practice for the glory of alma mater.[5]

A writer in the *Portland Oregonian* had the number already reduced to two hundred "because President Jordan declares 'the University must have more men if we expect to make a better showing in athletics' "!

"Another objection to the present status," continued the *Oregonian*, "is the increase of power among the women. They are voting themselves into all the offices and thereby rendering the institution less desirable to male students than it otherwise would be. A woman edits the

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[4] *Daily Palo Alto*, May 29, 1895.

[5] *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 2, 1899.

Junior annual, another brings out the weekly paper, and still another leads the inter-collegiate debate. Thus there is an alarming tendency apparent toward reducing the University to the level of a 'woman's seminary,' which Mrs. Stanford very much dreads."

Whatever appeals may have reached Mrs. Stanford, she kept her own counsel until, finally, when the number of women had reached 40 per cent of the total registration, without consulting President Jordan or anyone at the University, she effected an amendment to the charter limiting the number of women students, at any one time, to five hundred. Her reasons were made very clear: "I have watched with interest the large growth in the attendance of female students, and if this growth continues in the future at the same rate, the number of women students will before long greatly exceed the number of men, and thereby have it regarded by the public as a university for females instead of for males. This was not my husband's wish, nor is it mine, nor would it have been my son's."[6]

It could easily have been pointed out that the situation at Stanford was not in any way peculiar. The proportion of women students at Berkeley, for example, had increased from twenty-seven per cent in 1891 to forty-four per cent in 1899. It happened that the number of girls graduating from high school was larger than the number of boys, the proportion of girls attending college not quite so large. The one fact offset the other, and the number of men and women taking college courses was normally approaching equality. In the conservative East, the tendency was toward separate institutions, and in the few coeducational universities the men greatly exceeded the women. In the Middle and Far West, where coeducation was accepted without question, the variation from the normal fifty-fifty percentage was easily accounted for. Where the emphasis was laid upon the so-called humanistic studies women would predominate; where the emphasis was upon engineering, pre-legal studies, and other professional courses, men would predominate. The tendency, then, which Mrs. Stanford had been watching with such interest was toward the normal fifty per cent of women modified by the greater emphasis which might be laid upon humanistic or upon professional lines of work.

In view of the administrative difficulties and embarrassments in dealing with an absolutely arbitrary limit, Dr. Jordan suggested a flexible interpretation of the rule which might on occasion result in as many as five hundred and fifty registrations. Mrs. Stanford at the time was positive in her rejection of such a proposal. "To carry this idea out," she wrote (July 12, 1899), "would be violating my instructions, and very disappointing to me." To suggestions from time to time that a percentage basis be substituted for the five hundred limit Mrs. Stanford steadily declined to listen.

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[6] Address to the Board of Trustees, May 31, 1899. This explanatory comment was deleted in the final revision of amendments in 1902.

This action on Mrs. Stanford's part did not imply any prejudice against the presence of women in the University. Asked by a newspaper reporter whether women carried off as many honors as men, she replied, "Indeed they do, and I wouldn't have the feminine element entirely eliminated. . . . . Besides, the refining influence of the girls is wonderful."[7] Later, when worried by certain indiscretions reported to her and by exaggerated tales and rumors persistently brought to her attention, and when the business management ordered the campus patrolled by mounted watchmen, Mrs. Stanford wavered in her mind and wondered if it would not be better to exclude women altogether. For herself she decided against that step; but, on the point of turning over all her powers and duties to the Trustees, she proposed to give them the authority so to act if at any time in the future it should seem to them wise.[8]

The five-hundred limit was first reached in 1903. In that year women were denied admission as special students, and the following year as partial students (that is, with entrance conditions). It became immediately necessary to provide further restrictions. After full discussion of various plans, the turnstile method was adopted for lower-division applicants, admission to unfilled places depending on order of application. This policy looked to the eventual elimination first of freshmen and finally of all lower-division candidates. Opposition to this outcome developed, and in 1914 the distinction between upper-division and lower-division applicants was abolished. A preferred list of undergraduates was then provided for, based on scholarship and other superior qualifications. It was at first intended that about half of the admissions would be from the preferred list and half from the numbered list. In 1921 the elimination of the numbered list was voted except for those whose names were already on the list. Admission on the basis of superior qualifications only was at the same time extended to graduate women as well.[9]

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[7] Lavinia Hart, in *New York World*, November 9, 1899.

[8] The dramatic story of this event and how Mrs. Stanford finally decided to leave the regulation unchanged, is told by Mr. George E. Crothers in his *Founding of the Leland Stanford Junior University*, pp. 35–36.

With four or more times as many acceptable candidates as there were vacant places, the difficulties attending the selection of candidates were serious and most embarrassing. Once the Academic Council suggested to the Board of Trustees that the five-hundred limit be held as not applying to graduate women, and once that women registered in the medical school in San Francisco be disregarded in applying the rule. The Trustees were properly shocked by these proposals and could see no way of modifying the rule. The principal difficulty in administering the rule arose from the fact that there was no way of determining in advance the exact number of vacant places while at the same time it was practically necessary that candidates should receive advance notice of admission or rejection. The situation was mitigated in part by a Presidential ruling that, within very strict limits, applicants who had been "assured of admission," although excluded by the five-hundred limit, might be permitted to attend classes without registration until vacancies should occur.

In one respect the rule worked to the great advantage of both scholarship and morale among the women students of the University. The admissions committee had only "gilt edge" credentials before them. While sometimes the carefully selected candidate did not live up to her previous scholarship record or to the confidence reposed in her by the preparatory school, in general a very high class of students was received.

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[9] In 1933 the five-hundred limit was made to give way to a percentage basis corresponding to the registration figures of 1899.

MEMORIAL CHURCH

In the Founding Grant of the University it was made the duty of the Trustees "to prohibit sectarian instruction, but to have taught in the University the immortality of the soul, the existence of an all-wise and benevolent Creator, and that obedience to his laws is the highest duty of man." The Trustees were also directed "to lay off on the Palo Alto farm a site for, and erect thereon, a church." In the plans prepared by Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge, a year and a half later, the Church was given the central position in the Inner Quadrangle group. This was not only architecturally fitting, but emphasized also the position of ethical and religious teaching in the Founders' scheme of education. In his first address to the Trustees, on November 14, 1885, Mr. Stanford again expressed his desire that there should be no sectarian teaching in the institution, but that "professors of the various religious denominations shall from time to time be invited to deliver discourses not sectarian in character." In 1887 Mr. Stanford is quoted as saying: "The Church is to be regularly used for the benefit of the students. No creed or dogma will be permitted to be taught within its walls, but ministers of all denominations will be invited to deliver lectures on the fundamental principles of religion. It will also be used on special occasions—as for Commencement Exercises and other stated occasions."[10]

The Church was not one of the buildings planned for immediate construction, and the Chapel, fitted up in one of the smaller Quadrangle buildings, now the Little Theatre, was doubtless expected to meet the needs of the University for some time to come. At any rate, no thought could be given to a separate church building during the years of financial stringency. When relief came, the need of additional buildings for the regular work of the University was more pressing. But as soon as these were provided for, and construction was under way, Mrs. Stanford turned eagerly to the Church, which more and more seemed to her to embody the central mission and purpose of the University.

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[10] *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 15, 1887.

Neither Mr. Stanford nor Mrs. Stanford was a member of any church organization. They were deeply interested in the practical activities of all churches, but not at all in the creedal differences which separated them. In Menlo Park they attended and supported the Presbyterian church, in San Francisco generally the Episcopal church. Both were appreciative of the services of the Catholic church and of the self-sacrificing devotion of the parish priests to the welfare of their people; Mrs. Stanford, especially in her later years, felt strongly drawn to its devotional exercises and to the training in manners and morals which its young people received. But the Stanfords would not place themselves under any creedal yoke. They would have no denominational bias or control in connection with the University Church, in order that it might minister to the human and spiritual needs of all members of the University alike.

The original plans of Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge projected a Moorish-Romanesque building modeled to some extent upon that of Trinity Church, Boston. They actually built, in connection with the other Inner Quadrangle buildings, the arcade approaches to the Church. Later there was some tentative correspondence relative to the construction of the Church itself. But the Boston firm was unwilling to enter into the competition which Mrs. Stanford proposed. The architect finally selected was Mr. Clinton Day of San Francisco, who carried out, with modifications, the original plans of the Boston architects. The work of actual construction, begun in 1899, was completed in 1902.

Into the construction of Memorial Church, and particularly its interior furnishing and enrichment, Mrs. Stanford put her whole heart and energy, sparing nothing that affection and religious devotion could suggest. It was to be especially a memorial to her husband, and was designed to create in the thousands of young people, dwellers at the University for a season and during their most formative years, an atmosphere of reverence and an appreciation of spiritual values which it was hoped would never be lost. "To Mrs. Stanford the Church stood for high-mindedness, uprightness, unselfishness, gentleness, and for what are known as the Christian virtues, and it was as the teacher of these virtues that she wanted to pass it and its influence on to the members of this community living and yet to live."[11]

Mrs. Stanford's plans for the Church interior were gradually evolved as the construction went on. The Stanfords had visited Venice in 1884 and had been impressed with the interior beauties of the church of San Marco. They became acquainted with the proprietor of the A. Salviati and Company Studios, and were shown the work being done in their shops. In 1900 Mrs. Stanford was again in Venice, and while there arranged that certain mosaics should be placed in the gable of the new church. Full plans of the building were then left with M. Salviati, and in February 1903 and again in June 1904 he was in San Francisco with extended designs carefully worked out by Professor Paoletti. These were approved by Mrs. Stanford, and M. Lorenzo Zampato was brought over from Venice to place the mosaics. This work was begun in 1904 and completed in 1906. The series of mosaics thus created covered almost the whole of the interior walls of vestibule, nave, transepts, and apse, as well as the façade facing the Inner Quadrangle court. The stained-glass windows, nineteen in all, were designed and executed by Frederick Lamb, of the firm of F. and J. Lamb, New York. Both windows and mosaics, harmoniously adapted to position and light and to each other, were planned as an aid to worship and to the cultivation of a devout and reverent spirit. The windows, transcribed from the works of modern painters, depicted scenes in the life of Christ; the more elaborate mosaics, from medieval paintings, represented scenes from the Old Testament. A replica of Cosimo Rosselli's Last Supper, from the Sistine Chapel at Rome, was placed behind the marble altar. A striking representation of the Sermon on the Mount formed the central feature of the façade.

During the construction of Memorial Church Mrs. Stanford was also diligently seeking the man whom she deemed fitted to become Pastor of the Church and Professor of Personal Ethics.

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[11] Dr. Branner, in his Founders' Day address, 1917.

The choice fell upon Dr. Heber Newton, distinguished writer and clergyman, rector of All Souls Church, New York City. Meantime Mrs. Stanford's attention had been called to a young clergyman in Palo Alto, Rev. David Charles Gardner, whose effective parish work so appealed to her that in September 1902 he was invited to become Chaplain of Memorial Church and assistant to Dr. Newton.[12]

Dr. Newton's pastorate began with the dedication of Memorial Church on January 25, 1903, and under most auspicious circumstances. It was unfortunately cut short by his resignation, which was made to take effect at the end of the semester in May. At the time of Mrs. Stanford's death in February 1905 no successor to Dr. Newton had been found. The Board of Trustees solved the problem by dropping the position and title of Pastor and turning over its duties and responsibilities to the Chaplain, whose devoted and happy service was destined to continue without interruption until he reached the regular Stanford retiring age in 1936.

Not all that Mrs. Stanford hoped Memorial Church would be and do, in the life of the University, has been realized. But toward that end it has been unwaveringly directed all the years since its dedication. "Our anxiety is," Dr. Gardner once said, "to make its services varied, simple, and spiritual in character and meaning. Being an undenominational church, it must avoid the things which divide, and exalt the principles upon which we can all agree. Thus, we say no creed. We know nothing of ceremonial—except the necessary rule of reverence and dignity. . . . . Many students do not care for church services. But the church cares for them. I visit these delightful drifters in hall and frat. I catch them in the hospital. I invite them to my home. Office hours daily provide opportunity for friendly consultation. Sorrow, sin, and shame are not absent from student life. The parson is the friend of all—not alone of the pious."[13] For this pastoral ministration, wide as the University, the Chaplain has had special gifts; and through him, as its representative, the Church has imbedded itself deep in the affections of the student generations, even of those who neglected its formal ministrations.

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[12] Dr. Gardner's first sermon at the University was preached in the Chapel on December 7, 1902.

The policy of calling to the pulpit from time to time fitting representatives of all the denominations, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, has continued from the first, and has added much to the distinction and cosmopolitan character of the Church. Much has been added, too, by the great organ, and by the volunteer student choir, carefully trained by the organist in the various types of church music.

Memorial Church was the last of the buildings wrecked by the 1906 earthquake to be restored. The work of reconstruction was undertaken in 1908 but was not completed until 1913. Services in the Church were resumed on October 5, 1913.

STANFORD UNION AND WOMEN'S CLUBHOUSE

As the University grew in numbers and the separate activities and interests of the various groups increased, the democratic simplicity and free mingling of the earlier days were less in evidence. The need began to be felt of a common center where students, alumni, and faculty could meet informally and socially and which might become headquarters for all the general activities of the student body. Attention naturally turned to the clubhouses in other universities which undertook to supply this need. For the men, the first definite proposal to this end was made by Herbert C. Hoover of the class of 1895. During the second semester of 1908–9 Mr. Hoover was on the campus for a number of weeks while giving a special course of lectures to the students in Mining Engineering. At a University Assembly on February 2, 1909, he presented a building plan which had been partially worked out in advance; there would be a large club room, a trophy room, offices and quarters for the various student organizations and student-body officials, and possibly a cafe and rooms for the accommodation of visitors. Such a clubhouse would cost about $50,000, of which amount $10,000 had already been pledged by the alumni.

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[13] *Stanford Alumnus*, April 1915.

A temporary organization was thereupon effected, and in April definite steps were taken to carry out the scheme proposed. The Stanford Union was chosen as the name of the clubhouse. Mr. Hoover was made president of the organization, with a full list of officers and trustees. Funds came in slowly, but at an Assembly held in February 1910, over $13,000 was pledged, bringing the total subscriptions to $36,000.

Plans for a women's clubhouse had been worked out as early as 1906 by the Woman's League, under the sponsorship of Dr. Edith Matzke, Director of Physical Education for Women. The project was for a building to cost about $17,000. The expressed purpose of the League was to bring the women of the University into closer social contact, to give active support to all their worthy undertakings, and to bring before them speakers particularly interested in various lines of work for women. To carry out these and other desirable ends a building centrally located was considered a necessity. A proposition to build at once on borrowed money was given up, and the slower process of raising funds by canvassing alumni, students, and faculty, and by various other devices, was adopted.

Both projects, for men and women alike, proceeded less rapidly than had been hoped. The women had thought of building on their own athletic grounds. But in October 1912 a proposal by Mr. Hoover that both clubhouses be on the same site was favorably received, and from that time the two houses, as far as building operations were concerned, were regarded as one project. In January 1913 the stretch between the post office and the Engineering buildings, including the location of the historic "Camp," was selected as the site. The completed plans, drawn by Charles F. Whittlesey of San Francisco, called for two buildings connected by an arcade. The lowest bid on this plan involved a total expenditure of $79,000. It was then decided to omit the arcade for the time being and to eliminate some of the features of the Union building in order to reduce costs. The accepted bids on the revised plan were for the Stanford Union $32,370, and for the Women's Clubhouse $16,400. Construction was begun in December 1913, and the work was completed in February 1915.

The Stanford Union was dedicated on February 6, 1915. Professor Charles D. Marx, acting president of the Union organization, presided, with Charles K. Field, '95, as toastmaster. Special tributes were paid to Mr. Hoover, Professors Marx and Wing, R. L. Wilbur, '95, A. E. Roth, '09, F. H. Fowler, '05, E. W. Smith, '99, and others who had been intimately associated with the undertaking. The Women's Clubhouse was dedicated on February 17. The connecting arcade, the dining halls and dormitory rooms on the west, and the attractive Union Court were added later, Mr. Hoover again taking the initiative and contributing largely toward financing the project. Other centers and other headquarters for many student undertakings have, in later times, supplemented the facilities and accommodations of the Union. The buildings, the dining rooms, and the beautiful court hold their places among the most useful and most attractive parts of the University.

PENSIONS AND THE AGE OF RETIREMENT

In 1901, at the request of President Jordan, the Committee on Ways and Means gave consideration to the question of a pension system for members of the faculty. A report was made to the President on May 27, 1901. As there were no University funds with which to make even a start toward such a system, nothing came of the discussion at the time. It was a matter, however, which was being very much agitated in academic circles, and a number of universities had already worked out plans for retiring allowances, usually on a contributory basis. In April 1905 the question took an entirely new turn in view of the announcement of Mr. Andrew Carnegie's gift of ten million dollars for the establishment, through the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, of a non-contributory pension system for a selected list of colleges and universities. One provision of the Carnegie plan permitted retirement, with pension, after twenty-five years of service, either because of failing health or for study or research. This feature proved impracticable and was presently withdrawn. The main provision remained, which permitted retirement at the age of sixty-five, with a retiring allowance of a little more than half the average salary for the preceding five years. There were various qualifying rules, which changed from time to time, and the whole plan was finally terminated (in 1916) to the extent that after a given date no new candidates for the retiring allowance were to be accepted. The system, however, was effective for a series of years and proved to be of substantial benefit to many individuals and to the cause of education. It also lodged the pension idea in the minds and in the planning of nearly all the institutions of higher learning.

As one of the accepted institutions, Stanford's concern was to provide its own rules regarding retirement. The Carnegie pension had been made available at the age of sixty-five. Should the University make such retirement compulsory, or, if not, what exceptions should be made and under what conditions? In August 1906 Dr. Jordan recommended to the Board of Trustees that the Stanford retiring age be fixed at sixty-five, with provision in individual cases for longer service. The question was put to the President's Advisory Board, with compulsory retirement fixed at sixty-five "unless otherwise ordered by the Board of Trustees." They replied affirmatively without suggesting any change.

The Board of Trustees, meeting on September 28, demurred at this proposal, feeling that the compulsory age limit was rather low and that perhaps the matter ought not to rest, as in the case of new appointments, with the decision of President and Trustees. The resolution was therefore referred back to the President and the Advisory Board for further consideration. Meantime the following substitute rule was suggested by the secretary of the Board of Trustees:

> "That all members of the teaching or executive staff of the University may retire from active service upon the close of the academic year in which they shall become sixty-five years of age, said age being the normal age for retirement from active service.

"That the President of the University shall annually present to the Board of Trustees for consideration, with the salary roll for the following academic year, the names of all members of the teaching or executive staff of the University who shall be over sixty-five on the first day of the following academic year, and who have expressed a desire to continue in active service, together with his recommendation as to the retention or retirement of all such persons."

Replying to the President's request for reconsideration, the Chairman of the Advisory Board wrote on October 30, 1906, as follows:

"As regards the age at which retirement should take place, unless specially excepted by the action of the President and Trustees, we are agreed that the age of sixty-five is advisable for the reason that that age has been selected by the Trustees of the Carnegie fund as expedient, and that after careful consideration by competent experts. It is also our opinion as the result of our experience and observation that in the majority of instances the interests of education and of the University would be furthered by the retirement of professors who have attained that age. While we do not mean to assert that a man's activity or usefulness necessarily ceases at that age, the work of the University will in general be advanced by his retirement. In the minority of cases where such is not the case, it will be competent for the Board of Trustees, on the recommendation of the President, to make exceptions, but such cases should be carefully considered and should not become the rule rather than the exception.

"As to the method of retirement, it is our opinion that the process should be automatic upon attainment of the age limit, for the reason that only in this way can unpleasant discrimination be avoided. If the retirements were made only on positive action taken by the President, or Board of Trustees, the inevitable result would be that professors would generally be continued in office until after the best interests of the University demand their replacement by younger and more energetic successors. . . . . It does not seem to us feasible that the Faculty or any of its representative bodies should have any voice or check upon the retirement of the professors, as in the natural course of events its Advisory Board and Executive Committee will be to some extent composed of men reaching the retiring age themselves, and the sentiment of courtesy toward colleagues would, in our judgment, be an insuperable obstacle to impartial action looking to the best interests of the University and its work.

"The suggestions made in the letter of Secretary Crothers respecting the method of procedure in such matters seem to us reasonable and wise. We would suggest, however, that instead of presenting to the Board the names of those only who have expressed a desire to continue in service, the President present the names of all those eligible for retirement, with his recommendation. The resolution might read—

"Resolved, that all members of the teaching or executive staff of the University shall retire from active service upon the close of the academic year in which they shall become sixty-five years of age, unless with their consent they be continued in active service by the formal action of the Board of Trustees. That the President of the University shall annually present to the Board of Trustees for consideration, with the salary roll for the following academic year, the names of all members of the teaching or executive staff of the University who shall be over sixty-five years of age on the first day of the following academic year, with his recommendations as to the retirement or retention of all such persons."

The Board of Trustees, meeting on November 2, 1906, adopted without change, as the rule of the University, the resolution suggested by the Advisory Board.

One member of the faculty, Professor Melville Best Anderson, retired under the first provision of the Carnegie fund, before reaching the age of sixty-five, in order to devote his entire time to the translation of Dante's great poem. This monumental work was completed for publication in 1921.

THE EARTHQUAKE OF 1906

The major disaster and the most striking event in the history of the University was the earthquake which occurred at thirteen minutes past five o'clock, Wednesday morning, April 18, 1906. The first great shock lasted only forty-seven seconds, but the resulting damage was appalling. Had the shock occurred later in the day, when classes were in session, the loss of life would undoubtedly have been large. As it was, two men were killed, both by falling chimneys. Otto Gerdes, fireman, was in the powerhouse and, running out, was caught by the great stone chimney which had snapped off like a whiplash. Junius R. Hanna, a student from Bradford, Pennsylvania, was in the path of one of the Encina chimneys which broke through the four floors below it and landed in the basement. Four other students, also carried into the basement, were injured, though none severely.

The fall of the tower and the heavy flying buttresses wrecked the interior of Memorial Church, and the concussion blew the north wall into the quadrangle court. Organ, chimes, clock, stained-glass windows, and carved pulpit were practically uninjured. The Memorial Arch, the brick additions to the Museum, the unfinished library and gymnasium, and numerous arches in the Outer Quadrangle were completely wrecked. In the Inner Quadrangle there was fallen plaster, a few stones were loosened from the east Spanish arch, and damage occurred to the arches at the main entrance. The one-story buildings of the Outer Quadrangle (with one exception), the Physiology and Zoölogy buildings, the Thomas Welton Stanford Library, the old Engineering Building, the Machine Shop, the Foundry, and the Mechanical Laboratory were mainly intact, needing only minor repairs. The four two-story corner buildings of the Outer Quadrangle, the Forge and Woodworking Shop, and the Chemistry Building suffered more severely, and considerable rebuilding of their walls was required. The damage to Roble Hall was mainly confined to the two holes torn in the floors by the falling chimneys. In Encina the south walls of the east and west wings required rebuilding, in addition to repairs necessitated by the falling chimneys. Injuries to the frame cottages and the fraternity and sorority houses were confined for the most part to falling chimneys, wrecked plaster, broken china, and overturned furniture.

Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge, builders of the Inner Quadrangle, the three original Engineering buildings, and Encina, in a private letter wrote: "You may have noticed that the earthquake did not affect any of the buildings we had built except the chimney on the power house, which toppled over. We give the credit to Governor Stanford, as he told us his theory for withstanding earthquakes was to have broad footings under the walls, and in our two-story buildings we made the footings six feet wide by his orders." This statement rather overlooks Encina Hall. The wide footings were doubtless used with all the Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge buildings, though, with the exception of Encina, they were one-story only.

At first the damage appeared to be much greater than the more careful examination indicated. In Dr. Jordan's first hasty estimate the financial loss was placed as high as $2,800,000, and in a signed message sent out by the Associated Press the day after the earthquake the estimate was boosted to $4,000,000. These figures happily were found to be much exaggerated, but the loss was nevertheless a very heavy one. The total cost of restoring all the buildings, not counting Memorial Church, under the careful direction of the Commission of Engineers, was about $650,000.[14] The restoration of Memorial Church cost about as much more, since it was decided at a later time to tear down and rebuild practically from the ground up. Replacement of the wrecked library and gymnasium added more than three-quarters of a million dollars to the earthquake-reconstruction cost. The wrecked additions to the Museum were never replaced.

Dr. Jordan's first announcement to the students was that classes would be resumed on Friday, "or as soon as the buildings were declared safe." But this was almost immediately seen to be impossible, and a second bulletin suspended all University activities until August. A careful examination followed. "In the opinion of the Committee," its report ran, "such of the buildings as are necessary for carrying on the University work can easily be made ready for occupancy and safe use in time for the opening of the University, August 23d."

Extracts from letters written at the time may serve to recover some of the emotions and vivid experiences connected with the event itself and the days immediately following:

"Dearest Folks: Strange to say, I'm still alive! I can't tell the beginning for I don't know anything about it, except this—I have a faint recollection of sitting up in bed (I guess it was light). Somehow I got my kimono (knocked all over the room to get it) and next found myself in Eva's room. I don't know how I got there, or what I thought, I never heard such a noise in all my life, and things were just flying all over my room. . . . . We are sitting out on the lawn now, waiting for

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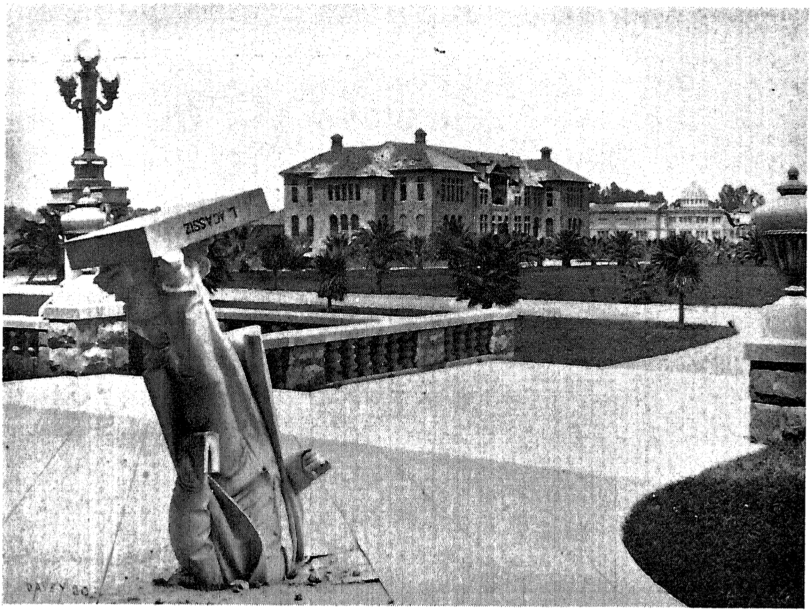
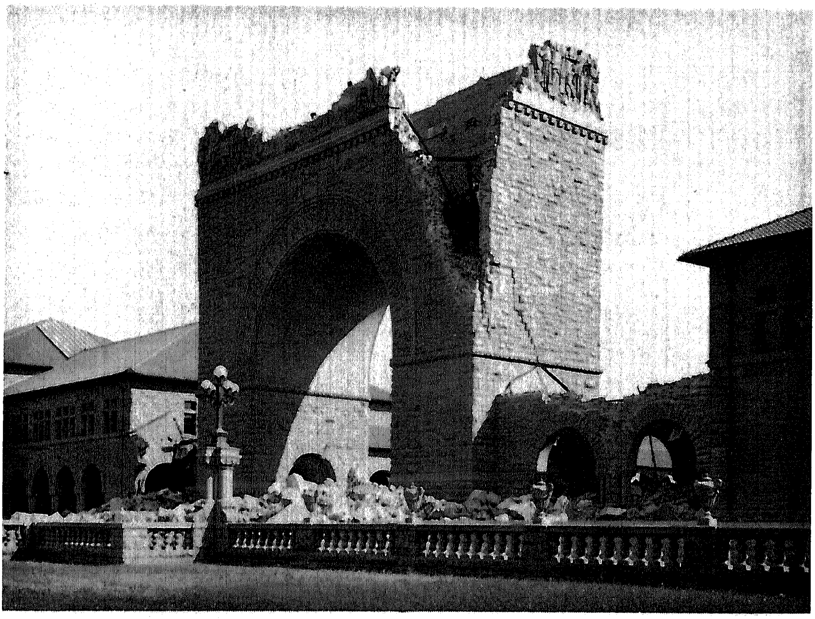
[14] A full and very interesting account of the work of the Commission of Engineers is printed in the *Stanford Alumnus* for February 1909.



"Agassiz in the concrete" after the earthquake, looking toward the Chemistry Building



Memorial Arch after the earthquake

another shock. Expect it about 11—got news from Mt. Hamilton. Good by, if the earth swallows us up. We're hoping for the best and are really quite cheerful. I can't tell you how perfectly miraculous it is that we are all alive. Not a soul in our house was even scratched."

"The chimneys are gone everywhere. . . . . A big marble statue of Agassiz was toppled off his perch on the outside of the quad and fell foremost into the ground (right through a cement walk) up to his shoulders, and still sticks there, legs in the air and his hand held out gracefully. People came running from the quad with such sober faces, but when they saw him they couldn't help laughing, and one fellow went up and shook hands with him. . . . . The hardest part of all for me and for most folks was the afternoon, for from three o'clock on to midnight we kept having little tremors—very slight but people were nervous. . . . . It was funny to see the Rows. People were afraid to go into the houses. On every lawn all up and down the streets you could see whole fraternities of men and women sitting on rugs and pillows. . . . . In the middle of the afternoon express wagons from San Francisco began to arrive with the Stanford folks who had been caught in San Francisco staying over night from the opera. . . . . They paid five dollars apiece to be carted down . . . . everybody dreaded the night. We saw Dr. Branner (vice-president of the University and an eminent geologist) about dark. He said the little tremors were to be expected, and that there was no more danger of a return of the serious shocks than there had been for the last fifty years (when the other one had occurred), that he was going to bed and to sleep. Of course he couldn't know, but we felt that he knew more than any one else, and it was a comfort to me."

"The first thing Rita and I knew was that our room was going round and round. We both tried to sit up but were knocked back, and I remember Rita saying, 'Alice, this is an awful fierce one.' . . . . Then we heard a crash and still we went round—and then another crash, and although we were still moving I ran to the window. . . . . I didn't feel any danger for myself, but only for the building. Rita and I weren't scared until Jessie, who lives across the hall, came out into the hall screaming at the top of her voice, 'Girls, there will be another in a minute or two. Hurry, hurry, hurry!' We rushed into bath robes and slippers and out into the hall, and then I saw across the hall the third floor had caved into the second. I ran into the parlors and found Ruth just getting out of bed and shaking off the plaster. Her room had sunk right down in the middle taking her bed with it, and she wasn't scratched. Her roommate was still up above on the third floor having hysterics and called 'O Ruth, where are you?' and Ruth calmly answered, 'Down here in the parlor.' Right above Ruth's bed was poised a great heavy stone which had crashed through the roof and floors from the chimney, and the terrible weight is still poised there held by nobody knows what. The two chimneys had both fallen crashing through the roof, but not touching the four girls directly underneath. . . . ."

"The earthquake here was indeed terrible and I hope that I will never have to go through another such experience as that of yesterday. Our house is a wreck, more so than any other frame lodge on the campus. None of our fellows received serious injury, but it is a miracle that all were not killed. The first shock lasted about a minute and forced our house four feet off from its foundations. All the doors in the house were jammed in such a manner that we were unable to leave our rooms until the disturbance ceased. . . . . I was in what remains of our house when the 11 o'clock shake came, engaged in rescuing some of my clothes. I jumped from a second story window and landing on a brick, sprained my ankle severely. We are now living in a tent on our tennis court, and if more shocks come there will be nothing to fall on us."

"I have been trying to write a letter for the last two hours, but this awful excitement is too much for us. Oh, you cannot imagine the quadrangle as it looks to-day; it is the saddest sight I ever saw. Some of the people were simply sobbing this morning when they saw the grand old quad in perfect ruins. . . . . Every slight rumble or shock brings a stream of men or girls into the street. It is very terrible, yet everyone is joking or fooling about it, which relieves the atmosphere somewhat. I never lived so long in my life as that minute this morning at 5:15. It was entirely unexpected. I was up and out before I was scarcely awake, and I saw the house tottering from side to side."

William James, who was on the campus during the earthquake, wrote to Dr. Jordan on May 4, 1906: "Your note of the 28th follows on the heels of our safe arrival home. The agonies of sympathy that the distant have felt about the earthquake are somewhat amusing in contrast with the good hearty animal callousness of those immediately struck. But the crop of nervous wrecks may yet have to be reaped."

In San Francisco the earthquake was followed by fires which destroyed the greater part of the city and created an immediate problem of relief, to which the whole country responded. As soon as the situation was realized—and the glow and smoke of the burning city were plainly visible from the campus—local troubles and distresses were forgotten. Wednesday evening a relief center was set up in the Congregational Church in Palo Alto in charge of Professors Green, Show, and others, where clothing and food were received, promptly dispatched to San Francisco, and their distribution intrusted to students, faculty, and townsmen who volunteered for this service and who saw that the supplies reached those who needed them.

Meantime there was another immediate problem connected with the return of students to their homes. At first local wires were down, train service was interrupted, and in many cases it was necessary that students send home for money to pay railroad fares. No telegrams could be sent out the first day. On Thursday messages were gathered from all parts of the campus and taken by automobile to Oakland. There were so many thousand messages ahead that the Oakland office could take no more, and the automobile pushed on to Sacramento. Here the congestion was quite as great, but Western Union received the Stanford messages and sent them by mail to Reno, where they were finally put on the wires. For several days after the earthquake—indeed until rain began on Sunday—families and students in large numbers slept out in tents or under the stars. By Sunday the nervousness had worn off and houses were again occupied. By Sunday also most of the students were on the way to their homes.

Very promptly the Quadrangles were roped off, guards were placed at the entrances, and throughout the summer admission was by pass only. Removal of debris was begun almost immediately, but it was not until the 29th of June that the work of reconstruction was placed in the hands of a Commission of Engineers consisting of Professors Marx, Durand, and Wing. Less than two months remained before the scheduled opening of the University in August, and it seemed an almost impossible task to make the buildings ready for use in that time. Yet the miracle was accomplished, and that in spite of a difficult labor strike which caused the loss of almost two weeks' time. Only necessary repairs could be made before the reopening in August, and the serious work of rebuilding and reconstruction would continue for some years.

The very heavy financial loss raised some perplexing questions as to the policy which ought to be pursued in rebuilding and in future building for University needs. Happily no radical departures were made. In a letter to Andrew D. White (May 2, 1906) Dr. Branner referred to some of the considerations which were urged upon the authorities at the time:

"President Jordan has just shown me your letter of April 24th. I feel so grateful to you for it that I want to thank you personally. Never was a good word from you more opportune. You know where the pressure from the faculty is always applied: equipment, books, assistants, salaries, facilities. We are all agreed about the importance of all these things, but it requires more breadth than is usually found among the common run of professors to grasp the fact that the architecture of an institution *may* be of more importance than the men who might be had for the cost of it. President Jordan is beset by those who would be glad to dispense with our beautiful church and other architectural attractions. . . . . My own department is seriously crippled by the destruction of our new geology building, which was completed but not yet occupied. I have waited patiently these fifteen years for room and conveniences, seeing to it that every one else was served first. And even now when I feel the loss keenly I would rather go on waiting to the end of my years of active usefulness, then to see the Trustees abandon the original plans. A fact that you are not acquainted with, and one that few people now remember, is that important parts of the original plans by Frederick Law Olmsted have been entirely lost sight of by the President and by the Trustees. Those plans lay at the foundation of the beauty of the place, but they were so comprehensive that they were soon lost sight of in dealing with some of the details."

The problem of the 1906 graduating class was settled by voting degrees in May to all candidates who were up in their studies at the time of the earthquake. The others were required to take examinations in September, and degrees were voted at that time. The deferred Commencement was held on September 15, with the Commencement address by President Wheeler of the University of California.

The courage and vigor with which the work of reconstruction was undertaken, and the resumption of University classes as if nothing very much had happened, was characteristic of the spirit of the University and reassuring from every point of view. Newly elected members of the faculty (George Hempl, Allyn A. Young, Charles A. Huston, and others) did not hesitate to cast in their lot with the University, and there was no letdown in any line of work. Indeed the common disaster reacted most favorably upon the morale of both students and faculty. "I have never seen the faculty so optimistic, so kindly disposed toward each other, and so generally hopeful in regard to future conditions," Dr. Jordan wrote on May 2, 1906. "It reminds us of the old days when we were fighting against litigation."

Yet the earthquake destruction was a very serious matter and another severe check to the development of the University. On the day of the earthquake Dr. Jordan said: "For the past seven years Stanford has been completing the magnificent group of buildings as planned by the Founders. . . . . Stanford's buildings have been paid for entirely from the income of the endowment. There is now nothing to do but to go over it again, with the same rigid economies that have marked the whole history of the University since the death of Mr. Stanford. . . . . We shall try to make our work as thorough and as helpful as college work can be made, a place where exceptional men can find exceptional training. But our great ambitions for Stanford as a University must rest awhile until we can save the money for building again and until our own alumni are old enough and rich enough to come to our rescue."

To ex-President Andrew D. White, Dr. Jordan, looking at the same side of the shield, wrote on May 16, 1906: "These [later] buildings, including the gymnasium and library, were put up by a *tour de force*, and the living organism of the University was almost starved in the process." A little earlier (April 24, 1906) he had written: "The Memorial Church, splendidly built, but wrecked by the fall of its spire and flying buttresses, touches us deeply. . . . . But the new Library, Gymnasium, and Museum Annex, crushed like a pie set on edge, we have no feeling for. They have kept us impoverished for long, tedious years. . . . . In my work here most things have gone smoothly and I am well satisfied with the results. The difficulties have come as catastrophes, unforseen and tremendous, but I think in meeting these I have put forth such strength as I have. I used to look forward to work at Washington. I have had my dream of the encouragement of science in the midst of the rising workers of the country about me. But one life (or two lives at the most) is about all one man can lead. I shall stay with the poppies, the perfect sunshine, and the shadows of the great Temblor."

Looked back upon over a period of years, the earthquake of 1906 was bound to appear only as an "incident," another temporary setback in the steady pursuit of a clearly seen and firmly established goal. No one would see this more quickly than Dr. Jordan, who never despaired, who refused to be bound by the past, and whose free spirit ranged always among the illimitable possibilities which the future held out. As a matter of fact the University adapted itself to this new load with surprising quickness and with an agility and light-heartedness happy to see.

THE COST OF EDUCATION

The practical education which Mr. Stanford always kept in mind as the goal of the University was meant to fit the youth at the end of his student period "for some useful pursuit." Mr. Stanford wanted to make this education as nearly free as possible, in order that its advantages might be within reach of promising boys and girls of small means. The Trustees were directed to provide as many free scholarships as the endowment of the institution would justify, and in May 1891 Dr. Jordan announced that after the first year there would be both graduate fellowships and undergraduate scholarships. Mr. Stanford, however, was not ready for this step; and, even when provided, such scholarships and fellowships would not be available for any large numbers of students. As late as April 1891 Mr. Stanford still expected that a small tuition fee would be charged. But before the first *Circular of Information* was issued, in May, he had decided otherwise, and it was definitely announced that tuition would be free in all departments of the University.

Under date of April 8, 1891, Dr. Jordan had written: "There will be a considerable number of students from the Mississippi Valley, especially if the rates of tuition are made quite low. In view of the fact that tuition in the University of California is entirely free, I shall be in favor of making the tuition fees very moderate, so that no worthy student shall be excluded because of them."

The New York *Commercial Advertiser*, in a dispatch from San Francisco, dated April 30, 1891, stated that "Senator Stanford has been so much impressed with the criticisms made on the charge for tuition that he has determined to make the University free to all students."

Even with a small tuition fee, Mr. Stanford had said, the cost of room and board could be made so low that the expenses of the students need not exceed two hundred dollars, or perhaps one hundred and fifty dollars, a year.

When financial troubles came on in 1893 Mrs. Stanford consented to a registration fee of twenty dollars per year for regular undergraduates and thirty dollars for special students. But she steadily resisted Dr. Jordan's later suggestions that these fees be increased; and when the constitutional amendment was adopted in 1900, freeing the University funds from taxation, even these moderate fees were waived for California students—not because the law required it, but because in the campaign for the amendment the University had virtually obligated itself to do so. However, to make things go at all, laboratory fees had been raised and book and syllabus fees added in numerous departments. These increases troubled Mrs. Stanford. "I am thinking very seriously," she wrote Dr. Jordan on February 25, 1901, "of doing away with the extra fees which have been demanded from the students, and going back to that small nominal sum which we deviated from. I have always thought it inconsistent and not living up to the wishes of my husband. . . . . But this is for future consideration."

The possibility of increasing income through a resort to student fees was too promising to let slip altogether. Although most of Dr. Jordan's proposals failed to receive the support of either faculty or Trustees, some impression was made. It was evident to everybody that there must be tuition fees in medicine, and the legislature readily granted permission not only for medicine but for all other professional courses. Advantage was taken of this permission in medicine and law only; but since it had come to be recognized that a registration fee was not a tuition fee, California students were now made to pay the same fees as non-residents of the state.

That the low cost of education might be still further reduced by giving employment to students in various positions about the University had probably not figured in Mr. Stanford's scheme. However, no objection was made, and probably none was felt, when students were put on the payrolls as stenographers, clerks, and library and laboratory assistants, and were employed by professors and departments in furtherance of regular University work. In August, before the opening of the University, it was reported to Mr. Stanford that seventy prospective students had already applied for work. Dr. Jordan thought it a wise policy to throw all work which could be done equally well by students into their hands. The janitor service was one item in point. "Professor Swain is willing to organize the janitor work and to keep charge of it himself, thus saving the expense of a head janitor." This plan was recommended by Dr. Jordan, the student janitors to be paid at the rate of fifteen to eighteen cents an hour. With all the press of work in getting the University started and the department organization perfected, it is small wonder that not much time was left for looking after the details of student undertakings. Mr. Stanford, who was frequently on the grounds and a keen observer of what was going on, during the weeks before his duties called him to Washington, noted lapses and instances of carelessness and lack of responsibility. "If the student work proves inefficient or too costly," Dr. Jordan had said, "you can go back to Chinamen at any time." Such a time arrived, according to Mr. Stanford, or perhaps only to the Business Office, before the end of the year. A petition signed by two hundred and fifty-four Encina men, and endorsed by Professor Swain, for the retention of student service in the Hall, met with no response. The experiment was not repeated.

Perhaps the issue was determined by the incident referred to by Mrs. Stanford years afterward: "I well remember walking through the machine shops with Mr. Stanford. It was on a Sunday and we found the doors and windows open, beautiful and expensive tools lying about uncovered, and I shall never forget the sad look that came over his face and the remark he made. 'I have spent over sixty thousand dollars in equipping this department—would you think it? Is there any evidence of care here?' I made no answer, for my heart was full, and I did not wish him to feel worse than he already did."

Perhaps this incident accounts also for Mrs. Stanford's lingering suspicion that student employment in all departments of the University was wasteful and unreliable and ought to be dispensed with.

Circular No. 6, issued in December 1891, contained this statement: "The expenses of the student, exclusive of clothing and railway fares, need not exceed $200 per year." In the *Register* for 1891–92 the figures change to "$225 to $325." This was evidently thought to be extravagant, and the next year it was "$200 to $275." This affirmation continued without change for a dozen years. In 1904 the reading is "$275 to $350," the following year "$275 to $400," and then without change for another decade to 1915. In 1915–16, at the end of the first twenty-five years, the estimate becomes "$350 to $500."

The *Information Bulletin* for 1936 estimates expenses, exclusive of clothing, laundry, and railway fares, for undergraduate men, for the academic year (three quarters), under two heads: medium, $804; high, $1,080. Clothing and laundry are put down as, medium, $105; high, $300, per year.

These early *Register* statements were truthful enough, at least to the extent that there were students, many of them perhaps, whose expenses did not exceed the lowest sums named, some, indeed, who spent actually less than this sum. But none of these lived in dormitories or fraternities, and unless living at home their economies were often of a desperate kind.

Circular No. 6 contained the following statement regarding self-support:

"While no provision has been made for affording direct pecuniary assistance to students, a considerable number are able to earn the whole or a part of their expenses while attending the University. Such opportunities occur in the line of janitor service, care of dormitories and table service, office and laboratory assistance, and the like. The organization and direction of the student labor has been intrusted to the committee on student affairs, of which Professor Swain is chairman."

In the next publication, the *Register* for 1891–92, "care of dormitories and table service" has been dropped out, and the following caution is added: "Nothing, however, can be promised in advance, and no one is advised to come to the University without resources for at least one semester." In the next *Register* "janitor service" is omitted and "personal services of various kinds, and the management of student enterprises" is added. In 1895–96 the appointment of a special faculty committee on Student Aid is noted, and the following year an extended analysis of the situation by this committee is printed. The Committee established what was virtually an employment bureau for the purpose of bringing students and employers together. In 1900 this service, still under the direction of the faculty committee, was taken over by the Y.M.C.A., and was carried on with so much success that in 1903–4 the faculty committee ceased to function. Later the task was made a part of the Appointment Service of the University.

> "The Students' Employment Bureau of the Y.M.C.A. has in hand the preparation of a little pamphlet for the use of self-supporting students. . . . . The experience of the Employment Bureau for five years is that the field for student labor has at several seasons during the year been decidedly in need of more students in search of work."

In spite of all cautions to the contrary many ambitious youths arrived at the University without resources and under the necessity of becoming self-supporting from the start. Even these succeeded if they had friends at the University who knew the ropes or who had jobs to hand down, or if they were themselves energetic, self-reliant, teachable, and dependable. Not to come to the University without resources was good advice notwithstanding, for the entering student had many things to learn, many adjustments to make, and extra time was needed for getting into the spirit and gait of the University in its academic character. Some working students seemed to meet jobs at every turn; some never found anything they could do. The difference was in the individual.

The variety of jobs open to students, or discoverable by them, was almost illimitable, ranging from purely menial tasks to the highly prized "white collar" positions and managerships of many enterprises. There was a hierarchy of employments, but so many prominent students, leaders in student activities, belonged to the working class that loss of social standing or prestige was not one of the things to be greatly troubled about. Snobbishness was not a student habit of mind, and any sensitiveness about appearing before fellow students or the faculty in working clothes did not long persist unless with the few who were excessively outfitted with false pride or a pronounced inferiority complex.

The first scholarship was established by Mrs. Stanford in 1900, in memory of Leland Stanford, Jr. A memorial room was set aside in Encina, supplemented by a sum of money sufficient to meet the necessary expenses of the holder throughout his undergraduate course. By 1916 there had been established the Dickey Scholarship Fund, the B. G. Higley Scholarship, the Alumni Jordan Scholarship, the Thomas Welton Stanford Fellowship in Psychic Research, the William Burton Barber Loan Fund, the Loan and Emergency Fund for Women, and the Graduate Fund, the beginnings of a long line of fellowships, scholarships, and loan funds established in the later years. Perhaps the most important of these aid funds comes out of the generous policy of the University in the acceptance of promissory notes for tuition fees.

THE CARNOT MEDAL

In 1893 Baron Pierre de Coubertin was a member of the organizing committee of the French section of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, and an honorary head of its Congress of Education. Visiting the Pacific Coast, after the Exposition, he was the guest of both the University of California and Stanford. A year later (October 1904), as a testimonial of his loyalty to France and his friendship for America, and his appreciation of the work being done at these two universities, he established the Carnot (afterward Joffre) Medal to be awarded annually for individual excellence in public speaking in a debate between Stanford and California students on some subject of French history or politics. In carrying out the provisions of the contest the attempt has been to make the debate as far as possible an exercise in extempore speaking.

AUTOMOBILES COME TO THE CAMPUS

The first time any "horseless carriage" penetrated so far inland as the Stanford campus was apparently in September 1899. It was driven down from Oakland by its maker, Mr. W. L. Elliott, who had invited Dr. Jordan and Professor A. W. Smith to make the trip with him to Lick Observatory on Mount Hamilton. The machine was called an "automobile," although in appearance, but for its small engine, it was precisely like the single buggy of the period, with its high wheels, open top, and perched-up seat. According to the report of the *San Francisco Examiner*, remarkable time was made up the twenty-seven miles from the Hotel Vendome in San Jose to the top of the mountain, the running time, not counting delays of one sort or another, being five hours and twenty minutes! The expedition was treated by the press as a sensational event and written up in great detail.

The automobile, more familiarly known then as the "devil wagon," was at that stage in its development when the pedestrian who saw one coming in the distance stood far out from the side of the road to let it pass, not knowing what strange course it might take. After a few terrifying experiences of this sort the roads on the campus were closed to all automobiles, by request of Mrs. Stanford, a prohibition not removed during her lifetime. But so rapid was the progress of the new invention that pressure began to be exerted to secure some modification of this decree. The *San Francisco Chronicle* of March 21, 1901, referring to the "hostile attitude of Stanford University," said: "Automobiles in the locality of the University have been forbidden to use the roads that are within the campus. Those who have issued the order say that the autos are dangerous, as they frighten horses. The local [automobile] club has been appealed to for relief, and it will endeavor to have the restriction removed. If the roads are not opened the matter will be placed in the hands of the attorney of the club, who will at once commence legal action."

"You are quite right in the matter of the automobiles," Dr. Jordan wrote Trustee Leib on December 10, 1904. "They ought to be kept out very stringently." But he added: "On the rare occasions when they stray in they ought to be treated at first with distinct politeness." Little by little, however, the rules were relaxed. In 1905 the Trustees permitted automobiles to enter the grounds for the annual football game. Only one entrance was opened—from the Embarcadero Road—and cars could merely go to the football field and back again. About two hundred cars, mostly from San Francisco and San Jose, took advantage of this permission.[15]

In April 1907 another step was taken. Automobiles were permitted to drive to the University. A new service road had been constructed through the Arboretum, and cars must not leave this road. The *Call* of December 31, 1906, announces the purchase of an automobile by Dr. Jordan, who was thereupon granted the privilege of driving direct to his home by way of the History Building and Roble Hall; but no other machine would be allowed to go to his residence. No automobiles were permitted on any of the side streets or residence portions of the campus, and all cars were expected to travel at a very slow rate of speed.[16]

In October 1907 requests from two fraternities and one private resident on Salvatierra Street to be allowed to run their cars to their respective houses were denied. And when Vice-President Fairbanks visited the University and was a luncheon guest of Professor Stillman, his car was stopped about a block from the house.

[15] *Daily Palo Alto*, November 14, 1905.

[16] *Ibid.*, April 12, 1907.

According to the *Alumnus* of February 1908, "more than fifty Stanford men, in California alone, own automobiles." And it seemed to the *Alumnus* a praiseworthy news service to print in this issue the names of the owners and the license numbers of all these cars! Only Dr. Jordan of the faculty and Mr. Lathrop of the Trustees could boast of cars at this time. By October 1908, however, the automobile had conquered, tentatively, for on the thirtieth of the month all streets, roads, and avenues, except only the main University Avenue and alleys and lanes, were thrown open, "as an experiment to try it out."

In her inaugural address as President of the Board of Trustees on July 6, 1903, Mrs. Stanford declared that University Avenue "should ever be kept free for carriages, pedestrians, and bicycles." By 1912 there were few carriages using, or likely to use, the Avenue. But at that time the Trustees could not accede to a suggestion of Acting President Branner that automobiles be allowed to use this main avenue from Palo Alto to the University. By December 1914, however, the absurdity of the restriction was so clearly evident that the ban was lifted once for all. At a later stage students were strongly discouraged from bringing automobiles to the University, and a proposal to exclude student cars from the campus in term time was seriously considered. Again the automobile won out, only to be overtaken by the universal and apparently unsolvable problem of "parking space."

SCHOLARSHIP RECORDS AND REQUIREMENTS

In the improvised scheme, before the faculty had come together, provision was made for four scholarship grades to be used in reporting the work of students, namely, "excellent," "passed," "conditioned," and "failed." This plan was followed at the end of the first semester. After this one trial the faculty decided (March 31, 1892) to abolish the grade "excellent." In this connection, however, the President suggested that some comment on the work of the students might properly be included in the report, which, filed in the Registrar's Office, could be consulted by the President and by faculty committees concerned. At first there was a very limited response to the President's suggestion, owing to the exalted feeling that now childish things were to be put away, that students were not to be encouraged to work for "marks," that the instructor ought not to be placed in the position of discriminating among students all of whom had satisfactorily completed a given task. Gradually, however, since students differ greatly in capacities and attainment, it was recognized that a knowledge of these differences, in individual cases, is of importance in making recommendations for teaching and other positions and for various other administrative purposes, and that assembling the requisite information from teachers past and present at the time when it is needed is too complicated for practical use. In time such characterizations as "excellent," "good," "fair," "average," "poor," "unprepared," "indifferent," "lazy," and the like came to be quite freely used. Still, the labor of getting this information together, the lack of any convenient way of preserving it when assembled, and the impossibility of a quick comparison of student with student or with specified requirements and capabilities, resulted in a halting and limited use of the material in hand but hidden away in books of record.

In 1903 the University Council reluctantly conceded that for convenience the explanatory terms "excellent," "good," "fair," "poor," and their equivalents might be translated into the passing grades A, B, C, and D and entered upon the records in the Registrar's Office. On no account, however, were these grades to be reported to the student, who was to have appropriately entered on his own report card the single grade "passed." Five years later, after long discussion, it was agreed that the grade marks A, B, C, and D might be used on transcripts of records for other universities and on freshman records regularly sent to high-school principals. A recommendation from the Executive Committee that A, B, C, and D grades be entered on student report cards was rejected by a vote of 24 to 13, only to be approved three years later (January 13, 1911) 41 to 19.

Beyond the ruling, expressed or understood, that reports upon the work of all students were to be made at the end of each semester, there was, to start with, no direction as to how these grade marks were to be arrived at. No provision was made for an end-semester examination period. It was understood that any instructor who wished to give end-semester examinations was free to use the last regular class hour, or hours, for that purpose. If, on the other hand, he preferred to make up his reports from term records or from special tests held throughout the semester, that was his privilege. The instructor fixed his own standard of what constituted a passing grade, in percentage terms or in any other way that appealed to him.

In practice the end-semester examination of a formal character came generally to prevail. Using the regular class period or periods for a time seemed satisfactory. But complaints were gradually voiced from two quarters. With examinations crowded into the last day or two the congestion was too great. Besides, numerous instructors wanted longer than hour examinations, and spreading these over several successive days proved unsatisfactory. Law classes demanded a four-hour period, and could not find the necessary time without conflicting with other regular classes. Finally, in 1906, a three-day examination period (later extended to four days) was adopted by the Academic Council. There was still no requirement that a final examination be held; but it was later voted to demand finals except in small advanced classes, and that where none were to be held the fact should be announced in advance in the *Examination Schedule*. Still later it was provided that a required final examination must include all students in the class except those who might be denied the privilege of examination because of unsatisfactory scholarship.

In January 1909 the Executive Committee was asked to consider the Columbia plan of weighting grades and the Chicago plan of requiring a certain percentage of higher passing grades for graduation. In November 1911 a strong feeling in favor of some form of weighting grades, in the interest of better scholarship, found expression in the Executive Committee: "We all naturally shrink from returning to the plan of purchasing intellectual interest, but we have to recognize the situation. We have got to recognize that human nature is human nature, and the interest of youth in outside matters." One member announced himself in process of conversion to the honor system, because "we are missing in some way the awakening of the imagination of students." Another said: "The faculty has notoriously neglected its duty to encourage scholarship. It is very much up to us to do something. Personally I feel like laying hands on anything that will work."

In October 1901 the *Directory of Officers and Students* (thereafter familiarly known as the *Bawl-Out*) included, for the first time, a condensed scholarship record of each student—that is, the number of completed units, followed by the combined number of incomplete and conditioned units which might still be made good. Later, when under the grade-point system an average C-grade was required for graduation, the *Directory* was made to show the standing of the student at, above, or below this C-average. The original suggestion for the *Bawl-Out* figures had come from the Committee on Scholarship; but the main service of all this statistical information was to the student himself. Many students had been careless in preserving their own report cards—some did not even call for them—and approached graduation time with a hazy, often incorrect, notion of their standing in the University. The *Directory* proved to be an invaluable reference sheet for both instructors and students.

There was some fluttering at first, as if an indecent exposure of scholarship deficiences were being made. Writing to a questioning Trustee on August 27, 1904, Dr. Jordan declared that most of the students were glad to have a convenient reference of this kind, and that there was no sensitiveness on the part of those who were deficient in their studies.

The matter of record keeping is one thing. The policy of the University in dealing with those students who fail to "make the grade" is both more important and more difficult to determine. There are those who would waive all entrance requirements whatever. Let everybody come in who wants to, they say, and then ruthlessly weed out those who fail to do the work. A plausible theory. But it is safe to assume that those who decry entrance hurdles for fear that some undetected genius might be barred out, would, in concrete cases, be equally averse to the weeding-out process lest some other late-blooming flower be dumped out with the weeds. But the weeding-out process is necessary both for the protection of the studious and for the good of the incapable and the uninterested. There is a recurrent student notion, shared not infrequently by instructors, that the bright youth who has no time for his studies because he finds so many other interesting things to do should still be considered an asset and entitled to book credit and a degree—for football, or literary, or managerial excellence. The realistic view of the authorities is that a man must stand or fall by his success or failure in the main purpose of a college career. With as just a sifting process as possible at the entrance gates, the task is still a complicated one. When has a student demonstrated his failure? And what were the causes of failure? What allowance must be made for illness, for a bad start, for immaturity soon to be overcome? Per contra, what account is to be taken of the ingenuity and skill of the "poor" student in presenting excuses and unmeaning certificates of various qualities and inhibitions?

The Stanford Scholarship Committee followed in the main a set pattern common to universities. There were numerous grades of disciplinary action ranging from gentle warning to final disqualification. At first there were no "rules" except those developed by precedent and consistent action in similar cases. Under this regime students complained that they did not know what to expect, or when they would be stepping over the line. The Board of Trustees agreed to this, declaring that where there were punishments there must be rules under which the punishments were applied. In actual application this principle pleased the students no better, for now they could feel themselves the victims of arbitrary rules!

At Stanford, scholarship committees have rarely, if ever, been accused of lowering the scholarship standards of the University; and their severity, if severity it has been, has kept the good of the student as well as of the University always in mind. It can be said that the reputation of the University for stressing scholarship and a high standard of achievement has been fairly deserved.

PROVISIONS FOR GRADUATE WORK

Of the thirty-seven students registered in graduate standing during the first year of the University, about twenty were seriously pursuing studies looking toward advanced degrees. Fifteen actually carried these studies to completion and received the degrees sought. In large part they were students whose advanced studies had already begun and who were following instructors under whom the work had originally been planned. The range of opportunity in graduate studies was necessarily limited through lack of books and equipment. The private libraries of professors, and city libraries which could be drawn upon, supplemented the resources of the University, and the zeal with which scientific study and investigation was pursued overcame many difficulties. That graduate work was undertaken at all was heralded as noteworthy at the time.

> "Another bit of university news is that for the first time organized graduate courses are offered on this Coast. The University at Palo Alto has them from the outset, and has thirty graduate students enrolled, almost all from the Eastern States. At Berkeley, some informal provision has been made hitherto for a few graduates, and regular courses are now announced in philosophy, history and political science, language, literature, and mathematics."[17]

During the period of financial stress the expansion of graduate study could not be rapid. Yet its needs were as carefully considered as those of undergraduate departments, and by the end of the first quarter-century the enrollment had reached 343. To Mr. Stanford, under date of April 8, 1891, Dr. Jordan wrote: "The most effective way of securing a body of alumni, and also a body of men suitable for professorships in the future, is through the means of fellowships, a plan adopted in all the larger Eastern universities. I ask your opinion of the plan of giving for the first year—say fifteen fellowships, worth perhaps $400 each—to be awarded young men or women who have already graduated from the college and are ready for advanced work." Mr. Stanford's "opinion" was that this had better be postponed, and consequently the announcement in the first *Circular of Information* was to the effect that scholarships and fellowships would be offered the second year. Another postponement was deemed advisable—and then the financial eclipse. Thereupon Dr. Jordan reversed the shield and stoutly maintained that fellowships were unsound in theory and in operation. "In this institution," he wrote on November 5, 1901, "tuition is free for all graduate students, but no fellowships are given, and on principle probably none ever will be."

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[17] *Overland Monthly*, October 1891.

In the first University announcement, before there was any faculty, four advanced degrees were provided for, namely: Master of Arts, Civil Engineer, Mechanical Engineer, and Doctor of Philosophy. As soon as this provision could be reviewed by the faculty, the single degree of Engineer was made applicable to all Engineering courses. A recommendation of the Committee on Graduation that the degree of Master of Arts be abolished was tabled by a vote of eight to seven. Here the matter rested until February 1898, when a similar recommendation was brought forward by the same committee. The reasons urged were that it was a degree not in good repute, had been too long regarded as a degree "in course," not representing very much more than a lapse of time, and that, in any event, not enough advanced work could be accomplished in the customary one year to be worthy of the distinction of an advanced degree. By concentrating on the degree of Doctor of Philosophy students would be encouraged to make the larger scholarly attempt. On the other hand, it was claimed that the degree could be made to represent really creditable graduate work, and that it had a very definite place and use as a teacher's degree—almost a necessity for promotion in secondary-school work. The vote in the University Council stood eighteen to eighteen. Thereupon it was decided to take a mail ballot of the members not present. The final vote registered the defeat of the recommendation, twenty-three to twenty-one.

From the first a high standard was proposed for all advanced degrees, and the conditions and requirements were carefully outlined in the University *Register*. The Master's degree was to require a full year's work beyond the baccalaureate requirements of the department in which the degree was sought, and was to correspond in amount and character to the first year's work for the Doctor's degree. The doctorate was to be granted after not less than three years of graduate study and on the ground of advanced scholarship and independent work in the special line selected; the thesis must display power of original and independent investigation and constitute an actual contribution to knowledge. The final examinations were to be conducted by a special committee appointed at least a semester previous to the time of conferring the degree. During the first ten years of the University thirteen such degrees were conferred.

Until 1898 there was no standing committee on advanced degrees. The Committee on Graduation, primarily concerned with candidates for the Bachelor's degree, determined the graduate status of candidates and checked over the requirements and recommendations of the major departments in the case of the Master's and Engineer's degrees. In 1898 a standing committee on the Doctor's degree, and a year later one on the Master's degree, was appointed by the President. In 1900 these two committees were superseded by a single Committee on Graduate Study. In the case of the Master's degree a report upon the character of the work done was now to be made by each instructor concerned, and evidence of ability to do original work must be shown by examinations or thesis or in some other way.

In regard to the Doctor's degree, while no additional requirements were proposed, it was felt that the time had come for a more resolute promotion of graduate study in the University and greater activity on the part of the special committee. A number of delicate questions immediately arose as to the actual scope and authority of the Committee in passing upon the work offered in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree. Pending action by the Council the President formulated his own understanding of the situation in a letter to the chairman of the Committee, in May 1900. The function of the Committee, the

President said, should be mainly that of promoting graduate work and looking after the interests of graduate students. It should not, even by advice, direct or control the work inside any department or attempt to substitute one kind of work for another. It could not safely attempt to value the subject matter in such a way as to form a different opinion from that held by the major professor himself. In other words, the major professor must be the final judge as to the value of what his students do. The Committee could be the judge as to whether this value should entitle it to a degree.

Later (May 28, 1900) the President issued a series of instructions to the Chairman of the Committee, to hold until otherwise ordered by the Council or by the President. After defining the principal duties of the Committee the letter continued: "In my view the committee has no control over the department, its methods, or its results. To this committee, members of departments are added for consideration of advanced degrees recommended by them. In this relation they act as experts in the subject matter of thesis and examinations. In technical matters it is presumed that the professor is better informed than the committee. But the committee must judge for itself whether the Council should grant any given degree for the thesis, examination, or course of study in question." The President added: "The instructions given to the Committee on Graduate Study represent my present view of its function. This view does not agree with that of most of the faculty with whom I have conversed, and the views expressed are quite divergent. As the matter concerns the duties of the Council, I shall prefer to let the Council have the final decision, the present instructions holding until some decision is made."

The President's Committee on Ways and Means was therefore asked to consider the specific questions raised and to report to the University Council in September. In reporting (October 19, 1900) the Committee recommended first that the departments be arranged in five groups, and that the Committee on Graduate Study consist of one professor or associate professor from each group. A second recommendation provided for the appointment by the Committee on Graduation of a special examining committee for each candidate, composed of five members from departments in the major group and one representative from any group in which a candidate's minor might lie, the major professor to be chairman of the committee. No action on the report was taken by the Council, and the President's instructions, modified in regard to the special examining committee, remained in force until after the adoption of the Articles of Organization, in 1904, and subsequent legislation by the Academic Council.

In his annual report for 1906–7, in the course of an extended argument for beginning the work of the University with the junior year, Dr. Jordan discussed the means for furthering advanced and technical instruction in the University. As one device he turned again to the incentives for building up a strong graduate department. "It will be necessary," he said, "to provide means for fellowships. The present writer has been strongly opposed to the present fellowship system in America, believing that its evil of hiring men to study in a certain place often outweighs its advantage of furnishing promising men with means of making the most of their period of training. But in a matter of this kind it is not possible for a single institution to stand aloof from its associates."

In November 1908 a resolution in favor of establishing fellowships, introduced in the Executive Committee, was later expanded and referred to the Committee on Graduate Study. This Committee reported on May 11, 1910, in the form of a request to the President and Trustees (1) to recognize the fact that graduate work is being done at Stanford University; (2) to express their opinion that it is desirable to steadily and considerably develop this graduate and advanced work; and (3) to show this official and authoritative recommendation by establishing without delay a Graduate School, with a Board of the Graduate School consisting of the professors giving advanced work, to be called the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, in order to show proper limits of its scope, and with the chairmanship an annual rotating office.

In May 1909 the President had asked the Executive Committee and the Advisory Board to consider and report upon various suggestions for a reorganization of the work of the University. Most of the joint committee's report was negative, so far as the specific suggestions of the President were concerned. One positive recommendation was to the effect that a new Committee of Ten be chosen from the Academic Council, by ballot, to which the entire matter of university policy should be referred. This recommendation was approved by the Council, and the ten members were elected on September 9, 1910, the President being added to this number by vote of the Council. The Committee was asked to submit recommendations for positive action looking toward the development of graduate and professional work.

Two reports were made (April 11, 1911). The principal recommendation of the majority report called for the setting up of a Graduate School with a separate faculty "to include and foster the work leading to the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy and work of a corresponding character in the professional departments." Other recommendations called for (1) the creation of ten graduate fellowships, (2) the establishment of a graduate summer school, (3) the limitation of membership in the University, after the first two undergraduate years, to those students who had evinced seriousness of purpose and fitness for scholarly or professional work, and (4) a consideration by a committee representing, if possible, the University of California and Stanford, of the feasibility of conferring the Bachelor's degree upon students successfully completing two years of university work.

The Academic Council was unwilling to concede the advantage of a separately organized Graduate School and rejected the proposal by a vote of 42 to 18. A substitute proposition was adopted, enlarging the membership of the Graduate Study Committee to eleven, elections to be without nomination and by sealed ballot. The remaining recommendations were tabled.

The minority report, submitted by Professor G. H. Marx, was based on the principle that to get good advanced work good undergraduate work must be done. It dealt with existing conditions in the educational system as a whole and the failure of the schools, from primary grades to the college, adequately to meet the educational needs of the people. Two recommendations were made: (1) that the Academic Council initiate a movement looking to a State Commission which should study and report upon the educational system of the state, (2) a more intensive application of the major-subject system, and the appointment of a committee of the Council whose functions should be that of a clearing house of ideas and methods and to act in an advisory capacity to the various departments. The first recommendation, duly passed by the Council, was disapproved by the Board of Trustees. The second recommendation passed in an amended form.[18]

In January 1912 a revision of the requirements for advanced degrees, with minor changes only, recommended by the Committee on Graduate Study, was approved by the Council. Provision was also made for the publication of a *Graduate Study Bulletin.*

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[18] See under "Reforming the Curriculum," pp. 509 ff.

STUDENT AFFAIRS AND DOINGS

With the opening of the University in October 1891, the first necessity, from the student point of view, was organization. This was speedily accomplished in various groups and for various purposes. At the first student-body meeting, held on October 9, a temporary organization was effected and committees were appointed to consider and report upon such important matters as a constitution and by-laws, the college colors, a college paper, the college yell, a bulletin board, etc. On October 20 a proposed constitution was reported with a clause debarring freshmen from holding office. Whereupon the freshmen walked out in a body, only to return at an adjourned meeting and vote out the offending article. The first president of the Associated Students was Charles Ernest Chadsey, a senior transfer from the University of Nebraska, later to become Superintendent of Schools at Denver and later still at Chicago. Class organizations followed promptly, and in due time clubs and societies to promote special activities, athletic, literary, musical, and the like. Greek-letter fraternities were speedily chartered, although no fraternity houses were for the time being attempted.

Chapters were established during the first year in the following fraternities, and in the order named: Zeta Psi, Phi Delta Theta, Sigma Nu, Phi Gamma Delta, Sigma Chi, Sigma Alpha Epsilon. And of sororities the following: Kappa Alpha Theta, Kappa Kappa Gamma.

At the close of the first twenty-five years the number of fraternities had increased to twenty-one; of sororities, to seven.

When the groups began to organize one of the puzzling questions was how to determine to what "class" a given student belonged. For the freshmen this was not difficult. But the University itself had decided not to recognize class divisions and could only point out that the students were at liberty, for their own purposes, to set up any division lines they might choose. The terms freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior were too convenient, however, to be abandoned, and, although without official significance, became as much a part of the Stanford vocabulary as of that of any other college.

Scattering students, not very large in number, lived at home and commuted daily from towns near by. Another small group, self-supporting for the most part, and by no means negligible in student affairs, found living quarters in faculty homes as roomers or helpers or in that unique Stanford institution, "The Camp." But the University, as far as the students were concerned, came to life in the two dormitories, Encina and Roble, and their doings and affairs and reactions represented to the public the real Stanford life and Stanford spirit.

Encina Hall was not at the beginning wholly given over to students. A group of unmarried instructors, having no other place to go, were provided with rooms in the dormitory, not in any particular section, and not in any way herded together. They were not expected to act as monitors or proctors, and had no governing or supervising functions to perform. Over the Hall was placed a Master, the tall Bert Fesler, to whom were intrusted the keys of the building and such powers and responsibilities as it was thought necessary for the University to exercise. It was assumed that the students would respect the few rules which the Founders had promulgated and would conduct themselves in a proper and orderly manner. Each individual was supposed to govern himself, and no general organization of the students themselves for self-governing purposes was thought to be necessary.

The students of the Hall promptly organized themselves as the Encina Club, for social purposes and for concerted action in various student matters. Naturally the Master of the Hall made what use he could of the organization in regulating affairs of the Hall. Later and gradually the Club came to assume additional responsibilities in dormitory management.

Some beginnings were cruder than had been anticipated. At the time of opening, the electric connections had not been made. Mrs. Stanford forbade the use of kerosene, since lamps might explode and the dormitories be set on fire. So life went on by candlelight, for a brief time in Encina, for some weeks in Roble. Roble, an emergency building, had been made ready not a day too soon. As it was, the kitchens were unfinished, and for a time the young women had to take their meals at Encina, nearly half a mile away. Before the first rains came, Alvarado Row boasted a boardwalk; but there were no walks connecting the halls with the quadrangle when later the paths turned into mud. Searsville water was abundant in halls and dwellings but rank-smelling and yellow with mud in the rainy season.

These and other primitive conditions were merely picturesque—particularly in retrospect—and in no way depressing to the student mind. "You just ought to see how smooth everything is," wrote one delighted newcomer to Encina. "Everything is brand new and of the finest. The rooms are all finished off with hard plaster and contain as furniture two single iron bedsteads with bronze trimmings, a large study table, two single or one double wardrobe, a commode, mirror, two rugs, four antique oak chairs, and a stationary washstand with hot and cold water faucets. Each room is also provided with both gas and electric light fixtures. Just at present, however, we are doing without the hot water and have to use candles for light. . . . . In the corridors are speaking tubes and electric buttons to call for whatever we want. . . . . The food and the service are both of the very best, and there are dozens of Chinamen on hand to attend to every want. It is real Fifth Avenue Hotel style, and all for twenty dollars a month."[1]

Another enchanted youth writes to his home paper: "I have not as yet read any account of the daily life in our big dormitory, which resembles a first-class hotel in many ways. . . . . Let me give you an account of how the day goes at present. At 6:30 A.M., the gongs ring on each floor announcing that the dining room will be opened for breakfast in half an hour. From this time on heavy footsteps are heard on the uncarpeted hall ways; groups of girls come walking arm in arm from Roble Hall where as yet there are no dining accommodations for the co-eds, or 'angels' as they are known here. . . . . The 'angels' dine together at three of the tables, and the other nine are occupied by the boys. . . . . The food is good and plentiful, although, so far, our desserts have defied analysis.

"After breakfast we walk over to the quadrangle, at the farther end of which is a lecture room furnished for use as a chapel. . . . . Service is about ten minutes in length and consists of hymn, scripture, and prayer. This over, we separate to our different recitation rooms about the quadrangle. At 12:45 lunch is ready, after which those who have recitations return to the quadrangle, the rest occupying the afternoon in study or [recreation]. The gym will be ready in two months. West of the gym will be the athletic grounds where we are to train for the grand athletic future that awaits the University. . . . . At 10:30 the outer doors of the University are locked and quiet is supposed to reign in Encina. At present it does not, but by next week when work begins in earnest, I do not doubt but that the hour for locking the doors will find all quiet in the hall, although many an 'electric' burns brightly into the wee sma' hours."[2]

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[1] Letter dated September 27, 1891, a few days before the opening of the University.

The beginnings at Roble were equally colorful. The Stanfords had apparently acquiesced in General Walker's recommendation that the admission of women be delayed for a year or two, and for them a dormitory had been planned which was to be a duplicate of Encina. By April 1891, the basement excavations had been completed and a considerable amount of cut stone was ready for the masons; but the building could not be finished before the beginning of the second year. It now seemed to Mrs. Stanford that if women were to be admitted at all they had better come in at the same time as the men, on a status of perfect equality. In this opinion she was confirmed by Dr. Jordan at the time of his visit to Palo Alto in April 1891. Accordingly, work on the larger building was suspended, and in May a concrete structure of about a third its size was begun. Construction was rushed and the building was actually ready by the opening day. One of the early freshman arrivals wrote home (September 30, 1891): "We are here safe and sound and well, and not disappointed as yet. Roble Hall is in rather an unsettled state. They are working very hard, and soon all will be in order. . . . . Things are fully as nice as we expected." (October 11): "They already have electricity in the boys' Hall, and we shall soon have it; but now we use candle light. . . . . There are no rules over us yet, but there are a few things we are expected to do, like coming in at nine o'clock, be on time at meals, and some other things that most of us would do anyway." Later (February 1892) she wrote: "You do not seem to understand that we have no rules of action whatever, and we may do just as we please, restricted only by criticism and the sure fact that if we overstepped the bounds of propriety too far we should have to go."

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[2] C. K. F[ield] in *Alameda Encinal*, October 5, 1891.

The first social event at the University was a reception (October 9) given by the Mistress and the young women of Roble to the faculty and the young men of the University. Naturally this led the men to reciprocate with invitations to Encina. The resulting flutter at Roble is described in another letter home: "On Wednesday [October 28] came an invitation from the young men to a reception at Encina Hall. All the girls were pleased and some were overjoyed because they knew the boys were practicing so as to have music for dancing. When this became generally known all the girls were a little displeased with the idea, and some of the mature ones thought that, aside from our not being well enough acquainted, and it being more proper that the girls give the first dance, and that some of the young men were known not to be of the best character, that it was a little soon for us to be giving dances, and it would go in the papers and look as though we were in a hurry for such things. The girls had a meeting and voted to send a note to Mr. Fesler that the young ladies preferred not to dance at this early date and on the slight acquaintance, or some such word. The boys were howling mad and sent a note over Friday afternoon, that owing to circumstances over which they had no control they could not receive us. The sequel is this, that last evening some of the young men, whom I believe to be nice, because of the girls whose friends they are here in the Hall, called and said we were perfectly right in what we did, and that many were opposed to postponing the reception, but could not carry it. Some eight or ten girls were not in favor of our note, but they are not the ones who will be allowed to rule us." Perhaps it was one of these Encina callers who wrote to his back-East chum (November 8): "Some of the boys seemed to think this quite an insult, but I think the girls showed good horse sense. Don't you? I wouldn't want my sister to dance with some of the fellows here under any circumstances."

While youths and maidens were struggling with the conventions and amenities of social usage, Mrs. Jordan at Escondite and the faculty wives living in the ten prim cottages along Alvarado Row (dubbed "The Decalogue") were arranging a series of "evenings at home," which proved to be the special social attraction of the early days. Again home letters tell the story. (November 7): "Last evening we went to call on some of the professors and their wives. They sent out cards announcing that they would receive students and faculty as follows: President and Mrs. Jordan and some of the faculty, on the third Friday of each month, and the remainder of the faculty on the first Friday of each month. So we made the first half last evening, and had so pleasant a time, and they all seemed so genuinely anxious to become acquainted with us as individuals, that all intend to turn out the third Friday and all succeeding Fridays." (December 19): "The night was rather foggy, but a brave dozen of us borrowed the watchman's lantern and started to call on Dr. Jordan. Aside from having the windows raised [at Encina], and curious heads stuck out of them, and hearing the boys tell each other to go to Jordan's, and putting our feet in a few mud puddles on the way, the mile between here [Roble] and Escondite Cottage was safely traversed."

When the rainy season had really begun, the pursuit of social pleasures was not without its perils, as witness the following glimpse of a journey to an afternoon tea on Alvarado Row (January 3, 1892): "All donned rubbers, long coats, and gossamers, and grasping our umbrellas we sallied forth to meet our fate. Minnie's came near keeping her from the festive scene, but she fortunately extricated herself from the moist clay which is as sticky as in Iowa, though it does dry sooner. We had to ford small rivers, and the first part of the walk in front of the Row was almost floating, but did not sail away, and so we arrived safe."

It took a little time for harmonious relations to become established at Roble. The first Mistress of the Hall resigned after a month, the Matron going earlier, and it was February before peace and quiet, under the wise oversight of the third Mistress, began to settle down upon the Hall. "Miss Thompson is very much liked," the report (February 14) ran. "She has not said much to us, but has a certain quiet way of showing what her opinions are, and because the girls respect *her* they are apt to respect her wishes—except those who are so giddy that it would take more than force even to restrain, and, alas, we have some of those, as I suppose every place has. You see, she is not put here to have anything but general oversight over us, and she has to make her influence rather than her authority felt."

(October 11): "We have access to the Stanford vineyard and that is where the girls usually go for their exercise. . . . . This seems very generous, but it is such an immense tract that even four hundred boys and girls could hardly make an impression upon them." A month later and the girls are still innocent guests of the vineyard (November 8): "It is still summer here and instead of dwelling under our own vine and fig tree, we visit Mr. Stanford's and eat our fill of grapes and figs which still last in almost unlimited quantities." But the boys had experienced something which dispelled the illusion of hospitality: "We have to go after dark for our grapes now. There's a mounted watchman, but it's a big place, and easy hiding under the big vines. . . . . The other night I busted into a room by mistake. It belonged to a prof and he and another prof were at the table and they had a big newspaperful of grapes of the vineyard color and they were munching away as calmly as though they had bought them from Bracchi, the fruitman at Mayfield." Of course the "poet laureate" did not overlook a suggestion like that:

"Dear Major Prof, do you recall
  The night, at set of sun,
We met when each had made his haul
  Where vineyard pathways run?
The days of scrapes, the days of grapes,
  The days of '91."

COLOR AND ROMANCE

The color and romance of Stanford life did not all proceed from Encina and Roble. The surroundings, new and unexploited, were steeped in romance. The historic "tall tree," first camping spot of the Portolá expedition and landmark to the early Mission Fathers as they crossed and recrossed the Santa Clara Valley, started many a quest for historic routes and boundaries. The tales and legends of the mysterious Frenchman, whose cottage Dr. Jordan was occupying, lost nothing in the telling. Peter Coutts had come to the Santa Clara Valley in the early 'seventies, from no one knew where, acquired a tract of fourteen hundred acres, built Escondite Cottage and the brick library adjoining, where his precious Elzevirs were kept, stocked his farm with fine horses and cattle, searched and tunneled the hills for water, and planted trees on many hillsides. Then a few years later he had departed as suddenly as he had come, in such haste, it was said, that he did not even gather up his personal belongings or the children's toys scattered on the floor. Soon it was rumored that, having held some position of honor and trust in his own country during the Franco-Prussian War, he had embezzled large sums of money, and had fled first to Switzerland and then to America. With one French Consul in San Francisco he had been able to make his peace. But from another there had come one day a special warning note. Realizing that the game was up, Mr. Coutts (his real name was Paulin Caperon) had made what haste he could to get to England. From his representative there, some years later, Mr. Stanford bought the ranch. Coutts's grocer and other tradesmen in Mayfield, interviewed by student historians, did not subtract any of the romantic details, but added others. A precious bit of folklore, which was not to be disturbed for more than a quarter of a century![3]

Another Frenchman, "the hermit," inhabited a solitary dwelling far in the hills, over which floated the tricolor of France. Leaving the road near Adelante, a long walk over bare fields led to a secluded and exquisitely gardened spot on the banks of a miniature arroyo, where the visitor would be welcomed with courtly politeness and shown about the place. Wine from the hermit's own grapes would be offered, and, if the visitor was very sympathetic, cuttings would be made from the choicest shrubs. The story was that the hermit had developed a silver mine somewhere in the hills, but of this he would never talk and no one ever discovered its whereabouts.

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[3] More reliable accounts of Peter Coutts, and of the subsequent history of the family, dispelling most of the legendary accretions, are given by Dr. Edward M. Palette, in the *Stanford Illustrated Review*, December 1925, and in the *Palo Alto Times*, August 6, 1935.

The campus home of the Stanfords was, on stated occasions, a place of pilgrimage and was invested with something of a feeling of awe and reverence. The approach was, on one side, by a winding road along the San Francisquito Creek, bordered with oaks and bays and a strip of lawn, on the other, by a noble avenue of eucalyptus trees. Between, a chestnut-lined road led to the Arboretum and the University. The modest frame dwelling was surrounded by finely kept gardens, flowering shrubs, stately trees, and ample lawns. The temporary tomb of young Leland stood beside the drive, and across the garden under the lemons and oleanders lay the length of miniature railroad where he had run his small trains. In 1906 the house was nearly demolished by the earthquake, but, mercifully, not until after Mrs. Stanford's death. It was later rebuilt in part as the first unit of the present Stanford Convalescent Home.

For picturesqueness nothing could exceed "Uncle John," a bus driver who for years carried people in his surrey from the railroad station to the campus. His was the first carriage to be filled, and he amazed and delighted strangers with his running comments as he drove them around the University tour. The Chapel, he told them, housed the most expensive collection of paintings this side of New York; the gilded mosaics on the Church were "all pure gold." "There'll be twelve miles of arcades when all the buildings are completed" (with a wide sweep of the hand). "Them's all millionaires that live in that house," he casually remarked on passing a fraternity house. "They're not proud though. They're like all California boys. There's one of 'em diggin' in the garden now!" "That's where the Registrar lives; there's his wife now settin' on the porch." A decrepit horse by the roadside suggested this, with a flourish of the whip toward the aged steed: "The oldest horse in the United States; forty-five years old; been all through the Mexican War. See that scar on its side? There's where a cannon ball hit him." One lady remarked on the "cute little squirrels" and asked if there were many in California. "Oh, no, they're imported"; Governor Stanford had directed the Southern Pacific Company to have holes dug for the ground squirrels, and so "two hundred men down here don't do nothin' but dig holes for them squirrels." Uncle John knew a great deal about the Stanfords and imparted it freely in the heavy, loud voice which made his conversation the joy of all passersby as well as of the passengers. It was learned that Governor Stanford had presented the boy, on his twelfth birthday, with a million dollars, and the boy immediately gave it all away to the poor. This local Baron Munchausen was, naturally, treasured by student and faculty, and the hit of the season came when the Senior farce in 1896 presented Uncle John in person conducting a tourist party about the campus.

But the Stanford student was not dependent on any historic or extraneous source for color and romance. The fertile imagination and rollicking humor of the college undergraduate began its play at once in stunts of all kinds, in freakish initiations carried out at high noon for the delectation of the public, in absurdly false information to innocent inquirers, in fake examinations exacted of freshmen, in Nightshirt parades, Washington's Birthday and other parades, and in many other exhibitions funny and foolish, and meant to be, in the main, quite harmless. The stunt-makers of the past were freely copied, native inventiveness flourished, and everything was done to establish and nourish the "college spirit" supposed to be proper to the new institution.

"The Plug-Ugly" was a pure Stanford creation, though the "plug" as the distinctive headgear of the Juniors was borrowed from Berkeley. Juniors-to-be, under the impression that upperclassmen ought to have the same kind of fun as freshmen and sophomores, conceived the Plug-Ugly, a rough scramble between juniors and seniors in a poster fight, show, and hat-smashing melee. It was great fun for the audience and perhaps also for participants. But poster fights and shows were apt to go to extreme lengths, offensive to the authorities, and heads as well as hats were liable to be smashed. As an institution, however, it survived several student-inflicted death sentences before it was finally brought to the block. The Senior Circus was another attempt to color up the drab existence of the upperclassmen, but better fulfilled its destiny by passing to an early and unlamented death.

Of student pranks there would of course be no end. They were not always in actuality as picturesque as they are sometimes made to appear through the haze of alumni reminiscence. Mostly innocent in intent, they suggested somewhat ominously the possibilities of the developed roughhouse and illustrated, disquietingly at times, the irresponsibility of mass student action. First to be seized upon by the press was the freight-car episode, which occurred almost immediately after the opening of the University. A small group of students released the brakes of a car standing on the spur track near Encina, and after some maneuvering they went sailing off on the down grade toward Mayfield. Fortunately the car was stopped before the main track was reached, and no damage resulted; but there had been enough possibility of a smash-up to give Mr. Stanford serious concern. It was no slight incident, however, as it was played up in the newspaper press, and it gave a vivid forecast of what might be expected when the ingenious and inventive reporter really let himself out. Concerning the car incident one newspaper had it that the men concerned were saved from expulsion "by the infuriated old man" only through the intercession of Mrs. Stanford! As viewed by the *Seattle Telegraph* (October 27, 1891), "Senator Stanford used very strong language. It was hours before the faculty could calm him."

Another embarrassing incident, a few years later on, but plainly involving the Pioneers, was that of the stolen wine in

Encina. It concerned ex-President Harrison's residence at the University in connection with his course of lectures on constitutional law. The ex-President was to have been a guest at the Stanford home, but, the event coming after Mr. Stanford's death, he was given the guest suite in Encina Hall. As a courtesy to the distinguished lecturer Mrs. Stanford had sent to the steward's pantry a quantity of liquors and cigars for the ex-President's use. About a week after Mr. Harrison's departure for the East, a couple of students broke into the pantry, made off with the wine and cigars, and proceeded to share them with a congenial group of Hall men. Upon investigation the thieves could not be identified, and the obvious course was to avoid publicity and let the matter drop. But although the money value involved was small—about fifty dollars—the offense was considered a serious one and the business authorities insisted that the Encina students should be held responsible for the loss. Mrs. Stanford's name was of course not brought into the case. Dr. Jordan first proposed an assessment upon the guaranty fund of the Hall. To this vigorous objection was made, and, at a meeting called to talk things over, budding student lawyers argued that as the presence of wine and tobacco in the Hall was forbidden the articles were properly contraband and the authorities could have no recourse. Eventually a collection was taken up and the sum of $28.55 secured. "I suppose," Mr. Lathrop wrote (May 5, 1894), "if this is the best you can do we will have to accept same for Mrs. Stanford." Meantime the incident had got into the papers and gone the length and breadth of the land, with the most ingenious fabrications and variations from actual facts. Reverberations of these fantastic tales echoed in the press for many years, to the embarrassment of all concerned.

The "Axe" affair was no less colorful, but of a different sort. When Will Irwin in 1896 produced the very striking slogan "Give 'em the axe," the proprietary interest of Stanford was accepted and respected. To make it more realistic, a specially made axe was produced and flourished before the opponents' bleachers at an intercollegiate baseball game in San Francisco in the spring of 1899. It was a taking stunt, but no special sanctity was attached to the axe itself. After the game, when it was snatched from the Stanford axe-bearers by a group of Berkeley men and after a smart struggle carried across the Bay, it was a different matter. Although axes could be procured or manufactured in quantities, this one had become a symbol, a sacred emblem, and desperate efforts were made to reclaim it. One frat house in Berkeley was raided on suspicion and the inmates overcome; but the axe was not to be found.

After the failure of the first rescue party a bold stroke of retaliation was planned. California was borrowing from Yale the institution of the senior fence, sacred to the class, and upon which none but seniors might sit. A determined body of Stanford students, invading the Berkeley campus by night, tore up the fence, loaded it on a truck, and brought it in triumph to the Stanford campus. It then turned out that the fence was not succeeding very well in getting acclimated in Berkeley and was regarded even by seniors as something of a nuisance. Two California professors joined in a gleeful telegram to Professor Green, chairman of the Committee on Student Affairs: "Students seem thankful for removal of rubbish. Might sell lumber to pay expenses."—Signed by Thomas R. Bacon and George C. Edwards.[4]

Other innovations marked the more serious moods of college life. "No smoking on the quad" was a student tradition dating from the first year of the University and tenaciously held to despite the all-smoking age which later came upon us. The Senior Plate was a happy invention of the Class of 1896, to the lasting regret of the Pioneers who failed to think it up. The plan was that the Class should remove one of the squares in the concrete pavement, in front of Memorial Church, and replace it with a brass plate, under which would be deposited a sealed copper box containing records and mementoes of the Class. This was to be an annual event of Class Day, carried out with due ceremony and appropriate exercises, and continued round and round the Quadrangle until every tile was replaced—a matter of many hundreds of years. The first plate was laid on May 25, 1896. In due time plates were added by the earlier classes, '92, '93, '94, and '95, and the long line was on its way.

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[4] For thirty-one years the home of the axe was to be in a bank vault, from which it would be brought to the Berkeley campus only on great occasions and under heavy guard. Finally, in 1930, a more carefully planned rescue party was successful and the axe was returned to the Stanford campus. This evened matters up, and the sacred emblem was now made an annual trophy to be held by the winner of the intercollegiate football game.

ATHLETICS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

The situation and surroundings of the University were a constant invitation to outdoor sports and activities. The climate was notably favorable. The bracing atmosphere with its ocean-cooled breezes, the almost imperceptible merging of the seasons, one into another, the prevalence of clear sunny days even in the "rainy season," were all features in the irresistible appeal of the outdoors. The University was strictly in the country, with no sizable town nearer than twenty miles. The buildings were in the level valley which extended a dozen miles north and fifty miles to the south. The foothills were close by, with their rounded tops and sheltered ravines, and beyond were the mountains. Foothills and mountains rewarded the eager climber with sweeping vistas which, from the topmost ridges, took in, on the one side, the plain, the Bay, and the higher ranges to the east and, on the other, the ocean and the deep redwood forests between. Here was all the charm and romance of an undiscovered country. The nearer of these objectives could be reached in an afternoon jaunt, afoot or awheel, and all of them in week-end expeditions. When the University opened, the safety bicycle was just coming into common use, and by December 1891 there had been formed an organization called the Palo Alto Wheelmen to plan and guide the many excursions.

But these activities, fascinating and almost universal as they were, could not take the place of the competitive athletic sports common to all American colleges. The number who participated might, and usually did, fall far short of a majority of the student body. They formed, however, the distinctive extracurricular activities and, as intercollegiate contests, absorbed the interest and unified the loyalties of the whole undergraduate body.

However, to any rapid development of the traditional athletic sports there were many obstacles. None of the customary facilities were available. Gymnasiums, athletic grounds, football fields, diamonds, cinder paths, and tennis courts were all lacking. Plans to supply these needs were quickly formed and on a fairly generous scale, but none of these could be immediately realized, and students must turn to such improvisations as might be found possible. Tennis enthusiasts even made use of the asphalt court of the Inner Quadrangle. There was ample ground space, fairly level, and the hard-baked adobe served for baseball practice for both faculty and student groups. A match game between seniors and faculty on November 14, 1891, with its spectacular and amusing accompaniments, and with Dr. Jordan at first base, focused the attention of the whole University, and gave an impulse to all forms of athletic activity. The group of transfer students furnished an experienced baseball pitcher and catcher, and a strong combination was formed from the freshman class. Match games with schools near by were played, at first on the indifferent Mayfield grounds, and, until football got under way, baseball was the center of student interest.

Football had by this time become the leading intercollegiate sport among American colleges: "A rough, virile, unsparing man contest, with a distinct lesson in courage, patience, self-control, and co-operation," and the element of danger and the chance of bodily injury not wanting. Here was where college heroes were made and where the enthusiasm of crowds was raised to highest pitch. Among the Stanford transfers a small number had played on college teams and one, it was said, in an intercollegiate game. These few were enough to set the pace, and they even started practice on the adobe stubble field east of Encina. A regular field was being graded and mixed with sand, and after the first rains was found to be tolerable. Early in December two teams were formed, captained by John R. Whittemore, a senior, and Milton D. Grosh, a freshman. Regular daily practice was then begun.

Meanwhile construction of two gymnasiums—"temporary frame buildings," as they were to be faithfully characterized for many years in the University *Register*—was under way. Encina Gymnasium was completed in January; Roble Gymnasium some weeks later. By November two tennis courts for women had been made ready, and by the end of December four for men. The enrollment in gymnasium classes was large, partly, no doubt, because credit was being given in gymnasium classes as in other University courses.[5]

> The athletic equipment at the end of the first year is described in the annual *Register* as follows: "Excellent facilities for athletics have been provided at considerable expense by the founders of the University. The young women have two tennis courts, paved with bituminous rock; the young men, proportioned to their greater numbers, have four courts of the same material. The athletic field of thirteen and a half acres contains, in addition to the four tennis courts mentioned, a quarter-mile running track, with space inside for baseball and field sports. All this is perfectly graded, drained, and covered with cinders, clay, or sand, as the use of each area demands. Beyond the oval is the grass football field."

All of the major athletic sports looked forward to final intercollegiate contests with the University of California. And because a new student body in a new institution was going up against established traditions and a considerable sports record, there was a double incentive to make the best showing possible. If Stanford and California were to stand out on the Pacific Coast in some such way as Harvard and Yale in the East, and to develop similar rivalries, it was up to Stanford to make at least a creditable record in its initial public appearance.

It was finally arranged that football should be the first of these intercollegiate contests. Stanford had been unable to put out a team in the autumn semester, but, in California, winter was quite as favorable a season, and the meeting with the State University was fixed for the following March. A piece of good fortune for the Stanford team was the arrival on the campus the first of January of a new addition to the teaching staff, Martin Wright Sampson, Assistant Professor of English. "Professor Sampson," remarked the *Sequoia* (January 6, 1892), "has brought us directly from the football fields to the Eastward that stirring spirit of enthusiasm which carried football into the prominent position which it holds in the Eastern Colleges. He has had seven or eight years experience, and like all who get a real good taste of Rugby, is an ardent advocate of the game. He will take an active interest in our football and be on the field to help us build up a team. Professor Sampson is undoubtedly just the man we have been waiting for."

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[5] A bold innovation, to which even the Stanford faculty demurred; but the President held that giving credit was a right inherent in the department.

Preliminary to the final event, practice games were played with the Hopkins Academy of Oakland (January 30), the Berkeley Gymnasium (February 6), the Olympic Club (February 13), Stanford winning two of the three games. "Football," remarked the *Sequoia* (February 17, 1892), "has stirred up the true college spirit. Leland Stanford Junior University begins to have a fuller significance."

Stanford athletes would have been quite justified in not seeking any intercollegiate contest for the first year. The University was steadily making its way in popular favor. Press and people were friendly. The University of California had extended a cordial, fraternal greeting. Educational circles generally were enthusiastically interested. If all this was conditional and not as yet conceding that Stanford had fully arrived, it was surely flattering enough for a beginning. But between the two student bodies there was as yet no standard of measurement or basis of comparison; and for Stanford this first contest was to mean more than any similar event could ever mean again. It is easy to overemphasize the importance of intercollegiate sports and activities. The public habitually does so. In the colleges much prodding and ballyhoo have seemed necessary to get and keep interest and excitement at the proper pitch. The collegian is traditionally individualistic; at best, clannish. To give expression to the underlying loyalty, the feeling and sense of unity, a symbol or symbols must form the rallying point.

For nations the flag does this; in American colleges the intercollegiate contest serves the same purpose.

No college team goes into an intercollegiate contest without hoping to win, and meaning to win if it can. There is more at stake, however, than winning the game, for chance, after all, plays a part in that. Win or lose, the team must show its mettle. In this first game, with its handicaps, Stanford could have no great expectation of success. But by the spirit in which it played, its resourcefulness under strain, it could evidence to the college world whether and to what extent the student body had "arrived." The attitude of its rival would be different. As something new and dazzling in conception Stanford was perhaps receiving more attention than was good for it. It might be well if it were taken down a bit and given its true rating in comparison with an established and more reliable institution. Expressed or unexpressed, such would be a quite natural reaction on the Berkeley campus. In football rallies it is customary to make extravagant claims for one's own team, in the interest of stimulating confidence and enthusiasm throughout the whole student body. But in the last words of the captains, before the game begins, there is usually an absence of boasting, not infrequently a modest depreciation of one's own chances. Before this first California-Stanford game, Captain Whittemore of Stanford said: "I am afraid our boys are too green for U.C. They have never taken part in an intercollegiate game, and I don't know how they will play." Captain Foulkes of California said: "The Stanford team are kids. They play fair football, but they can't do anything against us."

The historic first game was played on the Haight Street grounds in San Francisco on Saturday, March 19, 1892. In the morning five cars were run up on the spur track at Stanford and left standing near Encina Hall for a couple of hours. The time was utilized in profusely decorating the whole train with red bunting. Then with band, tin horns, and other noise-producing implements, almost the whole University, students and faculty, proceeded gaily to the city. Equally enthusiastic crowds came from across the Bay, and the city seemed to blossom out with lavish display of blue and gold and cardinal. Eight thousand persons were assembled on the bleachers—a record crowd for the time.

The contest lacked many of the refinements of later games. If for no other reason, it would be remembered from the fact that neither team had thought to bring along a football, and for the tedious delay before one could be obtained. But, more than this, the thrills and excitement have probably never been exceeded in any subsequent game. Rules were partly improvised. Officials were responsible to no one in particular. Spontaneity was unrestrained. California had specialized on mass play and the plunge through the center, Stanford on interference and end runs. Each team had to develop its method of defensive play as the game proceeded. Stanford proved too quick and agile for its opponents, and the winning score had been secured before its offensive could be stopped. California did not fail to make good use of its strong points. But Stanford succeeded in holding the line in time to save the game. The final score of 14 to 10 was a Stanford victory fairly earned.

One interested spectator from across the Bay, writing to Dr. Jordan a few days after the game, said: "The assumption of superiority in the football game by the students of the State University voiced their belief that the State University must necessarily lead, not only in all methods of learning, but as well in all athletic training and amusement. One of my friends who is a regent of the State University said he was expecting their young men would win the game, and at first felt some chagrin that they failed so signally, but on second thought he believed the effect would be good and beneficial to all connected with the State University; that the incident, though unimportant in itself, attracted attention to a new and vigorous institution that might lead the way in great results as it did in football. . . . It is an item in the record of the second most important period in the history of California, and I cannot resist the impulse to express my belief that this incident has caused already far reaching effects, out of all proportion beyond the insignificant playing of an ordinary game for amusement and exercise."

One result of the game was to fix the level, so to speak, of all intercollegiate contests between the two universities. Stanford and California were to meet year after year in keenest rivalry; that they were to meet as equal contenders for the prize of victory had now been settled once for all. Superiority, that is, victory, was to flit back and forth, as skill and strategy, and chance perhaps, should determine. In the long run the results would be about even, that, indeed, being the only condition on which games could continue to be interesting. One side might be in the ascendancy for a series of years, during which its opponents emotionally would touch the depths of despair. But the turn would come, and dizzy triumph and hopeless despair change sides.

Of the first seven intercollegiate games Stanford won four and there were three ties. Yet all the games, except the last two, were close and the teams almost evenly matched. Still California had not won and must salve its disappointment by its ingenuity in discovering alibis. Most commonly it fixed upon the alleged lower entrance and scholastic requirements at Stanford. "Time and time again," complained the *Occident*, "have athletes entered Stanford after failing in the entrance examinations at California." In football rallies even faculty supporters found this supposition the surest way to stir up enthusiasm for battle. "We must beat Stanford this year," one said, "and compel them to run on some other than a football basis." Referring to Stanford's dazzling beginning, another visioned a coming time "when the glitter of that glamour was no more," "for the people of the State have come back to support their own State University." Out of which vision came the popular football song of the year, with its rollicking refrain:

"The funny, funny, funny, funny, funny Stanford craze,
That dazzled many people with its big financial blaze;
If they will come to Haight Street, Thanksgiving ninety-four,
We will show them that the glitter of that glamour is no more."

Even that did not win the game for California!

Baseball, which had once held the primacy among college sports, was the first game to be played on the Stanford campus. Not a sport for youth only, the favor of the public went over to the more highly developed professional game. Not less pleasurable to the players because the limelight had gone, baseball suffered, nevertheless, in its own esteem and in that of the college public by its too great imitation of the tricks and bad manners of the professional game. There were times when the faculty athletic committee felt almost obliged to decree its banishment as an intercollegiate sport. It never quite came to that, and the game has continued more or less steadily through the years.

Intercollegiate games were first played with California in the spring of 1892. Of the series Stanford won the first game, California the second; but this second game was protested by Stanford, and the third was never played. The next six series were won by Stanford; then California had its turn and took a long lead. Up to and including the year 1915–16 the score stood, Stanford, 9; California, 15. (In 1906, the earthquake year, the series was not completed.) The coming to Stanford of the Waseda team in 1905 and Stanford's return trip through Japan and Hawaii in 1913 were notable events in baseball history, and added signally to the prestige of the game.

If football held first place in college interest and affection, track and field sports clearly came next. Here there is no team work in the usual sense. Each individual player stands out by himself, and for what he is worth. This becomes an added incentive on the training field, in the intercollegiate event, and against the record. Not only is there prospect of winning the laurel wreath in a particular event but also the possibility of breaking a Coast or a world record. Yet if the team does not win by scoring the most points, the individual record, no matter how brilliant, seems dwarfed in consequence. Loyalty to the team and the desire to win the meet are therefore not less keen than in football or other intercollegiate contest.

The first intercollegiate track meet with California took place in 1893. Here California was easily superior. Stanford achieved a tie in 1896, but it was 1903 before a victory was won. Beginning in 1903, track teams as a whole or by individual representatives have taken part in many Eastern events, with very creditable results.

Boating, the characteristic college sport at Oxford and Cambridge, and a favorite in Eastern institutions, had little incentive for development at Stanford. The only water near at hand for practice was Lagunita, an artificial pond filled only in the winter months and in years of light rainfall not even then. San Francisco Bay at Redwood could be used, but with only primitive means of transportation the half-dozen miles each way made much use impracticable. There was a flutter of excitement during the second year of the University with the prospect of being represented by a crew at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Mr. Stanford made a generous subscription toward the project, and a boathouse on Lagunita was immediately planned. Further contributions toward the purchase of a shell were solicited. But the time was too short, the student body was unwilling to back the project, and the whole matter was dropped.

Lagunita was regularly used for boating and swimming, but nothing further in the way of an organized sport was attempted until 1903. At that time, through the support and guidance of the Professor of Mechanical Engineering, a former Cornell oarsman, about fifty interested students formed a boat club and began practice under the informal coaching of Professor A. W. Smith. Something over five hundred dollars was raised and a barge purchased.

Although refusing financial support or official recognition, the student body, through its manager, authorized freshman and varsity races with California on the Oakland Estuary. Both races were lost to California, but the enthusiasm of the rowers was not damped. The following year a strip of land on the Redwood slough was acquired and a boathouse erected. Varsity races were arranged with Washington and California and a freshman race with California. The races with California fell through, owing to a disagreement over the place where they should be held. The race at Sausalito was won by Washington. The Stanford crew was allowed to go north for a triangular race on Lake Washington. Stanford again lost to Washington, but the freshman crew won a decided victory.

Boating came now to be recognized by the Associated Students as a major sport, and a competent trainer was engaged. In

1909, however, because of the severity of the training and the serious illness of two members of the crew, boating was dropped from the list of intercollegiate sports. Boating, the Executive Committee said, "can never be other than an artificial and fostered sport at the University." Nothing daunted, the Lagunita Boat Club took up the task and assumed its burdens. Two crews were sent out in 1910 and both won decided victories; whereupon in October a repentant Executive Committee restored boating to its former status.

In 1915 the crew was sent to Poughkeepsie, where in a very exciting race Stanford came in second, losing to Cornell by about three yards. The result was regarded almost as a victory and acted as a decided stimulus to boating interests.

Golf was a later development. The first Stanford Club, organized in 1900, was assigned grounds between the Cooksey and Lathrop residence sites. Two years later a renewal of the lease was refused. In 1906 the Golf Club was revived and a new lease acquired. This time the links were regularly laid out and considerable enthusiasm was aroused. Interest languished again, but in 1914 a new lease of about a hundred acres, rent free, was secured on a portion of the old site. However, not enough men joined the club to warrant putting up a clubhouse, and there was again a decline in interest. Golf enthusiasts were meanwhile playing more or less on courses outside the campus. It was not until 1931 that complete success was assured in the project undertaken by the Board of Athletic Control, backed by the University Trustees.

Tennis, ranked as a minor sport, was given intercollegiate standing from the start, the first games with California being played in Oakland in June 1892. Tennis, being a game which practically every student can play with pleasure and requiring no exhaustive training, is not confined to the intercollegiate or even the intramural field. As a form of healthful physical exercise it has probably appealed to a larger number of college students than any other sport.

All the other outdoor sports—basketball, handball, hockey, soccer, swimming, and the rest—came on in due time as playing fields and facilities increased. Soccer, a favorite sport in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and in Canada, was introduced in 1909 as an adjunct to football. A clean, wholesome, enjoyable game, it speedily won a place on its own merits and has grown steadily in popularity. Basketball, boxing, wrestling, fencing, and gymnastic exercises have become popular indoor sports.

During the year 1915–16 about a thousand of the fifteen hundred men in the University were reported as engaged for several months in one or more branches of physical training. The numbers playing (or training) regularly were distributed about as follows: track and field sports, 180; rugby and tennis, 150 each; soccer, 100; baseball, 75; basketball, 70; boating, 100 at the start, 30 completing the season.

Gymnasiums had once been thought to be the utmost provision colleges need make for the physical education of women. Tennis, indeed, had been early recognized as a proper outdoor exercise, but not as an intercollegiate sport. At Stanford the first tennis courts completed were assigned to the women. Wheeling added itself, partly as a practical means of transportation, but more as a pleasurable form of exercise. Dr. Wood, head of the Department of Physical Education, encouraged the women students to take up other sports and forms of outdoor exercise. And for this many of the women were ready. A women's athletic club was organized in December 1891, which in 1893 gave way to a more representative Women's Athletic Association. This was an independent organization, but four years later was placed under the aegis of the Associated Students. An Archery Club was formed in 1892, and bicycle and boating clubs in 1893 and 1894. A flat-bottomed boat was purchased and launched in 1895 with due ceremony. The next year an effort was made to raise money for a shell, and seventy-five women signed up for tryouts. This effort was not successful, and enthusiasm lagged. A boathouse, for example, was not projected until 1910.

Basketball, a very recent sport, was taken up with enthusiasm, and in 1894 an off-campus game was played with the Castilleja School in Palo Alto, Stanford losing 13 to 14.

This was going about as far as the mores of the time would stand for. "This is the initiation of public athletics for the girls here," one of the juniors wrote. "They played in their gym suits on the grounds by Castilleja Hall. They rode to the game in a bus in their suits just as the men do. While some are quite opposed to such doings, there seems to be very little said in the matter. I don't feel in the least like entering into any such thing, nor do I feel like criticising the girls who do, if they keep on their own ground or play with the prep school girls."

At this time intercollegiate games were not contemplated. A return game was played with Castilleja two years later, in which Stanford won. Thereupon a challenge was sent to California and promptly accepted. The game was played in the Armory, on Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, April 4, 1896, with women only as spectators, Stanford winning by a score of 2 to 1.

Interest in outdoor sports was more or less intermittent. Tennis, which had flourished in the earlier years but had lagged a good deal afterward, was taken up with renewed interest in 1903, signalized by a tournament with California in April. Basketball in turn went into a decline, and in 1910 was removed from the list of intercollegiate sports "for lack of interest." In 1898 baseball and track were added to the list of games. In 1906 a hundred girls were reported as turning out for practice in the various squads.

Outdoor and indoor sports and games, important as they are, do not comprehend even the major part of the extracurricular activities of any student body. Musical, dramatic, literary, forensic, and artistic forms of expression interest large groups and are pursued more continuously than are sports. In the Stanford environment they developed vigorously and to good purpose. Music perhaps came first and was best exemplified before the public by the Encina Glee Club led by Shirley Baker and Charley Field and including a large number of excellent and well-trained voices. Band and Orchestra were also early organizations and have contributed much to the serious study of music in the University. There was a Roble Glee Club the first year, also with a very creditable record. The Schubert Club, organized later, represented the more serious efforts of the women students. In 1896 the student body promoted and managed successfully a Paderewski concert in San Jose, and again in 1908 one in the Assembly Hall.

Dramatics was slower in getting started, but had an even more vigorous growth. Beginning with a light play mildly satirizing the faculty near the end of the first year, there developed a regular order of sophomore plays, junior operas, and senior farces, mostly the work of local playwrights and often very clever. These class plays were supplemented by the more serious work of the special dramatic clubs, Sword and Sandals, Skull and Snakes, the Masquers, Ram's Head, and others. Members of the faculty had put on occasional plays, and in 1898 formed the Faculty Dramatic Club for more serious work in this line. Later, the English Club made the presentation of classical plays an important part of its work. *Everyman*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *Every Man in His Humor*, and *Sherwood* represent some of the Club's most notable work. In 1902 the departments of Greek and Latin, in an elaborate presentation of *Antigone*, achieved perhaps the most notable success in the Stanford dramatic field. In all of these plays the cast was largely composed of students.

Euphronia and Nestoria literary societies date from 1891. With all the developments that might have been expected to divert their activities to other channels, they continued to hold their own and to interest serious groups of students. Debate of course has covered a much wider field with interclass contests, tri-state leagues, occasional clashes with Oxford debaters, and many special forensic meets.

Every cause or interest which has appealed to few or many students has seemed first to have organized itself into a club with a constitution and full outfit of officers. The list is a bewildering one: Press Club, Quadrangle Club, Encina Club, Gym Club, Cosmopolitan Club, Chess Club, Pan-Hellenic, La Liana, house clubs, eating clubs, department clubs, and honor societies, Japanese Students' Association, Junipero Serra Club, and many others. The Woman's League, formed in 1900 and consisting of all women in the University, was the first to take up and push the project of the Women's Clubhouse. Cap and Gown, a senior women's society, formed in 1906, also contributed largely to the Clubhouse cause.

The Christian Association was one of the first organizations set up by the students. Its devotional meetings in the Chapel on Sunday evenings were frequently attended by Mrs. Stanford, who often expressed her pleasure and satisfaction in these gatherings. Following the visit of John R. Mott in 1892, formal organization of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, for a closer connection with the national organizations, was effected. For a time the Sunday evening meetings continued under the original name. Later all of the activities of the earlier body were absorbed by the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A.

The Associations were early identified with the welfare work of the University. For years the "Y" put out the *Handbook* for new students, gave receptions to the entering students to bring faculty and students together, undertook to find jobs for working students and to act as an information center for employers and employees, and checked up on rooming- and boarding-houses for the faculty committees. In many other ways quiet and unobtrusive personal service has marked the activities of the Associations.

STUDENT PUBLICATIONS

In August 1891 a prospective transfer from the University of Michigan, George Alfred Lawrence, wrote to the University of his desire to start a college paper which he wished to call "The Stanford Review, or any other name satisfactory to the authorities." He was not quick enough with his project, for on the very opening day the monthly *Palo Alto*, edited by Holbrook Blinn, a transfer from the University of the Pacific, made its appearance on the campus—"we believe," the prospectus said, "the only college paper ever started simultaneously with the opening of a great university." The *Palo Alto* was not primarily a news sheet. Its ambition was to be recognized as a sophisticated, high-brow journal of a literary quality with articles on topics more or less radical and well above the range of current college publications. It proved to be a bit too sophisticated for its constituency and was never adopted by the student body. It finally yielded to the temptation of timeliness and mild sensationalism: in fact, it was almost "modern." In the April number it appeared as an intercollegiate journal with a board of editors equally divided between Stanford and the University of California. Its undoing was occasioned by its venture, in this issue, into the field of art illustration, the subject being an artotype reproduction of Simoni's "Slave Merchant at the Harem." As a reproduction it left nothing to be desired. Obviously, however, the subject had been selected not so much to promote art education as to create a sensation, and in this, through the help of the shocked *San Francisco Examiner*, it abundantly succeeded. Immediately the entire board of intercollegiate editors resigned; and with the June number the publication came to an end.

> From London, years later, Holbrook Blinn, then an actor of note, wrote to Dr. Jordan: "It is a delightful reward of much waiting and some labor to be commended by you. I fear I gave you little reason to believe, in the first year of the Stanford University, that any sort of commendation or approval would ever be due me. While I was at the University, during the pioneer year, my work on the *Palo Alto* absolutely took the fan away from the very tiny spark of real student quality that I possessed."

At the first student-body meeting (October 9, 1891) a committee of five, consisting of I. V. Busby (Gr.), G. A. Lawrence ('92), Edith Wilcox ('92), C. B. Whittier ('93), and H. T. Trumbo ('95), was appointed to draw up articles looking toward the establishment of a University paper. The committee made its report October 31, recommending the establishment of a journal to be called "The Palo Alto Adz." The report was approved by the Executive Committee but with the name of the periodical changed to "The Sequoia." Accordingly, the *Sequoia* made its first appearance, as a bi-weekly, on December 9,

1891. Watson Nicholson, '92, was editor-in-chief, with C. B. Whittier, '93, business manager, and ten associate editors, two from each of the classes, including graduates and specials. The news columns of the *Sequoia* were of the country newspaper type, filled with gossipy matter about small college happenings. In addition, the *Sequoia* undertook to give a complete picture of college activities and interests—analyses of sermons, addresses, and talks, wholly or in part, faculty biographies, athletic and other student activities, poems and literary contributions of the students. It was faithfully and conscientiously edited, although, as a discriminating critic pointed out, "exceedingly heavy when it was not exceedingly light."[6] With the coming of the *Daily Palo Alto* in the fall of 1892 its field became necessarily restricted and its evolution into a literary journal was begun. The *Sequoia* more than any other Stanford publication reflected the individuality of the editor. Even the format was likely to change with each new editor, and each volume had its own distinctive flavor. All the volumes, however, showed the editor's literary bent and the desire to stimulate and present the best undergraduate writing in prose and verse, the prose taking almost exclusively the form of the short story. In this the *Sequoia* made a noteworthy record. Among the earlier editors were such outstanding names in the undergraduate hierarchy as Willis P. Chamberlin, W. J. Neidig, Edward Maslin Hulme, Dane Coolidge, Bristow Adams, John K. Bonnell, Laura Everett, and Edith Mirrielees.

Because of its individualistic character and colorful pronouncements the *Sequoia* was not infrequently in sharp controversy with its brethren in journalism or with one or more student groups. To the reading public this often had the appearance of a stage setting and was interesting or boresome according as it was or was not well acted. In 1901 the *Sequoia* changed back to a fortnightly, but in 1904 took its more permanent form as a monthly. In 1912, "as an experiment," the *Sequoia* was taken over by the English Club and was issued more exclusively as a literary journal. This did not make it more popular from the business point of view, and in 1918–19, transformed into a quarterly, it went out of existence at the end of the year, to be revived the following year as the *Cardinal*, still under the auspices of the English Club. Its final demise came at the close of the year 1920–21.

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[6] Stanford *Quad*, Volume X.

In the summer of 1892 a committee of the student body decided that the time had come for a daily paper at Stanford. This was generally considered a risky venture and there was a good deal of student opposition. It was too early in the history of the University and it would hurt the *Sequoia*, just getting well under way. But the committee went ahead, and the *Daily Palo Alto* made its first appearance on September 6, 1892. The first ten issues were pulled off on the press of the Redwood City *Weekly Democrat*, before an improvised printing outfit could be set up in a corner of the woodworking shop. The establishment of the *Daily Palo Alto* made Stanford the eighth university to be thus distinguished, the earlier institutions being Harvard, Yale, Brown, Princeton, Cornell, Michigan, and Wisconsin. From the first the Stanford daily took high rank. Its staid format and more limited scope contrast quite sharply with the modern type of college journalism. It was not less ably edited, however, and it maintained, through a series of years, a praiseworthy standard free from sensationalism. Aiming at a careful and accurate reporting of current events, it endeavored to reflect the best student opinion and the general student point of view. In controversial matters and in cases of friction between students and faculty, it defended its own views, but rarely departed from the courteous presentation of its conclusions or from its prevailing judicial tone. It had caught the Stanford spirit and tried to represent the best side of student life and thought. A large part of the day-by-day history of the University is recorded in its columns and can be turned to with confidence that neither events nor interpretation will be found distorted. Editors-in-chief and business managers have been selected by the staff, and in almost all cases are regular and due promotions based on merit. Those who have found themselves in top positions include a representative number of successful and highly esteemed graduates of the University.

The editors very promptly asked that university credit be given for work on the *Daily Palo Alto*. The English Department, through Professor Lathrop, responded that it was as eager as the editors that the college papers not only should be a means of discipline in composition but should represent fully and fairly the public opinion and the literary ability of the University. In order to receive credit for work on the daily, students must have passed in elementary English composition and be enrolled in English 8 (advanced composition). Contributions to any paper would be accepted, either before or after publication, as part of the regular work of the course, credit being determined by the instructor.[7]

A publication different from all the other journalistic enterprises was first undertaken by the Pioneer Class in its junior year. This is the Stanford *Quad*, an annual of ponderous size, modeled after annuals of its kind in many other universities. Its bulk is due to the fact that it includes a mass of statistics of fraternities, clubs, and events, valuable as matters of record and for reference. To make this feature palatable, and to give a human interest to the book, large resort was had to the camera and brush, and to art illustration generally. Articles of interest on University topics, verse and story, satire and josh challenged each class to outdo its predecessor, and the volumes in general have been worthy of much praise. The temptation to vulgarize the josh department has resulted at times in lapses in taste and good manners and to the airing of personal grievances. In the main, fun and good humor have prevailed. Volume X gave a review of the first decade and a forecast of the second, features that might well be renewed at stated times. It is to the *Quad* also that one goes for a yearly summation of the athletic, literary, and scientific record of Stanford doings and achievements.

The year 1899 witnessed the appearance of two new Stanford publications. The first of these, the *Alumnus* (later transformed into the *Illustrated Review*) appeared in June. Its purpose was not so much to represent alumni opinion as to keep alumni and former students informed and interested in the later doings of the University. It has done both throughout its history, emphasizing sometimes one, sometimes the other. Change of editorial staffs need not be so frequent as in undergraduate journals, and for that reason, or in spite of it, the *Alumnus–Illustrated Review* has been steadier and calmer in its general attitudes, though not less positive, than undergraduate publications. Here again the personality of the editor has counted for much.

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[7] *Daily Palo Alto*, January 17, 1893.

October 4, 1899, witnessed the appearance on the campus of Stanford's cap and bells, the *Chaparral,* exemplar of student wit and persiflage. It had been preceded by *Josh,* an off-campus publication in which Stanford and California men had co-operated to represent the humorous life of the two universities. *Josh,* in San Francisco, was too far away to get the real flavor of campus doings and had come to the end of its career in 1897. This left a void which daring spirits like Bristow Adams thought could be filled. The project was elaborated, Adams says, by himself and Everett Smith during the psychology hour, in or out of class, and announced to the world in the *Sequoia* (of which Adams was editor) on May 5, 1899. The name was to be "The Eucalyptus," and its endeavor would be to record the fun of the University rather than to create it. Fortunately before its first issue the better name was thought of and chosen.

During its first year the *Chaparral* had a somewhat precarious existence. It so nearly departed this life that its resuscitation in the autumn required a superhuman effort. But from that time on its success was assured, and it became one of the most stable of campus publications. The first year established at least two distinguishing features—its cover, bearing the striking figure of "Chappie" with cap and bells, and hammer, and its "Now That" editorials, voicing the more serious mood of "Chappie" and wielding the hammer, now and then at least, with savage intent.

Chaparral's place in college journalism is to be gauged in comparison with papers of a similar character in other universities, such as the *Lampoon*, the *Tiger*, and the *Widow*. It easily ranked with all these. It was not always as witty as it wished to be, or as it thought itself to be; but its banal moments and its sometime lapses in taste are not what one thinks of in the long retrospect. Without "Chappie" Stanford would have been distinctly less colorful.

CAP AND GOWN

The first Annual Commencement (June 15, 1892) was held in the gymnasium, that "temporary frame building" which was to last for so many years. The graduating class consisted of the twenty-nine transfer seniors who had now completed the requirements for the Bachelor's degree, and the nine graduate students who were receiving the degree of Master of Arts. The University had no background of academic history, the graduating class no Stanford associations beyond the senior year. The exercises of Commencement week would necessarily lack much of the color and romance customarily associated with events of such tension and high significance in student life. On this first Commencement Day the rough interior of the gymnasium was made festive with bunting, evergreens, and a profusion of flowers. There was a Commencement orator of note, the Rev. Myron Reed, of Denver; but the brevity and simplicity of the proceedings, and the home talent accessories, were in sharp contrast to the formality and stateliness of the traditional commencement program. What gave dignity and distinction to the occasion was the consciousness that the University was sending forth its first body of alumni, the beginning of a long line that was never to end.

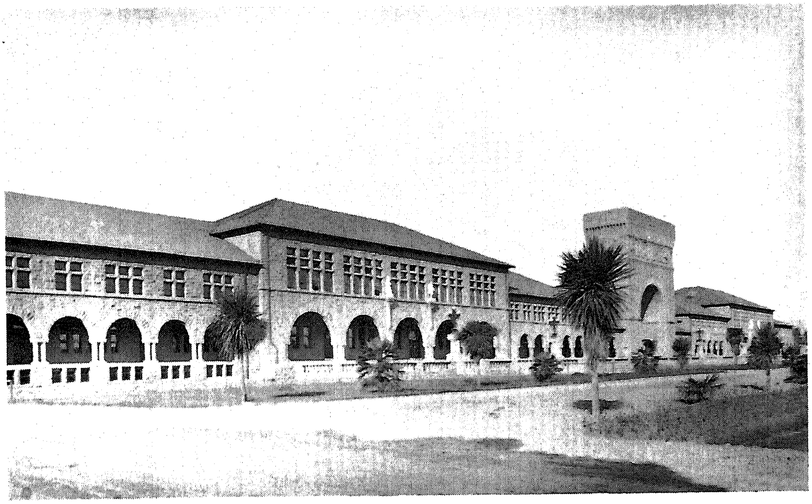
It is doubtful if anyone gave even a passing thought to the complete absence of academic dress. Perhaps there were no caps and gowns available. In any event the question was not raised; but if it had been the quick reply would have declared that the Stanford way was a fitting and praiseworthy departure from a vainglorious display, from the foolish frills and millinery and unreality of the medieval world. The Stanford feeling and prejudice was deep-seated, particularly among the faculty, as it turned out later. An editorial in the *Daily Palo Alto*, in 1896, probably reflected the attitude of the faculty quite as much as that of the students. "We should congratulate ourselves," the *Daily* said, "on having passed the cap and gown period of University life. More than once attempts have been made to revive the mortar board, but each time good sense and wisdom have prevented. Our development is not along that line. More and more we have gravitated towards freedom and simplicity and away from customs and observances that clustered about the training of a century ago. The mortar board is one of those pagan institutions; a relic of the cloisters when education meant a life of penance, privation, and prayer. We of the West need no such follies to mark us in our University career."

In reply to an inquiry about the Stanford practice, Dr. Jordan wrote (November 21, 1901): "Gowns have never been worn by any members of our faculty in connection with any ceremonial affairs here. I do not myself believe in ceremonies artifically revived, and our faculty is perversely of the same opinion. I have worn gowns on ceremonial occasions elsewhere where their use was desired. I may say that while the use of gowns and similar ceremonial robes adds impressiveness to academic functions, it often opens the door to ridicule, and, after all, impressiveness is not the best method of producing permanent effects."

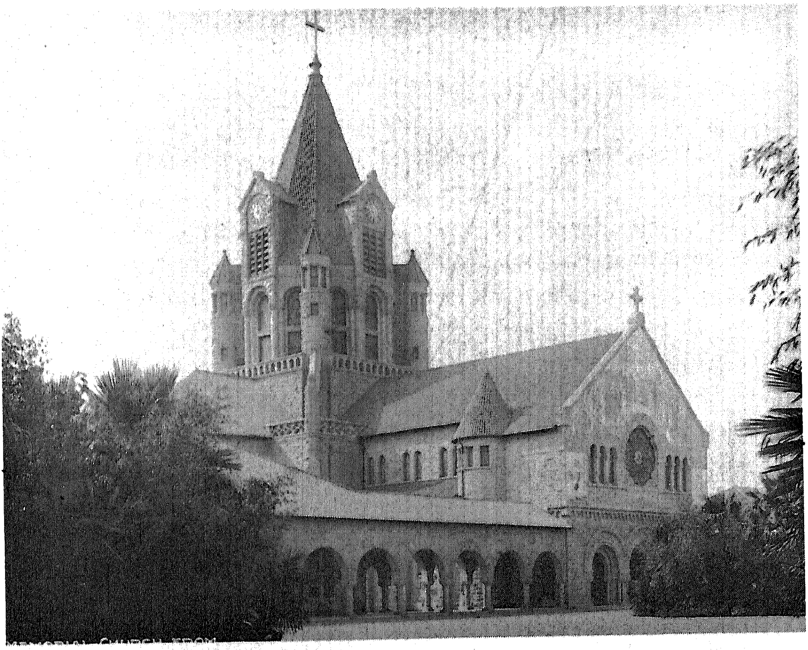
Yet there was some truth at least in the remark of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, at the time of the 1902 Commencement: "Commencement at Stanford," it said, "is probably the most unimpressive event of the kind in the world, sentiment being so far removed from the exercises that the graduates assert that they have nothing but an irksome duty to look back upon as a memory of their last days at college." As a matter of fact the "irksome duty" did not arise from any compulsion on the part of the University. Candidates for graduation were under no obligation to attend the Commencement exercises, and if they chose to receive their diplomas through the mail, that was their privilege. The same liberty of action was claimed by the faculty, and if they slipped off on their vacations without any feeling of responsibility or duty in connection with a University function of high significance, that too was their own affair. Of course, by the time the Pioneers came to graduate, color and romance had come back to the closing days of the college life, and as a rule students wanted to stay and be a part of it, and a general faculty sense of the proprieties of the occasion was not lacking.

The Pioneer Class had actually brought the mortarboard to the campus, but only as a headgear appropriate to its sophomore year. There was no enthusiasm over its adoption, and no obligation was felt to respect the vote that had been taken. The minority continued to wear whatever they chose, and soon became the majority. Yet, in spite of the editorial squelching in the *Daily Palo Alto*, and pride in the unfettered democracy of the campus, sentiment favoring especially a more ceremonial observance of Commencement was gaining ground. It was the women who first broke through the Stanford tradition. In her senior year, Esther Rosencrantz, '99, by personal interviews secured the consent and approval of the senior women, and herself ordered the caps and gowns from San Francisco and collected the money to pay for them. This effectually broke the ice for the women, and the custom was definitely established. Every year a similar proposal was voted down by the senior men, until, finally, in 1903, the graduates in law, eight in number, turned their backs upon the "informality and democracy" argument and appeared at Commencement in academic dress. This influenced the tide, and at the 1906 Commencement (postponed until September because of the earthquake) the entire class, as far as present, appeared in cap and gown. For men, however, the custom was not fully established until later.

The faculty was tolerant, but jealous of anything that looked like compulsion in the suggestions of the Committee on Public Exercises. Gradually a considerable number of the faculty, one by one, fell into line with Dr. Jordan's example, and more and more color appeared on Commencement Day, but without any great approach to uniformity. Writing to President



The front façade before the earthquake



Memorial Church before the earthquake

Kane, of the University of Washington, in 1909, Dr. Jordan said: "The Registrar and myself, with the women and the law students, have worn the Cap and Gown on Commencement Day for many years. . . . . A few years ago there was a tendency to make too much of the gown and similar things, but I think that with us in the West the disposition is to be too plain and too democratic, if I may use the expression. I think a little more thought and a little more color and life as to dress on Commencement would do us no harm; but I doubt very much if our faculty will wear gowns, and I don't know any way to induce them to do it."

In early Stanford times a member of the faculty jestingly suggested that Commencement Day, with all its exercises, be abolished, and the attestation of graduation printed on a visiting card and conveyed to the recipient by the postman. Opposition to "pagan" ceremonialism did not go that far, and much innocuous diversity in nonessentials has continued to prevail.

THE CAMP

When the University opened there was in the space now occupied by the Stanford Union and Court, a group of four L-shaped rough whitewashed buildings. These had been put up by Mr. Stanford as living quarters for the workmen employed in the construction of the University buildings. One of the four buildings was used as a restaurant and managed by a Chinese named Mock Chong; the others served as dormitories. After the opening of the University, construction work for the time being practically ceased. As the workmen began to move out, students gradually moved in. The restaurant kept on, partly because of student patronage and partly because it was under contract with the University to furnish board for the Japanese janitors, at $10 per month. To transients it served meals for twenty cents, and student patronage naturally increased.

To the authorities immediately in charge, catering to students was a development not according to rule. And so, early in October 1892, a notice, signed by the Superintendent of Grounds, was posted in the dining room of "Mariposa Blanca": "After the 9th day of October, no student will be furnished room or board at this Boarding House, as it is exclusively for the employees and workmen." The ultimatum was not pressed, however, as both Mr. and Mrs. Stanford were interested and favorable to the use of the Camp by the working students.

By September 1893 all the workmen had removed to the Stock Farm, and "Palmetto Hall" (as it was then called) was being run for the benefit of students only.[8] The first lessee was Dennis Halloran, presently to be succeeded by Thomas Forbes, fireman in the powerhouse, who remained in charge until 1897. Under Forbes's management there was no money to spend for repairs or for cleaning up the place, and the run-down, slummy appearance of the Camp became proverbial.

Dane Coolidge, who entered the University in 1894, after living in the Camp for three years, fulfilled the ambition of Camp men to spend their senior year in Encina Hall. But he had become profoundly interested in the possibilities for working and self-supporting students in the University. While living in the Camp he had started an unofficial labor bureau, co-operating with the faculty Committee on Student Employment. Since Forbes was desirous of giving up his lease, Dane Coolidge, "full of young dreams," went to the members of the faculty committee with a proposition that if they would raise the money to lease the Camp he would manage it for nothing, putting the rent money back into much-needed improvements. The committee, however, upon learning from Forbes that he was losing money every month and but for the fear of losing his job as fireman would have thrown up his contract long before, could not see its way to co-operate with the Coolidge plan. Urged by Forbes to take over the lease as a favor to himself, Coolidge finally agreed provided the faculty committee would be willing to indorse his note at the bank for the sum of two hundred dollars.

"The time being short," writes Coolidge, "I spent the whole two hundred dollars in a week. The buildings were stripped of everything and thoroughly disinfected, every room was papered and painted, the grounds were cleared and planted to flowers." Under the former regime only a part of the rooms had been rented and collections were very difficult. Now, when next the University opened, every room was rented and there was a waiting list. To attract roomers the rent had been reduced from $4.50 to $3.00 per month, or $1.50 each with two in a room.

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[8] *Sequoia*, September 6, 1893.

"For any student who could not pay, I either got him a job or let him work it out." "Certain men from Encina were in the habit of boarding with the Chinaman and then showing their scorn of his restaurant by booing and throwing cups at the waiter. These men I warned by a notice calling attention to the fact that I was responsible to the University to maintain order and to protect Mock Chong under his lease. The first man to throw a cup after that was dismissed, and when the Chinaman again began to feed him, I warned him not to do so on pain of losing his lease. Then this student changed his tactics and organized a strike among the boarders, who said if I did not let him come back they would all quit. That was their privilege of course, but the man did not come back and nobody quit. . . . . As long as I managed the Camp no freshman was ever hazed there, though a large committee from Encina came over for that purpose." "In two months time I had earned my $200 clear. . . . . If I had been willing to stay at Stanford I could have lived on the proceeds of the Camp for years, but I turned the lease over to my assistant and went to Harvard."[9]

Not all of the Camp roomers took their meals at the Camp restaurant. Some "bached" in their own rooms, some "hashed" outside, and there were always a few eating clubs, with distinguished names, which met in special rooms in the Camp. The best-known of these was the "Brookfarm," around whose tables sat a number of the bright lights, men and women, in Stanford's literary firmament, who made a specialty of entertaining members of the faculty from their respective departments, Dr. and Mrs. Jordan being first on the list of invited guests.

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[9] From "The Camp," an unpublished sketch by Dane Coolidge.

The "assistant" who succeeded Dane Coolidge, as leaseholder proved not equal to his task. At the end of the year he too was losing money and ready to give up the job. It was during this interregnum year that the Camp took on much of the picturesque color which has clung to its memory ever since and which gave to it the slightly disreputable aspect it has maintained in Stanford song and story. "The Camp went to the bow-wows," the next manager commented. "The rooms were filled with a bunch of low-brows. They made a sort of student slum of it. Two of the men were dumped off the campus for robbing a Chinese vegetable wagon, specifically, I believe. They had one room in the main building fitted up with roosts—and their chickens were, I fear, literally 'raised' by hand. It was another pleasing feature of their regime to break a hole through the hall floor in front of their doors so they could easily push their room sweepings into it." Among the legends which grew up out of their notoriety as "foragers" was one to the effect that baited hooks were dropped through these holes in the floor to catch wandering faculty hens "rustling" for tidbits under the house.

Besides the group which gave the Camp its "tough" character were also harmless cranks like the two brothers, desperately poor, whose diet consisted entirely of nuts and fruit and whose doting parents sent them for Christmas, not food or clothing, but a melodious hand organ.

"After a few months of this regime," writes Herbert Coolidge, "there was strong talk of tearing the old Camp down. Everyone was more than willing, I came to understand later, except the Camp men and Mrs. Stanford—and Dane Coolidge. There was one year of this. Then my brother got the lease again and put me in to run the place for him in my freshman year. We had a terrible time cleaning the place up, but in the end every room had a fresh lining of a very good grade of gray wall paper. And the trees and vines outside received much needed attention.

"The Camp, during my stay there, was a good place to land. Instead of browbeating and ducking a freshman, we got him a job, showed him how to carry three soups, posted him on which profs were prone to flunk freshmen, loaned him bedding if he was short, and gave him a game of talk that was an excellent antidote for homesickness. We wouldn't let *any* one into the Camp. I looked the applicants over pretty carefully and steered all the tough looking mugs over to the Hall. I rectified my errors of judgment on several occasions by firing good looking toughs at a later date. Any one could swear, sing, or enjoy himself all he wanted. But my brother and I drew the line on obscene language and petty larceny. Also, I had to throw out two of the fellows for running up the Camp 'queer' by being too odd and for being dirty.

"In my third year, after running the Camp two years with no trouble to speak of, about the best looking and the most charming and the crookedest and the slickest man who ever hit Stanford nearly wrecked me. He would steal money from his friends and anything else he could get his hands on. Also he would go out into the darkness and hurl great clods of adobe on the old shake roof, especially the portion which sheltered me. I finally located him and was in process of giving him the run when—a fraternity spirited him away to their own hallowed circle!"

It was of its halcyon days that Mrs. Stanford spoke in an interview in the *New York Sun,* February 12, 1899: "We have there what is called the Camp, a lot of low, rather rough buildings, fitted up with bunks, which Mr. Stanford put up to accommodate the workmen. After the University was opened the students begged Mr. Stanford to leave these buildings for their use. A student has charge of the place, and a large number of his fellow students lodge and board there for $15 per month. The Camp is built around a beautiful square court which the boys have made positively lovely with grass, trees, and flowers. The boys who are making a great sacrifice to get an education are to be found living in the Camp."

That the Camp was a temporary institution, and would pass out of existence in the natural course of events, was always understood. Its demise was hastened by a number of circumstances. Those who remembered its once filthy and neglected appearance acquired a prejudice which its happier days could not dislodge. The faculty Committee on Student Affairs apparently gave it credit for originating and inspiring more mischief than it was fairly entitled to. The Inn, built on the site of the present Library to take the place of the Encina dining-room, and leased to outside parties, could not, or thought it could not, compete on even terms for student patronage. The Inn charged too much, students said, and the food was not good. When some of the Encina students wished to start eating clubs at the Camp, "we were foolish enough to rent them rooms for this purpose. Failure of the Inn meant a financial loss to the University, and the Business Office became actively interested. Finally, November 13, 1901, announcement was made that all the buildings in the region of the Camp were to be removed after the first of January."

Of the next steps Herbert Coolidge writes: "I took an early train to San Francisco and reached Mrs. Stanford's residence about ten. A venerable butler met me at the door. He told me that Mrs. Stanford wasn't seeing anyone. But when I stated my business he let me in. And finally Mrs. Stanford came down, and she told me how for years the faculty folks had been begging her and urging her to tear down the Camp. But, she said, it was the Governor's purpose in establishing Stanford University, to provide means which would enable young men to get an education who would otherwise not be able to get an education, and that solely on this account she had, until the last time, firmly refused to tear down the working students' home. 'I have a whole trunk full of letters upstairs complaining about that Camp,' she said.

"I told Mrs. Stanford how my brother and I had tried to clean up the old Camp and to keep it clean, and to cover the homely old shacks with vines, and to fill the place with decent, earnest students. I also told Mrs. Stanford that in my years at the Camp we had only lost four students from 'weak eyes,' that is, by the Committee, and that in the preceding semester one fraternity of less than thirty men had lost seven. In concluding I said, in effect: Mrs. Stanford, if you want that Camp to come down now, all you will have to do is to say so. I will tell the fellows of all the trouble the Camp has been to you, and how, in spite of everything, you have insisted on giving the working students a chance to live on the campus. And I will guarantee that there won't be any howl raised by the Camp men. (This was at a time when life at Stanford was howl after howl.) It would be a great help to some of the boys if you could put off the demolition of the Camp until the end of the year, because most of the boys have jobs and the Camp is their only chance to live close enough to their jobs to hold them. But if you still wish the Camp to go down now, I am sure it will be all right with the Camp men. You have already had trouble enough in keeping this place open for the working students and I am sure the fellows will not ask you to undergo any more. We will say 'Thank you!' and let it go at that."

Mrs. Stanford's decision was given in a letter to Coolidge, dated November 17, 1901: "After mature consideration I have concluded not to remove the Camp until June, 1902, in order to give the students occupying its quarters an opportunity to make other arrangements."

In response forty-four Camp students signed the following letter to Mrs. Stanford, dated November 18, 1901: "Dear Mrs. Stanford: We wish to thank you for your kindness in postponing the removal of the Camp. We feel that the buildings are very much out of place on our beautiful campus; we keenly appreciate the sacrifice you have made in changing your arrangements. Our gratitude is not easily expressed—we can only say again that we thank you for your kindness."

"Many men, later distinguished, worked their way through the University and were not ashamed to live in the Camp. I was the last man out of the Camp," writes Herbert Coolidge. "And the shingles were falling on me when I made the move. I surely did hate to see the old Camp come down. But of course it was obviously a board shack in the path of progress."

THE STUDENTS' GUILD

In 1891 there were no hospital facilities in any of the neighboring towns, and very few physicians near by. Fortunately for the University, the head of the Department of Hygiene and Physical Education, Dr. Thomas D. Wood, was expected to render first-aid service, to give advice in health matters, and to a limited extent to be available for actual medical care and treatment. A sort of informal committee undertook to supply needed financial help for medical attendance, and in 1893–94 something like three hundred dollars was expended for this service.

The need of more systematic provision for emergency cases was strongly felt, and in the autumn of 1894 a mass meeting of faculty and students crystallized this sentiment, discussed the possibilities of a hospital building, and planned an organization which would assume responsibility for working out a careful program applicable to the situation.

A formal organization of the Students' Guild was effected in February 1895. The purpose of the Guild was declared to be "to provide for the care of students in time of sickness and for the general health of the Community." The constitution of the Guild provided for a board of seven directors, composed of the University physician, one additional member of the faculty, and five students chosen by the executive committee of the student body. Membership in the Guild was extended to all students who paid the Guild fee of fifty cents per semester. The first president of the Guild was Robert L. Donald ('95), the secretary, Bertha Chapman ('95), the treasurer, E. Delos Magee ('95). Membership in the Guild entitled the student to simple remedies or to a sickroom outfit, and upon the recommendation of the resident physician to the services of a trained nurse. At one time a trained nurse was continuously maintained at Roble Hall; this proving too expensive for the revenues of the Guild, arrangements were made for the services of a nurse from San Francisco as needed. In 1899, with less than half of the students paying the Guild fee, it was found necessary to restrict the Guild's service to its own members. The acquisition of a hospital and hospital equipment was very much desired, but with the small revenues of the Guild no steps could be taken to meet this need. This was the situation and state of affairs up to almost the end of the year 1902–3.

In April 1903 a serious outbreak of typhoid fever occurred at the University and in Palo Alto. More than two hundred persons in all were afflicted, about one hundred and twenty being students. The fever was of a virulent type, and among the students there were eight deaths. Investigation traced the immediate infection to a dairy about five miles from Palo Alto. From this dairy milk had been bought by a Palo Alto dairyman who was supplying one restaurant in town, patronized by students, and two fraternity houses on the campus. The beginning and spread of the infection, as revealed by the investigation made by the Palo Alto Board of Health, assisted by Dr. Snow of the Stanford faculty and Dr. Clelia D. Mosher, '93, of Palo Alto, reads like the plot of a tragedy. The two dairies involved were closed by the authorities.[10]

The situation was promptly taken in hand by the Guild and the Hygiene Department of the University. Where possible, students were sent to hospitals in San Francisco, and some to their homes; but for the most part the sick had to be cared for in Palo Alto and on the campus. The Guild rented a building in Palo Alto and made it into a hospital. A second temporary hospital was set up later. On the campus a part of Encina Hall was used. In order to provide doctors and nurses, more than five thousand dollars was collected by the Guild, and half as much more was contributed by Mrs. Stanford.

The attitude of students and of the community was most praiseworthy. There was no panic, and regular college work was not interrupted. All festivities of Commencement week were omitted, partly out of consideration for the sick, but chiefly that the money which would have been spent might be turned into the Guild treasury. "It is safe to say," Dr. Jordan wrote, "that but for the Students' Guild and its instant activity there would have been four times the actual number of deaths. There have been many to be praised in this matter, but . . . . if Stanford ever had a Cross of the Legion of Honor to bestow it would be given to Frank L. Hess, a senior in the course of mining, who two weeks before the outbreak was made president of the Students' Guild. Two of the University professors, both physicians, W. F. Snow and R. L. Wilbur, have given their whole time day and night to the relief of the students. Sad and terrible as this affliction has been, it has lessons and the lessons will not be lost."

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[10] A full report of the investigation was printed by the Palo Alto Board of Health. The dramatic story of the source and spread of the infection is retold in a report to the President by Dr. Edith Matzke of the Department of Hygiene and Physical Training in January 1906 (unpublished).

The effect on the fortunes of the Guild was marked. The semester following the fee was raised to one dollar per semester, and after that to two dollars. The Guild fee was made compulsory and its collection taken over by the University.[11] The leased building in Palo Alto was purchased and completely equipped, with an operating room and a matron and nurse. Since the hospital would provide for only about a dozen patients, a large addition to the building was immediately begun, and the facilities of the hospital were offered to the public. As it provided the only operating room between San Francisco and San Jose, it was well patronized.

Trouble soon arose over the matter of contagious cases. Under the California law it was forbidden to bring into any incorporated town or city persons suffering from a contagious disease. This law Palo Alto proceeded to enforce, and it was necessary to look elsewhere in cases of this kind. The Trustees were unwilling to permit the erection of a contagious ward on the campus property, but finally, after a number of refusals, set aside a location on the Felt tract at a considerable distance from the campus. This was afterward changed to a nearer location by the old rock crusher two miles up the San Francisquito

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[11] On October 9, 1902, before the typhoid outbreak, Dr. Jordan had written to a correspondent: "We are looking forward to substituting for this Guild fee a uniform charge made on all students, entitling them to hospital bed, board, and nursing so long as may be necessary."

Creek. An old building was reconstructed and made into an Isolation Hospital and first occupied in September 1912.

Meantime a group of physicians had decided to build a modern hospital in Palo Alto. When this was completed it seemed undesirable to keep up the Guild hospital, and it was accordingly abandoned in 1910. At the Guild hospital there was a uniform charge to students of one dollar a day, the Guild paying the balance of the account. This same arrangement could not be undertaken at the Peninsula Hospital, but a substantial part of the cost to students was assumed by the Guild. The arrangement proved satisfactory and workable.

The work of the Guild continued much as before, its field widening as time went on. In 1912 the Guild undertook a survey of the campus milk supply through the Palo Alto Health Officer, H. O. Jenkins, '07. No alarming conditions were discovered, but it was found that 90 per cent of the campus milk was furnished by the poorest sources of supply.

A further development of health service was presently felt to be indispensable, and in 1920 the Guild itself was practically superseded by the better organized University Health Control, made possible by a uniform charge of five dollars per quarter for this service.

THE TRAINING HOUSE CORPORATION AND BOARD OF CONTROL

One of the early organizations set up by the student body was the Athletic Association. The constitution, adopted on November 3, 1891, provided a board of trustees to consist of the Executive Committee and the managers of the various suborganizations having to do with the different sports. The Executive Committee was to consist of Senator Stanford, the President of the University, the Professor of Physical Training, together with the president (a senior), vice-president (a junior), and secretary (a sophomore or freshman) of the Association, and treasurer (a graduate or member of the faculty, to be selected by the Executive Committee at the time of the annual meeting).

"It shall be the duty of the Treasurer," the constitution read, "to take charge of the funds of the Athletic Association, to approve all bills of the several suborganizations, to publish in the University journal or journals, at the expiration of his term of office, an itemized account of receipts and expenditures during his term of office." The first officers, elected November 13, 1891, were: J. R. Whittemore, president; J. C. Capron, vice-president; John Metcalf, secretary; Professor Richardson, treasurer.

The Athletic Association and its constitution may have looked well on paper, but its activities were not noteworthy. "Our so-called Athletic Association," remarked the *Daily Palo Alto* (September 27, 1894), "has been an inefficient, poorly administered body, hindering as much as augmenting the interests of athletics. . . . . Several students and professors have been considering this problem for some time, and their solution is the organization of an Athletic Association modeled after the best organizations of the East, with which several in the faculty have had considerable experience. . . . . It will place athletics under the control of those interested and competent to manage, will be presided over by a member of the faculty, will have a certain fixed annual revenue and a strict system of auditing accounts."

The first steps toward this new Athletic Association were taken at a mass meeting of the student body held September 12, 1894. A committee appointed to draft a constitution reported early in November, and in due time organization was effected. Meantime the immediate necessity for reform in handling student funds was met by the election, in April 1904, of Herbert Hoover, '95, as treasurer of the student body. Inheriting a twelve-hundred-dollar debt and a tangled financial situation, the new treasurer was able, by the end of October, to present a report showing "the Associated Students to be a solvent body for the first time since its birth." "By the business acumen of the treasurer," the student daily said, "a considerable sum has been saved. . . . . The conduct of the whole affair redounds greatly to the credit of the treasurer, and some recognition of it should be made by the Student Body."[12] "For the first time in the history of Stanford athletics an itemized account of all receipts and expenditures of the football season has been rendered. It was a pleasant surprise to read treasurer Hoover's report in the *Daily Palo Alto*. . . . . Treasurer Hoover is to be highly commended for the precedent he has established. It is safe to say it will be followed in the future."[13]

Not so safe a prediction! The Hoover precedent was not religiously followed, and football managers and treasurers on occasion conveniently ignored constitutional provisions against unauthorized expenditures. When no money could be found for such pressing necessities as training quarters and much-needed equipment, various measures of relief were proposed. One suggested by football captain Forrest Fisher in 1898 was that each class should leave as a parting gift as large a sum of money as possible, with the understanding that when the amount reached $5,000 a training house would be built. The idea seemed a good one, and the class of 1899 started the fund with the sum of $195. The class of 1900 added nothing, but 1901 contributed $427. This was too slow a process, but it had suggested another idea which resulted in the organization and incorporation of an independent body to be known as the Training House Corporation. Its main business would be "to erect, equip, and maintain at the University a permanent training house and athletic field." The original board of directors was composed of O. C. Leiter, '99; Milnor Roberts, '99; J. E. McDowell, '00; T. J. Hoover, '01; J. B. Gildersleeve, '02; H. H. Taylor, '00; and C. A. Cantwell, '01.

Although the Training House Corporation had no official connection with the student body, an agreement was made by which all student-body assessments, five per cent of the gross receipts of the Associated Students, and fifty per cent of any surplus at the end of the year were to be turned over to the corporation and held as a trust fund until a sufficient sum had accumulated for the purpose in hand. In May 1901, the treasurer (Professor Angell) reported the assets of the corporation to be $1,454, and in May 1902, $3,174.38.

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[12] *Daily Palo Alto*, December 12, 1894.

[13] Stanford *Sequoia*, January 25, 1895.

At this time work was about to begin on the new gymnasium, planned by Mrs. Stanford, which when completed would include a considerable part of the equipment the corporation had been expected to provide. Other needs, however, were to become of pressing importance. It had been arranged that the intercollegiate contests on home grounds were to come to Stanford first in 1905. New athletic grounds would have to be provided, and the work of the Training House Corporation must necessarily be broadened. In 1904 the Board of Trustees set aside a new tract of forty acres for athletic fields. Early in 1905, with $10,000 in hand, the corporation was ready to proceed with the grading of the grounds and the construction of training quarters and football grandstand. First of all a reorganization of the Training House Corporation was necessary. The original governing board had scattered to such an extent that it was almost impossible to secure a quorum at any scheduled meeting. At a meeting held on March 4, 1905, an entirely new board of directors was elected and three additional men were admitted to the corporation. The new board consisted of F. L. Berry, '99; H. H. Taylor, '00; J. E. McDowell, '00; T. J. Hoover, '01; and the three new members of the corporation, T. M. Williams, '97; R. W. Barrett, '04; and A. L. Trowbridge, '05.

A remarkable piece of work was accomplished by the Training House Corporation during the summer and fall of 1905. Plans for the grounds, bleachers, and training house were contributed by Professor Wing without expense to the corporation. Grading and construction of grandstands, seating fourteen thousand five hundred people, and the training house were all completed before the November football game, and at an expense of about $16,000. Construction of other fields, particularly baseball, track, and tennis, was next to follow. Construction, however, was as far as the authority of the corporation extended. It had no control of the grounds or buildings when completed, and nothing to say about any of the events concerned. Was it not best for the Training House Corporation quietly to retire, turning its powers and functions over to a new body, a board of control, more intimately connected with University life? A way was prepared by the resolution of the University Board of Trustees, passed November 25, 1905, approving the new plan as suggested by Professor Angell, provided the Board of Control should contain a proper representation of faculty and alumni.

This proposal was enthusiastically received by the student body, which had for some time coveted the powers and revenues of the Training House Corporation. Thereupon an amendment to the student-body constitution was adopted abolishing the old Athletic Committee and conferring its powers, along with those of the Training House Corporation, upon the newly created Board. It provided that the new Board of Control should consist of the president, vice-president, and graduate manager of the student body, the chairman of the faculty athletic committee, and a second faculty man chosen by the executive committee of the student body.

The composition of the Board of Control was not acceptable to Dr. Angell and the members of the Training House Corporation, on the ground that it did not admit of continuity of membership sufficient to uphold the responsibilities it must undertake, and that it did not meet the conditions imposed by the Board of Trustees. In the uncertainty as to whether or not the Board of Control had actually succeeded to the powers of the Training House Corporation, that body was authorized to proceed at once with the work already begun on the new track. On October 3 a committee was appointed to confer with Dr. Angell as chairman of the faculty athletic committee in an effort to determine the status of this Board of Control as established by the student body.

Meantime Dr. Jordan, as the *deus ex machina,* proceeded to outline a Board of Control which would harmonize with the views of the Trustees. Its membership would consist of two members of the faculty athletic committee, two alumni elected by the executive committee of the alumni, and two students elected by the executive committee of the student body. As phrased later, the chairman of the faculty athletic committee and the president and secretary of the student body were members ex-officiis. In due time Professor Wing was named as the second faculty member, and J. E. McDowell, '00, and D. D. Sales, '06, as alumni members. Discretion being the better part of valor, the student executive committee (October 9, 1906) postponed indefinitely appointments to its own Board of Control, delaying further action until the annual election but in fact accepting the President's solution of the matter.

In 1909 student finances were again unsatisfactory, with a considerable debt incurred. At this juncture D. W. Burbank, '09, was made graduate manager and treasurer and remained in office four years. Of the Hoover type, the new treasurer made a really brilliant record, creating a large surplus, and instituting an accounting system in which every transaction and every item of expenditure was meticulously recorded.

With some additional authority the Board of Control went on very successfully with the program of the old Training House Corporation. Its control over athletics, a very considerable one, was in the way of advice and suggestion and through the confidence existing between the Board and the students. The situation was not wholly satisfactory. In discussing some of the problems connected with athletics in 1902, Dr. Angell had said: "I have been for some time considering the possibility of an Athletic Advisory Committee, made up say of one member of the faculty, two alumnus members, selected for at least three years, the captains of athletic teams and perhaps two or three more representative students." In 1916 President Wilbur was to borrow the name and establish a committee consisting of two faculty members, two alumni, and three students. In 1917 physical or military training was made compulsory for the first undergraduate years, and a complete reorganization combined the Board of Control and the Athletic Advisory Committee into one body—the Board of Athletic Control—consisting of three members each from faculty, alumni, and students. This body was to select all coaches and instructors in physical training and athletics. Coaches and instructors were to be paid by the Board of Athletic Control from gate receipts. All details of the competition in major and minor sports were to be arranged by the executive committee of the student body, but the general management of athletics was reserved to the Board of Athletic Control, whose initiative and responsibility was to be paramount in all athletic matters.

EVOLUTION OF COAST FOOTBALL

In preparing for the first intercollegiate football game the Stanford team had studied Walter Camp's book on football and had used as far as possible the strategy outlined in the book. Feeling the need of more expert knowledge, the Stanford men wrote to Camp asking him to recommend a coach for the autumn quarter. To their surprise and delight the reply was that Camp would come himself without charge, if they could wait until the Eastern season was over. This was easily arranged, and the date for the game was transferred from Thanksgiving Day to the 17th of December. When Camp arrived, about December 1, he was accompanied by McClung, noted halfback of the Yale team, who had come to coach the California eleven. Walter Camp was at Stanford for three seasons—1892, 1894, and 1895—and until 1897 all of the coaches, at both Stanford and California, were Yale men and personal friends, "with the desirable outcome that the games were the cleanest and friendliest that have been played in the history of California-Stanford intercollegiate football. After these halcyon days the football matches between the two universities shaped themselves more according to the pleasing fancies of those who look on the game not as a sport, but as a fight."[14]

American football as played in the East was a development of the English Rugby, introduced into New England colleges by Walter Camp in 1875. Although the rules of the English Rugby Union were formally adopted, modification of these rules began almost immediately. In endeavoring to make the game more "scientific," the interest of the players was lost sight of. The emphasis was placed upon winning the game, and the generalship was that of the coach, whose objective must be reached through a hard, grinding training in which neither the pleasure nor the physical safety of the player could be very much considered. "These fellows want to understand," as one coach put it, "that football is not fun; it is hard work." The rapid passing of the ball from player to player gave way to mass play and the refinement of interference, both increasing the physical hazards of the game and the liability of serious injuries. For the players it became distinctly a fight, for the bleachers a Roman spectacle—a situation, it must be said, enthusiastically applauded by the spectators, and in fact acceptable to the players, since it was the avenue to the greatest triumphs and the greatest glories of the college world. The popularity of the coach and his ability to hold his job depended upon his success in producing a winning team. To this end there was the constant temptation to a professional hunt for promising material, to the introduction of portable athletes, to the employment of questionable tricks in the actual playing of the game. An injury to a member of the opposing team added to the chance of victory, and there were various ways, particularly if officials were conveniently blind, in which a dangerous opponent could be put out of the game. Only in the most technical sense could this developed intercollegiate football be referred to as a "sport"; it came to be a truly gladiatorial contest.

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[14] Professor Frank Angell, in the *Palo Alto Times*, Memorial Edition, 1919.

Perception of these tendencies, and the increasing list of serious injuries, was giving much concern to Eastern college faculties. In 1885 Harvard went so far as to abolish all intercollegiate games; but the prohibition lasted only one year. In President Eliot's annual report for 1892–93 the subject was again taken up and discussed at length. After pointing out the many advantages which had resulted from the great development of athletic sports in the American college, the report turned to an enumeration of the disadvantages—"in the main the results of wanton exaggeration." If intercollegiate contests were to continue, certain checks must be introduced: (1) there should be no freshman intercollegiate matches; (2) no game, intercollegiate or other, should be played on any but college grounds; (3) no professional student should take part in any intercollegiate contest; (4) no student should be a member of any university team in more than one sport within the same year; (5) no football should be played until the rules were so amended as to diminish the number and violence of collisions between players; (6) intercollegiate contests in any one sport should not occur oftener than every other year.

A year later President Eliot's language was more severe: "The game of football grows worse and worse as regards foul and violent play and the number and gravity of the injuries which the players suffer. It has become perfectly clear that the game as now played is unfit for college use. . . . . The players themselves have little real responsibility for the evils of the game. They are swayed by a tyrannical public opinion—partly ignorant and partly barbarous — to the formation of which graduates and undergraduates, fathers, mothers, and sisters, leaders of society, and the veriest gamblers and rowdies all contribute." Again the Harvard faculty, in 1894, voted to abolish the game. To this action, however, the Faculty Athletic Committee was opposed, and the Board of Overseers ruled that full authority in the matter was vested in the Athletic Committee.

The attack of President Eliot occasioned widespread discussion. On the Pacific Coast, under more pristine conditions, where intercollegiate contests were new, it was not believed that President Eliot's strictures could apply. Walter Camp's personal influence had been altogether wholesome. Fair play and generous treatment of opponents had been steadily inculcated and not made subordinate to the natural desire to win. Dr. Jordan stoutly defended the game. "We believe," he said, "that the tendency of the game of football is in every way in the direction of manliness. While there are possibilities of evil and possibilities of excess, we have not reached those possibilities yet. The effect of the interest the students take in football, for instance, is to strengthen the feeling of brotherhood and loyalty.

It is to turn attention away from petty trickery and vice. The drill of football itself is manly. . . . . The time will doubtless come when colleges generally will insist that all match games must be played on their own grounds." Professor Angell, chairman of the Stanford faculty athletic committee, and in more intimate touch with the football situation, was more cautious in statement: "The objections to football on account of the excessive amount of time taken for training and practice do not, or need not, apply here. . . . . If some of our men fall behind in their college work it is probably on account of the time and mental energy devoted to oral football outside of practice hours. In this respect the effect of the training table is not wholly healthful. . . . . It may be laid down as a general rule that an athletic sport which has ceased to be in the main pleasurable to the players has lost its reason for existence."[15]

Although Stanford was free from many of the excesses which marked the progress of football in the East and Middle West, the same tendencies were at work. Not all of the coaches held to the high standards which prevailed in the beginning contests. There were minor squabbles with California, and the defeated university was not always a good loser. Very early the dangerous "letdown" which followed games in the big city was recognized. In baseball an attempt to "throw" a game, during an off-season tour, was a distinct shock to the whole University. Although only a few individuals, and not the team, were involved, the faculty athletic committee promptly prohibited all off-season athletic tours. After the 1897 football game the athletic committee let it be known that they favored discontinuing the employment of Eastern coaches. The general policy of the committee, however, as explained by the chairman, was to let the students run their own affairs to suit themselves. The committee would suggest and advise, but would act positively only so far as was necessary to insure that the good name of the University was upheld in athletic matters.[16]

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[15] Stanford *Sequoia*, April 26, 1894.

[16] *Daily Palo Alto*, September 12, 1894.

The student athletic committee was not willing to dispense with Eastern coaches; but in 1899, at the joint request of Dr. Jordan and President Wheeler, the faculty committees of the two universities unanimously agreed (November 25, 1899) upon a definite policy involving important changes in the athletic situation. There were to be no more Eastern coaches, no more intercollegiate games in San Francisco, the football season was to be shortened, and the final game played the first week in November. The coach must be an alumnus of the University, and receive no pay beyond expenses.[17] The announcement of these radical changes provoked a lively discussion in campus circles, and not a little opposition. Since the students this time did not have the privilege of acceptance or rejection, efforts were made to obtain certain modifications. The home grounds of neither University being prepared to take care of the intercollegiate game, its continuance in San Francisco until 1903 was finally granted. Negotiations being already under way, Eastern coaches were allowed for 1900; and the date of the intercollegiate game was changed to the second Saturday in November.[18] Another regulation, proposed by the faculty committee, requiring of transfers a year's residence before becoming eligible to play in an intercollegiate game and welcomed at Berkeley (partly perhaps because it was supposed to be to Stanford's disadvantage), was reluctantly conceded by the Stanford student committee.

The *Sequoia* moralized editorially (February 2, 1900) upon the general situation, more or less recognizable at Stanford, as follows: "The trend of modern college athletics, and of college football in particular, savors of something perilously near professionalism. Will the game pay? Can we buy a coach sufficiently good, and can we offer inducements that will bring to us men sufficiently good, to win the contest? These agitate us as much as the questions of clean, wholesome sport. Physical excellence has come to be looked upon by the college enthusiast not as an end in itself much to be desired, but as valuable because it meant better material for the manufacture of the football catapult. . . . . Before a great assemblage the football man fought to the end of the battle, or fell with a maimed body, while the assemblage, tingling with the joy of slaughter, wept and called for a new arrival. 'We have paid our gold, give us the show!' "

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[17] Afterward made applicable only to assistant coaches.

[18] *Stanford Alumnus*, May 1900, February 1901; *Daily Palo Alto*, May 4, 1900, January 28, 1901.

The Football Rules Committee made a few changes, and these were all to the good, but they did not alter the general drift of football development. The graduate-coach system was regarded at Stanford as an unqualified success, and the change to the home grounds, when it came in 1904, was universally approved, with only the officials somewhat distrustful of the effect upon gate receipts and of the ability of the railroad to handle the crowds. The earlier closing of the football season, although not welcomed by the student public, was of undoubted advantage to the players, especially since about this time scholarship restrictions upon athletes were definitely increased.[19]

Several aspects of the situation, however, continued to give the faculty much concern. One was the increase in gate receipts and what that implied. "I cannot feel," Dr. Angell said, at the laying of the cornerstone of the new gymnasium, "that the expenditure of large sums of money is either necessary or useful; on the contrary, it seems to me that it constitutes a distinct menace to sport for sport's sake—that it defiles the very font of pure amateurism. It makes possible the career of that baleful appearance in our college athletics—the athletic parasite who goes into sport for what he can get out of it."[20] Stanford's future policy, Dr. Jordan declared, speaking before the Teachers' Association in Chicago, would finally lead to the doing away of gate fees at athletic events.[21]

Another cause of uneasiness was the occasional sag in the feeling of responsibility for the maintenance of high standards in athletic relations and practice. In a special report to the President, in 1902, the chairman of the faculty committee said:

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[19] *Daily Palo Alto*, November 21, 1901.

[20] *Ibid.*, December 11, 1902.

[21] *Ibid.*, April 28, 1903.

"Our athletics for the past three years have been in a diseased condition. I refer especially to the lack of college spirit which has condoned the flagrant violation of training rules by prominent players. It is not the lack of team discipline and of consequent athletic success which has troubled me in the matter, so much as the growth of a spirit of cynicism and an increase in moral dry-rot in the college at large. I have gone so far as to say 'unofficially' that unless this matter is bettered next year, your committee will probably interdict football. In the general conduct of athletics we seem to have come to the parting of the ways. The students' athletic committee has shown pretty conclusively that it is not competent to plan or maintain an athletic policy, or even to manage current athletic affairs. Accordingly I have been for some time considering the feasibility of an Athletic Advisory Committee, made up, say, of one member of the Faculty, to be appointed by you, two alumnus members, selected for at least three years, the captains of athletic teams, and perhaps two or three representative students."

From this temporary slump in morale there was happily a quick recovery when the matter was taken hold of by the awakened conscience of the student body. Compared with conditions elsewhere the athletic situation at Stanford was comparatively satisfactory and justified the favorable comments of many outsiders. At the cornerstone laying Dr. Angell could also say: "The University of California and Stanford have had eleven annual football contests, but in none of these eleven games played under such trying circumstances has there ever been an approximation to the brutality which has too often disgraced the games of great Eastern institutions. In many of the refinements, nay in some of the decencies, of intercollegiate athletics we may have been found wanting, but weighed in the balance of the actual conflict, we have not been found wanting."

As time went on the general football situation throughout the country did not seem to be improving. Slight changes were made each year by the Football Rules Committee, but nothing fundamental or in any way meeting the main objections of college faculties. Continued tales of brutality and of serious injuries to players kept the general public in a state of excitement, and in a number of state legislatures bills were introduced (but not passed) making the playing of football a misdemeanor. Columbia abolished the intercollegiate game outright. At Northwestern it was interdicted for a period of five years. Harvard threatened to follow suit if certain changes were not made by the Rules Committee. In California a game between the high schools of San Jose and Santa Clara resulted in the death of one of the players; immediately football was abolished not only in these schools but in a number of others. Dr. Jordan thought Columbia's action hasty and football too valuable a game to lose. President Wheeler wanted the game continued but agreed that its over-organization had practically ended its usefulness. "I am in favor of keeping the game," he wrote (November 28, 1905), ". . . . but making it a new game by entire change of its character. It should be a free running and kicking game in which students can participate who are in good normal health without exacting training. If rules are complicated as they are today, almost to the *n*th power, the average student cannot play the game, for he has not time to learn the finesse."

Professor Carpenter, of Columbia, at a University Assembly, as reported by the *Daily Palo Alto*, March 16, 1906, said: "The radical action taken by the Columbia faculty may require some explanation. The faculty did not abolish football, but did abolish the game as it is now played. They saw clearly that the present game was sadly in need of betterment. I know that conditions on the Coast are cleaner than they are in the East. Football there has become an obsession. We saw that it had developed into a veritable gladiatorial contest. All the attendant evils of the game—training table, professional coaches, and great gate receipts—were wrong, and we felt that we should let the air of righteousness in to clean the Augean stables."

A positive step was taken almost immediately. It happened that teams from Australia and New Zealand, playing English Rugby, were in America to meet engagements in British Columbia, and were giving exhibition games elsewhere on the Pacific Coast. The open play and fast passing of the ball from player to player across the field and always in sight of the spectators, and the emphasis placed upon the work of individual men, made obvious decided advantages in Rugby over the American game. An important joint meeting of the faculty athletic committees of Stanford and California, in San Francisco, December 11, 1905, at which were present Dr. Jordan, President Wheeler, and representatives of the two faculties other than members of the committees, adopted a resolution to be presented to the faculties of the two universities proposing very decided changes in the football agreement. It was recommended that intercollegiate football contests be no longer held under the regulations of the present Football Rules Committee, and that the English Rugby game, or else the present American game with such modifications as should promise to eliminate existing evils, be substituted. A number of prominent athletes were asked to aid the faculties in framing a final decision.

The special committee reported, March 22, 1906, that the objections to the existing American game had not been removed, and recommended the adoption of the Rugby game outright. Faculty action on this report was decisive, and student committees were given no opportunity to pass upon the matters involved. Partly for this reason, partly because of pronounced alumni opposition, partly owing to the ingrained conservatism of the college man, the change was not welcomed on either campus. On the assumption that there was no alternative, that it was a trial year for Rugby, and that a return to the old game would be possible in a year or two, active opposition practically ceased as the time for actual practice arrived. Coach Lanagan spent a part of the summer in British Columbia studying the Rugby game. There was no lack of candidates on the field, and the new game was entered into with noticeable zest and enthusiasm.

The first intercollegiate Rugby contest resulted in a victory for Stanford by a score of 6 to 3. This outcome rather confirmed California students in their offishness toward the new game. Even on the Stanford campus, where a more favorable opinion prevailed, the desire for the American game was still strong, and a determined effort was made by certain groups to rule out Rugby. The *Sequoia* was especially outspoken. Rugby had not made good. The revised American game was a great success. By promptly taking up the American game California and Stanford would properly rebuke the "high-handed action of the Stanford and California faculties in foisting the English system on the University."[22] The *Daily Palo Alto* gave a more judicial expression of student public opinion: "Although Rugby has made many friends and is acknowledged to be a good game, a great number of students desire the return of the American game. Much will depend on the opinion of Coach Lanagan when he returns after having witnessed the American game under revised rules."[23]

Lanagan's report, after seeing the Yale-Harvard, Cornell-Pennsylvania, and Army-Navy games, was conservative: "The new rules have brought a decidedly different game into the East. . . . . The new game is more open and the grinding mass plays have been abolished. There was absolutely none of the brutality and unnecessary roughness which marred the Eastern games I witnessed last year. The new rules are not so much responsible as the greatly increased efficiency of the officials, who do not hesitate to rule men off the field for the slightest infringement of the rules. The element of danger remained unchanged, and there is as much chance of injury as there was in the old game. Rugby is a slightly safer game."[24]

James F. Lanagan, '00, was football coach at Stanford for five years—three years with the American game and two years with Rugby—and a close observer of Coast football for more than double that length of time. His matured analysis of the Rugby game and a comparison of the two systems, written in 1915, is here condensed from the *Daily Palo Alto*, September 29, 30, and October 1, 1915.

Rugby has been a great success, almost from the beginning. More men both in and out of college have played it than ever played the American game, the athletic clubs have taken it up, and numerous football clubs have been organized and have played through every season. We have had more and better opponents in Rugby than we ever had or ever can have in American football. Rugby is a better game—better for spectators, better for players, and better as a factor in our general scheme of education. Rugby is a faster game: the ball is in play practically all of the time, excepting when kicked out of bounds. American football at its best is a very slow game. People who have seen good Rugby sometimes find it difficult to sit through a game of American football.

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[22] Stanford *Sequoia*, December 1906, April 1907.

[23] *Daily Palo Alto*, November 22, 1906.

[24] *Ibid.*, December 6, 1906.

In Rugby the ball is advanced primarily by skill and not by force. American football is war on a small scale. In Rugby there is all the attractiveness of sudden and violent contact, without the unfair element of an attack by four or five players upon one or two opponents. Rugby is really football. Every player must be able to kick and to kick well. In American football the kicking is done by one or two specialists. Nobody else ever kicks the ball. A really good Rugby player must be able to kick with either foot, to carry the ball, and to take part at any time in a passing or dribbling rush. There is no place for the specialist. When the necessity for any particular line of ability arises, one man is just as likely to be called upon as another.

A much larger number of men in college and schools may take part in Rugby. No signals are necessary in the game. At Stanford there are, at present, about four times as many men actually playing football on the different campus fields as played the American game in 1905. American football is essentially a coaches' game. The strategy of attack and defense is worked out entirely by the coaches, and each man is drilled to do his own particular part in each play. Seldom, if ever, does he have any notion of the strategy of the game or of the reason why certain things are done. He does not have to think, that is done for him. It is not meant that one could play Rugby without instruction, but once upon the field, every player must think for himself. When a situation confronts him, he must solve it and solve it instantly. He cannot lean on anybody else.

The only excuse for football or anything else in college or school life is that it forms a valuable part of our general scheme of education. If that be the test then the verdict should be for Rugby as against American football. It gives the player all the benefits of the strict discipline and physical exercise of the American game and, in addition, it makes him stand on his own feet and use his own brains.

Any lingering notion on the campus of a likelihood of returning to the American game was dispelled by Dr. Jordan's emphatic statement at the first University Assembly (January 16, 1907) that he was unalterably opposed to the American game and that he would not in any way sanction a re-establishment of the old-style play. After the second year's trial all opposition on the Stanford campus practically melted away. Lanagan and George Pressley (assistant coach) had been sent to Australia, and came back full of enthusiasm for the game as played on its home grounds. Stanford was successful in the second intercollegiate contest; but quite irrespective of that fact, Rugby had won its way as a sport. "Rugby is great," the *Sequoia* editor exclaimed. "The varsity contest was the most exciting and interesting in years." "Four weeks ago," said the *Daily Palo Alto*, "a canvass of the student body . . . . would undoubtedly have resulted in a decision for the American style of play. To-day, with the object lessons of last Saturday and the week before fresh in our minds, we believe a vote upon this subject would swing the other way and show a good sized majority of undergraduates who are not only satisfied but enthusiastic over the English game. . . . . What agitation there is to-day for a return of the old game is purely an agitation of sentiment." In writing to Dr. Jordan (January 9, 1908), Walter Camp remarked: "No game remains static. The East developed Rugby in one direction. I shall be glad to see another direction tried in the West."

Stanford and California played Rugby football for nine consecutive years. Every year the game became more appreciated and more valued on the Stanford campus, and every year more men came out to play. Soccer was introduced as an aid to Rugby in stimulating men to take part in outdoor sports. The authorities were put to great straits to provide fields for all the players. The Trustees co-operated heartily until finally every man could be assured of a chance to play throughout the season whether or not he was likely to be useful to the varsity team. Post-season games were popular, and effort to continue the game into the winter season met with some success. Most of the colleges and secondary schools in California gradually followed suit, and Rugby seemed as firmly established as any sport could well be.

Meantime the Eastern game was slowly changing in the direction of more open play and fewer mass collisions. It still remained strictly a coaches' game. "Football with us," President Eliot reported, "is certainly greatly improved; but it still remains a highly objectionable game. . . . . I do not perceive, however, any very emphatic rise of public opinion against football in this part of the country, except in the daily press. So that I have no strong hope that the Rules Committee will make any effective changes in the rules. . . . . The game appeals to what it is the fashion to call the 'elemental passions,' or in other words, to savage human nature, and is maintained in its present brutal condition largely by a very common fear—that of being, or being called, *sissy*. The Faculties are afraid of that reputation for their colleges, and the fathers and mothers for their sons. . . . . As to the Rugby game, my impression is that our players, trained in the present American football, would spoil it in a few weeks."[25]

George R. Parkin, Oxford graduate and Secretary of the Rhodes Trust, commenting on the Stanford-California game of November 12, 1910, said: "It was the cleanest game that I have seen in America, and at the same time the most satisfying. The big games in the East that I have witnessed are too dangerous, there is too much of the amphitheatre spirit in them, which is a great danger to college spirit. Saturday's game reproduced more the true spirit of sports as we understand it in England, and I did not find this to be the case in the games between your big Eastern universities. . . . . There could not have been better spirit shown among the players. In such an open game there are many opportunities for slugging, but I saw none and was delighted with the contest."[26]

Of the general record of the Stanford team, Dr. Angell wrote, in the *Alumnus* for May 1911: "Stanford has every reason to feel proud of the reputation her football teams have won for fair and sportsmanlike play. Wherever the teams have been — Los Angeles, Reno, Vancouver — the best of reports have followed them. . . . . Vancouver sent word last year that it made no difference whether Stanford lost or won the Intercollegiate game they wanted Stanford to come up every year. Arrived in British Columbia last winter, Stanford found Vancouver about to play in the back field a man whose skull had been 'caved in' by a kick the preceding year. The Vancouver manager simply said to our men that the skull had not wholly healed and asked the Stanford players to be careful in handling the man, adding, 'They would not think of playing him against any other team than Stanford.' "

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[25] President Eliot to Dr. Jordan, March 16, 1908, and December 14, 1909.

[26] *Daily Palo Alto*, November 15, 1910.

In the summer of 1910 a combined varsity team made up of players from Stanford, California, and Nevada toured Australia and New Zealand, on invitation of the New South Wales and New Zealand Rugby Unions. On the return of the players the *Daily Palo Alto* remarked: "They bear the scars and wounds of nine defeats and the trophies of only three victories, with two drawn games. Yet they won in Australia and New Zealand a thing that is far greater than any record of contests. They conquered the two islands from shore to shore and every sportsman in them by their cleancut behavior, their loyalty to one another, and their desire to keep as far as possible from objectionable tactics. The *Sydney Referee*, a great Rugby paper in the principal city of Australia, says of them, 'The Americans are thorough sportsmen. They have played the game strenuously and with scrupulous fairness. There has never been a more loyal set of men on tour, never a team that had a higher conception of what was necessary to their physical welfare.' "[27]

It had been proclaimed that after the Rugby game was once learned there would be no need of coaches. But the time to dispense with their services at Stanford and Berkeley did not seem to arrive. Besides teaching new students the game, the influence of men like Lanagan and Pressley in upholding high ideals in sport and strict standards of conduct was of great assistance in maintaining the morale of the team, both on the home grounds and in the various trips to other campuses. But the American passion for "development" was having some effect. While the Rugby rules were loyally adhered to, the tendency of the coach to do the thinking for the individual player could not be wholly restrained. "Taken as a whole," Dr. Angell wrote (May 1, 1910), "the game played on this Coast last fall fell below the Rugby standard of the year before. . . . . The Committee has been sorry to note a growth in interference in the sense of the Eastern college game, in the tackling of the players just before receiving the ball or just after passing it, and in holding a player down after he has been tackled. In general the tendency towards 'beating the rules,' which is so pronounced a feature of the Eastern college game, was this year much in evidence in Rugby."

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[27] *Daily Palo Alto*, August 29, 1910.

In a return trip to the United States by the Australian players, in 1912, the first game with Stanford, played October 7, 1912, was pronounced by experts "the best exhibition of Rugby that has ever been seen in this country." Two years later, in connection with Coast football in general, another note was struck: "Rugby will not develop satisfactorily in America," declared W. J. Howe, Australian expert (*Sequoia*, March 1914), "until the influences of the professional coach are obliterated. The players are worked up to such a high pitch of nervous tension, and the varsity game for weeks previous is referred to in such serious terms, that the players are, in a sense, goaded into regarding it as a gladiatorial rather than a football contest." The manager of the New Zealand All Blacks added: "To my way of thinking the coaching and training of teams here is overdone. . . . . We do not try to evolve the machine-like play which is attempted to be driven into the local collegians' heads. Your methods along these lines are wrong. Your men are taught that the great thing in Rugby is for each man to consider he is a cog of a wheel. To a certain point that is right. But when you say to a man 'When you are collared, pass the ball,' that method is wrong. Why not let the man use his own head in such a case? It may be that a high punt would be better than a pass, if he can get one away, or a cross kick may be the means of scoring, instead of passing. These and many other things are what have to be thought out by a player; but if you constantly tell the players 'You must do what you are told,' you will never accomplish the best results."

There was very little tendency at Stanford to modify the Rugby rules; but the tempo of the crowds at the "big game," and the urge upon the team to play up to it, made certain variations in the actual game almost inevitable. How to counteract this, how to get the intercollegiate contest entered upon in the real spirit of the Rugby game, and with more emphasis placed upon the lesser games, were problems constantly held in mind by the authorities. In May 1908, believing that it was time "to push a little harder toward the end of developing home athletics and reducing intercollegiate noise," Dr. Jordan asked the faculty Committee on Athletics to consider, as a program for the year, the following objectives: (1) By agreement with California to do away with all paid coaches; (2) to exclude freshmen from intercollegiate sports; (3) as far as possible to exclude "rooting" and "concerted presence" on the bleachers during practice games. Nothing came of this program at the time, but the urgency of doing away with the coaching system was frequently brought up by the President. That it might be better to retain alumni coaches for a time, in football, he was willing to concede, but "personally," he said, "I shall not approve of any intercollegiate agreement that does not provide for the speedy abandonment of the system of paid coaches whether alumni or otherwise."[28]

In a letter dated January 4, 1911, Dr. Jordan virtually instructed the Committee on Athletics, under the authority of the University, to take certain measures, "with a view to carrying out certain reforms in athletics, on the desirability of which your committee and I are agreed. Permit me to suggest that your committee, which is an administrative one, as soon as may be, should make the following adjustments: (1) No student to take part in intercollegiate games in his first year in the University. I recommend this as soon as arrangements with the University of California will permit—not later than July 1, 1912; (2) No paid coaches after expiration of terms of those now so employed, and in any event none later than January 1, 1912; (3) Such modification as may be desirable in eligibility rules; (4) To be prepared to discuss the purpose of the Athletic Committee at the next meeting of the Academic Council."

At the meeting of the Academic Council a week later, Dr. Angell made a general statement of committee policy and deprecated summary action, explaining that such a big reform could not be carried out without the willing consent of the students. The Council, however, voted to approve and adopt the instructions of the President as the fixed policy of the University and requested the chairman of the Committee on Athletics to report to the Council at the regular May meeting the results

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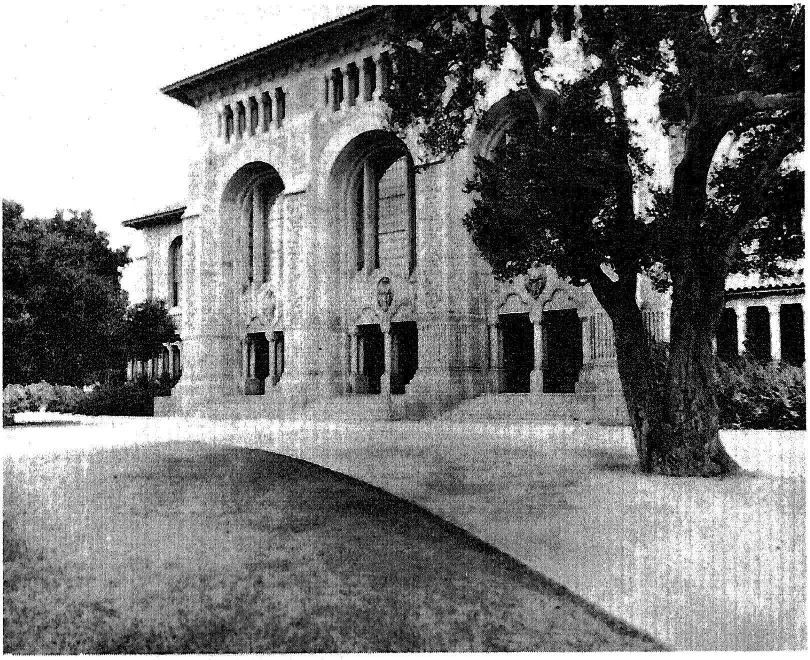
[28] Dr. Jordan to D. W. Burcham, April 27, 1910, and to President Wheeler, May 13, 1910.

The Cactus Garden



The new Library Building (1919)

of his efforts in carrying out this policy. The report in May recommended the abolition of freshman intercollegiate football and track. With this report was submitted a lengthy communication from the Executive Committee of the Associated Students pleading the value and necessity of freshman participation in intercollegiate athletics. The Council adopted the recommendation to abolish freshman intercollegiate football and track, but left the eligibility of freshmen for the varsity teams undisturbed.

> "The track meet is of very little importance in any way and many of the older track men were willing to see it go. . . . . The freshman football was dropped mainly because it was swelling to undue proportions. Each year it was waxing more robust, so that it had become almost as much an interruption to college work in general as the 'big game' of ten years ago, and most of the faculty felt it was about time the interruption should stop. The ban, however, does not extend to games with high schools and colleges. . . . . To the much repeated question, 'Is the canceling of Freshman fixtures with California merely preparatory to the abolishment of all intercollegiate events?' the writer would . . . . be very sorry to think so. The overemphasis of athletics is assuredly an evil, not so much at Stanford through the lowering of the standard of scholarship of the athletes, who rank as high as the general average of the students, but rather through the distortion of ideals of college life and through the periodic disturbances to college work."[29]

The Academic Council had apparently acquiesced in the continued eligibility of freshmen for varsity teams. The question, however, not a new one, was not so easily settled. In 1904 the combined faculty athletic committees of California and Stanford had recommended that freshmen be barred from varsity intercollegiate events, and that players must have been in residence for one year. This recommendation was adopted by the California student committee, but promptly rejected by Stanford.[30] Because of Stanford's rejection, California withdrew its prohibition but gave notice, in January 1907, that it would renew the proposal at the next meeting of the Conference. About this time the two student committees were at loggerheads over the 1907 intercollegiate track meet. Under the "alternate year" rule California claimed the meet; but Stanford's turn had come during the earthquake year, when track necessarily was omitted. So much feeling was stirred up that the disagreement nearly led to the abandonment of track entirely, if not to the cessation of all intercollegiate events. After many futile conferences the two faculty committees were proposed as arbitrators. But at this point Dr. Angell, speaking for Stanford, refused to intervene in a dispute so trivial, and suggested that, if necessary, track meets be suspended until the students themselves could reach an agreement. In the end Stanford yielded, and the event was held on the Berkeley campus.

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[29] Dr. Angell, in the *Stanford Alumnus*, May 1911.

[30] *Daily Palo Alto*, December 14, 1904; January 20, 1905.

Other elements of discord remained, particularly in football matters. By 1911, however, Dr. Angell was able to report an increase in the spirit of good fellowship, with the senseless hostility of past years giving way to a more generous spirit of friendly rivalry. The era of good feeling, however, was less evident in football than in other intercollegiate sports. From the first Stanford seemed to be winning more than its share of the Rugby games,[31] and California found its alibi in a professed belief that Stanford was offering improper inducements to promising athletes in the secondary schools. This accusation was whispered about so often that it came to be almost an article of faith on the Berkeley campus. On the other hand, Stanford felt that California had not been playing in the true spirit of Rugby.[32] When, a time or two, sixteen men were found playing in the game on the California team, and when once four substitutes were used where the rules permitted only three, although California apologized and made the *amende honorable*, Stanford could not rid itself of the feeling that such carelessness was not unintentional on the part of the coaches.[33]

In 1912 there had been formed the California Rugby Union for the purpose of defining and unifying the general rules governing Rugby football in all the colleges and secondary schools playing the game. A year later California resigned from the Union without giving reasons, and presently advanced the proposition that the special rules governing the California-Stanford game were to expire at the end of one year, and must be reenacted in order to hold good. To the Stanford contention that the terms of agreement held until changed by the proper bodies in the regular way, California replied by announcing (February 27, 1913) that it had abrogated all the rules part of the agreement. Stanford countered by abrogating the entire agreement, thus severing all football relations with California.

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[31] Stanford won the first three Rugby contests. Of the nine games played, Stanford won six, California two, and there was one tie.

[32] *Stanford Alumnus*, November 1913.

[33] *Stanford Alumnus*, March 1913, November 1913; *Daily Palo Alto*, November 18, 1913, September 3, 1915.

These difficulties were composed for the time being, but without making progress toward the mutual good understanding desired. The agreement between California and Stanford was by its own terms to expire in 1915. California now went back to its old contention for debarring freshmen from varsity teams. In December 1914 the Associated Students of California instructed its representatives on the Agreement Committee, among other things, to demand the elimination of freshmen from all varsity teams and the restoration of freshman intercollegiate contests. When the Intercollegiate Agreement Committee met in San Francisco (January 15, 1915), the California representatives put forward its first proposition and demanded acceptance before any consideration of other questions before the committee. In the discussion California's suspicion of improper methods of recruiting athletes at Stanford was pretty thoroughly aired, and the ineligibility rule was invoked as the only available way of stopping this practice. Naturally there was great resentment on the Stanford campus, and the California ultimatum was rejected in a student-body meeting by a vote of 581 to 10. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the baseless aspersions of California and demanding an apology. Its committee was instructed "to enter into no agreement with the University of California by which freshmen are prohibited from competing on university teams in intercollegiate matches."

At the next meeting of the Intercollegiate Agreement Committee, in a carefully prepared statement, California insisted that it had been misunderstood and disavowed any and all charges against the honor or integrity of Stanford. Its ineligibility rule had been proposed for scholarship reasons and to ward off any corruption or use of professional methods in inducing students to attend either university. After several meetings without results, a tentative agreement was reached. Stanford would concede the ineligibility rule, provided the freshman intercollegiate contest could be brought back and provided California would raise its scholarship requirements for membership on varsity intercollegiate teams to the Stanford level and would debar students in the affiliated colleges from playing in intercollegiate contests. President Wheeler would be asked to appoint a committee to wait on a similar committee from Stanford to see if it were possible to restore the freshman intercollegiate game.

It was at this point that the tentative agreement came to grief. When the two special committees met (February 6, 1915) the California members were assured that there had been no change of opinion in the Stanford faculty and that the freshman game would never be restored. Nothing further transpired until April, when California took up the matter again with a proposal that, inasmuch as both sides had wanted the return of the freshman game and both had suffered equally, the tentative agreement might be adopted with the freshman game dropped out. By this time Stanford men were desirous of getting away from petty squabbles and arriving at some settlement. However, there was no face-saving formula in the California proposal, and it was accordingly rejected. A counter proposal to submit the whole matter to a board of arbitration was approved by a vote of 176 to 76. To the arbitration proposal California made no response but reaffirmed its stand on the ineligibility rule in the strongest possible terms: "That we will not engage in intercollegiate athletic varsity contests with Stanford University except under the express agreement that the freshman ineligibility rule shall be one of the conditions to govern such contests."

The rupture was now complete. Several ineffectual attempts were made to heal the breach. Committees of alumni from each university, duly authorized by the respective executive committees, undertook to smooth out the difference. One concession advanced by Berkeley was that the operation of the ineligibility rule be postponed for one year. Stanford would consider only a two-year postponement. After several meetings the conclusion was reached that reconciliation was not possible at the time. President Wheeler then took up the matter in a personal appeal to President Branner (June 3, 1915). Dr. Branner was in the East, but when the matter got to him he responded in the most cordial manner. These two letters were then shown to the California alumni committee with the suggestion that the whole matter be left to the two presidents. It was too late. Manager Stroud of Berkeley was then in the North making what arrangements he could, and it was presently announced that California had returned to the American game.

For the next three years the Stanford "big game" was played with Santa Clara, with a fourth "Army" game in 1918. In 1918 there were no "university" games, the whole direction and control of sports being turned over to the Student Army Training Corps. Captain Parker, in command, organized both American and Rugby teams, and the former played the American "big game" with California—the first since 1914.

Among undergraduates the disappointment over the break with California was keen, and the whole question of American versus Rugby was again under discussion. The Stanford preference for Rugby was undoubted, and the number of men who signed up for the game in September was larger than ever before. But abandonment of the Stanford-California game had left a void which no other combination could fill. At first there was a desperate clinging to the thought that "practice" Rugby games with California might be continued. Officials of the Panama-Pacific Exposition tried to arrange an exhibition game between the two universities. But one would play only the American game, the other only Rugby. Efforts to restore intercollegiate relations in sports other than football, made through a committee of the San Francisco alumni, were more successful—and on the exact basis which had been rejected in football. This alumni committee went on record as convinced of the superiority of Rugby and recommended that nothing be attempted with California in this direction, at least for the time being. Growth of student feeling that resumption of relations with California was more important than the kind of football played was reflected in a vote taken by the student body in May 1916, and in the reluctance at this time to enter into a two years' contract with Santa Clara. The preferential vote was: For Rugby 441, for American 392; for a two years' Rugby contract with Santa Clara, 406, against 418.

The actual support of Rugby throughout the University was enthusiastic, and the games with Santa Clara were keenly contested and high-class exhibitions of the Rugby game. "Stanford will stay with Rugby for keeps," declared the *Alumnus* (April 1916). "More than that the Executive Committee of the Associated Students has rejected a proposition even to make the American style of game a minor sport. . . . . In the argument that has been going on on the campus . . . . a few of the adherents of the American style advocated it as a better game, but most on the score of expediency, because it would insure a 'big game' with California immediately, with the consequent gate receipts . . . . needed for the support of the rest of the athletic program."

The faculty attitude was unchanged and was voiced by Professor Murray, chairman of the Athletic Committee: "In my opinion, and so far as my influence goes, the system under which alone the game of American football can flourish—with its professional coaches, its elaborate machinery, its secret signals (which of themselves unfit the game for general participation), its building up of teams rather than training of men—has been banished from Stanford athletics for all time to come. . . . . A game that is one of coaches hired to turn out winning teams is never coming back to Stanford to stay. We can't go back on the ideals we have established."[34] "Stanford cannot enter into an agreement that means a competition in the amount of money that can be spent for coaches," declared President Wilbur. "American football, well known as a coaches' game, is the greatest menace to intercollegiate athletics. . . . . Stanford can afford to do what it thinks right, can afford to look ahead and stand for certain ideals in sports as well as in other activities. . . . . Some years ago the University of California and Stanford . . . . decided to change to Rugby. In it they found a satisfying substitute which left nothing to be desired either in the way of a sport or a spectacle. . . . . Having set a standard, after a careful survey of the past, present, and probable future, Stanford cannot and will not vacillate."[35]

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[34] *Stanford Alumnus*, April 1916.

The report of the faculty Committee on Athletics in 1918[36] may be taken as a summary of the situation and of the Stanford position at the time. The report declared: "Time and again the attempt has been deliberately and conscientiously made in colleges and universities to broaden the scope of the old game and make it a sport for the many, and time and again the attempt has failed. The game is essentially a form of public contest for a few carefully selected and painfully drilled students, and, if left to itself in the laissez-faire conditions under which soccer flourishes, would have no chance for existence. During the last two years at Stanford the discussion in regard to football has taken a new form, the gist of which is perhaps most clearly shown in the statements of students that they prefer Rugby as a game, but that they would rather play the old game with California than have no Big Game at all with that institution. They also usually point out the merit of a 'Big Game' as a 'money-getter.' In the outside world, especially in the press, we learn to our surprise that the general public has a 'right' to a big game as a public spectacle. It is a remarkable, though not surprising, condition attendant upon the commercialization of intercollegiate sports in the United States, that one so rarely hears them discussed from the standpoint of the enjoyment and welfare of the students. The attractiveness of a sport as a spectacle, its value in producing revenue, the satisfaction of the outside world, are urged on all sides, but rarely is mention made of the enjoyment of the students at large, and of the educational value of sport in the University."

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[35] *Ibid.*, April 1916, October 1916; *President's Annual Report*, 1915–16.

[36] By Professor Angell, who had returned from his work with the Belgian Relief Commission and resumed his chairmanship of the committee.

The nearly four hundred students who in May 1916 were ready to turn back to the old game did not, for the most part, prefer American to Rugby, did not themselves wish to play American or, presumably, football of any kind. They wanted the "big game" with California back again—for the excitement and the glory of it, for the crowds and the gate receipts. So far as physical hazards were concerned, reformed American was probably as "safe" as Rugby. Did it matter greatly that as a coaches' game it would not qualify as a "valuable part of our general scheme of education"? Soccer, basketball, handball, baseball, tennis, and all the other pleasurable outdoor games and activities would remain. And there was the favor of the populace and the gate receipts to balance the loss. With the lapse of time and the shock of war the old differences and controversies might well be forgotten and no face-saving formula need be sought.

The University's way out was to meet student sentiment but at the same time to put the control of football (and of athletics generally) upon a new basis. Following Columbia's plan, all coaching, training, and direction of athletics was to be given only by regular members of the academic staff. That is, the coaches, trainers, and other officials selected by the Board of Athletic Control would be appointed as regular members of the faculty in the Department of Hygiene and Physical Training. Under the joint management of the department, the Board of Athletic Control, and the faculty Committee on Athletics, it was assumed that American football would turn over a new leaf. When in 1919 the two university presidents got together, small differences were smoothed out, so that once more the "big game" with California might become the athletic event of the year.

III. PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION

THE "SIX PRETTY LONG YEARS" AND THE "STONE AGE"

Not a few institutions of higher education in the United States were started on a shoestring, so to speak, without visible means of support. Those which managed to survive were kept alive through grinding years of poverty by the devotion and sacrifices of few or many individuals until the favor of the public or the support of wealthy donors was assured. Even the more favored institutions began modestly, with no conception of the vast sums that were later to pour into their treasuries. When Cornell University was founded its charter contained a clause, in conformity with existing legislative custom, limiting the amount of property the trustees might legally hold. The limit was placed at three million dollars—which was supposed to give a reasonable margin beyond any sum the university was ever likely to receive or need. That was in 1865. Twenty years later, when the Stanford Founding Grant was executed, current ideas of the cost of higher education had undergone a considerable expansion. But twenty millions, heralded far and wide by common report as the prospective endowment, seemed a fabulous sum, destined to put the new institution in the lead, in this respect, of all the universities in the land. President Eliot of Harvard had thought to give the Stanfords pause before embarking on so great an enterprise by saying that no university without tuition fees ought to be begun with an endowment less than five millions. When twenty millions began to be talked of, no wonder that an Eastern editor should speak scornfully of this proposed waste of fifteen million dollars. Even Joseph Choate, Mrs. Stanford's chief counsel in the government suit, felt called upon to utter a friendly warning against the dangers of overlarge endowments. "From some talk I have had with Mr. Wilson,[1] I think that it is quite possible that your estate may turn out to be larger than you have estimated it. Now it may be more in amount than any university ought to hold . . . . Thirty or forty millions, for instance, might and probably would make the university an object of plunder and attack instead of being as it is now a popular institution. So you ought to consider whether you ought not to fix a limit for your gift to the University."[2]

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[1] Mrs. Stanford's San Francisco attorney.

As it turned out, the University endowment derived from the Stanford estate did eventually reach the twenty millions of common report, and something beyond. But before that consummation was reached Stanford had quite lost, if it ever held, the distinction of being the richest of American universities. Harvard, Yale, Chicago, Columbia, of the private foundations, and some of the larger state universities, measured by income, had passed to higher figures. And when, a few years ago, it was reported that the re-named Duke University was to receive a gift of forty millions, there was apparently no one to warn the institution of the dangers it was thus incurring.

As a matter of fact, Stanford University started possessing nothing in its own right except its buildings and something like ninety thousand acres of unproductive land. Mr. Stanford's plans implied the devotion of the major part of his great fortune to the development and endowment of the University. He had set aside no specific sum, however, and Dr. Jordan's "budget" was limited only by Mr. Stanford's statement that he should have all the money that could be wisely used, and that a modest beginning was expected and desired.

Few or many as the number of the faculty might be, Dr. Jordan had no idea of beginning other than as a full-fledged university prepared to cover the work of the four undergraduate years in the nineteen departments outlined, and to provide for such graduate students as might incidentally appear. In anticipation of the second year's needs, gaps in these departments were filled as rapidly as might be, and a considerable expansion was prepared for. Some slowing down of this process was due to Mr. Stanford's cautious fear of outrunning the actual needs of the students likely to be in attendance and his feeling that a solid growth must necessarily be slow. In approving the appointment of certain additions to the staff, in May 1892, Mr. Stanford wrote (from Washington): "Of course I know that you would not appoint these men unless there was work for them to do, but it seems to me that upwards of sixty professors and assistants is a large number in proportion to the students. I think we ought to be careful not to have any one in the institution to whom we cannot give a fair amount of work to perform." There was another reason, and that a financial one, though it was not pressed by Mr. Stanford. The policy of the Southern Pacific Company had been to pay no dividends for the time being but to put all profits back into the business. Technically the owners "borrowed" from the Pacific Improvement Company, which was the common pool of these undivided profits, or from banks, as the case might be. Mr. Stanford had always been a heavy borrower, and that fact had hitherto caused no uneasiness. But business conditions were not good and there were plain intimations of the financial stress which was finally to bring on the panic of 1893. In any event, borrowing from the common pool was not so easy or so convenient under Mr. Huntington's management of the railroad. "For the present," Dr. Jordan wrote (November 12, 1892), "until Mr. Stanford begins to receive dividends from the Railway, he seems unwilling to go ahead into new fields."[3] However, another prospective increase in attendance for the third year made a corresponding increase in the faculty a necessity. Faculty additions were duly made and, with Mr. Stanford's approval, a Department of Law was launched and a professor of law selected. Although the filling of certain important professorships, gaps in the original plan, was again deferred, the approved budget for the third year approached the sum of $175,000.

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[2] Joseph Choate to Mrs. Stanford, February 9, 1896.

This was the situation when suddenly, in June 1893, three weeks after the annual Commencement, came the death of Mr. Stanford, followed almost immediately by the financial crash of that year, one of the severest business depressions in the history of the country.

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[3] Dr. Jordan added: "The prospects are glowing for the future. We have seven hundred and ten students in attendance, and the quality of the students could not be better."

To appreciate the crisis thus precipitated it must be remembered that the Stanford estate was immediately tied up in the Probate Court. Before it could be released, before money could be used for any University purpose, debts and bequests amounting to about eight million dollars must be paid. The largest single bequest, two and a half million dollars, was to the University; but this necessarily was tied up with the rest. The bulk of the estate consisted of holdings in the Southern Pacific Railroad and its subsidiary corporations, including the Pacific Improvement Company; and from these no payments could be expected at the time.

In normal times, and with the friendly co-operation of the railroad, the settlement of the estate might have been expected to proceed promptly and to have taken hardly more than the time legally required for adjusting claims. But the times were not normal. The Southern Pacific, with all the other great railroads of the country, was in distress. Besides, the interests now in control were none too friendly, and Mrs. Stanford did not believe they would be likely to grant favors, even if she had felt justified in asking them. Borrowing, in this time of financial stringency, even on the investments in Mrs. Stanford's own right, was out of the question.

These hard conditions were not immediately evident; and Mrs. Stanford's reaction to the great responsibility that had come to her was very positive. To an *Examiner* reporter, Mr. Nash gave her first message on the day after Mr. Stanford's death: "Mrs. Stanford says that she feels it will be her solemn duty to carry out the great work which has been so successfully inaugurated. She told me to state further that she was thoroughly conversant with the details of the Senator's plans and was familiar with all his wishes. Her life will be devoted to completing the task which was left unfinished. She will endeavor to do just what the Senator would have done had he lived."[4] To maintain this high resolve in the face of the difficulties which were rapidly disclosed to her was another matter. Under the circumstances, there seemed to Mrs. Stanford's advisers but one thing to be done. And that was to close the University, for a year or two at least, until affairs could be straightened out and the business depression overcome. Mrs. Stanford shut herself up with this problem for a couple of weeks, deciding in the end to disregard the advice of her business associates and to go ahead with the work of the University. Speaking to a University audience a year later, Dr. Jordan said: "There was but one day in all its existence that the University was in real jeopardy. . . . . It was a very dark day in the history of the University when her advisers told Mrs. Stanford, as they had to tell her, that there was no possible way in which the University could be opened. The farms were producing a great deal less than they cost, the students were not adding to the income of the University, no money could be borrowed and none could be had in any other way. I suppose that not one person in thousands, perhaps not in millions, would have hesitated to yield. Only a year or two of waiting and then the University could begin again. A temporary check in a University seems, to those who do not know its inner life, of no more importance than the closing of a flouring mill. Mills are closed simply for repairs. Why not universities? We who are within the body of the university know better how it lives. It can have no suspension of animation. If it ceases to breathe, it dies. Its doors once closed can never open again. There was no hesitation with Mrs. Stanford. She showed unfailing courage and sagacity which we had not expected, as well as loyalty and devotion which we had always known her to possess. The decision once made all influences turned in our favor. Help came from unexpected sources."[5]

Fifteen years later, on Founders' Day, 1909, Dr. Jordan took occasion to tell the story of Mrs. Stanford's life. Of this crisis he said:

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[4] *San Francisco Examiner*, June 23, 1893.

[5] *Daily Palo Alto*, September 26, 1894.

"After Governor Stanford's death, Mrs. Stanford kept to her rooms for a week or two. She had much to plan and much to consider. From every point of worldly wisdom, it was best to close the University until the estate was settled and in her hands, its debts paid, and the panic over. . . . . After these two weeks, Mrs. Stanford called me to her house to say that the die was cast. She was going ahead with the University. . . . . We must come down to bed rock on expenses, but with the help of the Lord and the memory of her husband, the University would go ahead and fulfill its mission."[6]

A beginning was made possible through the ruling of the Probate Judge that members of the faculty were technically personal servants of Mrs. Stanford; and so her allowance from the estate was fixed at ten thousand dollars a month. The accidental discovery of a long-forgotten life-insurance policy tided over initial difficulties and enabled Mrs. Stanford to make needed economies.

Mr. Stanford was the first President of the Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company and held the first policy issued by the Company, dated May 9, 1868. The face value was $10,000, yielding $11,784 when paid. This payment was especially opportune. Mrs. Stanford was trying to reduce expenses everywhere and wanted to cut down the payroll at Vina to the lowest possible amount by discharging most of the workmen. But Mrs. Stanford said she could not discharge workmen without paying them the wages due. The insurance money solved this difficulty and others like it.

The *San Francisco Examiner* of August 29, 1893, quotes Mr. Stanford's body servant, Edward Largey: "There isn't one man on the place now where there used to be ten. Where there were five boarding houses now there is only one. There were one hundred and fifty Chinamen employed on the ranch and about the University—now reduced to nine, one overseer and nine helpers."

With some income of her own, which might become available for household and other expenses, Mrs. Stanford hoped to turn over to the University the whole of the Court allowance. On his part, Dr. Jordan undertook to run the University and do the best he could on the money, much or little, which Mrs. Stanford could give him. He would cancel such of the new appointments as could be mutually agreed upon without injustice or hardship, and would make a uniform cut in salaries of twelve per cent. The balance necessary to meet the reduced budget he hoped might be obtained by charging a registration fee of ten and fifteen dollars per semester for regular and special students respectively.

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[6] *Popular Science Monthly*, August 1909.

All this meant an immediate halt in the policy of expansion, whether of departments or of equipment. The cut in salaries, lasting through seven years, though reduced to ten per cent for most of this period, made the faculty real partners in the experience of retrenchment. In retrospect, one incident of the first summer, particularly in its legendary aspect, has come to stand, in the minds of a sympathetic public, as the dramatic representation and type of the supposed super-hardships of those trying times. Mr. Stanford's death occurred on the twenty-first of June. The June salaries were due on the first day of July. Naturally there was no money in hand on that date. Faculty folk—at least young families just getting started—usually live pretty much from hand to mouth. Missing a pay day or two, without warning, might bring the wolf uncomfortably near the door. And a twelve per cent cut, with debts in the offing, would not be conducive to a cheerful spirit. The first actual money received by Mrs. Stanford, early in August, was the sum of five hundred dollars in twenty-dollar gold pieces. This was sent down from San Francisco by special messenger, and on the day following, Sunday, was doled out by Dr. Jordan where it was thought to be most needed, like drops of water on parched ground. The story in its dramatic form properly ends here. It should be added, however, that before the end of August the June and July salaries were paid in full; and after that, though coming in installments, were nearly always paid before the end of the month in which they were due.

One might conclude that the whole story has now been told. A way out had been found. The machinery had slowed down, but was running smoothly. The work of instruction and research went ahead quietly, and all the usual student activities were in full operation. It is doubtful, for instance, whether the class of 1897, entering just at the beginning of this period, ever noticed any difference or felt that they were being deprived of anything. The esprit de corps of the whole University was steadily maintained and the spirit of high and adventurous enterprise undiminished. The courage and steadfastness of Mrs. Stanford, the ingenuity, patience, and imperturbable optimism of the President, the loyalty and devotion of faculty and students, made this period of financial eclipse exceptionally rich in human values.

It was nevertheless a period of hardship and grave peril. Perhaps there was a single day on which the decision to go forward determined the fate of the University. But, the decision once made, all influences did not turn in the University's favor, as Dr. Jordan envisaged it a year later. First of all, Mrs. Stanford had to face a crushing burden of care. "People think that Governor Stanford left me a very rich woman. I thought so myself, but it now seems that I was left a legacy of debt, trouble, and worry."[7] For four years her back was to the wall. At times her strength, though rarely her spirit, faltered. For a time her lawyers were not sure that enough would be realized from the estate even to pay debts and legacies. Mrs. Stanford had been conversant with Mr. Stanford's plans and familiar with his wishes. But she had taken no part in the management of his business properties. Emotional in temperament, impulsive in action, accustomed to wealth and the large use of it, she had seemed free to indulge her fancies at will, sometimes to change her mind and plans about the University regardless of expense. Simple in her home life, shrewd, thrifty, and practical in all domestic affairs, she enjoyed enacting the role of Lady Bountiful, always with dignity, graciousness, and genuine good will. Hardly suspected even by those who had known her best were her tenacity of purpose, her broad grasp of affairs, and the acumen and shrewdness shown in complicated financial situations, which she was to display and develop under stress and in the presence of many voices of dissent.

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[7] Quoted by *San Francisco Examiner*, August 29, 1893.

In his will Mr. Stanford had provided most generously for the immediate relatives on both sides of the house. But it was no time to push the sale of anything, and bequests could not be paid at once. Yet with all the other embarrassments and complications of the situation, Mrs. Stanford had to face first the impatience and finally the clamorous importunity of numerous heirs who more than once threatened to compel payment by process of law. Men to whom Mrs. Stanford thought she could turn for assistance, at least for sympathy and counsel, were unresponsive or indifferent. The railroad management she felt to be distinctly unfriendly. The sale of properties was slow and tedious, and there were many and knotty problems always before her.

> "The bright and shining star" in Mrs. Stanford's distress, "was my husband's brother—Thomas Welton Stanford of Melbourne, Australia—to whom my dear husband had bequeathed three hundred thousand dollars. In the tenderest and most comforting words he wrote me how touched, how grateful he felt that his brother had so generously remembered him; but knowing the condition of finances all over the world, knowing a little of the circumstances surrounding me, he could not accept the gift for himself, and he now tendered the entire sum to me for my sole use to do with [it] as I pleased. To this proposition I could not consent, and made a new one to him, that I would accept half if he would take the other half and allow me to take the half I retained and build a library with it, calling it the Thomas Welton Stanford Library—his gift. To the latter he did not consent, but expressed his regret that I did not apply it to myself. As I have had no needs for self that have not been satisfied I feel it is but just to him to use his generous gift for this purpose and thereby link this noble hearted brother of my husband to this Institution, that it may be a testimonial of his sympathy, his heartfelt and sincere interest in the advancement of the work which is, I trust, by the grace of God, to continue through the ages to come."

To cap the climax of Mrs. Stanford's troubles, the government of the United States, on May 26, 1894, filed a contingent claim against the estate for the sum of fifteen million dollars, and followed this with a suit at law (June 3, 1894) to establish its claim. This suit grew out of the loan of money by the government to the Central Pacific Railroad at the time of its construction, and the amount in question represented one-fourth of the combined principal and interest which would become due within a few years. Mrs. Stanford's advisers were not altogether unprepared for this attack, although the distribution of the Crocker and Hopkins estates had been permitted without any action or apparent interest on the part of the government. But as the time of repayment drew near there was a good deal of railroad activity in Congress. Counterclaims had been brought forward by the railroad, alleging that the government had not fulfilled its part of the contract and demanding certain concessions in the settlement of the debt. Mr. Huntington, who represented the railroad in Washington, let it be known or inferred that if relief were refused and the debt not scaled down, the government might whistle for its money with the prospect of getting nothing but bare rails and rolling stock. Believing, or at least fearing, that the railroad did not intend to meet its obligation when the debt became due, the government now undertook to establish if possible the personal liability of stockholders under the contract between the government and the railroad.

The California law, under which the railroad had been chartered, provided for a limited stockholders' liability, not to hold unless suit were brought within three years after the creation of the corporation. Was the government of the United States bound by the California law, or had the government power to compel the return to the railroad of the profits diverted to individual stockholders? That there was never any real basis in law for the government's contention was evidenced later by the unanimous decision of the three courts through which the suit passed, ending in the United States Supreme Court at Washington. The question at issue was a purely technical one, already decided against the government in a virtually similar case.

"I carefully investigated the proceedings of the Union Pacific Railroad. I thought that the moneys and bonds which had been divided among the stockholders ought to be returned to the treasury of the Company and made liable for its debts, including the debt to the United

States. I drafted a bill having that object, which passed Congress. But the Supreme Court of the United States held that it could not be constitutionally done. The case of the Central Pacific Railroad cannot be as strong as that against the Union Pacific Railroad, because the latter was incorporated by the United States and the former is a State Corporation."[8]

That the government contention was unsound may have been the judgment of most competent lawyers. However, the outcome could not be taken for granted, even by the legal profession, for enough points of law were involved to render the government's contention at least plausible. To Mrs. Stanford, and to laymen generally, the technical nature of the suit was not so evident and the period of waiting was one of anxious suspense. To everyone, lawyers and laymen alike, it seemed essential that the suit should be defended by the best legal talent available.

There were three aspects of the affair which added materially to the burden Mrs. Stanford was trying to carry. First, the great expense involved, at a time when every dollar had to be counted. Second, the possibility of a case long drawn out in the courts. Court calendars were notoriously crowded, and delay in reaching a decision would be almost as fatal to the continuance of the University as defeat. A third aspect of the suit overshadowed, in Mrs. Stanford's mind, the other two and caused her the deepest distress. The suit interpreted itself to her as an attack upon the honor of her husband. A group of determined enemies of the railroad and of the men connected with it were active in flooding Washington with defamatory propaganda. In the House of Representatives Congressman Geary raked up the old story of how Stanford University had been conceived in spite and with the deliberate intention of injuring the State University. The alleged iniquities of the railroad management were exhibited with all the virulence that personal grievance could dictate. It is not probable that the government, acting through the Attorney General, was very much influenced in its action by this propaganda. But Mrs. Stanford could not rest under the aspersions upon her husband's memory. The railroad charges were old straw with which she need not concern herself. But indignant denial was made of the slander repeated by Congressman Geary. When she appealed to her friends in Washington for a vindication, twenty-three senators joined in a telegram regretting the attempt that had been made to impugn Mr. Stanford's motives. "We who knew Senator Stanford well," the message continued, "and honor his memory for his great and charitable undertaking, assure you that his good name cannot be injured by attributing to him selfish or unworthy motives in devoting his time and fortune for the benefit of the present generation, and of generations yet to come."

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[8] Senator George F. Hoar to Dr. Jordan, June 28, 1894.

At first Mrs. Stanford had been inclined to take the matter of the suit quite calmly. "I think this is only a test case," she said to an *Examiner* reporter. "Of course others will be drawn into it. The burden of the litigation cannot even be placed all on one estate or one person . . . . I do not believe they can wrest property from us . . . . I try not to let it trouble me, for I believe in an overruling Providence . . . . Up to the present time I have kept the University going, and I expect to keep right on the same as I have done."[9] But as time went on the burden weighed upon her more and more heavily. Her business associates in the railroad held strictly aloof. They would fight if they also were attacked; this was her affair. Mr. Huntington, assured by his lawyers that the government had no case, was not averse to having the matter finally determined by the courts, and at Mrs. Stanford's expense. It would also be to the advantage of the railroad if the case did not proceed too rapidly through the courts: the more delays, the longer time before it would be necessary for the railroad to pay out money to the Stanford estate.

Mrs. Stanford did not permit herself any relief from the burden of care even when the first decision (that of Judge Ross in the Circuit Court) was wholly in her favor, nor when the Court of Appeals followed with a clear and sweeping verdict against the government. Until the end the suit hung over her like a pall. In this period of deepest depression, and before there had been any court decision in the government suit, Mrs. Stanford's mind turned again to the possibility of a temporary closing of the University. Might not her advisers have been right after all? To her attorney, Russell J. Wilson, she wrote on March 30, 1895, rather as a formulation of this possibility perhaps than as a final decision: "There was a time when the thought of the closing of the University, even for a short time, was more than I could endure, but I have come to look upon it differently. To have those doors closed, students dispersed, would cause the state—the country—to realize more than ever just what was our desire to do for the benefit of others. You know how easily a good thing is accepted and taken for granted; but let the good thing be removed and great the effort to regain it . . . . There is no need for me to tell you the story of my hard struggle to be brave, to be true to the very best impulse within me. You know much, but far from all. Only my Father in Heaven knows all I have suffered and endured since my husband was called from my side, to keep the doors of the University open . . . . This is not hastily done. It has cost me many sleepless nights—many tears. I lived, prayed to live, for the good of this institution . . . . I have maintained it since June 21, 1893, in the greatest difficulty, making self sacrifices that would make my husband weep did he know it . . . . I tell you all this that you may know what it costs me to close its doors. I feel I have nothing to live for. I have a human heart and it is already broken."

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[9] *San Francisco Examiner*, June 6, 1894.

A journey to Washington in April (1895) and her cordial reception there, particularly by President Cleveland and Mr. Olney, the Attorney General, cheered Mrs. Stanford greatly. Her only plea, very earnestly made, was for prompt action by the courts. President Cleveland was most sympathetic, and Mr. Olney promptly telegraphed to the government counsel in California to push the suit.

Attorney General Olney wrote to L. D. McKissick, April 30, 1895: "It is for the interest of the United States and my personal wish that the suit against the Stanford estate be pushed to conclusion as soon as possible. If possible, suit should be got into the Supreme Court here at the coming October term."

Mrs. Stanford telegraphed her own attorneys on May 1, 1895: "Grieved and disappointed so much time has elapsed without arranging with Judge Garber. The President and Attorney General impressed upon me the great need on my part to push my attorneys in order to reach the October term in Supreme Court. There must be no more delay, no time lost, no opportunities must escape notice to advance this suit in the courts this spring in California. The result of a long or short litigation now depends entirely upon yourselves."

As a result of her Washington experience Mrs. Stanford regained her confidence and courage, and on the ninth of May she wrote Mr. Olney from New York City: "I shall keep the doors of the University open this year, however hard the struggle may be, putting my trust in our All-wise, merciful Father for the final decision of the government suit against my husband's estate. I pray that it may come this year. Whichever way the ending may be I shall never forget to be grateful to you for what you did to hasten the ending of the case."

Mrs. Stanford returned to California in time for the annual Commencement, which came about a month before the first court decision. It was the first full graduating class at Stanford, the Pioneer Class of '95. Here was a substantial realization of the hopes, and plans, and labors of the Founders, and an earnest of all that was to follow. Mrs. Stanford had been made aware, wherever she went, of the strong impression which the University was making and of its undoubted standing in the educational world. The presence of this great body of young people, the promise for the future reflected in their eager faces, the warmth of their affection for the University and for herself personally, rejoiced Mrs. Stanford greatly and helped almost to banish the specter of closed doors and possible failure.

"I did not realize the high tension I had been under until all the exercises of the University were over. But the happy faces of the students, the gratefulness of the parents, and the grand results following the last two years' work of the University have been and will be an inspiration to me to struggle on and try to carry out the wishes of my husband."[10]

At the reception given to the Pioneer Class in her San Francisco home Mrs. Stanford was in her most gracious mood. The future, however, was still conditional and uncertain, and in her talk to the assembled guests she said of the government suit: "Should it be decided against the estate I can at present see no alternative but the closing of the University, and should it be long in litigation the University resources will be much crippled."

From the tension of this suspense Mrs. Stanford could not relax. The decision of the Circuit Court came in June, a clear and sweeping judgment in Mrs. Stanford's favor. Most of the friends of the University now felt that all doubt of the final outcome was removed. Dr. Jordan expressed this feeling to a *Call* reporter, and added: "This decision affects the policy of the University only so far as it enables us to carry out plans heretofore published. The present aim is to limit the attendance to 1,100 or 1,200 students, to equip the institution with the ablest professors and the best facilities to be obtained anywhere, and to make the University as good as any in the world."[11] Mrs. Stanford would not permit herself to hold any such hopeful view. "Please be more careful," she wrote Dr. Jordan, "and not give any intimation of what I may do in the future, because the future to me looks very unpromising. This suit is far from having been decided. . . . . If I am able to keep the University in the condition it is now, I shall feel more than thankful. Fifteen thousand dollars a month is a great expenditure and exhausts my ingenuity and resources to such an extent that had I not the University so close to my heart, I would relieve myself of this enormous burden and take rest and recreation for the next year.[12] But I prefer to keep the good work going on in its present condition, and I am not promising myself anything further for the future until the skies are much brighter than they are now. Please be very cautious what you say. This article [in the *Call*] has already had a depressing effect. I have strenuously denied myself to all reporters, as I do not think it safe to give them any intimation as to my future course."[13]

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[10] Mrs. Stanford as quoted in the *San Francisco Examiner*, July 14, 1895.

[11] *San Francisco Call*, June 30, 1895.

[12] The ten-thousand-dollar monthly allowance from the Probate Court was not periodically handed to her by a paternal judge. The amount must be earned by the estate and much of it through the toil and sweat of finding purchasers for all sorts of salable property—horses, hay, wine, etc.

> To Colonel Crocker, in reply to a letter of congratulation on the occasion of Judge Ross's decision, Mrs. Stanford wrote (July 2, 1895): "I have passed through such new, strange, and depressed experiences within the past two years, I am not able to rise above them and have not yet rejoiced. The curtain has not risen enough yet to permit me to see the promising dawn of a better day. I have been almost a recluse; the world could not afford me diversion. My load of sorrow has been too deeply fastened upon my heart to ever be lifted from the influence. I have through it all endeavored to be just and honorable in the very highest sense of the word toward my husband's associates. I have been peculiarly situated. This Government suit rendered it so. I did not feel certain it would end during the term of my life here on earth, and I deemed it a duty to those who come after me to not so obligate my husband's property, *which was not mine*, to an extent that would subject my actions to censure and bitter criticism . . . . I have through it all lived as near as possible to God; from this source I draw such comfort, such support, as enables me to go on with the load almost too great for human heart to bear and live."

In spite of the confidence in University circles, there was a tense feeling in the air as the time approached for the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals, handed down October 12, 1895. An editorial in the *Daily Palo Alto*, in its first issue after the decision, gives expression to this deep concern: "The anxiety of the past week had been intensely painful and had increased every day. Even those most confident at first of a decision in our favor became alarmed at the unexpected delay. We argued with ourselves and with each other that the delay could have no meaning adverse to our cause—that we had no reason to fear the result; but our convincing arguments did not convince, and every one feared more and more as day after day passed and brought no decision."[14] When the decision was announced, word reaching the University at noon on Saturday, joy was unbounded. There were the usual parades and speeches, and when Dr. and Mrs. Jordan returned from San Francisco in the early evening ropes two hundred feet long were attached to a gaily decorated carriage and four hundred students drew President and Mrs. Jordan from the station to their home on the campus. Aside from general felicitations, Dr. Jordan contented himself with some facetious comments on the refrain of a popular football song across the Bay about "The glitter of that glamour is no more." Mrs. Stanford at the time was absent in the East.

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[13] Mrs. Stanford to Dr. Jordan, July 1, 1895.

[14] *Daily Palo Alto*, October 14, 1895.

The celebration in October was but a faint precursor of the one following the final decision of the Supreme Court which was rendered March 2, 1896. The first news of the favorable verdict was brought to the Quadrangle by one of the Palo Alto bus drivers just as the bells were ringing for the last morning classes. Official confirmation of the news was not received for an hour or two, but that made no difference to the students and faculty. All classes dispersed immediately and pandemonium reigned supreme. Every instrument that could make a noise of any sort was brought into use to supplement the yells and cheers of human voices. Marching crowds met the President at Roble Hall and escorted him to the Chapel, where there were speeches and planning for the afternoon and evening. After Dr. Jordan left to meet an engagement in San Francisco, President Sheldon of the Associated Students recalled what Dr. Jordan had said a month earlier, that there would be a vacation and that the students could do anything but "tear down the buildings or paint the professors." There was a drizzling rain throughout the day, with a cold wind from the snow-covered mountains, but the enthusiasm was in no way checked. Bombs were set off all through the afternoon, and in the evening there was a great assemblage in the Quadrangle followed by a gathering at the gymnasium, with more speeches by Dr. Jordan, Professor Ross (for the faculty), and representatives of the different classes. A letter from Mrs. Stanford was read in which she thanked the students for their sympathy and loyalty throughout the period of doubt and uncertainty and saying, "Now you can rejoice to your hearts' content." The evening concluded with fireworks in the Quadrangle, and a celebration in Palo Alto lasting far into the night. Incidentally the little wooden post office was painted a deep cardinal, as Dr. Jordan said, greatly improving its appearance.

A few days after the Supreme Court decision Mrs. Stanford received through her attorney the surprising message that the railroad was now prepared to share with her the expenses of the suit. The offer was rejected with some bitterness and resentment, and Mrs. Stanford poured out her whole soul in a recital of the trials she had undergone. "When this suit was brought . . . . it was so unexpected to me, so appalling and monstrous in its injustice, that even with my cup of sorrow running over, it alone was sufficient to crush my very heart out . . . . Not knowing at the time that it was merely a technicality of law and only a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of it betwixt the Government and the railroad builders, I, in my ignorance, feared that the suit itself implied a wrong that would cast a cloud over the name and character of my husband that would be beyond our united efforts to remove . . . . He could not be protected save through his associates, who were as deeply implicated and interested as he, and to them I looked for sympathy, for aid, and for advice as to the manner in which this suit should be conducted. . . . . In my confidence and trustfulness, in my great agony of mind, I sent Mr. Wilson and my brother across the continent and commissioned them both to see Mr. Huntington, the president of the railroad, and Messrs. Stillman and Hubbard, and to ask them what had to be done . . . . and would they assist me by giving their moral support, their helpfulness and sympathy. Mr. Huntington's answer was the following: 'I am not lying awake nights worrying about this suit; when it is brought against me I will defend it and pay my own expenses. I have no assistance to offer Mrs. Stanford.' . . . . Mr. Stillman rather ridiculed the suit and said he was not at all worried over it, and when asked if the Railroad Company would share the expenses of the suit, he most positively and emphatically said 'No.' . . . . You will remember I said to you, 'Will I have to conduct this suit alone?' And your answer was that if the decision was adverse and the suit was brought against your estate, you would defend it alone and at your own expense.

"This at the time seemed more than I could bear . . . . I was most profoundly impressed with the fact that I must not hereafter expect that which I had hoped for . . . . I put on the armor of strength which came to me through prayer and determined to do the best that was within me to defend the name and fame of my husband . . . . and knew that I had to do it alone. Twice I crossed the continent to see the highest officials in our land, and plead with them to mete out justice or injustice speedily."[15]

The decision of the Supreme Court lifted a great load from Mrs. Stanford's mind. But her troubles were not over. "I have not been joyful or jubilant," she wrote Mr. Choate, "for the fact remains that I am left alone here on earth with immense cares, heavy responsibilities, and perhaps vexatious questions to contend with in the selling of my husband's estate."[16] The business depression continued. The money situation was still difficult, made more so for Mrs. Stanford by what she was convinced was the unfriendliness of the railroad management, and by the importunities of certain beneficiaries under the will. On September 25, 1896, she telegraphed Mr. Hubbard: "Some of the legatees threaten immediate suits against me and possibly attachment. Am without money and cannot realize on securities. I am helpless unless P.I. Company pays me immediately the million and a quarter due me, which I urge you to pay. There are nearly twenty-five legatees represented by over ten different attorneys here and in the East and some may attempt attachments P.I. Company to my great damage and that of associates. Must have immediate relief." "The Railroad Company," she wrote Dr. Jordan, "have taken advantage of my reserve and silence. . . . . They hold the keys of the treasury and unlock it for their own uses . . . . I ask not for myself, but that I may be able to discharge my duty and loyalty to the one who trusted me . . . . I am so poor my own self that I cannot this year give to any charity—not even do I give this festive season to any of my family. I do not tell you this in a complaining way . . . . I repeat it only that you may know I ask of the Company only justice."[17]

A year later even, writing from New York, Mrs. Stanford said: "I have not as yet had anything from my husband's estate to use for myself, but I have curtailed all expenses in the way of household affairs and personal indulgencies. Have given up all luxuries and confined myself to actual necessities . . . . It is no pleasure to be on the fifth floor of the Fifth Avenüe Hotel in a small bedroom opening on a court, economizing almost to meanness, when I have a sweet, beautiful home to go to . . . . But to facilitate and expedite business matters I have remained against my heart's desire to return." In the same letter she said: "I have endeavored to the best of my ability to be patient, conservative, and considerate of the Railroad Company, knowing and appreciating full well that during the past four and a half years all railroads have suffered from the financial depression more probably than any other corporations in our country. But in order to pursue this conservative course I have borne suspicions, unjust criticism, and lack of sympathy, which in some cases almost severed the natural ties of blood, and my struggle to be forebearing has almost wrecked my health and made life hardly worth living."[18]

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[15] Mrs. Stanford to Charles F. Crocker, March 16, 1896.

[16] Mrs. Stanford to Joseph H. Choate, March 16, 1896.

[17] Mrs. Stanford to Dr. Jordan, November 24, 1896.

Time, however, was working in Mrs. Stanford's behalf. The Klondike discoveries and the Spanish War hastened the revival of business, particularly on the Pacific Coast. The desire of the Harriman interests to obtain possession of the Southern Pacific gave Mrs. Stanford opportunity to sell her railroad holdings to advantage. The legacy to the University of two and a half millions had been turned over to the Trustees in April 1906, shortly after the Supreme Court decision; and by the end of 1898 all debts and legacies were paid and the estate was discharged from the Probate Court.

On first being approached regarding the sale of her railroad properties Mrs. Stanford wrote: "I appreciate fully the value of the Railroad properties at present and what it will be in the future, and how great an advantage it would be to the blessed work commenced by my husband, in memory of our dear son, if I let it remain as it is. I also realize we have passed safely through a financial crisis—debts are being paid, values are increasing—and in paying out the seven million dollars which was due to legatees by my husband's will, I have striven earnestly to leave his one-quarter interest in the Railroad untouched, and am glad to say it remains entire. I have also thought of my inability to manage business affairs of such vast extent."[19]

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[18] Mrs. Stanford to Judge Coffey, November 15, 1897.

At last relief had come, and Mrs. Stanford's attention could now be turned to the consideration and development of plans which had so long been held in abeyance. But the financial future of the University was far from secure. Uncertainties remained, and much must be done before the Stanford millions could be finally and irrevocably made over to the Trustees. A careful examination of the Founding Grant had revealed legal defects not realized by the Founders nor by their legal advisers, nor taken very seriously when first pointed out. It was finally realized that the whole endowment was in jeopardy, with grave doubt whether, upon the death of Mrs. Stanford, it could withstand a contest in the courts. While measures were being taken to remedy these defects, Mrs. Stanford tried to strengthen the position of the University by deeding to the Trustees various properties and, on the thirty-first of May, 1899, formally transferring to them stocks, bonds, and realty amounting to more than eleven millions of dollars.

It was a hard and bitter experience through which Mrs. Stanford had been forced to pass, made harder, no doubt, by her impulsive temperament and by the deadly seriousness with which she approached each particular task and invested every relation in life. However, it would be unjust to Mrs. Stanford to think of her as commonly shrouded in gloom and prostrated under the weight of her cares and troubles—as one might conclude who listened only to the overtones of her correspondence or her outpourings to those whose friendly sympathy could be counted on. Her world was too much with her, perhaps, and her feelings always near the surface. But comfort and consolation were found in a religious experience, simple and unaffected but very real, about which she talked as freely as about any other happening in her daily life. In her business relations, in her contacts with the world at large, she was self-possessed, shrewd, far-seeing, and well informed. She was content to turn over to Dr. Jordan most of the details of University management, although no important step was taken without her full participation and nothing was overlooked in matters which particularly belonged to her as responsible founder and trustee. It was a source of the greatest gratification to her to be near and, in a sense, among students, to feel the strength and the growing influence of the institution, the dreams and plans of the Founders coming true, as witnessed by innumerable messages of affection and appreciation which came to her from all parts of the world.

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[19] Letter to John W. Mackay, March 3, 1898.

After the first decision in the government suit, came the following message from ex-President White of Cornell: "I have rarely rejoiced over any piece of news as much as over the decision of the United States Court in regard to the suit against your honored husband's estate. You have shown and are showing a spirit which does honor not only to American womanhood, but to human nature. Long after we are both gone, centuries indeed afterward, your conduct in all of this matter will be held up as a beautiful example to American men and women. As to the suit, I have never had any doubt as to the ultimate result, and I believe that . . . . it will prove to be a blessing in disguise by making the friends and alumni and alumnae of Stanford University even more devoted to it than they otherwise would be . . . . Stanford University will be all the better for this storm."[20] A little later (August 15, 1895) Mr. White wrote again: "Of all institutions of learning in this country, next to [Cornell], of course, with which I have been connected from the beginning, I most earnestly love the university to which you are devoted. It is founded, I am persuaded, in the right feeling and has been steadily maintained on the right principles . . . . Your work, I am persuaded, is destined to a great future, and the time is coming . . . . when your sacrifices for it and determination to develop it will be regarded as one of the noblest parts of the history of this country."

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[20] Andrew D. White to Mrs. Stanford, July 13, 1895.

One whom Dr. Jordan had vainly endeavored to include among his first faculty appointments wrote: "It seems only fair that you should know with what hearty sympathy the eyes of all men and women who love learning are turned toward you in these months of anxious waiting . . . . There seems on this side of the continent a growing feeling of confidence that the first decision foreshadows the final issue . . . . But whatever the outcome our hearts are warm with gratitude to you for all you have done and suffered for the great institution to which you have devoted yourself. Through your magnanimous self-sacrifice the Stanford University has already gained the time to make for itself a place and a mission unique in the field of higher learning. It stands for ideals which were never before so clearly formulated, and which could never be worked out in an air less free than your free Western world and your own free-souled generosity have assured it. If any disaster befall it now, it will not be a mere blotting out of one among the multitude of the great schools of earth, but the dashing, for nobody knows how long, of a realized hope in which the whole future of education seems to many of us wrapt up."[21] "Every effort you have made to keep the University alive," Dr. Jordan wrote (August 4, 1896) "will count a thousand fold in the future. One great element in the earnestness of the student body has been their loyalty to you, when they have come to realize what you have done for them in personal interest and sacrifice as well as in furnishing the means of education."

Student appreciation and loyalty reached its best expression perhaps, in the verse of Charles K. Field, of the Pioneer Class, read at the annual Alumni banquet May 23, 1899:

"The child of California
  Shall be our child," they said,
Bent in the heavy shadow where
  Their dearest hope lay dead;
"Hencefoward shall our tenderness
  Encompass, by God's grace,
The lives of those we make our own
  To cherish, in his place."

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[21] George L. Burr to Mrs. Stanford, September 4, 1895.

They made a cradle wondrously,
Mid flowers and sunlight sweet;
They laid the treasures of the world
About their children's feet.
Yet, when this labor of their love
Was but begun, at best,
God, leaning from his heaven, called
The father to his rest.

We reverence his memory;
The power of his name
Is in our loyal hearts today.
The impulse of his fame;
But ah, how can her children's love
Be adequately shown
The mother-heart that folded us
And fought for us, alone!

Gray mother of our fostered youth,
Some day, through clearer air,
Your eyes shall search our souls, and see
What you have written there.
Take now the comfort of our love,
Till that rich guerdon when
The God you bring us nearer to
Gives you your own again!

During this long period of strain and uncertainty there was one task harder than Mrs. Stanford's. That was the task of Dr. Jordan. The start had been made with a small faculty, the nucleus merely of the departments and staff that were planned for the future. Of the equipment and facilities needed for the well-rounded university only the initial necessities had been provided. The second year saw a reasonable but not rapid expansion. "All the money that could be wisely used!" This was the charter on which all of Dr. Jordan's long-visioned planning had been based; the prospect which had thrilled and inspired every department head and every teacher. In the development of an adequate morale, a university mood, the scholarly atmosphere, these two years had gone far. Could these great qualities and this fine spirit be maintained?

That they were maintained was because Dr. Jordan never let go and never lost hope. After the Supreme Court decision one alumnus wrote: "In the three years of uncertainty, if you had faltered once, everything would have been lost." It was not just buoyancy of spirit, dogged optimism, or unbounded enthusiasm that accomplished this great task. Dr. Jordan had these glorious qualities in abundant measure. But it was a day-by-day task of amazing complexity, of unimaginable obstacles, of desperate expedients, of never admitting defeat even when defeat came, of never losing that first vision of the great university that was to be. Mrs. Stanford was sustained by the high inspiration of carrying out the purpose and plans of husband and son and by her childlike trust in the Providence that watched over and guided her ways.[22] But it was Dr. Jordan on whom she depended for encouragement and reassurance. His patience, his superiority to small buffetings, his never hesitating confidence that all was well with the University kept Mrs. Stanford's purpose true and made her task seem possible. "There may be some college presidents who excel him in some more or less useful qualifications," Dr. Stillman said, on Founders' Day, 1897, "but I know of none who equal him in the great essentials. Without the consummate leadership of Dr. Jordan it is doubtful if its organization could have been held together."

Mrs. Stanford's appreciation of Dr. Jordan and of the work he was doing was unreserved. At various times she wrote: (July 1894) "I am perfectly satisfied with President Jordan. He is the keystone of the University. He is not only an ideal president, but a loyal friend." (July 7, 1896) "I never allow myself to think what would follow if [Dr. Jordan] should break down. My prayer is always that God in his goodness will spare me this added sorrow." (October 23, 1896) "I offered a mental prayer of grateful thanks to the All-Wise Loving Father that you had been led through his instrumentality to be the head and the front of the institution which was so dear to the heart of my husband and dearer still to me because of the great burden which I have had to carry in order to insure its existence. You have been more to me since my dear husband departed from the mortal life to the life immortal, in keeping at its helm and steering through the fog that obscured the sunlight . . . . I hope and pray that as long as the dear Father keeps me here in the mortal life you will stand firm and steadfast in your loyalty to the Stanford University."

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[22] "Such a sense of gratitude fills my soul that I, so unworthy of God's special care, should have been chosen as an humble instrument to do the will of the loved ones gone to their reward for lives well spent."—From a letter of Mrs. Stanford, dated August 31, 1900.

About this time Dr. Jordan was approached and virtually assured of election to the presidency of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, if he would permit his name to be used. Writing to Gardiner Hubbard on October 21, 1896, Dr. Jordan said: "As I wrote you last week I have felt greatly flattered that so many of my friends have thought me worthy to succeed Baird and Goode, and there are many ways in which the position has the strongest attraction to me. On the other hand, in the three years following the death of Senator Stanford this institution has had a constant life and death struggle, and the character of the support which Mrs. Stanford has given, in spite of all kinds of adverse influences and advice, is something wholly unique in the history of education. Matters are in better condition now, but there are many points requiring great care and I feel that I could not for any consideration leave the University during the lifetime of Mrs. Stanford."

Mrs. Stanford wrote further: (to the Trustees, February 11, 1897) "Let me speak of the honored President of the University. Every year since his installment, his superior abilities, his remarkable influence upon the faculty and students, and in return their fidelity and loyalty to him, have filled me with gratitude. That one so able, so scholarly, and yet so approachable by all classes of society, so willing and ready to lecture and aid all institutions throughout the state, many times making self-sacrifices to do so, should be among us, I am sure has caused California at large to feel that my husband was wisely led when he selected him for the position he so ably fills. As for myself, I could say much in his praise, for he has tenderly and manfully helped to lighten my burden and assumes the cares and responsibilities of his position without any complaint, fearing to add to my cares. I will only add that my earnest and sincere prayer is that no circumstance may occur to take him from his present position during the years in which the responsibility still rests upon me." (August 30, 1897) ". . . . with a grateful heart for all your tender support in the past when the tempest of sorrow nearly overwhelmed me. And let me assure you I lean on you for the future of the University far more than you can realize. I wish the rest of my responsibilities gave me as little anxiety as does the internal working of the good work under your able management. I am only anxious to furnish you the funds to pay the needs required. I could live on bread and water to do this my part." (October 25, 1897) "I always feel anxious when you are not there, for I remember so well when you were absent so long it lacked a balance wheel, and I learned that no one there could fill your place." (March 24, 1900) "I shall be very glad when you get home, and I think you are very much missed at the University—for there is but *one* Dr. Jordan. . . . . Again let me say that I shall be glad to see you at home again filling the important position which none other can fill as you do." (August 31, 1900) "I feel so content when the supreme head is at his post guiding the great institution that is being moulded and fashioned by his liberal and advanced ideas." On the occasion of Mrs. Stanford's dinner to the New York alumni (February 3, 1902): "We thought of you, we talked of you, and we gave vent to our expressions of love, admiration, and respect. One and all sounded paeans of praise for the grand and noble work which you had undertaken and developed so faithfully."

There was no lack of outside appreciation both of Dr. Jordan's qualities as a leader among men and of his administrative skill and success:

"President Jordan besides possessing a good brain and a man's courage, has an engine's force. Not only does he push the Stanford University ahead, but the rivalry has shaken Berkeley out of its sleep. This awakening has, as yet, resulted merely in distress; but in the end the State University will have to spring up and do."[23]

[23] Arthur McEwen, quoted in *Daily Palo Alto*, February 28, 1894.

"There were many adverse criticisms of the choice of Dr. Jordan following his selection as president of Leland Stanford Junior University. . . . . But the wisdom of the choice has been fully exemplified in the manner in which he has conducted that institution. With that modest demeanor and high moral courage as gifts of nature, and a thorough training in practical education, he has challenged the respect and admiration of the Pacific Coast, and by a rare combination of executive and administrative abilities, he has placed the institution on a high plane of usefulness."[24]

"It is a liberal education just to breathe the air of your talk to the graduates and it heartens one clear across the continent. With every year I am more glad that to you came the making of that atmosphere in the free western world . . . . I like above all else the stress you lay on freedom as the key to character, and on the recognition of the individual in education."[25]

"On reading your letter I felt that I was in electric communication with a storage battery of moral force. Let me say it right to your face: I was unusually impressed with your fine abilities of many sorts—your steady wisdom and strength. I suppose there is no use in denying that your position has been very trying and in a degree disappointing. But your loyalty, discretion, and great reserve power have been equal to it, and I see that whatever may be the final material resources of the University your guidance is essential to the solution of the problem."[26]

"The assured growth and prosperity of the University makes us very happy. Nothing now can prevent its becoming the greatest of universities. And your own great patience and enduring strength through overwhelming discouragements will sometime be gloriously rewarded—even as they are now everywhere appreciated."[27]

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[24] *San Francisco News Letter*, August 10, 1895.

[25] George L. Burr to Dr. Jordan, September 2, 1895.

[26] Horatio Stebbins to Dr. Jordan, December 9, 1895.

[27] Mrs. Anna Botsford Comstock to Dr. Jordan, April 13, 1900.

When Dr. Jordan made his rash promise to carry on the University with the money, much or little, which Mrs. Stanford would be able to furnish, he was thinking ahead of a period of retrenchment lasting perhaps two years. Whatever privations might be necessary, the University could endure the strain that long. Even so, definite obligations must be assumed and met—salaries for the staff, indispensable books and materials, and for the succeeding year, some additions to the teaching force to meet the needs of the larger enrollment that was to be expected. By the middle of August the situation had cleared sufficiently so that a definite contract could be entered into between the President and Mrs. Stanford. "It is hereby agreed for the current college year, 1893–94," the contract ran, "or until otherwise ordered by Mrs. Stanford, that the salaries of the professors and assistants in the University shall remain nominally as last year or as already fixed, but the pay-roll of teachers and assistants about the Quadrangle shall not exceed in the aggregate $12,500 for each month, or $150,000 for the entire year, should the present need for economy last for that period of time." The payroll was brought within these figures by releasing a few members of the staff, by granting leaves of absence to others, and by a uniform salary cut of twelve per cent. The newly imposed registration fees, which were expected to bring in $15,000 or more, must suffice for books, apparatus, and such miscellaneous expenses as would be found unavoidable.

There seemed to be nothing very gloomy in the immediate outlook. The new members of the staff of professorial rank and others of lesser grade had been added before the crash came. Seven of the ten new appointees of professorial rank and most of the instructors were held, and although the number of students increased by more than two hundred, extra loads were carried cheerfully and without undue strain. The year following would be more difficult. Appointees whose terms of service had been deferred a year must now be provided for, supplies must be renewed, and very pressing needs in some way met. A small but desperately needed addition to the salary roll, twelve hundred and fifty dollars per month, was arranged by diverting that amount from the registration fees. The side of the shield presented to the public—and to Mrs. Stanford—was the bright and shining side. Two weeks after Mr. Stanford's death, Dr. Jordan mailed a reassuring letter to the members of the faculty, then scattered to all parts of the country, in which he said: "The only checks that can possibly occur are such as may arise from the present financial stringency or from the delay of the courts in settling the estate. . . . . The future greatness of the University is assured; its present growth will be all that the courts permit." "There will be no more professors appointed until the estate is settled," Dr. Jordan is quoted as saying, "unless vacancies occur by death or resignation. The faculty as it now stands contains a list of scholars that was carefully canvassed and approved by Senator Stanford. The list is fully up to the needs of the institution and constitutes an efficient working force. Because of this fact there will be no need of making additions to the faculty for some time to come.[28] A year later, when rumors of coming dissolution started afresh, Dr. Jordan issued the following statement (July 27, 1894): "To students and friends of the Leland Stanford Junior University: In answer to various inquiries and in correction of idle rumors, I take pleasure in assuring you that none of the events of the summer are likely in any way to embarrass the University or hinder or limit its work."

Privately, of course, Dr. Jordan must occasionally let the other side of the shield be seen. To one of the new appointees he wrote (August 11, 1893): "We find ourselves in an extremely difficult position, for the time being at least. It is the law of the State that all debts and liabilities of an estate must be paid before any of the legacies . . . . These things would not offer any very serious difficulty except for the fact that Mrs. Stanford's personal property is of such a character and in such condition that in the press of the present financial crisis it is next to impossible to realize on any of it or borrow any money on it. For this reason we are forced to enter upon a period of the most rigid economy."

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[28] *San Francisco Examiner*, August 9, 1893.

The first two years were past, but there was no change in sight. Dr. Jordan must put his stake ahead, for perhaps another two years. There was no faltering of spirit and no loss of morale in the University. More money seemed necessary even to continued stability. The only resource available, and the obvious thing to look to, was a larger contribution from the students. And so Dr. Jordan ventured to propose an increase of ten dollars a year in registration fees. "It would enable us to add to our staff teachers enough to take proper care of [the new students]. This year we have been obliged to overcrowd most of the freshmen classes and to neglect work of importance . . . . I know that you do not wish to increase fees if it can be avoided, and I fully sympathize with you in this feeling." To this proposal Mrs. Stanford would not listen: "My husband's main object in establishing the University was to give free education to the students. I would defeat this by consenting to your proposition of additional charges, and cannot consent to it. We must keep on doing as we have for the last year and a half."[29]

Dr. Jordan's buoyancy of spirit could not be held in check for any length of time. He found relief from the difficult present in visioning the future. "The prospects are," he wrote to a new appointee (September 6, 1895), "that in the course of the present year we shall be entirely free from the embarrassment of the Government suit . . . . It will not, however, be possible for us to look forward to any immediate increase of importance in our expenditures, because of the necessity for the payment of legacies from the earnings of the property of the estate . . . . The amount we have for salaries is this year $165,000. We cannot go beyond this and there is no possible way of expanding the amount for this year, nor can it be largely expanded for next year." To the public, however, he was content to say (through a *Call* reporter, December 1895): "We have many more millions in prospect than are possessed by any other university in the world."

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[29] Telegram from Los Angeles, February 23, 1895.

During the next three years no increase in the salary budget was possible. There were new appointments to fill vacancies, a little money was saved as vacancies were left unfilled, as new appointees came at lower salaries, as more than the usual number might be on leave of absence, and as certain outlined courses were omitted temporarily or dropped altogether. At the lower salary average, and with the larger dependence on assistants and instructors, the staff was actually increased in numbers and the more imperative demands were met. To stretch a little here, to pare off a little there, now and then to throw out a life line in the shape of promotion in rank only—this was the racking, puzzling game of figures which the President must enter into year after year.

With the final release of the estate from the Probate Court (December 1898), the sale of Mrs. Stanford's Central Pacific holdings (March 1899),[30] and the transfer to the Trustees of securities amounting to more than eleven million dollars (May 31, 1899), the University was presumably ready to take a long breath, fill up the gaps in its faculty, bring salaries to normal, correct inequalities, provide long-needed equipment, and begin to realize the brilliant future Dr. Jordan had preached so persuasively in season and out. The strain had been severe. The rebound was correspondingly jubilant.

> A very good friend of the University wrote to Dr. Jordan, under date of March 25, 1898: "Truly our hearts have been with you more than ever this winter. We have detected from many sources the fact that discontent over continued restricted resources was marring somewhat the glorious *espirit de corps* of Stanford professors, and it has hurt us deeply. But we know you have a great patience, and in time that will conquer."

Concerning Mrs. Stanford's deed of gift of her railroad properties to the University, Dr. Jordan is quoted in the *San Francisco Call* of June 8, 1899: "This gift will insure the prosperity of the University forever, and will enable us immediately to go ahead with the work of expansion in the different departments and in the equipment of the University." But Mrs. Stanford had different ideas about expansion in the near future. Dr. Jordan had in a way overplayed his hand. His skill as a juggler had been too perfect. The University was doing well. This assurance had been given to Mrs. Stanford over and over again. She could see for herself that the University was prosperous, respected, and favorably known the country over. There were students enough and teachers enough for the present. Let the University continue in the excellent condition to which Dr. Jordan had brought it, without trying to expand further, while she went forward with what seemed to her the most immediately important task. Released from the long tension of financial troubles Mrs. Stanford's mind turned to the particular phase of University development which was nearest her heart. She was intent on carrying out the plans which Mr. Stanford had in mind and which they had talked over together. Chief among these was completion of the buildings, which she could see were needed, and which were to round out the Quadrangle group. This was to be her task. If left to the Trustees, they would be slow about it, whereas she wanted to see all these buildings erected during her lifetime. To make that possible no time must be lost, and other plans could wait. In her address to the Trustees on February 11, 1897, Mrs. Stanford had already formulated this intent: "Another subject I have given serious consideration to is that we should not be ambitious to increase the present number of students—eleven hundred—for some years. If our Heavenly Father spares me to become the actual possessor of the property it was intended should be mine, it would afford me great satisfaction to add some necessary buildings—the chapel, library building, chemical building, and two additions to the museum. . . . . Even with the addition of these buildings the present number of students would only be made comfortable."[31]

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[30] The sale of Mrs. Stanford's Southern Pacific holdings was consummated in November 1899.

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[31] Perhaps the idea of limiting the number of students to about 1,100 had been caught from Dr. Jordan's interview in the *Call*, June 30, 1895. See above, p. 265.

The need of new buildings was as evident to Dr. Jordan as it was to Mrs. Stanford. He rejoiced, as did the whole University, at seeing the work begun. But that after the "six pretty long years," as he phrased it, all of the increased income must go into buildings for a series of years he had certainly not anticipated. Yet his patience was inexhaustible. He acquiesced gracefully, but did not mean to take Mrs. Stanford's words quite at their face value. He would pore over the budget figures, eliminate everything that did not seem absolutely indispensable, and make the most of the small sums which leaves of absence for the year might give. Then he would try to show Mrs. Stanford something of the real situation and how necessary it was to satisfy some at least of the more pressing needs of the actual working University.

Just before the final release of the estate from the Probate Court, when economies on the campus were closest, word came down from the Business Office that a new dynamo, costing about $3,500, would have to be paid for out of registration fees. This was almost the last straw on the camel's back. Dr. Jordan dictated two letters—revised perhaps before sending—which gave pretty full expression to his feelings and the financial strain under which the University was operating. The letter to Mr. Lathrop (September 2, 1898) reads: ". . . . I do not think it just to take this sum out of the life blood of the institution for the purpose indicated. It is practically impossible to run the departments on such slight sums for books and wear and tear of material as we now have . . . . The surplus this year from registration fees will be about $7,000, or about $1,500 less than last year. After deducting the cost of periodicals and printing, with general repairs and expenses, this will leave about $3,200 for the twenty-four departments. The arrangement contemplated subtracts $3,500 from this, leaving not a cent for new books or new apparatus . . . . The new dynamo ought properly to be considered a part of the new buildings now going up. I shall earnestly protest against the placing of it as a charge against the registration fund, because it does not belong there, and it would be better to leave the buildings unlighted than to cut off our whole fund for new books." The other letter was addressed to Mrs. Stanford (September 1, 1898): ". . . . The order has hurt and discouraged me more than I can say . . . . We have been working for five years on the very lowest possible margin, counting every dollar so as to buy what is most needed . . . . I have done all that I could to keep the work up and to keep up our good reputation. I have planned for the coming year, but I cannot now see how we can get along after that without considerably increased expenditures. The only other alternative is to close certain departments and to limit students. This I dread to consider, for it would seriously lessen our influence and the reputation of the University for which you have struggled so long and so nobly."

This unusual outburst from Dr. Jordan touched the woman, rather than the administrator, in Mrs. Stanford and brought a gently apologetic, almost amused, but warmly affectionate response. "Most sincerely have I regretted and sorrowed that any act of mine should have called forth the feeling that made it necessary to write such a heroic letter as yours dated September 1st. It is startling that the needs are so very great for the money taken for fees, and that it should be absolutely under the control of Mr. Elliott for disbursement—and to ask that it should go to the office would cause disappointment. I thought I might justly ask that it might be under my supervision, and after all reasonable claims from the University were satisfied, I might be able to use a little to meet the unexpected call for a dynamo and a few other extras.

"You know dear trusted friend that every dollar I can rightfully call mine is sacredly laid on the altar of my love, the University, and thus it will ever be. The battle for that which my dear one gave me is almost over. I hope soon not to be obliged to consider as I now do every extra expense. I hold you and Mrs. Jordan very close to my being and to the life work so dear to us all. And I can never by word or deed do anything to disappoint, grieve, or distress you."

The Business Office yielded of course, but did not lose sight of the possibilities. A year later Dr. Jordan received notice that free transportation for clergymen invited to preach in the University Chapel could no longer be furnished. "You will have to make some arrangements with the Agent at Palo Alto by paying for tickets, and he will issue transportation from and to points these ministers come from. You will also have to make arrangements by which this transportation can be paid out of your registration fee fund."

In March 1899, when the time had come for making up the annual budget, Dr. Jordan tried to put all his cards on the table: "In 1893 I promised you that I would run the University and do the best I could on the money, much or little, which you could give us. This I have done, and we have kept up the reputation of the University to a large degree, doing much good work. We have been short handed, without necessary books, short of material, and the different professors have each received but ninety per cent of the salaries we had agreed to pay. While rival institutions have spent large sums on equipment in these six years, have added many new professorships and expanded in many ways, we have added no new departments and have had only $3,000 to $4,000 per year for books, machinery, and apparatus all told. . . . . Our reputation has rested on the hard work and high character of the professors, which have made up for many deficiencies. But we are losing our hold. Men who otherwise would come to us go elsewhere, and we have to advise many of our best men to go to Cornell or to Harvard for work we cannot give. The lack of material in Engineering, Law, Economics, Philosophy, subjects especially important to young men, is felt in the lessening number of applications of students in these lines. . . . . To put matters on a sound basis for growth two things are necessary. These I ask, if the money is available. If it is not, we must do the best we can, but even a temporary draught on the principal of the endowment is better than to continue as we are now.

"We need $200,000 for the salaries for the coming year. We need for books, apparatus, and printing, the whole of the registration fees, which amount to about $22,000 to $30,000.

"It is of first importance to redeem my contracts with the professors by paying their salaries again in full. This means $190,000 a year, instead of the $165,000 now paid. The salaries originally offered were in no case high. . . . . Nearly all our professors have been offered in the East more than they can get here, and I have not been able to fill any of the vacancies made, except by raising the salary or taking a younger man. With all this, I have held the men together. Only three whom

I would have liked to keep have left us. The salary which is adequate for a man just beginning his life work becomes inadequate as his age and efficiency increase. Many special demands are made upon the salary of the teacher. The professor must travel and study else he soon grows rusty. Salaries must be large enough to enable men to keep growing and at the same time to lay up a little money against a rainy day. This our men have not been able to do for the last few years. . . . .

"We need more books and more material. At least all that the students pay in should go for this purpose. Men are worth more than books in a university, but good work demands both. We cannot hold our own without a good equipment; nothing for show or waste, or to fill up, but the things men absolutely need.

"We must have some more teachers. We need a professor of 'personal ethics' to fill as far as may be Dr. Thoburn's place. We need to fill the chair of philosophy, vacant from the beginning, and the chair of economics, vacant since Dr. Warner's health failed. We need also another professor in law. The chair of mining must be provided for, and we need more assistants in several departments where the classes are too big to be handled by our present force."[32]

This letter had the desired effect. After careful, detailed consideration by Mrs. Stanford the salary roll was fixed at $198,000, none of it to be taken from registration fees. Dr. Jordan was jubilant: "Our financial difficulties have been practically removed. . . . . Until 1902, however, we shall have to be relatively economical, although the outlook for this time is very encouraging." The three men were added to the Law Department, the Department of Philosophy was started by the appointment of an assistant professor, a professor of economics was added, and other minor needs were met. Mrs. Stanford's general program, however, was unchanged. Later in the year she took occasion to reiterate, with some particularity, her fixed plans for the immediate future.

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[32] Dr. Jordan to Mrs. Stanford, March 13, 1899.

"Very briefly I wish to express myself," she wrote, "in regard to further expansion at the present time. My aim and my prayers have been in the past, and are still, to put up the buildings that face the inner quadrangle already being used, and I feel an intense sense of thankfulness that I have been permitted to do this much. . . . . I have thought much on these lines, feeling assured I would be pleasing the dear one gone to go on slowly and not expend money for an additional number of students, professors, or teachers. Fourteen hundred students for the next few years are sufficient for us to care for. The running expenses must be kept where they are until I feel thoroughly justified in further expanding and enlarging. . . . . I would greatly appreciate taking a little ease after the hard struggle and many personal deprivations of six years and a half, and I cannot but feel in a sense appalled at the big sums you quote. Even with the blessing that has come to me, it would be inadequate to meet the demands if the university is now increased along all the lines proposed. Let me say, even at the cost of repeating myself—I intend to keep just where we are at present as far as the pay roll and other expenditures of money are concerned."[33]

But the next year Dr. Jordan must try again. On February 23, 1900, he wrote to Mrs. Stanford: "The sum assigned for this year was $198,000 . . . . We need for next year $213,000 . . . . I know that you have told me that I must be contented with the same sum for next year, but I do not see at all how I can get along with it. I do not ask for any new departments or any new teachers. But more money is necessary to carry what we are doing now. This need arises from three sources, (1) Increase in the Library Staff, (2) Return of old teachers now in Europe, (3) Increase of salaries of young men on provisional appointments. The Library has been treated merely as a pile of books in a little room. It must now be administered with a thought to its future. . . . . We can get along fairly with books and equipment on the terms of this year, that is, to devote the students' fees to this purpose. It would, however, be money well spent to add a larger fund for library purposes, so that we may have all the foundation books we need. I do not ask this, however, nor does it seem best to ask for any of the equipment so badly needed in the engineering departments. . . . . I am sure it would be unwise to restrict the salary roll to the figure of this year."

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[33] Mrs. Stanford to Dr. Jordan, December 16, 1899.

Mrs. Stanford listened, and suggested that they split the difference between the two sums. "If you could make the amount $207,000," Dr. Jordan responded, "we should be fairly comfortable. I need not say that whatever your decision I shall do the best I can." "I am willing," Mrs. Stanford wrote the next day (May 9, 1900), "to increase the income for this [coming] year to $207,000 as requested; but I am sorry that even with this increase you will be only 'fairly comfortable.' I am not particularly anxious for any increase of students for the present, because it would necessitate a corresponding increase in the number of professors, which we cannot afford while putting up the additional buildings required."

There was further correspondence during the summer, and in October Mrs. Stanford again explained her position at some length: "I approve fully of your wish to perfect each department, one by one, in such a way that they will have all the necessary books at their command for their future benefit. If you will kindly consider and give serious thought to the department which is at present suffering most for want of the proper books, I will see what can be done during my absence. Of course you know, dear friend, that whatever I have to spend must be spent carefully and judiciously, as there is not enough of income to give all the necessary needs, while the necessary and most important buildings are being erected. Administration rooms you do need and need them badly, at least those that I am building, and it is such a pleasure to me to be able to see them go up during my lifetime. I want to do in every respect that which in your judgment you consider the most important, for I know that you have at heart the future of the University almost as sacredly and closely as I myself. The professors, as a rule (but there are exceptions, and golden exceptions), think they want many things that they can do without. It is so easy to spend money, but oh how hard it is to get it you and I know."[34]

When the next budget-planning season arrived, Mrs. Stanford was in Europe. It was the time of the internal upheaval of 1900–1901, resulting in the enforced and voluntary resignation of a group of professors and all the unpleasant notoriety that followed. Dr. Jordan began early. On February 1, 1901, he wrote: "It is necessary for me to consider earlier than usual the question of the Faculty Roll for next year. I feel that we ought to fill the vacant places with the very best men we can get. At the same time, it seems to me that I should now strengthen the weak places in other departments, creating vacancies where necessary in the interests of good teaching and putting strong men in those places which have got along with temporary supplies or with men who do not rise to the level we should demand in our professors. I think also that several of our best men deserve larger salaries than are at present given. Many of them have been offered more than we pay, and when a vacancy arises I am usually obliged to pay more than men of the same age and grade are receiving here. I do not think this fair to the men now here, and it is bad policy to do it. . . . . For next year we must have more help in the lower classes. . . . . Even if no new departments are established we must have a professor in philosophy and more help in Education, French, German, Physics, Chemistry, and Botany. . . . . We must have more help in the growing library, and the new buildings require additions to the force of administration. . . . . For the present year the salary roll was fixed at $207,000. I feel that the best interests of the University at this critical time demand that this should be raised for next year to $225,000. I trust that you will not think it necessary to go below this figure. We cannot do it without falling backward in some of our work, while a much larger sum could be used to advantage."

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[34] Mrs. Stanford to Dr. Jordan, October 8, 1900.

In reply (February 25, 1901) Mrs. Stanford said: "I am not at present in a frame of mind to be willing to enlarge the salary fund. The unusual amount of money which I am obliged to use in putting up the extra buildings and the large expenditure for furnishing the same, and the prospect I had in view of adding the new mechanical building, make me cautious about any outlay of money that is not absolutely necessary. In thinking over University matters during my absence I have come to the firm conclusion to limit the number of students and not allow the increase of numbers to eat up the interest which is at my disposal. . . . . I prefer to keep the number within a circumscribed limit and then give the students the best advantages possible by having the choicest, rarest, and best of professors to teach them . . . .[35] I am thinking very seriously of doing away with the extra fees which have been demanded from the students and going back to that small nominal sum which we deviated from. I have always thought it inconsistent and not living up to the wishes of my husband in demanding such a large entrance fee."

Writing a month later (March 25, 1901), Mrs. Stanford said: "I appreciate fully the need there may be for more income, and I am willing to grant your request, namely, to increase the present pay roll . . . . to $225,000." But she could not help adding: "Within the last month I have read many of President Wheeler's articles and addresses to the public appealing for more help to support the [State] University, and he has stated many times over that we spend two dollars to every one dollar that they are spending, and they largely outnumber us in students!" On this same date (March 25) Mrs. Stanford received a second cable from Dr. Jordan: "Kindly grant me $230,000 next year. Addition exceedingly important. Letter sent." Moved by sympathy for the unhappy experiences undergone by Dr. Jordan (in connection with the Ross affair),

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[35] Replying to this point (April 1, 1901), Dr. Jordan said: "I fully sympathize with you in your desire not to swell the number of students. . . . . I should be entirely willing to limit our numbers to a thousand men and five hundred women."

Mrs. Stanford promptly acceded to this last request—"for your happiness," the cable said.[36] But as promptly the Business Office informed Mrs. Stanford that contracts already entered into forbade the extra appropriation; and the approval was canceled. Through later adjustments, however, the amount was finally fixed at $223,000—to which Mrs. Stanford, of her own volition, afterward added $2,250 in special salary increases.

From Marseilles, April 26, 1901, Mrs. Stanford wrote: "I also wish to speak to you on the question of money for the University. I sincerely desire you to consider the amount spent for improvements being added at present, and wish you to urge this fact upon the faculty, and that it is not the time for increasing salaries until the present heavy drain for buildings is past. When the time comes for increasing salaries I shall not have to be urged. It will then come through my own willingness as the owner, and not through any urging, as I have always endeavored to be just toward all."

The following year Dr. Jordan explained that the sum of $243,000 was needed "to do justice to our work; but can squeeze along with $230,650." This latter sum Mrs. Stanford approved, writing under date of March 24, 1902: "I am very glad indeed that I am able to concede to your wish, for I always want you to understand that under no consideration would I make you feel that you are limited and I withholding the means which you consider absolutely necessary for the advancement of the work under your care. I must confess, however, that your letter of February 6th was very discouraging. After all that has been done, and the vast amount that has been expended, we are only a 'college'! It seemed to me for a few days after I had received this letter that we had better lower our aspirations and keep it to a first class school, without even attempting to call it a college, let alone a university; for I fear, with all the means at command for the purposes of educating young men and women, there will never be sufficient in the future to bring it up to the standard I fondly dream of. To know this institution is on such a low plane has actually made me sick."

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[36] "It was a spontaneous effort on my part to make you happy and forget the unpleasant notoriety that had attended the dismissal of Professor Ross." —Mrs. Stanford's letter of April 9, 1901.

> "I trust," Dr. Jordan replied (March 28, 1902), "you will not feel discouraged in knowing how high our ambitions run and how far we fall short of meeting them. We have the best *college work* in the world, even though we do not have very much else. We do a little *real university* work, in the German sense, and more will come in time . . . . We can make this one of the very greatest of universities if we are willing to keep our numbers back so that we shall not be overwhelmed with elementary students. As the number of graduate students grows larger we will hold off the freshmen."

When the next budgetary season arrived Dr. Jordan was of course aware that it would be useless to ask for anything like the sum needed to meet the reasonable expectations of the faculty or round out the means and equipment in any of the lines of university work. Nevertheless certain needs seemed imperative, and he must try especially to squeeze out some small salary increases. Again the figures were painfully worked over in the effort to accomplish the impossible. Finally the salary roll was remade and the sum of $250,000 asked for, an increase of nearly $18,000 over the current year. With more pains and greater detail than usual Dr. Jordan presented his request on April 11, 1903. It had been the policy of the President in the present era of building, he said, to make the salary roll as low as was consistent with successful administration. But with the growth of the University the sum must necessarily increase from year to year. The budget figures for 1902–3 were set down, item by item, in parallel columns with the proposed figures for 1903–4, and each change or addition explained. There would be fewer men on leave of absence in 1903–4, the occupation of the new Chemistry Building necessitated a larger staff, and the work in Organic Chemistry, suspended after the death of Professor Richardson, must be resumed, the Library staff was inadequate, vacancies made by resignations could not be satisfactorily filled at the old salary scale, and certain small salary increases were vitally necessary. And so on down the list.

This time Mrs. Stanford was adamant. In addition to her absorbing desire to complete, and even extend, her building plans, Mrs. Stanford was being more and more disturbed by the insistent representations and insinuations which came to her from various quarters concerning lack of discipline at the University, the one-sided character of the curriculum, extravagance and waste in the expenditure of money by the President and faculty, weakness and incompetence of professors, et cetera. Upon most of these matters Mrs. Stanford was not in a position to pass judgment, but they furnished an added reason for a complete halt in budget advances until the Board of Trustees should have time to understand and grapple with the situation. In replying to Dr. Jordan's appeal, however, Mrs. Stanford based her refusal strictly on the continued necessity of economy during the building period. Her letter, dated May 18, 1903, went over every item where Dr. Jordan had noted any increase, and in each case entered her disapproval. "The frequent and oft repeated warnings which I have given you that I did not want any increase in the list of professors or assistants, or number of students, until these buildings have been erected, which warnings have not been heeded, cause me to feel that a crisis has come, and I am obliged to say that I cannot allow any larger expenditure for salaries this year or the coming year than I have allowed you the past year. . . . . Dear Dr. Jordan, I am sure beyond a doubt that my ideas are correct, and I cannot let this opportunity pass by for enforcing a policy for retrenching rather than expanding. This work should not be made a burden to me. Now that the financial side of the management is beyond the danger and disaster with which it was once threatened I feel I should be allowed to experience comfort and satisfaction from the carrying out of the good work commenced by my husband. I feel when my life is made burdensome by unreasonable requests for money or otherwise, then there is something radically wrong which should be removed without delay."

In reply Dr. Jordan contented himself with a brief memorandum explaining points in the budget which had been misinterpreted or misunderstood, and turned to the next task.

Whatever check his plans or policies might encounter the President would not allow himself to be discouraged. He was not succeeding in his efforts to convince Mrs. Stanford of the pressing needs of the University irrespective of expansion or increasing numbers. But he counted on her good sense in the end, and that the money for all the University's good purposes would be actually there in the near future. Meantime he had completely rationalized the building era, and found its proper designation: It was the "Stone Age." It was to last for a few years only, and then the half million or so annually put into buildings would be turned to its proper uses. Dr. Jordan could not foresee the other crises that were impending nor the other stone ages that were to follow. He might be disturbed, but he was temperamentally bound to find the bright side, and was ready to persuade himself that the "Stone Age" might be after all a blessing in disguise. This feeling found full expression in his correspondence: (December 30, 1901) "We have now almost finished the outer quadrangle, and in two years more will have beautiful buildings enough for our work for the next thirty years. . . . . The outlook before us is certainly a very brilliant one." (May 21, 1902) "I find myself a little impatient sometimes that with all the money we have there are so many things we are obliged to leave undone; and yet I believe the policy is a wise one. At the same time it is a necessary one because of the devotion of the Founder to this particular phase of development." (March 10, 1902) "For six years the only thing we could do was to mark time, having absolutely nothing for equipment and no possibility of expanding in any direction. As matters are now the only thing for us to do is to complete our buildings and get them out of our way. Our friends and critics must recognize that we have not begun our real university work or entered on the career which was at first planned out." (October 13, 1902) "We are able to put $400,000 into buildings each year and yet run the University in fair condition. When the building is done, we shall be in position to do any thing which we think is worth doing, especially if we do not allow the number of undergraduates to swell inordinately."

(June 4, 1903) "We are now in the Stone Age, appropriating all that we can spare to getting our buildings ready. It will take about two years more to complete the entire scheme of buildings, and then we shall devote the whole income to university work. It is our purpose ultimately to give the institution some of the traits which Johns Hopkins has had. We shall limit the number of students and provide especially for those who wish to be trained for some definite profession or line of investigation. Students desiring simply a general education for general purposes will not be encouraged, while work in engineering, law, and perhaps medicine will be made especially prominent." (July 3, 1904) "I do not take our temporary financial limitations very seriously. In fact when it is once past we shall be glad that the buildings are all done and that we did not spread ourselves too much beforehand. With the end of the coming year the entire equipment of buildings will be finished and we can easily spend twice as much on university matters as we have been able to spend thus far."

> Writing to ex-President White, in reminiscent mood, after the earthquake of 1906, Dr. Jordan said: "These [later] buildings, including the gymnasium and library, were put up by a *tour de force*, and the living organism of the University was almost starved in the process."

Outwardly, and actually for the most part, the University was proceeding quietly with its work just as Mrs. Stanford had supposed. Its rich life flowed on quite as if there were no crises, no uncertainties or perilous days ahead. Except with a very few of his close advisers Dr. Jordan did not share his major difficulties, and of embarrassments and obstacles the faculty as a whole was almost as ignorant as any stark outsider. They realized some of the petty annoyances, which were generally attributed to the unsympathetic ways of the Business Office and its staff. They appreciated the more obvious hindrances, but looked hopefully to the better times supposed to be not far off. Their loyalty to Mrs. Stanford and Dr. Jordan was undiminished, and, up to the time of the Ross affair at least, the faculty morale was unimpaired. After Mrs. Stanford's first large transfer of properties to the University, one member of the faculty wrote to Dr. Jordan (June 3, 1899): "The 'six pretty long years' I think will not have been without their chastening effect and will make us careful in what we recommend. With Mrs. Stanford's action on May 31st a great load was lifted from the shoulders of us all. I can assure you that the men in the engineering departments have always recognized that a special burden lay on your shoulders. We are glad that this burden will be a lighter one in the future." Another department head, writing under date of January 8, 1900, said: "I can conceive that some might feel that we are not putting money enough into teachers and equipment. If it will help you, let me say that I am entirely satisfied with what you have done for me. Even if I were not, I should try to do as heretofore—the best I could under the circumstances. I have tried to saw wood with a dull saw, but I have 'sawed,' although my back has ached sometimes much more than you have imagined."

Under the circumstances it could hardly be expected that the atmosphere within the University would be uniformly serene. "Hope deferred"—and long deferred—was having its usual effect. With all the fine loyalty of the faculty there were murmurings from time to time, with individual moods of discontent and discouragement. Just after Dr. Jordan had been forced to revise his 1903 budget downward he received (June 1, 1903) the following letter, typical of the situation in numerous departments: "I appreciate the limitation imposed upon you in the matter of salary fund, and I know that you have used your best judgment in distribution. I cannot see, however, how we are to have any department of electrical engineering next year. There will be junior and senior students next year who will expect the work of the *Register* to be given. Of course with the amount of money you suggest this cannot be given. . . . . I do not see any way but to tell those expecting advanced work in electrical engineering that they will have to go elsewhere. This will interfere very seriously with the development of engineering at Stanford, and if there should be any other way it would certainly be worth striving for."

A letter written more than a year later typifies the situation with regard to many faculty men in the lower ranks. Returning to the campus after a year's leave of absence, a professor wrote to a colleague still abroad (September 11, 1904): "I am sorry to say that I find most of the men in bad shape to begin the year's work. With a few exceptions they look tired, worn, and discouraged. The long strain has distinctly told on them. . . . . The cost of living has gone up to such an outrageously high pitch that it is literally impossible for the men to make both ends meet, if they have families, without a strain that is impossible. . . . . My honest conviction is that many of the men look haggard and find their work a drag because they are literally underfed. . . . . Meanwhile a new twenty-five thousand dollar stone entrance to the grounds is replacing the old sphinxes, the library foundations are nearly complete, the museum grows apace, and the gymnasium stone work is nearly up to the place where the roof begins. It is too bad that the men can't feed their families buff sandstone; it seems to be the one plentiful thing. . . . . Don't think that I have merely slipped back into an attitude of fault-finding.[37] It isn't that. I came back determined to look on the bright side of things, but I find a condition that is really desperate. I think Dr. Jordan fully realizes it and intends to make an effort to bring about a substantial improvement. To the men here I don't take this tone but try to point out the gain over the time when the total annual appropriation for books, instruments, etc., for a department was in the neighborhood of fifty dollars."

Yet just a day earlier than the date of the letter quoted above, Mrs. Stanford had written to Dr. Jordan (September 10, 1904), referring to his annual address to the entering class, an address in which the President was usually in his most expansive mood: "I was very sorry indeed to notice a little article in our local paper that in your address the allusion was made again to the 'stone age,' and that (when it was over with, which would be in a short time) such promises were made to the students as would lead them to think that they were on the eve of a new rebirth as to expansion and growth; for you cannot have forgotten the impressions which I have endeavored to give you, that the growth will be slow, and the numbers not increased as to students, nor as to professors. And it will be the policy of the trustees and myself to develop quality rather than quantity; and these promises to the students, which are alluring, are placing us all, in a way, in a false position which I deplore. I have referred to the subject of the 'stone age' because it has hurt my feelings in that it has given me the impression that you have not all this time been in sympathy and accord with my putting up such extensive and expensive buildings, which I myself considered my duty, and it has afforded me great pleasure. And even when these buildings are completed, and less of the income used for such purposes, still it is our intention to husband the income and not spend all each year for educational purposes. It is I think the firm intention of the trustees to lay aside every year a certain amount which can never be used for any purpose except to let it accumulate and reenforce the interest for an emergency which might occur in depreciation of values or destruction of buildings."

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[37] William James, writing to Dr. Jordan, after his return to Boston in May 1906, refers to the "generally discontented atmosphere which I found to prevail. . . . . What Stanford most needs now is the hearty, cheery sense that all the powers are absolutely at one and pulling together in a sympathetic, collective life. Queer as it may sound, I think that reform and advance in *pay* is the shortest possible cut to this situation."

Upon assuming management and control of the University, the Trustees promptly confirmed by formal resolution the edict issued by Mrs. Stanford that no increase in salaries would be voted for the years 1903–4 and 1904–5. But at the August 1904 meeting of the Board the President was requested to prepare a special report on the needs and deficiencies of the University. In his reply, dated November 15, 1904, Dr. Jordan described in general terms the work done, and the limitations under which it had been done, during the preceding thirteen years, dwelling particularly upon the handicap of the low salary scale. "Of all these matters," he said, "I regard the one of salaries as most immediately pressing. . . . To bring the salaries of the present faculty to approximately the scale approved by Governor Stanford . . . . the present allowance of $232,500 should be increased to $265,000."

When the two-year moratorium had expired the Board of Trustees was prepared to take a cautious step forward. "The Committee has had under careful consideration," Judge Leib wrote (February 13, 1905), "the schedule you made out, in which you suggest a raise of present salaries to the present teaching force of something over thirty thousand dollars. . . . . We cannot see our way clear to raise the salaries to that extent. The best we think we can safely do at this time, and probably for a couple of years to come, will be a raise of fifteen thousand from present salaries of the present incumbents."

To this letter Dr. Jordan replied next day: "I fully appreciate the difficulties under which the Board labors. I wish the Board, on the other hand, to appreciate mine. We have been trying to run a great university on funds inadequate to permanently keep up our reputation, and we have done it largely at the expense of self-sacrifice of the strongest body of professors, as a whole, in any institution in the country. We owe it to ourselves to pay our best men what other men of the class command, and what we have to pay when we get a proved man of that class. Again many of our younger men cannot live, as things are, on their salaries. They haven't enough to eat, to say nothing of travel and study, for the cost of living has almost doubled in ten years. But I will do the best I can under the actual conditions." To an absent colleague Dr. Jordan wrote (March 24, 1905): "This year and next are our difficult times, and it has seemed to me vastly more important to strengthen the men that are here than to do any new things, large or small. I worked hard to convince the Board of this and succeeded in making the conviction unanimous. Mrs. Stanford's last act, too ill to attend the meeting of the Board, was to indorse a synopsis of my report, prepared for her by Judge Leib, with the statement that she was in full sympathy with it."

The salary situation was still far from satisfactory. But the way was open for an adequate presentation of the facts and for an approach to a common understanding on the part of Trustees and President. The earthquake damage of April 18, 1906, made an immediate adjustment impossible. Repairs and rebuilding must come out of income. Fortunately it was found possible to spread this expense somewhat and to permit a slow but steady betterment of existing conditions. Anything like "good times" financially—if universities ever experience that estate—was, to the end of Dr. Jordan's presidency, never to be any nearer than "just around the corner." But by patient, persistent effort something was accomplished each year, until the next halt, which came in 1910. A careful analysis of the cost of living at the University, made by Professor G. H. Marx of the Mechanical Engineering Department, and a comparison of prices with those prevailing in the earlier days of the University, and of salaries with salary scales elsewhere, did much to inform the authorities as to the actual situation. That men of the same rank should uniformly receive the same pay had not originally appealed to Dr. Jordan. He had put forth a salary scale at the very beginning which roughly related salaries to rank. The President's excellent theory had been that men should be paid what their services were worth, and that the salary received by Professor A was no criterion as to what should be offered Professor B, even though titles might be the same. As a result, partly of theory, partly of dire necessity, salaries and rank did not correspond with even the rough divisions the President had sketched, and the inequalities at Stanford were very great. A large part of such unrest as existed in the faculty was due to just this cause. In the letter from William James, already quoted in part,[38] he had added: "And I am as much convinced as ever by our Harvard experience that the only way to eliminate discontent and suspicions of injustice and favoritism is by a horizontal system." To this same conclusion Dr. Jordan was gradually forced. A direct effort was made to correct inequalities in the payroll. In addition, a scale of salaries, with regular gradations within each rank and automatic increases, was worked out, with the approval of the Trustees, and a beginning made toward its realization.

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[38] See above, page 298.

In a communication to the President the Advisory Board took strong ground against the creation of new departments or new professorships until existing inequalities and inadequacies were corrected. "The imperative need of the immediate future," the Board declared, "is adequate support and aid to departments now existing before assuming new obligations. . . . . All departments in the University are at present handicapped, and most of them seriously crippled in their attempts to perform their function properly. . . . . We beg respectfully to . . . . call your attention to the fact that the salaries of the men in subordinate positions in the University are almost in every case inadequate. Until these salaries can be adjusted it seems to us that new departments ought not to be created."

After the salary increase for 1905–6 had been voted—the whole extra fifteen thousand dollars to be distributed among men already on the staff—Dr. Jordan ventured to ask for an additional sum of $26,670 for additional assistants in the various departments and for some of the proposed new chairs in Philosophy, Political Science, Economics, American History, and Ethics. This request was not granted, although the Trustees had already agreed to provide, outside of the budget, salaries for two new men, then under consideration, if they could be secured.

For 1906–7 Dr. Jordan drew up a budget intended to correct a considerable part of the existing inequalities, and calling for an expenditure of $317,530. Mr. Davis, who had changed his point of view from that contained in his letter to Mrs. Stanford in 1904,[39] wrote to Dr. Jordan (February 5, 1906): "I am trying to find out from the Finance Committee what they will allow us for the gross amount of salary roll this year, and I propose to begin the increase at the bottom where the men have limited means, and distribute the increase along the lower grades of instruction. Therefore you will please be considering that salary roll from that point of view—an increase of instructors' salaries and of assistant professors' salaries, and be ready to let us know what you consider absolutely essential and what can be dispensed with."

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[39] See below, page 476.

Although Dr. Jordan's proposed budget of $317,000 was not allowed, the Trustees found it possible to approve an increase of $25,000 over the amount appropriated the preceding year, making the new figure $282,035. A special plea the following year brought the budget for 1907–8 to $347,000. The added amount was devoted mainly to increasing the salaries of assistant and associate professors. A further measure adopted by the Trustees provided for a yearly increase for each assistant and associate professor until the maximum salary with each rank was reached.[40] With this action the Trustees were ready to conclude that the salary needs had been met and, in any event, were likely to be impatient of further demands. When Dr. Jordan asked for a considerable increase the following year, Mr. Davis wrote (February 10, 1908): "I was amazed at the proposed increase of salaries, for I certainly understood you last year, when the automatic arrangement was made, that that ended all propositions for increase of salaries out of the regular order. That certainly was the plea which you made to the Board to obtain the passage of that measure." Mr. Davis was reminded that the automatic arrangement for assistant and associate professors did nothing for instructors and professors. "You remember," Dr. Jordan replied, "that my recommendations of the past three or four years have been, in my judgment and in the judgment of the faculty, extremely modest and far below what we have a right to expect, and yet in very many cases they have been cut down, and this cutting down must in the end be only temporary. . . . It will be necessary each year for me to recommend advances in the case of our best men which will correspond with what these men can command elsewhere."

For 1908–9 the salary budget was increased to $371,000, and for 1909–10 to $402,000. Then came a decided halt. The Finance Committee accompanied its approval of the proposed budget with the following statement: "The Finance Committee reports that it approves the budget of $447,809 [salaries and equipment] presented by the University Committee, but desires to call the attention of the Board and the President of the University to the fact that the amount allowed this year is fully up to the net income available for these purposes, and that every effort should be made to restrict their demands to this figure for succeeding years, as we can see no prospect in the near future for any increase of revenue."

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[40] Repealed by the Trustees, April 29, 1910.

> To the head of a department with a just grievance, whose advancement was made difficult by the pronounced hostility of the Trustees, Dr. Jordan wrote at length (April 10, 1909), ending in a lighter strain: "Perhaps it seems to you that if I roused myself, I might do what I have not yet succeeded in doing. Perhaps a president is less omnipotent than he appears. Perhaps there is something on the other side you do not appreciate. Perhaps I should never try to encourage a good man for fear I shall not be able to make good my own plans and hopes as well as his. Perhaps after the present semester there will never be any more college presidents—because the job is impossible!"
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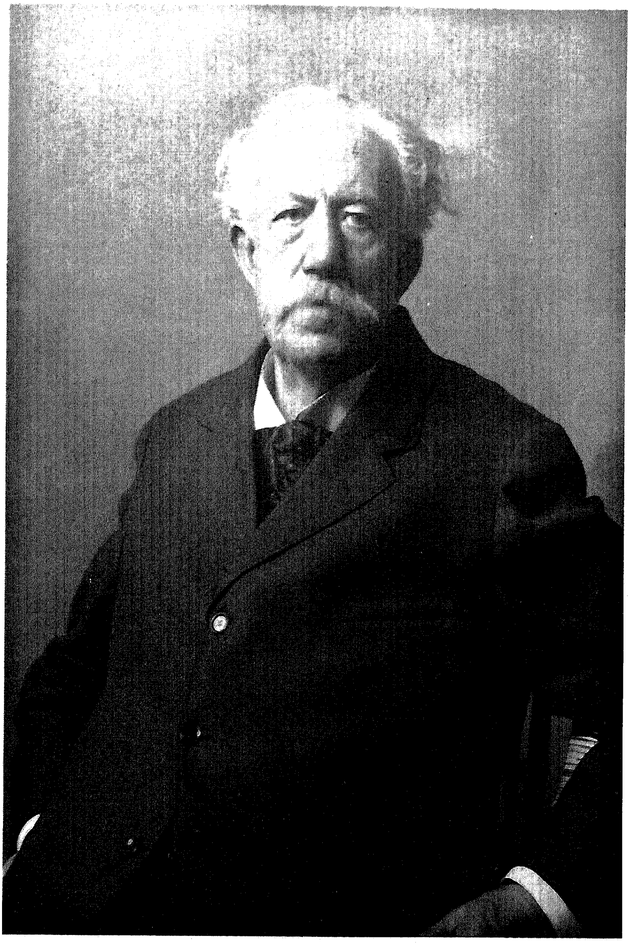
> "Here at Stanford," a department head wrote (October 26, 1909), "we have our noses in the familiar attitude—on the grindstone. When I started in I lived in the hope that other people and other departments would get served in time, and that some relief might reasonably be expected for me and [my department]. But the fact that I have had to pay out my own money for the barest necessities of department existence seems rather to encourage the trustees to let me keep it up all the days of my life. That sort of thing has come to be very burdensome. I heartily wish I could afford to quit and devote the rest of my time to scientific work and writing."

For the next three years the total budget appropriation was practically unchanged (about $450,000). The amount for salaries might be increased a little at the expense of equipment, or vice versa, but these shifts were slight. However, the Department of Medicine had now been added and there was an actual decrease in the salary roll of the other departments. In 1906 Professor Stillman, at the request of Trustee Crothers, had drawn up a statement of the amounts of money which the various departments considered necessary for their proper development during the succeeding five years and of the yearly salary and equipment expenditure which would be reached at



David Starr Jordan

the end of the five years. Departments had been asked to be conservative; yet after these conservative estimates had been vigorously pruned the desired yearly expenditure was found to exceed the amount they were then receiving by some $450,000. In other words, at the end of the five years (in 1911) about one-third of the desired increase had been realized.[41]

It was harder for the University to adjust itself to the 1910–11 budget—the "drastic budget," as it was called[42]—because of the general ignorance in faculty circles of the financial condition of the University. The Board gave out (to the President) the total gross income—about $886,000—and the total figures for taxes, insurance, amortization, general expenses, Jewel Fund, and special appropriations for library and engineering, but made no detailed statement. In this respect the members of the Board, outside of the Finance Committee, were as uninformed as the President. The faculty, still more in the dark, not understanding the necessity for this sudden halt, were inclined to feel personally aggrieved, or at least that their claims should be pressed notwithstanding. Responding to Dr. Jordan's request for the usual budget recommendations, the head of the Department of Geology and Mining wrote (January 12, 1911): "On this occasion I feel that it is my duty to remind you of the faith and hope with which this department has labored these many years in the reasonable expectation that the Trustees would provide suitable quarters for ore dressing and mining machinery and the equipment that go with mining and metallurgy, and for which we now have no adequate room. The men we have turned out, and the professional standing of those men among geologists, mining engineers, and metallurgists, are the best guarantees we can offer for the value and character of our work and for the necessity of a little better equipment than we have had to work with hitherto." Another department head, writing to an absent colleague, said (April 17, 1911): "The President has just made a statement to the Faculty that there is absolutely not another cent to be had. . . . . There is the usual slump in spirit in the Faculty, I think consequent upon disappointments of the budget-times announcements. As usual, however, the Faculty will get over it."

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[41] *Daily Palo Alto*, October 10, 1911.

[42] The 1910–11 budget as proposed by the President called for an expenditure of $450,000 (salaries, $411,730; equipment $38,270).

Dr. Jordan, as always, must try to make the best of it and again set his mark ahead. It was budget considerations which in part at least were behind his continued push to eliminate the freshman and sophomore years, to charge tuition fees for the first two years, and to follow the "new Harvard plan" (graduation in three years). None of these proposed changes won the approval of the special committees which were set up for their consideration, and there was nothing to do for the present but to face the situation as it existed. This time it was not a "stone age" but a stone wall which the University was up against. "Stanford has no alternative," Dr. Jordan wrote (November 1, 1910), "but to mark time in every direction until we can sell property and have room for extension."

To a member of the faculty who had received a call to another university, Dr. Jordan wrote (January 7, 1911): ". . . . The appointment in Political Science would doubtless not have been made if I had foreseen the financial trend of things here. So far as I can see, the situation is very difficult. . . . . There are two or three places where economies—undesirable economies—will come in. . . . . I will say frankly, without going into further detail, that the financial condition is such as to give me for the next two years at least a great deal of worry, and I would not advise you under the circumstances to refuse the opportunity at Wisconsin." Again (January 11, 1911): "In looking over the situation I find no evidence that for the next three or four years we are to have any more money than we have now. We have not nearly enough to run the medical school as it ought to go, and we are under pledges to extend the work in civil engineering—pledges which have been running so long as to be almost dishonored."

In general Dr. Jordan took the long view and spoke in a different strain. Not for a moment would he allow himself to think that when the fabled corner was turned there would be nothing there. "We have had a fine year," he wrote (May 15, 1911), "the best we have ever had." Again (January 7, 1911): "When we get out of the woods we shall be in splendid shape, and in its internal arrangements no institution could be in better form than this one, but we are against a stone wall so far as growth is concerned."

With an occasional person Dr. Jordan could look at both aspects of the situation at once and go a little deeper into the actual state of affairs. It was in this mood, but with the hopeful view uppermost, that he came to the end of his presidency in 1913. On December 3, 1912, he wrote: "In its internal affairs, the attitude of the students, the character of scholarship, and the pains taken in teaching, the University was never before in such good condition. . . . . But for all this, the general standing of the University is falling behind. The professors exert less influence outside. They accomplish less in the way of adding to the sum of knowledge, and they are more harassed by the problem of getting a living. When vacancies occur it is not possible, as a rule, to secure men of equal rank with the men lost. When a professor resigns an instructor takes his place, and while a large part of the teaching is done by men of experience . . . . the best men receive less pay than men of like grade [elsewhere]. The character of an institution is fixed by a dozen or so of the best men. The nine men who have been at Stanford from the beginning . . . . have fixed the character of the institution and have set its pace. Of the newer men few stand ready to fill the places of these veterans or of the veterans who came in the second year."

To his successor, after a year in office and after a break in the wall had been made, Dr. Jordan wrote (from Paris, June 19, 1914): "I have reason to believe that there was a great deal more money available for university purposes than we had in my administration. The Board of Trustees were never able to find out what they had and they kept on safe ground — far within the limit of what we might have spent, and far within the limit of what we had to spend if the farm [Vina] had been in competent hands. You will have much freer sailing next year. I sincerely hope that you may be able to see your way to holding on to the machine for at least two years longer in order to develop your plans, and, for that matter, to bring some of my own to reasonable fruition. Next year ought to be much easier, and the two years after ought, with a reasonable amount of friction such as big machinery imperfectly oiled always has, to run with speed and celerity. . . . . If we must cut down we must do it somewhere else than at the University. We are already too near the bones there and the minor ossifications have been sticking through the skin for some time."

MENDING THE CHARTER

The ordinary procedure in founding a college or university is to apply directly to the legislature for a charter defining the scope of the institution and the range of its activities, naming its trustees, and providing for its management and control within certain specified limits. Not being permitted to do this under the Constitution of California, Mr. Stanford secured the passage by the legislature of an enabling act under which a university, or universities, might be founded, endowed, and maintained in California through an ordinary deed of trust. In form a general act, it had, nevertheless, but one institution in mind, and was intended to represent exactly the plan Mr. Stanford expected to follow in his future deed of trust. The Grant of Endowment, executed eight months after the passage of the Enabling Act, although deviating, unintentionally, in some apparently unimportant particulars, otherwise followed the precise language of the legislative act.

That the University trust might at some future time be attacked in the courts, in an attempt to divert the Stanford properties to other channels, was a possibility keenly felt by the Founders.

> "I have seen a number of large estates intended for public and beneficent use wasted by litigation and, in effect, divided among contending lawyers. When I see these false reports industriously circulated about our 'monomania,' our devotion to 'spiritualism,' etc., I seem to see the train laying and the way preparing for unscrupulous men to dispute, after my death, my competency to do that for the people of California and for the youth of that state which I want to do."—Mr. Stanford in *New York Herald*, March 23, 1885. See Appendix 1, p. 583.

Since his personal competence was thought to be the point of attack, such action could best be forestalled, Mr. Stanford believed, by getting the University started as quickly as possible and actually "administering upon my own estate." This was a sound deduction so far as the original deed of trust was concerned; but of pitfalls and defects in the Grant of Endowment itself, which might invalidate the whole future endowment of the University, there was no suspicion. A few minor queries were raised during Mr. Stanford's lifetime. For example, was the University authorized to confer degrees? To Dr. Jordan's questioning Mr. Stanford replied, through his private secretary (April 21, 1892): "Judge Craig reports this morning, as follows: '(1) In California it is not necessary for a university to be incorporated in order to grant degrees; (2) The Leland Stanford Junior University is practically a corporation, and is so regarded in law.' " Other queries, brought to the attention of the University from time to time, were not pressed.

The settlement of the government suit, in March 1896, while it did not afford any immediate financial relief to the University, made possible the formal transfer to the Trustees of the two and a half millions bequeathed to the University in Mr. Stanford's will. This transfer of securities renewed attention to the considerable drain upon the revenues of the University through taxation, and emphasized the desirability of taking steps to secure, if possible, the same exemptions that were granted to similar institutions in practically all the other states of the Union. The matter was given consideration by the Law Department and by prominent alumni and other friends of the University. Action was first concentrated on a bill introduced into the 1897 legislature by Assemblyman Malcolm of Palo Alto. The state constitution named the properties to be exempt from taxation and forbade the legislature to pass local or special laws granting tax exemption to other properties. Public schools being in the exempt class, the Malcolm bill proceeded to define as public schools, within the meaning of the constitution, all universities having certain characteristics—these characteristics being drawn so as to fit Stanford University alone. Even the friends of the University became very doubtful of the constitutionality of the proposed measure, and it was easily defeated in the legislature. One bill, however, which became a law relieved the University (and like educational and charitable institutions) from the collateral inheritance tax. This exemption applied to the two and a half millions in Mr. Stanford's will would benefit the University to the extent of $125,000.

Further consideration made it apparent that the only chance of success was through an amendment to the constitution of the state directly naming Stanford University. Since the legislature of California meets only biennially the matter could not again come up for action until 1899. A preliminary campaign, however, was felt to be important, and the first steps were taken by the San Francisco Alumni Association,[1] under the leadership of its president, George E. Crothers, an alumnus of the Pioneer Class. Early in 1898 a special committee was appointed, consisting of George E. Crothers, '95, David E. Brown, '97, and John F. Sheehan, '95, to devise plans and to enlist the support of the alumni and friends of the University. At Commencement time, in May, the General Alumni Association passed resolutions calling attention to the problem in hand and urging action in support of whatever plan of exemption should seem best. On October 4, 1898, the *Daily Palo Alto* printed a statement signed by the Executive Committee of the General Alumni Association recounting what had been attempted and what accomplished the preceding year, the resolutions adopted in May, and the special activities of the San Francisco Association. On October 13, pursuant to a call issued by the president of the General Alumni Association (Clarke B. Whittier, '94), the president of the San Francisco Association (George E. Crothers, '95), and the president of the Associated Students (Charles E. Schwartz, '99), a mass meeting was held in the University Chapel, presided over by Charles K. Field, '95. Addresses were made by Crothers, Schwartz, Whitaker ('99), Rea ('95), H. H. Brown ('96), and President Jordan. Much enthusiasm was stirred up, followed by the organization of the Stanford University Tax Exemption Club, with Whittier as president and Crothers as secretary-treasurer. An immediate canvass of the state was undertaken in preparation for the coming election of members of the legislature. J. F. Sheehan, '95, and F. V. Keesling, '98, were selected to go through the state interviewing candidates for the legislature and other prominent citizens and sounding out public opinion on the question of tax exemption. A few days later (October 19) meetings were held in various parts of the Quadrangle, each consisting of students from a designated list of counties. These were organized into groups to work through their friends and acquaintances in behalf of the tax-exemption program.

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[1] Organized January 16, 1897, the first local Alumni Association to be established.

Thus far attention was being directed solely to the matter of tax exemption.[2] But during the summer a great deal of preliminary work had been done by George E. Crothers, representing the San Francisco Association. About this time Mrs. Stanford had been greatly disturbed by what she felt to be the unfriendly attitude of the railroad, particularly emphasized by the selection, without consulting her, of a director supposed to represent the Stanford interests on the Board. "When my Stanford boys grow up," she said to Mr. Huntington, "they will settle with you for your treatment of me." To which Mr. Huntington had replied, "You will never see the day when one of your boys will lift a finger in your defense."[3] This was taken by Mr. Crothers, to whom the incident was related, as a call to arms. In co-operation with his brother, Thomas G. Crothers, '92, he began a detailed examination of the whole legal status of the University in relation to the Enabling Act, the Grant of Endowment, and the measures already taken under the deed of trust. This examination revealed unsuspected defects in the Founding Grant and in the procedures taken under it, defects so grave, in view of possible attacks in the courts, that it seemed unwise, for the most part, to let them be known to the public or even to Mrs. Stanford herself. For Mr. Crothers, this changed at once the whole emphasis of the campaign. The opposition encountered in the 1897 campaign made the success of a straight-out no-taxation proposition seem very unlikely, for one reason because, in certain rural counties of the state, a large proportion of the taxable property was held by the University, and the justice of a claim for complete exemption could hardly be sustained.

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[2] At the October 13 meeting Dr. Jordan had suggested a slogan adapted from the familiar "Give 'em the axe":

Down with the tax, the tax, the tax!
Down with the tax, the tax, the tax!
Down with the tax!
Down with the tax!
Down with the tax!
Where?
Stanford, Stanford, Stanford, Stanford!
There!

[3] George E. Crothers, *Founding of the Leland Stanford Junior University*, p. 19. See also *Daily Palo Alto*, October 14, 1898.

At the mass meeting Mr. Crothers had taken a firm stand on three propositions: (1) In the proposed amendment Stanford University must be mentioned by name; (2) a measure that should include other institutions could not pass the legislature; (3) the property of the University could be freed from taxation only with certain limitations. Later when it fell to Mr. Crothers to frame the amendment itself, it seemed so much more important to remedy the defects in the Founding Grant that it was decided to relegate the whole matter of tax exemption to the legislature with power to act only within certain restricted limits.[4] Meantime the canvass which had been started was going on throughout the state in an attempt to acquaint legislators and the people with the needs of the University and the purposes of the proposed amendment. After the November election, by arrangement, the members of the Tax Exemption Club met the legislative delegation from Santa Clara County at the office of Senator Morehouse in San Jose. Here details were arranged for the introduction of the amendment and the legislative members who were to have special charge of its progress through the legislature were designated.

When the legislature met in January, Messrs. Crothers, Sheehan, and Keesling stationed themselves in Sacramento as a committee to watch events, to answer questions and objections, and to line up support as it might be needed. The general attitude of the legislature was so friendly that very early in the session the Stanford committee was reported as feeling assured that already enough votes had been secured to insure passage of the amendment through both houses.[5] Naturally the task did not prove so easy as this. There were many cross currents, many fears had to be laid and continual efforts made to ward off political and other commitments inimical to the amendment. The Senate Judiciary Committee hesitated at confirming a trust that was suspected of being invalid. Churches and other charitable organizations wanted to share in any tax-exemption favors. The measure was steadily pressed by the Santa Clara members, particularly by Assemblyman Clark, who had introduced the measure into the lower house. Dr. Jordan and Professor Abbott were called to the capital and appeared before both Judiciary Committees. In writing to Dr. Jordan on February 8, 1899, Mr. Crothers gave a picture of the progress of legislation and of some of the day-by-day difficulties in the way.

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[4] Stanford property might be relieved from state taxation, by legislative act, but county and local taxes must adhere to all real estate except that portion used exclusively for University purposes.

". . . . The matter would have been acted upon in the Assembly Judiciary Committee last evening, but most of the members were absent. It is set as a special order for Thursday evening. The Committee has been thoroughly coached and can be safely trusted. Unless something very unexpected occurs the Assembly will give us a very favorable vote about Tuesday. The Senate is still very close. We have one or two votes more than the necessary two-thirds and will gain rather than lose votes. Before the vote in the Senate your presence might be of service. However, there are several who are looking for someone who is connected officially with the University upon business—presumably to 'borrow money.' They will hereafter give us most of our trouble. We give them to understand that there is no money to be used, and that the friendship of Mrs. Stanford and the University is all we can promise. I know some are for us believing that they will receive favors in some form after the fight, but they will not give us any trouble now, at least.

"Mr. A—— says he wrote you relative to Professor C——'s opposition to his Normal School bill. It is his pet measure, and

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[5] *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 13, 1899.

I believe is intended to remedy some of Governor Budd's work. Every Commission in the State was made a Budd political bureau. At any rate, A—— is the most influential man among the rustic element in the Assembly and a very dangerous man to oppose. He is Clark's chief supporter. I am told that Professor C—— did not oppose the bill in the manner A—— understood. S—— is losing his influence by his speeches and eccentricities. He must be treated well and given to understand that he is managing the matter in the Senate. He is doing nothing whatever on any measure and sleeps in his chair a good part of the time. I have a distinct understanding with Mr. Morehouse that he should look after our interests.

"We are merely insisting that our measure *must* go through in its present form. I do not allow the boys to discuss the merits of the question involved in the first sentences, as anyone not perfectly familiar with the whole matter can do no good. I can insist upon those sentences without exposing anything which the public will not know when they read it. The provisions are necessary on a number of grounds aside from the questions of legality of the original grant. That it was invalid originally may be granted, and still it would be free from attack. But future grants upon the same trusts would be equally capable of attack until the statute of limitations ran against attacks."

Oddly enough, in the Assembly the Stanford amendment was voted out of the Judiciary Committee without recommendation and in the Senate with the recommendation that it do not pass. In both houses, however, the opposition weakened, and on its final passage the amendment carried in the Assembly (February 15) 66 to 1, and in the Senate (March 2) 29 to 7.[6]

The text of the amendment was as follows:

"A resolution proposing to the people of the state of California an Amendment to the Constitution of the State, by adding a new section, to be known and designated as Section 10,

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[6] Twenty-seven votes were required to pass the measure in the Senate—two-thirds of the total membership of forty.

Article IX, thereof, confirming the founding of the Leland Stanford Junior University, delegating certain powers to the Trustees thereof, and authorizing the exemption of certain of its property from taxation.

"Section 10. The trusts and estates created for the founding, endowment, and maintenance of the Leland Stanford Junior University, under and in accordance with 'An Act to advance learning, etc.,' approved March ninth, eighteen hundred and eighty-five, by the endowment grant executed by Leland Stanford and Jane Lathrop Stanford on the eleventh day of November, A.D. eighteen hundred and eighty-five, and recorded in Liber eighty-three of deeds, at page twenty-three, *et seq.*, records of Santa Clara County, and by the amendments of such grant, and by gifts, grants, bequests, and devises supplementary thereto, and by confirmatory grants, are permitted, approved, and confirmed.

"The Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University, as such, or in the name of the institution, or by other intelligible designation of the trustees or of the institution, may receive property, real or personal, and wherever situated, by gift, grant, devise, or bequest, for the benefit of the institution, or of any department thereof, and such property unless otherwise provided, shall be held by the trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University upon the trusts provided for in the grant founding the University, and amendments thereof, and grants, bequests, and devises supplementary thereto.

"The legislature, by special act, may grant to the trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University corporate powers and privileges, but it shall not thereby alter their tenure or limit their powers or obligations as trustees.

"All property now or hereafter held in trust for the founding, maintenance, or benefit of the Leland Stanford Junior University, or of any department thereof, may be exempted by special act from State taxation, and all personal property so held, the Palo Alto Farm as described in the endowment grant to the trustees of the University, and all other real property so held and used by the University for educational purposes exclusively, may be similarly exempted from county and municipal taxation; provided that residents of California shall be charged no fees for tuition unless such fees be authorized by act of the legislature."

The success of the Stanford amendment at Sacramento was most gratifying, and there was generous appreciation of the service rendered by students, alumni, faculty, and many others, friends of the University; and of the generalship which had made such good use of these resources. However, this was but half the battle, and no defects in the charter had yet been cured. The prospects of final success seemed bright; and not to lose any possible advantage in the race with time, Mrs. Stanford now (May 31, 1899) proceeded to deed her railroad securities to the University to the extent of more than eleven million dollars.

The date of the next general election was still a long way off, and there was no immediate reorganization of the amendment campaign. As time went on, however, the prospects of success at the polls began to seem less roseate. The sections in the amendment designed to remedy legal defects in the charter, the really vital matter concerned, were not likely to excite popular opposition, or interest even. The problem here was to overcome the immense indifference and inertia of the ordinary voter. In opening the campaign later Mr. Crothers declared that to emphasize the clause on taxation would do more harm than good and rather wished there were no such clause in the amendment.[7] Yet quite inevitably the taxation clause became the talking point in the campaign, with the University placed on the defensive. There had been quite general disappointment in University circles when tax exemption was so completely subordinated in the amendment, and the change of program was not readily accepted. Mrs. Stanford's lawyers seemed unimpressed with the gravity of the situation, and Mrs. Stanford for a time was more or less indifferent to the result. Before the campaign began Mr. Crothers had found that his own private law business would not permit giving as much of his time as formerly to the work in hand, and at his suggestion Mrs. Stanford asked Judge Leib to assume the management of the campaign.

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[7] *Stanford Alumnus*, June 1900; *Daily Palo Alto*, September 27, 1900.

As time went on, the necessity of the proposed reinforcement of the charter became fairly well understood by the friends of the University. The danger that the courts might declare invalid all of Mrs. Stanford's attempts to build up the endowment of the University was seen to be a real one. This, however, was a danger not to be overly stressed before the public. Writing to a friend, under date of October 26, 1900, Judge Leib explained the situation: "I would be very glad indeed to state to you what I think is the worst phase of the objections that could be urged against the validity of the gift to the Stanford University, except that I think it most unwise to do so. I feel no certainty whatever that this amendment will pass, and if it does not you can see the position I would have placed the University in by exposing its weakest points to those whose interest may be in destroying those gifts. Of course, if worst came to worst, and litigation should come upon us, we will do the best we can to sustain their validity, and I think with success, although I am bound to admit to you that a great deal of trouble could be given us, which would be avoided if this amendment is passed. If the amendment is passed I think it will remove all doubts whatever. If it is not passed, there are doubts—and very serious ones (which, however, I believe and hope will not be fatal)—which would cost the University a great deal of money to litigate or compromise, to get rid of. I enclose a copy of a circular I am about to issue to the voters of this County, which gives the defects of the law so far as I think it wise or prudent to make them public. Without exception it is the most loosely drawn law I ever saw in my life."

The San Francisco Alumni Amendment Club was reorganized on September 22 with H. H. Brown, '96, as president. An alumnus of the University of California was made vice-president with a view to uniting the alumni of both universities in a common canvass of the state. At this meeting Mr. Crothers read a letter from Judge Leib giving a succinct summary of the provisions of the amendment, and this, with an added statement, was ordered printed for distribution. Later Dr. Jordan addressed an appeal to President Wheeler, and friendly interest and co-operation on the part of the State University was expressed in numerous ways.

The Stanford University Amendment Club was reorganized on September 27, retaining the same officers as two years before, namely George E. Crothers, president, and John F. Sheehan, treasurer. Local clubs for the various counties were organized at the same time, and on the first of October Mr. Keesling started out to promote organization throughout the state. Other Stanford alumni and students participated, particularly by getting permission from both state central committees to speak briefly at campaign rallies, explaining the features of the amendment and its importance to the University. A systematic effort was made to enlist the country editors in behalf of the amendment, and especially to further the publication in the country press of news and explanations of the amendment itself. As the campaign proceeded it became necessary to give more and more attention to the taxation clause, which had been persistently misunderstood.

Mr. Crothers, in accepting the presidency of the University Amendment Club, was pushed again into the midst of the campaign, and virtually took charge of the activities centered in San Francisco. Writing to Dr. Jordan on October 12, 1900, Mr. Crothers said: "I wish to explain more fully my suggestion relative to an explanatory article of about one-third to one-half of a column for all the newspapers. I sent Mr. Leib's letter in printed form with a printed letter accompanying it. Partly owing to the form in which they received it, and in part because they were not prepared for it by a preliminary explanation sent ahead, many of them did not give it the notice it deserved. Now, however, I am told they would treat an article upon the subject with great consideration. They have seen the matter taken up by the large papers and would be glad to help if they knew what to say. Many of them have requested that articles be written for them, as they do not find time to understand the amendment, and prefer signed articles on this subject. Many fear to favor the amendment in their editorial columns owing to the church influence, but would be more than glad to publish news items. This is one of the reasons why I have sent Keesling out to organize clubs. Their chief purpose will be accomplished by good reports of their meetings. I feel Mr. Leib does not understand the situation in this respect. He does not favor meetings and the like, but nearly all of our friends are otherwise absolutely silent.

"If you could write an article covering the whole ground, but bringing out the points misunderstood by everyone who has not seen our literature, and sign each copy personally and have it accompanied by a very brief letter to the editor personally, I feel that it would save the amendment. The article could be mimeographed, but it would be preferable to have the letter asking for its publication for the purpose of correcting error to be original and if possible name the editor. I feel that the adverse papers would publish the article if so presented. . . . .

"I feel that Mr. Leib has been overconfident. If you consult anyone familiar with the situation you will find him in grave fear of defeat, but you will find no one who does not think we can pass it if we correct the general misconception of the amendment. It requires more than one article to do this. We must follow one up with other matter. I think the least we can do is to send a circular or mailing card to all the voters we can reach with the money at our disposal. When Mr. Leib stated the maximum amount he could spend (some weeks ago) I suggested that he keep it for that purpose and we would raise at least one thousand to pay our Club expenses. Since then he seems to have abandoned the plan.[8] Of course I shall not raise money unless it is necessary. I think he should spend the trifling amount at his command to secure an amendment of more value to the University than can be appreciated now. However, I will carry out any plan he may have for the Club." Writing a few days later Mr. Crothers said: "I am sure you can do more for the cause through the papers than we can do in any other way."

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[8] This was before Mr. Leib had received the sum promised earlier in the year by Mrs. Stanford.

The general letter which Dr. Jordan drafted in accordance with Mr. Crothers' suggestion was submitted to Judge Leib and discussed to and fro. Writing under date of October 20, Judge Leib said:

"I have written and rewritten and rewritten suggestions for a letter to the press, putting it in the form of a letter itself. Of course you can adopt as much or as little of it as meets your views. I did not substantially disturb your other letter except as to the taxation clause. As to that matter, I was anxious that nothing should be in it which could be criticised. I have already told you of the article in the *Citrograph* where [the editor] made the very point that all colleges should be exempted or none, and your point that the Eastern States exempted all colleges from taxation would at once be met with the objection that they all ought to be exempted here. . . . . I tried to boil the whole down just as short as I could, but I thought it best not to get it too short or it would lose its force. I also made up my mind that it would be impossible to typewrite so many copies in the time we have at hand. . . . . To cover the personal part of the letter it might be well for you to address three or four lines to each editor." On October 31, Judge Leib wrote in some alarm, saying he had seen Dr. Jordan's letter in the *Call* but not in the other San Francisco papers, and that the *San Jose Mercury* said it had not received anything to date. "Delay will be disastrous to the country weekly papers which come out on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. Mr. Holman [of the *Mercury*] says a letter from Dr. Jordan will be worth a thousand votes in San Jose."

The Stanford amendment was not the only tax-exemption amendment on the ballot. Stanford activity had spurred the churches into like activity, and Amendment 6, exempting churches from taxation, had been successfully carried through the legislature, as well as a separate amendment making the same exemption for the California School of Mechanical Arts. Although the campaigns were wholly separate the church amendment particularly seemed likely to react unfavorably rather than favorably upon the Stanford amendment, not because of unfriendliness on the part of church supporters, but in confirming the opposition of those who distrusted all forms of tax exemption. A letter from the pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Oakland made clear the cordial feeling of the church: "So far as I know our Protestant church people are with Stanford in this matter on the ground of common fairness and righteousness. I would not favor any formal or public alliance between our two causes—it might work injury to both in some quarters. But quietly we are making Stanford's fight, and we believe that you are sufficiently convinced of the justice of Amendment 6, and that it is sufficiently guarded in its provisions, to give it your support. You have a powerful propaganda in your student body, and a hint from you might help the boys to see that our interests are interwoven and identical."[9]

Professor Elmer E. Brown, of the University of California, wrote to Dr. Jordan from Red Bluff on October 31: "I presume Professor Duniway has told you of the opposition he found here in Tehama County to the Stanford Constitutional Amendment. The prevailing sentiment, so far as I can make it out, is altogether friendly to the intent of the amendment; but the fear that it can be so construed as to permit exemption of the Vina Ranch is general and growing. The *Red Bluff News* has come out this morning declaring positively against the proposal on this ground. . . . . I have done what little I could both publicly and privately to further the amendment; but the question at issue is purely one of legal interpretation." On the other hand, Professor Cubberley, following on the same Institute round, was able to take a more cheerful view. He wrote from Redding, on November 3: "I feel rather good over the enclosed clippings, as I wrote both of them and got the *Free Press* to turn from opposition to active support. I took Colonel

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[9] Rev. E. R. Dille to Dr. Jordan, October 29, 1900.

Gaiter with me and labored with the man for nearly an hour. Finally he said what he would say if he turned, and I wrote it out and took it to him. He printed it entire. . . . . I found almost everyone at Redding opposed to it when I went there, but if these articles and Judge Sweeney's advocacy don't make fifteen hundred votes for it in the County I shall be surprised."

As election day approached the forecasts seemed rather less favorable. To stem the opposing tide in Tehama and Butte counties Judge Leib prepared a telegram which was sent to all newspapers in these counties on the first of November. The telegram was signed by Judge Leib as President of the Board of Trustees and Dr. Jordan as President of the University, and declared the absolute impossibility of the Stanford Constitutional Amendment ever being construed as permitting the legislature to exempt lands in Tehama and Butte counties from local taxation, and pledged Mrs. Stanford never to ask for such exemption.

Late in the campaign, when the chances of the amendment seemed rather desperate, Dr. Jordan appealed to Mr. Emory E. Smith, of San Francisco, a former member of the Stanford faculty, an agricultural engineer with a journalistic background and a wide acquaintance throughout the state. Looking over the situation, Mr. Smith decided that if anything could be done by him at that late date it must be through lining up the fraternal orders behind the amendment. A number which were approached were easily enlisted in the campaign. One (the Masonic Order) was estopped by its own rules from any formal or official support. Mr. Smith, by quick contacts and the help of others in the Order, overcame this obstacle and secured the effective (though unofficial) support of all the Commanderies throughout the state.[10]

In a letter to Dr. Jordan dated November 14, 1900, Mr. Leib remarked: "I feel specially grateful to the different orders that aided us. There was one other order which I do not see designated [in a list made by Dr. Jordan] and which did not have any official designation to the names sent out, but which all the members understood and which probably got us the major part of twenty thousand votes. I do not suppose that this could be mentioned since it did not and could not officially act in the matter."

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[10] The story of this action is given in *California Masonry*, published in 1936.

The result of the state-wide vote of November 6 was fortunately, even unexpectedly, favorable, the total vote being: for the amendment, 137,667; against the amendment, 67,737.[11]

The campaign had not, of course, been conducted without expense. Much of the work was done voluntarily and without pay; but the expense for postage, printing, secretarial labor, etc., was considerable. In the preliminary campaign Mrs. Stanford had approved expense bills amounting to about $1,500. In asking Judge Leib to assume direction of the amendment campaign, Mrs. Stanford had written (January 17, 1900): "And I now say that five thousand dollars can be used according to your discretion, and if it be your opinion that it is absolutely necessary to use more I shall be willing to do so, as I have perfect confidence in your judgment and your ability to govern the matter." The bills approved by Judge Leib amounted to $5,273.75. "I think we made the fight," he writes, "for a very small amount of money compared with the amount of work done, and were only able to do so by reason of the very great amount of work done by our friends without any charge whatever. In this connection I am informed that the total amount of printed literature that we sent out was over one million pieces."

The supplementary legislation contemplated in the constitutional amendment was accomplished through the passage of two bills which became laws in February 1901. The first clothed the Trustees with the necessary corporate powers, and the second granted the partial exemption from taxation authorized by the amendment. As a further protection new deeds were drawn up, and in December 1901 Mrs. Stanford reconveyed to the University the properties held under previous deeds, grants, and trusts.

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[11] All the amendments carried: Church exemption, 115,851 to 102,564; California School of Mechanical Arts, 111,592 to 70,264.

Technical defects in the Founding Grant which especially invited attack in the courts lay in the fact that Mr. Stanford had not strictly followed the provisions of the Enabling Act, and that the Trustees were not empowered to receive additional properties by will. Technically and in law Mrs. Stanford had not been a "co-founder" of the University, and the power of amending provisions of the Founding Grant could not be reserved to a surviving wife (or to anyone else) who was not at the same time a "co-founder." These defects were met, as far as it was possible, by the broad provision of the constitutional amendment which "permitted, approved, and confirmed" the provisions of the Founding Grant, the amendments made by Mrs. Stanford, and the "gifts, grants, bequests, and devises supplementary thereto."

This provision, however, could not validate any attempted amendments of Mrs. Stanford not in accordance with the Enabling Act, or infringing the constitutional rights of members of the faculty, or in their nature unenforceable. Accordingly, with Mrs. Stanford's approval, Mr. Crothers and Judge Leib set about a revision of Mrs. Stanford's various amendment addresses, eliminating one altogether and parts of others, and making many revisions of arrangement and phraseology. These changes were embodied in Mrs. Stanford's final amendment address presented to the Trustees October 3, 1902.

One more safeguard was provided. An act of the legislature, passed February 10, 1903, authorized the Trustees to petition the courts for "the ascertainment of the existence and terms of, and for the determination of the validity and legal effect of, grants and other instruments creating, changing, or affecting trusts and estates for the founding, endowment, and maintenance of, the Leland Stanford Junior University." After due process a judicial decree was obtained, July 3, 1903, from the Superior Court of Santa Clara County, which gave confirmation to all claims and statements set forth in the Petition to the Court and vested irrevocably in the Trustees the titles to the Stanford properties already conveyed to the University.

THE ROSS AFFAIR

Among the powers and duties vested in the Stanford Trustees by the charter of the University are the following: (1) To appoint a president, and to remove him at will; (2) To employ professors and teachers. Having appointed a president, however, the Trustees are enjoined to give him (1) the power to prescribe the duties of the professors and teachers, and to remove them at will, (2) the power to prescribe and enforce the course of study and the mode and manner of teaching, and (3) such other powers as will enable him to control the educational part of the University to such an extent that he may justly be held responsible for the good conduct and capacity of the professors and teachers.

A moment's reflection will show that these are extraordinary powers—and responsibilities—to be placed in the hands of one man. Yet one important prerogative of the president—any president — is omitted: namely, the selection of the teaching staff, which is here made the duty of the Trustees. It is not probable that the initiative in the appointment of professors and teachers was ever expected to be exercised by the Trustees. At any rate, Mr. Stanford made it clear that for himself he had no such intention. When, two weeks after he was made President in 1891, Dr. Jordan submitted his first list of nominations, with a request for immediate confirmation because of other impending offers which concerned some of the men, Mr. Stanford telegraphed in reply: "I wish to leave you entirely free in your selection of professors." Again, to a proposal for a considerable enlargement of the staff (in 1892): "I cannot advise you. Must exercise your own judgment as to forces needed." This attitude Mrs. Stanford, in turn, set herself consistently to maintain. "One plan which Mr. Stanford had resolved upon, and which I am earnestly endeavoring to follow, is the following: he would hold Dr. Jordan responsible for all the faculty, and consequently depend upon Dr. Jordan to make his own appointments. If they were not satisfactory

Mr. Stanford always felt at liberty to make his comments and express his opinions as to their ability; and I endeavor as far as possible to carry out this same resolve. Indeed, I am endeavoring to lessen my cares and anxieties by casting all pertaining to the University upon Dr. Jordan's broad shoulders, who is far more able to endure and bear anxiety than I am."[1]

As already noted, Dr. Jordan had also the power of removing professors and teachers, and at will. This is not a power usually exercised by university presidents. The president may and usually does have the initiative in removals. But a due process and the concurrence of Trustees are generally considered necessary, as well for the protection of the president as of the professor. The power of summary removal exercised by a president of courage, patience, and a keen sense of justice would rarely, if ever, be abused. It is nevertheless full of possible embarrassments to even the wisest administrator. Besides, there is the academic tradition—almost a law in the college world — that after certain probationary stages are past, the tenure of office of the professor, independent and responsible as he is, is indeterminate during good behavior, with removal only for grave causes and after due process.

Of course misfits and failures in university faculties do occur, and they present often the most embarrassing situations with which the administration has to deal. In Dr. Jordan's case, for the first dozen years, there was no body of trustees to whom he could go, had he been disposed to do so; and besides, full responsibility was imposed upon him by the terms of the Founding Grant. In meeting such trying situations as arose, Dr. Jordan had been so patient and forbearing, so considerate of the individual, that both friction and publicity had been largely avoided. The act of decapitation, if not always made painless to the victim, was accomplished with such tact and courtesy, and so skillfully camouflaged, as to leave little if any bitterness behind it.

There was another quite special feature in the Stanford situation. Faculty appointments were, in form, for one year only, and were duly and formally renewed each year. This practice, in effect from the beginning, was held to be more or less a legal necessity during the years of financial uncertainty. Dr. Jordan rather liked it that way, anyhow; it undoubtedly gave him in emergencies a freer hand than he would otherwise have had. But his own understanding, and the general understanding of the faculty, was that the ordinary and traditional custom would prevail. There was full confidence in the President, and no one felt in those early years that his tenure of office, his independence, or the dignity of his position, was imperiled by reason of the form of appointment or the unusual provisions of the charter.

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[1] Letter to Alexander Hogg, July 20, 1896.

The point about which university men are most sensitive is that of *Lehrfreiheit*. Scholars stand necessarily at the outposts of knowledge and thought. They are presumably in advance of the public at large, and their conclusions may cut across beliefs and prejudices deep-seated and tenaciously held. Once it was in the sphere of theology and religion that most situations of this kind developed. At the time Stanford University was founded the storm center had shifted mainly, so far as the universities were concerned, to the social and economic sciences. It was natural to expect that pressure would be brought to suppress, in one way or another, teachings which seemed heretical or destructive to the social order and to the industrial methods and practices which prevailed. Nevertheless, for the right to find out and present the facts, and to teach the truth as they saw it, all real university men were firmly united. They were the more sensitive at this time because it was believed that this right was being denied in various quarters and by various bodies of trustees.

Stanford University would seem to be the last place where any such situation could arise. There *Die Luft der Freiheit* was actually blowing more pervasively, it seemed, than anywhere else in the academic world. Dr. Jordan exulted in the freedom of research and teaching, and was himself the embodiment of the untrammeled investigator and speaker. One of the men who sorrowfully parted from him in 1901 wrote: "There is a touch of the absurd about this situation—that I should come to a deadlock with you about the guarantee of free speech. It was of you that I learned to be sensitive of the importance of freedom and the feeling of freedom to the scholar." Another, who accepted a call elsewhere in 1904, wrote: "I shall be sorry not to be at Stanford. . . . . The liberty there surpasses that in any other institution in America."

By the year 1900 Stanford University was firmly established, with a well-recognized and honorable place in the academic world. It had maintained its high standards and the quality of its work, in spite of severe financial handicaps; and now these handicaps seemed about to be overcome. Dr. Jordan was a commanding figure in the state, indeed in the whole educational world. The campaign for the Stanford Amendment, vital to the future security of the University, had been brought to a successful issue in November; and in this campaign alumni interest and loyalty had been stimulated to the highest pitch. Mrs. Stanford's trust in Dr. Jordan was complete. Troubles of various kinds seemed small and petty compared with the striking successes already achieved and the bright prospects ahead.

Imagine then the shock which came to the Stanford community when it took up the morning papers of November 14, 1900. There it learned with amazement, through startling headlines followed by a carefully prepared statement, that Professor Edward A. Ross had been forced out of Stanford University by Mrs. Stanford, against the protest of Dr. Jordan, because of certain views he held and had expressed on economic questions.

Two specific instances were cited. In May of that year, Dr. Ross had been asked to speak at a mass meeting in San Francisco called to protest against Japanese immigration, and to present the scholar's view. He had tried to show that the high birth rate of the Orient made it the land of "cheap men," and that if Orientals were allowed to pour into this country the American standard of living would be lowered. In thus scientifically co-ordinating the birth rate with the intensity of the struggle for existence Dr. Ross had struck, he said, a new note, which, according to the *Examiner*, had made a profound impression. A little earlier he had spoken in the Unitarian Church in Oakland on "The Twentieth-Century City." In this address he had pointed out the drift here and abroad toward the municipal ownership of water and gas. In the matter of street railways he had predicted that American cities would probably pass through a period of municipal ownership, reverting in the end to private ownership under regulation. Mrs. Stanford was greatly displeased and, most unexpectedly to Dr. Jordan, declined to confirm his reappointment. Dr. Jordan, profoundly distressed, had made earnest representations to Mrs. Stanford. As a result Dr. Ross was on June 2 given a belated reappointment for 1900–1901. Such was the outlook, however, that two days later he had tendered his resignation to take effect at the close of the coming year, being unwilling, he said, to become a cause of worry to Mrs. Stanford or of embarrassment to Dr. Jordan.

On presenting his letter of resignation to Dr. Jordan, Dr. Ross had been shown the communication from Mrs. Stanford consenting to his reappointment but insisting that his connection with the University should end not later than Christmas and that he then be given his time for the remainder of the year. Dr. Jordan did not immediately act upon the proffered resignation, but made further efforts to induce Mrs. Stanford to alter her decision. These proved unavailing, and on November 12 Dr. Jordan formally accepted the resignation, with regret, expressing "once more the high esteem in which your work as a student and a teacher, as well as your character as a man, is held by all your colleagues."

Dr. Ross had long been aware that his every appearance in public drew upon him the hostile attention of certain powerful persons and interests in San Francisco and redoubled their efforts to be rid of him. He had had no choice, however, but to go straight ahead. He was sorry to leave. He had put too much of his life into the University not to love it. His chief regret, besides breaking the ties that bound him to his colleagues, was that he must part from his great chief, Dr. Jordan. So the statement ended.

During the last year of Dr. Jordan's presidency at Indiana the professor of economics had resigned to accept a call to Cornell. At Johns Hopkins Dr. Jordan found a young man, Edward Alsworth Ross, twenty-five years of age, taking his Doctor's degree that year. He was so pleased with this youth, and so impressed by the testimony of those who knew him, that he at once called him to the vacant chair at Indiana. The following January he offered him a professorship at Stanford; but a call from Cornell proved more attractive. The following year the Stanford offer was repeated, this time successfully. The reports received from Indiana had been most flattering: "A delightful man personally, full of originality, ideas, and genial humor; an excellent teacher, very successful with his classes and with students personally; as a lecturer, clear, unaffected, and original, with the attraction of simplicity and a strong and original personality." "I do not know a man in this department in whose future I have more confidence." In writing to Mr. Stanford about the appointment Dr. Jordan said: "I think of all the younger men in the country in this line of work, Dr. Ross is the most promising. He has originality, energy, and force of character, and in his investigations of financial and administrative questions he shows himself entirely free from either political prejudices or the prejudices of books."

Yet even those who recommended Dr. Ross most highly put in a word of caution for what it might be worth. "I am not fully satisfied," one wrote, "that he would have tact enough to steer clear of possible difficulties. He has very strong convictions, and he has made a special study of Pacific Railroad matters with the result of convincing himself that everything has not been right in that management. I have heard him say very strong language on that score that would not do to put into the mouth of a professor at your university." Another described him as "brimful of work and enthusiasm, a man of ideas and theories, in some of which he seems a little brash; but I attribute this to his want of experience and consequent want of seasoning," adding, "In my opinion he is good enough for anybody."

> Another former colleague, writing much later, and believing that Dr. Jordan and the University were being justly punished for their treatment of Dr. Ross, could nevertheless say: "I esteem Dr. Ross as an honest and generous and enthusiastic man. I think he has a good deal of ability and absolutely no judgment. I think he is a kind-hearted man, but that his kindness of heart fails to control his conduct in such a way as to prevent him from saying things that are often unnecessarily rude and offensive to people who hear them. I think, in short, that he is the victim of his own ability to make striking phrases, and when he has said something either taking or shocking he feels such a boyish delight in his own accomplishment that he does not stop to inquire whether the expression means what he intended to say or whether, in point of fact, it is strictly accurate."

It is not probable that Dr. Jordan hesitated long over the faults that had been pointed out. They were characteristics of a kind he would easily take chances on. He liked young men of energy and ideas, and believed, as he wrote Mrs. Stanford, that some radical men were needed in every faculty. The faults enumerated were faults of youth and immaturity which time and maturity would remove.

At Stanford Dr. Ross exhibited most if not all of the characteristics that had been ascribed to him. He taught effectively, he was popular in his classes, he worked well in harness, he was companionable, sociable, and generally liked. If his vocabulary was pungent with the aroma of the soil, with a rich admixture of current Western slang, and overloaded with more or less striking epigrams, it was all accompanied by a very evident desire to present all sides fairly and to stimulate the thinking of his students. Some years after Dr. Ross had gone from Stanford, a former student, upon receiving a copy of one of his aromatic addresses in Wisconsin, was moved to expression in the following lines, printed in a San Francisco paper:

"Dear Ross, I mind me how your startling slang,
Like pistol shots through Stanford class-rooms rang."

As a public speaker Dr. Ross was much in demand, never dull, not often really shocking. Thus, before the 1896 campaign he had expounded his views on the free coinage of silver up and down the Pacific Coast, generally without attracting undue attention or unfavorable comment. One of these lectures was called "The Honest Dollar." There were some exceptions, however, to the general receptive attitude of the public. The *California Bankers Magazine* vigorously contested Dr. Ross's economic doctrines. In Portland they drew forth the virulent criticism of the *Oregonian*, and a considerable furore was stirred up in the press. Returning from a trip to the Yellowstone, Dr. Jordan was held up by an *Examiner* reporter, to whom he made this comment: "Whenever a professor is chosen to occupy a chair in any department he is free to teach as he sees fit, and no restrictions are placed in his way whatever."

In 1896 came the first Bryan campaign. It was a campaign which made a special appeal to young men, and party lines seemed to be crumbling. The Populist revolt was apparently passing without accomplishment. But the grievances remained, and the Middle West particularly was seething with discontent. The Republican candidate for the presidency had been accused of being the dummy tool of predatory financial interests. Bryan was young, pre-eminently an orator, inaugurating a campaign of great dash, with a program which seemed the promise of new hope to the common man. The "16 to 1" Free Silver slogan, "without waiting for the advice or consent of any other nation," was a daring challenge to youth and discontent.

Dr. Ross did not need to be converted to the Bryan cause. He had believed in free coinage ever since he had begun the study of monetary science. At the Indianapolis meeting of the American Economic Association in December 1895, he had stood alone, for free silver, against all comers; although he learned, he said, through letters and personal interviews, that others would privately vote that way but dared not say so for fear of summary dismissal.

Dr. Ross had no concern about any suppression of free speech at Stanford. That, under Dr. Jordan, was unthinkable, and he exulted in his opportunity. A part of the summer of 1896 he spent on the staff of the University of Chicago. While in Chicago he wrote a series of articles for the *Chicago Record.* These were brought to the attention of the Democratic National Committee and reprinted as a campaign document under the title *Honest Dollars.* To the text were added some crude illustrations of the comic-strip type, not very academic in character, but contributing no doubt to the effectiveness of the text in the rough and tumble struggle in which they were used.

Upon his return to California, about the middle of September, Dr. Ross's light was not allowed to be hidden under a bushel. Professors of economics supporting Bryan and free silver were rare, and when such a one was found the party naturally gave this fact and the utterances of the professor as much publicity as possible. Dr. Ross, however, took no part in the political campaign as such. He frankly supported Bryan, basing his support on the free-silver issue, which he held to be paramount. He had no hesitation in expounding his views on the money question, and spoke a number of times as opportunity offered; but he declined all invitations of the Democratic State Central Committee, for one reason because acceptance would interfere with his University duties. On September 25 he addressed the Bryan Free Silver Club in the University Chapel. On September 27 the *San Francisco Examiner* featured statements from the Stanford faculty supporters of Bryan giving the reasons on which their support was based. Dr. Ross's picture occupied the center of the page, and it was his statement, trenchant, uncompromising, defiant, which attracted general attention.[2]

At the same time there was printed a letter (dated September 23) to J. D. Richardson, of the National Democratic Literary Bureau (Chicago), in which Dr. Ross told of the means being taken in the East to throttle opposition to the gold campaign. Bank cashiers, school principals, commercial travelers, postmasters, clergymen, he said, were feeling compelled to take part in sound-money demonstrations, when their sympathies were all with silver; and professors of economics were being required to oppose free coinage in obedience to the wishes of trustees. Never since the days of the "slavocrats," he declared, had there been shown such determination to beat down, bulldoze, or throttle opposition, and the brutality of the methods used was almost incredible.

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[2] It should be noted that the *Chronicle* of the same date printed signed statements from a large number of Stanford supporters of McKinley.

A month later (October 23) Dr. Ross spoke in Metropolitan Hall, San Francisco, under the auspices of the Iroquois Club, a prominent Democratic organization. This address was devoted solely to the money question. "A political speech," was the *Examiner* characterization, "without mentioning the name of the candidate, an address without a single catch phrase to make the groundlings hit the floor, yet the speech that aroused the greatest enthusiasm of the campaign, the address that excited the greatest interest since the nominations were made . . . . This lecture may be regarded as the ablest contribution from this Coast to the arguments for the coinage of free silver. Without attempting oratorical display, Professor Ross spoke simply and clearly, yet with such force and lucidity that the immense audience gathered to hear him cheered and cheered and cheered again. Professor Ross is emphatically the hit of the campaign in San Francisco." Two days later (October 25) Dr. Ross contributed to the *Examiner* "A Candid Text Book of Money," in question and answer form, again a trenchant exposition of the free-silver doctrine. On October 30 the *Examiner* featured ten "Economic Truths Stated by Ross," which had been selected from his writings.

A Stanford student, writing to his home paper late in October, noted that of 1,100 students only about 150 were Bryan men, but added: "The six ablest men in history and economics are silver men. I am taking so much work under Ross and Powers that I am a silver advocate as well as an out and out free trader." A prominent faculty gold-standard Democrat wrote to a friend in the East (September 19): "Dr. Ross, one of our professors of economics, is teaching and preaching free silver both here in the University and over the State. He has even gone to the length of furnishing the National Committee of the Bryan democrats with a free-silver pamphlet to be used as a campaign document. It is highly probable that his connection with this institution will be used to give weight to whatever he may say. This sort of thing very justly leads the better classes to look upon us as a pretty badly balanced lot, and for that we certainly cannot blame them. Dr. Jordan is absent in Alaska. I am trying therefore, as best I can, in the face of the befuddled department of economics, to counteract the outside and inside influence of the more noisy members."

Dr. Jordan had spent the entire summer on the Pribilof Islands, engaged in a government investigation of the fur-seal situation. Returning, he reached Seattle on the last day of September. There he must have found considerable mail awaiting him, some of it touching upon the political campaign. The acting president, Dr. Stillman, had written under date of September 28: "You will find a heated campaign in progress on your return. The faculty have been drawn into a pretty general expression of opinions on the issues—which I personally rather regret, though circumstances rendered it somewhat unavoidable perhaps. I do not apprehend any inconvenient complications from this." To Seattle reporters Dr. Jordan said: "I regret that circumstances seem to have brought Stanford University prominently into the political discussion. No one has a right to speak for the University in any matter of opinion, but each man as a private citizen is perfectly free to take any stand in politics he may choose."

Upon reaching the University Dr. Jordan found that a Republican rally, with an outside speaker, had been scheduled to meet in the Quadrangle. This he had canceled and closed the University buildings to all campaign meetings. He did, however, sponsor and preside at a joint debate between the Campus Bryan and McKinley clubs, and in his opening remarks joked a little at the expense of the "politicians" in the faculty.

After the campaign was over it was generally agreed that faculty participation in it had not been exactly dignified and that it would have been better to avoid newspaper exploitation altogether. Otherwise the episode seemed to have no serious aspect.

Not so with Mrs. Stanford. All the blare of trumpets and all the criticism had centered about Dr. Ross. This criticism, in the press and through private letters and otherwise, Mrs. Stanford was made to feel deeply. In a later defense of her position,[3] Mrs. Stanford declared that she had had no fixed opinion upon the issues of the campaign (1896), and that she had never raised any objections to Dr. Ross's views upon any political, social, or other question, or to his proper public or private expression of those views. She had become convinced, however, that he was unsound, erratic, and, as she later expressed it, "dangerous," and that he had violated a cherished principle of Mr. Stanford, namely, that the University should not be dragged into any partisan political activity.[4] She told Dr. Jordan frankly that in her judgment Dr. Ross should not be retained in the faculty.

The situation was an embarrassing one for the President. This was not the first time he had been made aware of the sensitiveness of interested parties to any discussion which touched the "everyday prejudices and substantial interests" of the public. He wished to protect the right of the scholar to present his facts and conclusions just as he saw them—but at the same time with enough tact and discretion to avoid giving unnecessary offense; and this obviously would be a much more difficult task in the midst of a heated political campaign. Mrs. Stanford's judgment regarding Dr. Ross, she said in her later address to the Trustees, was in process of formation before the campaign of 1896.

To Dr. Ross, Dr. Jordan said: "No institution should claim the right to limit investigation or to check or belittle the expression of these conclusions. But an institution like ours has the right to expect its members not to compromise its dignity. As it cannot escape some degree of responsibility for the public acts of each of its members, it must expect its members to keep this fact in mind. . . . . In courtesy, if for no other reason, a member of the University ought not to expose the institution to unwelcome surprises. As a matter of fact, in the present campaign, as President of the University, I have met with a number of surprises, and at least three of these have been distinctly humiliating. It is perhaps not necessary to be more explicit, but I do not think that it would be right to let the matter pass without protest. If you do not see any ground for such action on my part, then is my humiliation the greater."

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[3] Address to the Board of Trustees, April 25, 1903.

[4] As a matter of fact there was no pronouncement regarding nonpartisanship in the Founding Grant, nor in any of Mr. Stanford's addresses; nor any prohibition of "partisanism" until Mrs. Stanford herself caused the charter to be so amended, subsequent to the 1896 campaign (June 1, 1897).

To Mrs. Stanford, Dr. Jordan presented the other side of the shield. That Dr. Ross had managed somehow to establish himself, with a considerable portion of the public, in the role of *l'enfant terrible*, he did not gainsay. What he emphasized was the fundamental soundness of Dr. Ross's scholarship, that his faults were those of exuberance and hasty judgment and would be overcome, and particularly that his removal would bring the University into very unpleasant notoriety with the public. Mrs. Stanford remained unconvinced, but yielded to Dr. Jordan's judgment, for the time being.

Dr. Jordan's confidence in the ability of Dr. Ross to avoid criticism had been somewhat shaken, and these misgivings he shared with certain members of the faculty. The title of Dr. Ross's professorship was changed from "Economic Theory and Finance" to that of "Sociology," with the understanding particularly that he should no longer give the courses in Finance; and his reappointment for one year was with the proviso that he should retire from the University at the beginning of the academic year (August 1897) if such action should be deemed advisable for the best interests of the University. This change to the Chair of Sociology was distinctly agreeable to Dr. Ross, that being the line of work he most wished to follow. In writing to friends in Washington, however, he playfully referred to his "demotion," and this characterization, getting abroad, was taken seriously by the press. The news grew as it passed along, and presently it was definitely heralded that Dr. Ross had been dismissed from Stanford because of his views on free silver.

Prompt denials from both Dr. Ross and the President served to calm the tempest. To a *Chronicle* reporter Dr. Jordan said: "I neither trust nor approve the methods by which certain views which Dr. Ross holds have been reached; but I believe in academic freedom within the bounds of common sense. After my return from the North last fall I had occasion to tell Dr. Ross how I felt, but that was done personally, and there was absolutely nothing official to it. The matter has never been brought up or even considered officially, and it has not even been mentioned between us since last January."[5] But the reporter had caught a glimpse behind the scenes: "Dr. Ross does not seem to have been turned out of Stanford for free thought, but the curtain has been drawn aside just far enough to give him a distinct view of the toboggan."

During the next three years Dr. Ross spoke occasionally in public, usually without attracting unfriendly notice. Certain subjects were bound to stir up opposition, as, for example, when he discussed the sins of selfish corporations and the corruption thereby produced in American politics. When he spoke on "Why Is There a Money Question?" the *San Francisco Post* referred to him as "one of our most esteemed silver lunatics, who has now abandoned the white metal and gone over body, bag, and breeches to greenbacks." Criticism of the proposed new charter for San Francisco brought a protest from a member of the Stanford Board of Trustees, to whom Dr. Jordan replied: "For the statements of Professors Ross and [E. Dana] Durand they are individually responsible. What they have said expresses their opinions, not those of Stanford University. I cannot admit, however, that it is going out of our way to express individually opinions on any question of political or social science. For Stanford University to do this would be another thing. But *you* speak for Stanford University quite as much as do Doctors Ross and Durand."

Mrs. Stanford did not fail to notice these ebullitions, and seemed particularly distressed at one time to learn that Dr. Ross had consented to speak before the Socialist Club of Oakland. Once again, in 1898, Dr. Jordan says, she suggested his removal.

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[5] *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 27, 1897.

The one-year emphasis on Dr. Ross's status was continued in 1898, with leave of absence for the ensuing year; but in 1899 his notice of reappointment was in wording like those of the rest of the faculty. These were strenuous years, particularly for Economics and Sociology. The head of the department, Dr. Warner, was seriously ill, and though scheduled once or twice for classes was always forced to give up before a semester could be completed. Just at the beginning of the autumn semester of 1897 Professor Powers left unexpectedly for Germany. Professor Durand, who had been selected to take the Chair of Finance and Administration, was lured to Washington, on leave of absence, for important statistical work. Professor Fetter, called from Indiana for 1898–99, had stipulated that he was to be given leave of absence for the year following. The burden of the department thus fell upon Dr. Ross, who, in addition to his own work, added some of the courses of his colleagues—one semester being so overworked that he was obliged to spend his afternoons in bed. Dr. Jordan was touched by this devotion, by the sacrifices Dr. Ross was making, by his willingness and cheerfulness, and by the solid character of his studies in social science just beginning to be published. He was quite willing to forego his previous misgivings and to believe that Dr. Ross was now to be trusted and, as he expressed it, "a source of strength to the University."

This peaceful solution was completely upset by Mrs. Stanford's letter of May 9, 1900, apropos of Dr. Ross's San Francisco speech on Japanese immigration. Mrs. Stanford had read the very brief report in the *Call*, which contained only one sentence of any significance. That, purporting to be a quotation from Dr. Ross's address, was as follows: "And should the worst come to the worst it would be better for us to turn our guns on every vessel bringing Japanese to our shores rather than to permit them to land."

Mrs. Stanford wrote (May 9, 1900): "When I take up a newspaper, as I did yesterday morning's *Call*, and read of the utterances of Professor Ross of Stanford University at a political meeting (for it was nothing else), and realize that a professor of the Leland Stanford Junior University, who should prize the opportunities given him to distinguish himself among his students in the high and noble manner of his life and teachings before them, thus steps aside, and out of his sphere, to associate himself with the political demagogues of this city, exciting their evil passions, drawing distinctions between man and man, all laborers and equal in the sight of God, and literally plays into the hands of the lowest and vilest elements of socialism, it brings tears to my eyes. I must confess I am weary of Professor Ross, and I think he ought not to be retained at Stanford University. This is not the first time he has overstepped the bounds of propriety. . . . . I thought when Professor Ross was taken back and resumed his former position he had learned a lesson he would never forget, and I think he should now be dismissed. . . . . I trust that before the close of this semester Professor Ross will have received notice that he will not be re-engaged for the new year."

In this letter Mrs. Stanford did not quote the offending sentence from the *Call* report, and it was not once referred to by either Dr. Ross or Dr. Jordan in the correspondence that followed. Mrs. Stanford later came to the conclusion that Dr. Jordan had not looked up the *Call* article but had merely read Dr. Ross's manuscript copy of the speech. This, as printed in the May 19 issue of *Organized Labor*, was a sober enough presentation and might fairly be called the "viewpoint of a scholar," though its "new note," namely, the fecundity of the Oriental races, seemed overworked. There was in it no sentence such as that printed in the *Call*, and there were few if any of the heightened expressions which had caught the attention of the *Examiner*. Under the inspirational or emotional appeal of the occasion Dr. Ross had evidently departed from his manuscript, and probably could not himself have recalled the exact language used.

Dr. Jordan replied to Mrs. Stanford's letter two days later (May 11). He himself must take a part of the blame, he said.

He had known that Dr. Ross was opposed to unlimited foreign immigration but knew that he held no very extreme views, and saw no particular danger in his acceptance of the invitation to speak. Had Dr. Jordan made objection, Dr. Ross would not have gone, as he had no desire to take part in any party matter. "In spite of a certain very honest boldness or even rashness, there is very much that is helpful to us in Dr. Ross. He is one of the cleanest and most devoted young men I have ever known, always loyal to what he thinks right, and his moral hold on young men is extremely strong. He is the best informed man on the Coast on matters of social and economic history, and is a very brilliant teacher. In his class teaching he is always very fair, always giving just treatment to both sides of every question. While I have often disagreed from him, I have always recognized his intention to deal justly with each question. I say this without arguing against your expressed wish, because you have known Dr. Ross only at the worst possible advantage to him. His year's work does him better justice than a few chance words condensed in a newspaper and perhaps altered and distorted. Certainly none of us have the slightest sympathy for Kearneyism or socialism, or for any form of social violence."

Then, acquainting Dr. Ross with the situation, Dr. Jordan suggested that he write directly to Mrs. Stanford, setting forth his own case, in an effort to disabuse Mrs. Stanford's mind of her unfavorable notions about him. This Dr. Ross undertook to do in a letter dated May 19. In it he goes into the matter at great length. He had gathered from Dr. Jordan that Mrs. Stanford believed him at heart a socialist or anarchist bent on covertly spreading his views in his teaching. He was much surprised to learn of her disapproval, for since his return from abroad he had been quietly attending to his duties, doing everything he could think of to further the interests of the University. He had not engaged in controversy or been making public utterances. He did not write for the papers or for party organs. He called attention to the twenty-five articles he had published in the last ten years, all in sober, high-class periodicals. He wished Mrs. Stanford could talk with some of the boys who had graduated from his department and really knew what he was doing in the classroom. He referred to the troubles of the Economics Department and his own labors and sacrifices for it.

"Here, then, is the situation as I see it. I have been unselfish. I have not thought of myself as having a welfare or success apart from the welfare of the institution I serve. I have completely identified myself with the University you founded. I have devoted my whole soul and strength to the glory of Stanford, trusting that Stanford would look out for me. . . . . Mrs. Stanford, I do not want to stay unless you can give me that degree of confidence which I deem my just due for faithful service, and without which I can do no good work here. I am loyal to you, and out of reverence for you as the Mother of this University will conform to your wishes in every way I can. I will do everything but sacrifice my self-respect. . . . . Now if after taking all these things into consideration you can reach no settled confidence in my work here, I should prefer to know it now rather than later."

Returning from a short trip to Vina, Mrs. Stanford replied, May 17, to Dr. Jordan's letter of May 11: "All that I have to say regarding Professor Ross, however brilliant and talented he may be, is that a man cannot entertain such rabid ideas without inculcating them in the minds of the students under his charge. There is a very deep and bitter feeling of indignation throughout the community—and I am made to feel it in various ways, expressed and unexpressed, and in letter form,—that Stanford University is lending itself to partisanism and even to dangerous socialism. . . . . Professor Ross made a very pronounced tirade in Oakland, only a few weeks previous to this last outburst, against street railroads. I did not mention it at the time, although I knew of it, having read of it in the papers, and was informed through no one connected with the railroad company, but by some of our leading conservative citizens, who are in sympathy with, and deeply interested in, the welfare of the University and alive to the dangerous tendencies which in time will rebound and reflect against us all.

. . . . . I still feel that he should not be retained. . . . . Professor Ross cannot be trusted, and he should go. . . . . He is a dangerous man. Dear Dr. Jordan, I am very much in earnest in this matter, and I have just reasons for feeling so."

To this letter Dr. Jordan replied the next day (May 18): "Your kind letter of yesterday is received. I must crave your patience for a little while until I decide what it is wise and right to do. Whatever this decision I must take time in carrying it out. I need not say that your wish is sacred to me—and that the honor of the University is also sacred. I shall write again before long."

It was a momentous decision that Dr. Jordan was called upon to make. Many of his critics, even had they known all the circumstances at the time, would have demanded that he then and there make a determined stand, place his resignation in Mrs. Stanford's hands—perhaps that of the faculty also—and bring to bear, as they would have said, a pressure which she could not withstand. Dr. Jordan would have been perfectly aware of the futility of any such procedure. Mrs. Stanford was amenable to reason and supremely anxious to do the right thing. But she could not be coerced. Any such challenge would be promptly accepted, and the whole future of the University was at stake. That future Dr. Jordan could not afford to jeopardize. He would yield to her judgment, if he must. But he was keenly sensible of the embarrassments which would result—more sensible of the embarrassment to Dr. Ross than of that to the University. To this aspect of the case Mrs. Stanford was apparently entirely oblivious. To her, removal was a very simple matter, painful enough to the individual and only to be invoked for sufficient cause, but an affair strictly between employer and employed and of no concern to the public. Of the purity of Mrs. Stanford's motive Dr. Jordan had no doubt; only the highest welfare of the University prompted her action. He respected her feeling, but felt that she had been overborne and misled by these to him unknown critics. He was not unaware that his own prerogative was to some extent involved, and he must have realized that while in theory Mrs. Stanford stood staunchly for freedom of thinking and teaching, she was far from clear in her own mind as to the boundaries. Removal would be difficult to explain and, under the circumstances, a grave mistake.

In reviewing the matter after the explosion, Dr. Jordan wrote to an absent colleague (November 16, 1900): "It has put us in a very difficult place for a number of reasons. In the first place, my sympathies were wholly with Dr. Ross, and I was strongly opposed to invasion of academic freedom as well as sensible of the apparent invasion of my prerogative—although both these matters were questions of personal confidence which Dr. Ross had no right to reveal . . . . The criticisms [Mrs. Stanford] made on specific acts seemed to me unimportant and I resisted the change as strongly as I could."

To another friend, on the same day, Dr. Jordan wrote: "I had resisted Mrs. Stanford's evident wish that I should require Dr. Ross's resignation as long as I could, in the interest of academic freedom. I naturally did not approve either of her taking the matter into her own hands, although I recognized that she had a perfect right to do so."

What Dr. Jordan now did was to make another and as earnest an attempt as he was capable of making, to disabuse Mrs. Stanford's mind of prejudice against Dr. Ross and to restore him to her confidence. Ignorant of the influences and statements from the outside that were brought to bear upon Mrs. Stanford, he was working somewhat in the dark; but he would try to cover everything. What he now presented was a very much idealized figure, almost saintly in its transformed aspect. He "had piled it on pretty thick," as he afterward admitted.

This was the much-quoted letter of May 21. Certain parts of this letter, given to Dr. Ross as a sort of credential which he might use in seeking another position, furnished the main evidence on which the Committee of Economists later convicted Dr. Jordan and the University of high crimes and misdemeanors.

"I must tell you frankly and fully," the letter began, "my own impressions of Dr. Ross. I am sure that if you knew him as I do, no outside criticism could shake your confidence in him. Dr. Ross has faults no doubt; but they are neither dangerous nor incurable. They are the faults of enthusiasm and conscientiousness. He is not a politician nor a fanatic; not an agitator nor a socialist; nor has he anything in common with these classes." The only ground for real criticism, the letter went on to say, was in the silver campaign of 1896. In this Dr. Ross had not been actuated by partisanship, but by a sense of duty. And he had ceased speaking when he realized that his words compromised his colleagues and the University. Since that time he had not uttered a word in public that could be considered as partisan. Even in 1896 he had not stepped outside of the recognized rights of a professor. His great work on "Social Control," which would soon appear, was one of the quietest and sanest works on social science, and it would make his reputation as a careful thinker and patient investigator, were that reputation not already established. The address at Oakland was on the subject of making cities healthful. There was only a passing reference to street cars, and no criticism of their present management. In the matter of Japanese immigration, what he said was neither extreme nor revolutionary. Dr. Ross presented the usual protectionist argument for the preservation of the American scale of living. "I doubt the soundness of this argument, but most public men are influenced by it."

"At the University Dr. Ross has been a constant source of strength. He is one of the best teachers, always just, moderate, and fair. He is beloved by his students and has risen steadily in the estimation of his colleagues, some of whom were pretty hard upon him four years ago. . . . . I am sure that this is not a matter for hasty decision, I feel that all sides must be considered. I feel sure that if his critics would come forth and make their complaints to me in manly fashion I could convince any of them that they have no real ground for complaint. In this matter I am in a better position to decide than any one else can be. . . . . As you know, I have not retained for a day a man who seemed to me to be doing mischief. The honor of the University is dearer to me than life. It is my life. And this honor forces upon me the need of justice. No deeper charge can be made against a university than that it denies its professors freedom of speech. . . . . This matter involves the whole future career of a wise, learned, and noble man, one of the most loyal and devoted of all the band we have brought together. I must therefore ask to take my time for a final decision, to be allowed to let the work go on as it has done for the present. If Dr. Ross fails to justify your good opinion, it is understood that he will seek another position and withdraw quietly from Palo Alto and from the 'dearest hopes of his life.' For no one can do good work where he fails to inspire confidence."

Mrs. Stanford did not reply directly to this letter, nor to the long letter from Dr. Ross. On receipt of the latter she wrote Dr. Jordan (May 23): "Enclosed I hand you a letter that reached me last evening. I have but this to say: my opinion remains the same; and my decision has not been the result of any hasty conclusion, but of disappointment, reflection, and prayer."

Some *modus vivendi* being imperative, Dr. Jordan wrote again (May 26): "May I trouble you once more with the matter of Dr. Ross? Would you approve of this compromise suggestion: (1) That I reappoint him as usual, letting him go ahead with his work; (2) That he tender his resignation to take effect at the discretion of the President; (3) That he make reasonable efforts to secure another place? As to this I have written making a proposition to Chicago University . . . . and to Cornell, that he should exchange with [one of their men]; (4) I will be responsible for loyal and tactful utterances on the part of Dr. Ross so long as he remains."

To this letter Mrs. Stanford made prompt response (May 28): "I am in accord with you in reappointing Professor Ross as usual and letting him go ahead with his work; second, that he tender his resignation to take effect at a stated time—for instance, at the end of six months—which gives him an opportunity, and you an opportunity, to make the change you suggest. I certainly wish to avoid, as far as possible, doing anything that would prove an injury to him or to his future."

Dr. Ross received his belated appointment June 2, and on June 5 tendered the resignation implied in his letter to Mrs. Stanford and in accordance with the understanding between himself and Dr. Jordan. The letter of resignation reads: "I was sorry to learn from you a fortnight ago that Mrs. Stanford does not approve of me as an economist and does not want me to remain here. It was a pleasure, however, to learn at the same time of the unqualified terms in which you had expressed to her your high opinion of my work and your complete confidence in me as a teacher, a scientist, and a man. While I appreciate the steadfast support you have given me, I am unwilling to become a cause of worry to Mrs. Stanford or of embarrassment to you. I therefore beg leave to offer my resignation as professor of sociology, the same to take effect at the close of the academic year 1900–1901. For obvious reasons I reserve the right to withdraw this resignation if it is not acted upon before March 1, 1901."

Meantime Dr. Jordan was proceeding with his proposals to Chicago, Cornell, and Wisconsin for an exchange of professors, hardly expecting however, that anything would come of it.

Mrs. Stanford was getting ready to leave Palo Alto for a long absence abroad and Dr. Jordan was scheduled to sail for Japan on the sixth of June. Before leaving he had a talk with Mrs. Stanford, and afterward, in mid-ocean (June 15), tried to give Dr. Ross the substance of this conversation, "representing her views as well as I can, and keeping mine in the background":

"She has no personal unfriendliness, likes you personally, and respects your brilliancy, industry, and willingness. She has no desire to limit freedom of speech, but she feels that the reputation of the University for serious conservatism is impaired by the hasty acceptance of political and social fads or of ideas not approved by conservative thinkers, and administrative schemes not acceptable to serious business men. She feels that, whether justly or not, you have injured your own reputation for caution and wisdom in this regard, and that the reputation of the University is correspondingly compromised. The University should be a source of unprejudiced, sound, and conservative opinions, and the Chairs should be filled by men who will hold the public confidence in these regards. If you can do this, as I claim, she will hold that in part, at least, you have failed, as many of the serious men and women regard you as easily taken by new propositions. These men are not enemies of yours, but real friends of the University. The matter of immigration she takes seriously, but it is rather that she is jealous of the good name of the University than that she supports any particular ideas. Unfortunately these local criticisms are based on chance matters and *obiter dicta*, not at all on your serious work. . . . . I write this to help you to understand the question exactly. I did not quite get it before myself."

This then was the additional letter which served to clinch the evidence with the Committee of Economists. As a matter of fact, Dr. Jordan must have softened Mrs. Stanford's expressions considerably, for when this letter came to her notice at a later time she felt that it did not accurately represent her views.

Dr. Jordan returned from Japan in September. Noting in the papers the resignation of the assistant professor of sociology at Harvard, he immediately wrote to President Eliot, hoping that a place might be open for Dr. Ross. As it turned out, no appointment was to be made for the time being, and President Eliot could only regret his inability to help. The letter to Harvard had been very frank and confidential and the dilemma confronting Dr. Jordan fully set forth. The laudations of Dr. Ross were even stronger than any yet given. Of his part in the campaign of 1896, Dr. Jordan said: "Being convinced that of our financial evils the free coinage of silver was likely to prove the lesser, he spoke on two occasions in favor of bimetalism as a matter of financial science without political allusions. . . . . He expressed an honest opinion frankly and fearlessly, and we who did not agree with him respected his words and his motives. However, a great effort was made on the part of certain politicians to discredit Dr. Ross. These efforts were chiefly directed toward breaking Mrs. Stanford's confidence in him and in his soundness of judgment." Of the anti-Japanese speech, he said: "Last spring Dr. Ross was asked at a public meeting to give a scholar's view of the question of Asiatic immigration. This he did, emphasizing the points commonly accepted in favor of restrictions, the fecundity, low standard of living, and lack of political feeling on the part of the Asiatic. The meeting was in the hands of men against whom Mr. Stanford in times past had struggled in his defense of the Chinese, at one time even to the risk of his life. That Dr. Ross should be the associate, even casually, of these men, and on the other side from her husband, hurt Mrs. Stanford deeply. She told me that she hoped on her return from Europe Dr. Ross would not be in the faculty. She had never made any other request as to the professors, and I could not shake her feelings as to this one."

Dr. Jordan then referred to the resignation of Dr. Ross, who had preferred not to remain "against the wish of the woman whom we all honor and who has been in all things most devoted and in most things wholly wise." In conclusion he said: "I write again to Mrs. Stanford today with some hope that she may reconsider her feeling and leave the matter in my hands. It is a very difficult situation at the best for Dr. Ross and for me. I am most desirous of retaining Dr. Ross. He wishes to stay if he can without pain to Mrs. Stanford, but not otherwise. If he goes, unless it be to Harvard, it will be almost impossible for either of us to give reasons for his action."

> In reply, President Eliot wrote: "Your difficulty is serious indeed. I cannot but hope, however, that when you present the whole question to Mrs. Stanford on her return from Europe, and set before her the fundamental importance of complete academic liberty for professors, and particularly for professors whose subjects touch on public policies and affairs, that she will modify her expression about Dr. Ross. It would be a great calamity for Stanford University if it should come to be known that a professor had been obliged to leave it because Mrs. Stanford expressed a wish to that effect. Indeed, I can hardly imagine a greater calamity; for nothing would so effectually deter men of strong character and good abilities from accepting places in the University. Mrs. Stanford has shown so much good judgment and good feeling in her conduct of the enterprise thus far that I cannot believe these high qualities will fail her now."

Dr. Jordan's final appeal to Mrs. Stanford is dated October 4, 1900. In it he said: "I am very sorry to trouble you again with the matter of Dr. Ross, but I feel that I must do so, not with a view to raising the original question, but to make our action such that the reputation of the University will not be injured. We have failed thus far to find a position elsewhere. We could not arrange an exchange of places, and but one vacancy has arisen. . . . . I have some hope that Dr. Ross will be chosen for this, but the decision will not be made before March. . . . . But if he goes away at Christmas time without a position, the whole college world will ask why? . . . . We cannot say that he is an unsound teacher, for his classroom work is above reproach. We have nothing against his character or training. The mistake he made in 1896 has been condoned. In the unfortunate talk on Japanese immigration, a matter in which he had no personal interest, he merely repeated the conventional arguments as given in standard books. The attack on street cars never took place. He has proved to me conclusively that nothing of the sort alleged was ever said by him and that the report in the *Examiner* was a pure forgery. . . . . I am not pleading the case over again. It may be best for him to go, but he should go in dignity. I can trust him to be loyal to the University and to say nothing to its hurt. But other people will not be so considerate. The word will go out that he was dismissed for political reasons. Such a statement would do us great injury in the higher circles which make University reputation. We cannot bring good men here if they believe their positions insecure. The fact that Dr. Ross remained four years ago has been regarded as very much to the credit of the University. . . . . Dr. Ross has presented his resignation. I ask you to let me accept it to take effect when he finds a place elsewhere. . . . . I can pledge that in the meantime he will render loyal service, that he will avoid all public criticism as far as may be, and that he and I will do all that can be done to secure for him any worthy position that will become vacant. This can do us no harm, and it may save us from serious injury. A newspaper discussion would injure him no less than us.

"You will pardon me for adding that while your criticisms of Dr. Ross have a serious basis of fact, they do not cover the whole size of the man. I know better than any one else his faults and his limitations. I do not wish to belittle them. At the same time, in his strength he is head and shoulders above other men in his field, and I do not know where to turn to fill his place. But this I can do much better if he goes quietly and with dignity, and this is all I ask. To pay his salary for a period in advance does not help this phase of the case at all."

Upon receipt of this letter Mrs. Stanford, we are told, threw up her hands in despair. Dr. Ross was to her simply a "dangerous man." If she must put up with him after he had, as she believed, repeatedly overstepped the bounds, she would simply give up, turn everything over to the Trustees, and spend her declining years abroad. This of course was an emotional reaction of the moment. But she did take time for consideration. Her reply is dated from Locarno, October 28, 1900: "My opinion is unchanged, and I feel thoroughly convinced that I am in the right, which pleads for itself. It never has been, nor will it ever be, my intention to put you into an unpleasant or difficult position in regard to your professors. For that reason I am willing that the resignation of Dr. Ross be accepted to go into effect next March instead of at New Years. You speak of the mistake being condoned—it has never been condoned with me nor with the institution Dr. Ross was pursuing a course to injure. This is my final answer in regard to this subject."

This letter reached Dr. Jordan on the tenth of November. He had done all he could, and since Dr. Ross was pressing for a decision he wrote him next day (November 11) the formal letter of acceptance as follows: "Your letter of June 5th, tendering the resignation of the Chair of Sociology in Stanford University, has not yet been answered. I have waited till now in the hope that circumstances might arise which would lead you to a reconsideration. As this has not been the case, I therefore, with great reluctance, accept your resignation to take effect at your convenience. In doing so, I wish to express once more the high esteem in which your work as a student and as a teacher, as well as your character as a man, is held by all your colleagues."

This letter Dr. Ross received on the twelfth. On the afternoon of the thirteenth he called the student reporters into his office, and with the greeting, "Well boys, I'm fired," handed them typewritten copies of the statement he had prepared for the San Francisco morning papers. He suggested that they might show the statement to Dr. Jordan before sending it to the city. The reporters immediately sought out the President, who, totally unaware of the bomb that had been prepared, talked with his usual freedom. Would he care to see the statement by Dr. Ross? No; it had been understood that Dr. Ross would make his own explanation. No one could regret more than he the withdrawal of Dr. Ross—"one of the ablest, most virile, and clear classroom lecturers I have ever known; and I do not see how I can replace him. . . . . In his line of social science, I consider him the most effective worker in this country. . . . . I leave Dr. Ross to give the reasons for his resignation. I cannot say anything further than that the reasons are of a personal nature and of such a character as not to be discussed by me."

And all this was printed in the morning papers of November 14, along with Dr. Ross's statement!

In accepting the resignation Dr. Jordan had expressed himself strongly partly because that was the idealized Ross he had set up in his own mind and partly to ward off any prying curiosity on the part of the public. Dr. Ross would camouflage the situation in his own way, and perhaps it would not be quite generous to seem to sit in judgment upon his phraseology. At any rate he waved aside the statement and did not look at it. He knew there were embarrassments ahead, and these he must meet as they came; but he was totally unprepared for the denouement that actually occurred. In all the range of possibilities that had faced him this one had never remotely entered his imagination. He had made Dr. Ross his confidant, had shared with him private and confidential correspondence, and had exacted no promises. If one wanted to turn upon him, he had placed all the weapons in that one's hands. There was only a gentleman's understanding, and he had thought it sufficient!

Dr. Ross's overture to the public was the more effective because it had been prepared with great care and restraint. As far as it went it stated the situation exactly as Dr. Ross understood it. If he must give some explanation, why not set down the bare facts? Others had gone from Stanford without explanations, so he reasoned, and had been followed by backstairs whisperings. In his own case, he would make the real situation known. To the real situation that would be thus created Dr. Ross was probably absolutely blind. But had he been merely vindictive, reckless of the reputation of the University, of Dr. Jordan, of Mrs. Stanford, anxious only to pull down the walls with him, he could hardly have chosen a more certain way.

What else could Dr. Ross have done? For one thing, he could have played the game! Up to a certain time he must have expected to do this. But the outcome was to be a bitter one, wholly unjust as he thought. And friends to whom he turned counseled otherwise. As fate would have it, every step from now on was to be taken under the advice of one of the fine, strong men at Stanford, who, taking Dr. Ross's story at its face value, and as the whole story, could see in it only the sinister aspect of the spirit of commercialism, which, he declared, was more and more dominating individuals and fettering institutions.

In form Dr. Ross's printed statement was a severe condemnation of Mrs. Stanford for her intolerance, her interference with the proper rights and freedom of a professor. By implication it was a still more severe condemnation of Dr. Jordan for submitting to dictation of this sort. This the public saw at once, and reacted accordingly. In editorials, in letters to the President, in public discussion, in sermons even, there was immediate response ranging from astonishment and perplexity to sweeping condemnation and abuse.

From far off Boston came this outburst, addressed to Dr. Jordan:

"How are the mighty fallen! But yesterday the word of Stanford might have stood against the world; but now where can you find *one* to do it reverence! . . . . It is a shock to learn that you are not the *President* of Stanford University—but in effect only a 'hired man'; that it is only a private school whose policy is dictated by an uncultured old woman. Can your self-respect endure it? . . . . Does it ever occur to you that the very foundation stones of the University are laid in about all the crimes in the calendar? . . . . It cannot prosper—for it is so written on the tablets of manifest destiny . . . . Please pass this letter and clipping along to Mrs. Stanford that she may realize the feeling in the East."

It is no wonder, as he wrote Mrs. Stanford, that "for the first day" Dr. Jordan "was staggered." In the matter of Dr. Ross's status he acted promptly, relieving him at once of all further duties. But he was forced to admit that the Ross statement was in intent an honest one and that it violated no pledges. In confidential correspondence read or loaned to Dr. Ross he had thrown all reservations to the winds, praised Dr. Ross to the skies—and beyond—and had strained every point in the effort to persuade Mrs. Stanford that he had been misunderstood and misjudged. Dr. Jordan had acted with the utmost generosity, doing everything that seemed possible to safeguard the reputation of the University and at the same time protect Dr. Ross and further his interests. Yet in doing it, and largely because of a guileless trustfulness, which was so marked and so captivating a trait in his character, he had tied himself hand and foot. He could not begin any real explanation without bringing Mrs. Stanford still more into the picture; and this he must not do. Even so, the many would not understand, would never see that Mrs. Stanford had any rights in the matter, that, because of her devotion, her sacrifices, her good judgment and high sense of honor so often exhibited, her position as Founder and acting sole trustee, her convictions were entitled to respect and might conceivably and honorably prevail.

As a matter of fact Dr. Jordan did not immediately find his bearings. He had expected all along to assume full responsibility for the official action when finally taken. He knew well enough that the real Ross stood somewhere between the dangerous character pictured by Mrs. Stanford and his own idealized presentment. He knew that the twentieth-century city and the anti-Japanese addresses, about which Dr. Ross had made his whole case revolve, were occasions which merely revived and reinforced convictions long held by Mrs. Stanford. In the role of the somewhat impersonal "University authorities," Dr. Jordan had now to stress the earlier embarrassments connected with Dr. Ross's activities and eccentricities, and to adopt in large measure Mrs. Stanford's judgment concerning them—a very difficult role to follow in view of the extravagant statements quoted by Dr. Ross! Naturally the tentative explanations, suppositions, and reconstructions picked up by the reporters or given to individuals did not appease the public or satisfy the particular friends of Dr. Ross. However, on November 15, Dr. Jordan did give out what was ostensibly a definitive statement, summing up the situation so far as the University cared to go into it for the enlightenment of the public. The statement reads:

"In regard to the resignation of Dr. Ross it is right that I should make a further statement. There is not the slightest evidence that he is a martyr to freedom of speech. Nor is there any reason to believe that his withdrawal has been due to any pressure of capital or any other sinister agency. I know that Mrs. Stanford's decision was reached only after long and earnest consideration and that its motive was the welfare of the University and that alone."

If, having put forth this statement, the University had rested its case, and if no further communication had gone to the public, much of the further unpleasantness might possibly have been avoided. Naturally the public would not have been satisfied. But the newspaper flames must have died down for lack of fuel; and the public easily forgets. Even the explanations that went on privately, and in friendly journals on their own initiative, were not always fortunate. A member of the faculty, absent on leave, writing to Dr. Jordan under date of January 5, 1901, said:

". . . . Let us drop for the present the discussion of the causes leading to Ross's dismissal, for I confess it becomes more unclear to me the more explanations I hear. . . . . Two or three weeks ago you intimated to me that a policy of silence would be followed, and this seemed to me the only wise course. The exaggerated would soon find its level if left to itself. I find, however, that a number of letters have been written to various educators containing hints that the public had not all the facts. . . . . I feel strongly that it is a great mistake. The choice lay between silence and a plain, specific, public statement; and this is not a happy compromise."

Unfortunately the "definitive" statement itself was, in one respect, calculated to stir up rather than allay controversy. It focused attention on that aspect which, under the circumstances, it had been wise to ignore. It affirmed unequivocally that there was not the slightest evidence that Dr. Ross was a martyr to freedom of speech. But in the mind of the public there was just such evidence in Dr. Ross's published statement, and in Dr. Jordan's own quoted words in it. To refute this evidence would require a demonstration that Mrs. Stanford's reasons were a good deal more weighty and her convictions better grounded than Dr. Jordan had believed prior to the fourteenth of November. Besides, "freedom of speech" is a vague term, with anyone at liberty to make his own definition; so that complete knowledge of all the circumstances, had that been achievable at the time, would not have changed the minds of any who did not wish their minds to be changed.

In reply to the questioning Economists, Dr. Jordan wrote (February 7, 1901): "Professor Ross was dismissed because in the judgment of the University authorities he was not the proper man for the place." But the Economists had only to turn to the Ross statement to find that in May Dr. Jordan had thought Dr. Ross a "wise, learned, and noble man, a careful thinker and a patient investigator, one of the best teachers in the University." Not much doubt as to what the Economists would say!

One friendly outsider, an admirer of Dr. Ross, but not approving his manner of taking his departure from the University, wrote Dr. Jordan (December 5, 1900):

". . . . The view I have taken of Professor Ross's removal is that Mrs. Stanford acted unwisely—in fact, not to put too fine a point on it, upon a weak sort of prejudice. But I recollect that she is an elderly lady who has given millions of money and years of anxious thought to the cause of education—who has made it possible for thousands of young men and women to gain an education—and it did not seem to me proper or decent that such a woman should be lectured in the news-

> papers. If she did make a mistake, I know of nobody who has better earned the privilege of making one. . . . .
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> "Once in a while a person gets in a position where he can't afford to explain himself, but must stand and take whatever anybody chooses to say against him. When one finds himself in that fix he can understand the old story about the Athenian brothers, one of whom said to the other, 'Why are you made an ephor while I am not?' 'Because,' was the reply, 'I know how to bear injustice and you do not.' "

> President Eliot's reaction is given in a letter to Dr. Jordan dated June 4, 1901: "I tried to prevent public discussion of this incident, as if it seriously threatened academic freedom in our country at large. The situation of Stanford University—completely in the hands of one aged woman—is in the highest degree exceptional; and no act of hers can really prejudice academic freedom in general in the United States. It ought to be perfectly understood that the whole power over the University is in her hands, and that she by her good sense, resolution, and persistency has ultimately saved for the University an endowment of twenty-four millions of dollars in cash. The circumstances are absolutely unique. I therefore thought the proceeding of the committee of professors of economics ill-advised."

Dr. Jordan had probably never quite realized the intensity of Mrs. Stanford's convictions. She had not revealed the names of the outside persons whose warnings had influenced her, and the other reasons given—Dr. Ross's eccentricities, his lack of dignity and good manners, his radicalism, his dallyings with socialism, and other supposedly unsound ideas—none of these had seemed weighty in Dr. Jordan's mind in comparison with the positive virtues which his solid work exhibited. But now, when he was told by former students and others of classroom sayings and phrases which, if relayed to Mrs. Stanford, would be deeply resented, her whole attitude seemed to be explained. Dr. Ross indignantly denied that he had ever directly or indirectly reflected upon Mr. Stanford in his classroom, and there is no reason to suppose that he had not observed the proprieties as far as persons and names were concerned. Yet some of the "pistol shots" which "through Stanford class-rooms rang," such as "stolen millions," "railroad deals were railroad steals," and like pithy phrases—current coin among Economics students—

were understood by them as pointedly directed toward the Pacific railroads and their managers. There were always gossips ready to carry to Mrs. Stanford these and other matters which might incite distrust or alarm. It was almost eerie at times the knowledge she seemed to possess of what was going on in the Quadrangles and within the University generally.[6] As far as the record goes, however, Mrs. Stanford never made any such charge against Dr. Ross, nor even referred to the matter in any letters or conversation with Dr. Jordan.

It was some little time before Dr. Jordan could bring himself to believe that Dr. Ross had taken an irrevocable position and was not to be moved by any consideration for persons or for the institution. When he did so believe, there was a swift and complete revulsion of feeling. "I am convinced," he wrote Mrs. Stanford (November 17), "that you were right in your judgment and not I. I wish that I had followed out your suggestions of four years ago." To President Eliot he wrote (November 19): "Painful as all this public discussion is, I feel it less than I do the sudden revelation to me of Dr. Ross's real character. It proves under trial almost devoid of the qualities involved in the phrase *noblesse oblige.* I have learned too that in regarding him as a 'dangerous man,' not publicly merely, but personally, the instincts of Mrs. Stanford were truer than mine."

"Dr. Ross was removed because the university authorities regarded him as unfit for the place." Looking now only at the reverse side of the Ross shield, Dr. Jordan could make this his individual conviction and date it back to the Great Railway Strike of 1894: "There was not any doubt in my mind from the time of Dr. Ross's active sympathy with the Debs strike that he was unfit for the work he was doing here."[7] Former misgivings, some of them long forgotten, were recalled. *Honest Dollars* had been so long out of mind that even its name was not remembered, and it was some time before a copy of the pamphlet could be found. This now became the head and front of Dr. Ross's offending: "Slangy and scurrilous," "an appeal to the poor against the rich," "the chief offense of which Dr. Ross was guilty; on account of which his resignation was asked in 1896."[8] The anti-Japanese address now appeared as "an unsound, unscientific, impassioned appeal at a mass meeting led by professional agitators."[9] "Mrs. Stanford's relation to this affair was simply that of giving me her personal feeling in regard to a man who has worried her very much."[10]

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[6] "Although not familiarizing myself with the various professors and their accomplishments I find, to my surprise, that the measure of them all has been pretty well taken by the public and the students, and I have, through their knowledge, been kept well informed of the status of them all."—Mrs. Stanford to Dr. Jordan, March 24, 1902.

[7] Letter to C. S. Harmon, April 3, 1901.

Whatever the President might have said, or omitted saying, after the explosion had occurred, the University, Dr. Jordan, and Mrs. Stanford were all in for an unhappy time with the public. This Dr. Jordan had feared might be the case with Dr. Ross and himself, from just a bare announcement of the resignation, without the dramatic exit. That Mrs. Stanford would be brought into the picture he had not conceived even as a possibility. But he knew the sensitiveness of the academic public, and he realized the awkardness for both Dr. Ross and himself in trying to account for a situation for which no good explanation was apparent.

Had there been only the resignation itself in question, even with the unexpected appeal to the public added, the storm might have blown over with a minimum of excitement and little or no damage to the University. In academic circles, particularly in the East, Dr. Ross's predilection for "brash" statements and his weakness on the side of practical judgment were pretty well understood, and his professional standing not yet assured. Unfortunately, the situation was immediately complicated and greatly intensified by the appearance of Professor Howard, of the History Department, in the role of offended justice. On the morning following the publication of the Ross statement, Professor Howard turned aside from his regular lecture in his course on the French Revolution to deliver an impassioned address on the subject, as he phrased it, of "Commercial Absolutism and the Place of the Teacher in the Discussion of Social Questions." This, which was at first taken as a spontaneous outburst of indignation, was, in fact, a prepared address, every sentence of which had been carefully thought out. "It was," Professor Howard declared later, "as earnest a protest against interference with academic freedom as I was capable of making. There was absolutely no discourteous reference to the President nor to the Founder, although in the discussion of the general theme there was involved a strong disapproval of their action."[11]

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[8] Letter to John T. Doyle, January 31, 1901. (President Eliot's comment on *Honest Dollars* is interesting: "That obnoxious pamphlet on free silver was, in spite of its illustrations, a very clear and vigorous presentation of the silver side of the controversy."—Letter to Dr. Jordan, June 4, 1901.)

[9] Letter to Walter M. Rose, January 11, 1901.

[10] Letter to Hamilton Holt, January 30, 1901.

A few sentences which the public found sensational had been introduced near the beginning of the address as the result, Professor Howard explained, of a conversation with Dr. Jordan the evening before, in which Dr. Jordan had surmised that Mrs. Stanford had been influenced by certain persons connected with the Market Street Railway. The sentences were as follows: "I have never done homage to the god of Market Street. I have never bowed down to Standard Oil; nor have I ever doffed my hat to the Celestial Six Companies."

The text of Professor Howard's address was not given to the press. It was, however, reconstructed by various students, from their notes, and in this form got into print. Yet on the same day on which the address was made (November 15) Professor Howard did give out a signed statement in which he said: "The summary dismissal of Dr. Ross for daring in a frank but thoroughly scientific spirit to speak the simple truth on social questions is an act which will cause the deepest grief and profoundest indignation on the part of every friend of intellectual freedom in the United States. The event has filled my heart with the deepest sorrow. . . . . It is a blow aimed directly at academic freedom, and it is, therefore, a deep humiliation to

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[11] Letter to Dr. Jordan, January 12, 1901.

Stanford University and to the cause of American education. The blow does not come directly from the founder. It really proceeds from the sinister spirit of social bigotry and commercial intolerance which is just now the deadliest foe of American democracy."

Professor Howard had been regarded as one of the half-dozen strongest men in the University: "its best teacher," Dr. Jordan had once said.[12] He had made his department preeminent, and no teacher could wish for a more devoted body of students. The effect of his address on those who heard it has been described by various students. "It left us all spellbound," one says. Another: "Evidently greatly moved, yet speaking with marked deliberation, in the even tone so characteristic of the man, Dr. Howard began an address of so much intensity, such marked eloquence, and such lofty purport, that we were fairly swept along by his thought until we were unconscious at the end whether he had spoken twenty minutes or an hour."

Of Professor Howard's deep feeling and utmost sincerity there can be no question. The innocent occasions of Dr. Ross's offending, the repeated protests of Dr. Jordan, the dictatorial persistence of Mrs. Stanford—it was all as simple as that; and duly and fully set forth in Dr. Ross's published statement! Temperamentally very different from Dr. Jordan, Professor Howard would not be likely to appreciate the complicated strategy, the compromises, the sacrifice of small consistencies by means of which the University was being piloted through difficult waters to safe anchorage. To his mind a great principle was being betrayed, and he must strike as hard a blow as he could in defense of that principle. "I am sorry," he wrote Dr. Jordan (November 17), "that you disapprove of my conduct in this matter. . . . . If, as you believe, in taking the course which I felt constrained to take, I have added to the heavy burden which you are now called upon to bear, I am profoundly grieved. On the other hand, I cannot think that what I have said will injure the University. You ask my aid in this crisis. If devotion to the great cause in which we are all engaged and strenuous effort to promote the welfare of the University will be of service to you, you may count on me in the future as I trust you have been able to do in the past."

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[12] Even after the trying events that followed, Dr. Jordan could say, as he did in a letter to President Jesse of the University of Missouri, dated April 20, 1901: "He is unquestionably one of the greatest teachers of history in America, a man of intense energy, driving and stimulating his students and getting as good results as any one whom I know. He was one of our most honored and trusted professors."

"My greatest embarrassment now," Dr. Jordan wrote Mrs. Stanford (November 21), "is in relation to Dr. Howard. On the first test of real strength of character he has disappointed us and has allowed Dr. Ross to place him in a most awkward position. While Dr. Howard is willing to promise to give every assurance of support, he is not willing to explain, or modify, or justify in public his reckless statements. . . . . I think it our duty to treat him as gently as we can." Again: "I shall forgive him if he gives me a chance." On November 28 he cabled Mrs. Stanford: "Howard regrets rash speech. Wise to treat him leniently." A day earlier (November 27) he had written to a prominent alumnus: "I hope that nothing disagreeable will come from Professor Howard's relation [to this affair]. . . . . What seems to be the best thing is a disclaimer that he meant anything personal."

Mrs. Stanford's first word to Dr. Jordan was from Rome, under date of December 14. In the letter she says: "In regard to Professor Howard, it could not possibly satisfy you to receive an individual apology when he made his unwarrantable and pernicious address to the students, which was given to the newspapers and reached thousands of people; but he should make his apology through the same source and retract his unchristian attack upon you, myself, my husband, and the University —and even this cannot efface the injury that has been done."

Mrs. Stanford's feeling in the matter made it practically impossible to carry out Dr. Jordan's first impulse of virtually ignoring the Howard outbreak, trusting to time and reflection to bring about a different attitude of mind. The onward course of events made the situation still more difficult. Dr. Ross's bomb had exploded with a detonation as resounding as he could possibly have anticipated; and he had his full day with the public as hero and martyr. In April following Dr. Ross could say that he was satisfied with the outcome.[13] But before this state of mind could be reached he must secure a vindication from his own guild, about to assemble in Detroit for its annual meeting. Considering how almost completely the University was estopped from entering into details or explanations, Dr. Ross's task would seem not too difficult. Yet any verdict must be based largely upon ex parte statements and upon inferences which, in the absence of Mrs. Stanford, could not be subjected to verification. In presenting Dr. Ross's case to the Committee of Economists, Professor Howard's aid was probably indispensable.

At first there seems to have been some vague Utopian thought among Dr. Ross's friends that by rallying faculty, students, and alumni so strong a protest could be made as to convince Mrs. Stanford of her error and restore Dr. Ross to his place in the University. Dr. Ross's students, however, while personally aggrieved by his removal, had quite generally decided that their first loyalty was to Dr. Jordan and the University. This loyalty was even more pronounced among alumni and faculty. There were differences of opinion, however, and in a quiet way Professor Howard exerted himself to bring students, faculty, and alumni support to his own point of view. The situation drifted, almost imperceptibly to the actors, into a place where co-operation became more and more difficult. This was evident to others before it was brought home to Dr. Jordan. Early in January, however, in writing to a prominent alumnus, Dr. Jordan said: "As to the matter of Professor Howard, I see no hope. His frame of mind is apparently such that nothing is possible—for which, as you know, I am exceedingly sorry." The matter was brought to a head (January 12, 1901) by a rather peremptory request for either an apology or a resignation; but by this time only one answer was possible or expected. Professor Howard responded promptly, with dignity and spirit: "I have no apology to offer. My conscience is clear in this matter. What

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[13] Interview in the *Philadelphia North American*, April 13, 1901.

I have said I have said, as I believe, in the cause of individual justice and academic liberty. Therefore, in response to your demand, I tender you my resignation to take effect at your pleasure."

The internal commotion caused by the Ross upheaval was small compared to that which followed the enforced resignation of Professor Howard. The impropriety of using one's classroom for a criticism of the management of the University was generally conceded; but it was hard to regard this as an offense warranting removal from the University. One resignation, of an assistant professor in the Economics Department, had followed the Ross resignation. Four others were now added in quick succession, and two or three more before the end of the academic year. Students and alumni were again in turmoil, this time not so easily quieted. There were many rash proposals, but with a little time for reflection and under the persuasion of older alumni wiser counsels prevailed. On January 17 the students in mass meeting assembled passed with enthusiasm a resolution expressing "our unswerving confidence in Dr. Jordan as President of this University and our faith in his wisdom to direct its affairs." More than five hundred students gathered at the Palo Alto station to greet Dr. Jordan on his return from a two days' absence and to assure him of their loyalty and support. Nevertheless, the esteem, admiration, and affection for Professor Howard, far stronger than any loyalty Dr. Ross had commanded, could not be restrained. Three hundred of those who had supported the resolution affirming loyalty and faith in Dr. Jordan joined in the following signed testimonial to Professor Howard:

"Fearing that the action of the Associated Students in affirming their faith in President Jordan may be misunderstood by you, we, as of those who supported such action, wish to offer you an explanation. You will readily realize that we have been confronted by an exceedingly delicate situation. On the one hand, we have had to consider our duty to the University, and on the other the rights, convictions, and unquestioned sincerity of those members of the faculty concerned, and the debt we owe to them for what they have given us of themselves during our association with them. In reaching our final conclusion, simply to declare the confidence we feel in Dr. Jordan, it has seemed best to us to leave out of consideration altogether the merits of the controversies which have arisen. We have followed what appeared the only course open to us as students and beneficiaries. We cannot express our regret at losing you from the faculty. Your influence has been felt not only by those of us who have known you personally, but it has permeated the whole being of the University. Upon students the effect of contact with you has been that of the ideal teacher. The place you have occupied in the life of the University cannot be refilled."

Immediately following the Ross resignation a meeting of the San Francisco alumni had been called in response to pressure from those who desired the adoption of a resolution supporting Dr. Ross and passing some sort of censure upon the action of the University authorities. After prolonged discussion, hasty action was averted and a committee appointed to investigate the situation and report back to the alumni. This task was taken seriously by the committee, and its report, after adoption by the alumni, was made public on January 26. There was no attempt to harmonize the views of Mrs. Stanford and Dr. Jordan, but rather to get at the basis of Mrs. Stanford's severe judgment of Dr. Ross and the reasonableness of her final insistence upon his withdrawal from the University. Her distrust was properly traced back to the campaign of 1896. The later incidents cited by Dr. Ross and the reports brought to her of his mannerisms of speech, radical statements, and derogatory references to Mr. Stanford were adjudged as merely cumulative, confirming her belief in his lack of dignity and sound judgment. Since Dr. Ross's status had been probationary after 1896, and since Mrs. Stanford's objections were not to his opinions or their proper expression, the committee concluded that her position had not involved any infringement of the right of free speech.

This report, carefully drawn, clear in statement, and fairly judicial in tone, was weighty enough to have had considerable effect in quieting discussion and in reassuring the public. Locally it probably did so. But with the public at large its influence was offset by the report of the Seligman Committee, dated February 20, and in print a few days later.

Dr. Ross had attended the meeting of the American Economic Association held in Detroit during the Christmas holidays, and had naturally brought his case very much to the attention of his fellow members. The Association as such took no note of the matter; but a considerable proportion of the members in attendance got together (December 28) and named a committee of three, headed by Professor Seligman of Columbia, to inquire into the circumstances of Dr. Ross's dismissal. In formulating its report this committee had before it Dr. Ross's original statement, variously supplemented, particularly by letters from Professor Howard, and brief responses to questionnaires from a committee of the Stanford faculty and from Dr. Jordan.

> The reply of the faculty committee, dated January 14, 1901, and signed by Professors Branner, Stillman, and Gilbert, was as follows:
>
> "Your letter of December 30th addressed to President Jordan has been referred to us for reply. In your letter you say: 'We understand from the public prints, as well as from other sources, that Professor Ross was asked to sever his connection with the University owing to loss of confidence in him by Mrs. Stanford, and that this loss of confidence was due primarily to the opinions expressed by him in a lecture on the subject of coolie immigration as well as to incidental remarks on the problem of municipal ownership.'
>
> "In reply, we beg to say that the dissatisfaction of the University management with Professor Ross antedated his utterances on the topics you refer to. His removal was not due primarily to what he published, said, or thought in regard to coolie immigration or in regard to municipal ownership. We can assure you furthermore that in our opinion his removal cannot be interpreted as an interference with freedom of speech or thought within the proper and reasonable meaning of that expression.
>
> "These statements are made with a full knowledge of the facts of the case."

The task set for itself by the Seligman Committee was the discovery of Mrs. Stanford's reasons for her lack of confidence in Dr. Ross and, inferentially, the validity of those reasons.

Since it could not question Mrs. Stanford, and since it got no help from the University authorities, the Committee could only proceed to deduce those reasons, and their lack of substance, from the inadvertent testimony of Dr. Jordan, in his role of special advocate, as disclosed in private and confidential letters already published or personally shown to the Committee by Dr. Ross. Notwithstanding this precarious basis, and with the acknowledgment that there might be important information with which they were not acquainted, the findings of the Committee, sustaining Dr. Ross's position, were signed by eighteen of the leading economists of the country. The immediate reaction of the academic public, particularly in the East, was distinctly unfavorable to the University. For a time there was talk of a boycott and of a definite attempt to dissuade Eastern men from accepting places on the Stanford faculty. As a concerted movement this came to nothing, though a few individuals may have been adversely affected. Writing to Dr. Jordan, under date of March 15, 1901, a member of the faculty, then in the East on a mission for the University, said: "I must confess that from this distance we of Stanford are a bad lot. But I am confirmed in the impression I had before leaving home that the people off here are dealing with a theory and not with the facts. . . . . A—— and B—— both spoke of your views expressed to them as being by far the most flattering they ever heard of [Dr. Ross] from any one, and quite out of harmony with their own ideas of him. The feature of the case that most impresses me here is that we are being punished for the sins of other institutions. Every one who has a grievance against a board of trustees takes up a cudgel."

The University itself was disturbed anew. A member of the faculty writing (March 5) to Dr. Branner, then in the East, said: "[The Seligman report] is the real attack on the President which Howard threatened in his talk with me as he said, 'I shall show Jordan up to the civilized world.' The faculty here is somewhat shaken and greatly depressed by these later attacks. The stalwarts are still stalwart, but certain others are shifting uneasily in their berths."

> In 1906, a member of the faculty writing to Dr. Jordan from Madison, Wisconsin, said: "I think I may say that there is no longer any Ross affair; but, and this we cannot afford to overlook, the prejudices engendered at that time still exist. . . . . It is no use to argue about it, for, as I have said, we are dealing with *prejudices*. But if we recognize that they still exist, we can work around them and create favorable impressions in other ways that will eventually destroy them."

The reaction of the faculty to the whole affair, however, had been for the most part normal and unexcited. The few rather severe critics of Dr. Ross would have felt relieved, at any time, at any turn that promised to transfer his activities to some other field of usefulness. Most of the others were aware of certain traits and mannerisms not likely to add to his academic reputation but which, within the group, could be regarded as diverting rather than offensive. Mrs. Stanford's objection to faculty participation in party politics was well known, since it had taken the form of an amendment to the Founding Grant. But her personal feeling toward Dr. Ross was not known, and there was no suspicion of any sword of Damocles impending over his head. He was an agreeable and companionable member of the small and rather intimate faculty group, and his scholarship and success as a teacher were recognized and appreciated. The announcement of his enforced resignation came as a distinct shock. A few of the faculty applauded Professor Howard's outspoken condemnation of the action that had been taken. Others waited for further information. The great majority, however, rallied unhesitatingly to the support of Dr. Jordan and the University, not because they understood much about the matter but because of their faith in Dr. Jordan and their appreciation of the tremendous task he was accomplishing. His continued leadership was felt to be indispensable and his presence in the University worth any number of Rosses. Mrs. Stanford might have been, probably was, mistaken in her action; but her usually sound judgment, her complete devotion to what she believed to be the best interests of the University, were qualities of which they had had abundant evidence. The wave of sympathy which might naturally have gone out toward

Dr. Ross was instantly congealed by the realization that in taking his dramatic departure through the newspapers he had stabbed the University in the back and made Dr. Jordan's task immeasurably harder. The assistant professor of economics, who chose to resign at once, had seemed principally grieved because Dr. Ross, as a result of his published statement, had been peremptorily relieved of his duties and not allowed to finish the few remaining weeks of the semester. Most of the later resignations were tragic consequences of the Howard episode. Two or three felt themselves compromised by a later (March 18) joint pronouncement of most of the members of the Academic Council justifying President Jordan in the removal of Dr. Ross and affirming that no question of academic freedom had been involved. In all these cases it was a matter of conscience, with mutual tolerance and respect for differences of opinion. The faculty as a body was in no way disrupted.

How did all this "unnecessary tumult," as she called it, affect Mrs. Stanford? Writing to Dr. Jordan from Rome (December 14, 1900) she said: "I find the subject too distasteful and too distressing to say any more than I have already said in the past. . . . . I could lay down my life for the University: not for any pride I have in its perpetuating the name of our dear son and ourselves, its founders, but for the sincere hope I cherish in its sending forth to the world grand men and women who will aid in developing the best there is to be found in human nature. While I have not expressed to you, or to anybody, what I have suffered myself, I will say that I feel the deepest and most heartfelt sympathy for you, and regret the effort that has been made by the newspapers to estrange our relations toward each other."

To Dr. Jordan's cable (January 25, 1901) asking permission to quote from Mrs. Stanford's letters, a prompt refusal was returned. Writing a few days later, Mrs. Stanford said: "To be frank with you, I do not feel happy over the fact that you wish again to justify your action by quoting me. I have said nothing in my letters that I should object to have quoted. I am very thankful that I have said so much less than I *feel* in regard to this controversy over Ross. My answer by cable expressed to you that I feel it is wrong to quote me in my absence."

From Denderhak on the Nile (February 20) she wrote: "In regard to this dreadful affair, which has seemed to disturb the whole world and brought such severe and unjust criticism upon me, I have but this to say: If I had not a sincere and honest belief in a dear, precious, loving Father, who knows all and everything we do, and is just in His judgments, if, my dear friend, I did not know this and trust Him to govern and rule the University for its best interests, and know He will guide you if you ask Him, and will guide and support me,—I could not have endured the adverse criticism that has come through the dismissal of Professor Ross. . . . . Your past ten years of successful management of the University affairs entitles you to the deepest respect and sympathy of the faculty in whatever position you might take in regard to the management, and no saying of Dr. Howard or any other professor in the institution can ever make me falter in my trust, respect, and faith in your ability and your devotion to the blessed work entrusted to your care by my dear husband and myself."

Mrs. Stanford was keenly sensitive to criticism directed against herself or the University, and the continued agitation of the Ross affair she found most trying. Declining to comply with Dr. Jordan's suggestion that she write to a certain person named by him, she added (April 26): "The Ross affair in itself was not of much import, if it had been conducted properly, which it was not. I hope that you will now consider it concluded, and in answer to your letter I cabled you the following: Consider Ross matter concluded and not discuss it. I am firm in saying nothing."

From the very beginning of Mrs. Stanford's stewardship, influences unfriendly to Dr. Jordan and inimical to various policies and trends of the University had been working to undermine Mrs. Stanford's confidence in Dr. Jordan's wisdom and to create distrust of his management of University affairs. Mrs. Stanford did not always understand events or policies, and was at times troubled and worried about particular happenings.

But to personal criticisms of Dr. Jordan she had resolutely turned a deaf ear, and her trust in him was unlimited. It was he who was able generally to resolve her doubts and fears and keep her courage up and her resolution strong when her anxieties and the difficulties of her position seemed too great to be borne. Now, as the Ross affair dragged on, the continued pounding to which she was being subjected from various sources was evidently wearing her armor dangerously thin.

Upon her return from Europe in November 1901, Mrs. Stanford avoided, as she says, any discussion of the Ross affair with either Dr. Jordan or others at the University. She had not dismissed the subject from her mind, however, and was restive under the censure which she felt was still being visited upon her by the public. From the moment the resignation was made public Dr. Jordan, of course, had formally assumed full responsibility for everything the "University authorities" had done, and on all occasions proclaimed Mrs. Stanford's freedom from blame. In building up a defense against the harsh indictment of the Ross manifesto, the magnifying glasses formerly used in surveying Dr. Ross's virtues were now turned upon his faults. In consequence, Dr. Jordan came to hold views, as Mrs. Stanford told the Trustees, "far more radical than any I ever entertained." In the first instance he had "piled it on a bit thick" in order to carry his point with Mrs. Stanford and bring about the withdrawal, if it must be that, without friction or injury to either the University or Dr. Ross. He was now piling it on quite as thick in order to show that his own estimate of Dr. Ross's faults and offenses, dating back to 1894, was in essential agreement with that of Mrs. Stanford. The real difference between Mrs. Stanford and himself, he now came to think, was one of expediency—not of decapitation itself, but as to the time and manner thereof. This explanation would serve to remove from Mrs. Stanford's mind any possible doubt she may have had as to the wisdom of her positive insistence upon Dr. Ross's withdrawal, and at a specified time. But it would still leave her, she felt, in the role of blocking Dr. Jordan's plan for a tranquil exit, and so herself as bringing on the deluge.

In writing to a member of the Board of Trustees (June 8, 1903), Dr. Jordan said: "With Mrs. Stanford's approval, I am preparing a brief account of the real facts in the Ross case, accompanied by memoranda and extracts from certain letters. I wish to show in the first place that Mrs. Stanford in no wise exceeded her powers or her duty in this matter, and that Ross was not a victim of any injustice except that which was involved in the fact that I allowed him to stay on a temporary appointment after he should have been, and as a matter of fact had been, dismissed by me."

> "It must be clear from the records that the responsibility for each and every act in the Ross case properly rests with the President, to whom the power of removal is entrusted by deed of grant under which the University was founded. The President removed Dr. Ross in 1896. He it was who established the probationary status under which he was retained until 1900, and it was the President who summarily dismissed him in 1900. The responsibility for these acts cannot be shared with or charged to the Founder."[14]

This was a documented account prepared with great care and in considerable detail. Although highly dramatized, and super-generous toward the Founder, it did not satisfy Mrs. Stanford. On June 11, 1903, she wrote to Dr. Jordan: "I hope you will not allow the shortness of time before you start on your trip to interfere with your allowing me to read the article you mentioned in relation to the Ross affair. . . . . It would greatly surprise and disappoint me if anything should be made public before I had been allowed to see it—for you know, dear friend, I have been the sufferer." After reading the completed draft Mrs. Stanford's reaction was very positive: "The article entitled 'The Ross Case, by David Starr Jordan,' has been carefully read and considered. Under no circumstances whatever would I consent to have this published in the present form. It is stirring up an old matter, yet leaving the case just as it was left three years ago. It impresses me there is very special pleading to pacify the culprit Ross. If this version of the case were published I would still stand as the one responsible for the dismissal of Professor Ross."[15]

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[14] Quoted from the unpublished 1903 "account."

Meantime, without consulting either Dr. Jordan or any member of the Board, Mrs. Stanford had prepared her own version of the affair, which she presented to the Board of Trustees together with the complete correspondence between herself and Dr. Jordan.[16]

This was a straightforward statement of the case as Mrs. Stanford viewed it, and a vigorous denial of the charges that had been laid at her door regarding invasion of the President's prerogatives and interference with a teacher's freedom of speech. Referring to the power of removal given to the President in the Founding Grant, she recalled her own extension of this power and her repeated insistence in formal addresses to the Trustees that "the selection, appointment, and removal of professors and teachers, and all questions relating thereto, shall be made and determined by the President of the University." "I have never allowed an appeal to be taken from his action upon any matter," she goes on to say, "and have never overruled him in any matter pertaining to the powers delegated to him. I never required, or even recommended, the appointment of any member of the teaching force of the University. In my administration of ten years I have, excepting upon two occasions, refrained from even expressing my private opinion as to the fitness of any member of the faculty. The first case involved personal delinquencies. The subsequent resignation of the party involved was in no way related to any criticism by me. The other case was that of Professor Ross. My personal views were expressed over four years before the President accepted his resignation, and were in formation still earlier."

This statement presents a record of restraint, consideration, and co-operation which any board of trustees might envy. But it still leaves the Ross case the one striking exception to her general rule and practice. This Mrs. Stanford did not see, and for various reasons. The President could count on Mrs. Stanford's steadfastness, her general good sense, and the subordination of every other desire to the welfare of the University. But she was fully conscious of her own powers and had no thought of being left out of anything that concerned the University's well-being. In explaining Mr. Stanford's reason for giving to the President the absolute power of removal, Mrs. Stanford had said, in 1896: "If they [the appointees of the President] were not satisfactory Mr. Stanford always felt at liberty to make his comments and express his opinions as to their ability." Of course the President would not be bound by any such opinions, but equally of course it is not to be supposed that any president would treat lightly the "comments" of Founders or Trustees. In any case of serious disagreement the recourse of the Trustees would be the removal not of the teacher but of the president. In general, differences of opinion, whether over removals or other matters, would not come to such a pass, but would be adjusted by argument, tactful diplomacy, mutual concession, and like considerations. Hundreds of questions of policy and administration had been matters of discussion between Dr. Jordan and Mrs. Stanford, and were settled in this way. After full consideration Mrs. Stanford would say, "You are right"; or Dr. Jordan would make the concession. In retrospect, and in rationalizing the whole Ross affair, Dr. Jordan preferred to see in Mrs. Stanford's final insistence only a form of "comment" and "opinion." So strong were her convictions, so sure of being right, with later complete acknowledgment from Dr. Jordan that she *was* right, that Mrs. Stanford no longer realized, if ever, that she had set up an ultimatum which conceivably could be enforced only by Dr. Jordan's resignation or removal. Her opinions of Professor Ross, she says in her published statement, "were expressed to the President in the hope that they would constitute a basis for a similar opinion in his mind."

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[15] Mrs. Stanford to Dr. Jordan, July 13, 1903.

[16] Mrs. Stanford's review of the Ross affair was presented as an address to the Trustees, April 25, 1903. It was not printed and given to the public until July 26, 1903, and its existence was not known to Dr. Jordan at the time his own account was being prepared.

The title of Mrs. Stanford's address to the Trustees was "On the Right of Free Speech." "In no other institution," she declared, "are the principles of freedom of speech, freedom of thought, and freedom of conscience so thoroughly safeguarded as they are in the Leland Stanford Junior University. . . . . No one can appreciate more fully than I the right to freedom of speech, for upon many occasions I have refrained with the greatest possible effort from expressing my personal views when I believed serious errors were being made, lest it might be thought that I was attempting to impose these views upon the University."

Mrs. Stanford's opinions relating to Professor Ross "were not based upon his political or scholastic teaching, but upon the consensus of opinion of many,—from among the foremost educators of the country to persons personally present at his political discussions; but they were not based upon the views of business men whose interests were affected. . . . . No objection was ever raised by me, or any other person connected with the University, either because of his views upon any political, social, or other question, or his proper public or private expression of those views. I believe that Professor Ross never intimated that he was not accorded the right to express his opinions in his classes with perfect freedom, or that any objection was ever made to his teaching by me. . . . . A professor's conduct and public utterances are, however, limited to some extent by the University Trusts which, among other things, prohibit *partisanism* and sectarianism. . . . . It is not proposed to make a detailed statement of the reasons which led to the resignation of Professor Ross, or even detail the additional objections to his conduct and speeches, which were objected to chiefly because they were believed to be in violation of the University Trusts and purposes; but his violation of non-partisanism by taking the public rostrum in campaigns under the auspices of partisan campaign committees and lending his name and official title for use on partisan campaign pamphlets, gross in language and illustration and objectionable in themselves as evidently designed to appeal to the passions and prejudices, is a matter of common knowledge. Not having any fixed opinion myself upon the issues of the campaign of 1896, I did not object to these acts because of the political views expressed, nor did I change my opinion of him or cease to express it when Professor Ross subsequently changed those views."

As an explanation of the reasons for Dr. Ross's removal, it is evident that Mrs. Stanford's statement leaves much to be desired. She did purpose scrupulously to respect the teacher's freedom of speech, but the boundaries she drew were not altogether satisfactory. She did suppose that her judgment of Dr. Ross's unfitness had been reached quite apart from his views and the proper expression of them. But it is easy to see that the unnamed persons who had influenced her, though they may have deftly shifted their ground, had chiefly in mind Dr. Ross's alleged political and economic heresies and his convincingness in presenting them to "the masses." And surely in Mrs. Stanford's final summary, the "unsoundness" of Dr. Ross's political and social doctrines played an important part. Condemning Dr. Ross's "partisanism" in the 1896 campaign as a violation of the University trusts was in fact indicting him under a statute not enacted until the year following the event.

Of course Dr. Jordan was justified in contesting Mrs. Stanford's ruling in every way possible and in leaving no stone unturned to keep the matter in his own hands, and equally justified in yielding to her judgment when he had failed. His way of doing it was Dr. Jordan's way—too large-hearted and careless of sequences to be anything but perilous, if it were betrayed; but with every promise of his usual success in handling unpleasant situations had even his last minimum request been conceded. Mrs. Stanford was equally concerned not to embarrass the President or prejudice Dr. Ross's future prospects. She thought she was contributing to that end in her final extension of Dr. Ross's term of service to the March date inadvertently suggested to her by Dr. Jordan. Mrs. Stanford was not practiced in academic ways and usages. Dr. Jordan's strategy was singularly uncalculated. And so fate took a hand to bring about what, in its events and consequences, was, and still remains, the great tragedy in the history of the University.

The immediate victim of this unhappy affair turned eastward, to find opportunity in other institutions, for an honorable career. From the blow to its prestige the University recovered in a surprisingly short space of time, being, for one thing, fortunate in the men chosen to take the places of those who had departed. There was no lowering of standards and no faltering in the pursuit of those ideals which had given the University its place of distinction and leadership. But besides the prejudice and suspicion, which lasted on and which only time could dissolve, something of the magic spell was broken. Critics, friendly and unfriendly, were more active. Mrs. Stanford, understanding only in part and besieged by complaints and warnings and counterplans, open and subterranean, was confused and troubled. The Trustees, inheriting doubts and confusion, came into power as involuntary reformers, as well as administrators. Adjustment and readjustment proceeded, in the main, with patience and good will; but the pace was slow.

THE PROBLEM OF LIQUOR

A freshman writing to his home paper shortly after the opening of the University remarked: "There seems to be but one thing which may prove a drawback to student life here, and that is the proximity of Menlo Park and Mayfield where the saloon and billiard hall figure prominently. It may be, however, that these can be abolished through the influence of the proper authorities."[1] Billiards happily were found to be not indissolubly associated with the saloon, and could be set up in their own right as a recreative game of skill. But the "drawback" in the form of the saloon was another matter. In time, to be sure, saloons in the neighborhood of the University were abolished, as the freshman had optimistically surmised; but the task was not an easy one, and much Stanford history was written, and no little strain and stress experienced, between these two important dates.

California as a grape-growing region, with a cosmopolitan population and a large admixture of South European habits and traditions, was naturally a wine-drinking state. Wine as a table beverage was common among all classes of the population. Beer was even more a social beverage, and both wine and beer, with the hard liquors as well, stocked the saloons. Mr. Stanford's Vina Ranch, containing one of the largest vineyards in the world, had been made by the Founding Grant the inalienable possession of the University, and was expected eventually to produce a large income for University uses. On the campus itself there were vines of considerable extent, and a well-equipped winery—not, of course, with any license for the retail disposal of its product.

The problem, however, as far as California colleges were concerned, was in no sense peculiar to Stanford. It differed, if at all, because the University had been set down in a strictly rural environment. Theater and opera were mostly inaccessible and society and its doings practically restricted to the campus. There was no question in the minds of the college community that the advantages of this isolation exceeded the disadvantages; but the score and more of saloons in the neighboring towns, by this very fact, obtained a special prominence.

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[1] Walter M. Rose, in *Ontario Record*, October 28, 1891.

Although drinking—moderate drinking, let it be assumed—was accepted as normal for adults, it would be pretty generally agreed that the dangers of easy access to drinking places for students of college age, away from the normal home environment, were considerable. Palo Alto, the University town proper, had been made perpetually "dry" at the suggestion of Mr. Stanford, by means of a prohibitory clause in deeds of sale. And it was Mr. and Mrs. Stanford who sponsored the rule excluding liquor from the dormitories, inferentially also from fraternity houses, though there were none such when the University opened.

The "tracing" referred to in the following letter from Mr. Stanford to Timothy Hopkins, dated Washington, January 8, 1888, refers to the location of a proposed railroad station in the future town of Palo Alto, which Mr. Hopkins was then having platted.

"Your letter of December 23d with accompanying tracing has been received. The location is satisfactory so far as I am concerned, but whether or no we can at present afford to have a station so near to Menlo and Mayfield I am uncertain. . . . . In case you have a depot, I wish you would provide that no whiskey shall be sold within a certain distance. I think I should object to a depot of any kind if whiskey could be sold near it, as the location is so close to my university. As far as your lots are concerned I think they would more readily find purchasers if it were known that no saloons would be established near them. The knowledge that no liquor could be sold in the place would, I think, have a very favorable influence upon people wishing for quiet homes where they could raise their children."

While the total abstinence sentiment may have been weaker in California than in other states, it was nevertheless a growing sentiment. Even at the beginning an astonishingly large proportion of Stanford students were coming from homes where alcoholic beverages were unknown and where strict abstinence was taught and practiced. For the convivially minded there was from the outset a natural gravitation to the neighboring saloons, and the "Mayfield road" and the "Mayfield habit" were early accessions to the Stanford vocabulary. There was one particular drinking-place (not continuously the same place) about which sentiment gathered and which tradition hallowed as a sort of special shrine to Bacchus. "The faculty of Stanford University," a devotee writes, "has a strong prohibitionist leaning and the town charter at Palo Alto has an iron-clad dry section. For that reason the followers of the old student ideal of beer and song are driven to practice their rites in secret. There is a tavern in the town of Mayfield, with a back room where beer drinking can be carried on in safety, and this room is the scene of much revelry on Friday and Saturday nights. It is only a little bare apartment, with beer steins along the walls by way of decoration and a pile of empty cases in one corner. But tradition has made it the most famous spot in the region of the University. For the past ten years that ugly little room has made University history. It is mentioned in all the student songs; it lives in all the student traditions. No farce or extravaganza is complete without some reference to the Mayfield road and the little nook in the Cafe Anzini."[2] On the table about which the devotees gathered were carved the names or initials of many of Stanford's noted heroes. The dissipation was always represented as being of a very mild character, as befitted a shrine so sacred.

In so far as the jollity which went on around the sacred table, or elsewhere, was as innocent and restrained as its devotees represented it to be, the University would have no disposition to interfere. This was not the whole story, as from time to time the University was made painfully aware. The aftermath of every big intercollegiate event in San Francisco, as spread out in the city papers the morning after, did not make pleasant reading. If it was only the old story, repeated over and over again through all the centuries of student history, of mob psychology and student excesses, it was none the less disturbing when youths were involved whose promise for the future was the University's excuse for existing at all. If rules and regulations did not result, there were "fiats" enough and precedents enough to give emphatic expression to the University's concern. One immediate result was to hasten the time when intercollegiate events might take place only on college grounds.

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[2] The Charley Meyer saloon is here meant. *San Francisco Chronicle,* November 10, 1901.

> The *Sequoia*, speaking editorially, February 2, 1900, said: "Nor is the evil of the city game finished with the play. Custom is such and youth is such that Thanksgiving has grown to be looked upon as a night legitimately filled with carousal. The freshman who has never before known intoxication, who knows barely the taste of liquor, must 'enthuse' that night and advertise to the city his drunkenness."

In the day-by-day life of the students there was no large city near by into which questionable doings might be absorbed and give no identifying sign. If not published from the housetops they were sporadically enough in evidence to keep faculty committees anxious and alert. At first offenses were mainly individual or of small groups and not characteristic of any large proportion of the student body. Yet year by year it was possible to note some increase in student drinking, and particularly in its spread toward the campus. "There are two very serious and growing evils in Encina Hall," Dr. Jordan reported to the Business Office, on December 15, 1900, "which it belongs to us to correct—hazing and drunkenness. Thus far Mr. Adderson and the watchman have been unable to give the names of those misusing freshmen or coming in drunk through the windows to sleep with their boots on."

The increase of drinking among students alarmed even those who in undergraduate days had mingled beer with good fellowship and who wanted the old custom kept up with the excesses cut out. Two prominent alumni of the Pioneer Class made a serious start toward setting up, just outside the Palo Alto city limits, an establishment patterned after the Princeton Inn. There was to be the grill, reserved for students, with no bar and no hard liquors, and with excessive drinking not tolerated. They made known their plans to the University authorities, without asking for support, but concluding from the various reactions obtained that there would be no active opposition. Even Dr. Jordan was at first inclined to think that this might be a choice of evils worth a trial. In the end, however, very positive opposition did develop from both the University and the citizens of Palo Alto, and the whole project was given up.[3]

As time went on the town of Mayfield, looking around rather enviously upon its prosperous neighbor, Palo Alto, began to question whether its many saloons might not be as a millstone about its own neck. As this idea began to grow, incorporation was sought and a progressive mayor was chosen. Under his tactful leadership, and primarily as a strictly business proposition, Mayfield, in 1903, went "dry." Thereupon the saloon interest which catered to student trade removed, with its sacred tables, to Menlo Park, but at a less convenient distance from the University. The "Mayfield road" thereupon became the "Menlo road"; but because of the distance there was a noticeable diversion of the liquor traffic to the campus.

Menlo Park, with its fourteen saloons, was quite as well prepared as ever Mayfield had been to become the mecca of the convivial student. Hitherto it had catered very little to the student element—was, in fact, a community quite detached from the University and its doings. This new and sudden invasion from the Stanford campus made a pronounced change in local conditions, particularly after nightfall. Except to those commercially interested in the sale of liquor, it was not a welcome change. Father Lyons, of the local Catholic Church, protesting to the Board of Supervisors in October 1907, declared that "at the present time Menlo is the congregating point for the idle and vicious drinkers of Palo Alto, Mayfield, and Stanford University, much to the danger and menace of women, girls, and children." When Dr. Jordan took a hand, protesting the licensing of two particular places, Mr. James O'Keefe, representing the saloon interests, indignantly resented the aspersions cast upon the town. All the rowdyism he had seen was caused by students from Stanford University. It was the Stanford students, he said, who were there every evening singing vile songs and insulting anyone who might be unfortunate enough to come near them.

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[3] A project not entirely dismissed from the student mind but canvassed anew from time to time without result.

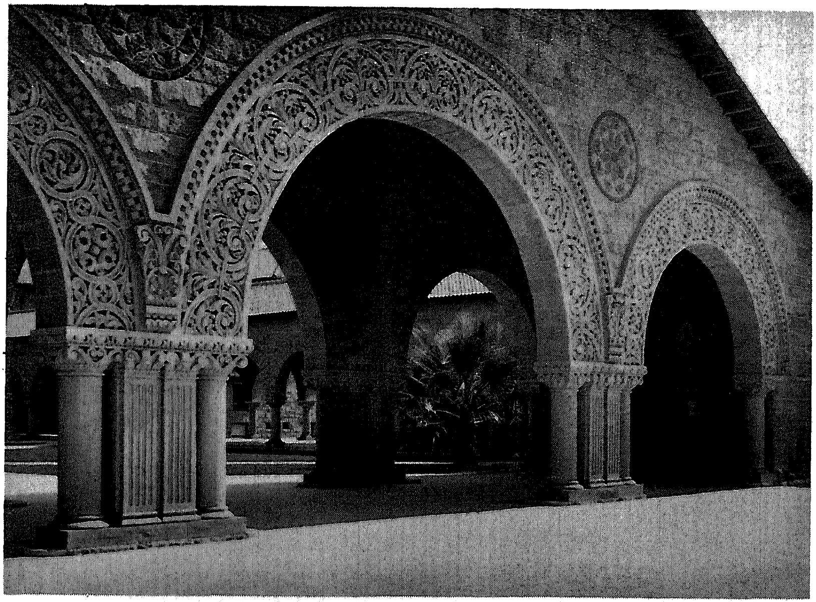
Menlo Park was not an incorporated town and belonged to a county predominantly "wet" in sentiment, with supervisors who were generally saloon keepers or men otherwise interested in the sale of intoxicants. Finding that no results were likely to be obtained through local action, an appeal was made to the state legislature, which, in March 1909, enacted a law forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors within a mile and a half of the University.

The law, though general in form, was so drawn as to apply to Stanford University only.

However, no attention was paid to the law by the supervisors, who continued to grant licenses, or by the saloon keepers, who continued to sell. The law was contested on the ground that the "grounds or campus" included only the area immediately about the Quadrangles and did not extend, toward Menlo, to the boundaries of the estate, as claimed by the University. The constitutional question was also raised. In the first test case in the Justice's Court at Redwood City the jury disagreed. The second case resulted in favor of the University, and on appeal this verdict was reaffirmed by Judge Sturtevant of San Francisco, sitting for Judge Buck, in the Superior Court at Redwood City (March 28, 1910). From this decision as to the boundaries of the campus no appeal was allowable. A writ of habeas corpus granted by the Supreme Court permitted the constitutionality of the law to be argued before that body, and in a sweeping decision handed down in June 1911 that point was decisively settled in favor of the law. The Menlo saloons were thereupon closed by the sheriff; and so, after a little more than two years' delay, the law was made effective.

The actual bringing of liquor into Encina Hall and the fraternity houses and the organization of drinking parties "at home" had been slow in getting started. Respect for the wishes of the Founders and deference to the dominant sentiment of the student body had something to do with this. Dr.

The Quadrangle in the rain



Memorial Court through the arcades

Jordan's outspoken opposition to drinking in any form and his unceasing call to the clean life was an important influence affecting the whole current of student thought. At first liquor was brought to the campus only surreptitiously, and there were few outward signs of its presence in Hall or fraternity houses. But a rule of prohibition is difficult of enforcement, and as the University grew in size a larger proportion of the faculty was thought, by the students, to be, passively at least, not in sympathy with the principle of prohibition. Gradually beer and good fellowship came to be associated more intimately in week-end fraternity banquets and Hall feasts with an increasing desire to fix this practice once for all as a student tradition. With the custom came the excesses, and in growing measure campus residents were made to experience the conditions which in turn had troubled Mayfield and Menlo.

In 1906, and partly as the culmination of some years of friction between committee and students, the existing Committee on Student Affairs resigned. The resulting change was differently interpreted in different quarters, but the students seemed to themselves to have made good a revolt against the authority exercised by the Committee. With the change in policy which resulted from the appointment of a new committee, a considerable student element assumed that the "lid" was off. In spite of the appeal of the Committee and the implied "gentleman's agreement," the time seemed opportune for transferring the major part of student drinking to the campus and for fixing certain Stanford traditions. The "booze" element took advantage of the opportunity, and the beer wagon procession, nightly orgies, drunken parades, noisy outbreaks of vulgarity and worse presently proclaimed a "wide open" Stanford.

What the new Committee on Student Affairs had proposed to itself was an immediate experiment in student self-government. Censorship of student publications, rules of conduct, surveillance, exercise of much authority—rocks on which the old policy had seemed to split—were avoided. Instead, the Committee endeavored, by conferences with student leaders and with clubs and fraternities, to come to a general understanding of what was to be expected in student behavior, to lay the responsibility upon the students themselves, and to take cognizance only of results. For example, the Committee would listen to charges pertaining to improper conduct, and would adjudge punishment when such charges were sustained. But it would not itself watch over the doings of students nor become prosecuting attorney, nor seek to run down wrongdoers, nor act upon any but the most conclusive evidence. The Committee did not abdicate its authority and did not hesitate to take disciplinary action when the occasion seemed to require it. But it never took any action which met with student disapproval, and when the stress of events brought about its resignation the *Sequoia* referred to it as "the best committee the students can ever hope to obtain."

When this Committee took office it found drinking customs well intrenched, and the "beer bust" an established feature of Hall and fraternity life. No effort was made to change these customs. Stress was laid upon gentlemanly conduct, upon moderation in drinking, moderation in uproariousness, and a reasonable respect for the rights of the community, particularly after midnight. When a year later a sudden end had come to this policy of laissez faire, it added to the bitterness of undergraduate grief to remember that the students had not met the Committee halfway. The *Chaparral* gave plaintive expression to this feeling while agitation over existing conditions was still in its preliminary stages: "Having, as we do, such a generous and reasonable student affairs committee, why will not the fellows meet them half way? Why will they blindly bulge ahead and push down our present good government—something for which the campus has been frantic for many generations? Why won't they play fair instead of trying to fudge on the liberty they have been allowed? Stanford Men, being Men, would not treat an opponent in any game like they have treated the student affairs committee. Therefore, let them come to and, by showing appreciation for what they have, retain it."[4]

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[4] The *Chaparral*, December 13, 1907.

In February following, after the Committee had resigned, the *Sequoia* declared, editorially: "It is to the everlasting discredit of a portion of the Student Body that they did not respond to a fair proposition, capable of being understood by an average intellect. The committee was perhaps too lenient, but this leniency may be construed as a silent appeal to the manhood of the students. The men who caused this trouble, however, did not respond, but exhausted the possibilities of co-operation to the uttermost limit. . . . . Had the small body of men who gave the University a black eye, come to their senses in time, the hands of the committee would not have been forced, satisfactory results would have been obtained, and our University would not have been falsely held up to the world as a community composed largely of drunkards."[5]

The spokesmen of student opinion, throughout the controversy, referred always to the drinking and disorderly element as a small minority unsupported by student sentiment. Student sentiment, it was said, did not contest the desirability of "ridding the University of the burden and disgrace of student drunkenness"; it merely objected to branding the student body as a whole and to punishing those who neither drank nor sympathized with drunkenness. Unfortunately the influence of the drinking and disorderly element was not proportioned to its numerical size. It pervaded college politics, it was prominent in athletics, it put its impress upon Junior Plug-Ugly and Senior Circus. It apparently set out to establish, as a Stanford tradition, that no freshman could make progress toward good fellowship, or into manhood, without being thoroughly intoxicated at least once, that no celebration or week-end feast could be complete without opportunity to drink to excess and no manly gathering up to date without a flavor of the ribald song. It instituted the parade of drunken revelers from frat house to frat house, not hesitating to invade sorority porches with various indecencies. Meantime the authorities gave no sign, the campus community uttered no protest. It is hardly to be wondered at that the student majority found no way to check the mad course of the dominant minority, nor that to the freshman, and to the outsider, this minority seemed to incarnate the Stanford spirit. The November *Sequoia* referred to the remark "so frequently made": "You can't point out a single prominent fellow at the Varsity who doesn't drink more or less." No matter with what principles men entered the University, the spell seemed to be cast over them until they came to take for granted, as proper or inevitable in college life, what they would have considered shocking and impossible outside.

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[5] Stanford *Sequoia,* February 1908.

And yet it was student protest that first got a hearing. An anonymous writer in the November *Sequoia* called attention to the alarming drift of events and hinted darkly at the excesses which had come to characterize such well-known affairs as the Senior Wunder[6] Feed, the Senior Circus, the Junior Plug-Ugly, the annual track jolly-up, et cetera, et cetera. "Every once in a while Stanford wins a football victory. If we happen to be playing in California territory we get our liquid refreshments in the vicinity of the Bay. But we get them just the same. Incidentally we get mixed up with the police of the cities of Oakland and San Francisco, but that is a minor matter. However, if we happen to be playing on Stanford field then it is that the amber fluid runs red. Fraternity houses are opened wide to fittingly celebrate the occasion, bottles and heads are cracked, kegs are fauceted, and the froth gurgles forth in beauteous melody, later to be displaced by the ribald and obscene songs of the cultured and educated drinkers. . . . . Unless something is done pretty soon, unless student sentiment is aroused against the open 'carousing' that has been going on during this past year, something is going to drop pretty hard. It were ten times better that the students be awakened to actual conditions as they exist around us and make some effort to stop things from continuing, than that the 'Powers That Be' step in and stop it, at the same time perhaps taking away a lot of other privileges which we fortunately are able to enjoy here on the campus. Something is going to be done, and the question is whether or not it is best for the students to do it."[7]

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[6] "[The Wunder] has the reputation of being unusually vile even for a roadhouse, a great injury to the University, and a disgrace to San Mateo County."—Dr. Jordan, to the San Mateo Board of Supervisors, January 17, 1908.

It was the campus community that finally acted. A few days after the November football celebration, when, it was said, a hundred drunken students had disported themselves on the University campus, members of the faculty and others resident on the campus met and organized the Campus Civic Federation (November 14, 1907). The first action taken was an inquiry addressed to the Board of Trustees as to the possibility of controlling the delivery of liquor on the campus. Later (December 19) representations were made to the President of the University setting forth the deplorable conditions that had come under the observation of campus residents.

Response to these actions was various. The Trustees referred the question to the faculty with the intimation that the Board would take no action until it had been demonstrated that the faculty could not control the situation. The Committee on Student Affairs was inclined to discount the representations of the Civic Federation and to regard conditions as not very different from what they had been for years. Nevertheless the chairman took immediate occasion to lay the matter before the various fraternities, to discuss the violation of the "gentleman's agreement" under which they were supposed to be acting, and to give warning of the consequences of persisting in conduct which had become obnoxious to the community. Student spokesmen, while conceding the necessity of reform, took instant umbrage at the apparent interference of the community with the prerogatives of the Committee. "The carousing on the campus," declared the *Sequoia*, in its December issue, "has assumed such proportions that stringent methods will have to be adopted to in any way put a check on the practice. . . . . There are good reasons why sentiment should be created against the drunken student who considers that his show of manhood is not complete until he has exhibited himself, or made himself heard, along the Row, but it is more than questionable whether the Civic Federation has a right to interfere in a case of this kind. We do not deny the fact that there has been just cause for action, especially for the protection of the women and children of the campus, but there is a faculty committee appointed to care for such matters. That body is moving slowly and cautiously, and giving the students every chance to redeem themselves, or to hang themselves. If the latter course seems preferable, the consequences will be surprising and oblivion for the guilty will be lasting. Anything the Civic Federation may do, therefore, might be considered as a slap at the work of the faculty committee. The latter committee has succeeded in getting the confidence of the student body, and can therefore take summary steps which would be looked upon with suspicion and openly resented by the students should any other body seek to use the same methods."

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[7] Stanford *Sequoia*, December 1907.

The reply of the Board of Trustees was dated December 10, 1907. Two days later, Dr. Jordan, writing to the Secretary of the Board, said: "The only matter offering any real trouble is that of the rapid increase of drinking among the students, especially in the fraternity houses. There has been apparently a regular wave of beer drinking within the last two months. So far as I can find out, Dr. Durand's committee has the matter fairly well in hand, and I hope for a distinct clean-up by the beginning of the new term. I am bringing the matter before the Executive Committee of the Faculty today with a view to general faculty consideration."

A week later (December 19) the Civic Federation, through its chairman, Dr. R. L. Wilbur (then a practicing physician in Palo Alto residing on the campus), made its representations to the President, concerning the campus situation. Dr. Wilbur wrote: "Pursuant to a motion passed unanimously by the Civic Federation recently organized on the Stanford Campus, I am writing to formally call your attention to the increase in drunkenness and obscenity in the University community. There is a very general feeling among the residents that the pendulum has swung too far and that a wave of license has spread throughout the men students of the University. We are taking interest in this affair purely as citizens and as residents upon the University property. It is our idea that you can best deal with the students from the executive and faculty standpoint. If a proper spirit can be developed among the students, and the faculty can adequately control the situation, the Civic Federation has no desire to interfere in any way; but the residents feel that they are entitled to protection from street brawling, open profanity, obscene singing, and common drunkenness; all of these things have been a comparatively common occurrence during the past few months. . . . . As it stands now, many of the residents of the Campus feel that they are unwise to bring up their children in such a community. . . . . Unless this drinking problem is grappled with promptly and firmly, it is a generally expressed fear that the University will suffer very much."

At the meeting of the Executive Committee on December 19 the whole matter was discussed informally, and it was voted to invite the Committee on Student Affairs and the president of the Civic Federation to be present at the first meeting after the holidays. At this later meeting (January 16, 1908) Dr. Wilbur spoke, on invitation, and laid down three propositions which seemed to him essential for a solution of the problem: the campus must go absolutely dry; housemothers must be appointed for every group of students residing on the campus; the faculty must become a unit in favor of any policy adopted. On the other hand, the Committee on Student Affairs made it clear that the Committee would have no confidence in restrictive or prohibitive regulations. The Committee had not exacted pledges or undertaken to legislate regarding intoxicating liquors; but the chairman had been pleased to find that certain fraternities had adopted rules excluding liquor, and he had received every assurance that the evils would be corrected. While the chairman would not be embarrassed if the Executive Committee went ahead with recommendations to the Academic Council, it was desirable that at least a longer trial of the policy of moral suasion be granted.

The contention that the Committee's policy ought not to be discarded without a longer trial had a good deal of weight with the members of the faculty, and but for an untoward accident it is unlikely that other measures would have been resorted to at the time. The whole question was still before the Executive Committee when, on February 5, an intoxicated student returning from Menlo in the early hours of the morning, entered the wrong house in Palo Alto, was mistaken for a burglar, and shot to death. The Trustees of the University, meeting in regular session two days later, without waiting for any faculty expression, adopted a resolution declaring that drunkenness be regarded as ground for suspension from the University and calling upon the President and faculty to take all necessary steps to enforce this resolution. When the Academic Council met on February 14 there was still great difference of opinion about particular measures, but in the end the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "The Academic Council of the University is in thorough sympathy with the policy of eliminating the drinking of intoxicating liquors from Encina Hall, the fraternity houses, and other student lodgings, and of the removal of students guilty of drunkenness from the institution. The Council hereby urges and instructs the University committee on student affairs to use all practicable means to these ends, and pledges its support to the President and Committee in their efforts toward freeing the University from the burden and disgrace of student drunkenness."

At this point the Committee on Student Affairs resigned, and on February 17 a new committee was named by the President. Four of the new appointees (all except the chairman) were alumni of the University, and one had been a member of the Durand committee. The chairman, Professor Arthur B. Clark, had been selected, among other reasons, because of the courage, sagacity, and tact he had displayed, as mayor of Mayfield, in cleaning up the affairs of that town and in bringing about the closing of the Mayfield saloons. This was a fact, however, not likely to commend him to the student groups affected by the new regulations of Trustees and Academic Council. For these, if rigidly adhered to, struck at two cherished articles in the dominant Stanford creed—the right to drink on the campus, and the right of the individual to regulate his own conduct. There was some loose talk, exploited by the San Francisco papers, of resentment and possible defiance; but the organ of student opinion, the *Daily Palo Alto*, was cautious in statement, holding itself in a waiting attitude and willing to co-operate to a reasonable extent. Too much had been made, the *Daily* said, of the infrequent and exceptional cases of misconduct. There had been some occasions for just criticism of the drinking on the campus, but never such a situation as some of the faculty seemed to believe existing at the present time. "When the new committee takes up its duties, every action will be watched with intense interest on the part of the student body. The frank method of acting in the open that has been followed by the former committee is the true mode by which the committee may receive the support of the students. And when such open method is followed it is unquestionable that the vast majority—in fact every member of the student body—is in favor of the strictest moderation in regard to drinking. The committee is sure to receive support in eliminating drunkenness, just as it would in eliminating any conduct on the part of the students that would bring shame upon the fair name of the University."[8]

The new Committee was immediately challenged to make a clear statement of its policy. Declining to go into details, the Committee announced that its purpose was to carry out the instructions of the Trustees and the Academic Council, that it would not rake up the past but would deal with events as they might occur. It happened, however, that certain charges against two or three students were nominally before the old Committee at the time of its resignation, and these charges technically presented themselves to the new Committee as unfinished business. It was decided to go ahead with their consideration, and as a result the students concerned were suspended from the University. Whether it was because these students were reported as "not very drunk," or whether it was so clearly evidenced that its instructions would be followed quite literally—whatever the reason, the Committee was given to understand that its action had made co-operation between students and Committee impossible. Student disapproval was visited upon the Committee, particularly upon the chairman, in various pointed ways. The annual Washington's Birthday parade was made to turn upon this circumstance, and a few days later an especially vicious "bogie" released something of the bitter feeling which seethed underneath in certain sections of the student body. Only a spark was necessary to flame out into such an explosion as the famous parade of March 12.

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[8] *Daily Palo Alto*, February 17, 1908.

Afterward student apologists expressed much grief that the student body should have been wrongly suspected of opposition to the policy regarding drunkenness or of flouting University authority in any manner whatsoever; it was only the unjust severity of the Committee against which it had fulminated. However, certain areas of student feeling may be indicated by two or three quotations. It was just at this time that Dr. Jordan, with the co-operation of citizens of Palo Alto and Mayfield, was making a determined effort to close the Meyer saloon in Menlo Park and the Wunder on the Los Trancos Road. "Now that there is an effort being made to have Charlie's and Chapete's corked up, Chappie dryly asks what it is all about. He can't get it through his head why the Authorities would rather have sud-fests right here on the campus than four miles away. For here they undoubtedly would be. As soon as those places closed, the campus would stock up with moisture. . . . . It is not the Menlo parties which disturb the campus; it is the old-homestead busts. And, if the Authorities crave the roars of revelry by every night; if they want an uninterrupted series of uncontrollable 'parades'; if they wish to exchange slumber for maudlin entertainment, why, let them close Menlo."[9] "Last semester, frankly, there was too much drinking. Prof. Durand called on the different houses and discussed the problem with the men. The papers, including the *Chaparral,* tried to assist Prof. Durand in the expulsion of the maudlinism from the campus. . . . . Slowly and surely all things were gathering for a betterment. . . . . At this supremely wrong moment sprang forth the attempt to abolish Menlo. The *Chaparral,* which had been working for improvement on the campus, flared up at once, because it believed that the use of force on a movement which was gaining a headway of sentiment would wreck it. And it did bring out all the combative resentment of the Student Body, which the succeeding occurrences have thickened and hardened."[10]

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[9] The *Chaparral*, January 29, 1908. The January *Sequoia*, harking back to the Princeton Inn idea, took another tack: "Perhaps this endeavor to close two saloons, if successful, will be followed by an effort to close the rest, and it should be no matter of great regret, even to the most habitual drinkers among the students, if this were done, for a cheaper class of groggeries never infested a college community than the ones near Stanford."

"We should like to ask how the education we receive here in practical government can be turned to practical account when we become active citizens participating in governmental functions. By applying the lessons we learned in obedience to authority, do you say? You are wrong. Obedience is the lesson of the subject, not of the master; and by all that is holy in the Declaration of Independence we are masters here. . . . . What we need is student control."[11]

The spark which set off the magazine was the Committee's matured statement, three weeks after its appointment, and in response to student clamor, of how it proposed to steer clear of the Scylla of Do-Nothingism and the Charybdis of Prohibition, and yet arrive at the elimination of drinking from the University campus. After quoting the resolutions of Trustees and Academic Council, the statement continued: "This Committee in considering the interpretation it should place on these resolutions believes that all drinking of intoxicating liquors in Encina Hall, the fraternity houses, or other student lodgings, is obviously inconsistent with the spirit of these resolutions and should therefore be discountenanced by all loyal members of the University community. The known occurrence of a so-called

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[10] The *Chaparral,* March 10, 1908.

[11] Stanford *Sequoia,* April 1908.

'beer bust' or other drinking party, which results in disorder or drunkenness in any degree, upon premises under control of any student club, fraternity, organization, or group, will be treated as an offence for which the members of such club, fraternity, organization, or group shall be responsible. Furthermore, any student who is known to have been noticeably under the influence of liquor in any place, or to have participated in a so-called 'beer bust' or other drinking party, from which resulted disorder or drunkenness in any degree, shall be considered a subject for discipline at the hands of the Committee. The Committee would have it clearly understood that all students violating the spirit of the resolutions of the Academic Council do so at their peril, and that whenever disorder or drunkenness in fact results from such violation, an intention to avoid such disorder or drunkenness will be regarded as no excuse. The Committee hopes that the voluntary co-operation of the students will make further restrictive measures unnecessary."

"There is no mistaking the fact," commented the *Daily Palo Alto* that afternoon (March 12, 1908), "that the present committee is determined to carry out the policy announced by the Academic Council. In making this announcement of its policy the Committee has also shown that it intends to give the student body a definite warning, and in this respect the statement is beneficial. . . . . This statement may be interpreted so as to appear most general in its scope, but we do not believe that it is the intention of the Committee to carry on an absolute prohibition policy. . . . . But in the final analysis the whole matter rests with the Committee, which will act at its discretion, and it is advisable for the students to carefully heed its latest proclamation."

This cautious, even-tempered comment probably represented fairly accurately the immediate student reaction. In Encina Hall the posted statement of the Committee received no particular attention. But early in the evening, in one of the fraternities, some excitable individual or individuals, noting the alleged ambiguity of the "proclamation"—more probably its legal particularity and somewhat belligerent tone—started a "demonstration" before one of the fraternity houses. A crowd soon assembled. There were shouts of "pee-rade! pee-rade!" demands for the chairman's resignation and a new committee, then a natural and noisy gravitation to Encina Hall. Here the number of paraders was increased to something like three hundred men. Again acting upon impulse or under the direction of improvised leaders, the crowd made off toward College Terrace, a mile away, with the usual accompaniment of banging musical instruments, singing, shouting, discharge of firearms, and the like. Arriving at the residence of Professor Clark, they repeatedly called for the chairman. When Mrs. Clark explained that Professor Clark was not at home and requested the crowd to leave the premises, there were further irresponsible jeers, catcalls, and insulting remarks. Finally, after a second request from Mrs. Clark, the crowd turned back to the University "demonstrating" through the Library, around the Inner Quadrangle, and into Memorial Court, where with fiery and defiant remarks the "proclamation" was publicly read and figuratively burned at the foot of the Founders' statue.

Later, when the displeasure of the University had been visited upon some of the participants, it was reproachfully observed that the parade differed very little from many others that had met with no disapproval, that it was not a demonstration in defense of drunkenness, and that many of the participants were really supporters of the University policy. It was true that many had tagged after the procession because of their interest in its spectacular aspect, students who knew little and cared less about the object in hand and who had not realized that "supporting the University" and deriding its constituted authorities implied any contradiction. In addition there was in this particular parade an amount of bad blood rarely present in student demonstrations. Back of it was an underlying conviction, in the minds of certain groups, that it was their persistent complaints which had forced the resignation of the Green committee in 1906 and that a similar result could be again achieved.

Upon due consideration the Committee on Student Affairs decided that the University could not afford to ignore the demonstration of March 12, and that the time had come to act. Lawlessness being uppermost, it was necessary to deal with that aspect of the situation preliminary to any further movement toward carrying out the instructions of the Academic Council. Following up what evidence was readily available the Committee was able to connect twelve students with the parade, and on March 17 these twelve were suspended for the remainder of the semester, that is, for a period of about two months. In a general statement the Committee said: "The Committee finds that the students in the demonstration seemed disposed to regard it as a means of protest against the recent Committee letter on the drinking question. The Committee takes no stand against protest and dissent as such, expressed in a proper manner, but as representing the disciplinary authority of the University the Committee feels impelled to state that it cannot tolerate offenses or insulting conduct or rowdyism as a method of dissent. The Committee realizes that individuals who take part in such demonstrations differ greatly in their conduct and intentions, but since it has no practicable and certain means of discriminating between individuals, it imposes an equal penalty on all participants identified."

At once the situation became highly dramatic. Although no names had been published, the twelve were quickly identified and among them there was found to be a number of very prominent students. The afternoon *Daily Palo Alto* (March 17) maintained its even tone, but the evening mass meeting at Encina was of a different temper. Surprise, indignation, and denunciation had free expression. Various wild proposals, however, were sidetracked in favor of an ingenious device which it was thought would bring the Committee to its senses and insure the prompt reinstatement of the twelve. This took the form of a petition, to which two hundred and forty-seven students attached their signatures, reading as follows: "We, the undersigned students of the University, took part in the demonstration occurring on last Thursday night, and we believe that we are equally blameworthy with the members of the student body already suspended for that offense. Under these circumstances we believe that we should be subjected to the same penalty, or that the suspended members should be reinstated immediately." To this was added by vote, and signed also by the twelve, the following qualified apology: "We, the undersigned students, deny that any personal insults were given in the parade on Thursday evening; but if there were such, we are heartily sorry."

That there might really be two horns to the dilemma thus put up to the Committee was not believed for a moment. The Committee could not possibly suspend an additional two hundred and forty-seven men for an offense so trivial! When, therefore, the petition was presented the next morning, with a strong plea for reinstatement, but one answer was expected. The bulletin posted in the afternoon made no reference to the "two hundred and forty-seven," but stated that the Committee could see no grounds for a reconsideration of its action concerning the "twelve." This statement did nothing to quiet student feeling, although cooler heads tried to be hopeful and discouraged further agitation until action had been taken upon the petition.

The bulletin issued by the Committee the following day (March 19) was wholly unexpected and fanned the flame of student excitement to a new intensity. It ran as follows:

"The Committee on Student Affairs has in its hands a statement which contains prima facie evidence of participation in the parade of March 12th. The Committee will give individual hearings to the signers of this statement. The Committee will sit at once, and will notify individual signers as it is able to meet them." There followed in the evening "the most remarkable Student Body meeting that has ever been held at Stanford University."[12] It had suddenly become evident not only that the student plea for immediate reinstatement of the "twelve" was being ignored, but that the "two hundred and forty-seven" who had voluntarily put their heads in the noose were in actual danger of the scaffold. Indignation burst forth in new forms, and heated conferences throughout the day prepared the way for an exciting evening. But if excited youths were there, so also were some of the older alumni and, on invitation, a few of the faculty.

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[12] *Daily Palo Alto*, March 19, 1908.

Professor Farrand's remarks are quoted in the *Daily Palo Alto*, in part, as follows: "It is my object to put a stop to one phase of this discussion. I wish to speak as an elder brother, but also as a member of the faculty, a body to which you are placing yourselves in opposition. . . . . Those who have placed their names on the petition stating they were in the parade should take whatever punishment is meted out to them without whimpering. By walking out you are going to accomplish nothing. The student affairs committee is duly appointed. When you place yourselves in opposition to constituted authority you unite the faculty, the President, and the Board of Trustees against you. It is right for every man to withdraw if he feels the conditions are unbearable. I advise him to take out a leave of absence, and I advise any man who does not believe that conditions are unbearable to stay. You may question the justice and wisdom of the student affairs committee, but not its motives. I believe the committee is acting for what it believes to be the best interests of Stanford. Please God, Stanford is going to survive."

It was finally agreed that the following statement of conciliation from the student body as a whole should be submitted to the Committee on Student Affairs:

"The Associated Students of Stanford University realize that certain things occurred in the parade of last Thursday night which are causes for sincere regret. We wish to condemn most strongly the insults that were offered to any individuals and to express our sincere regrets that the same were offered. We wish to condemn as a breach of university discipline the action of the men engaged in the parade in invading the Library and Memorial Court. These things were done without malice or evil intent and are absolutely contrary to the sane sentiment of the Student Body."

It was now felt that the attitude of the student body toward the parade, and its act of penance, left nothing to be desired. Here was an olive branch the Committee could not ignore. Presented to the Committee the next morning (March 20), it elicited the following acknowledgment:

"The Committee on Student Affairs wishes to make public announcement of its sincere appreciation of the sentiments expressed in the resolutions of the Associated Students, as presented by its representatives this morning. It does not consider, however, that the presentation of these resolutions calls for an interruption in the proceedings already entered upon in the matter of granting a hearing to all students who have asked for committee action concerning their participation in the parade of March 12th. The Committee feels that it is but fair to say to all concerned that it does not feel warranted in reconsidering its action in the case of the 'twelve' suspended students or to discontinue the hearing of the 'two hundred and forty-seven' signers of the petition received March 19th." The hearing went on. A practically uniform set of questions was put to each student designed to clear up his precise purpose and the degree of his participation in the parade. Each man was asked to make any other statement he desired, and his answers and statement were accepted as the sole evidence in his case.

After what seemed the ample and respectful apology-statement of the student body, the anxious students and their sympathizers could not understand why the examination of the "two hundred and forty-seven" should be prolonged. Apparently sensing this feeling of bewilderment and impatience, the Committee issued another bulletin (March 21, 1908) to the following effect:

"The Committee on Student Affairs is credibly informed that the students concerned in the parade of March 12th consider that the resolutions passed at a meeting of the Associated Students March 20th constitute an apology on the part of the 'two hundred and forty-seven.' The Committee does not wish the students to retain this misconception. The Committee believes that reflection will show that such is not the fact, and that the Committee must still act upon the petition of the two hundred and forty-seven men and proceed calmly and carefully in determining what in fact was the participation of each individual concerned. The students must remember that but one statement is before the Committee from the two hundred and forty-seven men, namely the petition. The Committee will endeavor to be entirely fair, will calmly and carefully determine what should be its final action in the case, individually and collectively, but it asks the students to remember that to do this requires time."

An unfortunate bulletin; for the students, and their advisers among the alumni and faculty, immediately read into the new "proclamation" a distinct intimation that the Committee was merely holding out for an *amende honorable* from the "two hundred and forty-seven" similar to or identical with the student-body apology. Well, if that was all, the Committee should be humored, and quite promptly was presented with an exact copy of the student-body document duly signed by each of the "two hundred and forty-seven." Again there was no response; and a large part of the resentment which followed was due to the misunderstanding at this point. The Committee had intended only to state a fact. It had voiced its appreciation of the student-body resolutions, but neither these nor the former statement of the "two hundred and forty-seven" had seemed to touch the main issue: they were all devices to ward off disciplinary action. That many students—the majority, no doubt—did sympathize with the general policy of the University and would put no hindrances in the way of the Committee, was counted on. But the Committee was quite aware of the mood which inspired the parade, of the rebellious talk, the denunciations, the threatened walkout, and other evidences of opposition. The parade was only the occasion. To drop the whole affair with a mere reprimand, without any real understanding with regard to the main problem, would go far toward destroying the usefulness of the Committee and make it, as one school principal said, "the laughing stock of the country."

During the days of waiting the students were alternately hopeful and despondent, but totally unprepared for the final action of the Committee, which was announced on March 25. This was the verdict:

The former action in the case of the "twelve" was reconsidered and they were placed in the same category with the "two hundred and forty-seven." The "two hundred and fifty-nine," or "two hundred and fifty-four," as by revision the final number had come to be, were classified in three groups, according to their degree of participation in the parade and according to their status in the University. Seventeen of the signers were found not to have been in the parade at all; two refused to testify; and one withdrew his name from the petition.

The cases of fifty-six students in the first group were dismissed without action.

All in the second group of thirty-six, except freshmen, had five units added to their requirements for graduation.

In the third group all except seniors had various units added to their requirements. The seniors to the number of forty-one, including seven of the original "twelve," were suspended from the University for the remainder of the semester (about two months).

Events now moved quickly. If anything was needed to make the breach between faculty and students complete, this latest action of the Committee apparently filled the need. "We believe that it is too severe, and the discrimination is absolutely unjust," commented the *Daily Palo Alto*. The senior class meeting on the following morning (March 26) voted out all the usual festivities of Commencement week, with the exception of the ceremony of laying the Senior Plate, which was to take place in solemn state at midnight. In the afternoon a tense meeting of the student body on the baseball field canvassed all possible modes of combative action. "I firmly believe we have come to a place where we must take some action," one student leader said. "We have stood by and seen two hundred and forty-seven men sign the petition. We have seen them deliberately place their heads in the noose; and are we going to see some of them get kicked out and others severely penalized after we have given them our moral support?" "We must go out unless we can make the faculty meet us half way," another declared. "We are standing for a principle, and I for one don't want to slink into the quadrangle thinking of the forty-one men who have been booted out of the University—some of the best men this University ever had—and feeling that I have stood by and done nothing except to watch them go." Another: "This University was founded by Senator and Mrs. Stanford for the children of California, and we the children of California have a right to protest at being turned out of the University by any body of narrow-minded professors."

As before, however, those opposed to a walkout were in the majority, and the only affirmative action taken was the appointment of a committee with instructions to write a correct account of the trouble and send it to the newspapers, in order to bring public opinion over to the side of the students. In addition, a pledge to take out letters of honorable dismissal, if signed by two hundred and fifty or more students, was allowed to circulate. This number of signatures could not be obtained, and in a day or two the walkout feeling had ebbed to such an extent that the paper, with its signatures, was recalled and burned.

However, the agitation did not immediately subside. The President was attacked in various quarters, and suggestions of removal were eagerly caught up. "Most of the faculty will have to go," one hysterical sympathizer exclaimed; "the students simply can't stand it!" Various groups of alumni sent in pleas for a reduction of the penalty imposed. A committee of San Francisco alumni made a detailed investigation of the circumstances of the parade. In a careful résumé of findings the parade itself was strongly condemned but the penalty was declared to be too severe; the apologies should be accepted and the whole matter wiped off the slate. The general reaction throughout the state was of quite different order. One prominent alumnus wrote (March 29, 1908): "Unless the present policy of the committee is firmly adhered to it will advertise to the world that the institution of which I am a proud graduate is controlled by its students rather than by its faculty and officers. . . . . It will be better for the institution that every student leave its corridors than that this offense be overlooked." Another wrote (March 23, 1908): "I sincerely hope the discipline will be maintained at Stanford, even if, in order to do so, you find you must suspend every man in college." A school principal wrote (March 28, 1908): "The firm stand taken by yourself and the faculty of Stanford University in the interest of good order in the student body will have a lasting salutary influence throughout the schools of the Pacific Coast. We regard your action as wholly in the interest of a higher standard of scholarship and of student morals. It strikes a note from university authorities which some of us of the secondary schools have long been waiting to hear."

The best justification of the Committee's firmness and of its judgment as to the real issues involved is to be found in the effect of its action upon the campus itself. During the summer the Trustees of the University took stringent action to enforce prohibition in future leases to student clubs on the University campus, and requested the faculty to apply this policy to all existing clubs and lodgings off the campus. With this action of the Trustees any latent faculty resistance to a strict policy of prohibition disappeared. Students wedded to the drink habit were not converted en masse to the rigid policy of faculty and Trustees; but they no longer had general student support. Student acceptance of the situation, so far as concerned any group action or group consciousness, was complete. It brought a new type of student to the University, Dr. Jordan affirmed. "I have never felt as well satisfied with the workings of the institution as I have this year. We have practically eliminated the dissipated and the idle youth, and the forward movement of scholarship and character has been surprising even to me, who had great confidence in the ultimate result of the fight we undertook three years ago." "The next point," he added, "would be for the faculties to realize that their first duty is toward the students, and that the purpose of research is after all mainly to make them better teachers."[13] "The general tone of everything relating to student affairs," he wrote to President White (May 12, 1912), "has been raised since the beery conviviality ceased to be a part of student tradition." "I wish you would tell me," President White replied, "how you have expelled the use of intoxicating liquor from Stanford. Are you quite sure you are rid of it? I have seen pretty much everything tried, and thus far all efforts known to me have failed."[14] "We are fortunate enough," Dr. Jordan responded, "to have a professor as chairman of the faculty committee on student affairs who was just, patient, and courageous. I think I have never known a professor to be more savagely attacked, but he has remained at his post, and has the high respect of every decent student. He has gone at it modestly, but effectively. . . . . Some of the students break the rule when away, but the feeling here is very strong."

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[13] Dr. Jordan to President Pritchett, April 28, 1911.

Dr. Jordan was overjubilant, as was his temperament, and as later history would unfortunately disclose. But it was a high moment in the history of the University.

Editorially the *Sequoia* for October 1908, said: "The prohibition edict is being obeyed, and we believe the obedience will continue. No breach between faculty and students has occurred this semester, and we believe none will occur. The keynote of conciliation was struck from the first: various faculty members, undergraduates in general, the speakers at the football rally, and even the habitually knocking *Chaparral*, rather apologetically to be sure, have declared for harmony. If we must criticize, let us criticize the system of government and not those who are governing." Events did not quite bear out the optimistic outlook of the editor. A good many adjustments and much travail of soul were necessary before all the lessons were learned. Three years later (October 1911) the *Sequoia* hailed the new Stanford spirit: "It was crystallized by President Schaupp in the first Assembly. It was expressed by the editor of the *Daily Palo Alto* when he applauded the closing of the Menlo saloons. And that position, which he believed abhorrent to the majority, was in fact a popular one. . . . . The new spirit says, 'Come, let us bury the past; let us forget personal grievances and build upon a new hope. Let us create a different sentiment toward the faculty. Let us see that what the student affairs committee did some years ago they did through purity of motives and a love for the University.' . . . . The new spirit is teaching us to accept Dr. Jordan's beautiful and austere ideal—the ideal of a university of clean, temperate men and spiritually minded women—the Greek ideal of the sound mind in a sound body."

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[14] Andrew D. White to Dr. Jordan, June 12, 1912.

The *Alumnus*, from the graduate standpoint, commented (September 1911): "The undergraduates have begun the year in a new era. At the end of last semester they had just about worked themselves out of an old era, but with the beginning of this they have put old troubles completely behind them and started afresh with all of the best old-time spirit, and possibly a little more and better. It will do members of the earlier classes good to go down and visit the college again. They will feel themselves more at home than they have been able to for a long time; it is more like the old days. It will do some members of recent classes good to go down. They will find possibly that they are living in a dead past that would better be buried, while the youngsters who really make the college now are living in a present that is very much alive."

"The elimination of student dissipation," Dr. Jordan wrote (October 15, 1912), "has made an entire change in the tone of all our work."

CONDUCT AND DISCIPLINE

In the matter of establishing and enforcing standards of conduct, Dr. Jordan, and the faculty with him, had little use for formal rules. "In general," Dr. Jordan said, "elaborate rules promote disorder"; and again, "Persons fit to be in college are fit to look after their own affairs." After taking over the presidency at Indiana, he had remarked: "As to college government, I never think of it. . . . . Give students men for teachers, hard work to do, see that they do it, and government will take care of itself." In more exuberant mood was his greeting to an entering class at Stanford: "The place is yours; it was made for you. The professors are here for you. The whole place is yours. . . . . You are here to study and we can ask you to go home if you don't do it."

As student, as teacher, and as executive, Dr. Jordan had learned to know the actual college man pretty well—the dilettante, the mischief-maker, the anti-social kind, as well as the earnest, high-minded, self-controlled sort. But whenever he was thinking of the college student abstractly and ideally, it was the latter he always had in mind. To insure his becoming such he would have the crude, untamed youth brought into contact with the real teacher and the real investigator. Dr. Jordan visioned the two working together, as comrades, on the same problems and the same quest for exact results. Those who could not or would not enter into this absorbing undertaking—the unprepared, the idle, the vicious—he would have taken to the edge of the campus and dropped off, but otherwise disregarded. Accordingly, at the opening of the University, aside from the regulation excluding intoxicating liquors from the dormitories, no prohibitions were set up. The students' charter of liberties was expressed as follows:

"In the government of the University the largest liberty consistent with good order is allowed. Students are expected to show both within and without the University such respect for order, morality, and the rights of others as is demanded of good citizens. Failure to do this will be sufficient cause for removal from the University."[1] "In larger matters," Dr. Jordan said at a later time, "we have had the theory that we did not punish, that the students know perfectly well what is manly and decent, and that we send away those who violate this condition."

There was nothing exactly new in this attitude. Strict boarding-school supervision, applied to college students, had had a long and sorry history, resulting in what seemed likely to be a permanent feud between student and faculty. All progressive institutions were trying in one way or another to break the force of this tradition and to bring about a community of interest and pursuit. "Is it not time," President White had said, at the opening of Cornell University in 1868, "that some poor student traditions be supplanted by better? You are not here to be made; you are here to make yourselves. You are not here to hang upon a university; you are here to help build a university. This is no place for children's tricks and toys, for exploits which only excite the wonderment of boarding-school misses. You are here to begin a man's work in the greatest time and land the world has yet known." "For college purposes," wrote Dean Briggs of Harvard, "I believe more and more in few penalties and unremitting personal interest of teachers in their pupils' welfare. Hence it is that the mechanical operation of penalties becomes more and more repellent, and instructors work more among the students themselves, urging the strong to help the weak. It is uphill work at best, and more or less in the dark; the weak are too weak, the strong are not strong enough, and the instructors may want tact and wisdom; but the spirit is right."[2] "Walker's fundamental thesis, especially in dealing with young men and women, was so to train them that they could be counted upon to govern and restrain themselves without need of statutory or police regulations. He looked upon education as a force that may be safely counted upon in the long, slow process of bringing humanity up to higher levels, and he was impatient of any substitute for that sound education which makes for individual thinking, personal self-respect, and unsupervised self-control."[3]

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[1] This particular phrasing dates only from 1896. The earliest formulation (*Circular No. 3*, May 1891), after the first sentence above, reads: "The University is not a reform school; its bounty is intended for the earnest and industrious student, and the indolent and unworthy will not be retained in the institution."

[2] Harvard University, *President's Report* for 1894–95.

There were reasons other than the mere absence of rules why the principle of self-control and self-direction might hope to be successfully applied at Stanford. There were no local traditions in the way. The stimulating atmosphere of new beginnings, the enthusiasm and high purpose of a young and active faculty, the self-reliance of a student body selected by and responding to pioneer conditions and responsibilities, above all, the inspiring personality of Dr. Jordan—all these seemed to make for comradery and a singular unity of aim and purpose. There was no thought, at the time, of any organized student government or of turning over to students the fixing of university standards of conduct. This was the province of the University authorities, set down in general but explicit terms in the publications of the University. "The University," Dr. Jordan affirmed, "cannot be too rigid on matters that involve good morals and decency; but in matters that do not concern these vital questions, the fewer crimes made crimes by regulation the better."

Of course one does not assemble several hundred young people, strangers to one another, in a single living group and expect there will be no problems of conduct or discipline. But Dr. Jordan was persuaded that if initiative and self-controlled action were encouraged, and absorbing tasks presented, the great majority of students would respond to the confidence reposed in them. Of course also, in the absence of positive rules telling what to do and what not to do, anarchy is not at all the starting point on the way to an orderly community. The behavior patterns with which students are equipped on their arrival at the University are found to be surprisingly conservative. Nevertheless, conflicts of standards are bound to occur, and a considerable amount of experimentation with their newfound liberty is sure to be undertaken — not always with agreeable results. It was so at Stanford, and the Committee on Student Affairs, set up by Dr. Jordan at the very first meeting of the faculty, was never an inactive body. Even in the beginning days it was necessary to deal with certain individuals who were clearly out of place, and, in the expressive language of the President, have them taken to the edge of the campus and dropped off. It was the policy of the first Master of Encina Hall to allow the student pretty much all the rope he wanted but to come down hard when violations of decorum and good conduct passed the bounds. The usual and almost single form of discipline was banishment from the Hall—a very sobering matter when, for either food or lodging, there was nowhere else to go.

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[3] Munroe, *A Life of Francis Amasa Walker*, p. 388.

Although disciplinary action was fairly frequent, it was for a considerable time individual only and did not seem to cross any fixed or growing student traditions. "Discipline in Stanford," remarked the *Daily Palo Alto* (November 20, 1894), "is very quietly but effectively administered. . . . . There is so little noise made that the great majority of students have no knowledge of what is done. . . . . Retribution is swift and sure. It is a great deal better to accomplish much with little noise than to make a great ado and accomplish nothing." A member of the Pioneer Class, looking back upon his four years at Stanford, dryly remarked: "There is an absence of legislation, but fiats are not uncommon."

In the early years there was no question in the minds of either faculty or students as to the merits of the policy of freedom from police regulations. Dr. Jordan's unfailing good nature and hearty comradeship diffused themselves throughout the University. The President was as simple in manner, as easy of access, to students as to everyone else. There was no ritual of approach. He talked as freely with students as with others about the affairs of the University. Nor was it a make-believe confidence; it was a real friendly sharing. And his interest in student play, in outdoor sports particularly, was as hearty and generous as in the serious work of the classroom. Student recognition of this unusual situation voiced itself, after a while, in the verse of Stanford's poet laureate, the last couplet of which ran:

> "The greatest, grandest man we know,
> And best of all, we know him!"

For the great majority of students the Stanford freedom of action was real and vivifying, inspiring a love and loyalty to the institution that was intense and lasting. At the end of the first year the Master of Encina Hall, in spite of minor tribulations, had only praise for the general good conduct of the Hall. "It pleases Mr. Stanford and me," Mrs. Stanford wrote from Washington (March 2, 1893), "to hear such good accounts regarding the University. I feel myself that we have at Palo Alto the very best of students, and I think they give less trouble than those at other universities. . . . . We are very proud of our young men and young ladies." Something of the comradery and good will on the Stanford Farm seeped through to the Berkeley campus, stirring a momentary feeling of envy: "The mutual attitude between student and professor at Stanford is one which we long to see here. The spirit which seems to influence the Stanford faculty, almost without exception, is one very much akin to comradeship. It is a spirit which willingly accepts the idea that the closest social relations outside the classroom between teacher and student are just as much a part of university life as anything else. . . . . This spirit is by no means lacking with us, but unfortunately, it is not nearly so universal or so prevalent."[4] Freedom of action and community of interest with the faculty were two of the students' most prized possessions, and were jealously guarded. Frequent references to the cordial relations between professors and students appear in the college papers. "One of the most encouraging things in those early days," writes R. L. Donald, '95, "was the spirit of non-interference in students' affairs shown by the faculty. Sometimes there was directed supervision, but this was accomplished in a pleasant way because of the intimacy existing between faculty and students."[5] "Nothing can be more gratifying than the relations existing here between professors and students. [The faculty] surround themselves with no false glamour nor impenetrable walls, but mingle freely with the students, socially as well as in the classroom."[6] In reminiscent mood, the *Sequoia* recalls (February 1906) that "in the early days of the University students and professors lived united almost in a common body. They shared together their pastimes and their everyday interests; in work and in play each enjoyed the interest and sympathy of the other. Hardly a Saturday slipped past without being celebrated by an expedition into the hills by parties made up of students and their friends, the professors. Old graduates recall these impromptu picnics with twinkling eyes—eyes that show how much enjoyment they derived from this one-time friendly intercourse of teacher and scholar outside the classroom."

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[4] *The Occident*, April 1, 1892.

Student doings which provided the routine tasks of the Committee on Student Affairs were brought to its attention by complaints from many sources, most often perhaps from the Business Office of the University. They had to do with certain college pranks, sometimes (though not always) innocent in intent, but carried beyond the bounds of propriety, and certain reversions to the anarchistic state witnessed by acts of petty thievery—of books, or money, or supplies, or personal belongings—by forged checks given to local tradesmen, careless or willful destruction of property, cheating in examinations, roughhousing of various sorts, fugitive publications, ill-tempered or libelous, and other offenses. Matters of this sort, handled by the Committee with good judgment and without publicity, created scarcely a ripple on the surface. Commendation of the Committee was not infrequently voiced. When once, at a class meeting, the sophomores ventured to criticize some action of the faculty, they were promptly rebuked by the *Daily Palo Alto* (October 5, 1896): "If the matter cannot be adjusted it seems the part of the sophomores to retire gracefully from the field without giving vent to any sentiment which would create disrespect for the faculty."

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[5] *Daily Palo Alto*, May 29, 1895.

[6] *Ibid.*, October 31, 1895.

A particularly flagrant case of cheating, in which publicity could not be avoided, was the occasion of a positive exercise of student initiative and co-operation with the authorities of the University. "Faculty surveillance," said the *Daily Palo Alto* (December 9, 1895), "cannot be a substitute for student honor. . . . . That control of the matter should be left to student sentiment is especially desirable, because in that way only can the unique relation existing here between faculty and students be preserved." A committee of fifteen appointed by the president of the student body brought in a report at "the largest meeting of the Associated Students ever held" (December 12, 1895), extolling the relations between faculty and students, regretting "our past apparent indifference toward cases of dishonesty in examinations," and promising to "use our public and private influence to prevent further violations of good faith among us." A "student honor" committee of seven was instituted to carry out the purposes of the student body. For a time the *Daily Palo Alto* was hopeful of the results of this action. On November 10, 1896, it reported that, while few cases had been handled by the committee, the fact that it existed and the calling into being a feeling against cheating, had the intended effect. "Let us see that the aforesaid conscience does not imperceptibly fall asleep again." However, a few months later (February 5, 1897) the *Daily Palo Alto* felt obliged to report: "From present indications the methods which the students adopted to suppress cheating have resulted in an entire failure. The board chosen last spring has failed so far to consider a single case. Whether this is due to the failure of the students to report students who are dishonest in examinations cannot be determined. Certainly there is a grave fault somewhere if the plan to which the student body promised such hearty support has utterly failed to bring about any good results."

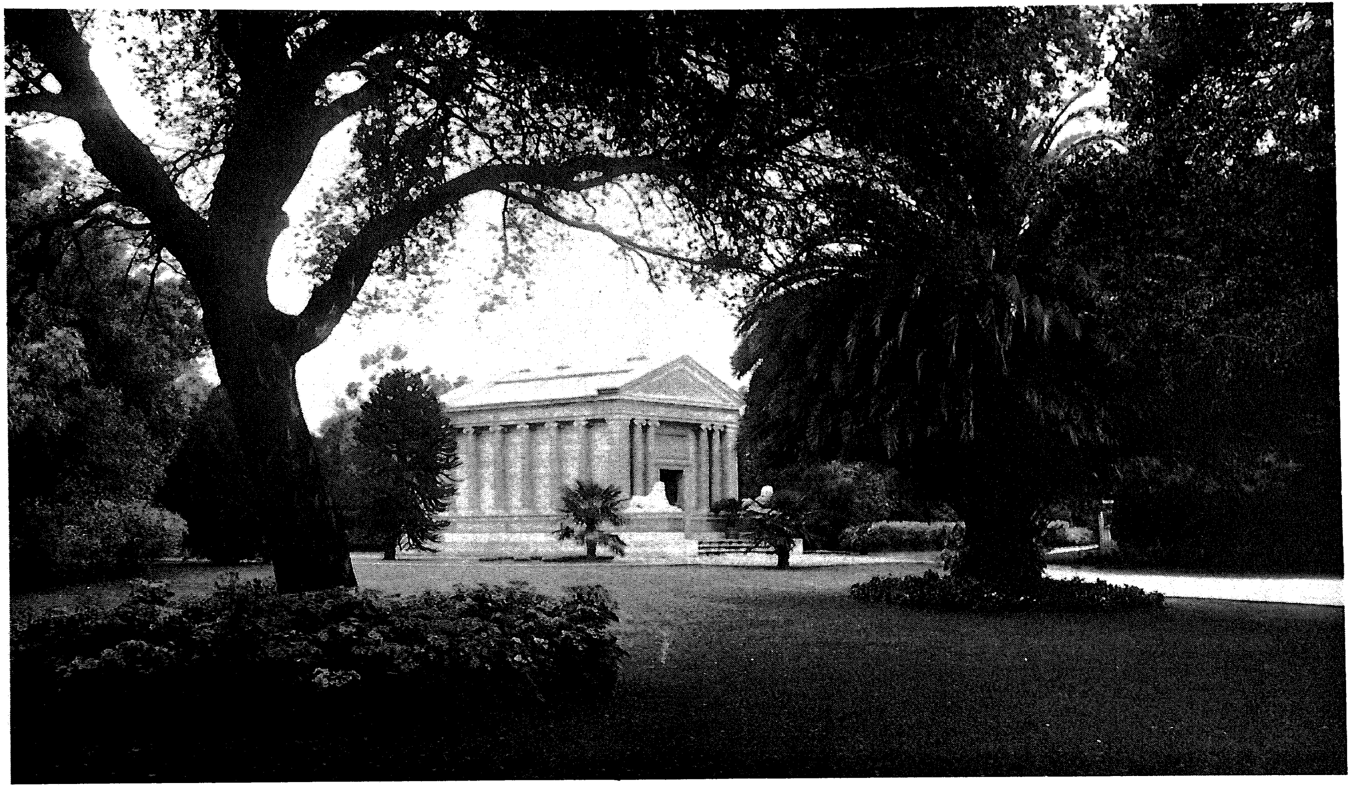
The failure of this well-intentioned effort revealed a weakness which was to have a considerable bearing upon the policy and activities of the Committee on Student Affairs. However correct and satisfactory student-body sentiment as a whole might be, unless it was strong enough to control certain forms of lawlessness, some other authority must step in. The Committee on Student Affairs had not wanted to consider itself as primarily a disciplinary body. It had the executive function when action was called for, and did not hesitate to use it; but in the carrying out of policies well understood and not seriously questioned it hoped to be a sort of equity court where matters could be freely talked over and certain definite limits and restrictions agreed upon. Individual outbursts of lawlessness, of horseplay verging upon vulgarity or beyond, could then be dealt with as the occasion demanded. Individual offenders could not be expected always to concede the justice of particular decisions; but so long as the body of students had confidence in its good will and sense of justice, the Committee could consider itself, and be considered, quite as much the agent of the students as of the faculty.

There were occasional outbreaks which suggested more serious difficulties ahead. The harmony that had so far existed had been due partly to the deep common loyalty which had bound students and faculty together during the years of financial stress and the heroic struggle of Mrs. Stanford to keep the University alive and its prospective endowment unimpaired. Freed from this fear and dread, there would naturally be some splitting apart of interests and pursuits. The institution was becoming larger. More varied and more complicated situations were arising. Student sentiment, wholesome in most ways, found less corporate expression. When it came to the questionable activities of individuals or mere groups, the student body as a whole was coming to feel little or no responsibility. Juvenile ingenuity was constantly thinking up new ways of creating excitement, new ceremonies, new activities. These, if amusing enough, or farcical enough, were likely to take on the aspect of traditions to be regularly repeated world without end. Each succeeding class or club charged with their continuance felt impelled to add new features, usually a little more sensational or more shocking to the proprieties. Somewhere along the line of this development there was in prospect an inevitable censorship—over publications, over dramatics, over a variety of activities. When roughhousing should develop into distressing forms of hazing, with retaliation in kind and defiance of authority, a breach in faculty-student relations could hardly be avoided.

An open letter to the chairman of the Committee on Student Affairs (August 28, 1897), prominently posted on the bulletin board, forecast something of what was happening, or likely to happen, as time went on. In it Dr. Jordan issued instructions which must have sounded very much like "rules."

"The number of persons seeking the advantages of the University," the letter ran, "is constantly greater than we can care for. To do the best for those who are in earnest, the University faculty can waste no time on the idle, dissipated, or undeserving. It is a part of the duty of your Committee to eliminate unworthy persons from the rolls of the University classes. You have the authority to request the withdrawal of any student whose presence for any reason is undesirable. It is desired that you should exercise this authority not only on those found guilty of specific acts of immorality or of dishonesty, but on any whose personal influence is objectionable. Those who are dissipated, profligate, intemperate, tricky, or foul of tongue should be removed, though no specific act of wrongdoing may be proved or charged against them."

This letter, being in the nature of a counsel of perfection, a warning rather than a statute, attracted no particular attention and, in its abstract form, certainly no resentment. No one was likely to question the desirability of a university freed from the types of student named by Dr. Jordan. But the application



The Mausoleum

of such a dictum was fraught with difficulties. At the entrance gates, the University, if it knew the facts, could be as arbitrary and inflexible as it pleased. In the case of those once admitted it was not so easy. Few could be pronounced wholly good or wholly bad. The star-chamber proceedings suggested in the President's letter would be perilous of application. "The time is coming," the *Sequoia* had once declared editorially (November 15, 1893), "when the faculty of a university will be relieved of disciplinary duties, and the status of an institution can be pretty accurately determined by the extent to which self-government obtains among the students." The *Sequoia* was looking far into the future. The great majority of students then as always *did* know what was "manly and decent" and *were* governing themselves accordingly. They did exert an influence over the whole University—but were far from asking or accepting responsibility for the behavior of those who did not know or care. With the passing of the close family relations, the Committee on Student Affairs must enter upon a new and unwelcome phase of its activity.

One difficulty lay in that very lack of publicity which the *Daily Palo Alto* had commended so highly, and which had contributed to the absence of friction in handling offenses against good order and good conduct. Without publicity the way was open for the offending student to give to his friends and to various student groups his own version of any unfortunate encounter with the Committee; and this might vary widely from the Committee's understanding of the facts. If the offender happened to be a student of prominence — a college "hero," perchance—or if he were just the one caught, out of a group of offenders, it would be easy enough to appear in the role of martyr, the victim of narrow-minded prejudice and misunderstanding. Again, all but a very small number of the faculty were as uninformed as the students themselves about particular problems and doings of the Committee. Hearing only the student version, they would be more or less inclined to take the student point of view. Being themselves without responsibility, outsiders as it were, they would not hesitate, on occasion, to criticize committee action quite audibly and to make known their active sympathy with the students. Under these circumstances the position of a committee which could not claim infallibility must necessarily become one of increasing embarrassment.

The centers of student influence, good and bad, are naturally where are gathered those of stronger individuality and stronger will, whether in dormitory, fraternity, Camp, Row, or town. The leaders in inventiveness, in tradition-making, in activities generally, are few. The followers are many, and though they cannot create they can often spoil the best-intentioned custom or innovation. This was the history at Stanford with most of the creations of the stunt order, such as the Plug-Ugly, the Senior Circus, the Poster Contest, the Nightshirt Parade, and the like. Sooner or later they all came into conflict with the authorities. Sometimes their suppression accorded with student sentiment; sometimes not. With the best of intentions, the most tactful approaches, and prevailing good will on both sides, it was evident that the student's idea of freedom of action and his own standard of conduct often did not run parallel with that of the University authorities. If the difference in standards concerned what was to be considered "manly and decent," the chances were that to the student mind, in particular cases, crimes would seem to have been made crimes by regulation.

One event which marked a growing breach in student-committee relations began as a purely technical and routine affair. Its unintended implications resulted from the combined action of two faculty committees related to the principals in this case as upper and nether millstones. The Scholarship Committee had noted the tendency of graduates to re-register in the University for various outside reasons and with little or no prospect of any serious graduate study. The Committee decided that registered graduate students must be bona fide students, and after due notice proceeded to treat scholarship deficiencies in such cases exactly as if they were undergraduates. It happened that the constitution of the Associated Students required their graduate manager (treasurer) to be a registered student. As this position was rapidly becoming a full-time job, registration for a program of studies was more or less a formality. The first victim of the new scholarship regulation—an excellent official with a good undergraduate record—took his medicine without protest, resigned his position in the middle of the year, and left the University. His appointed successor nevertheless proceeded to register for a full university program. Finding that it could not be carried, he went ahead as his predecessor had done, and met the same fate at the hands of the Scholarship Committee. Meantime he had been re-elected for the ensuing year, and the student body—but very tardily—had amended its constitution so that its graduate manager need not be a registered student. To this change the Scholarship Committee had no objection, but held that it could not have ex post facto validity. It happened that a standing regulation prevented a student under suspension for scholarship deficiencies from taking active part in student affairs or holding any student office during the period of suspension. To enforce this regulation in this case required the direct intervention of the President in declaring the office vacant and pressure from the Committee on Student Affairs to secure acceptance of the situation by the Associated Students.

It was an affair in which technicalities had bulked pretty large, and in which considerable feeling was aroused. The action of the University committees had been officially "correct" at every step and taken with no intention other than that of upholding standards. The result was unfortunate, however, in that a sense of injustice rankled in the minds of students who did not ordinarily question rulings of the authorities. It brought to the fore and in relief many small grievances which singly amounted to nothing, but which now assumed an undesirable prominence. The affair subsided almost immediately, but a certain attitude of mind persisted. The *Alumnus* tried to strike an even balance: "It is inevitable that there should be occasional friction between students and faculty. Too often student and faculty differences are characterized by a bitterness which should be unknown to college men. The blame for this does not lie with the students alone, nor with the faculty alone. The students have listened too closely in years gone by to the anarchistic doctrine of hatred—listened until many have grown to believe that they are denied their proper liberty. On the other hand, faculty action has often seemed harsh and over-paternal, and, at times, individual faculty comment too unjust and bitter. Students who have done the University great service have met with punishment or rebukes which seemed excessive to their associates."[7]

As student life centered mostly in the dormitories, it was these that gave the University the greatest concern and occasioned the problems most difficult to solve. There were indeed few worries connected with Roble Hall. But the situation at Encina was different. After completing his course of lectures at Stanford in the spring of 1892, during which time he had lived at the Hall, ex-President White of Cornell wrote to the Stanfords (May 26, 1892): "Encina Hall is certainly the most beautiful building for students' residence in the United States; but if you were to furnish more accommodations for students I would urge you not to repeat the Encina plan. For a family hotel it is perfect . . . . but the fundamental principle in erecting dormitories for students is separation and segregation. This is no mere theory. It is the practical outcome of all experience here and at all other universities in the world. In all these institutions, old and new, the plan is now adopted of having 'entries' with short cross halls and stairs from top to bottom of the building and only two to four double rooms at most on each landing. This makes it difficult for students to do too much visiting with each other. With long halls, making it easy for each student to run to and fro and call on every other, making assemblies in various rooms, on the slightest pretext, a thing of course, the temptations to too much social enjoyment, with its waste of time and suggestions of mischief, are greatly increased."

If President White's disparagement of the large, open dormitory needed confirmation, Encina furnished it. During the first year Encina housed almost all the men of the University. In student speech Encina was almost synonomous with the University itself. Encina men were proud of that distinction, proud that student activities, student plans, student leadership, centered in the Hall. But this pride did not seem to include a personal feeling for the building itself. Its noble architecture, its amplitude, its great dining hall, its furnishings, were not thought of as personal possessions to be cherished and jealously cared for. Accordingly, as time went on, everything that could be abused was abused. The furniture was recklessly marred and broken. Roughhousing spared nothing. With so many men rooming together and mingling freely on all occasions, Encina was, as a study hall, even in its most peaceful moods, uncomfortably noisy and disorderly—a habitation familiarly (and affectionately) known to outsiders as "the madhouse."

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[7] *Stanford Alumnus*, December 1901.

The experience of the second year under a Master of the Hall had been less satisfactory than that of the first year, and with the coming of hard times the position lapsed. The problem of good order and good conduct was complicated by the division of responsibility in the management of the Hall. Most of the troubles of the first Master of the Hall had been occasioned by what seemed arbitrary rulings of its absentee landlord, the Business Office of the University, in an attempt to have the Hall managed more in accordance with the ideas of the city office. When a successor to the first Master of the Hall was to be appointed, the Business Office had written to Dr. Jordan: "Whoever may be appointed Master of Encina Hall, I cannot consent to have men appointed under him to do the work. One man should be able to keep order in Encina Hall. If it is impossible for you to select a man who can do this business, I will guarantee that I can select a man who will keep order in Encina Hall; and should I make a selection, and if the boys did not behave themselves, they would be invited to leave their rooms."

With the discontinuance of the office of Master of the Hall, the full management of Encina was taken over by the Business Office. From the business point of view Encina was a property to be treated as any family hotel or apartment house in the city might be treated. The custodian was to let rooms, collect rents, keep order in the house, see that property was not misused or damaged, and incidentally, in this case, to supervise the whole janitor force of the University. An elderly gentleman, somewhat austere in manner, gruff in speech, not familiar with student psychology, did the first part of his task excellently well. In time students learned to respect his faithful and efficient service and to appreciate the real kindness of heart under a rough exterior. But they persistently ignored his authority and matched their wits against his and those of the watchman in evading any or all inconvenient rules of the house. The night watchman, hardly more successful in controlling the conduct of the men, usually found it convenient to be ignorant of much that was going on. But both custodian and watchman noted carefully and reported faithfully all damage to property, and saw that the cost of repairs was charged against the students in one way or another.

There were a number of circumstances which combined to give a wrong slant to life in the Hall. There was first of all the food, for the most part quite up to the level of mass food service, and sometimes above it, but perennially a chief grievance of the student. So persistent were the complaints that in 1898 the management in despair gave up the dining service altogether, transformed the dining hall into a clubroom, and (on the site of the present Library) built the Inn as a supposed solution of the difficulty. Lack of responsibility placed upon the students themselves precluded the development of self-governing co-operation with the authorities; and absence of the spirit of co-operation seemed to forbid the grant of responsible government to the students. It was an impasse bound to provoke and foster disorder.

A certain amount of uproar and disorder, of horseplay and roughhousing, of smart tricks and college pranks, was traditionally expected and cherished by the typical undergraduate as his sacred right and privilege. Much of this the authorities could ignore. Apologists who stoutly maintained that Encina was as quiet and orderly as any place on the campus where men were living were thinking of these minor incidents of college life and of the behavior of most of the men most of the time. Or perhaps they were not claiming as much for Encina as at first thought one might suppose. Another angle on Encina happenings was disclosed by the *Daily Palo Alto* (January 21, 1896): "Certain students in Encina Hall are becoming entirely too reckless in their acts of vandalism. Besides the thievery in the rooms . . . . there has been a great amount of general lawlessness in the way of smashing furniture and damaging property. . . . . The truth is that a certain undesirable class of students is stronger in the Hall than ever before. We refer to men who come to college with the idea that university life is a round of free-for-all revelry, and that a student is a privileged character, who can conduct himself as he pleases without let or hindrance."

If the Business Office began with the idea that keeping order in Encina was a very easy affair, it was soon undeceived. Indeed it practically gave up the attempt, reporting instead to Dr. Jordan the misdeeds of the inmates and expecting the faculty to administer discipline. But the destruction of property finally became so flagrant that the city office sent down as night watchman a stalwart ex-policeman with plenty of courage, and little discretion, who speedily made himself obnoxious to the entire Hall. His habit of flourishing a revolver, of making himself at home in the Club Room, and of entering student rooms without knocking was bitterly resented, and his presence added something to the turbulence of the Hall. He did come to know pretty well what was going on, and in his reports to the Business Office was generally able to give the names of the chief participants in the numerous riots that occurred. These reports, in substance at least, were invariably transmitted by Mr. Lathrop to Dr. Jordan. It then became the duty of the Committee on Student Affairs to make its own investigation, and upon the results of this investigation, carefully and painstakingly carried out, action was taken by the disciplinary committee of the University. The victims of student raids made no complaint, but occasionally wrote quite freely to their parents; and sometimes pathetic, sometimes indignant letters came to the President from the folks at home. Since the watchman's reports gave the Committee most of its clues, the watchman himself came to be regarded by the students as the "spy" and ally of the Committee. And because all their protests and appeals for his removal were disregarded, it was easy to imagine that the Committee was responsible for his continuance in the Hall, that he was virtually in the employ of the Committee.

This charge being directly made in the *Alumnus* (January 1906), Dr. Jordan wrote to the editor: "In intimating that the University committee had any responsibility of any kind for the armed watchman, you are certainly in very serious error. . . . . So far as I know there is absolutely nothing of the mysterious or of the 'gum shoe' method in the operations of the faculty committee. . . . . It is not true, I think, that any student or alumnus who has examined the matter, or who has any right to an opinion, disbelieves in the ability, the sincerity, or the fairness of the present student affairs committee. You have been student long enough to know how easy it is to start stories against any man or set of men who have executive responsibility."—Dr. Jordan to J. H. Timmons, January 29 and February 2, 1906.

From the first the men of the Hall were organized as the Encina Club, and it was through the officers of the club that the faculty hoped to see set up general standards of behavior which would insure a respect for quiet and order and an absence of hoodlumism in its various forms. Until 1906 (after the first two years) the faculty had no direct control of Encina. The club had social and other matters to attend to, and it did exert a certain amount of restraint; but its tolerance was large and its conscience satisfied with occasional "key down" admonitions. Until 1897 there was a special faculty committee on Encina and Roble halls, and in 1896 this committee arranged for the appointment of two student proctors for Encina, one selected by the faculty committee, the other by the Encina Club. In 1900 the number of proctors or monitors was increased to four, all now selected by the Committee on Student Affairs. Their authority was naturally of the moral suasion type, but as prominent and respected upperclassmen their influence would be considerable, and by watchful vigilance they were able now and then to quiet some threatened riot in its incipiency. How inadequate their authority, when big affairs were being staged, is indicated in a report of the Committee on Student Affairs to Dr. Jordan December 7, 1905: "Our monitors have worked faithfully and courageously under difficult circumstances. They are discouraged and have desired to resign. . . . . Some of these men have spent as much as three hours a night (usually after midnight) for five successive nights laboring to prevent disorder in the Hall."

Serious outbreaks of disorder mainly connected themselves with two student customs which gradually advanced, in the Encina student mind, to the rank of inalienable student rights. The first of these was the presence and use of liquor in the Hall, culminating in the all-night "beer bust." The second was the developed sport of "tubbing." Both were under the ban of the authorities, and therefore the more to be cherished by the disorderly element. When Stanford first opened its doors it seemed to the idealists who largely composed both faculty and student groups that "fagging" and "hazing," immemorial forms of juvenile behavior, could really be treated as outgrown and foreign to the robust men and women of the new Stanford day. The freedom of action and lack of division lines of the first year confirmed this impression. "Next fall," ruminated the *Sequoia* in its last issue of the year (June 15, 1892), "upon their return to the University [the Sophomores] will be called upon to receive the freshman class, and their manner of reception may stamp the class of '95 as a class of originality and mental resource, or it may simply show it to be a body of ordinary fellows following the time-worn trail of rowdyism. Beings of limited mental attainment, in proportion to their ability, are imitators. . . . . Hoodlumism will cease just as soon as men are bright enough to entertain and exhilarate themselves without recourse to savagery. . . . . The unanimity of spirit prevalent during the first year has been a revelation to all who have previously attended other universities."

The Class of '95 thought it was providing an innocuous substitute in a sort of friendly tug-of-war contest between freshmen and sophomores, taking place in the open, under upperclass supervision. In reality it was the "time-worn trail," though not pursued very far. Later classes continued the march, with occasional student protests, expressions of regret, and faculty interventions. The tying-up contests, in various forms, under definite rules, were friendly affairs for the most part, except for the aftermaths, under cover of darkness and of a very different sort. Eventually, however, the whole bootlicking setup of "freshman duties" and the practice of hazing from its mildest to its most ruthless form came to be incorporated in the honor roll of student traditions. The peculiarly Stanford form of hazing, though there were many variants, was known as "tubbing." It prevailed in the fraternities, where it was cherished as the necessary and effective form of freshman discipline. Even in the small fraternity group it was no tame affair, though it did not quite turn into a vendetta as in Encina. But its real home was in the big dormitory.

Of course hazing is traditionally defended on the ground that it is good for the freshman, takes out his conceit and bumptiousness, shows him his place, and helps to make a man of him. If an unpleasant experience at the time, it is something which the freshman will be grateful for later and will religiously and gladly pass on to the next class. This he does, defending himself by the formal argument provided, but mostly, as he reasons to himself, in revenge for the treatment visited upon him in his freshman year. In its conventional forms hazing is compounded of excess animal spirits, a disregard of personality—rather characteristic of the juvenile mind — and the desire of achieving without much personal risk, the reputation of being a "big bad man"; it masquerades as good fun, a part of the color and glamor of college life. In practice, it is often an excuse and cover for the cowardly exercise of brute force. "I have always thought of 'hazers'," wrote Judge Leib of the Board of Trustees, referring to some Stanford outbreak or other, "as another name for 'cowards'."

Tubbing in Encina was in theory a carefully considered method of doing good to the freshman. Some of its defenders never saw any other aspect. Said the *Sequoia* editorially (October 1908): "To us it is impossible of conception that any member of the faculty would deem worthy of his consideration such harmless customs as 'tubbing.' Only those who have not actually been freshmen can fail to see the positive value of the mild hazing which we have here. It hurts no one, and every sophomore realizes full well how much less a fool he is than he would have been without his freshman training." "It seemed to be the unanimous opinion of the Conference," reported the *Daily Palo Alto* (January 28, 1910), "that the system of hazing as now in vogue in Stanford is not harmful but a positive benefit, and that as it is conducted, under careful upperclass supervision, it should be maintained as a helpful institution." Perhaps such virtuous exhibition of sophomore brotherly love was more common than was generally supposed. But even in these cases immersion in the Encina tubs would likely be the last act in a series of stunts ranging from the merely silly to humiliating and even dangerous forms. The vendetta went further. In this, groups of sophomores raided freshman rooms, smashing doors and transoms when necessary, even going outside the Hall and grabbing freshmen wherever they could be found. Freshman groups retaliated in kind when the chances were favorable, and such outbreaks might occur at any time of the year. The last refinement in tubbing was to hold the victim under water up to the "bubbling" period, that is, until he could no longer hold his breath.

Hazing was frequently forbidden by the authorities, but had at least as many lives as the traditional cat. After one of the later obsequies at its demise, the *Alumnus* (November 1916) remarked: "Passing over the fact that in tubbing, when it degenerated into 'bubbling,' the chances for bodily injury were not, as a matter of fact, negligible, how many Stanford men looking back on their college course, feel that freshman discipline helped to make men of them? Few if any. . . . In practice it frequently has led to bullying and injustice, to ill-feeling, and, in some instances . . . . to tragedies in the failure of good, earnest men to get the benefit of the Stanford spirit."

President Wilbur's language (February 28, 1916) was more vigorous: "Hazing is a combination of cowardice and bullying, absolutely un-American. It overpowers and crushes the individual. . . . . At the best it is contemptible and at the worst criminal. No one who delights in fair play can ever get any satisfaction from such an act."

To the Trustees standing on the outside, just ready to take up the burden, and to Mrs. Stanford in the last period of her administration, it was persistently represented that Dr. Jordan had lost control of the discipline of the University, and that the faculty, or perhaps only the chairman of its disciplinary committee, had descended to the level of a "spy" upon the doings of the students. "I have been very much interested in the proceedings of the Trustees," wrote Mrs. Stanford from Cairo (January 7, 1904), "and think they are taking a step in the right direction when they are arranging to take upon themselves the organization of some discipline throughout the different departments of the University." Of course the watchman who "spied" upon the students at Encina was merely carrying out the literal orders of the Business Office. Mrs. Stanford's confusion on this point was indicated in her confidential letter to the Trustees, dated July 23, 1904: "The sooner we cease to be a school, the sooner we may do without spies and watchmen for the students. A university professor acting as a detective or spy is, in my judgment, a disgrace to the profession and to the institution."

The Trustees promptly took up the matter by making a general approach to the subject of discipline in the University. At their meeting of September 26, 1903, Dr. Jordan was asked to attend the next session of the Board for the purpose of reporting upon the system of rules and discipline at the University and expressing his views concerning such modifications as he might deem wise. Meantime "it was resolved that until such time as the President of the University should formulate and present to the Board such rules of discipline governing the conduct of students, regulating their hours, etc., as he may deem desirable, together with a plan for enforcing the same, the Treasurer and Manager may increase the number of officers employed by him for the maintenance of discipline, and that all such officers should enforce the rules and direction of the President of the University until a permanent organization may be determined upon." A little earlier (September 23, 1903) Dr. Jordan had written to Judge Leib: "I would ask the Board of Trustees to carefully consider the question of discipline within the University Halls. The president and faculty are held responsible for such discipline by the public, yet under present conditions they can do nothing in the way of preventing rowdyish behavior, having no representatives in either Hall. According to student report matters at Encina Hall are not as orderly as they have been in the past. It is reported that there has been more petty hazing this year already than in four years past, more roughhouse work, and more injury to property. . . . . The best cheap method [of prevention] is that of student monitors, but this, I understand, has been disapproved by Mrs. Stanford. It is not sufficient for us to say, 'Here are the rules, you must obey or leave,' for no one knows who disobeys." Writing again, after the Trustee action, Dr. Jordan said (September 30, 1903): "Referring again to the matter of discipline in the Halls, I find that it has been practically taken out of my hands. I have no desire to control it if there is any other way to arrange it. . . . . Watchmen and policemen can take care of property, but are of little use in college discipline. The development of a spirit of good will and self-respect, on which effective discipline rests, depends on personal influence, not on rules nor penalties." To Mr. Lathrop he wrote (October 6, 1903) after the Trustee action: "I shall be glad to give any backing I can in the management of the Hall. I shall see the officers of the Club as soon as I can, but I cannot yet think what I can say to the students as a whole, because I have no way of backing my words. It would be fatal to 'bluff,' and what I threaten or promise I must see some way to make good."

In the general situation there was no immediate change. The Trustees were busy with the organization of the Board and of the faculty and with many other matters of University administration. The selection of a Mistress for Roble Hall was taken out of Dr. Jordan's hands, and the Business Office was given the added force and authority which it desired. Matters at Encina went on without perceptible change. There were the usual amount of turbulence and the usual banishments from the Hall or other penalties fixed by the Committee on Student Affairs. In September 1905, however, an episode, more picturesque at least than usual, brought the matter of Encina discipline once more into the foreground. This was primarily a "demonstration" against the watchman, though mixed with resentment at recent exclusions from the Hall by the Committee on Student Affairs. It began early in the evening when a group of students turned out the lights in the Club Room, overturned tables, and tossed chairs about the room, apparently in order to create a disturbance that would attract the attention of the watchman. When the latter entered the room the students generally withdrew and gathered on the third or fourth floor landings. The appearance of the watchman at the door of the Club Room was the signal for a fusillade which, with the accompanying noise and yelling, lasted for a couple of hours. Cuspidors filled with water were thrown down, followed by boards, boxes, bottles filled with water, and whatever else came handy. Fortunately no one was hurt, and the property damage was not much greater than in the ordinary Encina riot. The Committee, however, at the end of its patience, proceeded to make a faint application of Dr. Jordan's 1897 instructions to a former committee. After a hasty investigation it rounded up twenty men who were believed to be leaders in the "roughhouse," or who had given most trouble in the past—"incorrigible rioters"—and summarily dismissed them from the Hall without a hearing. On further investigation a few names were withdrawn from the list, but not until the reverberations of the whole affair had reached far. Encina men made strong representation to the Trustees; the Board called a meeting at the University (for October 12) and invited the Committee on Student Affairs, the president of the Encina Club, and the signers of the protest to be present. This meeting poured oil on troubled waters. "Apparently," wrote a member of the Board (October 20, 1905), "the boys are willing to agree to almost any reasonable plan of control, provided certain objectionable features of the present system are eliminated. We have all agreed that these features are not essential. So far as any new plan of control affecting the functions of the Business Office is concerned, I think there will be little, if any, difficulty, if the jurisdiction of the representatives of the Business Office, and of those of the faculty, are clearly defined so as to avoid misrepresentation and consequent conflict of jurisdiction."

In its report to the Board, the Trustee committee said, in part: "We met the Faculty and had a consultation of two hours with their committee, and then met the students and had a similar conference with them, of two hours. In each case we had a perfectly frank and free discussion of the whole question, together with certain cognate questions that came up in connection with these matters. The students proposed as a remedy in the future—and the Faculty and Dr. Jordan fully assented to this plan—that the Faculty should select ten or twelve monitors from a list of names which should be handed up to them by the Encina Club. . . . . Under this new plan, the Encina Club would pass up to the Faculty something like twenty to twenty-four names of students living in Encina Hall, either seniors or graduate students, and out of these names the Faculty would select say twelve, to serve as monitors on each floor at strategic points, for stopping any outbreak. The building is constructed so as to invite disturbance, with long halls and no partitions in the halls. We are inclined to think that it would be good policy to spend a few thousand dollars in dividing the building into three separate parts, after which it would be more easy to control the unruly students. . . . . These twelve monitors . . . . would have charge of the discipline of the Hall, and would constitute a committee which would have a president appointed by the Faculty, and would hold regular meetings, and to this committee we would give power to remove a student from the Hall for noisy or unruly conduct. . . . . The status of the watchman would thus be changed, and an attempt would be made to segregate his field of work from that of the monitors. He would be called upon simply to protect the property; and his services would not be used, except when property was in danger. The function of the monitors would be to preserve discipline, maintain order in the house where there was no danger to the building or furniture."

The high hopes entertained by this frank conference were not realized. The chairman of the Committee on Student Affairs, reporting to Dr. Jordan on December 7, 1905, said: "For some weeks after the action of the student affairs committee in sending seventeen men out of the Hall fairly good order prevailed, the better men in the Hall being able to exert their influence and to render conditions better than they have been for some years. They were assisted by the general expectation that prompt action would be taken in the case of the watchman and in respect to the appointment of the much larger number of monitors, which was recommended by our committee as well as by the committee of students. The continuance of the watchman in his position, together with his increasing dissipation,[8] and the delay in appointing the additional monitors and reorganizing the Hall, encouraged the rougher element and correspondingly discouraged the men who through their influence were co-operating with the committee on student affairs, with the result that bad order again began to prevail. . . . .

"About ten days ago a serious disturbance occurred on Sunday night, in which about twenty students attempted to break into a room to capture a freshman. The freshman and his roommate barricaded the door and resisted, with the result that two transoms were broken and the room damaged in a number of ways. Mr. Adderson informs me that the expense of repairing the room will be eight or ten dollars, and this expense has been charged up against the occupants of the room (who were merely trying to defend themselves) under the present system of management of the Hall. The situation at present is such that almost any occurrence would not create surprise among those familiar with the conditions. The freshmen in anticipation of hazing now frequently abandon their rooms for the night and combine four or six in one room armed with clubs for the purpose of repelling attacks, this seeming to be the only recourse they have for preserving their personal rights. . . . . Unless something is done promptly our committee will be forced to report to you our complete inability to deal with the situation; for our only dependence in the control of the Hall is upon the conservative, courageous, and gentlemanly men. When these men become convinced that the problem of keeping order upon their part is hopeless, our committee can do nothing. . . . . I am confident that the Board of Trustees is unaware of the critical nature of the situation or they would have taken action themselves or authorized action by you."[9]

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[8] "This continued until, being found dead drunk one night, the students sent for Mr. Atkinson at two o'clock in the morning [November 20], who discharged the man."

Dr. Jordan now, upon his own responsibility, authorized the Committee to go ahead with the selection of additional monitors, and this action was confirmed and approved by the Trustees on December 29, 1905. In a communication to the president of the Encina Club (December 19) the plan was explained and the duties of the monitors defined. They were to maintain order and see that personal rights were respected; to use all means in their power to suppress "tubbing" and hazing; to prevent, as far as possible, such unnecessary noise as would interfere with work or rest; to enforce the rule against bringing intoxicating liquors into the Hall. Cases too serious for the monitors to deal with—theft, drunkenness, etc.—were to be reported to the Committee on Student Affairs. The monitors, individually and severally, would be expected to use any proper means in performing their duties, and, acting collectively, might exclude an offending student from the Hall.

The reaction at Encina was not exactly what had been expected. After a lively discussion (December 21), the entire plan was rejected by a vote of about seven to one.[10] The newly appointed watchman, while not personally offensive, had the same functions to perform and the same attitude toward the Hall as his predecessor. In the Encina mind the watchman and the Committee on Student Affairs must be classed together, and the students did not propose to be the medium for sustaining and enforcing a regime which was obnoxious to the residents of the Hall. At this juncture Dr. Jordan strongly urged the plan which had been considered even before the opening of the University and which the Trustee committee had suggested, namely, to wall up the interior of Encina, making three practically independent units with no communication between them above the first floor. This was now formally recommended to the Trustees, and for a time there seemed a possibility that such action would be taken.

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[9] If the following letter, received at the President's Office at a later time, was faked, as it may have been, it was at least fiction founded on very solid fact: "I am S. Sasa who is working as porter in Encina. I make report that the university students are living Encina threw bottles or apples or water to me as I can not work, when I am working porch. In this morning a student who is living 94 room threw whiskey bottle to me. I wish you must punish him please."

[10] *Daily Palo Alto*, December 21, 1905.

At the beginning of the second semester, in January, two Encina men with bad Hall records, and already on probation, were suspended from the University—but for particular offenses committed some time previously. Feeling was stirred up, principally on the ground that such action, if contemplated, should have been taken earlier and the victims spared the trouble and expense of returning to the University for registration. The Committee's explanation, that action had been taken as soon as the evidence was complete, received short shrift. Encina refused to see anything but the summary dismissal of men who had respected the verdict of probation and were, at the time of suspension, quietly living up to the University requirements. The intensity of student sentiment may be gauged by the following petition, to which two hundred and ten signatures were affixed: "We, the undersigned, members of Encina Club, hereby agree to refrain from all forms of vicious hazing and 'tubbing' in Encina Hall, and will use our efforts to prevent same, provided that our fellow members . . . . be readmitted to the University in good standing, and to Encina Hall."

A renewed attempt to proceed with the enlarged monitor system again met with strenuous opposition and a determined effort to create a sentiment that would make it very unpopular for any student to accept appointment to the new position. For supporting propaganda of this sort the editor of the *Daily Palo Alto* was suspended from the University, and the uproar greatly increased. Following this the Quadrangle Club initiated a letter to the President (February 8, 1906) affirming (among other things) "that a large majority of the students have so far lost confidence in the judgment of [the Committee on Student Affairs] that a practically complete change in the committee's personnel is essential to a friendly co-operation of the student body with the administrative powers of the University." This letter, signed by representatives of a large number of student groups, and by many individuals, was not calculated to make the work of the Committee easier. Nor did it tend to better conditions in Encina. In a letter to Acting-President Branner, March 30, 1906, Mr. Lathrop reported a long list of late disorders, including "beer busts," "tubbings," and the usual furniture fusillades.

Happily the earthquake of April 18, 1906, did something to clear the local atmosphere. The larger aspects of the University life resumed their proper place. In the presence of the great disaster there was a disposition to let bygones be bygones and to find a reasonable basis for faculty-student relations in matters of conduct and discipline. The Trustees were now ready to restrict the duties of the watchman and custodian to the business affairs of the Hall, and formally turned over all authority in the matter of conduct and discipline to the President and faculty. Just before the opening of the new year in September,[11] announcement of the new situation was posted from the President's Office: "The discipline of Encina Hall is under the control of the president of the University, acting through the Committee on Student Affairs, and represented in Encina Hall by the student proctors. It is the duty of the student proctors to see that the regulations of the Hall are respected and to report for removal from the Hall all who violate its regulations or who make themselves offensive to their fellows, or who in any way forget to be gentlemen. Hazing in all its forms is absolutely prohibited, and the privacy of students' rooms must not be invaded against the will of the person concerned. Any person bringing intoxicating liquor into the Hall will forfeit his privilege of residence."

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[11] August 24, 1906.

The employment of sixteen monitors (now to be called proctors), at a compensation of six dollars each per month (approximately room rent), had been authorized by the Trustees. Before proceeding with this plan the Committee hoped by conference and discussion with the men of the Hall to come to an understanding and mutual agreement on certain matters of procedure. However, before any actual move had been made this quiet pause in the situation seemed to Professor Green a good time to be relieved of the heavy responsibility which he had carried for nearly ten years. Accordingly the whole Committee on Student Affairs resigned, to make way for a new committee with Professor Durand as chairman.

The Durand committee began with an entirely new approach to the problem. In Encina the proctor system was held in abeyance and a plan worked out by which complete control in matters of conduct was placed in the hands of a committee of seven upperclassmen, chosen by the sophomore, junior, and senior men of the Hall, and known as the House Committee. Its duty was to control all matters concerning the peace, good order, and honor of the Hall, and, in general, to deal with whatever concerned the welfare and comfort of the men in the Hall. The House Committee was expected to be a quiet, efficient body of representative men who would be able to control the Hall without public dismissals and by means of influence more than punishments. It was not asked to bind itself to any set of rules, and its disciplinary measures were to be governed by its own discretion. It was to be vested with such authority as might be needful for the purposes in view. Acceptance of this plan by the men of the Hall and its incorporation into the constitution of the Encina Club was largely credited to Assistant Professor Suzzallo, not a member of the Committee on Student Affairs, but a former Encina man, who stressed the desirability and feasibility of the plan and the high estate to which they were called. "You are to live," he said, "by a world-old code—the ancient code of a gentleman of honor."[12]

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[12] *Daily Palo Alto*, October 18, November 2, 1906.

The "gentleman's code of honor" did not, as a matter of fact, convert Encina into a model residence hall. It appealed to men of gentlemanly instincts, and was not without its effect in raising the general sentiment of the Hall to a higher level. But it is doubtful if the "body of ordinary fellows following the time-worn trail of rowdyism" attached any practical meaning to the phrase. The very next night following Professor Suzzallo's talk, a "beer bust" in Room 133 went through the usual program, with the usual missile throwing over the banisters, and damage to the moderate amount of four dollars and fifty cents. Nor was this by any means the last of such events. One thing, however, could be counted on—that heed would be given to the admonition "Key down!" which was now to become a familiar and oft-repeated campus slogan. And since it was no longer necessary to "demonstrate" defiance of authority, some moderation of expression followed naturally. The House Committee took its duties most seriously and kept matters well in hand; but its standards were the standards of the Hall, and these were merely to be lived up to, not changed.

One result was immediate and wholesome. Encina was taken out of the limelight and its problems merged with those of the fraternities and of the campus generally. These were varied, of course, and not less difficult than those of Encina, but they were to be approached by the Committee on Student Affairs in the same spirit in which Encina had been dealt with—the encouragement of self-direction and the placing of responsibility upon individuals and groups.

An amiable student view of Encina under the new dispensation is reflected in the *Sequoia* of March 1907: "The University now takes no steps to maintain order in the dormitory. True, there is an inoffensive night watchman, but he is there solely to repel invasion and give warning in case of fire, and not to interfere with those occasional uproarious gatherings which the inmates of the building are wont to hold in their rooms when one of their number has been elected senior president, or when the inclemency of the weather makes the long walk of two miles to Menlo an almost impossible task."

The treatment of Encina was preliminary to the development of a general policy which might result, in time, in a completely self-governed college community. In inviting representatives of the fraternities to a conference, the chairman said: "I wish to assure you in advance that the committee has no rules or regulations to propose as a cut and dried program." In the frank interchange of opinion which followed, the various matters of conduct about which the community had complained, such as the singing of songs, disorder of a character objectionable to ladies, the use of intoxicants in fraternity houses, and the like, were freely discussed. The chairman dwelt upon the desirability of developing a sense of personal responsibility among students with reference to these matters and a realization of civic duty with reference to the general good of Stanford University considered as a commonwealth. The student response was unanimous that the rights of others must be respected and that everything objectionable to the neighborhood ought to be eliminated. As upperclassmen, each would undertake to lay the matter strongly before his own fraternity. The feeling was expressed that the upperclassmen as a whole should be able to develop a sentiment which would result in reaching the end desired. When the students pointed out the difficulty of enforcing any hard-and-fast rule regarding the use of intoxicants in the fraternities, they were informed that the Committee had no intention of laying down any such rules but was primarily concerned with such conditions as would conduce to decency and good order. This achieved, they were willing to leave the question of personal habits as regards the use of intoxicants to be settled each man for himself. Certain restrictions or limitations on the presence of intoxicants were probably desirable, and students should refrain from urging others to partake. The Committee did not expect to reach any agreement which would result in their elimination, but hoped to stimulate a careful consideration of all such matters with especial reference to the duty of students as individuals and as fraternities, both to themselves and to the community of which they were a part.[18]

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[18] Minutes of the Committee on Student Affairs; *Daily Palo Alto*, November 21, 23, 1906.

At a similar conference nearly a year later (October 14, 1907) the chairman was able to express his pleasure at the noticeable decrease in the number of complaints received during the year, and his high appreciation of the frank and generous manner in which the students had entered into the spirit and purpose of the Committee in its endeavor to maintain and improve the existing high level of community welfare.[14] The *Sequoia*, in its October issue, recalled the beginning of the new regime and its progress. "The promise of good things which were prophesied then, has been amply fulfilled. The present student affairs committee had the confidence of the student body from the start, and its year's tenure has fully justified that confidence. Perfect sympathy with the students, and a thorough understanding of their viewpoint, has marked its every action from the policy of announcement of its findings to the suspension of Editor Herron. That sympathy has been tempered with the firmness of men who knew what they wanted to accomplish and went about it openly and directly. The results have been all that could be asked for as regards the Student Body, and judging from present conditions in Encina and on the Row, the committee can look back upon its year of service with a feeling of perfect satisfaction in the success of its policy."

The fate of this experiment, so auspiciously begun, and the stormy times that followed are bound up with the problem of liquor, and considered under that topic. With the advent of the Clark committee in February 1908, the old situation returned so far as any co-operation of student groups was concerned. Acting under definite instructions from the Board of Trustees and the Academic Council, it was first necessary for the Committee to demonstrate that certain standards of conduct and regulations thereto, fixed by the University authorities, must be accepted and respected as the price paid for admission to and continuance in the University. That point settled, the Clark committee, like all previous committees, was supremely desirous that the student body should assume responsibility for the conduct of its members to the greatest extent possible. Happily the way for a definite advance gradually opened. The sense of belonging to a larger community, with civic duties and responsibilities, regained, in part at least under the Durand committee, the respect for authority acquired during the troubled period that followed, the various agencies and activities set in motion officially and otherwise—all these helped finally to dissolve the suspicion and distrust that had existed.

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[14] *Daily Palo Alto*, October 15, 1907.

Looking about for some way of making closer contact with students and student sentiment, Dr. Jordan projected a series of President's Conferences, one composed of representative men, the other of representative women. At first only smaller matters for the most part were considered, such as lights on the Avenue, the establishment of eating clubs, requirements in rooming houses, and the like. But no subjects of University interest were barred from the discussions. Most of the small reforms suggested, while approved by the President, were too largely within the jurisdiction of the Business Manager for much to be accomplished. The exchange of views was all to the good, but a good deal of impatience was manifested by the students generally because of the small results obtained. In 1908 the plan of the Conferences was changed, members of the Conference being composed of upperclassmen chosen by the major students in the various departments. These were more substantial bodies, considering a wider range of undergraduate interests, particularly the possibilities of a larger student control of campus matters.

Another development of importance was the addition to the academic staff of deans and advisers. In the original scheme of administration, the major professor, official adviser of the student in matters connected with his major studies, was thought of also as the natural counselor in other matters of student concern. There was this opportunity, and in many cases such a relation was established between professor and students. But here personality was the all-important factor, and some teachers did not have the gift. Increasing numbers made this intimate relation more difficult to sustain, and in too many cases even scholastic advice and direction tended to become more or less conventional and perfunctory. With a view to supplementing the imperfect working of the department-advisory relation, Instructor E. K. Putnam, of the English Department, was asked, in 1905, to act as general adviser in matters not directly concerned with major-subject requirements. Beyond supplementing major-department advice regarding the general course of study, it was hoped that the personal relation thus established would be of value to the student and to the University in many other ways. Unfortunately this work was interrupted after one year by Mr. Putnam's withdrawal from the University.

In the management of Roble Hall the University had been, with a few interruptions, exceptionally fortunate, and a high standard of conduct had been maintained. There were, however, many more women outside than inside the Hall, and for some of these the conditions of living were unsatisfactory. In April 1905 Dr. Jordan had recommended to the Trustees the appointment of a Dean of Women. Nothing came of this at the time, but three years later the position was created and filled by the appointment of an alumnus of the University, Mrs. Evelyn Wight Allan, of the class of '96. A similar arrangement for the men was urged by Dr. Jordan, and his first idea was that the proposed office should be invested with all the disciplinary functions exercised by the Committee on Student Affairs. Dr. Jordan's first proposals met with opposition, particularly from the Advisory Board. However, by December 1908, the Trustees were ready to act and approved the nomination of Thomas Arkle Clark, of the University of Illinois, who would come to Stanford as Professor of English but would also undertake the work of Dean of Men which he had carried so successfully at Illinois. "It is time now," Dr. Jordan remarked, "to begin constructive work. The wielding of the Big Stick has served its purpose."

Unfortunately for Stanford, so determined an effort was made to retain Professor Clark at Illinois that he felt obliged to withdraw his acceptance of the Stanford position. In this dilemma Dr. Jordan turned to the president of the Associated Students, Almon E. Roth, whose tact, firmness, general sanity, and conspicuous success in dealing with difficult student problems had given him a place of large influence among his fellow students. "Mr. Roth is young," an observer, not a Stanford man, had written Dr. Jordan, "but he succeeds admirably in interpreting to hasty men the right idea. He possesses rare ability in reprimanding men, who in turn, will respect and honor him. In all my experience I cannot think of a man who, before a student body, can speak so softly and be heard so loudly." Mr. Roth was named Student Adviser, with no disciplinary authority, but was expected to serve as a sort of liaison officer between students and committees and to make his personal influence count in whatever way he could. This was his commission. His own program had nothing in it of the spectacular. It proceeded on the assumption that there were no serious differences in principle between students and faculty in matters of conduct, but only misunderstandings. The first necessity seemed to be that the student body, through some official representative committee, should be able to get the faculty point of view, present its own recommendations, and see from the inside the problems with which the disciplinary committee had to do.

The way had already been prepared. The reaction from the period of storm and stress was favorable to just this program. The students had been in their homes, and at a distance from the University had been able to see the events of the past year from a new angle and in a different perspective. The discovery that the policy of the University and the firmness of the Committee were receiving almost unqualified commendation and support from the outside in itself tended to soften the antagonism that had existed and start the returning tide of loyalty and co-operation. "Since the beginning of the year," Dr. Jordan said (April 26, 1909), "we have had no occasion for discipline. Scholarship, behavior, and incidentally dramatics and journalism were never so high as now." A member of the faculty, absent in the East, who had been especially close to students, wrote (May 29, 1909): "Surely this year has brought into existence a wonderfully fine condition at Stanford." And the *Sequoia* remarked editorially (May 1909): "The peaceful passing of the present semester has gone a long way toward restoring the faculty and student body to a basis of harmony and good will. . . . . Instead of a house divided against itself we are nearer a state of common understanding than has been known here at Stanford since the early days of our history. . . . . In the first place it is undeniable that the students are conforming peaceably to the moral regulations that have been set down by the faculty. . . . . The vast majority of the students are morally in accord with the principles that have actuated the faculty in all their disciplining. . . . . We are in the midst of a rapid evolution toward an ideal system of student control."

"Student control," as vaguely conceived in the past and held up as the great desideratum, meant little more than freedom from faculty interference and direction in matters of personal conduct. When it was realized that student control meant corporate responsibility and the exercise of functions that would not always be either easy or pleasant, student sentiment was not sure that it wanted to assume any such control. Professor F. C. Woodward, discussing sympathetically the practicability of student self-government in the *Sequoia* for January 1909, said by way of caution: "I believe the students of Stanford, as a body, fail to realize their responsibility for the character of the University community. . . . . I doubt if those who advocate a change realize the weight of responsibility which self-government would impose upon the student body, or the peculiarly unpleasant and embarrassing character of the duty of informing upon, investigating charges against, and recommending the punishment of one's fellow student." Writing in the *Sequoia* for May 1910, Frank E. Hill, of the class of 1911, said: "In the matter of student control we have work ahead. It needs the new attitude. The University body must apply high aims to this problem, and vigorous, clean, open methods. The student Conference has done much last year to lay a basis for good student control. To be sure, a few violent breaches of discipline have occurred, but peculiarly strenuous circumstances called these forth, and the Conference could not yet be expected to have any control over such things. But it has laid a fine basis for a good structure. To begin with, it has realized itself, and somewhat made the students realize, that the faculty student affairs committee was rather to be congratulated than damned in their handling of student problems."

The Student Adviser turned to the University Conference as the most effective organ for bringing about the new condition of affairs so much to be desired. Through his efforts the Conference was made more completely representative of the upperclassmen, and a body through which student opinion could be crystallized and made effective. Its duties and functions were defined as follows:

"It shall be the duty of the Conference to consult with the President of the University, the Student Adviser, and with the administrative committees of the Academic Council, in matters pertaining to the general welfare of the University. It shall be the medium through which the students of the University may express their ideas, and it shall investigate and report on all problems of interest to the Student Body. It shall be the duty of the Conference to elect from its own body five members who shall deal especially with matters of discipline, using all proper influence to prevent such cases from arising, and who shall act on such cases in behalf of the Student Body."

In its new form the University Conference was incorporated into the student-body Constitution, and its activities were made entirely official. This action was welcomed by the Committee on Student Affairs, and through a series of conferences the advisory committee of five was enabled to see something of the problems and workings of the faculty committee, to present the student point of view, and to have its suggestions given serious consideration. As a sort of laboratory experiment it was arranged that the entire control and supervision of the 1910 Junior Plug-Ugly, perennial trouble-maker for the faculty, should be placed in the hands of the Committee of Five.

The result was a quite satisfactory affair from the student committee's point of view, all the objectionable features being eliminated. "The Conference undertook the responsibility of restoring the custom to its original status, and the Plug-Ugly has been saved to future generations." Unfortunately the spectacle was too tame for Plug-Ugly audiences, and the 1911 performance turned out to be perhaps the most objectionable that had ever been put on.

The *Daily Palo Alto* of November 18, 1910, reports a meeting of the student advisory committee with men from the fraternities and from Encina to discuss ways of correcting certain undesirable practices on the campus. A bitter attack on the University by a recent alumnus rehashing old troubles, which was serialized in a San Francisco newspaper, "woefully misrepresented" conditions upon the campus, declared the *Daily Palo Alto*. "We believe the publication of these articles," affirmed the University Conference, "to have been prompted by a long-standing animosity on the part of that paper toward Stanford University and those in charge. Under the present plan of co-operation between faculty and students much has been done to bring about a mutual understanding on problems which have given trouble in the past. The faculty student affairs committee and the student advisory committee from the University Conference are holding frequent meetings for the free discussion of cases of discipline and of matters of general interest to the student body. We believe the solution of the problems of student control is being worked out in this new relation of faculty and students, and that such articles as published by the *Call* can only add difficulties."[15]

All this was moving toward actual student control. The faculty was well disposed if somewhat skeptical. "I am asked," Acting-President Branner said, at the opening Assembly in August 1911, "what progress is being made here in the way of government by the students. I should like to put the question to the students themselves. Student government must of necessity rest with the students, and whenever they are ready to undertake it, you may be sure it will be gladly put in their hands." But the men students at least were not yet ready. Although occasions for disciplinary action were not infrequent and no letting down of standards occurred, there was very little criticism of committee action. Many students reasoned that it was better to leave disciplinary action in the hands of the faculty, the student committee acting in an advisory capacity only. There was skepticism as to whether or not control would really mean control: the faculty, it was said, would surely overrule student decisions which it did not like.

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[15] *Daily Palo Alto*, November 3, 28, 30, and December 5, 1910.

"We, the students," declared the *Sequoia* editorially (November 1911), "have buried the outworn weapons of a warfare which is out of fashion, and we stand extending the hand to the faculty. And in so doing, we are but recognizing that certain rulings which were made by them in the past and which seemed unjust to the students of that day, have proved in the light of time to be good both for the University and the later generations. . . . . In matters concerning only the students themselves, the faculty might show a progressive generosity and put things entirely in their hands. It is true that many of us do not favor student control and would decline the privilege, if offered, as blandly as was done some years ago."

The women acted first. Their Judicial Board, corresponding to the men's advisory Committee of Five, announced its readiness to assume the duties and responsibilities of student control. The Committee on Student Affairs responded promptly (November 22, 1911) by the adoption of the following statement:

> "The Judicial Board of the Women's Conference of the University having expressed its readiness and desire to assume responsibility for the government of the women of the University, the Committee on Student Affairs hereby authorizes this assumption of responsibility and delegates its functions to the Judicial Board under the following conditions: (1) The standards of conduct and regulations governing students adopted by the University and exercised through its Committee on Student Affairs shall remain in force and be maintained by the Judicial Board. (2) The Judicial Board is authorized to make such other rules, not inconsistent with University regulations, as it may deem wise and expedient. (3) Cases involving discipline shall be considered by the Judicial Board and recommendations made to the Committee on Student Affairs. (4) At the end of each semester a written report of the activities of the Judicial Board shall be filed with the Committee on Student Affairs. (5) The authority hereby delegated may be withdrawn at any time when the interests of the University shall seem to require such action."

The success of this experiment was immediate and complete. How seriously its responsibilities were taken by the Judicial Board may be judged perhaps by this word from Dr. Branner to Dr. Jordan, then in the East: "The women have, with the approval of the student affairs committee, undertaken self-government. The first case up is of one of them swearing!" It was understood that self-government could be had by the men on the same terms; but the men still hesitated. They had to be assured that, so long as student control remained in force, actions taken by the student advisory committee, even to the last case, would not be overruled. Regarding certain regulations of the Committee on Student Affairs, to which everybody agreed—only one participation in dramatics per semester, social functions to close at midnight and limited to Friday and Saturday nights, no hazing—the men asked not to be required to agree to these beforehand but allowed to re-enact them for themselves. These matters being adjusted, a mass meeting was held on March 14, 1912, and the question was submitted to a vote of the student body (March 20). The result was: for student control, 536; against, 45.

It was not expected that student control would work miracles, and none were worked. It began under favorable circumstances with a real sense of responsibility and earnest effort on the part of the Conference and advisory committee to live up to expectations. With the women the Judicial Board was pretty constantly represented by the best and strongest students, and they in turn had the assistance and wise advice of the Dean of Women. "A remarkable success" was claimed for it in the *Sequoia* (January 1913), and this characterization hardly needed later modification. Of course the problems of the Dean were not the same as those of the Judicial Board, and her range of influence was wider; but it was of importance that there be no cross purposes between the two.

The men, too, justified to a large degree the trust reposed in them. They were quite as interested as the women in making student control a success, and were not less conscientious. The men's task was harder, and certain weaknesses developed from which the women were relatively free. There was some tendency on the part of students, especially those who came in conflict with the disciplinary measures of the Council, to take the attitude of opposition and hostility formerly held toward the faculty committee. The standards of the University, which the Council had undertaken to maintain, also gave the students trouble in their concrete application. With new classes and new times it was hard to keep from sagging down to the lower level of expediency.

In these matters the faculty Committee on Student Affairs did not become nonexistent or inactive. The authority which the student bodies exercised was a delegated authority for whose proper use the faculty committee was responsible to the Academic Council and the Board of Trustees. It was necessary therefore for the committee to be aware of what was going on. A sharp reminder came to the Student Conference from President Branner (December 4, 1913) when certain offensive doings in Palo Alto were apparently being passed over without notice: "If proper standards in regard to drinking among students, and in regard to the proprieties of life, are to be maintained, and if student government is to retain the confidence and support of the students and of the University community, it will be necessary for the Student Council to deal with such cases and to publish its decisions."

"The faculty committee has been very apprehensive at times because certain grave matters did not receive the settlement which they seemed to deserve. Two dangers threaten the permanence of student control by men: one, the exaggerated importance in student eyes of the so-called 'prominent fellow'; the other the great burden of routine work connected with the duties of the Council."[16]

"Although the available evidence is somewhat conflicting, I believe that the general level of student conduct has been at least as high, if not a little higher, than in preceding years. I fear, however, that the rule relating to the use of intoxicating liquor has not been so well observed as it was during the last year of faculty control. The fundamental difficulty is that students will not report violations of the rule which come to their notice. In my judgment it is necessary that some steps be taken to meet this condition."[17]

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[16] Chairman Clark in *President's Report* for 1913–14.

In his report to the President for the year 1913–14, Student Adviser Ambrose said: "The [Men's] Council has been keen to uphold the rules of the University, and the students have cooperated heartily in maintaining a standard worthy of the University. The conditions are better than the Student Adviser has seen them during the past five years. . . . . The great good the Student Adviser can do in student control is to foresee trouble and speak a word in advance to avoid it." For the following year Student Adviser Simonson reported: "In matters of discipline, conditions are good—far superior to those of the last years of faculty control . . . . Student control is far from perfect. Yet should conditions under self-regulation do no more than equal those of the faculty committee regime, in the very fact that they are the expression of student responsibility, they are infinitely superior."

If Dr. Jordan's statement of the problem of faculty-student relations, formulated in 1910, is less idealistic than he would have made it in 1891, or even in 1913, it has nevertheless the weight of long experience behind it. It is here quoted in a condensed form.

"It is now generally recognized that the most pressing problem of higher education in America is the care of the underclassmen, the freshmen and sophomores. Training in personal habits must be effected by some positive method, requiring action and vigilance. In brief, the college must furnish its lower classmen with advisers of some kind, men who come near the students, men whom the students can trust, and who at the same time are in touch with the highest ideals the University teachers represent. Half the weakness and folly of college students comes from their not knowing any better. The professors cannot be police officers, nor employ police methods. This goes without saying. It is necessary, on the other hand, that they should stand strongly against the student vices, against cheating, gambling, dishonest behavior, yellow journalism, and all the forms of alcoholic conviviality. Whatever one's views as to beer and wine may be, there is no question that the lighter alcoholics are the curse of college life. In these matters as in the abuses of athletics, our college authorities assume a curiously detached attitude, as though these evils of the age were beyond their power of abatement. Yet they have all the authority there is. There is no evil in college life which is not there through the negligence of those who occupy the place of control. It is an incentive to manliness for a boy to see that the college values manhood. It adds to his respect for higher education to see that faculty men are ready to set themselves strongly against abuses in student life."

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[17] Chairman Woodward (of the new Committee on Student Affairs) in *President's Report* for 1914–15.

IV. THE TRUSTEES AND THE UNIVERSITY

MRS. STANFORD AS ADMINISTRATOR

Throughout the long and anxious years of her stewardship Mrs. Stanford had been content, in matters of academic concern, to lean very largely upon the President, and her confidence in his wisdom and ability had been her chief support. Again and again she testified to her satisfaction in his management and her gratitude for his unfailing loyalty and support. She was proud of the position and standing attained by the University, and quite aware that Dr. Jordan was the main factor in its striking success. She was genuinely fond of the students and keenly interested in their welfare. "She greatly enjoyed their freshness and breeziness, and she liked to think of ways of contributing to their legitimate pleasures. When driving about the University it gave her genuine delight to see the students and to be recognized and spoken to by them."[1] Writing to Dr. Jordan, from New York (December 28, 1895), Mrs. Stanford said: "I must confess to a feeling of great pride in our entire body of students, both male and female, and I think we are all in a way under obligations to them for their uniformly good conduct and a desire to be, as my dear husband once expressed it, ladies and gentlemen."

Not that Mrs. Stanford was always pleased with everything that happened at the University. Even when her own burdens were heaviest she kept well in touch with the campus and its doings, and had many puzzling questions to thresh over with Dr. Jordan. With her strict notions of the proprieties in matters of social intercourse she would naturally have expected the prescription of pretty rigid rules of conduct and a quite parental supervision of student doings and activities and was never entirely reconciled to the opposite theories of president and faculty. Long before the University opened, when it existed only ideally in the imagination, Mrs. Stanford visioned an idyllic environment, a college quite unlike the independent, aggressive, self-respecting but far from anemic assemblage that actually took possession of the campus. "A series of cottages will be built," Mrs. Stanford is quoted as saying, "which will accommodate about twenty students or more, and these will be in charge of a teacher, where the personal habits, manners, and amusements of the students may be under supervision. Every care will be taken to make these cottages homes in the best sense of the word,—a place where no sectarianism will be taught, all creeds welcomed, and the single religion of Christ our Redeemer practiced and followed; where the day begins and ends with prayer, and where each individual is brought under refined discipline. Those [cottages] intended for boys will be about a mile distant from those occupied by girls. I think it will be a splendid opportunity for boys and girls to learn how to conduct themselves toward each other in a refined and decorous manner."

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[1] Dr. Branner, Founders' Day Address, 1917.

Knowing Mrs. Stanford's Victorian ideals, somebody always took care that suspicious happenings, or rumors of happenings, were brought to her attention. Here indeed was a fruitful field for busybodies and mischief-makers. It may have been that couples were seen strolling in the moonlight under arcades, or through the Arboretum, or walking toward the hills, or committing other like improprieties. And when the teller of tales would say, with arched eyebrows, "Now what do you think of that?" the offense seemed to take on a really serious aspect. Or the occasion may have been some boisterous outbreak in Encina Hall involving the destruction of property, or some indecorous behavior at dancing parties, or other form of misconduct with which faculty committees had to deal. Generally, however, Mrs. Stanford's fears were dispelled by the assurances of Dr. Jordan and of others in whom she had confidence; but she did not hesitate on occasion to put forth special edicts intended to correct what she regarded as lax tendencies or bad practices.

Again, thrift and saving were cardinal virtues with Mrs. Stanford, and she was hurt by anything that looked like carelessness or waste of University equipment or materials. Carelessness and waste were always being suspected by the business management in everything that was done at the University. The employment of students as assistants in laboratories, as department secretaries, or as stenographers or typists, or the use of light and heat in University buildings, outside of scheduled hours—by professors in their laboratories or offices, by students in literary or department clubs—all were held up to Mrs. Stanford as wasteful uses of money and probable examples of partiality or graft. For the most part, happily, frequent absences from the University and absorption in the larger matters that pressed upon her dulled Mrs. Stanford's ears to much clamor; troubles of this sort would most often be taken to Dr. Jordan and left there.

When Mrs. Stanford returned to Palo Alto, in October 1901, after an absence of nearly a year and a half, her business troubles were over and her extensive building program well on toward completion. Some general matters were still pressing. First in importance was the necessity of placing the University endowment beyond the possibility of contest. The legal steps leading to this consummation, worked out with skill and patience by Mr. Crothers, Judge Leib, and others, were brought to completion by the reconveyance to the Trustees of previous deeds and grants, effected December 9, 1901. Additional legislation, to give the University corporate rights, to obtain release from taxation permitted by the constitutional amendment of 1900, to allow Mrs. Stanford to make certain property transfers, to promote a friendly suit in the Superior Court that would remove the last possible danger of attack in the courts, was successfully accomplished through the careful planning and constant direction of Mr. Crothers and Judge Leib.[2]

Next in importance, in Mrs. Stanford's mind, was the completion of Memorial Church and the selection of a minister who should make his pulpit and his teaching of pre-eminent influence in the University. However high Mrs. Stanford wished the University to stand in respect to scholarship and leadership, she exalted the building of character still more. To her the

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[2] Described in detail in the *Founding of Leland Stanford Junior University*, by George E. Crothers.

Church was and should be the center of the University. Extremely tolerant in matters of opinion and indifferent to theological distinctions, she yet wanted a very positive religious atmosphere to pervade the University. She had found comfort in the early meetings of the Christian Association, in Dr. Jordan's robust moral influence, in the spiritual leadership of Dr. Thoburn, and in other wholesome examples and tendencies which she recognized and appreciated. "I note with satisfaction that the students as a rule attend [the chapel services] voluntarily in large numbers, and listen with rare attentiveness to the sermons preached. I also note with gratification that there prevails among them a deep and sincere religious sentiment, as is shown by the regular Sunday evening meetings, attended chiefly by the young men and women of the University. . . . . I have thought that as soon as my financial condition warranted it I would like to establish a professorship of Bible history, to be filled by one who will teach it without any prejudice."[3]

But Mrs. Stanford was troubled at times with conditions as they existed at the University, and expressed her disappointment at the apparent neglect of the "soul life" of the students. "The development of the soul," she said to Dr. Jordan (May 9, 1900), "is by far the most essential thing in life. All education should tend toward this one aim. . . . . And this place in the education of youth is far more important than professors as a rule realize." "While walking about the buildings and grounds of the University with me one day," Dr. Branner relates, "she spoke very freely and very feelingly in regard to many things, and of her aspirations in regard to the University itself. The last place she visited was the Church, where she lingered over many details, in every one of which she was deeply interested. It was quite late in the afternoon when we went out and walked along the arcade toward her carriage. She seemed to feel she had talked too much about what filled her mind, especially about the Church, and she added, 'But, Mr. Branner, while my whole heart is in the University, my soul is

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[3] Mrs. Stanford, to the Board of Trustees, February 11, 1897.

Jane L. Stanford

in that Church.' . . . . She said that while she was interested in education in a large sense, and was happy to devote her time, means, and energies to whatever was usually regarded as the legitimate and indispensable equipment of a modern university, she felt that institutions and educators were spending relatively too little time on moral and spiritual instruction. She feared that such views from her might be regarded as those of a religious fanatic, but she disclaimed any undue influence on the part of the church as such, or from any source save her own experience and her own observations in life. 'Look through the list of the faculty,' said she, 'and point out to me, if you can, the professor who, aside from the chaplain, makes it any part of his business to even mention things spiritual or moral to his students. I fully realize the very encouraging fact that all studies are uplifting if they are taken seriously, and if the student has an uplifting teacher. . . . . But not a single department requires a student to be clean in his life or to study subjects that will help strengthen his moral character. . . . . I don't mean that students require instruction in doctrines: that is just what I do not mean; and it was for that very reason that I wanted the Church to be and to remain nonsectarian.' "[4]

The minister of Memorial Church was to have such a commanding position in the University that Mrs. Stanford would not intrust his selection even to Dr. Jordan. She knew what she wanted, and set herself to make sure that the right man was chosen. "I would be better satisfied," she said to the Trustees (July 6, 1904), "to see every department of the University secondary to the Church work, and the Church influence stand out supreme in the whole future life of every student." Even after the unhappy ending of the first pastorate she would not trust the choice of a successor to anyone else and regarded this as one of the main tasks yet before her.

Beginning in February 1897, Mrs. Stanford made a number of addresses to the Trustees which were in the nature of, and intended to be, amendments to the Founding Grant. These included her very vigorous prohibition of political activities on the part of members of the faculty, which she defined as "partisanism," her limitation upon the number of women students, the reduction of the number of Trustees to fifteen, together with minor directions and prohibitions. These early addresses, not having been executed in proper legal form, and their validity being doubtful at best, were later revised or reaffirmed and formally incorporated in the Charter. In October 1902 came the final revision with additional pronouncements, this time carefully edited and largely rephrased by Mr. Crothers and Judge Leib. This last revision struck out the original preamble to the 500-limit amendment, canceled previous directions now considered of only temporary importance, withdrew others likely to prove embarrassing to the Trustees in promoting the fundamental objects of the University, and formulated more clearly Mrs. Stanford's ideas of the educational policies to be fostered by the Trustees. The nonsectarian and nonpartisan character of the institution was again emphasized, but the prohibition against individual participation in politics or political campaigns, redrawn by Judge Leib, was softened into a counsel of perfection and an enumeration of the circumstances which made such participation by University professors uncommon and undesirable.

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[4] Dr. Branner, Founders' Day Address, 1917.

From the first Mrs. Stanford held before her the ideal of "a university of high degree," and her controlling purpose had been to proceed with the large plans for its development just as Mr. Stanford would have done had he lived. Naturally, beyond general outlines, this would not carry her far. The Founding Grant envisaged an educational system that would "fit the graduate for some useful pursuit." That to Mrs. Stanford meant quite as much a trade as a profession. Indeed, it was the manual training part of the "educational system"—the boys and girls busy with their tools and actually making things—that gave her the greatest pleasure. "Many of the students come to this University," she said to the Trustees (February 11, 1897), "because the advantages are free and because they know that they will be obliged to carve out their own future; and with the encouragement which we will give these [mechanical] departments in the future, they may gladly pursue this course of study. The professional world has more than its quota, while the manual has still room for more skilled workmen. If these departments are encouraged, and work in the machine shops and woodworking departments are made major subjects, their graduating classes would be larger and would readily find responsible positions." But while Mrs. Stanford saw nothing incongruous in this exaltation of the trade school idea, her vision embraced also the "university of high degree," defined as "a faculty of distinguished scholars and investigators, a disciplined body of selected students, an institution whose chief object would be the training of leaders and educators in every field of science and industry, contributing at the same time, by experimentation and research, to the advancement of useful knowledge and the dissemination and practical application of the same."

In her last address, dated July 23, and read to the Trustees on August 1, 1904, Mrs. Stanford said: "The work of our University, I think, should be to a great extent post-graduate work, that is, work of a character so high and excellent that it would attract the graduates of the colleges of the entire country."

"Mrs. Stanford has very wide and clear ideas," Dr. Jordan wrote (March 30, 1904), "as to what the University should be, and I think that all the faculty agree with her that the institution should be a place where exceptional people will secure exceptional training, not a place where a mob, more or less uninterested in educational affairs, are driven through a round of social and other experiences, with a degree at the end."

Although the finances of the University had supposedly moved over to Easy Street, Mrs. Stanford, completely absorbed in her building program and intent on its completion during her lifetime, would not consent to any form of expansion which might involve delay in the work of construction. She listened to Dr. Jordan's appeals, but for the most part refused to see that any urgency existed. The solution was simple: they could limit numbers and thus obviate the need of additional professors and facilities. And then, when the building program was well on its way to completion, she found herself facing a barrage of criticism directed against Dr. Jordan's educational policies and executive leadership, and deploring conditions generally at the University. Some of this was friendly to Dr. Jordan, some unfriendly, some bitterly and maliciously hostile. So far as these concerned educational procedures and policies they were outside the range of Mrs. Stanford's training and experience. And since many of the criticisms concerned the policies of Dr. Jordan himself, she naturally turned to the Trustees for advice and support.

Throughout the period of her administration Mrs. Stanford had been forced to keep constantly in mind the possibility of some future adverse action of the courts concerning the Stanford properties and the whole endowment fund. To forestall such action she had made the various deeds and conveyances to the Trustees, had co-operated with her advisers in the legal procedures, constitutional changes, acts of the legislature, and revision of trusts which were deemed essential to the validity of the endowment funds and of her exercise of authority under the Founding Grant. To make assurance doubly sure, and to provide for the immediate co-operation of the Trustees in solving new and perplexing problems, Mrs. Stanford now proposed to resign her own special powers and invest the Board with the whole management and control of the University. Under the terms of the Founding Grant such transfer of powers could not take place during Mrs. Stanford's lifetime. A special act of the legislature was therefore obtained, and on the first of June, 1903, being then in her seventy-fifth year, Mrs. Stanford formally surrendered the powers, duties, and responsibilities conferred upon her in the Founding Grant to the full Board of Trustees. In anticipation of this action a vacancy in the Board had been prepared, by the resignation of one of the Trustees, and Mrs. Stanford was immediately elected a member of the Board and made its President. Upon accepting this office (July 6, 1903), Mrs. Stanford outlined again and at length the policies and program she desired to see carried out, expressed her confidence in the Board, and announced her intention to seek rest and diversion in travel in foreign lands. Another motive was her expressed desire that the Trustees on taking the laboring oar and beginning their arduous task should be unembarrassed by her presence. Accordingly on the sixth of August she left San Francisco for a trip around the world planned to include a visit to her brother-in-law, Thomas Welton Stanford, in Australia.

> In a letter to Dr. Jordan (August 9, 1904) Mrs. Stanford said: "As regards the Board of Trustees, I voluntarily turned over all responsibility in regard to the finances and the internal management of the educational department to them, with the hope and the prayer that I might be entirely relieved from future public criticism and future responsibilities. . . . . I find them all sympathetic and earnest in their endeavor to further advance the institution so dear to my heart to the highest plane possible. They are taking an interest that surpasses all my expectations. They encourage me to make known to them my wishes as regards the future of the University work, and I thankfully and gladly respond, but I do not intend to take any liberties or advantage of their willingness to please me."

Upon returning to the University in May 1904, after an absence of nine months, Mrs. Stanford resumed at once her position as President of the Board of Trustees, and prepared to take an active part in the management of affairs. Convinced that the time had come for a very positive forward movement, she addressed two confidential communications to the Trustees, dated July 6 and July 23, 1904.[5] So far as these related to general principles they were a restatement of the views which Mrs. Stanford had repeatedly expressed on former occasions. In her inaugural address as President of the Board of Trustees Mrs. Stanford had gone over many matters of administrative detail, giving her views and reflections, sometimes as if they were positive directions, sometimes in the way of suggestions based upon her years of experience. She did not approve, for example, of having Encina under the supervision of student monitors, and wanted the Trustees to understand that they were in full control of both Halls. Over Roble there should be placed an experienced, dignified lady who would be a safe counselor, judicious in her management, and understanding the proprieties governing the conduct of the young ladies toward the male students of the University. There should be no secular use of Memorial Church. No buildings of any kind should ever be erected in the Arboretum. No students should be given employment merely to enable them to avail themselves of the advantages offered by the University—only such help should be employed as would do the work cheapest and best. Instead of beginning many new departments the Trustees should aim to strengthen and perfect those already begun and discontinue the weak departments. Special attention should be given to the workshops of the mechanical departments, which were considered of such importance by Mr. Stanford. These and many other expressions of her views had been invited by the Board, whose announced desire was to carry out Mrs. Stanford's wishes in every way possible.

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[5] The first letter was not presented at a Board meeting but was mailed separately to each Trustee; the second letter was read to the Board on August 1, 1904.

The letter of July 6, 1904, was in large part an elaboration of views previously expressed and in connection with problems and measures which seemed to her of immediate importance. These were arranged systematically under a number of different heads: The Church, The Buildings, The Museum, Scholarships, Vina, The Departments. But the letters of July 6 and July 23, 1904, proceeded from generals to particulars. With her accustomed promptness in action Mrs. Stanford wanted to see something doing at once. "Heretofore the main desire has been with me to build well and adequately. Henceforth I will devote my time and attention to the inner workings of the institution. . . . . Let us not be afraid to outgrow old thoughts and ways and dare to think on new lines as to the future work under our care. Let us not be poor copies of other universities. Let us be progressive."[6] "To undertake to reorganize, I might say revolutionize, existing conditions means a very determined stand on our part, and it will take years to effect results even if we begin in a conservative way at once. It will also require health and strength on my part to aid and abet you in your efforts, for it means virtually reorganizing the present structure."[7]

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[6] Letter of July 6, 1904.

Among the defects which had been pointed out to Mrs. Stanford was that of the considerable number of "weak" departments and "weak" professors in the University. As everyone knew, so the critics had said, the President's range of selection had been limited to a certain section of the country, and Stanford was virtually a branch of Cornell and Indiana. And here Dr. Jordan's form of University organization, with its many "departments," was made to do him a bad turn. For the critics had produced the amazing formula which identified a "weak" department as one that had few major students, and a "weak" professor as one who had only small classes!

In the way of strengthening his plea for an increased budget for 1901–2, Dr. Jordan had written (February 1, 1901): "I feel that we ought to fill the vacant places [occasioned by the Ross affair] with the very best men we can get. At the same time, it seems to me that I should now strengthen the weak places in other departments, creating vacancies where necessary in the places which have got along with temporary supplies or with men who do not rise to the level we should demand in our professors." Mrs. Stanford remembered this, and although she brought to Dr. Jordan the sayings of the critics, he had been apparently unable to disabuse her mind of the absurdity of the formula.

With this quantitative measuring rod, it was easy to discover seven or more "weak" departments. Some of these should be strengthened and built up; the others discontinued. All at present were presumably manned by "weak" professors, none of whom ought to be retained in the University. "Would it not be wise," Mrs. Stanford inquired, "to notify the President of this purpose, that he may prepare the professors of weak classes as to the future intention, so that they, knowing the fact, may have opportunity to resign at the end of the present engaged year?"[8] One particular point of attack had been the lack of a strong department of philosophy (as if the idea had never occurred to Dr. Jordan!). The absence of such a department, Mrs. Stanford was told, had long been felt as a serious want by the better students of the languages, education, and history. "I would suggest calling to this position, as I learn Harvard has done, one of the German philosophers of first reputation."[9]

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[7] Letter of July 23, 1904.

[8] Letter of July 6, 1904.

In the minutes of the Board meeting of August 1, 1904, occurs the following item concerning Mrs. Stanford's address: "After very favorable comments the recommendations of the surviving founder were referred to the University Committee."

In October Mrs. Stanford went East on business. Detained longer than was expected, she took advantage of the delay to visit both Yale and Harvard and also the ancestral home of the Lathrops at Norwich, Connecticut. To her great disappointment she missed seeing President Eliot at Harvard, but otherwise these visits gave her the greatest pleasure.[10] She returned to California just before the Christmas holidays apparently in the best of health and spirits, and planned a number of receptions and social affairs in her San Francisco residence. A distressing incident, in which Mrs. Stanford drank part of a glass of Poland water, afterward found to contain strychnine, was followed by a heavy cold and depression of spirits. A sea voyage was advised by her physicians, and on the fifteenth of February, 1905, she sailed for Hawaii accompanied by her secretary, Miss Bertha Berner.[11] Her death occurred in Honolulu on the last day of February, 1905.[12]

Mrs. Stanford had returned to California from her Eastern trip with so much vigor, eager to be in her own home, with so many plans and activities in prospect, that her sudden death in Honolulu came as a great shock to the University. It was realized, however, that her constructive work for the University was really completed and that the Trustees in whom she had the fullest confidence would go on with the task without a break.

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[9] Letter of July 23, 1904.

[10] See Appendix 2, p. 585.

[11] "To-day I obey the doctor again and sail on the Korea for Honolulu and Japan. I need the sea voyage, and the quiet. I go very unwillingly this time, for I wanted to be at Palo Alto through the beautiful spring, and in June go to Europe."—Letter to Mrs. Timothy Hopkins, February 15, 1905.

[12] Mrs. Stanford's stay in Honolulu and the circumstances attending her death are related in Miss Berner's book, *Mrs. Leland Stanford*, pp. 203–7.

Later it was a source of consolation and relief that she had been spared the crushing experience of the earthquake destruction the following year.

To realize the plans and hopes and prayers of the Founders had been all that held Mrs. Stanford to earth. For this she gladly gave her all. Curtailment of personal expenditures, rigid economy in her own household, giving up the little comforts and conveniences to which she had been accustomed were the least of her sacrifices. It was the days and nights of anxiety, the weary planning and contriving, the unceasing watchfulness, with her breadth of understanding and practical good sense, that measured her devotion and her great service to the University and to the ideals for which it stood.

Youth and plasticity, and the controlling personality of Dr. Jordan, gave to the incorporeal University its abiding spirit. But the faith, the steadfast purpose, the courage of Mrs. Stanford added the touch of chivalry and called forth a hero worship which permeated all the early years of the University. Absorbed in other large problems, Mrs. Stanford may have failed to see some of the immediate needs and vital necessities of the growing institution. To come into her presence was to forget all that. The full surrender of her life, her realization of the Divine nearness and of the presence of her loved ones in her thought and life, her impulsiveness and warmth of heart, her graciousness in her home, her catholic appreciation—these were real and compelling and more than made up for any and every other lack.

On receiving the news of Mrs. Stanford's death, Dr. Jordan said: "No one outside of the University can understand the difficulties in her way in the final establishment of the University, and her patient deeds of self-sacrifice can be known only to those who saw them from day to day. Some day the world may understand a part of this. It will then know her for the wisest, as well as the most generous, friend of learning in our time. . . . . What she did was always the best she could do. Wise, devoted, steadfast, prudent, patient, and just—every good word we can use was hers by right."

THE TRUSTEES TAKE THE HELM

Of the twenty-four Trustees appointed by Mr. Stanford in 1885, five only were active when, on the first of June, 1903, Mrs. Stanford divested herself of the powers and duties conferred upon her by the Founding Grant and became, by election, merely one of the members of the Board. By amendment to the Founding Grant, effected in 1899, the number of Trustees had been reduced to fifteen, with appointments after that date for terms of ten years only.

The five original Trustees still active in 1903 were Horace Davis, George E. Gray, Timothy Hopkins, Thomas B. McFarland, and William M. Stewart. The seven other life members, later appointees of the Founders, were Joseph D. Grant, Charles G. Lathrop, Samuel F. Leib, Frank Miller, Leon Sloss, Thomas Welton Stanford, and Russell J. Wilson. The two ten-year term Trustees, appointed by Mrs. Stanford, were George E. Crothers and Whitelaw Reid. A vacancy had been created April 24, 1903, by the resignation of Nathan W. Spaulding, and to this place Mrs. Stanford was promptly elected by the Board and made its president.

Before June 1, 1903, the Board of Trustees was but a shadowy body without powers or duties, and active only as the Founders might call upon its members, individually or collectively, for personal or other reasons connected with the development of the University. There was, of course, in the minds of all a realization that in the nature of things the time could not be far distant when the Board must assume the duties and responsibilities imposed upon it by the Founding Grant. Occasionally the full Board had been brought together to witness some transfer of property to the University, the announcement of some important action, or the statement of some matter of policy. Some of the Trustees had only this general acquaintance with the affairs of the University. Others, for one reason or another, had been called upon from time to time for specific counsel and assistance.

One of the Trustees, writing to Dr. Jordan (December 3, 1895), said: "One of the embarrassments of the Trustees is that they know so little." Among those more closely connected with the affairs of the University were Charles G. Lathrop, treasurer and business manager; George E. Crothers, first alumni Trustee, and chiefly responsible for the campaign which resulted in the amended charter and the necessary legislation following; Horace Davis, former president of the University of California; Timothy Hopkins, donor of the Hopkins Railway Library and patron of the Marine Biological Laboratory; and Samuel F. Leib, valued for counsel and help in many matters of University concern.

After her return from Europe in October 1901, Mrs. Stanford drew more closely to the body of Trustees, finding them sympathetic, appreciative of the success and high standing of the University, but critical also of various aspects and policies of the administration and ready to co-operate in bringing about certain reforms. Not all of the criticisms which troubled Mrs. Stanford appealed to the Board, and those which seemed of consequence would naturally be approached from a more strictly academic point of view. Those members specially interested in academic matters had very definite ideas of the changes which they hoped to effect, and of the ways in which they would go about their task. But so long as Mrs. Stanford lived she would be urged and expected to take the lead in matters of internal readjustment, and the Board's initiative would be meticulously subordinated to her wishes. Two of the formal enactments of the Board, before Mrs. Stanford assumed active membership, namely, that students should no longer be employed as assistants in offices and laboratories and that there should be no increase in the salary budget for the ensuing two years, were reaffirmations of Mrs. Stanford's expressed purpose and practical direction to the Trustees.

The obvious task the Trustees had to perform, first of all, was one of organization—of the Board itself, and more particularly of the faculty. Before relinquishing her powers and duties as Founder, Mrs. Stanford had appointed a committee on organization, with Horace Davis as chairman. The organization of the Trustees, with the necessary by-laws, provision for the distribution and exercise of powers and for the orderly conduct of business, though highly important, was not difficult. For the faculty the task was thought to be complicated by the necessity of recasting an established system of administration which had grown up without formal organization, and which seemed to the Trustee committee seriously defective. The supreme control, which had been delegated by the Founders to the President, was perhaps fitting, the Trustees allowed, during the infancy of the University; but it was not adapted for permanency. Under the skeleton system as it had developed, the faculty had found itself divided into three distinct forms, or groups, practically independent of one another. These were the University Council, the University committees, and the department faculties. The University Council was a body meeting only two or three times a year, mainly for the purpose of conferring degrees, and took little further part in the management of the institution. The University committees, nineteen in number, were charged with the consideration of routine matters affecting the whole University but were appointed by the President, reported mainly to him, and had no clearly defined relation to the University Council. The department faculties, twenty-six in number, were independent bodies, without organic connection with one another or with the University Council.

The advantage of this system lay in the simplicity of its workings; but, as the Organization Committee pointed out, it gave no opportunity for the expression of public opinion or for any concerted action. The faculty as a body had nothing to do with governing the University. "The undesirable tendency of this plan," the Committee said, "is to stifle the sense of responsibility. Public spirit dies when we are debarred from public action. Professors are interested in their departments, but nobody except the President considers officially the whole University or participates officially in its control."[1] "The internal organization of the University [is] by far the most difficult and delicate task we have undertaken, for this is the real university. . . . . Upon this internal organization depends the vitality of the institution itself." "However, any change we find it necessary to make should be made as gently as possible and with the least possible derangement of the internal affairs of the University."[2]

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[1] Report of the Organization Committee, p. 14.

With these ideas in mind a subcommittee of the Organization Committee, consisting of Mr. Davis and Mr. Crothers, after a careful examination of the forms of organization in the leading American universities, fixed upon certain features which seemed to them particularly appropriate to the Stanford situation. In the meantime Dr. Jordan was called into conference for the discussion of the general scheme, especially with reference to the exercise of powers by the President. At the suggestion of the Organization Committee, and in accordance with the proposal of Mrs. Stanford in her inaugural address of July 6, 1903, a similar committee of the faculty was created and set to work to draw up a complete form of organization, having in mind the particular features outlined by the Trustee committee. As members of the faculty committee Dr. Jordan named his own Committee on Ways and Means; later, at the request of the Trustee committee, five additional professors were added by election.[3] After full consideration of plans and frequent exchange of views, substantial agreement was reached at a joint session of the two committees held March 12, 1904. A few minor matters were threshed out later by correspondence, and on March 31, 1904, the organization of the faculty, unanimously agreed upon by the two committees, with the full concurrence of President Jordan, was formally adopted by the Board of Trustees.

The plan as adopted was largely the work of the faculty committee and followed in most details the system that was already, though informally, established at the University. The Advisory Board and the Executive Committee were new features, contributed by the Trustee committee; and the authority of the whole faculty was made emphatic. The new organization took over without change the standing committees already existing, thus insuring a continuity in the routine administration of University affairs. However, these committees were now specifically designated as committees of the Academic Council, subject to instruction in their duties by the Council and required, upon request, to report to the Council. The department faculties were also left unchanged, but with the procedure within a department faculty and its relations to the Academic Council carefully defined. The department faculty was also made subject to direct instruction by the Council and, like the standing committees, required to report to that body. The former University Council became, in the new set-up, the Academic Council, with a somewhat enlarged membership. The supremacy of the Council in the internal government of the University was made definite and clear: "The power and authority of the whole University Faculty is vested in the Academic Council." "The Academic Council is vested with all of the powers and duties usually vested in the faculties of similar institutions to discuss and decide upon all matters of internal policy. . . . . It has general power and responsibility for the internal administration of the University, subject to express provisions . . . . respecting the methods of exercising such powers through the agency of its chairman and committees, the department faculties, or the Advisory Board." "Subject to the powers and duties vested in the Trustees, all general university regulations, statutes, and rules as to the matters within the province of the faculty, shall be initiated in and passed by the Academic Council."

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[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 14.

[3] The faculty committee was composed of the following ten full professors: John M. Stillman, chairman, Nathan Abbott, Melville B. Anderson, Frank Angell, Douglas H. Campbell, Charles H. Gilbert, Leander M. Hoskins, Charles D. Marx, Augustus T. Murray, and Albert W. Smith.

With authority and responsibility thus centered in the Academic Council, the problem was how to make the exercise of authority and the assumption of responsibility actual. It was recognized that the membership of the Council was altogether too large for the expeditious conduct of business. The routine administration of affairs would be carried on by the standing committees and the department faculties. It was desired, however, to establish the Council as a deliberative body concerned with general principles, and the ultimate authority for all the internal policies of the University. To accomplish this the Council must have some way of relating itself directly with the exercise of authority and control in the usual and ordinary workings of the University.

The device adopted by the Organization Committee was the creation (1) of the Executive Committee, somewhat similar to the administrative boards at Harvard, and (2) of the Advisory Board.

The Executive Committee, consisting of the President, the Vice-President or Acting President, the Registrar, *ex officiis*, and ten members elected by the whole Council from the five department groups, was intended to be the working body of the Council. It was to appoint the academic committees, to formulate the duties and control the policy of the several committees, and, in the case of the academic committees, to decide appeals from the action of these committees. It was to have the right to consider interdepartmental difficulties and to report its decisions to the President. All of its actions were to be reported to the Council, and it was itself subject to instruction by the Council. A proposal of the faculty organization committee that the standing committees be divided into two groups, administrative and academic, had been accepted by the Trustees. The former, dealing mainly with executive and disciplinary functions, were to be appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Advisory Board. Formulation of duties and control of policy were made Council matters, however, and, as with the academic committees, were entrusted to the Executive Committee; appeals from the action of administrative committees were to be decided by the President.

The extensive powers given to the President in the Founding Grant could not be disturbed. A procedure was devised, however, by which the Trustees hoped to lessen the chance of hasty action and bring to the support of the President a carefully chosen body of men, not his personal appointees, but officially representing the Academic Council. This device was the Advisory Board, consisting of nine full professors elected by the whole Council, one from each of the five department groups and four at large. The Advisory Board was to stand in much the same relation to the President as the former Ways and Means Committee, but with duties and responsibilities definitely outlined. The President must submit to the Advisory Board all executive acts of general importance such as recommendations for appointments, promotions, and removals, for the creation of new departments or chairs, and for the abolition of chairs, before they could become operative, or before they were submitted to the Trustees, when such action was necessary. The President must report the action of the Advisory Board to the Trustees, but need not be bound by it. The Advisory Board might also, of its own motion, make recommendations to the President on matters of University policy; but no recommendations for appointments, promotions, or removals were to originate with the Advisory Board.

Discussing the proposed plan as a whole, in a letter to Dr. Jordan dated December 19, 1903, Mr. Davis said: "It will give your administration a powerful internal support. With the trustees on the outside and such a Council on the inside you will no longer be in such an isolated position."

To a member of the faculty Mr. Davis wrote on the same date: "My desire is that the Board of Trustees shall distinctly disclaim all control of the details of the inside management of the University. As this leaves the President an absolute dictator, we ought to have some check on him, and that I would get from a council of the wisest and best and most experienced men inside the faculty, and I would have these men taken from the different fields of education. I am the more desirous of this, seeing Dr. Jordan's bearing towards science to the neglect of the humanities."

In addition to the powers outlined in the Founding Grant the President was designated as executive officer of the faculty and chairman of the Academic Council and of the Executive Committee, and was declared to be primarily responsible for the enforcement of discipline in the University.

The main achievement of the articles of organization was that the sense of power and responsibility was actually acquired by the Academic Council. The practical difference, in the general administration of University affairs, was not great. Under the old organization the President had theoretically large autocratic powers, but did not actually exercise these powers. Having no ulterior ends to serve, he had consulted freely with members of the faculty and had largely depended upon the advice and judgment of the wisest heads among them. Committees once appointed exercised the greatest freedom in working out policies and in dealing with specific cases. The leadership of the President and the harmony of action between the President and the various administrative bodies was distinctive. The predominance of the President in shaping policies and fixing standards rested partly on his position, but far more upon his wisdom and ability and the confidence reposed in him by Trustees and faculty. The new organization thus seemed to be a happy issue out of many theoretical difficulties and a very practical instrument of university government.

To the Trustees the organization of the faculty was an important but only a preliminary step in a general scheme for strengthening the University on its academic side. Their expressed desire to turn over to the faculty all control of the internal affairs of the University was modified by the implied obligation resting upon them to carry out the wishes of Mrs. Stanford, expressed in her inaugural address and in later communications, and by their own set purpose to bring about certain specific reforms. These they hoped to effect, in the main, on the initiative and through the concurrence of the faculty and the President. Among the first resolutions passed by the Board of Trustees was Mrs. Stanford's proposal forbidding the further employment of students as assistants in laboratories or offices; another was in the formal ratification of Mrs. Stanford's notice to Dr. Jordan that there could be no increase in the salary fund during the two succeeding years, 1903–4 and 1904–5. The first resolution was preliminary to an inquiry as to the effect of this action at the University. As it was easy for the President and faculty to show that if carried out the increased cost to the University would be considerable, and for less efficient service, the attempt was abandoned.

Another matter with which the Trustees were expected to deal promptly was that relating to the conduct of students in the University. This responsibility had been specifically laid upon the Trustees in the final revision of the Founding Grant (October 3, 1902): "It shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees to make general laws providing for the government of the University, and to provide for just and equitable rules of discipline." The actual formulation of such rules and regulations was properly the province of the faculty, but the Trustees did not mean that this or other enactments which they considered important should fail of accomplishment by reason of inertia on the part of the academic bodies. "I spoke of the rules," Mr. Davis said, in a letter to Dr. Jordan (September 3, 1904), "because it was distinctly understood between the faculty committee and the committee of Trustees that the former would, under the direction of the Academic Council, provide the statutes necessary for the guidance of the students. We felt that we were not competent to do so, nor was it our province. But if the faculty are to act as judges and punish students there should be statutes to punish them by. They should know what the law is, or else they are not amenable to its injunctions."

The formulation of rules and policies, duly undertaken by the Executive Committee of the Academic Council, was not a task to be quickly accomplished; in fact, more than a year's time was found necessary to cover the whole range of the standing committees. Meantime, to quiet Mrs. Stanford's apprehensions, which were mainly concerned with the women of the University, and to ward off any occasion for drastic action by the Board of Trustees, certain measures for the guidance and protection of the young women were discussed with Dr. Jordan by individual members of the Board. As formulated by one of the Trustees and reported to Mrs. Stanford as "proposals under consideration," they were very much of the boarding-school type. The matrons in the sorority houses were to be selected by the Trustees (though paid by the students) and were to stand *in loco parentis* to the girls under their charge with full authority to enforce discipline and responsible to the head matron or preceptress, and to the Trustees, for the movements and conduct of the girls. The head matron would have full power in matters of discipline over all the other matrons and over all women students wherever living. The watchman and mounted guards employed by the Business Office would be required to report any infraction of discipline and to turn over the culprit to the University authorities for punishment. Finally, the minimum age for admission was to be raised at once to eighteen and eventually to twenty years, insuring in this way that only advanced and graduate women would be in attendance.

In further explanation of the seeming advisability of these proposals the following statement is quoted from a letter to Dr. Jordan (December 22, 1904): "In view of the attitude of a large number of trustees toward co-education in colleges, I feel that it is incumbent upon the University to establish such a system of control of the female students as to obviate premature decision upon that important question. . . . . What measures will be necessary to not only assure the proper protection of those under the control of the University, and at the same time reconcile the trustees to a system in which probably a large majority do not believe, is a question we must keep under constant consideration until it is solved. . . . . I think it important that the matter of discipline should be threshed over until some system agreeable to all concerned can be devised and put into execution. I need not say that I consider the conduct of the students generally to be exceptionally good. On the other hand, there are trustees who think that means can be devised whereby breaches of discipline may be rendered less frequent and whereby the undesirable student can be more quickly discovered and eliminated."

Happily these "proposals" affecting the women students never got beyond the "consideration" stage, except perhaps in the way of admonition and the stricter supervision over living arrangements outside of the dormitory. Mrs. Stanford's desire that an older and more experienced woman be put in charge of Roble had already (in 1903) been met, although it was necessary to displace a Stanford graduate who had been unusually successful as Mistress of the Hall during the six years preceding.[4]

Aside from certain internal changes which Mrs. Stanford had been persuaded were necessary, and which the Trustees would endeavor to effect at her request, the Board, and particularly its University Committee, expected to proceed at once with its own program of reforms. The first of these matters to receive attention was characterized as a shocking lack of balance in departments and curricula. Just before starting for Europe, to be absent some months, Mr. Davis put his views definitely before Mrs. Stanford. "As chairman of the Organization Committee," he wrote (August 16, 1904), "I am especially solicitous to see our system put to the trial, but I cannot be with you to help guide it and therefore I ask you to let me make some suggestions regarding matters that especially weigh upon my mind. The first and main weakness of the University to-day is its lack of balance. The scientific side is strong and overbalances the culture side, which is weak. Putting aside the relative merit of the men on either side, there is pressing need to-day of a department of philosophy, of a full professor of education, of another professor of law, and possibly of another professor of history if the right man could be got; and no increase should be made on the scientific side, either in salaries or numbers, till this disproportion is remedied. All the largest salaries and the strongest men are in science, and the University has got a bad name on the side of the humanities by reason of this. The reputation of the University is suffering severely from these impressions and until these deficiencies are remedied it cannot take a high stand as a first class, all-round university. I hope most earnestly that the first effort at expansion will be in this direction and that no increase will be allowed on the scientific side till these gaps are filled up."

On sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Jordan, Mr. Davis took occasion to outline certain other measures which seemed to him to require early attention.

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[4] "You have shown remarkable tact and skill in the management of the young women, and there is no part of the University which has given the authorities less reason for worry in the last six years than Roble Hall."—Dr. Jordan to Lillian E. Ray, May 9, 1903.

> "First. A brief code of rules of discipline.
>
> "Second. A readjustment of entrance requirements so as to discriminate between what is needed for the different departments.
>
> "Third. A consistent and co-ordinated course of study.
>
> "Fourth. An elimination of some of the minor departments, a merging of others in the more important ones, and the whole grouped in cognate divisions."

The "lack of balance" which seemed so serious to Mr. Davis was due to circumstances rather than design. Dr. Jordan, himself a scientist, had been most keenly interested in the development of scientific study and investigation. More to the point, he was better acquainted with the work and the men in this field. Another line of work of primary concern, particularly favored by Mr. Stanford, was engineering. Naturally, positions in these departments were first filled. But, as President, Dr. Jordan was as much aware as anyone of the need of a "balanced" curriculum. Among those first called to the Stanford faculty but who did not accept were men of conspicuous standing in the field of the "humanities." In regard to the younger men Dr. Jordan felt obliged to move more cautiously. The second year saw a considerable increase in the faculty, but there was every reason to go somewhat slowly, and the main need seemed to be to strengthen departments already under way. After the death of Mr. Stanford, at the end of the second year, only makeshift arrangements were attempted. Of the continued existence of inequalities no one was more conscious than Dr. Jordan. But between 1893 and the supposed end of the "Stone Age" only desperate expedients were possible. While the enrollment was increasing some fifty per cent or more, there was no increase in the salary budget. When heads of departments had to be replaced, lower salaries could not very well be offered to the new men. With new appointees of the lower grades, however, salaries could be and were dropped almost to the subsistence level. Younger men could be induced to take these places because of the standing of the University and the implied promise of advancement when the University endowment should be realized. In this way the staff was increased to meet the most pressing needs of enlarged numbers.

> "I feel quite as strongly as you do," Dr. Jordan wrote to Mr. Davis (May 3, 1905), "the importance of building up the side of the humanities, but I think that this is not to be done by crowding the places with second-rate men. It is better to wait until we can do the right thing before we try to do it at all."
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> Again (January 22, 1906): "As for the dominance of science, as you know, that is the result of circumstances. No department of science is over-equipped or over-manned; and for the vacancies in the humanities, I have been asking for money every year and shall still ask for it until the ranks are filled. I could not establish new departments by tearing down old ones. The Advisory Board is unanimously and justly opposed to the creation of any new professorships until the salaries of the present staff, especially those of assistant professors, are properly adjusted. . . . . I believe that the early construction of all necessary buildings was a wise policy. But we must run lamely, as we have been running, until this is finished."

To a degree Mr. Davis understood this situation and made allowances for it. But he thought it a very grave matter, and he feared that Dr. Jordan was not sufficiently impressed with the necessity of building up the neglected side of the humanities. That there should be, for example, two departments and two professors of botany and no professor of philosophy seemed inexcusable. Everything else—salary increases, equipment, additional teachers in existing departments—he would have give way until other departments or fields of study deemed so essential by the Trustees had been built up. Naturally Dr. Jordan was not able to see it that way. Failing to get the men he sought during the first two years of the University, he had kept up appearances as well as he could during the lean years by various makeshift arrangements. He could not now overlook the salary inequalities of the existing staff, the heartbreaking experiences of those whose reasonable expectations he had been unable to meet, the meager allowances for equipment and facilities, and the hopes, though not actual promises, he had held out, based on the great endowment waiting just around the corner. Promotions in rank had been made rather freely, partly earned but partly also as a substitute for salary advances. Stanford had indeed no "professor" of philosophy. In 1899 Dr. Jordan had managed definitely to establish the department, calling as assistant professor, on the recommendation of the Harvard faculty, one of their most brilliant graduates, who was later to become head of the philosophy department in one of the great Eastern universities. The building up of the department was not waiting upon the discovery of its need by the Trustees, but upon the means to pay the salaries of additional men. Dr. Jordan was quite ready to adopt the Trustee program of expansion, but not to the exclusion of the other needs of the University. He would try to accomplish both purposes.

> "Things in general run along rather smoothly," Dr. Jordan wrote to an absent professor (October 20, 1904). "There are two universities, the one as seen by the Faculty, the other as seen by the Board. I try to ride both horses as it were. They will coalesce sooner or later, but I may fall between."

Mr. Davis' opinions were deep-seated and his proposals strenuously pushed. But his attitude, though determined, was straightforward and not dictatorial. "I agree with you," he said (September 3, 1904), "that it would be unwise to abolish any chairs you have established at present. I would not maintain two chairs of Botany if one of the professors should leave, nor a full professorship in Entomology; certainly not while I had no full professor in other departments which are far more necessary to round out a *real* university. With you, as things are at present, I would rather build up what is weak than tear down what is strong, and I hope earnestly that next year and the year after we can begin the building process. And I hope you will keep up your search for good men, and you can rest assured of my full support, so far as it goes, in every effort to round out the University to harmonious proportions."

APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS, AND TENURE

In formulating the Charter of the University Mr. Stanford meant to provide for a strong executive. This purpose would be a natural reflection of his own experience as president of a great corporation. There must be someone in authority to make decisions and to act quickly when necessary, someone who could pursue a well-defined policy consistently, free from the hesitations and vacillations of divided counsels. Mr. Stanford may also have been influenced by his own brief contact with a quite different situation at the University of California.[1] It was for the Trustees to establish and maintain the educational system of the University, to provide for the teaching of certain subjects and branches of learning, to prohibit sectarian instruction, and otherwise to direct and control the general character and development of the institution. The Trustees were, moveover, to appoint the President and to employ the professors and teachers. To a President once appointed, however, the Trustees must give complete control of the educational part of the University. It was the President who was to prescribe the duties of the professors and teachers and to have the power to remove them at will, to prescribe and enforce the course of study and the mode and manner of teaching, and to be responsible for the good conduct and capacity of the professors and teachers.

In exalting the office of President, Mr. Stanford was in accord with a growing American practice, although in conflict with the prevailing theory in academic circles. In the public mind President Eliot stood for Harvard, as White did for Cornell, and as Gilman did for Johns Hopkins. But in each of these institutions every important action must be submitted directly to the governing board, and its approval or disapproval would be final. At Stanford it was not to be so. Trustee disapproval could lead to only one action, the removal of the President and, so to speak, a beginning all over again. In practice, however, there would never be any such sharp alternatives. For in no institution could there be real progress without substantial harmony between executive and trustees; and differences would be adjusted, compromised, or subordinated in much the same way whatever the charter provisions.

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[1] See *supra*, p. 77.

One provision, however, did run counter to both theory and practice in academic matters. That was the power given to the President of summary removal of professors and teachers. The power of removal must lie somewhere, and would naturally belong to the Trustees. But in the struggle to raise the calling of the teacher to the dignity of a profession, the main endeavor had been to give the teacher a status and tenure protected from arbitrary interference by either Trustees or executive. "Of all the provisions for the University," remarked the *Overland Monthly*, upon the first publication of the Grant of Endowment, "probably none has struck the public so favorably as the arrangement for its absolute control by the president; and probably none will result in so unexpected and decisive a check to the satisfactory organization of the university. We have found this opinion absolutely unanimous among all those familiar with the working of universities whom we have consulted. . . . . At the best, professors will foresee all these difficulties, and instead of coming here and resigning, will simply refuse to accept chairs under such administration. It matters not how wise and kind the president may be: he might die in a year and the professor be exposed to all the uncertainties of his successor. And these are uncertainties that scholars of high rank will not subject themselves to. . . . . The college—still more the university—faculty constitutes a republic, of which the president is merely the administrative head. It cannot be made otherwise by decree, because the republican system is the only one under which any professor who has conscience and competence in his own line can work."[2]

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[2] *Overland Monthly*, January 1886. "What an extremely disagreeable and inexpedient power of dismissal the Stanfords forced on the president of their University! For all I know, it may work well in a railroad; but it will certainly be extremely inconvenient and injurious in a university."—Charles W. Eliot to Dr. Jordan, September 22, 1905.

The general principle enunciated by the *Overland Monthly* would be appreciated and concurred in by any college president fit to hold such a position. Certainly President Jordan was not conscious of any quarrel with this conception, nor did he recognize in himself any disposition to interfere with the independence of the professor. Yet he not only did not protest any of these provisions of the charter; he thought well of them. He did not expect to make arbitrary removals; but there was a sort of satisfaction, a guaranty of safety in emergencies, in having the power to do so—a feeling that was strengthened by the habit of formally renewing all appointments each year, as if there were no permanent appointments and no permanent status. The arbitrary power and the temporary status lay in the background, and if occasion arose would make prompt and decisive action easier and more certain.

Although the appointment of professors and teachers was a power conferred upon the Trustees, it was speedily established that this was to be interpreted as confirmation only. Dr. Jordan's initiative in appointment, expected and approved by Mr. Stanford, was made explicit by Mrs. Stanford and adhered to against a good deal of criticism. In her address to the Trustees dated June 1, 1897 (in form an amendment to the charter), Mrs. Stanford stated: "I therefore explicitly direct that the selection and removal of the professors and teachers, and all questions relating thereto, shall be determined by the president and by him alone." To a distinguished prelate, strongly recommending a particular appointment to the chair of philosophy, she replied (March 4, 1902): "In the past I have strictly controlled myself in regard to any choice that I might have in appointing any professor. . . . I have always felt that Dr. Jordan, as president, should be uncontrolled entirely in regard to faculty appointments, as he would then feel at liberty to dismiss, replace, and re-appoint without restriction, or force, or influence, and have the entire responsibility resting upon himself; and in this case as in many others, I will present the papers, which you have so kindly sent, to Dr. Jordan, and retain my old position of neutrality." Regarding another application, Mrs.

Stanford wrote (February 13, 1903): "In answer to your communication I beg to return the letter addressed to Dr. Jordan. He makes his own selection as to professors—engaging and dismissing them without any interference on my part whatever."

In the end, however, Mrs. Stanford yielded in part to the pronounced opinion of the Trustees, more particularly of Mr. Davis, that her rule was not wise in the long run. Stipulating that during her administration the President should continue to have the exclusive control over the appointment and dismissal of professors and teachers, she stated, in her address to the Trustees of October 2, 1902 (itself in the nature of amendments to the Founding Grant): "The Board of Trustees should adopt such a plan for the nomination and appointment of professors and teachers, and the determination of their salaries, as experience of this and similar institutions may prove to be desirable."

Mrs. Stanford had been strongly urged to limit the President's power of removal, but this she declined to do. Mr. Davis had discussed the matter informally with Dr. Jordan as early as 1897. To Dr. Jordan's citation of Mrs. Stanford's pronouncement in her address of June 1, 1897, Mr. Davis could only reply: "Mrs. Stanford lays down this policy as the fundamental basis of the institution and I don't see how we could question it. We are bound to administer the trust in accordance with the wishes of the donor by whom we have been selected. I am prepared to do so, but my private opinion remains the same as indicated to you week before last."[3] In 1897 the power of removal and how it should be exercised was a purely academic question. Mr. Davis, among others, had seen in the Stanford provision, a potential trouble maker. Yet practically, up to this time, it had worked with perfect smoothness, without exciting alarm or even the attention of the academic public.

But the removal of Professor Ross, in November 1900, and the consequences that flowed from it, put a new face upon the matter. Regarding the circumstances and implications of that

[3] Horace Davis to Dr. Jordan, October 20, 1897.

removal the public generally guessed wrong. As a matter of fact the "removal" itself cast no reflection upon the President's use of the arbitrary power conferred upon him by the Charter. But the public did not understand; and in academic circles, especially in the East, the whole incident was conceived as a striking illustration of the possibilities and dangers connected with the exercise of arbitrary powers.

The year following the Ross affair, the President, for reasons which seemed to him good and sufficient, asked for the resignation of a member of the faculty who had been connected with the University from the beginning. There were no definite charges, however. The professor declined to comply with the President's request, and demanded a bill of particulars. Arbitrary removal followed, whereupon the professor attempted to appeal his case to Mrs. Stanford, then to the Trustees, and finally to the newspapers. In this particular case the newspaper public was not much interested; nor was the academic public greatly concerned. But the notoriety was unpleasant, and, of more consequence, the fact was again emphasized that at Stanford the fate of every member of the faculty was in the hands of one man.

Mr. Davis again took up the matter, first with Judge Leib. He prepared a statement of his views for Mrs. Stanford but did not immediately use it. "I was at Cambridge a good deal both this year and last," he wrote Dr. Jordan, "and I repeat that I was told again and again that good men do not like to come out to Stanford where they felt that they were entirely at the mercy of one man. There was nothing personal in the remark, simply a statement of the general principle, and these remarks were brought out by my defense of Stanford University in conversations with different professors at Harvard. You must not think that I spoke to Mr. Leib in any tone of disrespect toward the present executive management at Stanford. I did not, for I sympathize with your action and have sustained it whenever it was called in question; but I maintained steadily, talking with Mr. Leib, my position that, while the head of the University should control its general management, absolute dictatorship is not good. In other words, I like the Harvard plan better than the Stanford plan."[4]

In reply Dr. Jordan did not hesitate to defend his prerogative in this matter: "I have talked a great deal with college men, and I know that, taking the country through, the executive responsibility of the president in this institution does not stand in any degree in the way of getting first-class men. . . . . I find a very decided preference on the part of such men to deal directly and solely with the president rather than with a board of trustees. However, there is a good deal to be said on both sides of this question. The present arrangement was not of my making, and I have no personal interest in its retention further than recognizing the importance of the initiative always being with the President."[5] To Mr. Davis' suggestion (September 20, 1902) that his communication regarding appointments and removals might now be forwarded to Mrs. Stanford, Dr. Jordan replied (September 23): "I see no objection to your forwarding your communication to Mrs. Stanford. . . . . I am ready to abide by any decision that those having the matter in charge may finally make. This matter is, however, self-evident: that all initiative in the appointment and removal of men should rest absolutely with the president, and that all official communications from the members of the faculty to the Board should go through his hands."

When the Trustees, now in full control, came to the organization of the faculty, the matter of removals was again given serious consideration. The President's power of removal could not be changed, but the mode of procedure might be determined perhaps, by mutual agreement, in a way which would safeguard the rights of all concerned and insure the moral support of the Trustees for whatever action should be deemed necessary. The views of the Trustees were stated in the report of the Organization Committee, as follows: "We think the power of summary removal should not be exercised except in cases of extreme necessity. In cases where the president desires the removal of a professor or teacher, unless the circumstances require immediate action, we think that he should report the case to the trustees with his reasons for removal, and leave them to take action. In cases of extreme emergency, where he feels compelled to act summarily, he should immediately afterward report the circumstances to the trustees with his reasons. Summary action in such a case is a matter for grave consideration and should be had only in cases of extreme necessity." The actual Articles of Organization of the Faculty, as finally agreed upon with the cordial support of the President, merely provided by implication that the President's procedure in the matter of removals would be the same as with appointments, promotions, and other acts of general importance which required Trustee confirmation.

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[4] Horace Davis to Dr. Jordan, June 9, 1902.

[5] Dr. Jordan to Horace Davis, June 9, 1902.

> The specific clause in the Articles of Organization reads as follows: "All executive acts of general importance, such as recommendations for appointments, promotions, and dismissals, for the creation of new departments or chairs, and for the abolition of departments or chairs, shall be submitted by the President to the Advisory Board for approval before they shall become operative, or before they may be submitted to the trustees for their action, when such action is necessary."

The report of the Trustees' Committee on Organization was essentially the work of Trustees Horace Davis and George E. Crothers. The Articles of Organization of the Faculty were likewise the work of these Trustees, but here acting in co-operation with a committee of the faculty. In explanation of the provision regarding removals, Mr. Crothers wrote to Dr. Jordan (July 7, 1904): "You doubtless understand fully from your conversation with Mr. Davis and others that the clause relative to the power of removal of professors is not intended to suggest a limitation of the power vested in the president, nor to cast any reflection upon its exercise in the past. It is the belief of the committee that the procedure suggested would protect the president from such a campaign of personal abuse on the part of a dismissed professor as has occurred heretofore. While it is clearly indicated that the president may remove a professor summarily, or even after having recommended his removal to the trustees, it is thought that the privilege of asking the trustees to make a removal will tend to strengthen his position, cause the professor to feel secure from removal on personal grounds, and enable the president to eliminate the element of personal bitterness in such cases."

The very next year (1905) a situation arose in connection with another case of removal which precipitated a further and more successful attempt to shift the final responsibility for removals from the President to the Board of Trustees. In this particular case the issue was in part a personal one, since neither the professor's scholarship nor his success as a teacher was called in question. Personal traits and characteristics, an aggressive self-assertion, disregard at times of the rights of colleagues, certain indirections and animosities gradually coming to the attention of the President, finally convinced him that the professor ought not to be retained in the University. Two years after the Ross affair Dr. Jordan had written to a newly elected member of the Board of Trustees (January 26, 1903): "The condition existing at the University has been improved fifty per cent by the changes, and I shall not hesitate in the future, if occasion arises, to apply the proper remedy at once." The "occasion" seemed now to the President to have arrived, and in replying to a request for certain salary increases, stating his inability to recommend such increases, the President added (February 25, 1905): "It is certain that the value of your services to the University is notably impaired by the lack of friendly relations and co-operation between yourself and your colleagues generally in the University faculty. Whatever the causes, I cannot ignore this fact in my recommendations to the Board of Trustees." This led naturally to personal conferences and finally to a request from the President for the professor's resignation. When this was refused, the President approached the Trustees (March 25, 1905) with a proposition that the professorship be abolished at the end of the year, with some salary compensation in view of the incumbent's long service and his standing as a scholar. Nothing coming of this suggestion for indirect action, a recommendation for removal was made directly to the Advisory Board with a request that the Board investigate certain specific "charges" which the President proceeded to lay before them. At the conclusion of this investigation the Advisory Board formulated a sort of negative approval of the President's recommendation in the statement that they "found no reason for offering an objection to the removal."

No further official communication to the Board of Trustees was made until May 15, when the President announced his intention formally to remove the professor on the twentieth. Meantime Dr. Jordan had been keeping in touch with the President of the Board (Judge Leib), who counseled delay. On May 24 a communication was received from the professor asking the Trustees to grant a sabbatical leave for the ensuing year to enable him to carry on literary work and to perfect plans for the future. Dr. Jordan took this up on the same day stating that he would recommend such action to the Board on condition that the professor's resignation to take effect at the end of the sabbatical year be at once placed in his hands, and with the understanding that the arrangement might be brought to an end at any time if any discussion to the prejudice of the University should arise. This offer, scornfully rejected, was loudly heralded as an attempt to bribe the professor into submission. The next day (May 25) notice of summary removal was issued.

The fight put up, and long continued, by the deposed professor, had an important bearing upon the policy of removals at Stanford. The Board of Trustees as a whole and "officially" was interested only in the "regularity" of the removal proceedings and was content when it had established the fact that the President had acted within his rights, that the Trustees had no powers in the matter, and that no recourse to the Board by the deposed professor was possible. But Mr. Davis, who had been in the East during the early progress of the affair, was shocked because summary action had again been resorted to, and was more than ever impressed with the embarrassment and danger in the exercise of such powers by the President. Moreover, the general reasons given to the Board for the President's action seemed to him vague and inconclusive and the specific items of offense, taken one by one, if not trivial, at least insufficient for so grave a censure. The professor, he believed, had been entitled to a clear bill of specifications, and the action of the Advisory Board seemed to him a plain evasion of responsibility. The Board of Trustees could take no action in the matter of the removal, but it was persuaded to grant an extra year's salary to the deposed professor, and its members could, and some of them did, exert themselves to secure favorable consideration for him in Eastern circles. To Dr. Jordan, who spent the summer in Europe, the Acting President (Dr. Branner) wrote (July 26, 1905) of a visit to a member of the Board to find out what papers were wanted by the Trustees' University Committee. "I came away with these impressions: First, that Davis alone is affected by all the talk, attacks, and appeals; Second, that the other trustees are only concerned with the regularity of the proceedings, of which they have no doubt so far as I can learn; Third, that they do not think well of the meetings of the Advisory Board, but seem to think we should have pronounced [a verdict of] 'guilty' or 'not guilty.'" Regarding the grant of an extra year's salary, Dr. Branner commented (August 4, 1905): "A generous and large way of dealing with a small affair."

Here was apparently fuel for a considerable internal conflagration. None occurred. Mr. Davis appreciated Dr. Jordan's great qualities and genuinely wished to co-operate toward the highest success of his administration. He did not quarrel, and he abhorred intrigue. Since the Charter provision concerning removals could not be changed, he must try to reach a private understanding between the Board of Trustees and Dr. Jordan whereby the President should voluntarily surrender the power of arbitrary removal and agree to a procedure in accord with ordinary academic practice. The Trustees had voluntarily, and willingly, given up the power of initiative in appointments, which they might have claimed under the Charter, and it was not unnatural that they should expect, in return, concessions in the matter of removals.

"It is wrong, as I have said, for the power of appointment and the power of dismissal to be in one person. . . . . The Trustees had parted with their power of appointment, giving it to the President, and now they expected in return that he should give up his power of removal. He declines to do this, and nothing remains to us but to amend the Articles of Organization and resume our original power of appointment. The appointment and removal must not be in the same hands, and the Committee on Organization, of which you are chairman, should take the matter up. . . . . I think it not unlikely that Dr. Jordan would prefer the power of appointment to the power of removal, and if the matter was passed up to him he might prefer of his own volition to surrender the power of removal, retaining the appointment. If so, this would be much the easiest way out of the difficulty."—Horace Davis to Joseph D. Grant, December 18, 1905. A copy of this letter was sent to Dr. Jordan.

President Eliot had become interested in the matter through reports from Mr. Davis and the temporary Harvard appointment given to the deposed professor, and some correspondence resulted. Writing to Dr. Jordan under date of October 31, 1905, President Eliot said: "I think I differ from you fundamentally on the nature of the responsibility of a university president. In my judgment he should be absolutely a constitutional and not a despotic ruler. He should act, not on his own authority, but on that of bodies of which he is the head and executive officer. . . . . It seems to me as clear as day that the powers which the Stanfords gave the President of their university will prevent the recruiting of a proper faculty, unless that power be somehow abolished or consigned to complete disuse and oblivion."

Theoretically Dr. Jordan was ready to argue the question and to insist that the plan had not in the past worked to the detriment of Stanford University. He made various suggestions to the Organization Committee, but expressed his willingness to accept the judgment of the Trustees. To the chairman (Mr. Grant) he wrote (January 20, 1906): "Mr. Horace Davis had placed in my hands a communication bearing date of December 18, 1905, its purport being to bring about further consideration of the powers and responsibilities of the President of the University. Permit me to say that as president I shall welcome the most careful consideration of these matters with a view to the best possible adjustment of authority. The matter is one of large and enduring importance, one on which the judgment of university men is by no means agreed. It therefore deserves the most careful study of opinions, methods, and results. . . . . The views of the Founders of the University, as expressed in official documents and otherwise, should receive careful and respectful attention, as well as the opinions of men familiar with the problems of university development. I make no insistence on the retention of the power of removal, nor have I at any time placed myself in the position of refusing to comply with the judgment of the Board of Trustees. I only ask that no new rule be adopted without fullest consideration. Should any change be thought desirable, I shall cheerfully accept the decision of the Board of Trustees. At the same time, no action of the Trustees should appear to imply criticism of the action of the executive in the past history of the University, or as a mere concession to outside criticism."

The final agreement reached after much discussion and friendly conference, and adopted by the Board of Trustees, March 30, 1906, was as follows:

"Whereas, it is desirable that all nominations for appointments and promotions of members of the teaching staff at the University and all recommendations for dismissals be made by or through the President of the University, the Board of Trustees taking no initiative in these matters; and

"Whereas, it is undesirable that either the power of appointment or removal should vest absolutely in the hands of a single person,

"It is resolved and agreed by the Board of Trustees and the President of the Leland Stanford Junior University that so long as nominations for appointments and promotions of members of the teaching staff at the University are made by or through the President of the University, no dismissal shall be made without the concurrence of a majority of the Trustees present at a meeting of the Board of Trustees at which a quorum shall be present;

"That in the case of the recommendation of the removal of a member of the teaching staff involving any question affecting his honor or moral character, he shall be furnished by the President, upon application, with a specific written statement of all charges and evidence reflecting upon his honor or moral character, and be given an opportunity to present a written statement of his answer and of any evidence he may wish to offer in defense; and a copy of all such charges and evidence, together with any answer and evidence offered by the accused, and the recommendations of the Advisory Board, shall be attached to the recommendation of the President of the University, and the action of the Board of Trustees shall be based solely upon the recommendation of the President of the University and the record attached thereto, there being no further hearing before the Board of Trustees or any member thereof, unless the Board in its discretion shall elect to receive other evidence in aid of its decision, and any such recommendation and information affecting the honor or character of a member of the teaching staff shall be presented to and acted upon by the Board of Trustees separately from anything which may involve his competency or fitness in any other respect. The members of the Board shall not in any case or in any event listen to or receive any statement concerning such matter except in open meeting."

This agreement between the Trustees and the President seemed to safeguard the rights of the University and of members of the faculty of the highest rank. It left undetermined and uncertain the status of associate and assistant professors, who constituted the larger part of the teaching staff. It was understood and expected that the status of the professor stood on a different basis from that of the lower ranks. The professorship was supposedly to be reached by gradations and adequate, usually long, periods of testing. It was the highest position on the teaching staff, and permanency of tenure was both a reward of long service and a mark of the dignity and respect attached to high position. In normal circumstances not all associate professors could hope to reach this exalted station, nor all assistant professors be assured of promotion to the next higher rank. Yet stability of tenure and some sort of security in their positions were quite as necessary to their best service as it was for those of the highest rank. In the early years of the University, appointments in all ranks, without any mention of tenure, and yearly notices of reappointment appear to have raised no questions in the minds of the appointees. After the removal of Professor Ross, and to forestall possible uneasiness on the score of uncertainty of tenure, a circular letter was sent to all members of the faculty in which Dr. Jordan, after noting that from 1893 to 1900 the President had been able to bind the University in the matter of appointments only to the extent of the funds actually subject to his orders, went on to say: "The appointments of professors, associate professors, and assistant professors are now (as they have been considered from the first, except as above indicated) for life, unless connection with the University is severed by resignation, retirement, or removal. Instructors and assistants are appointed for one year only."

This informal ruling of the President was held to cover all appointment made prior to May 19, 1905,[6] when a new rule was adopted by the Trustees. Under this rule (slightly amended October 4, 1907), associate and assistant professors were to receive term appointments, the former for five years, the latter for three years, the tenure of appointment to cease at the end of these periods unless formally continued by the Board of Trustees for additional periods.

This action of the Board was not wholly satisfactory to the faculty. After a conference of associate and assistant professors it was represented to the Trustees that indeterminate tenure was felt to be the most important element in their work. Their suggestion was that after the first five-year probationary period, the associate professor, if reappointed, should be given indeterminate tenure. Similarly the assistant professor should be given indeterminate tenure after three years' membership in the Academic Council. Agitation was kept up for some time and culminated in a direct communication to the Trustees by the Academic Council. In reply the Board of Trustees (February 24, 1911) adopted a resolution to the effect that it was deemed not expedient to amend its former ruling as asked by the Academic Council. The change desired by the Council was probably not as vital as it seemed. "Some of our associate professors," Dr. Jordan wrote (January 12, 1911), "feel less sure than they did, in stepping from the indefinite appointment of the early times to a five-year appointment. I do not know why they should worry, because every one of the associate professors is sure to be reappointed."

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[6] At a later time, in a case in which the main question was one of "efficiency" or "inefficiency" in teaching, and in which, after many adjustments had been sought, the President's final judgment was not supported by the Advisory Board, the result was accomplished through the subterfuge of abolishing the chair itself.

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REFORMING ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS

Stanford's departure from the traditional and standard in educational methodology did not stop with the major-subject system. The elective system at Harvard was predicated upon its application to well-trained youths who had been prepared for such liberty by passing through rigidly prescribed courses of study made to include the usual disciplinary and cultural subjects. As it happened, in part accidentally and quite without premeditation, Stanford started something radically new in the matter of entrance requirements. The terms of admission formulated by Dr. Jordan for the first entering class, and announced in *Circular No. 3* (May 5, 1891), were, for convenience, modeled after the printed requirements of the University of California. A few minor variations were introduced, but the intention was to accommodate the new university to the system already in effect at Berkeley. The subjects included in the entrance list were divided into three groups. The first group included English language, arithmetic, algebra, plane geometry, geography, Latin, and physics — all these subjects being prescribed. The second group consisted of advanced mathematics, freehand drawing, chemistry, physiology, zoölogy, and botany —one subject, chosen by the candidate, required. The third group consisted of advanced Latin, elementary Greek, elementary German, English literature, and general history — two subjects, chosen by the candidate, required.[1] The California provision for special students was taken over in a slightly modified form; and as a sort of equivalent for the "limited student" at Berkeley, it was provided that admission might be granted on fulfilling the requirements of the first group, with the other subjects postponed for one year.[2]

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[1] California did not list French, German, or zoölogy, but did include mineralogy.

[2] In the revised requirements this was changed to admission in "partial standing" on presenting ten of the twelve required subjects (later, twelve of the fifteen required units). Admission in partial standing was discontinued for women in 1903, for men in 1907.

This arrangement of entrance subjects and requirements was understood to be tentative only and, at the first meeting of the new faculty (October 3, 1891), among the committees named by the President was one on Entrance Requirements. The President remarked that he had agreed, before the arrival of the faculty, to the substitution of chemistry for physics in the first group, and that for the present he thought it desirable to allow mature persons to enter pretty freely as special students, trusting to a little time to sort out undesirable material. At the second meeting of the faculty (November 11) the Committee on Entrance Requirements reported a new arrangement in which Groups II and III were thrown together, and in which American history, physics, and Latin were transferred from the prescribed group to the new Group II. This left five prescribed subjects in Group I and provided that six optional subjects be chosen by the candidate from the twenty-one listed in Group II. There was little opposition to the transfer of history and physics; but Latin was not so easily disposed of, and after a lengthy discussion the whole matter was referred back to the Committee. How seriously the problem was being discussed may be inferred from a letter written by the wife of one of its members (November 19, 1891): "B—— went to a Committee meeting last evening and it lasted until half-past eleven—fighting over whether *all* students should be required to have some language to enter the University, or only those in certain courses. It is great times getting the big machine in motion."

At the next faculty meeting (November 25) the Committee reaffirmed its recommendation in regard to Latin but announced a willingness to include some foreign-language requirement in Group I, the particular language to be selected by the candidate for admission. At this point a motion by Professor Sanford that the eleven subjects necessary for admission be made entirely optional was narrowly rejected by a vote of 15 to 12. After various groupings had been proposed and voted down, a plan of five groups, from each of which one subject must be chosen by the candidate, the other six subjects being optionally selected, was adopted, reconsidered, and finally voted down. In the meantime arithmetic and geography had been stricken from the list as not properly a part of the high-school curriculum. Finally a three-group division, with English alone in the prescribed group, two subjects required in each of the other groups, and six optional subjects as before, was formally agreed to. So much dissatisfaction with this arrangement found expression that at a special meeting of the faculty called for December 3 the former action was reconsidered. A new motion by Professor Marx that all subjects except English be optionally selected was balanced against the proposal to adhere to some form of the group plan. A straw vote resulted in favor of the latter, 16 to 10. A new grouping was then informally agreed to with English alone in the first group, mathematics and science in the second group, history and language in the third group. English and three subjects each from the other two groups were to be required, leaving four subjects to be optionally selected. At this point the hour of adjournment had arrived, with some minor matters to be adjusted before final approval could be voted. A further meeting was to be avoided if possible, for the reason that the new and much-needed information bulletin (*Circular No. 6*) was being held back from publication in order to include the revised statement of entrance requirements. Quite on the spur of the moment, Professor Anderson, sponsoring the group plan, moved that the whole matter be referred to the President for final adjustment. The motion, immediately seconded by Professor Sanford, sponsoring the optional plan, passed without opposition.

Dr. Jordan's decision in favor of the radical plan, with no prescription other than English, was hailed, after the battle was over, as a happy solution of a troublesome question and in complete harmony with the developing Stanford tradition. Stanford was merely taking several jumps at once in the direction of a positive but slow movement to liberalize the requirements for admission to college, and especially to lighten the pressure which virtually compelled the secondary school to conform its curriculum to the rigid demands of college faculties. It was proclaiming the problem of the high-school curriculum as one to be solved primarily by the secondary-school men themselves, and quite as much in the interest of those whose formal training stopped with the high school as of those who were to go on to the college. It anticipated the position voiced by Superintendent Nightingale of the Chicago High Schools in 1896: "Every young man or woman who has successfully devoted at least four years to earnest study in a well-equipped secondary school should be admitted to any college in the country, whether such a pupil has devoted the greater part of his time to Latin, Greek, and mathematics, or to Latin, modern languages, and mathematics, or to Latin, mathematics, and the sciences, or to any other combination of studies which has developed his power and been in harmony with his intellectual aptitudes."[3]

In the *Educational Review* for October 1899, Professor A. B. Hart, discussing the Harvard reform in Entrance Requirements, says of the Stanford plan: "Many members of the faculty inclined to this idea; even some of the classical men liked it, and there was a time when it seemed likely to find favor with the majority. The objection which settled the question without a thorough discussion was that the Overseers would never agree to such a radical change."

This action of the Stanford faculty, although happily disposing of the admission problem as a matter of University policy, did not lighten the labors of the administrative committee which had to pass upon actual entrance credentials. The University had proposed to treat all subjects placed in the entrance list as of equal value, and no one to be held in honor above any other. But this did not mean all the subjects as then taught and ranked in the high school; it meant the still-restricted number of subjects as listed and defined in the Stanford announcement. The University accepted the time-honored subjects of the classical group as outlined and defined by colleges and high schools generally. For the newer subjects it made its own definition of requirements, and here the trouble began. Almost universally the colleges were accepting half-year science courses without individual laboratory work, and similarly half-year history courses. Stanford objected, and also refused to credit "general history" and one-year foreign-language courses. English was to be credited only upon examination, and in 1895 this requirement was extended to physiology, botany, zoölogy, and drawing. To complicate matters still further, the presentation of notebooks was required in physics and chemistry (1895), in history (1898), in French, German, and Latin (1899), and in advanced Greek (1900).

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[3] *School Review*, June 1896.

This point had been reached by following out logically the policy of insisting upon equivalence of values in entrance subjects, and consequently upon higher standards and better methods of preparatory teaching. Stanford did not set up any accrediting system of its own, and had no direct connection with the preparatory school. Accrediting systems generally were making some progress in the Stanford direction, especially under pressure of the American Historical Association, the Modern Language Association, and the general recognition of the importance of individual laboratory work in all the science subjects. For a time there was something like an impasse between preparatory schools and the University, and various devices were used to tide over a difficult situation. Gradually it was found possible to waive special examinations and actual presentation of notebooks. Complete fulfillment of the requirements of other universities of standing was accepted for full standing at Stanford without further tests. The list of acceptable entrance subjects was extended from time to time as fast and as far as these subjects were given an honorable place in the high-school curriculum. The attachment of uniform unit values to the various preparatory subjects and the final adoption by almost all colleges and universities of "fifteen units" as a numerical measure of full preparation for freshman standing was an administrative device of great convenience.

After the first year's experience with special students, an age limit was fixed at twenty years, which in 1898 was increased to twenty-one years. The special student "who wished to pursue some one subject and its related branches" seldom if ever appeared, and for practical purposes the description was ignored. In 1897 a new definition was adopted and the acceptance or rejection of applicants turned over to the Committee on Admission. The committee's inquiry for the most part was as to whether the candidate's maturity and practical preparation made it likely that he would be able to pursue elementary courses on even terms with freshmen. To aid in answering this question it was later provided that the candidate must pass entrance examinations in subjects aggregating five units. This device was successful in eliminating most of the unfit, but the discontinuance of all entrance examinations at the University, in 1911, deprived the committee of this safeguard. In 1904 it was provided that special students might graduate on completing five years' work, without making up deficient entrance units.

The University began by holding entrance examinations at the beginning of each semester and at the close of the college year. These were convenient for a time in particular cases and as supplementing high-school credentials. The whole tendency of the West, however, was toward a close connection between high school and university and the passing from one to the other without special tests. Almost no one planned to enter the University wholly on examination. Those who took the tests were mainly persons who had failed, for one reason or another, to receive full transfer papers from their school principals. Generally they were the poorer and less-prepared students. In any event their numbers were so small that their needs could be sufficiently met by the standard examinations of the College Entrance Examination Board.

Stanford's radical departure in the matter of entrance requirements did not escape hostile notice and sharp criticism. To conservative groups in the educational field it seemed a wanton extension of the dubious policy of student election among college subjects. Did Stanford not know that high-school courses were made up of certain solid subjects, jealously guarded by the college and recognized as fit preparation for college work, and, well, of certain more or less hollow subjects of no substance whatever? Stanford, so it seemed, was to consider solid and hollow subjects alike and was proposing to admit students without any serious preparation whatever. Indeed, misunderstanding and disparagement went much farther, and Stanford's entrance debacle, coupled with loose requirements for a college degree, was represented as being little less than scandalous. "The prospectus of the Leland Stanford University," as an Eastern educator remembered it, "announced that provision would be made for the instruction of any one in any subject demanded, and that the only qualification required would be a letter setting forth clearly what the writer wished to learn!"[4] And a well-known schoolman once made reference to "that Western University of which it has been said that a man 'may select his own entrance requirements, choose his own studies when admitted, and pick his own degree when he desires to graduate.' "[5]

Naturally those who were accustomed to shy rocks at the University did not lose sight of this good opportunity. Such missiles glanced off harmlessly enough, for the most part, though in Mrs. Stanford's later years they may have contributed something to her growing uneasiness concerning the internal affairs of the University. The Trustees, mostly of an older college generation, while not holding extreme views, questioned the wisdom of so much freedom and advocated a return to a more conservative position. "The entrance requirements ought to be readjusted," wrote Mr. Davis (August 16, 1904), "so as to discriminate between what is needed for the different departments of study. Such a discrimination is made in the requirements at Berkeley and Harvard, and I think it ought to be made in ours." Again (September 3, 1904): "If you *advise* a student entering an engineering course to take more mathematics, I must say I cannot see why you should not *require* it. I would require him to do what is good for him if I could."

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[4] President Warfield, of Lafayette College, in *Munsey's Magazine* for August 1901.

[5] Wilson Farrand, at Sixteenth Annual Convention, Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, Baltimore, November 1902.

The resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees March 29, 1905, looking to a revision of the major-subject system, was equally concerned with the reform of entrance requirements. The adoption of "a system of entrance requirements and courses of study in which a greater portion of the work shall be prescribed" was what the Trustees felt to be desirable. However, the special committee of the faculty, to which the resolution was referred, confined itself to the second part only, and the report as presented to the Academic Council did not include any discussion of entrance requirements. On receipt of the Trustee resolution, Dr. Jordan had written to the Secretary of the Board (March 31, 1905): "In the early days of the University . . . . we found that, considering the various preparatory schools represented here and the various views represented by the professors, any kind of a group system would be wholly artificial, and any kind of a requirement which would lay stress on a student taking up some particular group of things rather than insisting upon the quality of the work, would lead to the useless rejection of well-prepared students. . . . . To prescribe more than we do would be, in the judgment of most of our people, a step backward and not forward."

The Trustees did not press the question of entrance requirements at the time. The matter, however, was not forgotten. The original list of entrance subjects, with a slight modification in history to conform to the recommendations of the American Historical Association, was left unchanged until 1900, when mechanical drawing and shopwork were tentatively added. Meanwhile additional subjects were finding places in the entrance lists of various universities in recognition of serious work in the secondary schools. Accordingly, in 1908, on the recommendation of the Committee on Admission, a considerable number of the newer subjects were duly outlined and formally added to the Stanford list; namely, astronomy, Biblical history and literature, civics, economics, architectural drawing, physical geography, music, domestic science, commercial history, geography, and law.

These additions to the entrance list, which had occasioned no particular discussion at the University, stirred the Trustees to action. The attention of a member of the Board had been called to a certain high-school announcement in which a number of parallel courses of study were outlined, several preparing "for California and Stanford," and one labeled "for Stanford only." This Trustee expressed the mortification with which he had listened to quips from his friends across the Bay on the queer aggregation of subjects grouped in this list as preparation for admission to Stanford.

Dr. Jordan was promptly made aware of the pronounced feeling in Trustee circles. On September 7, 1908, the question of a revision of entrance requirements was brought to the attention of the Executive Committee by the President, with a suggestion that in view of certain changes recently made in the requirements at California "it would seem to me wise to make our entrance requirements coincide with these as far as possible." At the same time he arranged that the chairman of the Committee on Admission and two other members of the faculty should meet with the Trustees' University Committee for a discussion of the whole matter. "The present arrangement," he wrote Mr. Davis (September 9, 1908), "was passed by the Executive Committee, not by the Faculty, and I do not remember any discussion of the matter at all. I do not suppose that I should have voted for the present arrangement, but when anything is already adopted I try to support it until a change is made. . . . . Still, I question the propriety of widening the doors so as to include subjects in which we give no instruction." On October 30, 1908, the Board of Trustees resolved "that the matter of entrance requirements of the University be referred to the Faculty for reconsideration, with the request that it report to the Board of Trustees at its early convenience."

As it happened, the very next year the list of entrance subjects at California was extended even farther than at Stanford—with restrictions as to the amount of entrance credit that could be offered by any particular applicant from the new "queer" subjects. The new California list included applied and industrial art, sewing, dairying, horticulture, bookkeeping, stenography, and typewriting.

Meantime the President's communication of September 7 had been turned over to the Committee on Admission and Advanced Standing, and to this committee the Trustee resolution was in due time referred. On December 14, 1908, the committee made a report which was approved by the Executive Committee three days later and by the Academic Council on January 8, 1909.

The report[6] undertook to give a full account of the entrance plan at Stanford, and to answer directly the objections voiced by the Trustees. Stanford had abandoned the system of prescription not because of indifference to a proper co-ordination of subjects in the case of the preparatory student but through a feeling that admission groups were not flexible enough and because the faculty had not been satisfied with any of the lists of constants proposed. A more fundamental reason was the conviction that the whole problem of the secondary curriculum, its arrangement, its co-ordination of subjects, its adaptation to individual needs, was primarily one for secondary schoolmen. The University could help by insistence upon adequate teaching and a high standard of accomplishment in all subjects presented for entrance credit. Seventeen years of experience with the system of free election had not lowered standards or brought to the University the product of unbalanced courses of preparatory study. Meantime the University had been saved the friction, the thankless labor, which devolves upon a committee of substitutions under the prescriptive system. University dictation and supervision of high-school courses had in many ways promoted high standards and reacted favorably upon the schools. On the other hand, it had retarded the high-school response to community needs. In following a twofold purpose—to prepare for college and to prepare for practical life—it was the latter aim which had been slighted. To quote President Eliot of Harvard, "The great sin of our public high schools is that they give an inferior course of instruction to those children whose education is to be shortest."

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[6] Printed in full in President Jordan's *Sixth Annual Report*, Appendix IV.

It could be said of the newer subjects that they make the same claim as do the older subjects, namely, that for a considerable number of pupils they afford the best means for developing and cultivating permanent interests and capacities; that is, they develop interest, alertness of mind, and purpose in pupils who would respond listlessly, if at all, to the traditional courses. The trend of modern educational opinion was toward laying less stress upon particular subjects and more upon the way a subject reacts upon the pupil. Most of the newer subjects included in the Stanford list already had an established place among college-entrance subjects. Shopwork as given in the manual-training schools had long since passed the experimental stage. Biblical history and literature, promoted by the University of Chicago, was practically confined to the private preparatory school where it may rightly have a distinct and scholarly place. Music had long been on the Harvard entrance list. Domestic science and commercial subjects had received some scattered recognition from the colleges and were distinctly emphasized at the University of Minnesota. Much of the work attempted was still too crude and too poorly taught to warrant recognition. The favorable attitude of the University could be understood only by looking at the problem and status of commercial courses from the point of view of the secondary school. The University could do the secondary school great service by strengthening and promoting its tendencies toward sound work in every subject undertaken; and it could safely admit to college rank any candidate "who has successfully devoted four years to earnest study in a well-equipped secondary school, whatever the combination of studies that has developed his powers and been in harmony with his intellectual aptitudes."

A more direct exhibit of the working of the free-elective system at Stanford was afforded by a complete analysis of the class entering the University in September 1908. In 1899 the National Education Association had recommended "as suggestive rather than unalterable" the following constants in all entrance credentials: English (2 units), mathematics (2 units), history (1 unit), science (1 unit), foreign languages (4 units), leaving five units in the elective list. Changes in entrance requirements since that date, in most of the colleges and universities, had had this recommendation in view.

Applying this norm to the Stanford matriculates it was found that of the 302 students admitted to freshman standing in September 1908, 160, or fifty-three per cent, met the National Education Association requirements. Of the 142, or forty-seven per cent, not fulfilling these requirements, 18 were lacking in science, 6 in history, 100 in foreign language, 16 in mathematics. Of the 100 lacking the four units in foreign language, 87 offered two units, and 79 of the 100 offered four units in English. Of the 18 lacking the two units in mathematics, all but 4 offered at least one unit. Of the 302 matriculates, 29 (14 on examination) received credit in shop work, 4 in civics, 12 in economics, 91 in physical geography, 1 in domestic science, 13 in bookkeeping, 5 in stenography and typewriting, 5 in commercial history, geography, and law. No credits had been accepted in hygiene, astronomy, architectural drawing, or music. The consensus of faculty opinion was that none of the 302 matriculates had presented unbalanced or weak preparatory courses, none were applicants which any university need hesitate to accept.

The Trustees accepted the situation, but found a way to relieve their own personal embarrassment in a resolution adopted March 5, 1909, as follows: "That in printing future *Registers*, under the head of entrance subjects, the reference to stenography, music, domestic science, bookkeeping, and other unusual subjects be omitted, or be referred to as other subjects properly taught in well-equipped high schools." The attention of the Academic Council was also called to a clause in the Articles of Organization of the Faculty, reading as follows: ". . . . excepting that no regulation, statute, or rule involving a change in the educational policy of the University in respect to the requirements for admission . . . . shall take effect . . . . until the same shall have been submited to the Trustees."

The form of printing specified by the Trustees occasioned no difficulty and, as the faculty was not aware that any change in educational policy had been attempted, the whole matter, for the time being at least, was allowed to drop.

Questions, however, concerning the terms of admission continued to be raised from various points of view. Admission in partial standing (i.e., with conditions amounting to three units) was denied to women in 1903 and to men in 1907. No women were received as special students after 1905. These restrictions were made necessary by Mrs. Stanford's charter amendment limiting the number of women students to 500 and by the Trustee pressure to place some limit upon the number of men. Complaints against these two methods of restriction were voiced by individual members of the faculty, and by the President. In May 1906, at the instance of the President, the Advisory Board proposed a plan requiring each applicant for admission "to present from his school complete and specific information as to scholarship and character, and that on the basis of such information the Committee accept only such applicants as they deem desirable." The plan was approved by the Academic Council (May 2, 1906) with the proviso "that it be adopted as a guide to action for this summer and that full consideration of the matter be made the special order of business for next fall." The report of the Committee on Admission, submitted to the Academic Council September 7, 1906,[7] reached the conclusion that "as a means of excluding undesirable students, or materially limiting numbers, the plan has not been found practicable." Further consideration of the matter resulted in a modification of the terms of admission which involved the following points: (1) emphasis upon quality of preparation and intellectual promise, personal character, and seriousness of purpose; (2) the records of first-year students to be taken into account in determining as to the continuance of accrediting privileges to preparatory schools.

In 1907 the Committee on Admission, having in view the small number of students entering on examination and the desirability of co-operating with the College Entrance Examination Board, recommended the abolition of entrance examinations in the University. This recommendation, approved by the Executive Committee, was rejected by the Academic Council (February 20, 1907) as far as the August-September examinations were concerned, but approved for the January examinations.[8] Abolition of the August–September examinations was finally voted by the Academic Council on September 21, 1911.

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[7] *Fourth Annual Report of the President* for the year ending July 31, 1907, pp. 73–76.

In view of the restriction upon the number of women students, Professor Peirce proposed to the Executive Committee (November 6, 1905) the substitution of entrance examinations in place of admission on high-school credentials. No action was taken. On January 11, 1907, the Academic Council, on motion of Professor Peirce, and "in view of the necessity of limiting the number of students," instructed the Executive Committee "to examine the plan of admission by examination only, to ascertain the feasibility of the plan—whether it would limit the number to those of superior qualifications—and, having made careful study of the subject, to report its conclusions, with or without recommendation, to the Council." Majority and minority reports of the subcommittee appointed by the President were transmitted to the Academic Council on May 3, 1909. On May 17 these reports were laid over until September by the Council, and in September were deferred for consideration at some special meeting to be called later. The matter was allowed to lapse, however, without action by the Council.[9]

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[8] A historical résumé of entrance requirements as administered at Stanford, prepared by the Committee on Admission, is printed in the *Fourth Annual Report of the President*, Appendix IV.

[9] The majority and minority reports are printed in the *Sixth Annual Report of the President*, Appendix V.

REFORMING THE CURRICULUM

One of the matters of educational policy which seemed to the Trustees in need of serious reconsideration was that of the co-ordination and prescription of studies leading to the Bachelor's degree. "It seems to me," Mr. Davis wrote to Dr. Jordan (August 16, 1904), "that not enough pains is taken after the student has entered college to secure for him a consistent and co-ordinated course of study. The study-lists committees do this work at other colleges, and I am afraid we do not consider this need sufficiently. May I ask your personal attention to this matter?" Again (September 3, 1904): "I have taken considerable pains to get at the inside of the student part of the University, and my judgment is that the 'major' professors do not take much pains to co-ordinate the study lists of their students. If they did that work faithfully there should be no need of any study-list committees, but I have good reason to believe that this part of their duty is but feebly looked after. . . . . If all men entered college of mature years they would be fit to guide their own education, but so many are immature they are not fit to steer themselves without guidance. And even with the best intentions they lose much of the precious plastic years of youth." On March 29, 1905, the Board of Trustees adopted the following resolution:

> "*Resolved*, by the Board of Trustees, that the President and Faculty consider the advisability of adopting a system of entrance requirements and courses of study in which a greater portion of the work should be specifically prescribed; and that to assist the Trustees and Faculty in the consideration of these matters, there be provided under the direction of the Registrar, the records of entrance and university credits of all graduates from June 1, 1903, to June 1, 1904; also the entrance requirements and courses of study of other leading colleges and universities, together with such schedules and additional matter as the Trustees, President, or Faculty may consider of substantial assistance to them."

In view of Trustee misgivings, and at the suggestion of the President, a subcommittee of the Executive Committee had been appointed, October 21, 1904, to inquire into the actual workings of the major-subject system at Stanford. A report of progress was made to the Executive Committee on September 22, 1905, and at this time, in view of the action taken by the Trustees, the membership of the subcommittee was increased from three to five. The great amount of work devolving upon the Executive Committee in connection with reports and discussions concerning the powers and duties of standing committees prevented early consideration of the major-subject system. On April 15, 1905, a questionnaire was sent to members of the Academic Council designed to bring out the opinions and judgment of the Council as to various features of the system and its actual workings, together with suggestions as to modifications or other preferable arrangements. About two-thirds of the Council responded, and their replies formed the basis of the subcommittee's report.

The replies to the questionnaire made clear certain defects which had been reported to the Trustees or were suspected by them. They concerned the immature student, not prepared, in the first place, to choose wisely a major subject, nor to follow this up with a proper selection of courses for the remainder of his curriculum; the student with no special intellectual interest in any subject, and disposed to follow the line of least resistance in the interest of more absorbing extra-curricular activities; the student so intent upon his special line of work as to neglect the studies necessary to a full-rounded curriculum—the victim of undue specialization. Failure to meet these situations wisely was attributed to individual and temperamental limitations of the major professor acting in the capacity of student adviser. Sometimes the advisory task was not taken seriously. Sometimes the adviser did not realize the student's problems or appreciate his point of view. Sometimes he was not interested enough or painstaking enough, or was too rigid in his requirements or too lenient (or too indolent), approving weak and ineffective programs on the assumption that the student must know what he wanted. In any or all of these cases the student could fall by the wayside as easily under the major subject system as under any other system. No one of those who replied to the questionnaire suggested as a remedy a system "in which a greater portion of the work should be specifically prescribed," but about a third of the replies announced a willingness to accept a group system for the first two years of the college course.

A large majority of the replies, however, while recognizing defects, stoutly upheld the Stanford system. Its faults were incidental, not unavoidable. Its merits were positive and effective in promoting intelligent interest and sound scholarship. The major-subject system was devised, first of all, for the mature student whose chief aim in college was to get an education. It permitted and encouraged such a student to go directly at his task. It insured continuity and thoroughness in a chosen line of work. It provided for immediate contact and close association with an experienced adviser—a fellow worker in the same field. It made the student a partner in planning his whole course of study, developing at once his interest and his sense of responsibility. No system could do very much for the student incurably uninterested in the intellectual aspect of education; but at least the interests and needs of the real student should not be subordinated to any plan, however worthy, for reclaiming those who were not interested in the process.

The report of the subcommittee was prefaced with a review of curriculum-making in American colleges, the introduction and growth of the principle of election, the efforts to control and guide the elective system, leading up to the system adopted at Stanford. The general conclusions of the committee, here somewhat abbreviated, were grouped as follows:

> 1. The consideration due to the individual student forbids the prescription of any ready-to-hand schemes of study. In the case of many students, however, it is not easy at first to discover tastes and capabilities even at the expense of a good deal of time and care on the part of the major department. . . . . Again, absolute freedom of election does not open to the freshman a boundless universe of subjects. The limitations of the time schedule, and the necessary sequence of studies, reduce the number of possible combinations to a manageable quantity. While any actual study-list should await the arrival of the individual, it is not necessary that a department postpone to so late a date consideration of the general problem. On the contrary, every department may profitably

canvass the whole schedule and tentatively select those courses which the freshman may properly take. There can be no objection to departments making their pre-selection and grouping as definite as can be agreed upon, for any length of time beyond the freshman year. All these schemes, however, should be fluid, not absolute.

2. Of all forms of guarding the elective system against ill-considered choices the advisory relation promises most. It has the needed flexibility of adapting itself to each individual case, and yet, if wisely administered, will yield just that guidance which clarifies the student's vision and purpose and at the same time strengthens his own initiative. Moreover, the natural adviser of the student is the major department where every element of artificiality in this relation is reduced to its lowest terms. The growth of the advisory relation at Stanford has been on the whole thoroughly wholesome, and actual experience and possible extension should be recognized and approved by the University. The University should furnish departments with duplicate record cards. The departments should aim to advise more, and more carefully. They should control, and be responsible for, the student's entire course of study to the extent of giving to it and to the student's own problems the most careful consideration, and to the extent of withholding approval of what they shall finally deem an unwise course or combination of studies. But department advice should not prevail against the deliberate judgment of the student honestly held to in spite of all reasoning to the contrary. In such a case it is better that the student seek some other major subject, and, unless his position is wholly unreasonable, a satisfactory adjustment can be found. And since department action (outside of major requirements) may not take the form of prescription, dictation, or arbitrary action, the appearance of all such should be studiously avoided.

3. The Founding Grant of the University makes it incumbent upon the Trustees "to establish and maintain an educational system which will, if followed, fit the graduate for some useful pursuit, and to this end, to cause the pupils, as early as may be, to declare the particular calling which, in life, they may desire to pursue." This provision is not to be interpreted narrowly, and it will be fulfilled whenever a college course is entered upon with seriousness and pursued with conscientiousness and high aim. It is a characteristic feature of the major-subject system that it brings the student at the very beginning of his college career to a serious consideration for himself of the value of a university training with reference to a definite purpose in life. If it be admitted that a considerable amount of work in some one subject or division of studies is desirable to this end, it will hardly be questioned that the department rather than the university faculty is best qualified to arrange the com-

bination and sequence of studies. The work of every department naturally goes forward in a progressive order, and students must of necessity follow this order. Where, as in most departments, more work is offered than the student can possibly cover, within the prescribed limits, natural lines of division have simplified the problem of selection. In the matter of collateral studies in related departments, where the progress of the major work has not clearly indicated such collateral studies, so wide a liberty of choice is usually found admissible that the term "prescription" ceases to apply.

But objection has been made to this principle. It has been urged that in so far as attention is centered on one subject, which may not be a broad one, the student is prevented from that large and wide sampling of many subjects which is the appropriate diet of many students who do not want to become specialists, who are not looking (during the undergraduate period at least) toward any technical preparation for a particular calling, but who wish to receive a broad, general college education. For this class of persons, it is held, there should be a general university group, or groups, which should insure such broad, general education and obviate all necessity of specialization in any particular subject.

In considering this contention it is to be noted that students have entire freedom of choice as to major subject; and that the change from one major to another is not difficult. If some subjects are narrower than others, the narrow subjects may be avoided. Again, specialization as applied to college work is a strictly relative term. Thirty or forty units in any subject ought to give something of coherence to the student's grasp of the subject, something which, in a purely relative way, may be ambitiously spoken of as a mastery of the subject. In some subjects thirty or forty units imply such a grasp and mastery as will enable the student to turn his knowledge to immediate practical use in the world outside. But, as applied generally to undergraduate studies, specialization is a much overworked term. The major-subject system presumably takes the student far enough into a subject to give him a certain sense of power and a confidence in his ability to go on toward complete mastery. But in no department does it insure any great amount of specialization or interfere with the broadest and most liberal course of study.

4. An examination of the records of the graduating classes [1904 and 1905] shows that numerous students do not restrict their work in the major subject to the prescribed units, but freely elect additional work, and sometimes confine their choices to a very narrow field. It is probable that in some cases at least more work has been taken in one subject than was to the student's advantage, and this, in part with the

consent of the major department, in part through a lack of watchfulness and judicious advice. Nevertheless, it is evident that no general rule can apply, and it is interesting to note that in most of these apparently abnormal cases the narrow specialized course is now, upon review, justified by the executive head of the major department. Students of all stages of maturity and experience enter the University, and not a few whose age, previous training, practical experience, and definite purpose fully justify Jefferson's principle of "letting every one come and listen to whatever he thinks may improve the condition of his mind," or of Wayland's permission to the student to study "what he chose, all that he chose, and nothing but what he chose." Others have but the one talent, and for them it is a waste to attempt the sampling process. The department should make its diagnosis as conclusive as possible. It can then attempt, on the one hand, to understand and further the student's capabilities and purposes, and, on the other, to correct any tendency toward undesirable one-sidedness or dissipation of energy, and to point out the relation of and co-ordination of studies with reference to training in character and efficiency in their large meanings. Beyond this a positive regulation does not seem necessary.

Pending the printing of the statistical records and other matters called for by the Board of Trustees, the committee forbore making any specific recommendations, but expressed its own judgment as follows:

"1. The major-subject system should be retained.

"2. The effective working of the system depends upon the exercise of care and judgment in giving advice and direction to the student, and every department should assume full responsibility in this respect for its own major students.

"3. It is desirable to define more strictly the authority of the major department, as follows: 'The major department has the authority to prescribe not more than forty units of major and minor work (exclusive of such elementary courses in the major department as may be offered for entrance), and shall also recommend such other subjects as may be considered desirable collateral work.'

"4. The signature of the major department to the student's study-lists should mean not merely assent, but approval—approval being interpreted in the spirit of the major-subject system, which is to provide the inexperienced student with necessary advice and direction while developing his power of initiative, and to accord to the mature student larger and larger responsibility in planning his own course.

"5. It is desirable, as a general principle, that at least sixty units of the work required for the Bachelor's degree be taken outside of the major and closely related departments. A fixed rule is deemed unnecessary, but departments should regard this as an expression of university policy to be departed from only in exceptional cases.

"6. The arrangement of a so-called University Course or Group is undesirable."

The full report of the subcommittee, submitted to the Executive Committee, April 30, 1906, and duly adopted, was presented to the Academic Council May 2, 1906.[1] Owing mainly to the expense involved, it was finally decided not to proceed with the printing, and in consequence the resolution of the Trustees and the report presented by the Executive Committee never came up for formal consideration by the Council. The matter, however, was considered as settled for the time being, and the revised statement of requirements proposed by the subcommittee was put into effect. The Trustees did not again raise the direct question but continued to press for a reorganization of the University along various lines.

However, the workings of the major-subject system did not escape renewed criticism, and the whole matter of curriculum-making was involved in the various plans brought forward for consideration. Dr. Jordan, who cared little for "systems" in themselves, but looked to results, was willing to consider any and all reorganization plans which promised relief from financial difficulties. Of the major-subject system he wrote (April 10, 1908): "It is a good system as far as it goes, but I am more and more inclined to believe that the student for the first two years should have a certain option of fixed groups of subjects." For the most part, however, he reacted toward the major-subject system as he had originally conceived it. "In establishing the major professor system, I had the idea that the major professor would look after the student and be his adviser in all important ways. There is no other system which has worked so well. Nevertheless, and as the institution grows and demands on the major professor become more numerous, it is harder and harder for him to give adequate attention." On May 16, 1910, he added: "The system works far better than any other I have ever known or heard of. When the professor devotes much attention to his students the results are ideal. When he neglects them the results are no worse than in the ordinary elective system."

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[1] Printed in the *Third Annual Report of the President* for the year ending July 31, 1906, pp. 71–89.

In 1909 the Advisory Board and the Executive Committee were constituted a special Committee on University Organization, and to this committee the President submitted a number of alternatives involving rather fundamental changes in the character and purpose of the institution. Among them was the proposal for a complete reorganization of the first two years of instruction based on a general-course scheme, and the relegation of the major-subject system to the third and fourth years. On this point the report of the committee, adopted by the Academic Council May 20, 1910, reaffirmed the conclusions of the 1906 report in the following statement: "The Committee believes that as a means of administering the elective system, arranging choices, supervising and guiding the work of students, the major department system covering the four years work, with such desirable modification as experience may suggest, should be continued."

The major-subject system as devised by Dr. Jordan did not concern itself merely with the student and his curriculum. The professorship as the unit of organization and the autonomous department freed from general faculty control marked an even more significant advance. Both of these positions were under sharp attack in academic circles. The remarks of President Eliot at the Fifth Annual Conference of the Association of American Universities, in 1904, bear directly or indirectly upon the Stanford system and point of view: "I do not discover anything real or substantial in our organization of either college or university except the department, the organization of the department of teaching and learning. That is what we are organizing at Cambridge and have been doing for the last thirty years, and we see clearly that that is a real bit of permanent organization. . . . . The department is an effective thing in all sorts of ways.

It is the only body capable of laying out a series of courses in proper comprehensiveness, in proper sequence. A college faculty can never do that in the world, in any department. What we call the University Council can never do it. The men do not know each other's field."

But the pendulum had begun to swing backward, as pendulums have a habit of doing, and in another decade new approaches and new methods would have their turn in trying to correct the faults of the major-subject system.

THE JUNIOR COLLEGE AND THE LIMITATION OF MEN

As early as 1895, when the fortunes of the University were at low ebb, Dr. Jordan began to speak of the assumed necessity of limiting the number of students. No positive action was thought of, since the curve of attendance could not be calculated and no one knew whether it was most likely to go up or down. In 1897 Mrs. Stanford voiced the same mood: "We should not be anxious to increase the present number of students—eleven hundred—for some years." Later the idea that limiting numbers would obviate the need of larger appropriations during the building period took strong hold upon Mrs. Stanford; it was her defense against Dr. Jordan's pleas for increased budgetary allowances. In 1901 she thought registration should stop at the fourteen-hundred point then reached; in 1904, with the sixteen hundred of that year. "I have come to the firm conclusion," she had written in 1901, "to limit the number of students. . . . . I prefer to keep the number within a circumscribed limit and then give the students the best advantages possible."[1] "I am fully impressed that our future aim must be to exceed other universities in quality, not in numbers."[2]

"I fully sympathize with your desire not to swell the number of students," was Dr. Jordan's response. "I should be entirely willing to limit our numbers to a thousand men and five hundred women."[3] To the Trustees he said (November 15, 1904): "I shall favor at the proper time a check on the number of entering students such as to limit the number of undergraduate men to about twelve hundred and fifty." Earlier he had written to ex-President White: "It seems to me the future of institutions of this kind is to deal with exceptional students, giving exceptional opportunities to students of superior ability and with industry and earnest purpose."[4]

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[1] Mrs. Stanford to Dr. Jordan, February 25, 1901.

[2] Mrs. Stanford to Dr. Jordan, September 30, 1901.

[3] Dr. Jordan to Mrs. Stanford, April 1, 1901.

[4] Dr. Jordan to Andrew D. White, August 31, 1903.

To have stopped registration at any of the points named by Mrs. Stanford would not have solved the immediate budget problems, although any large influx of students would have further complicated matters. So long as the prospect of plenty a few years ahead was bright, there seemed no need of hasty action, for which, indeed, neither faculty nor Trustees were prepared. The general tendency to inaction was helped out by the fact that registration figures were not showing any considerable increase in attendance. From 1905 on, for example, for the succeeding seven years, numbers were practically stationary, beginning with 1,786 students in 1905–6 and ending with 1,782 in 1912–13.

But with a constantly receding horizon of good times, the necessity of financial relief, and the possibility of securing it through a reorganization of instruction and an increase in fees, thrust itself more and more upon Dr. Jordan's attention. Every device was explored. Tuition fees in professional courses, cutting out first-year mathematics and elementary language courses, employing tutors, at the expense of the students in all freshman and sophomore classes, and, finally, eliminating the two lower classes altogether — all these schemes were considered and pressed upon the attention of faculty and Trustees. The course which finally seemed to Dr. Jordan most logical, most in accord with the genius of the University and necessary to its proper development, was to cut off the first two years entirely and begin university instruction with the junior year. In naming twelve hundred and fifty as a stopping place for undergraduate men (in 1904), Dr. Jordan had added: "The number of graduate students, men or women, should not be limited. In time, through gradual limitation of the numbers in the freshman class, it will be possible to begin the work of the University with the Junior Class. But this arrangement is not yet practicable, and it would not materially reduce expense, as the cost of education is much less in the lower classes than in the upper."

But the urgent needs of the University spurred the President to more definite proposals, beginning with those of less radical import. In September 1906 the Advisory Board was asked to consider the policy of charging tuition fees during the first two years of the university course. "When it shall be manifest," the Board replied (September 27, 1906), "that the income of the University is not sufficient for efficient work in all departments, measures should be taken to limit attendance in the interests of better work; but it is not desirable to impose a tuition fee upon undergraduates for the purpose of reducing numbers. If for any reason," the Advisory Board went on to say, "it should appear expedient or necessary to impose such tuition fees, we believe they should be imposed upon all undergraduates alike. We are of the opinion that the best results of the undergraduate courses are attained with those students who spend the whole four years here and that it would be detrimental to the efficiency of the work of the University to take any measures which might encourage students to take the first and second years at other schools and colleges and thus threaten the integrity of our undergraduate courses."

Dr. Jordan now turned to the Trustees. Writing to a member of the Board (February 4, 1907), he recurred to a quoted statement of Mr. Stanford that he hoped the University might devote itself primarily and chiefly to technical and professional work and to studies conducted by means of research. Since for financial reasons it seemed necessary for the University very soon to limit the range of work, Dr. Jordan suggested another scheme for the consideration of the Trustees, which he proceeded to outline, as follows: "On and after a certain date the entrance requirements of Stanford University shall consist of two years of collegiate work, in addition to the present requirements for admission. The work of the University shall be specialized and professional, elementary teaching not being undertaken in any department, and the granting of degrees being conditioned on the completion in a satisfactory way of a definite line of professional, technical, or research work, this to be determined in general by final examinations. For the present, and until the intermediate work can be satisfactorily provided for, a junior college, corresponding to the freshman and sophomore years, shall be conducted at Stanford University under the general direction of the departments concerned. For students in the junior college a substantial fee shall be charged, making the junior college largely self-supporting."

In March 1907 this scheme was presented to the Board of Trustees as a concrete proposition. Arguing for its adoption in his annual report for 1906–7 (dated December 31, 1907), Dr. Jordan sought to give it a much broader base than as a mere device for meeting the financial exigencies of the Stanford situation. It was to be the next step in the evolution of the American university, a policy which all of the most forward-looking universities were bound to adopt.

At a meeting of the Association of American Universities held at New Haven in February 1904, Dr. Jordan had read a set paper on "The Actual and the Proper Lines of Distinction between College and University Work"—in other words, between undergraduate and graduate work. In his paper Dr. Jordan stoutly maintained the close connection between the college and the university. "The college work," he said, "should reach forward to the university, if the individual is ready for it and needs it. The university student should be given college work, if the latter is essential to his intellectual success. . . . . There should be no break in space any more than in time. The university and its schools should stand in the same grounds with the college. Going from the college to the university would be as simple as going from the lecture to the library or laboratory. I do not sympathize with those who would isolate the university from the college. The university furnishes the college its inspiration; the college furnishes the university its life. Graduate students are not very different from other students. . . . . When we have occasion to draw the line between the two, it must be a line drawn in the individual life."

President Eliot of Harvard was even more positive. "I am a hopeless heretic," he said, "on this question of a division between college and university. I do not know any other way of determining bounds of education except by the study of the human being on whom education is to be delivered. In the education of every one of us there are two stages. There is the stage of what we like to call general culture, which is a sampling of the different kinds of knowledge. It doesn't make any difference whether a young man is doing that until he is twenty-three in an American college, or does it only until he is seventeen and leaves an American school; intellectually he is a schoolboy as long as that process lasts. When he has sampled knowledge enough to know what he is fit for in the world—which is the same thing as saying when he has found out what he wants to do in the intellectual career and begins to work in his line, he becomes a university student. He is fit for freedom, and he must have freedom. He cannot pursue this line without freedom, and the institution or set of institutions which serves him is the university. And there is nothing between—nothing."

Knowing, of course, that not all freshmen had found their destined line of study or caught sight of the distant goal, Dr. Jordan, in starting Stanford, was willing to believe that the majority of freshmen even were ready for the incentives and disciplines of the university, and that this majority would in large measure fix the tone and set the standards of student life. Earlier, Dr. Jordan had predicted that "the college as a separate factor in our educational system must in time disappear by its mergence into the preparatory school, on the one hand, and into the university, on the other. . . . . With time we shall reach in America a condition of things not unlike that seen in Germany, where nothing intervenes between the public high school or gymnasium, in which all work is prescribed, and the university, in which all work is free. The work of the high school should be broadened and deepened so as to include all subjects which experience shows to belong to the accessory groundwork of higher education. . . . . The American high school will not reach, I think, the standard of the German gymnasium . . . . for in the American system the university methods of work will begin lower down than in Germany."[5]

"A university," Dr. Jordan said at another time, "is a place where men find their life work, where men think lofty thoughts, where men test for themselves that which seems to be true, where men go up to the edge of things and look out into the unknown. . . . . There is no real difference between the American college and the university, and there never will be any. The lower achievement leads to the higher ambition. Many colleges are little, or weak, or lean, or narrow universities; yet even the poorest of them may be hallowed by some one's devotion, ennobled by some one's scholarship."[6]

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[5] "Evolution of the College Curriculum," an address first delivered before the College Association of Indiana in 1887.

The troublous times of later years in matters of conduct and discipline and the large number of students who seemed uninterested or intent only on the "odds and ends" of education furnished at least a talking point in support of an otherwise merely opportune plan of financial relief. In Dr. Jordan's mind it forced a reconsideration, from the practical point of view, of his earlier theoretical pronouncements. Instead of a progressive advance in self-control and in the sense of responsibility, the prevailing undergraduate standard seemed unable to rise above the sophomoric level. Plug-Ugly, Senior Circus, Wunder Feeds, and other projections of sophomore activity over into the senior year and the unnatural emphasis upon intercollegiate athletics all tended to throw doubt upon the wisdom of trying to carry the university ideal and method back to the lower undergraduate years. Accepting (for the time) this view of the situation, Dr. Jordan turned to the German model with the division line where the Germans had put it. The two upper years of the college course clearly belonged to the university; they could be rescued for that purpose, but only by a complete separation from the two lower years—a separation, too, as necessary for the college as for the university.

In this mood Dr. Jordan wrote (February 26, 1909): "The college can never be reorganized and made effective so long as it is all mixed up with the university. The two are telescoped together; the university methods dominate over the college methods, to the injury of the lower students. The discipline of the college is entirely destroyed, and the collegiate teachers, who ought to be devoting themselves to making men out of boys, are striving pitifully to be recognized as investigators. The college ought to begin its four years two years lower down. The university ought to be devoted exclusively to professional and technical training and research."

In an article in the *Yale News*, quoted in *Science* for March 1909, Dr. Jordan continues: "The college and the university are here to stay, and here to grow and develop; but not in the same space, and still less, as at present, telescoped together. . . . . Sooner or later we must see that the college, with its boy's play, its football team, its glee club, its need of personal inspiration, its need of rigorous moral discipline, its need of absolute inhibition of vinous conviviality, its demand for insistent training rules to prevent grafting and dissipation, is an end in itself."

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[6] *Popular Science Monthly*, May 1902.

Confident that he had found a way out, Dr. Jordan was now, in public addresses, explaining his plan and predicting that within five years Stanford would be a place for those only who had a definite object in pursuing a university course. The giving of credits would then be abolished and a man would receive his degree when he showed that he was worthy of it.[7] "We are working on this plan now. We have just succeeded in developing a fine law school. We have made arrangements for the Cooper Medical School as the property of Stanford, and with it will come the Lane Hospital. That completes two leading departments."

In submitting his plan to the Board of Trustees, Dr. Jordan had said: "Thus far Stanford University has been a large college, well ordered for the most part, giving good instruction and with the highest collegiate standards. Its university work, though not extensive, has commanded respect. . . . . To make a university, in the world sense, of Stanford University, the following elements seem to me essential: The elimination as soon as possible—let us say in the course of five years—of the junior college, by the addition of two years to the entrance requirements. . . . . With this should follow the extension of the University as such and the intensification of the higher work. Especially medicine should be added to its scope of instruction, and other lines of advanced work would naturally follow if the University were relieved from the burden of elementary instruction. I ask your Board to consider the project of the immediate separation of the junior college, and to consider the possibility of requiring the work of the junior college as a requisite for admission to the University on and after the year

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[7] *Spokane Chronicle*, March 4, 1908.

1913, or as soon as a number of the best equipped high schools in the State are prepared to undertake this work."

In December 1907, Dr. Jordan brought the same recommendation to the Executive Committee of the Academic Council. He next jogged the memory of the Board of Trustees, proposing (January 20, 1908) that at a convenient time during the year the University Committee consider the propositions contained in his annual report. In a further communication (March 13, 1908) Dr. Jordan reiterated his belief "that the successful university in America must, as in Germany, part company with the college and devote itself exclusively to the three fields of technical, professional, and research instruction," and again asked the Trustees to prepare the way for this change by a declaration in favor of the plan proposed in his annual report.

In May 1908 the Advisory Board replied to a definite request from the President for its judgment on the various parts of his recommendations to the Board of Trustees. If the scheme were feasible, the reply said, there would be certain advantages. The number of students would be materially reduced, athletics and student activities, apart from the University work, would be largely relegated to the preparatory institutions, the difficulties of administration in the control of scholarship and discipline would be greatly reduced, the work of instruction could be executed mainly by professors and their assistants, a large number of instructors could be dispensed with, and the resulting economy would make possible additions to the equipment for graduate work.

But the Advisory Board could see many disadvantages. With freshman and sophomore years cut off, Stanford would be largely dependent for students upon normal schools, smaller private or denominational colleges, and such high schools as might be able to undertake, in addition to their present curriculum, the first two years of college work. There were no such high schools in the West and no certainty that the public would approve and support, in the near future, the increased expenditure for buildings, laboratory equipment, library, and teaching force which would be needed, should they attempt college work.

Many elementary courses then given in the high schools were repeated in the universities because the latter found themselves unable to build upon the base laid down in the high school. The Advisory Board considered it highly desirable to increase the number of graduate students, but was of the opinion that the method of segregating the first- and second-year students from the others, requiring them to get their training from the public schools or the smaller colleges, would diminish rather than increase the number of such students. Considering the keen competition and the relatively small number of research students, it seemed probable that Stanford could not for many years attract graduate students in large numbers except from those whom she had trained as undergraduates; and it could not be doubted that those who had had four years in our major-subject system would be more likely to develop a love for research than those who would be compelled to replace two years of the university course with the kind of work necessarily given in high schools, normal schools, and the smaller colleges.

Dr. Jordan naturally got little comfort from the report of the Advisory Board. "I may say frankly," he wrote, "that I am disappointed to see that the professors did not make an exhaustive study of the matter, but simply referred to the fact that present conditions are not favorable for any immediate change. It will take five years to change these conditions. . . . . While a majority of the professors are unfavorable or lukewarm, I think it is because they are looking at the present conditions only."[8] His own conviction was not changed. "I am strongly in favor of stopping freshman and sophomore instruction in this institution," he wrote (September 11, 1908), "just as soon as I can persuade my colleagues and my Board that it is safe to do so. I believe it is safe to do it at once."

While no formal action was taken by the Board of Trustees upon Dr. Jordan's proposals, the conclusion reached was the same as that of the Advisory Board of the faculty. After the June meeting Mr. Horace Davis gave a more or less "off the record" statement to the press. With Dr. Jordan, he said, the wish had been father to the thought, and in announcing his purpose he had been far too sanguine. The faculty had given it serious consideration and the decision reached was that the institution could not detach itself from the public schools. The Trustees, both in general meeting and in committees, had argued the same question and arrived at the same conclusion.[9]

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[8] Dr. Jordan to George E. Crothers, May 13, 1908.

Dr. Jordan was unwilling to let the matter rest at this point. On February 15, 1909, he again took up the matter with the Trustees, declaring that "the future of the university in America is dependent on its separation from the college," and asking the Trustees to consider three proposals: The first was a repetition of the former plan of requiring for admission, after August 1, 1913, two years of college work. The second would delay the cutting-off process slightly by providing for the admission of students with sophomore standing until August 1, 1914. The startlingly new proposal, supplementing the other two, read as follows: "All appointments of a grade lower than associate professor shall be held to expire on August 1, 1913, unless otherwise specifically renewed as University appointments." To this the President added: "The salary roll would be reduced by about $60,000."

The third proposition might have been thought a concession to the "weak department — weak professor" program of the Trustees; and the saving of so much money would be a tempting prospect. It is doubtful, however, if the President was looking for any favorable response. At any rate he now turned to the faculty (April 6, 1909) with tentative propositions, as he first expressed it, looking toward a "possible reorganization of Stanford University on the Harvard plan." After preliminary discussion the President named (May 13, 1909) the Executive Committee and the Advisory Board as a joint committee to consider a more comprehensive reorganization of the University. In a summary of the questions at issue Dr. Jordan said: "It is impossible for the University to expect any great extension of scope or of expenditure in the next seven years, except through gifts, fees, or possible sale of properties. . . . . It is desirable to consider now very seriously how the University can be made most effective and most useful for this period." The President made no recommendations but put up to the committee a number of alternative proposals which he wished to have considered. Among these were the gradual elimination of the junior college and the charging of fees in one way or another.

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[9] *San Francisco Call*, June 27, 1908; *Palo Alto Times*, June 27, 1908.

The report of the joint committee was presented and adopted by the Academic Council on May 20, 1910. In the matter of abolishing the first two years of the college course the position taken was essentially that of the Advisory Board in 1908. The successful establishment of six-year high schools was a problem of the future. Elimination of the first two years would mean to a considerable extent elimination of junior and senior years, as well, the migratory habit among American undergraduates not being very pronounced. Upperclassmen coming from six-year high schools and small colleges with limited equipment and endowment would not be as well trained or as far advanced as those who began their college work at Stanford. In view of the geographical isolation of the University and the strong competition of professional and graduate schools in other universities Stanford could not hope to secure any large number of graduate students without very lavish expenditure. It would be doubtful, if not impossible, to build up a graduate department, except on the basis of a strong undergraduate department.

In the matter of fees the committee could speak only theoretically. Aside from the financial need, the geographical situation should be considered, and the fact that free tuition prevails at all the state universities. If necessary as an emergency financial measure, the committee believed a uniform tuition charge upon all undergraduates would be the least objectionable form of such a tax and that graduate students except in professional lines of work might well be exempted.

Dr. Jordan's new argument in support of the separation of the "college" from the "university" was based upon the turmoil, confusion, revolts, and seeming loss of ideals among Stanford undergraduates. The theory that Stanford men under the freedom and inspiration of the Stanford system would necessarily put the able, serious-minded, hardworking students in command and make the University undesirable for the frivolous and uninterested, did not seem to be working out well. The discipline and restraint which seemed necessary for the "college" was out of place in the "university." By separating the two, the junior and senior years could be taken out of the college and safely and properly added to the university.

But the local situation which seemed to furnish so good an argument for what was essentially a financial plan was rapidly changing. The better understanding and better co-operation evolved by the Committee on Student Affairs and the inauguration of student control under happy auspices restored Dr. Jordan's confidence in the undergraduate body. He did not give up his conviction that a higher note should be struck and more emphasis placed upon advanced and professional work. But for that he would be content to wait.

"The most effective proposition [for the promotion of graduate study]," Dr. Jordan wrote (May 13, 1910), "would be to provide for the gradual elimination of the junior college and the assistant professor, using the salaries of the latter group for securing and equipping famous scholars. In time such a policy would make of Stanford a notable center of research. It is questionable whether it would be as useful to the State as it is now. In any event, I have decided not to urge the experiment, the completion of which would be a matter of years." A year later: "The separation of the junior college has not been much discussed since I gave it up as a practical matter. . . . . I don't feel the importance of such a change as much as I did, because, with the enforcement of the liquor laws inside and around the University, we are getting a very different type of student, older students whose influence incites the younger to better work. Taken as a whole, the class of this year is considerably superior to any preceding class, and the attention which we have for the last two or three years been giving to the student body, especially the younger students, is mainly responsible for this."

The limitation of numbers as a problem in itself had not been taken very seriously by the Trustees, or at least had been lost sight of in the discussion over dropping the first two years. The supposed discovery by the Trustees that the income of the University was not likely to be materially increased and that the limit of expenditures for educational purposes had been reached gave an entirely different aspect to the situation. Evidently the University had now all the students it could properly care for, and means must be taken to prevent further increase. As a preliminary, the Trustees turned to the recommendations Dr. Jordan had submitted in 1908.

In view of this change of front Dr. Jordan returned to his old position and in a letter to Trustee Eells (October 7, 1912) set forth at length the arguments for and against the elimination of the junior college: "If we had a clean slate to begin with we could make a saving of $80,000 at once, but to wipe the slate regardless of the men would be fatal. . . . [Stanford] is as a college an example and an inspiration to its sister universities. In its transition period it might be less useful than it is now." "But," Dr. Jordan held, "the elimination of the junior college is a movement inevitable in university development in America. Sooner or later Stanford must choose whether it will be a college or a university, for it has not funds for both. As a university it can render its highest service to the state and to the nation."

Dr. Jordan now brought his 1908 proposals, in a modified form, before the Advisory Board for its judgment as to their advisability and feasibility. A beginning could be made in 1914 by excluding freshmen; a year later by excluding both lower classes, individual members of the faculty to be treated with consideration and justice, and the Board of Trustees to agree to purchase at reasonable rates the houses of instructors or fraternities seriously incommoded.

A milder form of these proposals, suggested as a beginning, that the number of freshman men be limited to 275. To Trustee Eells, Dr. Jordan wrote (October 15, 1912): "I cannot convince myself that it is wise to make a drastic change in our requirements at present. Of the arguments against immediate change two appeal to me as valid: first, we have no reason to believe that we could secure for some time to come, for our upperclass work, students as well trained as those we now have; second, Stanford University is now exerting a moral lesson which our whole university system needs and must need."

The Advisory Board replied to the President's request in a long letter from the chairman dated October 21, 1912. In the first place, the Advisory Board reaffirmed its finding of May 7, 1908, in regard to the unwisdom of the separation of the junior college from the University. In addition, it pointed out that there would be no important gain through cutting off the junior college. Many instructors and assistants would still be needed to conduct classes in subjects taught to first- and second-year students but by no means exclusively to them. Such saving as might result from the elimination of teachers and assistants would be largely if not entirely offset by the loss of registration and laboratory fees of the students who would be eliminated. Instruction in the last two years could not be so effective because based upon less systematically planned and co-ordinated preparation. The great body of our graduate and professional students, it stated, come from our own undergraduates. To place Stanford University in a position to attract attention by reason of its opportunities for research and professional work would require an income very much greater than at present available, toward which the saving, if any, would be very inadequate. That an adequate system of feeders would be established was not yet evident. Regarding the proposal to limit the number of freshmen to 275, it noted that during the past eight years there had been no considerable increase in freshmen or in graduates from other universities. There was perhaps congestion in certain classes, but it had not been demonstrated that any reduction in the present number of undergraduates was either necessary or desirable. Such action might easily be taken whenever circumstances demonstrate its desirability.

In April 1913 Dr. Jordan sent out a circular letter asking if there were any courses listed that were not worth while and if there was needless expansion of courses. One and all of the departments answered "no" to both questions. Here the matter rested as far as Dr. Jordan was concerned; but formally and informally the Trustees let it be known that they were still expecting some action to be taken. On November 27, 1914, they formally requested the President to present a report upon limiting the number of students, and the probable limit number.

On May 14, 1915, the question was brought to the attention of the Council. The Trustees feared, said Dr. Branner, now President, that the number of students would increase to such an extent that we should not be able to take care of them with the present faculty and plant. It is for the faculty to find a way to advise the Trustees in this matter. Thereupon the Executive Committee was instructed to report (1) as to the desirability of further limitation, and (2) a specific plan of limitation, for recommendation to the Trustees if and when such action should be declared necessary.

On September 16, 1915, Dr. Branner emphasized the necessity and desirability of taking up the question seriously and earnestly. If there should be increased income, the Trustees would rather expend it in better provision for existing departments and facilities than in providing for an increased number of students. The Trustees thought that something like fifteen hundred men and five hundred women would be about the proper limit. "There is a feeling among the trustees that they have passed the question over to the faculty and got back unco-operative answers, that the faculty has stood them off. If the faculty cannot agree upon a plan to carry out the general policy of the trustees, it must go to the President and Board to formulate the necessary provisions. But both President and Board feel that the faculty should work out this problem if possible."

The subcommittee's plan, reported to the Executive Committee on November 18, 1915, was discussed in a series of meetings, amended, and finally adopted December 8, 1915. It was further amended by the Academic Council on January 14, 1916, and in due time received the approval of the Board of Trustees.

The plan was based on a detailed examination of the 338 courses in which instruction was given during the first semester of 1914–15. It was found that the effective maximum enrollment had been exceeded in 38 courses and reached in 20 others, mostly elementary subjects. In the remaining 280 courses enrollment hardly averaged fifty per cent of capacity. Accordingly the plan provided that registration should be restricted in the Lower Division only, where a definite limit of 500 entrants for the first semester and fifty for the second semester was fixed. The plan therefore provided for a possible and probable increase in advanced and graduate students and for a stationary number of Lower-Division students. As a method of limiting, or rather controlling, numbers it was found to work successfully, and only with the figures, not the principle, have changes since been needed.

ACQUIRING A MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

The intention to establish a department of medicine in the University, at some time in the future, is definitely stated by Mr. Stanford in reply to an inquiry from a correspondent in September 1891. A year later the *San Francisco Examiner* had a story to the effect that California and Stanford "are both striving by every possible means to secure the Cooper Medical College." This statement seems to have had no basis of fact so far as Stanford was concerned. "There is nothing as yet," Dr. Jordan wrote, "in the discussion of the union of Cooper Medical College. It seems to have started in the City without any provocation on our part. . . . . I do not think Mr. Stanford wishes to extend the University in the direction of medicine for the present."[1] Any further speculation even was completely stopped by the death of Mr. Stanford in June 1893 and the financial eclipse which followed.

There were reasons, however, why the possibilities of some sort of tie-up with the Cooper Medical College would not be allowed to be forgotten. Cooper belonged to the old order of medical colleges; it had no salaried staff, all of its faculty were practicing physicians, and all expenses were supposed to be met by hospital and student fees. Its ancestry went back to the first medical college on the Pacific Coast founded in San Francisco in 1858 by Dr. Samuel Elias Cooper and affiliated, for degree-giving purposes, with the University of the Pacific at San Jose. After the death of Dr. Cooper in 1862 the college went into decline and in 1864 was practically absorbed by the new Toland Medical College. Two of its faculty who had joined the Toland Medical staff, Dr. Levi Cooper Lane and Dr. Henry Gibbons, resigned in 1870 and revived the old college under the name of the Medical College of the Pacific. Another reorganization in 1882, under the leadership of Dr. Lane and financed by him, resulted in the establishment of Cooper Medical College, named in honor of Dr. Lane's uncle, Dr. Samuel

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[1] Letter to Timothy Hopkins (in Europe), November 12, 1892.

Elias Cooper. At this time a determined effort was made by President Le Conte of the University of California to unite the two medical colleges, Toland having become affiliated with the State University in 1873.

To this proposed union Dr. Lane was very much opposed, and he went ahead to build up an institution with as complete an equipment as his means and the unselfish services of a devoted faculty made possible. In 1882 Dr. Lane established a course of popular lectures in medicine, and in 1895 the Lane Medical Lectures, a course to be given annually by some person eminent in the profession. The original Cooper Medical building had been the gift of Dr. Lane, and in 1889 he added laboratory rooms and a large auditorium known as Lane Hall. In 1894 he erected Lane Hospital, and in 1898 planned the Lane Medical Library, which was finally built in 1912. In 1896 Dr. Oliver P. Jenkins of the Stanford faculty started the teaching of physiology on an academic basis and established a physiological laboratory at the College. In 1898 the first salaried professor was added to the faculty in the person of Dr. William Ophüls, professor of pathology. In 1896 the course leading to the degree in medicine was extended to four years, based on a high-school preparation. The property of the College was valued at about $800,000, and there was a small reserve fund in addition to the sum set aside for the Library building.

High as were the standards set up by the founder, the College could not keep pace with the rapidly changing requirements of medical colleges and with the more and more pressing demand for adequate laboratories and clinical facilities and for full-time members of the instructing staff. These demands were recognized and met as far as possible, but as time went on it became increasingly evident that it was a losing race for the College and that new sources of support must be sought. Dissensions and jealousies which had formerly existed made the Cooper authorities averse to any union with its old rival, whose standards, indeed, were not higher than their own and whose connection with the University of California had been hardly more than nominal.

In 1901, when Stanford's financial embarrassments seemed about to be removed, the possibility of a union of the College with the University was again broached. "As to the possibilities of organic union," Dr. Jordan wrote (October 30, 1901), "should this be considered desirable by the Cooper Medical College, I may say that we would strongly favor it if it were practicable. . . . . Our main difficulty is this: We are not now ready to incur the expense of a salaried faculty; we do not think it wise to begin without one." Dr. Lane had all along clung to the idea that the College could carry on alone, that what he had begun so well could be taken up and developed by the younger men; but just before his death (February 9, 1902) he changed his mind and made it possible for the trustees to exercise their own judgment in relation to the future of the College. After Dr. Lane's death Dr. Jordan entered into correspondence with the Dean of the College, Dr. Henry Gibbons, Jr. At the same time Dr. Clarence Blake of the Harvard medical faculty was asked to outline what the medical school of the future should be, what equipment it should have, how its hospitals should be built and operated, and other details of organization and management.

On the basis of the correspondence entered into with Cooper, a tentative form of agreement was drawn up by the trustees and faculty of the College and presented by Dr. Jordan to a special committee of the Academic Council for consideration and report. This cautious committee, after expressing appreciation and sympathy with the spirit actuating the officers of the College, questioned certain features of the proposed arrangement and concluded with the following statement: "In the judgment of this Committee, as the proposed arrangement involves relations and consequences beyond the control of Stanford University, it is not expedient to deviate from the policy of the University to form no affiliation or alliance with any institution not an integral part of Stanford University; nor does it seem wise to take any action which might in any degree tend to embarrass the future policy of this University."[2]

[2] Report of the Committee to Dr. Jordan, December 10, 1902.

This report disposed of the matter for the time being. A few years later, however, it was found that the Cooper authorities were more inclined to drop the term "affiliation" and to sanction an unconditional transfer of the College to the University. "I am convinced," Dr. Jordan wrote to Trustee Davis (January 30, 1906), "that it is for the general interests of education that we should take charge of the Cooper Medical College, if it can be offered to us without any condition whatever except that we give instruction in medicine." "The great difficulty with us," he wrote Dr. Ophüls (February 20, 1906), "—and it tends to grow larger as we get nearer to it—is the question as to whether the University will be able to maintain the medical school as it ought to be maintained without cramping the engineering school and the library and other departments already established. I should not be surprised if our Trustees should find it necessary to let the matter lie over for some time until they know better than they do now just where they are."

In replying to Dr. Jordan's request Dr. Blake had strongly recommended making over Cooper Medical College into a school of medical research. "The plan I have in mind," he wrote in explanation (March 18, 1906), "and for the success of which there are, I believe, reasonable grounds, begins with the establishment, by your University, of a medical department, not of undergraduate instruction, but one devoted exclusively to the teaching of graduates in medicine and to medical research, and continues, by subsequent collaboration with the University of California, in the formation of a joint medical school, or department, insuring the command of medical education upon the Pacific Coast under university control. The time for duplication of medical schools in this country has passed, and the demand [is] for concentration, and for unification and advance of educational standards."

In discussing the matter informally with the Board of Trustees (February 23, 1906), Dr. Jordan remarked: "I do not think that San Francisco will support, or that it needs, two second-rate medical colleges. If Stanford undertakes this work, the institution must be made first class. I doubt if we can afford this within the next ten years. The development of a school of medical research appeals strongly to me. I believe that great results could be obtained from a relatively small expenditure. If the Cooper College property could be devoted to this end, it now seems to me wise to accept it."

Two weeks after the great earthquake disaster, Dr. Jordan presented to the Trustees (May 2, 1906) a report favoring acceptance of the proposed transfer on the basis of the plan outlined by Dr. Blake. This would involve, he said, an expense to the University of $10,000, rising gradually to $30,000, per year. Later in the month, writing to Dr. Ophüls (May 20, 1906), he said: "I have recommended to our Board of Trustees the acceptance of the Cooper Medical College property on condition that we could use it, at least for the present, as a school of medical research. . . . . Mr. Davis tells me that the authorities of the Cooper Medical College do not approve. . . . . The case then remains a matter of financial ability. . . . . If it would result in crippling the instruction at Palo Alto, then it would be something we could not afford to undertake. . . . . The action of the Board will probably depend upon the reports made by the Finance Committee when the matter is ready for final decision."

On October 17, 1906, Dr. Jordan approached President Wheeler, inquiring whether it might be possible for the two universities, while giving preliminary medical courses, each on its own campus, to unite for clinical instruction and research in San Francisco. An attempt was also made to interest Mr. Rockefeller in the establishment of a Research School of Tropical Medicine as a branch of the University.

Although these gestures brought no favorable response, Dr. Jordan was now swinging rapidly, in his own mind, to the conclusion that in some way the Medical College ought to be acquired while the chance remained, and that the financial problem could be worked out later. Indeed, "if forced by economy to choose between medicine, architecture, and other advanced subjects, on the one hand, and elements of language and mathematics, better to choose the former." To Dr. Blake he wrote (February 19, 1907): "Please accept my thanks for your kind efforts in behalf of the medical college. I find no disposition on the part of the Cooper people to allow us to begin with the research end. It is on the whole rather probable that we will accept the trust, developing the instruction in medicine first, in more or less conventional fashion. I have sounded President Wheeler a little as to the possible joint department of a medical college for the two. I did not find him favorably inclined. He thinks it better for each institution to work out its [own] salvation."

The final decision of the Board of Trustees, to which Dr. Jordan had referred, was a long time in being reached. The terms of the transfer had been worked out to the satisfaction of all concerned; but the financial obligation involved was a considerable stumbling block. In 1906 Dr. Ophüls thought that Lane Hospital could be made self-supporting and the undergraduate college nearly so. Dr. Jordan assumed that the funds in hand at the College could probably be counted on to put the medical college buildings in good shape, and that at the University bacteriology and pharmacology could be accommodated for the time being in the Quadrangle buildings. In September 1907 Dr. Jordan ventured definitely to recommend to the Trustees the acceptance of the Cooper offer. To Trustee Hopkins he expressed the opinion (October 29, 1907) that the sum required for medical salaries would be about $25,000 for a number of years, and would probably rise to $40,000.[8]

Some of the Trustees, notably Mr. Davis, were early convinced that the offer of the Cooper Medical College was too valuable to be rejected. After Dr. Jordan's positive commitment to the project, Mr. Davis wrote (September 24, 1907): "I am glad, very glad, to see that you have concluded to favor the Cooper Medical College. I am so sure that we have got to have a medical institution in connection with our professional teaching that it seems to me an exceedingly favorable opportunity to get what we want." But the Board still hesitated. The report of a special committee, in 1906, recommending acceptance of the Cooper offer, under certain conditions, had been supplemented by an additional statement, in part as follows:

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[8] Dr. Jordan had by this time fixed in his own mind the speedy elimination of freshman and sophomore classes at the University.

> "There will probably be no difference of opinion as to the recommendations of the special committee upon the proposed transfer, which are concurred in by the President of the University as well as by Professor Stillman. That the maintenance of a first class medical school by the University would be greatly to the public interest, and in every way to the interest of the balance of the University is not questioned. Good medical and law schools have not only tended to raise the standards of scholarship and efficiency in all other departments of the University of which they have formed a part, but they have raised the standing of such universities in the estimation of scholars and the public to such an extent as to assure the success of several great universities. . . . . That the Univerity will eventually maintain a medical school is asserted by those who have been most doubtful about the wisdom of taking over the Cooper College property now. . . . . The special committee has recommended that no medical instruction be undertaken in San Francisco within five years. The transfer could not well take place prior to the summer of 1907, and it is recommended that the Cooper Medical College corporation manage the school until four years thereafter. . . . . After the department is finally started the expenditure for its maintenance will increase gradually until in ten years it should have several hundred students, if successfully managed, and will probably cost the University from $35,000 to $40,000 per year net. . . . . The need of further expansion in at least some of our other departments is evidenced by the fact that there is not a single department organized and manned upon a basis of the highest efficiency, as compared with the best corresponding departments in Eastern institutions, and able fully to meet the injunction of Governor Stanford that the courses offered shall prepare the student for some useful pursuit."

"My concurrence in the proposed acceptance of the Cooper College," wrote Trustee Hopkins to Dr. Jordan (October 29, 1907), "is dependent upon the amount of means we have left from our income after we have taken care of the establishment, development, and equipment of such departments as are needed to carry on the work we have already undertaken. The Finance Committee has stated that they think they can give the medical school $25,000 at the end of five years. My own impression is that, while the medical school may get along for one or two years with this sum, in addition to such fees as may be collected from medical students, the pressure for the development of such a department will run the net deficit of the school to $50,000 or more. . . . . Our income, unfortunately, is a fixed amount."

The proposed transfer of the Cooper Medical College was before the Board of Trustees for more than a year, final consideration being postponed from month to month. The uncertain financial obligation to be assumed was the point at issue. After the Finance Committee had reported that upon beginning to operate the department $25,000 a year could be spared from the regular salary budget, any larger sum seems to have been lost sight of in the general discussion, at least by a number of Trustees. A final decision was reached January 31, 1908, when the transfer agreement was adopted by a vote of 9 to 2, with the following proviso: "That in case the needs of the proposed medical department, over and above its own separate income from medical students and other sources, should exceed $25,000 per annum, the wants of other now existing departments shall have preference over such needs."

Under the arrangement as adopted the Cooper Medical faculty was to continue to function until the four classes then in college had completed the course. Instruction in the medical course would begin at the University in 1910, and in 1912 full charge would be taken by the University of all the advanced and clinical instruction. The first part of the arrangement was duly carried out, but on the recommendation of the medical committee instruction in medicine at the University was advanced one year, that is, to 1909.

At once the medical committee, with Professor J. M. Stillman as chairman, began to plan a general organization of instruction and to outline a full medical curriculum. In October 1908 the first appointments to the medical faculty were made. These included members of the Stanford faculty giving courses in subjects included in the medical curriculum: Arthur William Meyer, professor of human anatomy; John Maxson Stillman, professor of chemistry; Oliver Peebles Jenkins, professor of physiology; Frank Mace MacFarland, professor of histology;

William Freeman Snow, associate professor of hygiene; George Clinton Price, associate professor of embryology; Robert Eckles Swain, associate professor of physiological chemistry and bacteriology; and the following members of the Cooper Medical faculty: Adolph Barkan, professor of structure and diseases of the eye, ear, and larynx; Henry Gibbons, Jr., professor of obstetrics; Joseph Oakland Hirschfelder, professor of clinical medicine; Stanley Stillman, professor of surgery; Emmet Rixford, professor of surgery; William Ophüls, professor of pathology; William Fitch Cheney, clinical professor of diseases of the digestive system. The first independent appointment, made at this time, was that of Ray Lyman Wilbur, professor of clinical medicine.

The organization of the medical department as approved by the Board of Trustees on October 30, 1908, provided for the general administration of the affairs of the medical department and defined its relations to the Trustees, the President, and the University faculty. Admission to the medical department required the completion of three years of college work, which should include certain pre-medical courses in physics, chemistry, and biology, and a reading knowledge of either French or German. The first three semesters of the medical curriculum were to be taken at the University, the last five in San Francisco. In 1910 Dr. Wilbur was named executive head of the medical department and chairman of the medical committee, with duties to begin January 1, 1911. Meantime, in September 1909, with the registration of the first class in medicine at the University, the inauguration of the department was formally celebrated with addresses by Dr. Henry Gibbons, Jr., Dean of the Cooper Medical College, and Dr. Henry A. Christian, Dean of the Harvard Medical School. At this time two new appointees to the staff at the University, Dr. Hans Zinsser, and Dr. Albert Cornelius Crawford, took up their work in bacteriology and pharmacology, respectively.

In spite of its auspicious beginning, the new department was not to be allowed to settle down to an uninterrupted working out of its ideas and problems. In 1910 appeared Dr. Abram

Flexner's monumental report on medical education in the United States and Canada, a study carried out under the direction of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Of the one hundred and fifty medical schools studied a majority were characterized as inadequate in equipment, laboratory and clinical facilities, quality of instruction, and morale. The curse of medicine, it was declared, was the number of medical schools. One medical school, the report held, was sufficient for the state of California, and the entrance of Stanford into the field was strongly deprecated: "There is no need of it from the standpoint of the public; it must, if adequately developed, become a serious burden upon the finances of Stanford University. The question arises whether Stanford would not do well to content itself with the work of the first two years at Palo Alto and to co-operate with the State University in all that pertains to the clinical end."

Following the actual taking over of the Cooper properties by the University Trustees, and before the publication of the Flexner Report, President Pritchett had written to both Dr. Jordan and President Wheeler, remonstrating against the action of Stanford in taking on Cooper Medical College and that of the State University in adopting the moribund Los Angeles institution. "These actions seem to me to make the existence of a first class modern medical school in San Francisco practically impossible unless one or the other of these institutions is prepared to spend millions on a medical school and hospital." Later (in 1910) Dr. Jordan talked with President Pritchett in New York and thought he had convinced him that there might be room for more than one medical school on the Pacific Coast, "especially for one which should set standards." But to Dr. Ophüls, he wrote (June 29, 1910): "I have thought a good deal of the possibility of the union of the clinical departments of the two universities. . . . We ought not to consider the matter as settled until we have done everything we can to concentrate the work."

The taking over of the Cooper Medical College by Stanford stirred up interest in Berkeley in their own medical school in San Francisco. An unexpected gift of $750,000 for medical education, with more in prospect, started a complete reorganization, and President Wheeler turned to President Pritchett for suggestions as to the best methods of planning their medical school. The latter took up immediately with both Stanford and California the possibility of a union of the two clinical departments. Is there still open, he asked, opportunity for a conference over the situation? Stanford is free, Dr. Jordan replied (May 6, 1911), to consider any proposition which looks to an effective union; but he took pains to announce (May 10, 1911) his indorsement of a statement by Dr. Wilbur "that any arrangement which would fail to preserve the integrity of the valuable establishments now available for medical education of Stanford University would seem unwise." A month earlier (April 11, 1911) Dr. Jordan had written to President Pritchett: "I think we did right in taking the medical school. The large property would have gone to waste if we had not taken it; that is, no medical school with standards would have been established unless undertaken by us. . . . . After two years our funds will be adequate to carry all that we have, and to do thorough justice to the medical school."

An interchange of letters between Dr. Jordan and President Wheeler brought out a suggestion from the latter that a conference be held between Dr. Jordan and two Stanford Trustees with himself and two Regents of the State University. Writing to President Pritchett, July 26, 1911, Dr. Jordan said: "We had a joint meeting the other day. It appeared in brief from this that the University of California virtually had two alternatives—one, to leave the clinical work in our hands on some terms of mutual agreement, the other, to withdraw to Berkeley and to develop a clinic there. . . . . The only hope I see for medical education on this Coast is for us to go straight ahead with or without the co-operation of the University of California."

The minutes of the Board of Regents dated August 8, 1911, contain the following statement: "President Wheeler presented, as the result of a recent conference with Stanford University in reference to the merging of the medical schools of each institution, the following letter from President David Starr Jordan as representing President Jordan's suggestion. . . . . It was the sense of the Board that the suggested arrangements referred to in President Jordan's letter are not deemed wise. Such was the order of the Board."

The Department of Medicine did go straight ahead, and with decided success in starting the work both at the University and in the city, on entirely modern lines and in the spirit of the highest standards of medical education. But with every step the problem of financial support became more embarrassing to the University. "I was led to favor the acceptance of the medical college," Dr. Jordan explained, "because at the present time there is no part of human knowledge that is being so rapidly and so usefully extended as our knowledge of disease and its treatment, and a medical school is a most important part of the organization of any real university. . . . . At that time we were told that an income of $850,000 was received, mostly from coupons. It was not explained to me that $250,000 of this was absorbed by taxes, insurance, and administrative expenses. . . . . I thought at that time that with the exception of the professorship of anatomy we could do the other work of the first two years with our present staff. Bringing in Professor Meyer, one of the ablest teachers of anatomy in the United States, we set a standard which made it necessary that the other work should be equally well done. I have had to bring in Professors Crawford and Zinsser, also at the University. . . . . While we could spend indefinitely large sums in developing the work in the city, we can, I think, do very well if we can allow for the work for the next two years $25,000 a year. . . . . The next year would perhaps be a little more, and after that we could presumably reduce expenses from the increase of fees. . . . . If we were obliged to choose I should favor giving up the teaching of freshman work in mathematics and languages."[4]

Even this semi-optimistic view could not be maintained for long. The Trustees had fixed the President's salary and equipment budget at $450,000 and had given no intimation that this could ever be advanced. Instead of beginning to spend money for the medical department at the end of five years, as the Finance Committee and the Board had originally assumed—that is, not until 1912—the President's budget must be called upon as soon as work was started at the University, in part for the year 1909–10 and the full amount of $25,000 for 1910–11. This was the year of the "drastic budget" which checked and disturbed so many plans at the University. The President's budget had been cut for the year to $443,000, and the actual salary roll at the University was about $8,000 less than the year before. Owing to temporary shifts made possible by leaves of absence on half-pay and other devices, there was no actual decrease in individual salaries.

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[4] Dr. Jordan to Trustee Leib, January 16, 1911.

For 1911–12 an increased allowance for the medical department seemed unavoidable. The President's budget was restored to the normal figure of $450,000, but out of this, $35,000 was appropriated to medicine. "I am somewhat startled," Trustee Eells wrote, in reference to the 1910–11 budget, "at the idea that the medical school is to call at once for the amount of money which the Board were assured would be the outside limit that they could possibly be called upon to pay in that quarter for years to come." Dr. Jordan had to take a step farther. "Our $25,000 agreement is going to work trouble," he wrote (September 9, 1910), "but I couldn't get the medical school started without it. We have a splendid opportunity now if we can only take it. But to take things costs money."

Partly, no doubt, to rationalize the situation and partly to peg down a new limit for the medical department, Dr. Jordan proposed that the sum of $25,000 originally allotted to the Department of Medicine be for that part of the work carried on in San Francisco, and that salaries in anatomy, bacteriology, and pharmacology be considered a part of the regular University budget. "I think," he added, writing to Trustee Hopkins (January 17, 1911), "that some such arrangement as this is best and that it is possible." The Trustees did not change their bookkeeping in accordance with Dr. Jordan's suggestion, but seemed to find other ways of meeting the growing demands of the medical department. The salary allowance of $35,000 was continued for 1912–13 without change, but the actual salary expenditure which the Trustees approved amounted to $54,350. Of this sum $6,750 came from medical fees in the city and $12,600 from the Lane Hospital Reserve Fund and earnings. For 1913–14 the President's total budget was raised to $475,000, with the understanding that $12,000 of this increase would be allotted to the medical department.

To help in extricating the University from its difficult financial situation Dr. Jordan proposed various devices, such as cutting off the first two years entirely, charging tuition fees for freshmen and sophomores and in all professional courses, and increasing the incidental fee. He did secure an increase in the incidental fee, tuition fees in law, and special fees in medical courses taken by students not paying the regular medical tuition fee.

Such was the situation when, in August 1913, Dr. Branner assumed the presidency of the University. By this time the rapid progress and promising outlook of the medical department was attracting general attention, and the institution had pretty completely won its way into the affections of the Trustees. So much so that, as one of them remarked to President Pritchett at a later conference, "the medical school was the only thing that had put any life into the University." The "new policy" announced by the Board at the May 1913 meeting included the following statement: "In recognition of the leading position and progress of the Medical Department, and in order to at least partially provide for the increased expansion to the teaching side as well as to the hospital facilities, it is intended to entirely renovate the present large hospital building, to add a substantial wing for private patients, and to start the erection of a new woman's hospital."

Upon taking up his duties as President, Dr. Branner was confronted by the following resolution, adopted by the Board of Trustees August 29, 1913:

> "*Resolved*, that in the opinion of this Board, the University funds and income will be insufficient to adequately extend and develop all departments of the University, and that it will therefore be necessary to select such courses of education as may be so developed to the highest point, abandoning or reducing other courses; and that the President is requested to submit to the University Committee of this Board his recommendations relative to such action by the Board."

Although the increasing demands of the medical department gave point and added weight to this resolution, it was not the enunciation of any new policy on the part of the Board. The hostility of the Trustees to certain departments in the University—to the departments themselves or to their independent standing—had been in evidence from the time when they took over the administration of the University in 1903. The elimination of these departments, as well as other reforms which the Trustees set themselves to accomplish, had met with strong opposition, sometimes from the President but more especially from the Academic Council. Now, so far as the departments were concerned, the case seemed to the Trustees much clearer and the need of elimination could hardly be questioned.

The response of the President was not exactly what had been expected. Dr. Branner had not been friendly to the acquisition of the medical school; indeed, it had been favored, he said, by only one member of the faculty besides Dr. Jordan. When Dr. Jordan had asked his views he had said, in so many words, "Let it alone; it is nothing but a lot of junk." There was a distinct agreement that the school should not have more than $25,000 a year, and until he became President he supposed that agreement still held. At the August meeting he had frankly told the Board that they must either find an endowment for the medical school or expect to see it make an end of the University.

Dr. Branner did not let the matter rest with a mere protest, but took the resolution of the Board as a challenge to battle. The life of the University was at stake, and the only way to save it was to be rid of the medical department entirely. Before formally replying to the request of the Board he appealed personally to individual Trustees, to Dr. Jordan, and especially to the President of the Carnegie Foundation. To the latter he wrote (November 17, and December 6, 1913):

> "The Trustees realizing that our funds are not equal to the task that the medical school imposes, are looking for a way out of the dilemma. They think it possible for me to so overhaul things here at the University that a lot of what they regard as purely ornamental departments can be done away with and that this will release funds enough to keep the medical school going. It is unnecessary to tell you that it cannot be done. Only very small economies are possible in the University. The medical school wants at least $100,000 a year, in addition to hospitals and equipment in an expensive city. . . . . Can you not give me some encouragement to abandon this medical school? How can it be done? I'm ready enough to do anything that human effort can do. It will make an awful row, I know, but if I can save the University I don't mind either the row or the personal roasting I shall get. Some of the Trustees will stand by me, others will fight me to a finish, as will all the members of the medical faculty and their friends. I fancy that most of the faculty outside of the medical school will support me, but I am not sure about it at all.
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> "Dr. Jordan looks on the medical school as the child of his old age, and the finest one in the family, but I am at liberty to disregard his personal views."

To a member of the Board of Trustees Dr. Branner wrote (November 11, 1913):

> "Year after year the best men in our faculty have declined calls to other institutions because we believed what was told us about the money that would soon be available to make our departments what we hoped from the outset to make them. And now, as some of us, after having spent the productive parts of our lives waiting and are about to retire, we find these long promised dollars turned over to a new department that a far-sighted man would never have considered for one moment unless it had come to us fully and adequately endowed. . . . .
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> "Some of the Trustees are obsessed with the idea that we can reduce expenses considerably by combining several departments into one. And so we could. But that would lead to the elimination at the earliest possible opportunity of nearly half our best men . . . . who would not consent to be reduced in rank or salary. One other suggestion is that such departments as German should not have major students, but should simply be service divisions of other departments, that is, they should give instruction in German to students required to take German. . . . .

If the scholars are to be chased away or replaced by cheap instructors, I don't want to have anything to do with the outfit."

The formal reply of Dr. Branner to the August resolution of the Board was made to the University Committee on December 20, 1913. It included the following positive recommendations:

"1. That the medical school, including anatomy and bacteriology, receive no further financial support from Stanford University after July 31, 1914.

"2. That the entire equipment be turned over to the University of California upon such terms as the Trustees may be able to arrange with the Regents of the University of California through a committee of experts suggested below. Or, if for any reason, such a disposal is impossible, that some such disposition be made of the school and its appurtenances as will entirely relieve Stanford University from all expense in connection with it.

"3. That a committee of three disinterested men, whose knowledge of medical education and administration will entitle their views to the highest respect and consideration, and who are not likely to be influenced by local interests, be appointed to settle the conditions of the transfer upon terms honorable and satisfactory to both units."

The Advisory Board of the Academic Council lost no time in letting it be known that its members were behind the President in this matter. At a meeting held December 26, 1913, it was resolved "that the Advisory Board approves unreservedly of the report by President Branner to the Honorable Board of Trustees of Leland Stanford Junior University under date of December 20, 1913, and of the recommendations contained therein for the readjustment of the medical school."

"To the Trustees this recommendation is doubtless staggering," Dr. Branner wrote (January 8, 1914), "for as the school is in the city where they see it and its usefulness, they would like to see it continued. But as I see my duty, it is to preserve and build up Stanford University as founded by the Stanfords, and not to turn over our funds to something else, no matter how desirable and useful the other thing may be." To Dr. Jordan he expressed himself (January 1, 1914): "I know from what you wrote me awhile ago that you think the medical school a great acquisition; and so it is. But just the same it has the University around the neck and we are all on the way to the bottom together."

However "staggered" the Trustees may have been, they met Dr. Branner's wishes by the prompt appointment of a special committee to confer with a similar committee of the Regents, and approved an attempt of the two medical deans to arrive at a possible basis of union. They also acquiesced in Dr. Branner's proposal to bring President Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation and Dr. Welch of the Johns Hopkins Medical School to the Coast for a survey of the situation and conference with Trustees and Regents.

It is not to be supposed that these measures were pushed by the Trustees with any degree of enthusiasm, but rather out of courtesy to the President. What they more immediately set out to do was to soften the resolution of August 29 and swing back to the position taken in May that there were funds enough for the development of both the medical school and the University proper. Dr. Branner had indicated that an increase of about $61,000 in the budget for 1914–15 would be necessary to meet the immediate needs of the University. The University Committee thereupon appointed a subcommittee to go into the salary question with a view to asking the Board if this additional amount could be provided. At a meeting of the Board held January 30, 1914, it was voted that the President's request could be met.

It was now suggested to Dr. Branner that it would be a wise thing for him to withdraw his report. This he declined to do on the ground that the report was in reply to a direct request from the Board of Trustees. Whereupon the Board rescinded its own resolution of August 29. On February 27, 1914, the Board took more positive action, as follows:

> "WHEREAS, the President of the University, evidently acting under a misapprehension of the University's resources, arising from the terms of the Trustees' resolution of August 29, 1913, submitted on December 20, 1913, to the Board of Trustees recommendations [as printed on p. 550] . . . .

"*Resolved*, (1) That in its opinion the financial condition of Stanford University does not now require, and may never require, such drastic action as the abandonment of medical education; and that for the abandonment of any important department the dignity and reputation of the University demand much longer preparation and notice than one semester.

"(2) That the University Committee is prepared to recommend some system of joint action with the University of California in the conduct of the two medical schools, if such a system can be suitably formulated and agreed upon; but that it does not approve turning over the entire equipment of the medical school to the University of California, and that if the medical school is ever to be abandoned, the only course open to the Trustees . . . . is to return the school and its property to the Cooper Medical College, from which we obtained it under pledge that we would carry it on."

But Dr. Branner was not satisfied. Favorable action on his budget request he thought was merely temporizing. Commenting on the Trustee resolution, he wrote: "The claim is made . . . . that we have money enough to care for all the departments, medicine included. I am unable to speak confidently on the subject, for it has been the policy of the Board hitherto not to allow the President to know about these financial details. . . . . One unfortunate feature of the situation is that the school is in San Francisco, thirty miles away from the University, that it is not in vital touch with the University, that it has the ear of the Trustees and that they agree about new buildings, and about equipment and construction and other matters concerning which the President is not consulted. The result is that large sums of our general funds are spent without the President knowing about it until after it is done, and even then by accident or courtesy." Later he wrote (March 12, 1914): "Now that the budget has been increased by $62,000 they seem to think I am silenced. But at least $10,000 of that increase is for the medical school, and it also has backdoor access to the treasury. It will cost next year $110,000 to $115,000, and the next year it will probably cost between $125,000 and $150,000."

Meanwhile negotiations were not proceeding very vigorously. Dr. Branner had depended on President Pritchett and

Dr. Welch to speed up matters. Dr. Welch had been unable to come at all, and President Pritchett, who had been expected early in February, was delayed until about the middle of March. "It is a great disappointment to me," Dr. Branner wrote (February 18, 1914), "that your visit is so long delayed. . . . . The outlook for the right settlement of the medical school question seems to me decidedly more gloomy for lack of the support of your presence and advice. I am told that the University of California people have settled down in the attitude of mind that they only need to sit still and wait and the entire Stanford outfit will fall into their laps. . . . . I dare say this is a phantom conjured up by the opposition to my suggestions, but it is an effective one, as you can imagine, and very irritating to our Trustees."

When President Pritchett arrived in March he found the Stanford Trustees' Committee impervious to the various plans and suggestions which he proposed. That effort failing, Dr. Branner suggested calling in an outside expert in medical education to advise the Trustees; and to this the Board agreed on March 27, 1914. Dr. Welch was first called but, after some delay and upon talking with Drs. Rixford and Stillman in New York, decided there was nothing he could do and declined the invitation. Dr. Vaughan, Dean of the Medical School of the University of Michigan, accepted and reached California on May 29, 1914.

Meantime and late in April Dean Moffitt submitted to Dr. Wilbur a statement of the minimum terms on which a union might be brought about, these requiring, among other things, that the united schools be controlled by a board consisting of five California Regents and three Stanford Trustees. On April 24 the Board of Trustees voted that the trusts under which they were administering did not permit their turning over either property or income to any institution in which they did not have at least an equal vote, and that it would be impossible to formulate any plan for the union of the two medical schools on any other basis.

On May 12, 1914, the Board of Regents "after careful consideration of all that has hitherto transpired, voted to express officially to the Stanford Trustees their deep desire that an amalgamation be consummated of the work in medicine of the two schools. They are convinced that the welfare of medical education will be so much advanced by such a merger that the opportunity of a united effort in this field by the two universities ought not to be lost. The Regents, therefore, in earnest hope of the realization of a plan of so much moment to the community, would request your Board to suggest a basis on which in your opinion such a merger in medical education may be brought about."

This action of the Regents forced the Board of Trustees to thresh the matter out to a finish, and this they did at their regular meeting held May 29, 1914. The final conclusion was expressed in the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, that this Board of Trustees, after full deliberation, is reluctantly convinced that no basis of merger of the said two medical schools can be formulated, or exists, which is compatible with the legal powers and duties of either university; and further that, if such merger could be formed, it would cause no material saving in expense to either university, and that the interests of each university and of the public will be best served by the maintenance of the two separate schools, each pursuing its own methods and standards, and so far as possible supplementing each other."

This was the end. Dr. Vaughan, who reached California the very day on which the Trustees took action, would not have come had this result been anticipated. Being on the ground, he could do no less than look the situation over carefully, consult with everybody interested, and report his conclusions. Dr. Branner clung for the moment to the hope that something would come out of Dr. Vaughan's visit. "Medical matters are still stewing," he wrote (June 2, 1914), "and no good odors come from the mess. . . . . Dr. Vaughan tells me that my figures on the cost of the school are correct, and if he will tell the Board that much it may jolt them a bit."

But Dr. Vaughan had no new proposals to make in a case that was already closed. He spoke in most flattering terms of the work being done at the University: "In fact, each of the scientific departments at Stanford is under the direction of an eminent man supplied with able and enthusiastic assistants and with necessary equipment. . . . . Closing the medical school [at the University] would give only trifling financial relief to the University. I therefore recommend that the pre-medical and medical work now done at Palo Alto be not only continued but be developed as fast as the finances of the University permit." In San Francisco, special note was made of the Lane Library, "one of the best medical libraries in the country." "While the present hospital building is somewhat out of date, it is, so far as I can see, admirably managed both in caring for the sick and in the instruction of students. . . . . I was greatly pleased with the management of the hospital. The laboratories in the hospital are ably conducted and fairly well equipped. . . . . As I understand, the total cost of the medical department is now about one hundred thousand dollars per year. This cost will slowly increase. Notwithstanding this fact, I strongly urge that the medical school be not only continued but be developed. . . . . The time may come when it may be wise to consolidate the two medical schools of San Francisco, but I do not believe that this would be wise at present. Stanford, from what I can learn, can afford to develop its medical school without material hindrance to the growth of other branches and I believe that this is the wise thing to do."[5]

"Vaughan's report has some good things in it," Dr. Branner commented, "and some that time alone can characterize. The Trustees naturally feel that they have won out, and feeling so they were the more ready to follow my recommendations and have the report published. . . . . The medical skeleton is now put away in its closet, and in my day it is not likely to be seen again."

The epilogue to this narrative would deal with the steady development and distinguished success of the School of Medicine both in instruction and in research. "I am firm in the belief," Dr. Vaughan had said, in concluding his report to President Branner, "that the medical school will attract large donations, both for research and for clinical work. Philanthropists will see that the best service they can render lies in the direction of improved health conditions." Medical education at Stanford has had many and generous friends. But the alleged offense, not to say affront, offered to the trustees of funds and foundations by the decision of San Francisco's two medical schools to maintain themselves separately instead of coalescing may perhaps have deflected or inhibited some of the millions very much needed to reach the finest results, but which Stanford has not yet begun to receive.

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[5] Dr. Vaughan's report is printed in the *Annual Report of the President* for 1913–14, pp. 17–20.

THE PRESIDENCY OF DR. BRANNER

From the heavy burden of responsibility and discouragingly slow progress of the later "stone age," Dr. Jordan found relief, as he had always done, in the many outside interests which engaged his attention and in his wide contacts with men and movements in the world at large. He had used the long summer vacations in trips and expeditions to many parts of the world, in scientific studies, in government service, and, finally, in a cause which appealed to him more and more intensely—that of world peace. In 1909 he was made director, and in 1910 chief director, of the World Peace Foundation established by Mr. Edwin Ginn of Boston. The only formal leaves of absence from official duties were his two half-year sabbaticals, in 1909 and 1910, which were devoted to addresses and other forms of peace propaganda in Europe, Japan, Korea, and elsewhere. Urged by the Peace Foundation to take a still more active part, he thought very seriously of resigning the presidency and devoting himself exclusively to this fascinating and, as he judged, most timely of crusades. When rumors of this partial intention reached the public he was impelled to consider the situation more carefully and finally to decide against it.

"Day before yesterday," President Wheeler wrote (May 3, 1911), "I heard from a friend of yours that you had considered withdrawing at some time during the coming year from the presidency of Stanford. Will you let me advise and *urge* against this step? It is not the time. . . . . The people of California trust *you*. There is no one in the State whose word goes so far. They expect you and desire you to set the standard for Stanford University and guarantee it to them. . . . . Stanford is yours as Cornell is Andrew White's. . . . . This fact will shine out with increasing clearness year by year. I hope you will stay with it, say five years more—indeed, I shall be lonesome enough without you."

"I may say," replied Dr. Jordan, "that the World Peace Foundation has strongly urged me to give my whole time to the work just as soon as possible, and I have been strongly tempted, for the reason that it would enable me to turn my declining years into the particular field of public reform in which I have the greatest interest."

The way the matter settled itself in Dr. Jordan's mind is reflected in a letter to George A. Plympton (October 7, 1912): "Referring to our talk of last fall, I have changed my mind considerably since that time, and I believe that I can serve the cause of peace best by retaining the presidency for the next four or five years, and by going out at times, on leave of absence, to study and speak in various countries and to do propaganda work." In conformity to this outlook Dr. Jordan asked and received permission to be absent from the University for the first semester of 1913–14.

It turned out differently. The important event in the history of the University at this time was the election to the Board of Trustees (November 29, 1912) of Herbert Hoover, of the Class of 1895. Of all Stanford graduates Mr. Hoover had made the most conspicuous success in the business world, with his extensive mining undertakings in China, Australia, South Africa, and Russia. After wide travel and temporary residence in many places, now, his fortune made, he had decided to settle down at the University, with the laudable ambition of finding some field of activity in which his energies could be devoted to the public good. In the Board of Trustees, he was taking the place of Whitelaw Reid, whose term of service had expired. At the same time, Judge Crothers, also of the Class of 1895, and first alumni Trustee, was retiring after ten years on the Board. Mr. Hoover then became the only alumni representative and the member who was in a position to understand most completely and appreciate most keenly the actual conditions and problems at the University.

In explaining some of the difficulties which confront a president, Dr. Branner remarked at a later time: "The President of the University appears before the Board of Trustees always asking, petitioning. His cry is always, we want, we want; we need, we need; more, more; help, help. It is small wonder that after a time his petitions fall upon ears somewhat dulled." If Dr. Branner experienced this dullness in some measure, Dr. Jordan, longer in harness, much more. From time to time the Trustees might think they had caught up with the President, only to be confronted with other demands just as pressing. Consciously or unconsciously they braced themselves to resist new demands. There were no more funds in prospect, they warned. As a counter stroke they pushed vigorously for certain educational changes which they had very much at heart and which they thought would effect economies enough to bring academic expenses down to the income level. Coming upon the scene at just this time, Mr. Hoover set himself to discover the reasonableness and urgency of increased budget demands, to further a more searching check-up of the Board's resources, and to explore possible ways in which income could be increased or at least reapportioned to better advantage. Because Trustee meetings were hard to bring about and harder to keep in session long enough for a thorough consideration of any business in hand, resort was had to Board luncheons and Board dinners, where time would not greatly matter. Instead of putting the whole burden of responsibility upon the Finance Committee, the entire Board was thus drawn into a full discussion of the financial situation.

One result of the activities stirred up by the new Trustee was the first full statement of resources and liabilities, of income and expenditures, that had ever been given to the public, or indeed shared by the Finance Committee with the members of the Board as a whole. Income and expenditures had been all duly accounted for on the bookkeeper's records. But one fact was evident at a glance—that, compared with the amount of income allotted for University purposes, a strikingly large proportion was being carried over as emergency and reserve funds or written off as depreciation on buildings and plant. When attention was called to these facts, the Board could not fail to ask itself whether it was not being over-cautious and whether it might not safely spend a larger part of current income on current expenses. To Dr. Branner (en route for Brazil) Dr. Jordan wrote (May 18, 23, 1913): "It is marvellous how Hoover is handling our Board. Almost every reform we have dreamed of has slipped through as if oiled. . . . . Mr. Hopkins said that Hoover gave them in ten days more ideas than they had had before in ten years, and he seems to be arranging all sorts of things in such a way that the incoming President, as I have long prophesied, will have a soft snap as compared with the experiences of the late incumbent."

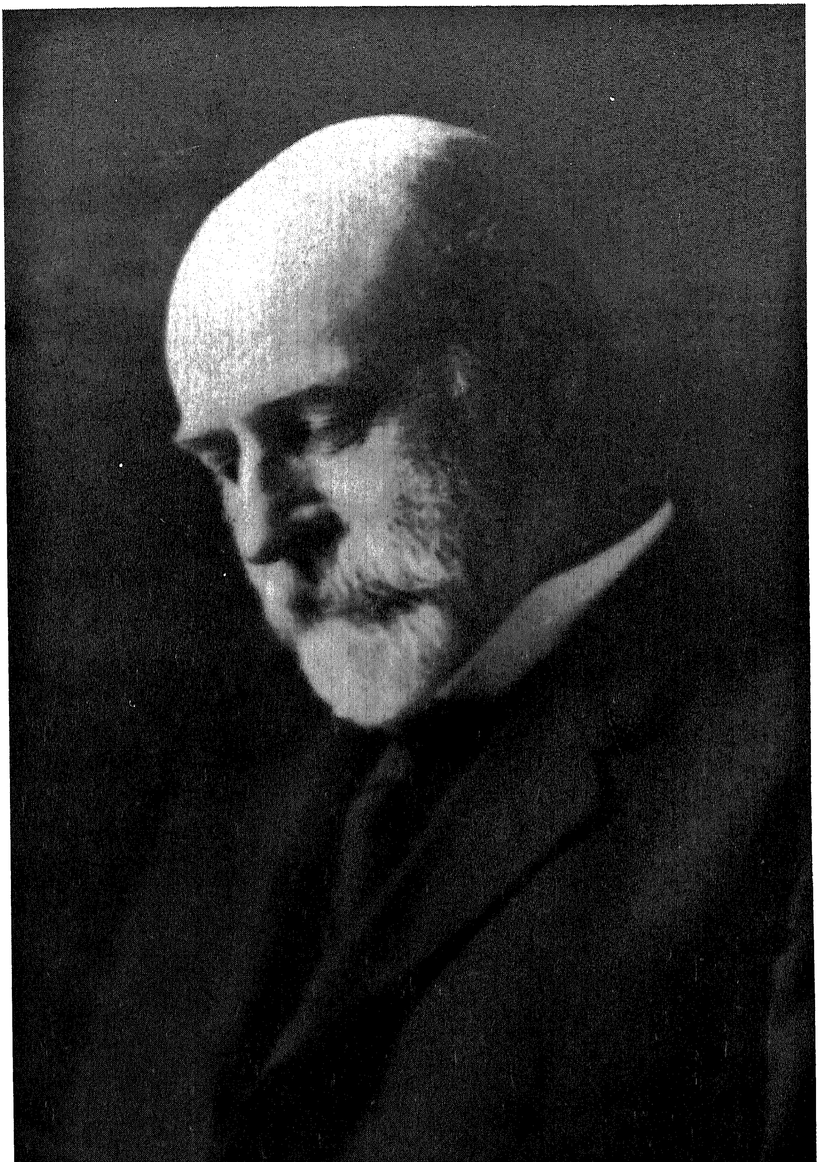
In the movement to release Dr. Jordan from the cares and responsibilities of the presidency and set him free, in the honorable post of Chancellor, to carry on his peace campaign, Mr. Hoover took the laboring oar. It was Mr. Hoover's task to put the matter before the Board as a wise and feasible measure, to persuade Dr. Branner to accept the presidency, and to secure the willing and hearty consent of Dr. Jordan to the whole arrangement.

Writing to Dr. Jordan (May 9, 1913), Mr. Hoover said: "I have now had an opportunity to discuss with practically all the Trustees the question of the presidential changes at the University, and they are practically all sympathetic with the view which I expressed, that is, that your greatest service to the Institution and the public from now on, can be performed in work outside of the administrative end, in the furtherance of your peace movement and such other broad questions of public importance as you are so well fitted for.

"Further, I have put it up to them that I understood it was your desire to have more time for instructural work at the University, when you were at the campus; and they all agreed that the inspiration of such work is of the utmost value to the student body, and cannot be expected to any but a minor extent along with a multitude of other duties; and that you should continue at your present salary. Therefore they are agreeable to your taking the title of 'Chancellor of the University'."

"Having arrived thus far, I approached Dr. Branner to see if he would take on the position of President under the above arrangement, and this after a good deal of reluctance he has agreed to accept. The matter has therefore arrived at the point where it requires only the formal passing of the necessary minutes by the Trustees, which will, I am confident take place at the end of the May meetings. . . . I am very happy indeed to have effected this arrangement, which, I believe, is so much in the interest of the institution to which we are all so devoted, and of two of my most esteemed friends."

Dr. Jordan responded on the same day: "All that I can say is that I am in the hands of my friends and want to make the rest of my life just as useful as possible."



J. C. Branner

Dr. Branner was formally elected President and Dr. Jordan Chancellor on May 23, 1913. At this meeting the interest, enthusiasm, confidence, and forward-looking assurance which pervaded the Board reached its climax. How it moved Dr. Jordan is told in a letter to Dr. Branner the following day (May 24, 1913): "I attended my last official meeting with the Board of Trustees yesterday. It was a wonderful meeting—a perfect love feast, and the University Committee reports and all the other reports went through without a word of question. In fact, everybody felt that he was in some degree the originator of the scheme or schemes (for there are many of them and some of them will require special thought, especially those pertaining to the selection of students likely to be professional men, specialists in some particular thing, as against those taking general education, and the strengthening of the medical department). . . . . It would seem that Mr. Hoover devoted his entire time to working up these things in the month that he was here, and persuading everybody that it was his duty to stand for these radical improvements and to convert all conservatives; so everybody was busy converting everybody else. All these matters in the aggregate are a great jump forward, especially the additional $15,000 every year to be devoted practically to salaries."

The Trustees' love feast culminated in the "enunciation of certain changes in future policy," currently referred to as the new policy of the Trustees. Beginning with a statement—which was not new—that the whole resources of the foundation would be devoted to the existing branches, and that no new field would be undertaken until the most important of these had become pre-eminent among such departments in the United States, the declaration proceeded:

> "The resources of the University justify in the future an increase in the annual sum allotted to academic work and are sufficient to extend and improve the most important of these departments. The growing body of alumni gives confidence of ultimate further financial support to the institution which will enable the expansion of the University to other fields.

"In so much as the field covered is to be limited in order that the quality of the work can be emphasized, it is intended to restrict the number of men students received at the University. The women are already limited to 500 and the present attendance of men is about 1,300. This limitation of the women some years ago has resulted in raising the standard of scholarship of the women by an increasing proportion of women entering with advanced standing from other institutions, and it is anticipated that the same results will be obtained on the men's side; thus diminishing the proportion of income necessary to devote to elementary teaching. It is, however, intended that as the University was constituted primarily to provide for a definite purpose in life, it will make exceptions in favor of those seeking admission to professional departments who have a specific object in view, and have special qualifications as to character, together with some experience and accomplishment."

"In order to create a limited yet highly specialized institution of the highest rank the Trustees consider that the equipment requires considerable extension. It is proposed to proceed immediately at Palo Alto with the construction of a new library, the gymnasium, and the housing facilities and other equipment necessary to give the University an educational plant equal to any in the United States. . . . .

"The demands of the Lane Hospital, which is conducted by the department of medicine, have so grown as to necessitate important changes. . . . . In recognition of the leading position and progress of the medical department, and in order to at least partially provide for the increased expansion to the teaching side, as well as to the hospital facilities, it is intended to entirely renovate the present large hospital building, to add a substantial wing for private patients, and to start the erection of a new women's hospital. . . . ."

Before there had been any talk of presidential changes at the University, Dr. Branner had planned to spend the summer in Brazil, and was already on his way when the matter was consummated. Indeed, the considerations on which he would base his acceptance were formulated in New York. He did not, therefore, take up any administrative duties until his return in August. The points he had jotted down in New York were seven in number: (1) The President must be allowed to retire at the end of two years—on becoming sixty-five years of age. (2) The annual salary budget should be increased by at least ten thousand dollars. (3) The President should be allowed a contingent fund to meet miscellaneous unforeseen expenses not otherwise provided for. (4) Communications between the Trustees and faculty relative to University affairs should pass through the President's office. (5) The Department of Graphic Art must either be cordially supported and treated like other departments, or it must be done away with as a department. (6) The Church and all academic and semi-academic matters relative to it should be under the President and faculty like other departments and other academic affairs of the University. (7) "Much stress has been laid on the fact that the Trustees publish no report regarding the finances. To me personally this is a matter of no concern whatever. I merely make the suggestion that it might be useful to publish something of the kind."

The first of these "considerations" was the one which everyone wanted to see disregarded. While the University community was startled by the suddenness of the changes, of which it had no premonition, acceptance of Dr. Branner as the obviously fit successor to Dr. Jordan was instantaneous. This was partly because of personal qualities which endeared him to everyone who came within the range of his acquaintance. Modest, quiet, not much concerned with details of University administration, he had yet stood out as one of the strong, dominating exemplars of the Stanford department system. A member of the faculty from the beginning, he had been Dr. Jordan's choice for vice-president (and for a successor in case of accident to himself), and was one of his closest advisers. As vice-president he had met the Trustees officially on many occasions and in very agreeable personal contacts. As vice-president he had no policies of his own to put forth, carrying on as he thought Dr. Jordan wanted it; but his frankness, breadth of view, sound judgment, and understanding had commended him strongly to the Board. That his term of service must end after two years was Dr. Branner's own interpretation of the situation. Strong efforts were made by the faculty to change his mind on this point, but without avail. In the first place, Dr. Branner had been counting on honorable retirement at the age of sixty-five in the interest of his scientific studies; and again, at sixty-three, it could hardly be wise to set up new policies or to initiate measures which would require a considerable time for their development. Certain obvious, much-needed, mostly prosaic tasks immediately ahead he might tackle with some hope of success. Those who expected him to do something out of the ordinary, as some hastened to tell him, and those who thought he would be so closely in Dr. Jordan's steps that no change would be noticed—both, he said, would be disappointed. He must exercise his own judgment in his own way. Keenly alive to the "broken promises," delayed hopes, and neglected corners of the past years, he saw clearly where he must take hold, not expecting to accomplish anything except by the hardest kind of work. It was part of his characteristic humor to take a droll look at himself now and then as he toiled on. "I did not want this job," he wrote (October 24, 1913), "and tried to avoid it, but the Trustees persuaded me that all the other live men were dead and buried, or some such fol-de-rol; so here I am repenting at my leisure, and trying to add up six columns of figures and make the total come out bigger than anybody else can."

The modest proposals in Dr. Branner's "letter of acceptance" were, with one exception, conceded by the Trustees almost as a matter of course. Memorial Church and its activities were turned over to the President and the faculty. Gardening and beautifying the Quadrangle spaces was heartily agreed to, and with the warm personal interest of the chairman of the Board (Mr. Newhall). The long seesaw over Roble also came to an end when Mr. Lathrop gracefully yielded control to Dr. Branner. But if the President had been looking for any "soft snap" — as he was not — the August resolution of the Board would have afforded a sufficient disillusionment.[1] The emotional exaltation which pervaded the Board in May need not have been expected to last. The August resolution, however—formulated during Mr. Hoover's absence in Europe—was not thought of as contradicting the optimistic outlook posited in

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[1] See above, p. 548.

May. Indirectly an answer to one of the proposals in Dr. Branner's "letter of acceptance," it reaffirmed an old obligation inherited more or less from Mrs. Stanford, or at least from Mrs. Stanford's time, namely, the elimination of weak departments. "What they expected you to say," Dr. Jordan wrote, in reminiscent mood, from the deck of his steamer passing through the Straits of Messina, "was that by the elimination of Graphic Art (so obstinately maintained by Dr. Jordan) and by transferring its remains to the Department of Education, dropping meanwhile a few instructors, you could save five thousand dollars a year, enough to raise fifty salaries one hundred dollars each. Your report was an eye-opener."

Dr. Branner's valiant but unavailing counter attack really turned to his advantage in the end. The Trustees followed their own convictions rather than his regarding the medical department; but they recalled the August resolution, which had so alarmed the President, and hastened to make good the implications of the May statement. The Trustees did not have unlimited resources at their command, and every recommendation of the President was to be carefully scrutinized. But instead of proposing to add a possible flat sum of $10,000 or $15,000 to his salary budget for the year, they invited him to lay before them a complete progressive scheme looking ahead for some years.

A salary and tenure scheme, with definite gradations in rank and pay, worked out with the approval of the Trustees, in 1906, had remained little more than a paper scheme. The inequalities at the time were too great to be readily corrected by any automatic rule, and such beginnings as were made were checked by increasing budget distresses. The general scheme which Dr. Branner now worked out differed from that of 1906 only in minor details. It was backed, however, by careful statistics showing graphically the salary curves for the different ranks from the beginning and charted in comparison with the upward cost-of-living curve as traced by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The detailed scheme was as follows:

Rank	Minimum	Intermediate	Maximum	Tenure
Instructor	$1,200	$1,400–$1,600	$1,800	One year
Assistant Professor	2,000	2,250	2,500	Three years
Associate Professor . .	2,750	3,000	3,250	Five years
Professor	3,500	3,750	4,000	Indeterminate
Pre-eminent Professor	4,250	4,500–5,000	6,000	Indeterminate

This scheme, with the prospect of being in full operation at the end of three years, was voted by the Trustees on January 30, 1914. The actual salary increase for the year was not so easily arrived at. But tact, patience, and frank discussion finally brought a very satisfactory conclusion. The President's budget, voted February 27, 1914, was increased about $75,000 over the previous year, of which $33,000 was added to salaries and $30,000 to department equipment. There was still another hurdle to be crossed, as noted by the President in a letter dated April 6, 1914: "The promotions have not yet come before the Board, and I anticipate great opposition to them when they do come up. The Board keeps its eyes on the salary roll, and with a definite salary scheme, they will try to keep men out of the better paid ranks." He added, in mock despair: "If you ever find out why I undertook this task, kindly let me know."

As finally arranged, the increase in the salary budget was divided up as follows: Professors, $11,950; associate professors, $6,350; assistant professors, $10,700; instructors, $4,370. Quite as important to the good feeling of the faculty and the well-being of the University was the added equipment fund, which enabled much-needed extensions to be undertaken. Every part of the University was thus given some share in the forward movement, and the result was felt as a substantial indication that the "stone age" was actually passing.

The Academic Council tried to show its appreciation of what had been accomplished by petitioning the Trustees to request President Branner "to continue in office until it is felt that the spirit with which he has inspired the University will carry it on in working out its ideals without his wise and kindly guidance." In very formally acknowledging this resolution the Board of Trustees reminded the Council that the sixty-five-year rule had been adopted on the express recommendation of the Faculty, and in the opinion of the Board was too valuable a rule to warrant an exception in the present case. Dr. Branner's resignation was accepted in due time, to take effect July 15, 1915, with every evidence of confidence and esteem. On May 5, 1915, this action was rescinded by the Board and Dr. Branner was asked to continue as President for another year. This Dr. Branner consented to do, or at least until a successor was chosen. The actual change took place January 1, 1916, at which time Ray Lyman Wilbur, of the Class of 1896 and Dean of the Medical School, became President of the University.

The fine beginning which Dr. Branner had made continued to the end of his brief term. In his inaugural address (October 1, 1913), Dr. Branner had said:

> "In the faculty gathered here we have some of the most distinguished scholars living. It is a faculty of which we may be proud, and one that it will not be easy to improve. . . . . Speaking from a knowledge of the circumstances, I am constrained to tell you that the cheerful courage of the faculty during these years of hope deferred is beyond all praise. A more loyal, self-sacrificing body of men cannot be found anywhere. . . . . From the faculty point of view there is nothing this University desires or needs so much as a sympathetic atmosphere for all its legitimate functions. . . . . Being a practical man the problems of life appear to me to be simply the problems of each day as the days bring them along. I am compelled by nature and by principle to depend—not on the inspirations of genius, but on routine work directed to a definite end. . . . . I believe in the reasonableness of most things as they are, and, as I take no pleasure in sensations, you are liable to find me a rather unemotional university president. . . . . Within these two years let us see to it that we do all that human effort can to make Stanford University known for sane, sound, and productive scholarship."

With the full confidence of students, alumni, faculty, and Trustees, Dr. Branner still had no easy task. He appreciated the fine attitude of the Trustees and their cordial support. But they could not always see with him eye to eye. Praising, to the faculty, the good will of the Trustees, he spoke of the difficulty under which they labored because of unfamiliarity with the

University from the inside, and of the desirability of having additional alumni on the Board. “Mr. George Crothers formerly,” he said, “and latterly Mr. Hoover, as alumni members of the Board, have been able through their intimate knowledge of the University problems and needs to help the President. I have always found that when I presented our needs Mr. Hoover, with his knowledge of university problems and conditions on our campus, has been there to say, That is right; that ought to be done.”

No President’s task is easy. Faculty requests must be denied as often as granted. Students must be reproved as well as praised. Trustees have heavy responsibilities and are just human beings. That President Branner’s success was notable may be evidenced by the fact that in the brief two and a half years of his administration a distinct forward movement was well started, and that he retired with the increased esteem and affection of faculty, students, alumni, and Trustees.

V. EPILOGUE

THE ERA OF EXPANSION

The retirement of President Branner, in 1916, marked the close of a distinct era in the life of Stanford University. It was an era not easy to characterize in brief compass. Dr. Jordan had undertaken to realize Mr. Stanford's great project on the assurance that he would have at his disposal "all the money that could be wisely used." On this basis the University was begun—modestly, indeed, as Mr. Stanford wished it, but to be from the first "a university of high degree." So it was accepted and so rated in the educational world, and every effort was made to maintain this rating and to promote the healthy growth which its accomplishment made necessary. The financial troubles which so quickly followed the opening of the University were never forecast by Dr. Jordan as of more than a few years' duration. With this brief season tided over, there would again be ample funds for all the University's needs. Although that time was not to come during Dr. Jordan's presidency, the brave front, so strenuously maintained, and the determination, never relaxed, to do the best that could be done with the means at his disposal were the measure of his faith in the future destiny of the University.

It was a peculiarity of the situation during Mrs. Stanford's lifetime that there could be no appeal to the friends of education for pecuniary help in time of need. The University had been projected in all good faith as a complete gift to the people of the state. To confess that it had become necessary to call upon the public for assistance, especially to have those whom the Founders had placed in an exposed position as Trustees feel under any such obligation, would have been distinctly humiliating to Mrs. Stanford. To guard against such a chance, all voluntary gifts as well were virtually interdicted. After Mrs. Stanford's death, and overtaken by the earthquake calamity, Dr. Jordan did make personal appeals to men of wealth for specific needs—and individual Trustees may have done the same. But the myth of unbounded riches and the prevailing idea that outside gifts were not wanted told against any public concern for the University's need.

The possibility of an addition to the Stanford endowment from outside sources did not enter into Mrs. Stanford's plans; and it was natural that the Trustees, consciously or unconsciously, should adopt this viewpoint. They were called upon to administer a trust with a limited income. As managers of this trust they must invest carefully, husband their resources, and live within their income. Overhead, amortization, and generous reserves would have first call upon income. After these expenses were amply provided for, what was left would properly be budgeted for academic purposes—to be frugally and conservatively spent. No blame could be attached to the Trustees for this purely negative attitude toward the growing demands of the University. The University Committee realized some of the needs for larger expenditure and were prepared to respond to budget requests as far as the funds permitted. But when the Finance Committee reported the sum that was available, there was nothing to do but pare down the President's budget to that figure. The passive attitude of the Board of Trustees was definitely and clearly set forth in the 1909 report of the Finance Committee, to the effect that the limit of available income had been reached, with no prospect of any increase of revenue in the near future, and that every effort should be made to restrict the University's demands to the sum named. In view of this situation the Board could only turn to the old proposal of limiting attendance and cutting down the number of departments.

The pressing needs of the developing medical department put the problem in a new way. Medicine had been added to the University by deliberate action of the Trustees. Established in San Francisco, the medical department was close at hand and especially appealing to the Trustees. For its progress they felt a real accountability, and were ready to accept Trustee Hoover's suggestion that the Board as a whole, and not merely the Finance Committee, enter upon a consideration of the state of the University. The result was a re-assessment of financial resources, a more aggressive policy in regard to investments, and a reallocation of funds which stressed academic needs as of first importance. In this way it was discovered that additional sums for University uses could gradually be made available. The limit which the 1909 report placed upon the President's budget was $450,000. In 1915–16, in the last budget prepared by President Branner, it was found possible to allot the sum of $523,000 for salaries alone; and five years later the amount for salaries and research together had risen to $966,000. How far the Board had come toward a new feeling of responsibility is evidenced in the report of Treasurer Hopkins for 1920–21. After noting an increase in income over the previous year of about $33,000, the report goes on to say: "The financial demands upon us, however, are constantly increasing, as is logical in a vigorous educational institution, and if we are able to fulfill the promise that is in us, the situation emphasizes the urgent need of further additions to our endowment."

The accession of Ray Lyman Wilbur to the presidency of the University in 1916 was the occasion of significant changes in the general situation and management of affairs. A member of the almost pioneer Class of 1896, Dr. Wilbur had been in close touch with the University practically from the beginning. Instructor and assistant professor for some years, a campus resident while a practicing physician, the first Dean of the Medical School, Dr. Wilbur was thoroughly familiar with the inner problems and difficulties of the University and understood the weaknesses as well as the strength of its organization and administration. As the personal and enthusiastic choice of the Trustees he could count on the favorable reception by that body of almost any vigorous policy he should adopt. He was able therefore to reassert from the first those powers of control over the educational affairs of the University provided for in the Grant of Endowment which had suffered more or less impairment in the years preceding.

At about the age of Dr. Jordan when the University began, the new President could take a long look ahead, was clear in his mind what to do next, and quick and decisive in action. Additional income was still the first pressing need, and it was the

President who pushed steadily forward the new financial policy of the Board. But by 1920 a limit had come to the amount of money the University's invested funds could be made to yield under existing conditions. The end of the World War had found materials, equipment, and supplies of all sorts considerably increased in cost and academic salaries below the level to which they had advanced elsewhere. Most universities had promptly started special campaigns for additional endowment funds. Harvard was asking for the sum of fifteen millions, and sure to get it. Stanford alumni were too few and too youthful to be solicited for large sums. Philanthropic individuals and agencies would be sure to inquire first what the institution was doing for itself. Before Stanford could make a satisfactory reply it was evident that the unwelcome but necessary step must be taken of asking students to pay a larger share of the cost of education. Accordingly a tuition fee of forty dollars per quarter was imposed, and this was gradually advanced until the amount was on a par with that of Eastern universities.[1]

No university desirous of taking full advantage of its opportunities for growth and increased usefulness is rich enough to depend solely upon a static endowment plus tuition fees, however large the latter may be. Stanford's opportunity to try for additional endowment funds seemed to come with the offer of the General Education Board, in 1921, to contribute three hundred thousand dollars toward a million-dollar fund to be completed by the University before a given date. The University responded by setting up a goal of three millions—the first million, from the alumni, to be for salaries; the second million, from friends of the University, for new buildings; the third million, from San Francisco, for the medical school. Only the first million was completely realized. For the medical school something over a third of the amount sought was received; the building campaign was not pressed at the time. Nevertheless, a stream of gifts has continued to flow to the University, and in increasing volume—for scholarships and fellowships, for aid funds, for special research projects, for buildings and equipment, for new departments and schools. These have included substantial endowment funds for psychology and psychic research, from the estate of Thomas Welton Stanford; for the Food Research Institute, from the Carnegie Corporation; for the Herzstein professorship of biology and the Margaret Byrne professorship of American history, from special funds. They include also the Guggenheim Fund for research in aeronautics; grants from the General Education Board for studies in the physical sciences and in biology and from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund for research in social sciences; and smaller sums for special studies in a variety of subjects.

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[1] In 1930–31, when the total expenditure for instruction and research had reached a little over two million dollars, more than nine hundred thousand of this came from tuition fees. The high-water mark for tuition fees has reached a little over a million dollars. The investment assets of the University have risen from $24,534,000 in 1915–16 to $31,400,000 in 1935–36.

Building has gone steadily forward, financed in various ways: the Art Gallery, the gift of Thomas Welton Stanford; the University Library, the Nurses' Home, the President's House, the new Roble Hall, Encina Dining Rooms, Toyon Hall, and Lagunita Court, financed by the Trustees; the New Union, partly from gifts and partly by the Trustees; the Stadium, partly by alumni and student subscriptions, partly by the Board of Athletic Control; the Basketball Pavilion, by student assessments, the Board of Athletic Control, and the Trustees of the University; Branner Hall, the Physical Training Administration Building, and the Women's Gymnasium, mainly by the Board of Athletic Control; the Jacques Loeb Laboratory, by the Rockefeller Foundation; Memorial Hall, now under construction, by the War Memorial Fund, student-body assessments, and the Trustees; and the Education Building, begun in 1937, the gift of Professor and Mrs. Cubberley.

The campus has shared in the general advance through extensive planting of shrubs and trees, new entrance gates, new residence sites, and improved roads. The establishment by the Trustees of a revolving fund of $250,000, loaned on very generous terms for building faculty homes, has added a large number of attractive houses and gardens, largely on San Juan Hill and its vicinity, but on the lower campus as well.

In 1920 a reorganization of undergraduate instruction in the University was effected. The major-subject system as applied to the first two years was definitely abandoned and the work organized as the Lower Division under the administration of a special committee appointed by the President. Negatively, the change was based on the admitted ineffectiveness of the major-subject system, as administered, in the case of many immature or indifferent students who did not yet know what they had come to the University for. Positively, it was a frank reincarnation of the idea that a "liberal education" comes (or is induced) by prescription—in this case prescription of certain elementary courses in English, history, science, foreign language, and citizenship, a considerable part of which could be, and generally would be, anticipated in the high school. The really significant change was the shifting of the advisory relation to a group of instructors to be selected because of special fitness for this particular task, and the presumed remodeling of Lower Division courses without professional, vocational, or advanced scholarship implications.

The Upper Division was left untouched, but with the assumption that major-subject requirements could be completed within the two years. At the same time, a more far-reaching change was taking place in the interest of minimizing department lines, unifying the courses of instruction, and preventing unnecessary duplications. This was being accomplished by combining allied departments into "schools," with school faculties presided over by deans or chairmen. One main objective was to give the student greater liberty, or at least greater range, in the choice of Upper Division courses, the school as well as department or major professor having something to say in the matter of major requirements. This evolutionary process presumably came to completion in the recent provision that the Bachelor's degree be given by schools and not by departments.

The Independent Study Plan, adopted in 1925, is intended to provide opportunity for qualified students, in their junior and senior years, to substitute for some or all of the usual class requirements, under the guidance of a faculty adviser, a more

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Ray Lyman Wilbur

intensive study of a particular subject or field of work. Since the plan requires concentrated study, wide reading, and the ability to work independently, its appeal is only to the more ambitious and more thoughtful in any group. For such students in the nontechnical and nonprofessional courses it is expected to fulfill in another and freer way the original purpose of the major-subject system.

America's participation in the World War brought about the re-establishment of military training in the University, made compulsory in 1917 and merged into the Student Army Training Corps in 1918. For the period of the War, Encina Hall was taken over by the army as "barracks" and the Inn enlarged and made into a military "commons." Preceding America's active part in the war a group of students withdrew to enter the ambulance service in France, and several members of the faculty, to engage in the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, under Mr. Hoover. Later both faculty and students participated largely in various forms of war service at home and on the European front. At the University there was a sharp decline in registration of both men and women in 1917–18 and a more than corresponding increase following the end of the war. Military training has been retained in the University on a voluntary basis, as a unit of the Reserve Officers Training Corps maintained by the United States government.

After twenty-five years' experience under the semester plan of organization, the University changed in 1916–17 to the four-quarter system, originated in the University of Chicago. The primary purpose was to make use of the University plant, idle, up to this time, during the long summer vacation. A full summer term was preferred to the six-weeks' session usually held in most universities, and the idea was stressed that the summer quarter be conducted on exactly the same basis as any other quarter, with no change in the direction of "popular" courses for recreational purposes, and no attempt to make the summer quarter any more self-supporting than any other quarter. This would naturally mean a somewhat restricted registration, with, as the work developed, more and more emphasis upon graduate study.

Notable additions to the resources, facilities, and research activities of the University are evidenced in the establishment and successful development of the Hoover War Library, the Food Research Institute, and the Graduate School of Business. With the beginnings of all these Mr. Hoover has been closely associated. The War Library, one of the two or three largest collections in existence, is probably the richest for the actual study of the causes, conduct, and results of the World War. Mr. Hoover's position as Chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, Food Administrator at Washington, member of the Supreme Economic Council after the war, and head of the relief work in Europe, gave unique opportunities for the collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, official and unofficial documents, newspapers, fugitive publications, and other material; and in this work he has been aided by carefully selected agents, particularly by members of the Stanford history department, including Professors Adams and Golder, now deceased. An ample endowment, secured through Mr. Hoover and his friends, permits the vigorous prosecution of the work of collecting, with adequate provision for research studies at the University.

The Food Research Institute, another outgrowth of the war, established in 1921 by the Board of Trustees in conjunction with the Carnegie Corporation, provides for the scientific study of food production and distribution, nutrition, dietetics, and collateral subjects. Extensive studies have been undertaken and wide contacts made with the industrial, economic, and physiological-chemical phases of the general problem. A long series of publications has already been issued. The Graduate School of Business, established in 1925 with the co-operation of a large number of business and commercial firms on the Pacific Coast, has had a rapid and substantial growth in all the departments of its work.

The need for additional dormitory accommodations for men has been met in part by equipping two additional floors in Encina Hall, by the transfer of the original Roble Hall (renamed Sequoia Hall) to the men, and by the erection of Toyon and Branner Halls. Provision for the increased registration of women, consequent upon setting aside the five-hundred limit, has been partly met by the new Lagunita Court and by full use of the Union dormitory. Both fraternity and sorority houses have been enlarged to afford additional living quarters for students.

With the completion of the new University Library in 1919 the Thomas Welton Stanford Library was made over into the Administration Building, providing offices and working quarters for the President, Comptroller, Registrar, Alumni Secretary, Academic Secretary, various Deans, the Appointment Service, and the Lower Division Administration.

During Dr. Wilbur's absence from 1929 to 1933, while serving as Secretary of the Interior in President Hoover's cabinet at Washington, the administrative work of the University was very acceptably carried forward by Acting President Robert Eckles Swain, '99, of the Department of Chemistry. Returning to the University in 1933, Dr. Wilbur's first task has been to pilot the University through the depression years, at the same time losing no opportunity to extend and strengthen the work in many directions.

The University is still young, and only beginning to reach its stride. The earlier staff has gradually and in increasing numbers completed its period of service and passed to the higher rank of emeritus. The last of the original faculty reached the retiring age in 1925. At the beginning of the year 1936–37, of the more than four hundred members of the regular teaching and administrative staff (above the rank of assistant, and omitting the medical school), less than fifty date back to the beginning of Dr. Wilbur's presidency. The reputation of the University rests with its men of ripe scholarship and scientific attainment; but its future is with the younger men, as eager and devoted as their predecessors and with far greater facilities at their command. It is their task to see that "all its finger posts" continue to "point forward."

APPENDIX

1. INTERVIEW WITH MR. STANFORD, IN *NEW YORK HERALD*, MARCH 23, 1885

HERALD BUREAU, WASHINGTON, D.C.
March 22, 1885

Senator Leland Stanford of California, has, by his presence here and attention to his public duties in the Senate, quietly put down certain rumors which had been circulated through the press by ill-wishers that the loss of his son had, in a measure, unsettled his mind. No one who sees him, or speaks with him or with Mrs. Stanford, will have a doubt that both of them bear a very grievous blow with fortitude and self-possession, and that neither of them is so engrossed by a great grief as to justify the ill-natured and injurious reports which have been circulated about them.

Speaking of some of these reports, which were recently summarized in a San Francisco letter in the *Herald*, Senator Stanford said to your correspondent:

"The appearance of such reports in the *Herald* does, I confess, annoy me, and I am sorry the editor admitted that letter to his columns. As, however, it has appeared there, I think I would like to see the *Herald* print the truth about my wife and myself. It is not true that we have obtruded our grief, great as it is, upon any one. The body of our poor dead boy was never exposed to any gaze whatever. The coffin was not opened, not once, from the time it was first closed after his death. It had necessarily to remain in Paris for several days, and was then, by the kindness of the clergyman of the American Church, allowed to rest in the mortuary room of the church with several others. When we arrived in New York, again, by the kind offices of Bishop Potter, it was allowed to rest in an unoccupied room in Grace Church. From there we went, not to San Francisco, but, avoiding that city, direct to my own farm in the San Jose Valley. There the men employed on the farm, all of whom had known our boy and, I believed, loved him, for he was a kindly and social youth, met us at the station; they bore the coffin to the very simple vault which I had caused to be erected for its reception—a plain, brick structure, which cost, I think, less than $1,200, and which is without ornament or attempt at decoration. Neither there nor elsewhere was the casket ever opened.

"A good deal has been said of Dr. Newman's connection with all this. We made the acquaintance of Dr. Newman in New York, through mutual friends. He had the good taste, when he visited us, not to allude to our grief and loss, but to talk to Mrs. Stanford of other matters—foreign places which we all had seen, and the general experiences of travel. This kindly and tactful course did win my heart to him, and we saw much of him in New York at our own desire. He did not go to California with us and was in the Northwest filling a series of lecture engagements when we left New York. I had advised him to try to get engagements also to lecture in California because I believed that climate would be beneficial to his health. I was pleased when he succeeded in this, and pleased when I met him in San Francisco. We were grateful to him for his offer to preach a funeral discourse upon our poor, dead boy, nor did Bishop Kip see any impropriety in opening the Episcopal Church to him for that purpose. But it is false that I ever paid Dr. Newman $10,000 or any sum for that. He has never received any money from me, and I remain his grateful debtor to-day for many kindly services and for true and tactful sympathy.

"One thing more I will say to you. Mrs. Stanford and I have determined to devote a large part of our estate to public and, I hope, beneficent purposes. We want to do this while we are alive—to administer upon our own estate. I do not care to talk to you of the details of our design. They are getting worked out slowly and are not ready to be spoken of. But I wish to say this: I have seen a number of large estates intended for public and beneficent use wasted by litigation and, in effect, divided among contending lawyers. When I see these false reports industriously circulated about our 'monomania,' our devotion to 'spiritualism,' etc., I seem to see the train laying and the way preparing for unscrupulous men to dispute, after my death, my competence to do that for the people of California and for the youth of that State which I want to do. I see the possibility of another great estate going, not where its owners wish it to go—to public and good uses—but to some lawyers. I am made uneasy lest a purpose which lies near my heart and my wife's may be defeated by greedy and unscrupulous men. You can see that this is not pleasant to either of us. That is the chief reason why I now speak to you in contradiction of false reports."

2. LETTER FROM MRS. STANFORD DESCRIBING HER VISIT TO HARVARD AND YALE AND TO HER ANCESTRAL HOME

WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK
December 4, 1904

Dr. David S. Jordan,

DEAR FRIEND:

Your welcome communication dated November 20th at hand. It was a great pleasure to me to receive from the alumni the good news of the victory of the Stanford boys in their game with Berkeley. A committee, consisting of three, brought the news in person, but as I was out for the evening they left a very, I might say, affectionate note, imparting their joy and their kind feelings toward myself.

I had hoped to be home before this time, but pressing private business, which developed within the last two weeks, keeps me longer than I expected. To while away the time, pending an engagement which called me here for this special day of the month, I have visited Yale and Harvard, spending a week between the two places. Within a few days I received a letter from President Eliot expressing the greatest personal interest in our work. After having visited the Library and Gymnasium at Harvard, I made an effort to see President Eliot, but found he was in Boston attending a very important meeting of the Trustees of the University. The next day I returned to New York, and he, finding my card, made a special trip to Boston and called at the Berkeley Hotel to see me, and finding that I had just left there, caused him to write me the letter which I prize so highly. I find he is as anxious to meet me as I am to meet him again, and I may go by way of Boston when returning home in order to satisfy a longing I have for a little reminiscence of the past with him. I also have a very kind letter from President Hadley, which I value highly.

After leaving New Haven I visited Norwich, Conn., the birthplace of my father, grandfather, and great grandfather. You probably know that John Lathrop (my great-grandfather) was the minister of Old South Church in Boston who preached the sermon in that Church inciting his hearers to throw the tea overboard in the Boston Harbor. The 200th [*sic*] anniversary of this event was celebrated two years ago in the New Old South Church in Boston, and his sermon was read on the occasion, and his portrait hangs in this Church. I have a portrait of him in the Memorial Room connected with the Museum. I seem[ed] to have the time to carry out this long wished for visit, and it happened that I was in Norwich on Thanksgiving day, and was invited by the two oldest members of the Lathrop family in Norwich to take tea with them. They are 4th cousins of mine and I did not know they existed, but the papers having announced my arrival, they called upon me and made known their relationship, I did not hesitate to accept their invitation. They live in an old Colonial home built over a hundred years ago, filled with beautiful old mahogany furniture, silver, and china. Two sisters live together, both spinsters, one 70 the other 72 years old, grand women of the Old School. The sisters invited five of the oldest townspeople to meet me in the evening, also the Minister whose church I attended in the morning, and his assistant. It was one of the most memorable evenings of my life, and I feel so grateful to my dear Heavenly Father that he gives me the health, the spirit, and brings about the circumstances which help to make my life enjoyable. Having met these two grand women, so full of intellect, so grand in the position they hold at Norwich, their activity and dignified demeanor as hostesses has left an impression upon me that I shall never forget.

I am glad that your sister has arrived and is able to take the responsibility of household affairs from Mrs. Jordan's mind.

Yours sincerely,
JANE L. STANFORD

3. GENERAL WALKER'S REPORT TO MR. STANFORD REGARDING PLANS FOR THE UNIVERSITY

BOSTON, November 30, 1886

Hon. Leland Stanford
Menlo Park, California

DEAR SIR: After careful consideration of the problem you presented to me, I would make the following suggestions regarding the number and kind of buildings to be erected in the early years of the Stanford University, and also in regard to the order of their erection. In doing so, it will of course be understood, first, that no man can foresee the course of development in any new institution, so that every project framed in advance will necessarily be subject to modifications, as the result of experience; and secondly, that what is here written is presented with deference to the possibly and even probably different views of whomever may become president of the institution.

I

With the foregoing proviso, I would suggest that the initial plan should contemplate the erection of twelve buildings devoted to instruction and research, and one to administration, the thirteen buildings thus contemplated being additional to whatever may be required for the residence of pupils or teachers, and being also additional to the buildings, whatever may be their form or extent, which it may in the future be decided to erect for the following purposes:

First: A church or chapel, for religious exercises.

Second: A museum of natural history, to contain collections in excess of those required for the ordinary instruction in the various departments of natural history and biology.

Third: A library containing collections in excess of those required for the ordinary instruction in the several useful or liberal arts.

Fourth: A museum of fine arts.

Fifth: A gymnasium.

Regarding the buildings possibly to be erected for the second, third, and fourth of the objects last indicated, I have no present suggestion to make, deeming it desirable that all the questions relating thereto should be left to careful and deliberate consideration after the first series of buildings contemplated shall have been erected and brought into occupation. Meanwhile each department of natural history should have its working collections in immediate proximity to its lecture rooms and laboratories; and each department of scientific or literary instruction, its own ample collection of books adjacent to its lecture or reading rooms. If such a use of books, apparatus, and collections involves duplication to the extent of one quarter, it at least doubles the efficiency of the service.

Reverting now to the system of thirteen buildings proposed to be erected in the early years of the new University, I would recommend that these be in a high degree uniform in structure. I would strongly recommend one-story buildings of stone. Where more light is required than can be obtained from windows set into the walls of the building, additional light can be easily obtained through glass tiles or glass windows in the roof. The absence of frost in the climate of Menlo Park would obviate the chief objections existing to this mode of lighting generally. I would recommend that the thirteen buildings suggested be of three standard lengths, namely, 110 feet, 90 feet, and 70 feet. In the further course of this communication, I shall refer to buildings of the length of 110 feet as belonging to Class A; those of 90 feet as belonging to Class B; and those of 70 feet as belonging to Class C. The depth of the buildings should be such as to give 50 feet, clear, between the outer walls; the height such as to give 15 or 16 clear feet. Where greater height is required for the purposes of lecture rooms, in physics or chemistry, for example, it could be obtained either by breaking and raising the roof over such lecture rooms, to the extent required, or by continuing the upward inclination of the roof on the front of the building. The partitioning of the interior space of each building should be according to its proposed uses; and should be done upon the plans of the professors and teachers who are to occupy the building. I do not think that the exterior form of any of the buildings need be controlled by its use, provided the scheme of one-story buildings is adopted, except only in the case of the possible raising of the roof to meet the requirements of lecture rooms in two or three departments, chemistry and physics, and perhaps also mechanics.

In the case of buildings of Class A and Class B it is in my mind that the growth of the University will sooner or later require L-additions, to be extended backwards from the two ends of these buildings, to greater or shorter distances.

It has not been in my mind that in the case of the buildings belonging to Class C, it would be necessary to make additions upon the rear; but this could easily be done should it prove desirable. The thirteen buildings which I have in view are to be devoted to the purposes indicated in the following list, the size of the required buildings being indicated in each case:

1. Chemistry	Class	A
2. Mechanical Engineering	“	“
3. Mechanic Arts	“	“
4. Civil Engineering & Drawing	“	“
5. Physics & Electrical Engineering	“	B
6. Language and Literature	“	“
7. Geology & Mineralogy	“	“
8. History and Political Science	“	“
9. Administration	“	C
10. Biology, including Botany and Physiology	“	“
11. Industrial Design	“	“
12. Architecture	“	“
13. General Reading room	“	“

In this plan it has been in my mind that the instruction in mathematics could be given in recitation and lecture rooms placed in the buildings devoted severally to mechanical engineering and to civil engineering.

The system proposed would give about 55,000 square feet of floor surface, net, devoted to laboratories, recitation, lecture and drawing rooms, libraries, etc., irrespective of L-additions in the rear, by means of which 20,000 sq.ft. additional could be obtained, yielding a total body of accommodation sufficient for six hundred students.

Assuming that thirteen buildings, of the size and character indicated above, required to be constructed within the first five or ten years of the life of the University, I would recommend that six of these buildings be immediately undertaken as a condition of the opening of the institution, namely, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7. In these six buildings, when completed, all the services of the University would for a while find adequate accommodations. Neither the labor nor the cost of rearrangement need be considerable, when the services, thus temporarily provided for, shall have sufficiently expanded to require the erection, one after another, of the remaining seven buildings contemplated in the scheme.

Assuming the six buildings to be erected, the following would be the number of each building as given in the full list of the thirteen, both the ultimate purpose of such building, and its temporary use for the accommodation of services to be ultimately provided for elsewhere, being given.

1. Chemistry; it is suggested that the offices of administration (No. 9) could be temporarily accommodated in this building until the number of students should have become so considerable as to require the whole building to be fitted up for chemical uses.

2. Mechanical Engineering; including temporarily the mechanic art shops upon the small scale which would be at first required. (No. 3)

4. Civil Engineering and Drawing; including temporarily the drawing rooms and other offices for the departments of industrial design and architecture. (Nos. 11 and 12)

5. Physics and Electrical Engineering.

6. Language and Literature; including temporarily the department of history and political science. (No. 8)

7. Geology and Mineralogy; including temporarily the laboratories, study and lecture rooms for the uses of the department of biology. (No. 10)

Assuming still that the six buildings enumerated above are to be erected in the first instance, it may be supposed that they will all be placed on one of the long sides of the quadrangle proposed to be laid out by Mr. Olmsted; secondly, that the opposite side of the quadrangle will be reserved for the remaining seven buildings, as they shall come to be required in the development of the University; and, thirdly, that the two shorter sides of the quadrangle will be reserved for the general library of the university, for its museum of natural history, its museum of fine arts, etc., should such come in time to be erected. I understand that Mr. Olmsted's plan provided for a second quadrangle, around which could be built up a second system of buildings, should the growth of the university be such as to demand it.

If it is assumed that the system of thirteen buildings, herein suggested, would provide accommodation for all the services of the university until it should number six hundred students, it would not be extreme to say that two such systems would suffice for the needs of the University should it come to number 1,500, the power of accommodation, in the case of buildings for college and university work, increasing in more than the ratio of the increase of floor space.

To take a single instance, let me exhibit by illustration my very general and necessarily somewhat vague idea regarding the order to be followed in the erection and occupation of buildings for the purposes of the contemplated University.

The list of thirteen buildings, as first given, comprises a separate building for the department of civil engineering and drawing, in which it is assumed that one or two mathematical recitation rooms will also be found; a separate building for the department of architecture; and a separate building for the department of industrial design. What I now propose is, that a building 90 feet long, with an inside width of fifty feet, be erected, in which the department of civil engineering shall be organized. In the first years of the University, the number of scholars in this department will necessarily be few. The professor of civil engineering might advantageously have charge, also, of the department of drawing, giving the instruction himself or through an assistant under his supervision. In some portions of the drawing rooms found in this building, might be gathered the small group of students who desired to devote themselves to industrial design; in another portion, the group of students who desired to study architectural design. Each of the last indicated groups of students should have their own separate teachers; but they could be amply accommodated, for a term longer or shorter, in the drawing rooms of the civil engineering building. Both of them might, sooner or later, the one probably much earlier than the other, grow to demand more room, larger collections of books, plates, apparatus, increased number of teachers, etc., bringing about the occasion for the erection of separate buildings for these two services; or, their extrusion from the civil engineering department might become a necessary result of the growth of the civil engineering department itself.

To postpone the definitive accommodation of these and like services to a later date is a thing in itself very desirable. In the first place, this would enable the administrative officers of the University to concentrate their attention upon the buildings absolutely needed for the early uses of the University. In the second place, it would prevent the erection of an unnecessarily large body of buildings, to remain empty, and by consequence ghastly, until the growth of the institution shall cause them to be filled. In the third place, it would give to the erection of the later buildings of the University an advantage derived from the experience acquired in the construction and use of the earlier buildings. In the fourth place, it would allow the general scheme of buildings here presented, or any scheme which might be substituted for it, to be revised and modified as the growth of the University and the experience of its administrators might dictate.

It is utterly impossible for any one to foresee which departments of a university to be placed on the Pacific Coast would have the largest or the most rapid development. The plan proposed would provide amply for all the students whom the university is likely to call together in its first years, and would allow of an extension sufficiently rapid to meet the requirements of the institution under the most fortunate conditions. The argument for one-story buildings, as herein recommended, is so complete that there is really no excuse for buildings of more than one story, for school purposes, wherever (1) land is so abundant that the cost of ground space need not be taken into account; wherever (2) the administration can afford to roof over the larger area required, and whenever (3) the climate is so temperate that it is not necessary to compel pupils to breathe over, again and again, the fetid air expelled from each other's lungs, mouths, and nostrils, in order to save the expense of heating an adequate supply for exclusive individual use.

For every purpose of a school building which can be suggested, one-story buildings are to be preferred to those of two or more stories. Mr. Olmsted and myself are fully agreed that, with proper architectural treatment, buildings of this character, made of massive rough stone, connected by an arcade, may be made singularly effective and picturesque, upon the plain of Menlo.

Whatever remarks I have to make regarding buildings for preparatory and grammar schools, to be connected with the institution proposed to be founded, will be made under the third general head of this communication.

II

As regards the housing of the students of the University, I have but little to say. I would most earnestly and emphatically recommend the introduction of the Cottage system for all the girls and young women who have to find their homes outside of families. Even for the young men, I believe the same system will be found the most advantageous. Should the increased expense of board in cottages containing from fifteen to twenty-five students be regarded as an important objection to this system, I would still suggest the erection of cottages, for dormitory purposes, around small parks, with a common kitchen and dining room. If on the other hand, the plan of large dormitory buildings is to be adopted admirable examples of this species of construction could be found in New Haven or Cambridge. The number and size of such buildings to be erected depends entirely upon the number of students to be provided for.

III

The following views are respectfully submitted regarding the order in which the several parts of the University shall be brought into existence and operation.

I understand it to be your purpose to create a college, both of the useful and of the liberal arts, to be open alike to young men and to young women. I use the word, college, in the ordinary American sense. Above this, I understand that you desire to erect an institution which shall give thorough instruction and ample opportunities for research and investigation to advanced students, graduates of the

Menlo Park College, or otherwise. Below the college, again, I understand it to be your purpose to create a preparatory school, which shall cover the ground usually occupied by the so-called Academy or Seminary of the Eastern states, which shall take students from the grammar schools, on the one hand, and deliver them to the college, on the other hand, properly fitted for its work. To this preparatory school, as to the college and to the higher parts of the University, it is, as I understand it, your expectation that students will come from a distance, attracted by the facilities for education here offered. Below the preparatory school, again, I understand that it is your purpose to build up, in time, a series of primary and grammar schools which shall be adequate to the educational needs of the population which may gather about the University. It is to be presumed that to these last indicated schools pupils will not come from a distance, except only in case of children in families removing to Menlo Park for the advantages to be derived from the higher schools.

Respecting the time of the establishment of the several parts of the University thus indicated, I would recommend that only the college, so-called, be now undertaken; and that this be only open, in the first instance, to young men.

This will offer a comparatively simple problem which can be dealt with to the highest advantage by yourself and the trustees of the university, and by whomever may be selected as its president. The experience gained during the first two or three years in the college for young men, will be of sufficient value to the women's side of the college, subsequently to be inaugurated, to more than compensate for the slight delay thus occasioned.

Starting thus, with the college for young men, I would recommend that there be no formal inauguration of proper University work, as that term is understood at Cambridge, New Haven, and Baltimore; but that the development of such work be left to follow gradually and insensibly from the interest of professors and assistants in the college proper. To this end I would urge that the teaching staff of the college should be constituted on the most liberal scheme, far in excess of the needs of undergraduate instruction.

If the chairs of instruction in the college are filled by earnest, ambitious, and progressive young men, who have laboratories and apparatus at their command, and are not weighted down and overburdened by the necessities of undergraduate teaching, university work will begin of itself, spontaneously and indefeasibly; and it will be time enough, after such work has begun in almost every department of instruction, to formulate the system under which such work shall be prosecuted. Of that system the members of the faculty, on the ground, will themselves be the best judges. Doubtless the greater part of what will be done in the course of the first few years, will be done under arrangements recognized as tentative and provisional.

As regards the introduction of young women into the college, I would only recommend that it take place as soon as the main difficulties of founding the institution for young men have been satisfactorily overcome. There is no virtue in procrastination; but the introduction of young women raises questions and involves difficulties which it will not, in my judgment, be wise to add to those attendant on the first opening of the college.

When women shall be admitted to the college, I would recommend the common use, indiscriminately, by the two sexes, of all laboratories, libraries, and recitation rooms, though it would seem to be a dictate of practical convenience to place the buildings which are to contain the departments in which the young men will be mainly engaged, mechanical and civil engineering, for example, upon that side of the quadrangle which stands nearest to the group of dormitory buildings provided for young men, while the buildings devoted to language and literature, history and political science, chemistry and biology, would naturally find their place on the side nearest to the group of dormitory buildings provided for young women.

Regarding the preparatory school, and the grammar and primary schools, subsequently to be erected I have only these suggestions to make:

First: That any provision for them should be tentative and temporary, until the university as a whole shall have taken something like the shape which it may be presumed it is to bear in the future.

Second: That such schools should not be placed at all in buildings, or in proximity to buildings, belonging to the college and university group, but should be well apart from these, in the midst of the village or villages whose educational needs they are intended to serve.

Third: That these schools be constituted and organized, in all respects, as if they were separate schools, under independent management, established only to meet the wants of the community in which they are situated. I would recommend no organic relation of these schools to the university, except solely that the persons ultimately controlling them, in the matter of appointment of teachers, arrangement of studies, discipline, pecuniary provisions, etc., shall be the same persons as those who administer the college and the higher parts of the University. This arrangement will secure a sufficient degree of harmony and of mutual adaptation. In a word, I would have the preparatory school, or academy, for example, not organized as a "feeder" simply to the college, but organized exactly as it would be if its graduates were expected to go, according to their proclivities or circumstances, to the Stanford University, to the University of California, or to Harvard College. In this way you will get a better preparatory school, and it will be, in fact, as much a "feeder" of the college as if it were made distinctly an integral part of the University.

Very truly yours,
[Signed] FRANCIS A. WALKER

4. FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED'S REPORT TO MR. STANFORD REGARDING THE GROUND PLANS OF THE UNIVERSITY

BOSTON, NOV. 27, 1886

The Honorable Leland Stanford
MY DEAR SIR:

I presume that you will be arriving in Washington before long and may wish to hear from me. I have made no reportable progress, having been waiting for the topographical map, which (admirably drawn for my purpose) has just arrived. As, in any work to be done on the site which you have selected for the University, copies of this map will be of value to be used in the field, I have arranged to have it photo-lithographed. General Walker has communicated to me the substance of the report that you will have received from him. I am obliged to go next week to Niagara Falls on business of the State Reservation commission which it is needful to get through before the ground near the Falls is much encumbered with ice. As soon as I return I shall set about the drawing that you have wished of me, intending to embody in it the principles of General Walker's advice, as I shall find them adapted to the topography of the site. I cannot hope to complete this study before the latter part of December.

This is all I have to report at present, but I should like to state my understanding of the object to be accomplished during the next month and something of the view with which I shall pursue it.

The immediate object is to present, in the form of a diagram, a coherent proposition, the critical discussion of which will aid you to formulate definite instructions as to the scope, and as to many particulars, of a more mature study of the problem to follow. This problem I take to be the devising of a plan that, spreading from a nucleus such as General Walker proposes, shall not only show how additions may from time to time be made to the primary building scheme that he defines, but how several series of buildings may be arranged, the buildings of each series radiating connectedly from the common center of the primary buildings. (By several series, I mean, for example, the Academic series, the Collegiate Lodging series, the Work Shop series, the Outer Residence series, and so on.)

It is not certain that such a problem can be solved except at a cost of convenience during the infant life of the University that will outweigh its advantages. But of this you will be able to much better judge with a drawing before you in the preparation of which the desired result has been tried for.

As I have been reflecting on what passed in our conferences at Palo Alto, I have been led more and more to feel that a permanently suitable plan for a great University in California must be studied with constant watchfulness against certain mental tendencies from which neither you, nor General Walker, nor I, nor anyone likely to have influence in the matter, can reasonably be supposed to be free. The subtle persistency of the class of tendencies to which I allude is shown in the fact that the English in India, after an experience there of nearly two centuries, still order their lives in various particulars with absurd disregard of requirements of comfort and health, imposed by the climate, because they cannot dismiss from their minds standards of style, propriety, and taste, which are the result of their fathers' training under different climatic conditions.

Because of less marked but not less positive differences of climate, with buildings and grounds arranged on the principles that have had control at Oxford and Cambridge, Harvard and Yale, Amherst and Williams, nothing like that which impresses a visitor as appropriate and pleasant in the general arrangement and environment of these colleges can be had in California. The same may be said with regard to other collections of buildings with semi-rural surroundings to which throngs of people are likely to resort. It would be impossible, for instance, in California to maintain simply such degree of neatness as is seen in the Eastern or in English institutions of that description, at ten times their outlay for the purpose. Yet if to secure some tolerable degree of neatness all who have to do with them should be required to pass from one building to another only upon certain prepared passages, as we pass on ordered lines between the beds of the old-fashioned flower garden, the result in neatness would not pay for the trouble it would cost.

Neither turf nor any known substitute for covering unpaved surfaces between the buildings of a college can be used in California as turf is used in the East. Trees rooted in ground that is trampled as the ground is trampled about the college buildings of the East would be sickly, deformed, and short-lived. Arrangements upon which, in the climate of the Atlantic States, the beauty and comfort, not only of broad areas but even of streets and roads and yards depends, when reproduced as nearly as possible under the climate of California, will soon become unsuitable, dreary, and forlorn. An example of what is to be apprehended in this respect already appears at Berkeley.

It has often been observed that the character of the buildings and grounds, the scenery and atmosphere, of Oxford has greatly aided

English veneration for learning and is to all Oxford students a highly important element of a liberal education. It is surely a sad misfortune that a young man seeking a liberal education should be led, at the most impressible period of his life, to pass four years or more in an establishment the outward aspect of which is expressive of an illiterate and undisciplined mind, contemptuous of authority and that is essentially uncouth, ill-dressed, and ill-mannered.

One of the largest of the college buildings at Amherst of masonry construction, not old nor in bad repair, but graceless and gracelessly placed, has been lately taken down because, as an offense to good taste, it had come through the advancing refinement of the times, to be no longer endurable. The same experience will, probably, by and by occur at Berkeley on a larger scale. I may predict this with more propriety because before the Amherst Trustees had thought of getting rid of the building to which I refer and fifteen years before they screwed their courage up to doing so, I had advised them that it would be only a question of time when that conclusion would be reached. What I have in mind at Berkeley is not alone that the buildings are in a "cheap and nasty" style but that the disposition of them and of all the grounds and offices about them betrays heedlessness of the requirements of convenience and comfort under the conditions of the situation and climate.

What I say, then, is that in the plan for a great University in California ideals must be given up that have been planted by all that we have found agreeable and have been led to regard as appropriate in the outward aspect of Eastern and English colleges. If we are to look for types of buildings and arrangements suitable to the climate of California it will rather be in those founded by the wiser men of Syria, Greece, Italy, and Spain. You will remember in what a different way from the English methods, the spirit of which we have inherited, the open spaces about nearly all buildings that you have seen in the south of Europe to which throngs of people resort, have been treated. In the great "front yard" of St. Peter's, for example, not a tree, nor a bush, nor a particle of turf has been made use of. This is not because Michael Angelo and his successors have been blind to the beauty of foliage and verdure in suitable places.

For reasons that I have thus, I fear not successfully, tried to indicate, as well as because opportunity must be left open for enlarging particular buildings in the manner advised by General Walker and for continuously extending special departments of buildings as suggested in the beginning of this letter, it appears to me that all spaces not thus specifically reserved for well-defined purposes of usefulness, should, as much as possible, be avoided and a degree of compactness of arrangement anticipated in public ways and places, especially near the center of operations, that, having regard to Eastern and English standards should be regarded as illiberal and tasteless.

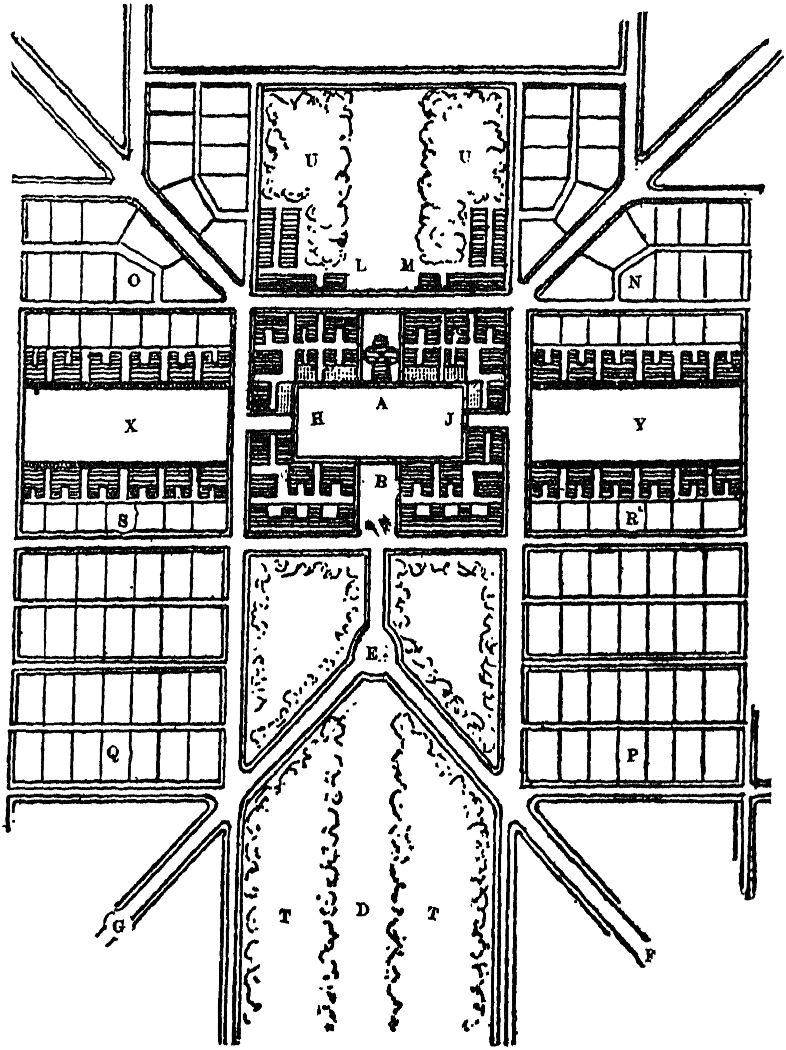
If the principal buildings of the University could have been placed near the edge of an elevated table land, commanding a fine characteristic California distance, an advantage might, with proper study, have been gained that would at once be felt to more than compensate for any shortcomings from standards of taste of the sort that I have indicated. Considerations, the wisdom of which I do not question, having determined such a situation to be inexpedient, something is most desirable to be devised, appropriate to the circumstances, through which, when the University is born into the world, it may be saved from bearing on its face an expression of hard materialism and "Gradgrind" practicality. This under General Walker's advice, cannot come from any stately beauty of the buildings, any picturesqueness in the manner of their disposition, or any gardening or landscape appendages. It must be a matter of Art. It must have scholarly dignity. It must not be ostentatiously costly, and it must be unobtrusively incidental to a means of a manifestly useful purpose. Some element of this description I feel has yet to be designed.

With kind regards and my best services to Mrs. Stanford,

I am, dear sir, very respectfully yours,

[signed] Frederick Law Olmsted

5. FIRST GROUND PLAN OF LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY



The following explanation of the first ground plan of Stanford University, platted by Frederick Law Olmsted in 1887, is condensed from an article printed in the *Sacramento Bee* of June 18, 1887:

The blank space *A* represents a quadrangle of 586 × 246 feet, which will be vacant. About this and opening into it will be the college class rooms. Around the entire distance will run an arcade built with arches. These arches are to be 14 feet high by 12 feet in width, while the arcade walk will be 16 feet wide. The blank spaces between the buildings are 30 feet wide. Although the buildings are all to be low one-story structures, the walls are to be two feet thick and of the most substantial character, to defy not only possible storms, but even earthquakes.

The towns of Menlo Park and Mayfield are about three miles apart on the line of the Southern Pacific and are nearly equidistant from the college site. From both places the visitor may approach the college buildings by broad avenues lined with trees. These roads are marked on the general plans as *G* and *F*, and, as will be seen, meet at the circular spot *E*. The wide space *D* is a vista extending between rows of evergreens on either side of which are to be delightful flower plots (*T*, *T*). Far away through the vista the visitors from Mayfield and Menlo meeting at *E* may see the tomb of Leland Stanford, Jr., ... away through *D*. Turning about, they will see through a grand memorial arch (*B*) and across the quadrangle the fair face of the chapel (*A*), with its richly covered arching and plain but handsome architecture. As the approaches to the buildings must be by the avenues *G* and *F*, the visitor cannot fail to see and appreciate the beautiful propriety of the memorial plan. The view from the chapel to the tomb will at all times be unbroken.

The plots marked *N* and *O* are to be reserved for cottages for students. The young men will live in the plot marked *O*, and the ladies at *N*. These cottages will be models of the beautifully plain style of architecture, and will, in their construction, carry out the prevailing idea of the University that there is to be no caste or class among the students. While it has not been definitely determined, it is understood that these cottages will be of wood. Each will have spacious grounds planted with flowers and made altogether as delightful as modest, unassuming homes can be.

About *L* and *M* will be located the workshops, the practical part of the University. At the point *M* will be the capacious engine house 50 × 80 feet, and at *L* the boiler house of the same dimensions.

The spaces *R* and *S* will be used for residences for the University faculty and tutors. Between the cottages here, as well as in the plats reserved for the houses of the students, will run streets 50 feet in width shaded by trees. Every house on any street will be of the same style of architecture, although differing as to design. For example the cottages on Avenue A will be of Romanesque, those on Avenue B in the Gothic, those on Avenue C on the Byzantine, those on Avenue D after the old colonial, and so on. Each style will be distinctive of its type so that the little villages will themselves be a study in architecture as well as things of beauty. Every house will be provided with every accommodation conceivable. The picture to be presented by these delightful villages will be one of the features of the place that will charm the eye of the visitor who will at once agree that he has at length found the veritable shrine of learning and the ideal Elysium.

About such an institution there will inevitably gather a community of men and women either devoted to science, literature, or the arts, or charmed with the inevitable delights that the very atmosphere will bring. Anticipating these, Senator Stanford set apart the large areas *Q* and *P* for their accommodation. Perhaps these people may be parents of the students, but whoever chooses will not be denied the advantages of residence amid these pleasant, refining influences and surroundings. Here too, there shall be no evidence of caste or class in the buildings, so that the stranger cannot say whether any of the inhabitants of the non-collegiate community are millionaires or humbler applicants at fortune's shrine.

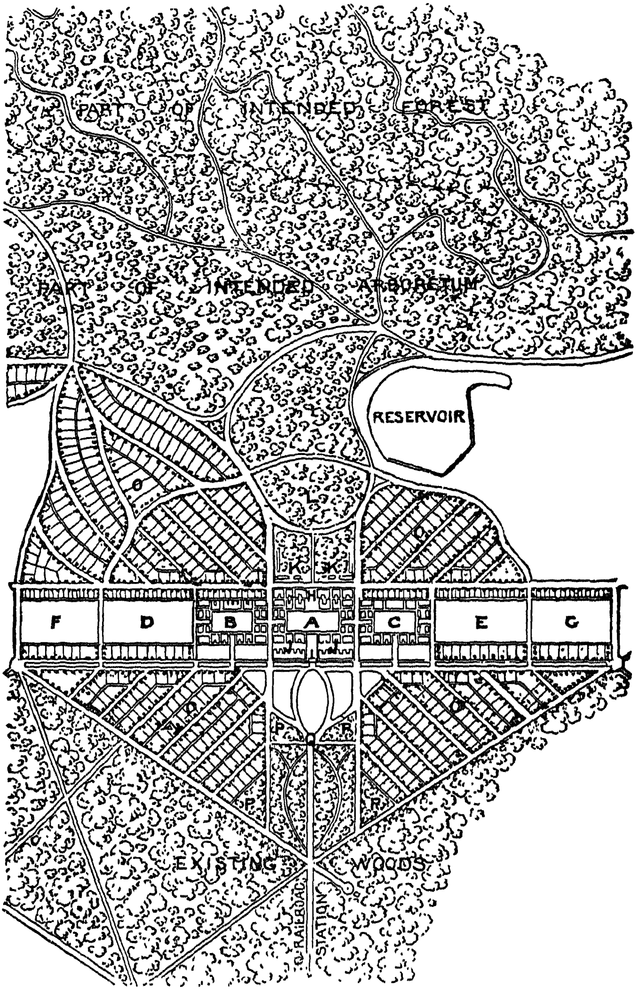
Architect Coolidge explains that besides the matter of convenience the low buildings will give the university the appearance of belonging to the country, and being part of it, an effect which would be destroyed by high structures. But with the Chapel, the art and natural history museums taller than the surrounding buildings of the cluster, all suggestion of monotony will be avoided.

6. REVISED GROUND PLAN OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY (AS PRINTED IN *GARDEN AND FOREST*, DECEMBER 19, 1888)

Senator Stanford, of California, when he determined to commemorate the short life of his only son by erecting a university in his memory, had the practical good sense to call to his assistance an artist trained by long years of experience in dealing with large questions of rural and urban improvement. The answer to the problem which was given to Mr. Olmsted to solve is found in the plan, a part of which is printed upon page 508 of this issue of *Garden and Forest*. The problem was an interesting and remarkable one. No one before, it is safe to say, has deliberately set about building a great university, with a university town and all the appliances thought necessary for a modern education, in a situation remote from any great center of population. Mr. Olmsted, therefore, has had to deal with questions which are quite unlike those found in his own experience, and for which there are no precedents in the work of other landscape gardeners.

The ground which he has studied with reference to this plan embraces about 7,000 acres, the map here presented covering about one mile in length by half a mile in width. It is situated in the San José valley, about thirty miles from San Francisco, overlooking the head of the Bay of San Francisco, and not far from Menlo Park, the suburban or country-home of several prominent Californians. It occupies the rolling slopes of the low hills of one of the interior Coast Ranges. The heights extending above and towards the left of the portion shown in the plan are covered with the remnants of what was once a fine Forest of Firs and Pines and Redwoods, and over the lower ground are scattered widely the noble Oaks which give to the scenery of the California valleys the peculiar park-like aspect which distinguishes them from those of the rest of the United States.

Mr. Olmsted's plan embraces, in addition to the immediate surroundings of the University, the site for an arboretum, in which it is proposed to gather the arboreal vegetation of California and of other regions of the world with climates similar to that of California, and an artificially planted forest of several hundred acres, which will serve as a model to planters on the Pacific coast. It is needless, of course, at this time to call attention to the importance of this particular part of Mr. Olmsted's comprehensive scheme, or to urge the necessity for establishing an Arboretum and Botanic Garden in California, where all the climatic conditions are so unlike those of the rest of the



A, The central quadrangle, with buildings now partly under construction. *B C,* Sites for adjoining quadrangles, with proposed buildings. *D E F G,* Four blocks of land of form and extent corresponding to the above, to be held in reserve as sites for additional quadrangles and proposed buildings. *H,* Site for University Church. *I,* Site for Memorial Arch. *J,* Sites for University Libraries and Museums. *K,* Site for buildings of Industrial Department of the University, now partly under construction. *L,* Site for University Botanic Garden. *O O O O,* Four districts laid out in building lots suitable for detached dwellings and domestic gardens, with public ways giving direct communication between them and the University central buildings. *P P P P,* Sites for a Kinder Garten, a Primary School, an Advanced School and a School of Industry and Physical Training. *Q R,* A direct Avenue between the central quadrangle and a proposed station of the Southern Pacific Railroad, with bordering groves and promenades. Space is allowed in the wheel way for a double track street railway.

Revised plan as platted in 1888

Continent that they may be made to play an important part in extending the sum of human knowledge with regard to the trees and plants of the world.

The leading motives of the scheme are briefly summarized by Mr. Olmsted as follows:

The ground covered by the upper-portion of the sketch, and extending some miles beyond, is a part of the foothills of the coast range and is mainly rugged and semi-mountainous. . . . . The remainder is a plain, with a moderate inclination to the north east. . . . . The central buildings of the University are to stand in the midst of the plain. . . . . This has been determined by the founders chiefly in order that no topographical difficulties need ever stand in the way of setting other buildings as they may, in the future, one after another, be found desirable, in eligible, orderly, and symmetrical relation and connection with those earlier provided.

This point being fixed, the leading purpose of so much of the plan as is represented in the sketch is: First—to provide for convenient and economical use, by large numbers, of the means of research and instruction to be offered in the central buildings. Second—to provide in the arrangements devised for this purpose, an outward character, suitable to the climate of the locality, that will serve to foster the growth of refined, but simple and inexpensive tastes. Third—to favor the formation, in connection with the University, of a community instructively representative of attractive and wholesome conditions of social and domestic life.

The four sides of the central quadrangle are to be formed by a continuous arcade of stone, eighteen feet in height, twenty feet in depth, and 1,700 feet in length. Opening from the arcade are to be a series of structures for class-rooms, lecture-rooms, draughting-rooms, and rooms for scientific investigation and instruction. Each of these is to be one high and airy story, and in all desirable cases to be provided with special arrangements for light and ventilation above as well as on its four sides. . . . . Of several reasons for limiting these structures to one story, the principal is, that in a building of two or more stories, the necessity for providing on the lower for any cross partitions, or for the support of any considerable weight in the superstructures, has everywhere in older institutions been found to stand in the way of desirable revision of interior plans. It is considered that anything thus likely to hinder the ready adoption in the future of new inventions or methods and conveniences for liberal education should be avoided. . . . . The areas assigned to the second and third quadrangles (*B* and *C*) are to be used as University Athletic Grounds until wanted to be built upon. When taken to be built upon, the next blocks of the reservation (*D*, *E*) are to be substituted as Athletic Grounds, and so on. Those parts of the reservation not in use as thus proposed are to be fields of the Agricultural Department of the University.

The public streets are to have borders ten feet in breadth, planted with shade trees. These borders are to be graded and planted at once, and all land within the limits of the plan not to be presently occupied for some one of the purposes above stated, is, as soon as practicable, to be closely planted. The plantations are to be afterwards thinned before they become crowded, and clearings are to be made among them, as, from time to time, space is wanted for buildings. Building sites not expected to be very soon occupied by buildings are also intended to be enclosed with hedges. By these two expedients it is hoped that the immediate surroundings of the University may be prevented from taking on at any point the usual aspect of "vacant lots" in the outskirts of towns and villages, which, in California, because of its dry summer climate, is apt to be even more forlorn than in Eastern States.

That part of the public way, divided by a strip of gardened ground, upon which the Library and the Museum buildings (*J*, *J*) face, is to be carried upon a retaining wall with a parapet, making it a terrace. The five compartments immediately to the northward, below the terrace, are to be depressed areas, each occupied by a mass of shrubbery, over which a broad view of the principal buildings of the University will be had from the head of the avenue (*Q*). These areas would be fields of turf were it not that satisfactory turf in California can be maintained only by profuse irrigation, and irrigated ground, unless kept with extreme neatness, is liable to be a source of miasmatic exhalations. It is considered that the University should not have the difficulty and expense imposed upon it of the constant mowing, rolling, sweeping, and watering of such large open spaces as would thus be made necessary. In this and in all other respects, the landscape and the architectural design have in view ideals that pertain rather to the south than to the north of Europe or of the Atlantic States.

This work will be studied with profound interest by landscape gardeners, and its gradual development will be watched with interest by all persons interested in the spread of education and in the growth of American civilization.

It may be added that substantial progress has already been made in the construction of the university buildings from plans prepared by Messrs. Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge, of Boston.

(EDITORIAL COMMENT BY PROFESSOR SARGENT)

"The plan for the Leland Stanford Junior University, printed upon another page of this issue, records something more than the ideas of the acknowledged master of landscape art with regard to a great problem. It records the occurrence in our country of new and vast problems which spring from the wonderful development of commerce and the concentration of enormous wealth in the hands of individuals often willing to use it for the public good. And it records that the time has passed, or is fast passing, when great projects, more or less rural in their character, are to be undertaken blindly or without the counsel of trained specialists. The fact that an artist is called upon to locate the buildings and model the grounds of a university, to cut up to the best advantage the grounds of a suburban land company, or to suggest the proper approaches to a rural railroad station, shows that the American people have made noteworthy progress during the last few years in artistic and economic education.

"The value of thoroughly studied plans, such as Mr. Stanford has secured, can be appreciated only by comparing it with the plans of some of the old universities of this country, which have been built up piecemeal, without reference to any consistent scheme of general utility or convenience, and just as individual fancy or momentary convenience dictated. An examination of Mr. Olmsted's plan must show how convenience, to say nothing of appearance, is lost, and how economy of time and space is sacrificed, whenever a scheme of this nature is undertaken without the aid of a carefully prepared plan. As this paper goes to press we learn that Senator Stanford has decided to devote to the Arboretum connected with the Leland Stanford Junior University as much space as is needed to contain *every tree that can be made to grow in that climate*. The trees are to be planted in open order, and arranged with vistas and views, so that the Arboretum will have the features of a pleasure ground in addition to its scientific character. Mr. Olmsted is to make a design of the work, and Mr. Thomas Douglas is to be superintendent of the planting."

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